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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release May 27, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT THE NAVAL ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT

Annapolis, Maryland

10:45 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Mr. Secretary, and thank all of you. Thank you, Larry Garrett. Please be seated. And may I salute our great CNO, Admiral Kelso, who's with us today; and our Superintendent Admiral Lynch; the several members of the United States Congress that are here today. I want to single out the Navy band, thank the Academy band; and Captain Bill Hines, the Senior Chaplain; and Midshipmen First Class Joe Lienert and Melissa Miceli for leading us in the National Anthem. Officers, members of the faculty, friends, parents -- the Brigade -- and, of course, the Class of 1992. (Applause.) As I said that the sun came out. (Laughter.) Now, thank you for this warm welcome.

Let me add a special salute to an honorary classmate of the Class of '92: Midshipman Rob Boehning -- a model of courage to his classmates. (Applause.)

Now, the real reason I came here today: I just wanted to salute the class that finally captured the Army mules. (Applause.) And to show you that I took Larry Garrett's remarks to heart, I will now tell you my favorite Billy Graham story -- about the guy, the graduation speaker, goes on and on and on. A guy sitting over here picks up the gavel, heaves it at him, misses, hits a woman in the front row, and she said, "Hit me again. I can still hear him." (Laughter.)

Look what you're in for. (Laughter.) No, they're double-spaced. (Laughter.)

As President, I've made it my mission to preserve three legacies of concern to all Americans. I spoke a few days ago at Southern Methodist University about the new economic realities -- about the promising job opportunities that we're going to have in the next century. At Notre Dame, my focus was the family -- because the first lessons in faith and character are learned at home. But today I want to speak about the great mission you've taken up as your own: preserving freedom, keeping the peace.

You take up your watch at a watershed moment -- as old order gives way to new. And just think of the changes, the remarkable changes that have taken place since you first came to Annapolis four years ago, for plebe summer way back in 1988. That was a different era -- another world, literally. Europe was a continent divided -- East from West. From Central America to the Horn of Africa to Afghanistan and Southeast Asia, the U.S. faced Soviet expansionism. Today all that has changed: Today, the "dominoes" fall in democracy's direction.

Today, the Wall, the Warsaw Pact, the Soviet empire -- even the Soviet Union itself -- all are gone, swept away by the most powerful idea known to man: the undeniable desire of every individual to be free.

We must recognize these events for what they were: a vindication of our ideals -- a testament to faith -- but also, a victory for the men and women who fought for freedom. Because this triumph didn't just happen. Imperial communism didn't just fall -- it was pushed.

Your generation will be the first to enjoy the fruits of that victory. Today, the threat of a lightning strike across the fields of Europe has vanished with the Warsaw Pact. The threat of nuclear war is more distant than at any time in the past four decades. As Commander-in-Chief, I think back often to the day I did what so many of my predecessors must have longed to do: to give the order for many of our nuclear forces to stand down from alert. And last week in Lisbon, we reached agreement with four of the new nations of the old Soviet empire -- Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Byelarus -- to make good on the great promise of the START Treaty that we signed just a year ago.

The end of the Cold War -- it means new opportunities for global prosperity. Free market reform is now sweeping away the dead hand of state socialism. Capitalism is recognized the world over as the engine of prosperity and social progress -- and nations are reorganizing themselves to unleash the limitless potential of the individual.

Governments can help foster free enterprise -- or they can put obstacles in its path. There is no question what course -- the course we must take. The United States will remain a forceful advocate for free trade.

But the promise of new prosperity must not blind us to the new challenges of new economic realities. Nations that lack the confidence to compete will be tempted to seek refuge behind the walls of protectionism. And we must fight the protectionist impulse here at home -- and we must work with our partners for trade that is free, fair and open.

Beyond this economic challenge, we must see clearly the dangers that remain. And, yes, since the day you came to Annapolis, we have made great gains for freedom. But we have not yet entered an era of perpetual peace.

Some see the great triumph I mentioned a moment ago not simply as cause for celebration -- but as proof that America's work in the world is finished -- is done. The fact is, never in the long history of man has the world been a benign place. It will take hard efforts to make and keep it a better place -- and there is no substitute in this effort for America's strength and sense of purpose. When other nations look to the United States, they see a nation that combines economic and military might -- with a moral force that's borne of its founding ideals.

Even in our new world, as old threats recede, new ones emerge. With the end of the East-West stand-off, ideology has given way to ethnicity as a key factor for conflict. Ancient hatreds -- ethnic rivalries frozen in time -- threaten to revive themselves and to reignite. We see it now in the war-ravaged Balkans -- in tensions within and among some of the new nations of the old Soviet empire. For all the overwhelmingly hopeful aspects of the new nationalism we see in the world -- for all the proud history and heritage we see reclaimed -- for all the captive nations now free: we must guard against those who would turn the noble impulse of nationalism to negative ends.

We will face new challenges in the realm of diplomacy: Where in the past we've relied almost entirely on established formal alliances -- the future may require us to turn more often to coalitions, built to respond to the needs of the moment. Where in the past, international organizations like the U.N., the United

Nations, had been paralyzed by Cold War conflict, we will see a future where they can now be a force for peace. Where in the past, many times the heaviest burdens of leadership fell to our nation, we will now see more efforts made to seek consensus and concerted action.

The United States will never rely on other nations to defend its interests -- but we can and will seek to act in concert with the community of nations to defend common interests and ideals. We saw a glimpse of that future in the Persian Gulf. Such a world puts a premium on nations certain of their interests, faithful to their ideals -- and on leaders ready to act.

We will face new challenges that take us beyond containment -- to a key role in helping forge a democratic peace. In the weeks ahead, Congress will be considering the Freedom Support Act -- to promote democratic reform in Russia and the other Commonwealth states. For all the pressure to focus our energies on needs here at home, and for all that we must do and will do to open new opportunities to every American here at home, we cannot fail in this critical mission.

When we think of the world you and your children will inherit, no single factor will shape their future more than this: whether the lands of the old Soviet empire move forward into democracy or slide back into anarchy or authoritarianism. The outcome of this great transition will affect everything -- from the amount of resources government must devote to defense instead of domestic needs to a future for our children free from fear.

And, yes, the aid that I have requested from the Congress is significant, but it is also a tiny fraction of the $4 trillion that this nation spent to wage and win the Cold War. We owe it to those who began the task as well as those who will come up afterward to finish the great work that we have begun.

But if we hope to remain free and at peace in the world, a world that still holds dangers, we must maintain defenses adequate to the task. This defense rests on four key elements:

First, we must maintain a strong strategic deterrent. And, yes, our nuclear forces can and will be smaller in the future. But even in the aftermath of the Cold War, Russia retains its nuclear arsenal. And we learned in Desert Storm about the progress that Iraq had made toward building nuclear weapons of its own.

We must heed the lessons learned in the Gulf War, when a single Scud missile took the lives of more Americans than any other combat action in that war. And we cannot count on deterrence to stop a madman with missiles. We must deploy a defense against ballistic missile attack.

And second, security means forward deployment. From the 40 years of Cold War to the 40 days of Desert Storm, forward deployed forces have contributed to the world's stability and helped America keep danger far from its shores. Even in our new world, with the tremendous political transformation we've worked to bring about, the fundamental facts of geopolitics don't change. Forward deployed forces -- I'm talking about ground forces, and I am talking the United States Navy -- will keep America safe in the century ahead as they have in the century now coming to a close.

And third, the nature of the challenges we are likely to face will put a premium on rapid response. We live in a day when clear and present dangers are few, when new threats can emerge with little or no warning. Throughout history, our ability to project power has helped us keep the peace -- and, if need be, to win the war. And this I pledge as Commander-in-Chief: America's forces will continue to be the best-trained, the best-equipped and most

battle-ready forces anywhere in the entire world. We owe it to the generations coming up. (Applause.)

And fourth, even as we reduce our armed forces, we must retain the capability to reconstitute sufficient forces to meet the future threats that we may face. As we make significant cuts in our defense procurement, we've got to keep in mind that production lines for planes and tanks and ships cannot be turned on and off like water from a faucet. We've got to keep our technological edge -- keep our R&D focused on the next generation of weapons that you'll need to succeed.

In conclusion I just want to turn now to a final challenge, one that begins with a hard-won truth that shines through this century's great conflicts: America is safest at home when we stand as a force for stability in the world.

In many respects, reaffirming this truth in our new world may be the greatest challenge of all, because the history of this century reveals in the American character a desire to see in every hard-won victory a sign that America's work in the world is done. And such an urge is not unusual in democracies, it's a trait found in nations more interested in the quiet joys of home than in the glories of conquest abroad. But it can be devastating in a world that still holds dangers for our interests and ideals.

Winston Churchill made this point the theme of the last volume in his epic history of World War II. He called it: "How the great democracies triumphed -- and so were able to resume the follies which had so nearly cost them their life."

Once more, our challenge is to avoid the folly that Churchill warned of -- to remain engaged in the world as a force for peace. And we will do it with your help, through the leadership you provide. Today, John Paul Jones would say: "The measure of a ship is not its guns, but its courageous men and women." Your courage, your integrity, your ability to lead: these are the qualities on which our nation's security depends.

And more than once this century, America has proved its mettle. More than once, we've come late to conflict and turned back mortal threats to freedom. But as a nation, we have yet to prove that we can lead when there is no enemy on the doorstep. We have proved and proved again we can win the war. And now we must wage the peace.

Once again, to this wonderful graduating class, I wish you well. I wish you Godspeed. And thank you all for this warm welcome. And may I thank the families that have labored in sweat to provide this wonderful day for these wonderful Midshipmen, now to be Ensigns or Lieutenants. Welcome, congratulations to the Class of 1992. And may God bless the United States of America, the freest, greatest country on the face of the Earth. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END 11:03 A.M. EDT

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August, 1943

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24 AUG 1943

Qualified this date in carrier landings aboard the USS SABLE in ....T.B.F. airplane.

R. W. Fleming

R. W. FLEMING
LT.(jg) A-V(S)USNR

Total time to date.

16—18616

Date 24 AUG 1943

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| Total Month | | | 3.4 |
| Brought Forward | | | 331.3 |
| Total Time | | | 334.7 |

I Certify that the foregoing Flight Record is correct.

George Herbert Walker Bush

R. W. Fleming

R. W. FLEMING
LT.(jg) A-V(S)USNR

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TBF "Avenger" in carrier qualification flights off USS Sable (CVE-48) 24 Aug 1943. Aircraft assigned to VC-1, soon to be the 1st Navy squadron in Lake Champlain, NY.

# Namibia's Changing War Map: Cubans Now a Factor

By BERNARD E. TRAINOR
Special to The New York Times

OSHAKATI, South-West Africa, July 2 — Until Cuban mechanized, air and antiaircraft units began moving into the area six weeks ago, South African forces operated freely in southern Angola in their war against guerrillas seeking control of South-West Africa. But a clash late last month between South African troops and guerrilla units backed by Cuban forces showed that this is no longer the case.

**Military Analysis**

The South African high command is now re-evaluating its border strategy in light of the redeployment of the Cubans, who had largely confined their mission in Angola to defending that country's Marxist Government against a United States-backed rebel group.

The battle reportedly took place June 27 about 20 miles northwest of the Calueque Dam, just north of the border with South-West Africa, also known as Namibia. The South African Government reported only 12 South Africans killed in the clash and a subsequent Cuban air attack on the dam itself, but asserted that 300 Cubans and guerrillas of the South-West Africa People's Organization, known as Swapo, had died.

### Blacks Do Most of the Fighting

The casualty report is highly questionable. South Africa frequently lists only white casualties and makes no mention of casualties to black troops serving in the South African Army and territorial forces in the border region. Yet it is black units, led by white officers, that do most of the fighting in the area, and there were said to be two such units involved in the June 27 clash.

The use of black soldiers to do much of the fighting does not necessarily reflect a South African willingness to risk the lives of these men first. Largely, it is a practical solution to the guerrilla war that is being fought against the South-West Africa People's Organization, which seeks to establish an independent Namibia.

South African officers say the guerrillas know how to survive in the harsh bush of the border region and are skilled at hit-and-run tactics. They infiltrate by foot into South-West Africa in small groups to conduct raids and sabotage against the South Africans, then withdraw to their base camps deep in Angola.

The white units of the South African Army, on the other hand, are made up mostly of draftees who serve only two years on active duty. With notable exceptions, such as the paratroops, the white soldiers spend only three to six months at a time on the border and do not know the area as well as the guerrillas, who have operated there for years.

### Knowledgeable About Territory

But South Africa has a number of all-black units made up of career soldiers who serve exclusively in the border region. These troops are every bit as knowledgeable about the territory as their guerrilla opponents.

The 400-mile border of Ovamboland, where 52 percent of the Namibian population lives, is the main target for guerrilla incursions from Angola. The South Africans refer to this as Sector 10 and have their headquarters in Oshakati. A military air base is in nearby Ondangua. Operations against the South-West People's Organization, and now the Cubans, are directed from these two bases.

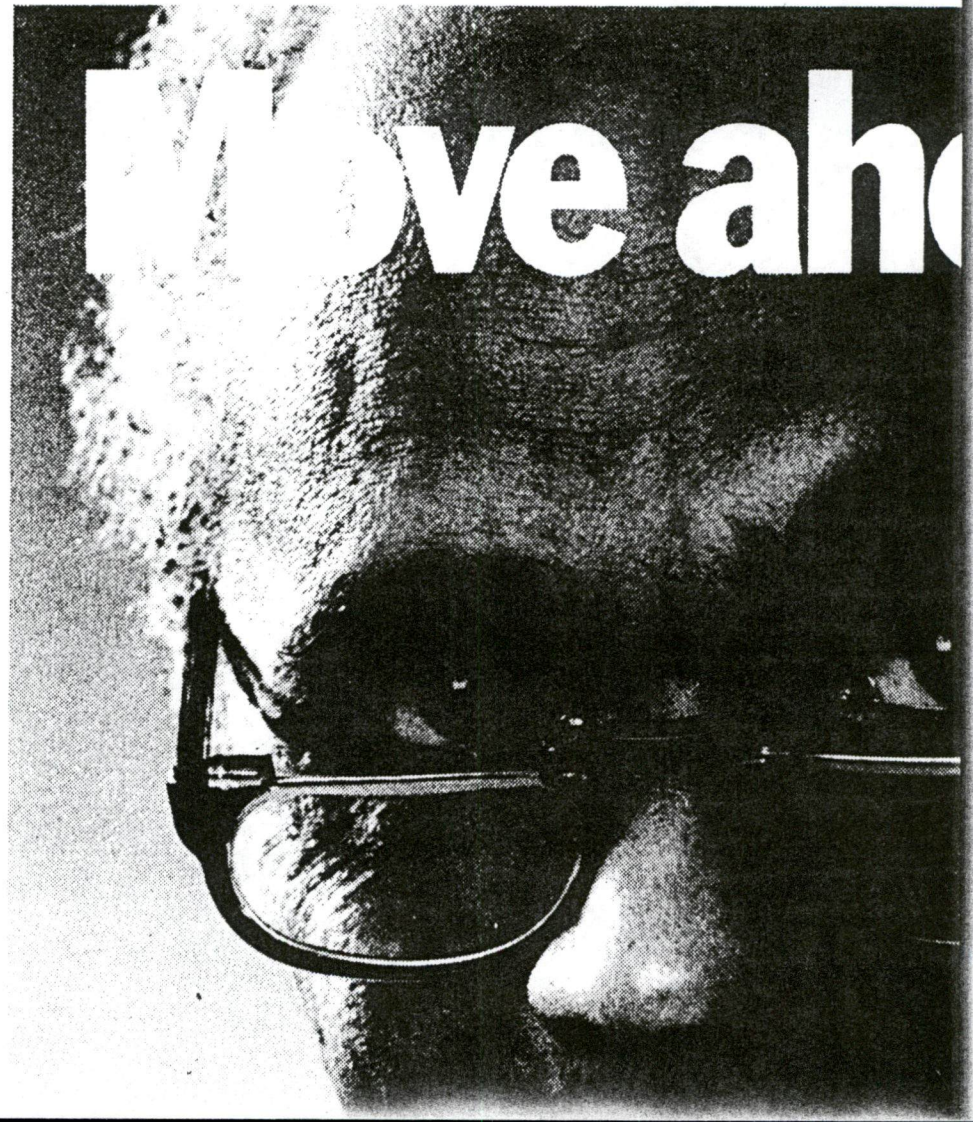
Three white conscript battalions, of about 1,200 men each, are assigned operating areas along the border and patrol their sectors constantly looking for signs of guerrilla infiltrators. They are backed up by artillery, air, engineer and mechanized units.

The white and black units complement each other. The role of tracking and attacking the guerrilla teams, which are made up of 6 to 30 men, is usually left to the black battalions, supported by white paratroops, who parachute behind any guerrilla located so as to block their escape back to their base camps in Angola.

There are three specialized black units in the army. One is the 101st Battalion, called the Buffaloes, all natives of the Ovambo region. The South African authorities say many are former members of the South-West Africa People's Organization. Another unit is the 32d Battalion, made up exclusively of Angolans who fled to South-West Africa after they lost out in their attempt to gain control of Angola in the civil war following Portugal's withdrawal from its African colonies in 1975. A third unit, the 201st Battalion, is made up of Bushmen from the Caprivi Strip, South-West Africa's narrow northeastern panhandle.

### Army Officers in Command

The Bushmen, who are often used as trackers, are usually parceled out to white South African units to help locate guerrilla infiltrators. The 32d Battalion operates almost exclusively inside Angola, attacking guerrilla columns en route to Namibia and their base camps



# Reagan Urged to Press Pretoria on Executions

WASHINGTON, July 5 (Reuters) — Seventy-two members of Congress

# Map: Cubans Now a Factor

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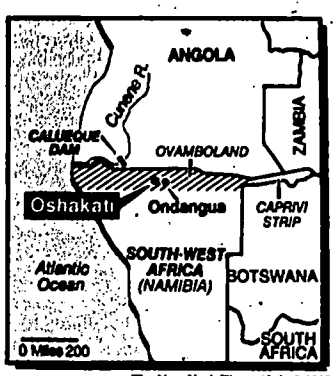
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### Army Officers in Command

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Technically, these units are part of the South-West Africa Territorial Force and not part of the South African Army. However, they are commanded by South African Army officers.

A fourth unit, not belonging to the army, the Southwest African Territorial Police, nicknamed the Crowbars, is also used against guerrillas on both sides of the border. This unit, commanded by South African police officers, is also reported to be made up of former members of the South-West Africa People's Organization. The unit has a reputation for brutality and indiscriminate killing. South African officers are reluctant to talk about this unit, but concede some friction between it and the army units.




The New York Times/July 6, 1988

South African forces use Oshakati as their headquarters.



# Armenians, Irate at Party Conference Results, Resume Wide Unrest

By FELICITY BARRINGER
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, July 5 — Widespread civil unrest began again in the southern republic of Armenia today as strikers closed the capital's airport and many industrial enterprises, in pursuit of their demand for the transfer of a disputed region in neighboring Azerbaijan.

The resumption of the unrest, which has troubled these southern Soviet republics since last fall and which widened and turned violent in Feburary, appeared to reflect deep dissatisfaction with the failure of the extraordinary Communist Party conference last week to make progress toward resolving the issue of the disputed territory.

The Soviet Government newspaper Izvestia reported tonight that the entrance to the Yerevan airport was blocked and the airport crowded with stranded passengers. The paper also said that many industrial enterprises were shut down or working with reduced staffs.

### Strikes in Regional Capital

Izvestia also reported continuing strikes in Stepanakert, the capital of the disputed Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region.

The legislature of the region, a predominantly Armenian enclave within the territory of Azerbaijan, voted in Feburary to ask the Azerbaijani government to relinquish its jurisdiction over the area to neighboring Armenia.

In successive votes last month, the Armenian legislature called for the transfer of Nagorno-Karabakh, and the Azerbaijani legislature overwhelmingly called for its retention as part of the Azerbaijani republic.

The principal spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry, Gennadi I. Gerasimov, said last month that the two votes had created a constitutional impasse, with each republic relying upon a different article of the Soviet Constitution to support its position.

The question of redrawing internal boundaries in response to ethnic pressure is a highly charged one for the Soviet authorities, who face constant tensions between ethnic groups in regions from the Baltic republics to Central Asia. Authorities have identified scores of territorial disputes that could serve as flashpoints for ethnic strife.

The predominantly Islamic people of Azerbaijan and the predominantly Christian Armenians — two groups who have a history of hostility — both consider the mountainous area with its fertile valleys an economic and cultural heartland.

### Discord Becomes Violence

The sudden surge of Armenian nationalism aimed at gaining control of Nagorno-Karabakh was followed by anti-Armenian rioting in the Azerbaijani city of Sumgait, in which 32 people died. A total of 35 people have been killed in the two republics since the dispute flared up more than five months ago.

One demand in the renewed protests, which Izvestia said began on Sunday, is for the chief prosecutor of the Soviet Union to review the court records of those convicted in the Sumgait violence.

There was widespread outrage in Armenia when those responsible for some of the Sumgait killings received 15-year-maximum sentences.

Another demand, according to an Armenian resident of Moscow who spoke Tuesday night with acquaintances in Yerevan, was that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the national legislature, establish jurisdiction over Nagorno-Karabakh while the constitutional dispute is worked out by Soviet courts.

Possible solutions mentioned at a news conference last week by an Armenian representative to the special Communist Party conference included the eventual transfer of the region to the jurisdiction of the Russian Federated Republic, the biggest of the nation's 15 republics — an odd geographic situation, since they are not adjacent to each other.

Yet, the northwestern city of Kaliningrad, which is part of the Russian republic, is completely separated from the rest of that republic by Lithuania.

According to the Moscow-based Armenian, who asked that his name not be used, the crowds that gathered in Yerevan's opera square on Sunday were upset at the failure of their delegates to succeed in obtaining some movement toward a resolution of the issue.

"They were very dissatisfied with the delegates' speeches," the Armenian said.

Among the other issues that are spurring the dispute, according to this informant, is a mysterious emission of gas in a sewing factory in a small Armenian town, Massis. The incident, which occurred 10 days ago, has led to widespread rumors that toxic fumes were released by disgruntled employees.

It is not known how many of the plant workers were affected nor how severe their injuries were. Izvestia spoke of one woman "poisoned" in the incident.

According to a representative of Aeroflot, the Soviet national carrier, the Yerevan airport has been closed for at least 24 hours and no flights will take off from there until Wednesday at the earliest. The representative said that as many passengers as possible were being urged to travel by train instead.




The New York Times/July 6, 1988

Strikes closed the airport and many businesses in Yerevan.

## Rebels in Uganda Release 7

KAMPALA, Uganda, July 5 (AP) — Rebels in northern Uganda have released seven kidnapped priests and nuns after the Roman Catholic Church met their demands for medical supplies, the Rev. Agostoni Tarcis, secretary of the church's Justice and Peace Commission, said today. The abductions occurred Saturday at Amuru Mission, near the provincial capital of Gulu, after an unsuccessful raid by the group, the Holy Spirit Movement, on another mission hospital for drugs. They freed their victims, all Ugandans, the next day, after the church handed over an unspecified amount of medication. The Ugandan Government is fighting several rebel groups in the northern and eastern regions of the country.

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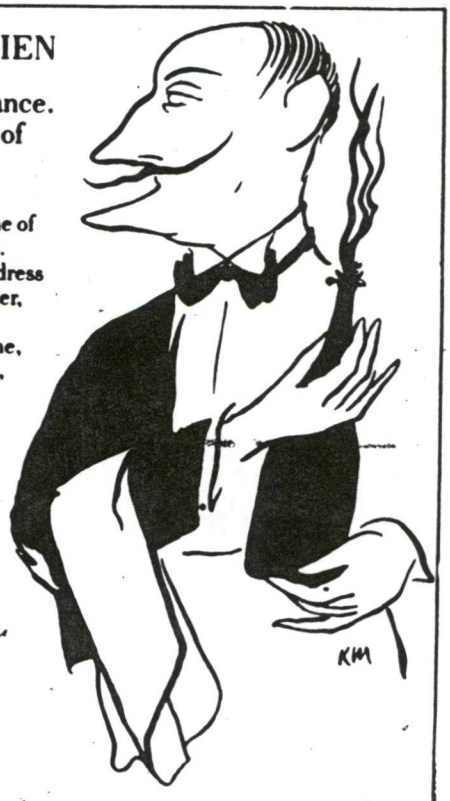
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Associated Press

with posters for the coming election.

# Mexicans Will Vote Today, Calling Ballot a Watershed

By LARRY ROHTER
Special to The New York Times

MEXICO CITY, July 5 — After the most competitive and contentious presidential campaign in nearly half a century, Mexicans are to vote Wednesday in an election being described here as a watershed in modern Mexican history.

The almost certain winner is Carlos Salinas de Gortari of the Institutional Revolutionary Party, which has triumphed in every presidential, senatorial and gubernatorial election here since coming to power in 1929.

Nevertheless, Mr. Salinas faces a daunting task: to win by a margin large enough to satisfy his partisans and establish his authority but small enough to convince his opponents that the elections have been fair.

### Congress to Be Chosen

Voters will also choose all 64 members of the Mexican Senate and all 500 members of the Chamber of Deputies. The extent to which the opposition gains strength in Congress is also being viewed as an important test of Mr. Salinas's ability to usher in the more democratic "modern politics" he has promised and to allow the hegemony of the PRI, as the governing party is known, to come to an end.

Unlike previous PRI presidential candidates, many of whom ran virtually unopposed, Mr. Salinas faces strong challengers both on his left and his right.

Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas of the left-wing National Democratic Front and Manuel Clouthier of the right-of-center National Action Party have vigorously attacked the six-year economic crisis, which they say has been brought on by PRI policies, and have appealed to the Mexican voters' hopes for a more open and pluralistic political system.

Throughout the eight months of the campaign, in fact, a principal issue has been the integrity of the election process itself. Opposition parties, which late last week signed an agreement to jointly monitor the country's 55,000 or so polling places Wednesday in an effort to prevent the irregularities that have been widespread in the past, have threatened to take to the streets if they think fraud has occurred again.

Over the last 10 elections, no presidential candidate of the PRI has officially won less than 70 percent of the popular vote, thanks in part to the party's habit of padding real vote tallies to produce results to its liking. But most polls here indicate that Mr. Salinas will have to struggle to reach the 60 percent that he and his advisers appear to have made their goal.

Repeatedly, Mr. Salinas has promised "transparency" in the balloting, on the theory that to recognize opposition victories would restore credibility to the political system and strengthen his own hand. But within his own party Mr. Salinas has had to fend off old-guard leaders who would prefer the traditional "carro completo," or clean sweep.

New doubts about the Government's willingness to conduct an honest vote were raised today when the Gallup Organization announced that the Federal Electoral Commission here, which is dominated by the PRI, had told the company's Mexican affiliate that it would not be permitted to conduct polls of voters leaving polling places. In a letter to the polling group, the commission said such polls, known as exit polls and common elsewhere, violated the Mexican Constitution's guarantee of a secret ballot.

### Campaign Picks Up

Much of the excitement, uncertainty and political pressure in the race has been generated by Mr. Cárdenas, who in a Gallup poll conducted here late in May was shown to have the support of just under a quarter of the electorate. But three new soundings made public in recent days indicate the Cárdenas campaign has surged in the last four weeks, picking up an additional 7 to 10 percent of the vote, most of it apparently at Mr. Salinas's expense.

## Will a result be the advent of 'modern politics'?

On Saturday, just hours after the three leading candidates had officially closed their campaigns with mass rallies urging their followers to insure the elections are conducted honestly, a senior campaign aide to Mr. Cárdenas was shot dead here. Mr. Cárdenas has described the killing of the aide, Francisco Xavier Ovando Hernández, as a "political crime," but the extent to which he may benefit from popular revulsion at the slaying, and the extent to which the ruling party may be hurt by it, will become apparent only as the votes are counted.

For Mr. Clouthier, the election has turned into a struggle to improve the 1982 showing of his party and retain its position as the largest force in a larger and more diverse political opposition. The National Action Party won 16 percent of the vote in the 1982 presidential election, and the majority of the many polls conducted during the campaign show the party winning a fifth to a quarter of the vote this time.

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hoacán before he served as President of Mexico between 1934 and 1940.

### Vigilance at Polls Urged

Recent polls show that Mr. Cárdenas stands a good chance of taking Michoacán in Wednesday's voting, but Mr. Arias said it would require strict vigilance of the 2,204 polling booths across the state's 113 municipalities.

While Mexican newspapers at first played down the importance of the double slaying on instructions from the Government, even strong critics of the departing administration of President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado do not believe that it ordered the killings.

Rather, one well-placed opposition politician suggested that the killings were aimed at Mr. Salinas, as well as at Mr. Cárdenas, and reflected intense infighting within the PRI between old-style political bosses and the younger technocrats personified by Mr. Salinas, who are now taking over the party.

# Ambush

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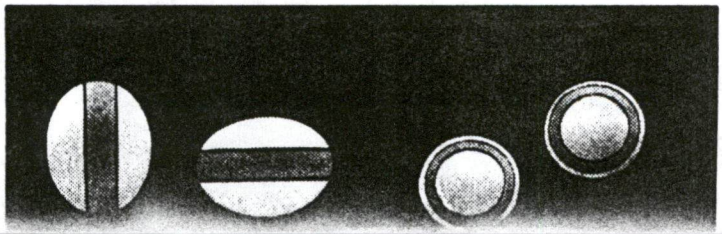
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The New York Times/July 6, 1988

The contra attack reportedly took place in Buenos Aires.

President Reagan has been briefed by Secretary of State George P. Shultz on the Secretary's trip to Central America last week, but the President is not ready to decide whether to seek new



NYT 6 July 88

# News Summary

## International A2-11

**Compensation to the families** of those killed when an Iran Air jetliner was shot down is being considered by the Reagan Administration to resolve a potential legal dispute with Iran without admitting fault. Page A1

**A distant military aircraft signal** may have been picked up by a Navy warship and attributed erroneoulsy to the Iranian jetliner it was tracking, Navy briefers are said to have told Congressional leaders. A1

**Iran wanted a direct dialogue** with Washington and sent notes through third parties before the passenger jet was shot down, Secretary of State George Shultz said. He said the United States responded positively. A1

**Differences in Iran's response** to the downing of the passenger jet seem to have appeared among Iranian leaders. Some advocate a diplomatic offensive; others are encouraging attacks on American interests. A10

A tale of two U.S. Navy skippers, damned whatever they do A11

**Seoul is taking precautions** against possible terrorist attacks at the Summer Olympics. Officials say they have no direct evidence that attacks are planned, but they say they cannot ignore the threat. A1

**A hijacking and murder trial opened** in a high-security courtroom in Frankfurt, West Germany. Mohammed Ali Hamadei is charged with hijacking an American jetliner and murdering a Navy diver. A7

**Civil unrest began again in Armenia** as strikers closed the airport and industrial enterprises in Yerevan, the Soviet republic's capital, demanding the transfer of a disputed region in neighboring Azerbaijan. A6

**Mexicans vote for President today** in an election that is been described as a watershed in modern Mexican history. Carlos Salinas de Gortari, the candidate of the Instutional Revolutionary Party, is favored to win. A3

Slain opposition aide buried on eve of Mexican vote A3

**Top Guatemalan Army officers** have been given freedom to set security policies by President Vinicio Cerezo. After suppressing a coup attempt, senior officers appear to have solidified an alliance with Mr. Cerezo. A2

**Management problems at UNESCO** remain, diplomats say. Critics say that the new director, Frederico Mayor Zargoza, has been too timid in asserting his authority and instituting administrative changes. A4

Nicaragua says rebels killed 12 in ambush A3

Cubans become a factor in Namibian war A9

## National A12-17, A24, D20-21

**Edwin Meese 3d said he would resign** this summer as Attorney General, asserting that he had been "completely vindicated" by the final report on his conduct from an independent prosecutor, James McKay. A1

**News analysis: Mr. Meese** appeared to embody the spirit of the Reagan Administration at the start of the President's first term. He has become a symbol of the Administration's problems in its final months. A1

**An increase in the minimum wage** seems headed for passage in a form that President Reagan may find impossible to veto, according to Congressional aides and lobbyists. A1

**Illegal aliens are feeling effects** of the 1986 immigration law. With their employers now facing punishment, tens of thousands of aliens who did not apply or qualify for amnesty have lost their jobs. A1

**All major market averages climbed** to their highest levels since the stock market crash in October. The 30-stock Dow industrial average advanced 27.03 points, to 2,158.61. Trading was relatively light. D1

**A Texas real estate promoter** who built a fortune of $500 million was found dead in the Harris County jail, an apparent suicide. J.R. McConnell was due to go on trial in Federal court on charges of fraud. A12

### Quotation of the Day

*"I have determined over the course of a few weeks here that it would be advantageous for me to return to private life before the administration ends."*
*— Attorney General Edwin Meese 3d.*
*[A1:6.]*

## Politics A14-15

**The relative wealth of the candidates** for President has become an issue. Michael Dukakis, who plays on the perception that George Bush is wealthier, is more affluent than his financial habits would suggest. A1

**In his search for a running mate,** Michael Dukakis met with Richard Gephardt and Albert Gore, two former rivals for the Democratic Presidential nomination. A14

Jackson leads poll for vice presidential choice A14

## Washington Talk A16

Top Soviet military leader opens U.S. visit today

## Regional

# A Funeral Marks Eve Of Electio

By ALAN RIDING
Special to The New York Times

MORELIA, Mexico, July 5 — A s longtime aide to the leading opposi presidential candidate was buried t today, on the eve of the election, to salute of angry anti-Government c and an emotional rendering of the tional anthem.

The candidate, Cuauhtémoc Cá nas, the flag bearer of a leftist coali who until two years ago was a mem of the Government party, stood be the sobbing family of the aide, F cisco Xavier Ovando Hernández, as coffin was lowered into the ground.

"Xavier has fallen because he fighting for Mexico to have a true authentic democracy," Mr. Cárde told a crowd of some 2,000 mourn "He died because he dreamed of a ter, an independent and a free Mex And you should all know that we continue fighting for his ideas."

### Ruling Party Is Blamed

The Government as well as the pr dential candidate of the Governm party have condemned the killing Mr. Ovando, who was found dead, al with an assistant, Román Gil Heral soon after leaving a political meet in Mexico City late Saturday. The lice have promised a full investigati

But, while unable to point to spec suspects, Mr. Cárdenas and lead members of his National Democra Front have blamed what they "reactionary and retrograde" sect of the ruling Institutional Revoluti ary Party for the killing.

Most newspapers and television s tions referred to Mr. Ovando's death a "homicide" rather than an "assa nation," the term used by Mr. Cár nas and his staff. Excelsior, the lead newspaper in the capital, ran its arti on its inside pages, and treated the k ing more as a matter for the pol blotter than a politically explos event.

In contrast, statements by the G ernment and the ruling party decry

# *Nicaragua Rep*

MANAGUA, Nicaragua, July 5 (A — The Defense Ministry said tod that contras killed five soldiers a seven civilians Monday in what called the worst attack since a ceas fire was signed in March.

Newspapers quoted the Defens Ministry as saying the rebels a bushed a Soviet-made jeep and a mi tary truck full of Government troo and civilians.

The reports said the rebels, usi anti-tank mines, rifles and grenad launchers, attacked the vehicles in th village of Buenos Aires, about 135 mil east of Managua, the capital.

The Defense Ministry said two civi

## Corr

An article in Business Day yester day about this week's planned issue in the credit markets misidentifie the issuer of a $290 million offering o preferred stock through Kidder, Pea body. It is the General Electric Com pany, not GTE Capital Corporation.

The New York Times

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# Why the U.S. Navy Is in the Gulf

The Vincennes' attack on the Iranian airliner left 290 civilians dead. What cause can justify the risk of so appalling an accident? It surely occasions a reexamination of the Navy's activities in the Persian Gulf and the goals of American policy.

The Administration has repeatedly confused the issue by saying the Navy's mission is to assure freedom of navigation. This profession of neutrality is the thinnest of diplomatic fig leaves. In practice, the Navy does not prevent Iraqi attack on ships visiting Iran. America tilts toward Iraq, and for good reason.

The goal is a negotiated end to the war, with victory for neither side. This outcome is resisted by Iran, not Iraq. For the United States and others, one of the few ways to induce Iran to change its mind is to place its vital oil resources in jeopardy. Thus America's purpose in the gulf, fortunately, is more coherent than are many of its spokesmen.

•

An Iranian victory, remote as it may seem at the moment, would give renewed momentum to Teheran's unsettling Islamic fundamentalism. It could allow the mullahs to dominate the gulf and its oil. This prospect seemed imminent after Iran's ground campaigns of 1986 and 1987 in which it captured Iraq's Fao peninsula. Iran also started to menace Kuwait, Iraq's neighbor and pivotal supporter. Had Kuwait been intimidated, Iraq would have been pushed closer to disastrous collapse.

The United States became directly involved when Kuwait sought protection for its threatened shipping. The Navy increased its forces in the gulf to protect American-flagged Kuwaiti tankers — a service now extended to all NATO and neutral shipping. The Navy's presence reassures Arab states in the gulf. It also serves, in effect, as a shield behind which Iraq attacks Iranian oil tankers, deterring Iran's usual response of attacking neutral shipping. Iraq's dominance at sea was a necessary advantage when it was slowly losing the ground war. Despite Iraq's recent stunning recapture of the Fao peninsula, it can still lose.

The Navy is not alone. America's leadership has been quietly supported by the gulf states and by Western countries that have dispatched their own warships. None in this broad coalition have excoriated the United States for the Airbus tragedy.

American diplomacy seeks peace through the United Nations. These efforts are at an impasse: the Soviet Union and China refuse to join an arms embargo against Iran.

Despite this obstacle, American force and diplomacy have successfully restrained and isolated Iran. The Airbus tragedy does not alter the validity of that strategy, or the Navy's role in it. Besides, what is the alternative? For the U.S., wringing its hands, to withdraw all or most of its forces from the gulf would be a catastrophe. Iran would be relieved of the mounting pressures to stop fighting and start negotiating, and American credibility would plummet among nations that now depend on its leadership in containing Iran.

The proportionate response to the accident is first to determine the facts, and then to explain to Iran and the world how it happened. Reparations, which imply guilt, will most likely be inappropriate, but compensation for the victims would probably be a just and conciliatory gesture, and a humane way to demonstrate shared grief.

A negotiated end to the Iran-Iraq war serves almost all interests save that of the hate-mongering mullahs in Teheran. One accident, however horrifying, is no reason for changing that goal or the means America has chosen to achieve it.

# Mr. Meese Judges Mr. Meese

Satisfied that he will not be indicted, Edwin Meese has decided to resign as Attorney General. Even though he hasn't seen the just-completed report of the independent counsel who investigated him for a year, Mr. Meese said yesterday that he is certain of vindication. He thus clings to the wrong standard even as he rightly declines to cling to office until the bitter end.

Mr. Meese's tenure as the top law officer thus is framed by two special-prosecutor reports. The first enabled the Senate in 1985 to confirm his nomination knowing that his detractors had not shown him to be a crook, even though he was subject to ethical regrettably, is that even now Mr. Meese still claims not to see the ethical issue. He still contends that his fitness could be challenged only if he were indicted.

His performance was badly flawed. He bungled the Iran-contra investigation, giving Oliver North the time he needed to shred documents. He let his friend Robert Wallach manipulate the machinery of Government for a Middle East pipeline project, a legal and political abuse whatever the independent counsel concludes about its criminality.

He led the President into the disastrous choice of Judge Douglas Ginsburg for the Supreme Court. He even defended his wife for writing a Federal

## Letters

### Long-Term-Care B

To the Editor:

It is ironic that "Aid to Elderly Divides Young, Old and Politicians" (Washington Talk page, June 23) points to the recent defeat of my long-term home-health-care bill as an indicator of growing resentment of increasing Federal benefits for the elderly. You missed the point. Americans of all ages would have been eligible for coverage under my long-term home-health-care bill — not just the elderly.

While about two-thirds of the more than 1 million Americans who go bankrupt annually because of the costs of long-term illnesses are elderly, one-third are middle-aged and younger Americans, who should be eligible for the benefits as well.

"House members said," you report, that "the elderly should allow Congress to address the pressing needs of others." But a recent Lou Harris poll found that 8 of 10 Americans of all ages wanted Congress to enact a bill like mine to help all the chronically ill — young and old. According to the Harris poll, the highest percentage of support for my bill came from those 18 to 29 years old — 90 percent of those in this category supported Federal provision of long-term care for the chronically ill. This comes as no surprise to me, for as I travel across the country, young people frequently come up to me and say, "Thank you Mr. Pepper for helping us to help our parents."

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### Rail Links Could Ease Ai

To the Editor:

Re "Aviation Experts Warn of Gridlock at U.S. Airports" (front page, June 19): Before this country begins to pave over what's left of the countryside, an alternative must be examined.

In the last decade, faced with similar problems of overcrowded airports, Germany and Switzerland decided to integrate their intercity rail systems with major airports at Frankfurt, Geneva and Zurich, using rail service to distribute passengers to smaller cities, thus reducing airport congestion caused by connecting flights. The outlying railway stations became distant air terminals, permitting passengers to reserve seats and check baggage through their flight, with the trains delivering them directly to the airport.

The potential to reduce the number of planes using United States airports by this approach is enormous. At Detroit's Metropolitan Airport, for example, nearly 25 percent of the daily flights are connections with cities within 120 miles, little more than two hours away by rail. Across the United States, thousands of takeoffs and landings each day are this type of service, all of it contributing to the developing problem.

Most major airports in this country have rail lines adjacent to or near their property. The cost of building connections and improving tracks, as well as costs for equipment, would be



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## GOP Sheds a Political Liability

By Lou Cannon and Bill McAllister
Washington Post Staff Writers

The surprise resignation of Attorney General Edwin Meese III removed a major political liability for the Reagan administration and Vice President Bush's presidential campaign, friends of the president and Republican political sources said yesterday.

Former White House political director Edward J. Rollins said the resignation is "good for Bush" because it makes the ethics issues raised about Meese "a historical issue rather than a day-to-day issue." Longtime Reagan adviser Stuart K. Spencer said in California, "Meese's resignation takes the issue off the table. Of course, it's good for Bush."

White House officials, speaking on condition of anonymity, said the resignation also could prove helpful to President Reagan. In public appearances during his last year in office, the president has been dogged by questions about Meese, the "sleaze factor" and various ethical issues.

"It enables us to look forward," said an official. "It gives us a chance to appoint a 'Mr. Clean' or 'Mrs. Clean.' "

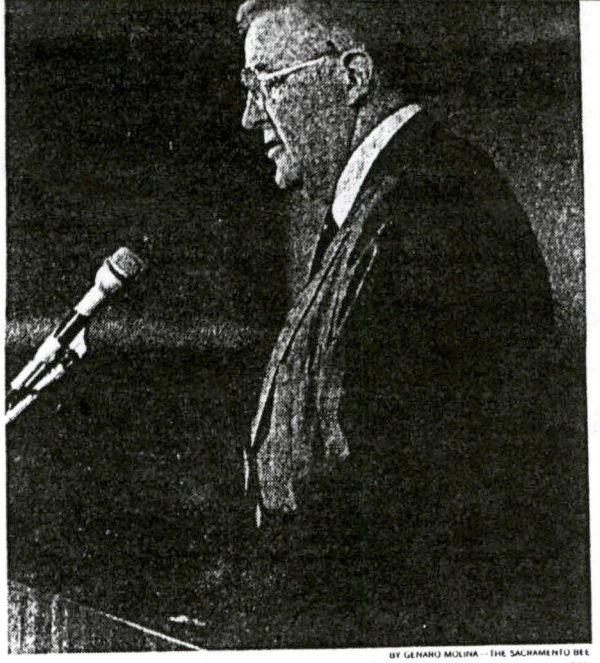
Massachusetts Gov. Michael S. Dukakis, the prospective Democratic presidential nominee, said in Boston that Meese's resignation was "long overdue" but that, "by itself, it is not going to solve this administration's problems with ethics in government." Democratic candidate Jesse L. Jackson, in New York, expressed a similar view, saying that Meese was "just another chapter in a rising sleaze factor in the Reagan administration."

But there was no attempt in the Bush camp to hide the joy and relief at Meese's resignation. "Ed did the right thing, and I wish him well," the vice president said in a laconic statement.

Bush strategist Robert Teeter and Peter Teeley, the vice president's former press secretary, were already on record as saying that Meese was a liability for Bush's campaign. Former White House chief of staff Howard H. Baker Jr., who returned to private life last week, had also said publicly that Meese's legal difficulties were hurting Republican prospects.

While this view was widely shared in GOP circles, there was

See REACT, A6, Col. 1



BY GENARO MOLINA—THE SACRAMENTO BEE

Attorney General Meese on probe: "gratified by this result, but not surprised."

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

Attorney General Edwin Mee III, declaring that he was "co pletely vindicated" by the decisi of independent counsel James McKay to conclude his 14-mo investigation without bringing cri inal charges, announced yester that he plans to resign by early gust.

Meese made the surprise nouncement on the day McKay f under seal with a special thr judge court here an 830-page port outlining the findings of investigation and his reasons for seeking an indictment.

The report is not expected t released publicly for at least an er week, until after Meese and lawyers have had a chance to view it and file their respo Meese said yesterday that ne he nor his lawyers have read it.

Speaking at a news conferen Sacramento after reviewing a on a nearby marijuana planta Meese said he was "gratified by result, but not surprised. I from the beginning of this inv gation that my conduct has bee all times, lawful, and that it

# Bush Favors Non-Nuclear Arms Talks

## Vice President Doubts Strategic Arms Treaty Will Be Reached Soon

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Staff Writer

Vice President Bush, setting out his priorities for arms control, said yesterday he would "goose up the attention" to negotiations aimed at reducing the level of conventional or non-nuclear forces in Europe, and said he is pessimistic about a quick resolution of the strategic arms talks with the Soviet Union.

In an interview with editors and reporters of The Washington Post, the prospective Republican presidential nominee suggested that he would take a different approach than President Reagan, who made no headway on conventional arms reductions and has focused this year on advancing the strategic weapons talks before he leaves office.

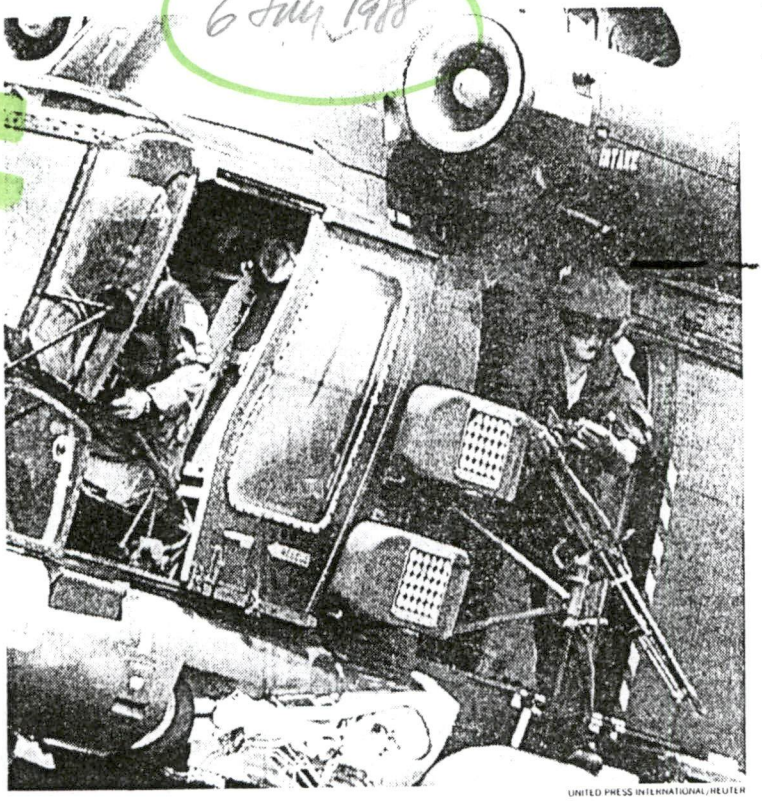
Bush said his approach of emphasizing the conventional forces would be "very reassuring" to Western European leaders who have expressed concern about further cuts in nuclear weapons without first addressing the large Warsaw Pact numerical advantage in conventional forces.

"That isn't to say I'd call back the negotiators and stop on START," Bush said, referring to the strategic arms talks, "but I would certainly think that we'd want to put more emphasis on conventional force reductions."

On the Persian Gulf, Bush said that despite the downing of the Iranian aircraft and resulting questions about the U.S. role there, he believes that U.S. military forces must remain in the region at least until the end of the Iran-Iraq war, when the naval buildup could be scaled back.

See BUSH, A4, Col. 1

6 July 1988



UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL/REUTER

Helicopter from frigate USS Sides patrols the Persian Gulf two days after Iran jet was downed.

# Pilots Question Threat Posed by F14

## *Warplane Designed to Attack Air Targets, Not Ships*

By George C. Wilson
Washington Post Staff Writer

Veteran Navy pilots yesterday challenged the Defense Department's assertion that an Iranian F14 jet poses such a grave threat to U.S. warships that a skipper would be justified in shooting it down at long range as happened Sunday in the Persian Gulf when the USS Vincennes apparently mistook a civilian airliner for an F14 and blew it out of the sky.

"So what was the big threat to his ship?" asked one F14 pilot. He said neither the weapons an Iranian F14 carries nor the flight path posed a life-or-death threat to a 9,600-ton ship such as the Vincennes, especially at a distance of nine miles, where the F14's air-to-air missiles and 20 mm cannon would be out of lethal range.

Capt. Will Rogers III of the Vincennes ordered two Standard missiles fired at the approaching plane when it was nine miles away and visible only as a blip on a radar screen, according to the Pentagon. Adm. William J. Crowe Jr., chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said Sunday that at least one missile hit the Airbus when it was six miles from the Vincennes.

Yesterday, the Pentagon said electronic data from another U.S. warship in the Persian Gulf indicate that the Iran Air jet may have been at 12,600 feet when it was hit by

See JET, A14, Col. 4

# Reagan Apolog For Downing

## *Tehran Official Cautions Against Hasty Revenge*

By Edward Cody
Washington Post Foreign Service

DUBAI, United Arab Emirates, July 5—Iran's military commander, Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, cautioned his nation's leaders today not to seek swift revenge against the United States for the shooting down of an Iranian passenger plane Sunday.

In his appeal, broadcast by Tehran radio, Rafsanjani suggested that Iran has more to gain by keeping international sympathy on its side while condemnations rain down on the United States over the action that Iranian authorities say took the lives of 290 civilian passengers and crew members.

The caution from Iran's number two leader contrasted with previous calls for revenge and all-out warfare from the country's other top officials. Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, the overall leader of the Islamic Revolution, said yesterday that Iranians should "rush to all fronts for a full-fledged war against America and its arrogance."

Rafsanjani, who was addressing the parliament, also became the first Iranian leader to declare in reported remarks that the Iran Air A300 Airbus could have been shot down by mistake, as the United States has contended. He said the downing was probably "a calculated plot," but added that even if it was an accident, the United States deserves blame for the bloodshed.

Previous Iranian declarations relayed abroad by the official radio and news agency, as well as comments from Iranian diplomats in the Persian Gulf, have insisted the USS Vincennes fired its surface-to-air missiles at the civilian airliner on purpose. The Pentagon has said the ship's commander acted in the belief that his vessel was in danger from an F14 fighter.

[A team of six U.S. Navy experts, headed by Rear Adm. William N. Fogarty, arrived in Bahrain on Tuesday to investigate the incident, Reuter reported.

[Iran's ambassador to the United Nations, Mohammed Jaafar Mahallati, requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to

See IRAN, A14, Col. 1

■ *Pentagon says The Post "was mistaken" on i*

Foreign—appears

# Bush Says He Would Focus on Conventional Arms Cuts in Europe

BUSH, From A1

"We will always have a mission in the gulf," he said. "We always have had, will always continue to have as far as I'm concerned." Bush added, "We have to have the presence, sometimes sporadic, sometimes quasi-permanent as we are now. We have to keep the straits open. We have to show the flag there. We have enormous interest in terms of our energy base." Bush also said the United States has an interest in the stability of moderate Arab states in the region, "so the concept that we someday can pull our presence out, I just don't agree with that."

Bush said the U.S. presence "should not be deterred" by the mistaken downing of the Iranian civilian airliner in which 290 people died. Bush also said he would seek out "people we can deal with in Iran that would be something more moderate than the radicals that control the situation today . . . ."

In emphasizing the arms control talks on conventional forces, Bush appears to be preparing for the fall campaign against the prospective Democratic nominee, Massachusetts Gov. Michael S. Dukakis, who has called for a new effort at modernizing conventional forces. Dukakis said in an interview published Sunday in The Baltimore Sun that the price tag for this effort could be $3 billion over four or five years, which he described as needed for "basic stuff" such as troop supplies and better weapons.

While both candidates have said the next president should devote more attention to conventional forces, they differ on other arms control issues, particularly on nuclear weapons systems and philosophy.

Reminded that the Reagan administration has put conventional force reductions on the "back burner," Bush said, "I'm talking about what I would do as president." If elected, he said, "I will goose up the attention to the conventional force reduction and that's what I think is called for, and if we can get a START agreement that is a good one, that answers the questions that are out there, so much the better, but I'm not convinced that that will happen before the president leaves office."

While Bush did not explicitly call for a more cautious approach to the strategic weapons talks, an adviser, who asked not to be identified, said this may be inevitable for the next president, given the uneasiness of Western Europe and technical problems in verification.

Another reason, the adviser said, is the unresolved question of how the United States will deploy land-based nuclear missiles such as the MX or Midgetman. The Reagan administration has been struggling to deal with a years-long controversy over basing the MX. The current plan calls for putting the missiles on rail cars on military reservations. Dukakis has said he opposes both the MX and Midgetman but would leave the door open to a possible new missile; Bush said he supports both weapons but has not publically addressed the basing controversy.

More fundamentally, Bush advocates the philosophy that the United States must continue to build and modernize its nuclear arsenal, while Dukakis has said the existing nuclear deterrent is sufficient. Du-

proved evidence that somebody has violated a public trust, I don't think anybody's more offended by it."

Frequently criticized by Democrats for the ethical lapses of the Reagan years, Bush was asked about his announced intention to publish a code of ethics if elected and whether it would prevent recent abuses.

"Absolutely nothing is going to prevent" ethical lapses, he said. "I don't think you're going to ever legislate the kind of moral standards that I hope this public service deserves.

"I don't think a code can do that," he said. "I'm not about to prejudge what happens in this defense scandal," he added. "Speak out against it, say it's bad, ferret out the corruption, make people pay the price. White-collar crime is just as bad as some kind of street crime or something of that nature. Say these things. Get a code that sets as high a standard as you can, but not then conclude that everything is so perfect that you're not going to have venality of man. I mean, it just isn't going to work that way."

Bush said he had a "broad definition" of what kind of acts would be unacceptable. "Betrayal of the public trust," he said. "And I don't know any better way to put it than that."

Interviewed before yesterday's announcement that Attorney General Edwin Meese III was resigning, Bush noted that he had tried not to prejudge Meese. "I'm a little more cautious I think than some in jumping into the fray and wearing all this ethics on the sleeve," he said.

The vice president described his more aggressive attacks recently against Dukakis as "a winner" and said, "I will set the record straight and then the surrogates will do most of the heavy lifting." Bush, a Yale graduate, defended his assertion in a recent speech that the Dukakis foreign policy views were born in "Harvard Yard's boutique."

"Do you know who understands exactly what I said?" Bush asked the editors and reporters. "Henry Kissinger. He taught there."

Bush said he might reconsider his use of Brookline, Mass., where Dukakis lives, as a metaphor for liberalism, but he insisted, "the man is a very liberal Democrat."

Long an advocate of military aid to the Nicaraguan rebels, Bush said "I'm a little skeptical" about Congress approving any more, but vowed to remain supportive of the contras and to push in other ways for democracy in Nicaragua.

Questioned about his choice of a running mate, Bush said it was a decision he will "make with only myself, not even Barbara knowing what I decide." In addition to a vice president prepared to take over, Bush said he would want a nominee who would serve as he did.

"I think there has to be some compatibility . . . " he said. "You've got to have somebody who can, who would be supportive and not be out there shooting at the president's agenda . . . ."

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In emphasizing the arms control talks on conventional forces, Bush appears to be preparing for the fall campaign against the prospective Democratic nominee, Massachusetts Gov. Michael S. Dukakis, who has called for a new effort at modernizing conventional forces. Dukakis said in an interview published Sunday in The Baltimore Sun that the price tag for this effort could be $3 billion over four or five years, which he described as needed for "basic stuff" such as troop supplies and better weapons.

While both candidates have said the next president should devote more attention to conventional forces, they differ on other arms control issues, particularly on nuclear weapons systems and philosophy.

Reminded that the Reagan administration has put conventional force reductions on the "back burner," Bush said, "I'm talking about what I would do as president." If elected, he said, "I will goose up the attention to the conventional force reduction and that's what I think is called for, and if we can get a START agreement that is a good one, that answers the questions that are out there, so much the better, but I'm not convinced that that will happen before the president leaves office."

While Bush did not explicitly call for a more cautious approach to the strategic weapons talks, an adviser, who asked not to be identified, said this may be inevitable for the next president, given the uneasiness of Western Europe and technical problems in verification.

Another reason, the adviser said, is the unresolved question of how the United States will deploy land-based nuclear missiles such as the MX or Midgetman. The Reagan administration has been struggling to deal with a years-long controversy over basing the MX. The current plan calls for putting the missiles on rail cars on military reservations. Dukakis has said he opposes both the MX and Midgetman but would leave the door open to a possible new missile; Bush said he supports both weapons but has not publically addressed the basing controversy.

More fundamentally, Bush advocates the philosophy that the United States must continue to build and modernize its nuclear arsenal, while Dukakis has said the existing nuclear deterrent is sufficient. Dukakis also opposes Reagan's proposed anti-missile defense system, the Strategic Defense Initiative, which Bush has supported.

Bush said yesterday he would "continue to research" SDI and that it "need not be a block to progress" in arms control talks. He said critics who predicted that SDI would become such a roadblock were proven wrong when the superpowers reached agreement last year on the intermediate-range missile treaty.

Bush repeated his opposition to early deployment of SDI, but said he found "some appeal" in the suggestion of Senate Armed Services chairman Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) that a study be made of eventually deploying a limited system on the ground, instead of a space shield aimed at total protection. The goal of Nunn's concept is to guard against accidental enemy missile launch.

"Some day we have to make a deployment decision," Bush said. "And then we run into real megabucks. We haven't crossed that bridge. What do you give then in order to get?"

On ethics in government, Bush said that he believes most people in public service are honorable but "when presented with evidence,

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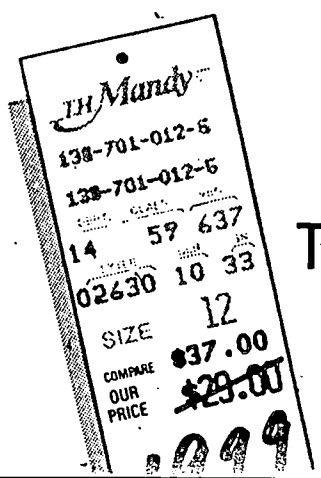
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**The Military**

# *Top Soviet Commander Plans 6-Day U.S. Tour*

By MICHAEL R. GORDON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 5 — In the summit meeting here last December, Marshal Sergei F. Akhromeyev, the top military officer in the Soviet Union, told American officials that the two most important events in his life were the siege of Leningrad and the signing of the new pact banning medium- and shorter-range land-based missiles.

The events appear to symbolize two distinct aspects of the marshal's career: the tough professional soldier who joined the armed forces at the age of 17 and the man who has played a pivotal role in improving American-Soviet relations as an influential adviser to Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader.

On Wednesday, Marshal Akhromeyev will assume both roles as he begins a six-day tour of the United States that will take him to American military facilities, an aircraft carrier, the Alamo, an Indian reservation, the University of Oklahoma and the Council on Foreign Relations. It will be the first extended official visit to the United States by a top Soviet military officer.

**It is the first extended visit by a Russian military leader.**

Marshal Akhromeyev is also scheduled to meet with Adm. William J. Crowe Jr., the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to discuss ways to defuse incidents in which American and Soviet forces bump up against each other around the world. They are also expected to discuss the balance of conventional forces in Europe, military doctrines and future exchange visits between American and Soviet military leaders.

### Pentagon Ceremony Planned

"He has some ideas," Admiral Crowe said of his Soviet counterpart's proposals for defusing potentially dangerous incidents. "We do, too."

The official program begins with a ceremony at the Pentagon on Wednesday morning, when the 65-year-old marshal will be received with full honors. Later that day he will hold a joint news conference with Admiral Crowe. The admiral, who has never been to the Soviet Union, will make a reciprocal visit at a time to be determined.

Just what will come of all this appears to be unclear to both sides, although the developing relationship between the Soviet marshal and Admiral Crowe seems to be one of mutual respect.

"Let's face it, we're groping," Admiral Crowe told a group of reporters last week. "My general attitude is that we are wary, but given the changes that are taking place in the Soviet Union we would be negligent if we did not explore it."

### Exchanges Termed Infrequent

Experts in and out of the miltary have long seen merit in establishing a dialogue between Soviet and American military leaders to reduce the potential for miscalcuation about each's side intentions. But exchanges have been infrequent, according to a paper by Col. Wade J. Williams of the Defense Intelligence Agency.

In 1956 Gen. Nathan F. Twining, then the Air Force Chief of Staff, visited the Soviet Union as a guest of Marshal Georgi K. Zhukov, then the Soviet Defense Minister. But no reciprocal visit was made.

In 1975 two Soviet destroyers visited Boston and two American destroyers visited Leningrad, a type of exchange that the two sides may now renew, according to Admiral Crowe.

The American and Soviet military commanders in Europe also carried out exchange visits in the 1970's. And American and Soviet Navy officials have met annually since 1972, when the two sides signed an agreement designed to prevent unintended confrontations at sea.

### Rare High-Level Exchanges

Contacts at the highest military level have been rare.

Gen. David C. Jones, a former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, met with Marshal Nikolai V. Ogarkov in Vienna when the second strategic arms treaty was signed there in 1979.

And when Marshal Akhromeyev was in Washington for last year's summit meeting he went to the Pentagon for a couple of hours, where he met with Admiral Crowe and Defense Secretary Frank C. Carlucci. Mr. Carlucci has also met twice with Dimitri Yazov, the Soviet Defense Minister, and plans to hold another meeting this summer.

Marshal Akhromeyev will be accompanied by other high-ranking officers from the Soviet Army, Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps. After his tour of the United States he is to visit Cuba, Tass, the official Soviet news agency, said today.

Admiral Crowe said the Pentagon had worked out an arrangement that will give the marshal an opportunity to speak with a wide variety of American military officials and citizens and will also indulge his interest in the American West.

### Visit to Aircraft Carrier

On Thursday Marshal Akhromeyev is to observe a Marine Corps exercise at Camp Lejeune, N.C., and eat lunch with troops in the field. Then he plans to visit an aircraft carrier, the U.S.S. Theodore Roosevelt, where he will observe an air show. After leaving the carrier in a plane that will be catapulted from the carrier deck, he will fly to Williamsburg, Va.

Friday's itinerary has the marshal flying to Fort Hood, Tex., to watch an Army exercise, and then to San Antonio, where he is expected to meet with local officials.

On Saturday morning he is scheduled to tour the Alamo as the guest of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas and Mayor Henry Cisneros of San Antonio. From there the marshal will visit the University of Oklahoma, at Norman, where he will make a speech.

He may also attend a rodeo and will receive a headdress from an Indian tribe of which he will be made an honorary chief, Admiral Crowe said.

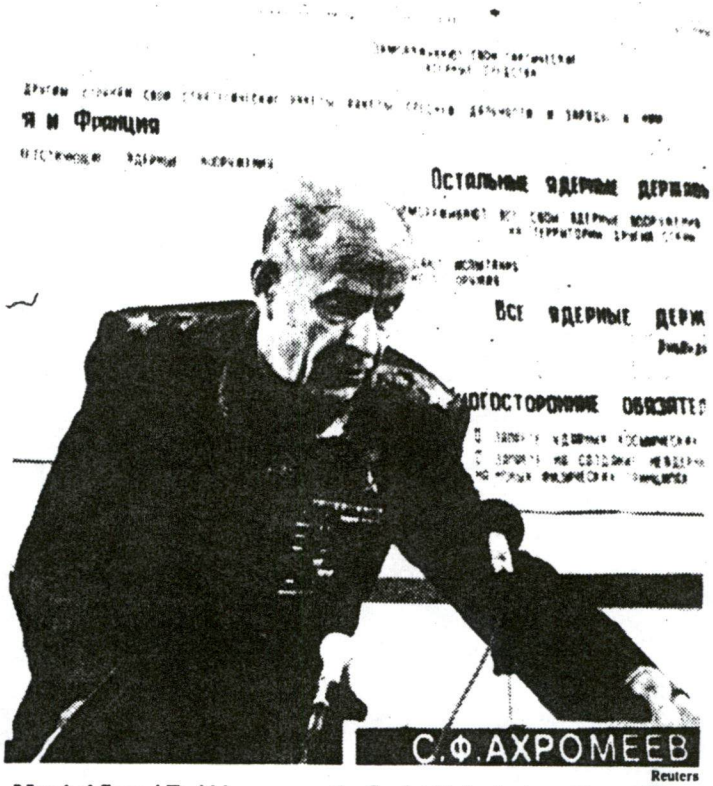
On Sunday the marshal will visit Ellsworth Air Force Base in South Dakota, where he will inspect a new B1-B bomber and observe an exercise in which the bombers are alerted for a possible attack. He will also visit a training facility for Air Force officers who would launch land-based missiles if the United States was under attack. And he is scheduled to take a helicopter tour of Mount Rushmore.

Before leaving the United States the marshal is to address the Council of Foreign Relations in New York and give a farewell news conference.

Unlike his counterparts in the American military, Marshal Akhromeyev played an influential role in arms control talks at the Reykjavik, Washington and Moscow summit meetings. But serious arms negotiations are not expected expected to be discussed this week.

Nonetheless, the two sides are expected to discuss the East-West military balance and what Soviet officials mean when they say Moscow is developing a less threatening military doctrine. Admiral Crowe has said that so far there is no tangible sign of such a change.

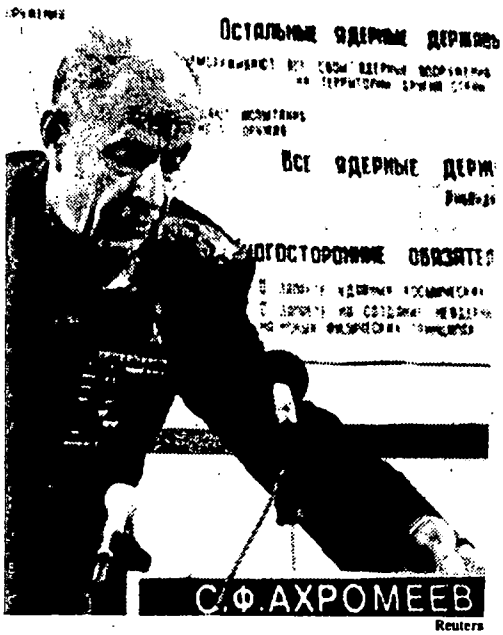
Such discussions could be pursued when Admiral Crowe visits the Soviet Union. The admiral appears, however, to be hoping that an equally ambitious tour is arranged for him. "I would like to go aboard some of their ships," he said.



Reuters

Marshal Sergei F. Akhromeyev, the Soviet Union's top military officer, at a news conference last January on a Soviet arms reduction plan.

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# Briefing

■ Courtesy, even to a fault ■ At the Smithsonian, there's a taste of glasnost ■ New fall push by women ■ Griscom heads for Chattanooga.

## Gentility Reigns

Even amid an unfolding international crisis, there has been room at the White House for gentility.

In the last three days, Roman Popadiuk, a deputy press secretary whose expertise is in national security affairs, has found himself almost continuously dialing the telephone to speak to his boss, Marlin Fitzwater, about the downing of an Iranian passenger jet. Frequently the calls have been separated by only five or ten minutes.

On Sunday, according to Mr. Fitzwater, Mr. Popadiuk opened each conversation with "Marlin, I'm sorry to bother you," or "I'm sorry, but. . . ."

The time finally came to dispense with the pleasantries, Mr. Fitzwater said, when he realized that neither of them was likely to get much sleep in the days ahead.

"Roman," he told Mr. Popadiuk, "I think we've reached the point where you don't have to say you're sorry anymore."

## Moviegoer

Just back in town from the fireworks at the Communist Party conference in Moscow, Yuri Dubinin, the Soviet Ambassador to the United States, accepted an invitation to the Smithsonian Institution's premiere last night of the film "Repentance," which deals with some fireworks of old.

Directed by Tengiz Abuladze, one of the Soviet Union's most highly regarded film makers, "Repentance" played to raves in that country when it was released in 1986. It also won the special jury prize at the 1987 Cannes Film Festival.

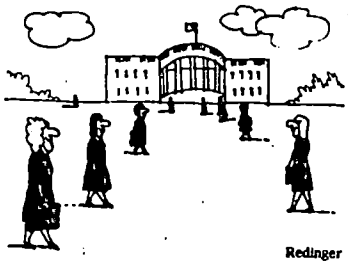
The film draws on fantasy, surrealism and caricature, but is based for the most part, according to Mr. Abuladze, on real life. The central character is a small-town mayor, a composite of Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin and Beria, the K.G.B. leader under Stalin.

Noting that Mr. Abuladze himself represented the Republic of Georgia at the party conference, Edmund Worthy, associate director of the Smithsonian's resident associate program, said of the film, "It's an indication of all the kinds of things that are happening."

## New Direction

The energy that a number of politically active women devoted four years ago to obtaining a spot for a woman on the Democrats' national ticket has a new focus this year: increasing the number of women in top policy-making jobs, no matter which party wins the White House in November.

Forty-five organizations, with a membership of more than five million, have joined to form the Coalition for Women's Appointments. The coalition, organized by the National Women's Political Caucus, includes such nonpartisan organizations as the Y.W.C.A., the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the United Methodist Church, as well as more



Redinger

activist groups like the Women's Legal Defense Fund, the National Organization for Women, and the Planned Parenthood Federation of America.

Women representing the two major parties' prospective nominees, Vice President Bush and Gov. Michael S. Dukakis, as well as a representative of the Rev. Jesse Jackson, will take part in a news conference in Washington today announcing the effort. Irene Natividad, the head of the political caucus, said the goal was to demonstrate to the next President that "the gender gap does more than deliver votes; it's also bulging with talent."

## After the White House

Thomas C. Griscom, who until last Thursday served as the White House director of communications and planning, will join the teaching staff at the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga. Effective Aug. 1, Mr. Griscom will fill the George West Chair of Excellence in Communications and Public Affairs. The job's responsibilities will be divided among teaching, public speaking and seminars on government.

*JULIE JOHNSON*
*LINDA GREENHOUSE*

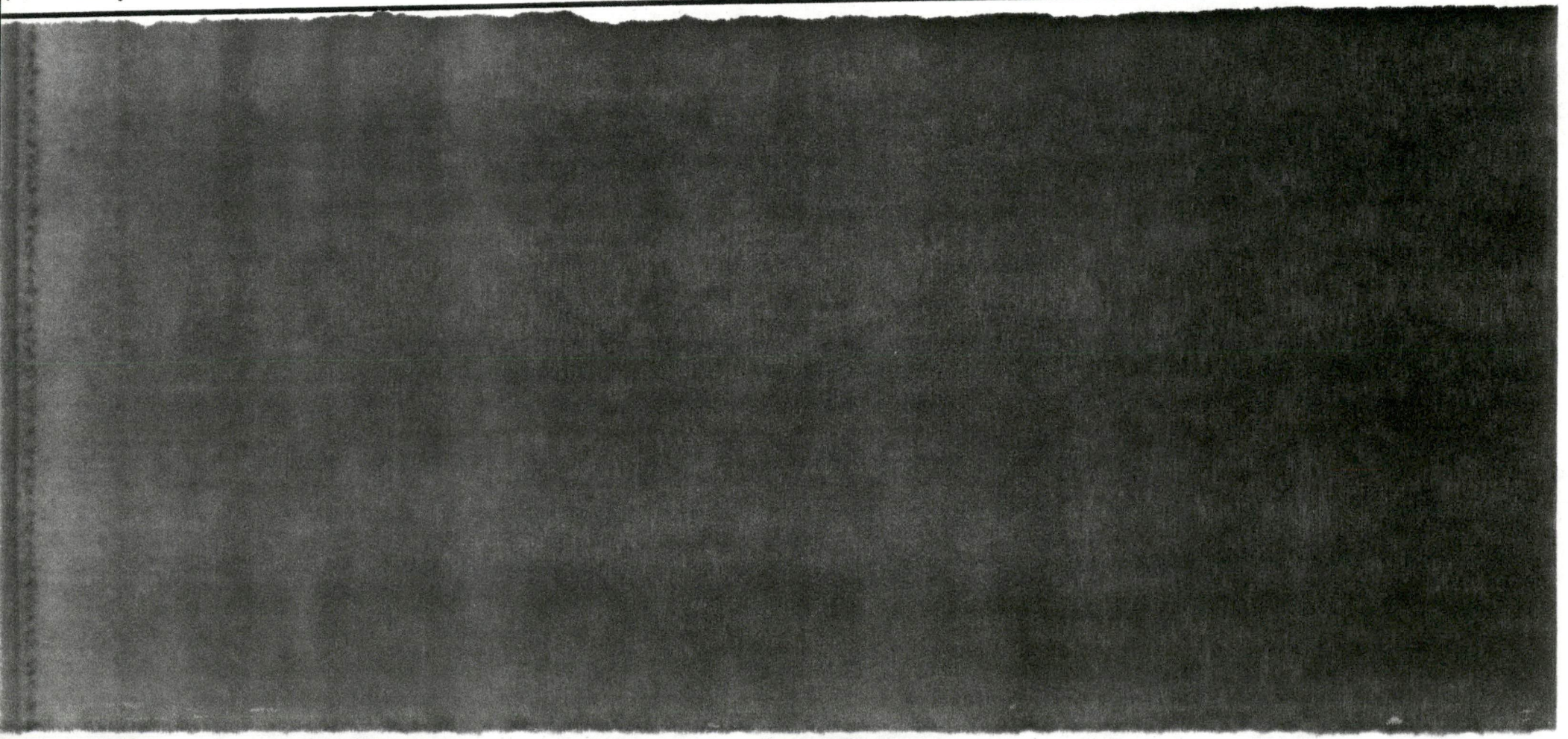
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—Jeffrey Joseph, The Spa Finder

# Los Angeles Times

,711 Sunday | Wednesday, July 6, 1988 | LF/80 Pages

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## *Soviet Magazine Puts New Testament on Installment Plan*

JERUSALEM (AP)—A leading Soviet Bible scholar said today a Soviet magazine plans to serialize the New Testament in an effort to hype its sales.

"At first, I was shaken by such an indecency," said Sergei S. Averintzev, "but then I thought, it's good."

Averintzev, 61, said he was commissioned to write footnotes to the New Testament, which is to be published in the magazine In the World of Books. He said a Soviet publishing house also was preparing a book edition of the New Testament with his notes.

The scholar, who is in Israel with a delegation of Soviet film makers, is a member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and has written books and articles on ancient Greek and Byzantine culture and the Bible.

# Concert Set for Mandela's 70th Birthday

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa (AP)—Anti-apartheid activists today announced plans for an open-air concert near Soweto to celebrate Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday.

The "Concert for Peace," to feature some of South Africa's top black musicians, is scheduled to run for nine hours on July 17, the day before the jailed black leader's birthday.

Organizers expressed hope that the government, which prohibits unauthorized outdoor political meetings and has restricted groups sympathetic to the African National Congress, would allow the concert to take place.

"If you put your foot in it, you'll be in trouble," said Aubrey Mokoena, head of the organizing committee, addressing himself to any officials who might consider halting the event.

Plans for the concert were announced at a news conference attended by Mandela's wife, Winnie,

# Roh to Seek Direct Contacts With N. Korea

*From Times Wire Services*

SEOUL, South Korea—President Roh Tae Woo, in what could be a historic departure from South Korea's total rejection of ties with communist North Korea, said today he will seek direct contacts as part of an "era of reconciliation" in relations between the two Koreas.

In a nationally broadcast address, Roh said it was time to end decades of "counterproductive diplomacy" by Seoul with regard to North Korea.

Seoul will also seek better ties to Pyongyang's allies—the Soviet Union, China and Eastern Europe—and push for direct bilateral trade with North Korea, he said.

**Family Reunification**

Specific steps on the path to a "united, prosperous homeland" included mutual visits by representatives of all social groups in North and South Korea, and the reunification of thousands of families split by the 1953 partition of Korea into communist and capitalist states, Roh said.

He added that South Korea would no longer oppose trade deals between friendly third nations and the North, as long as no weapons transactions were involved.

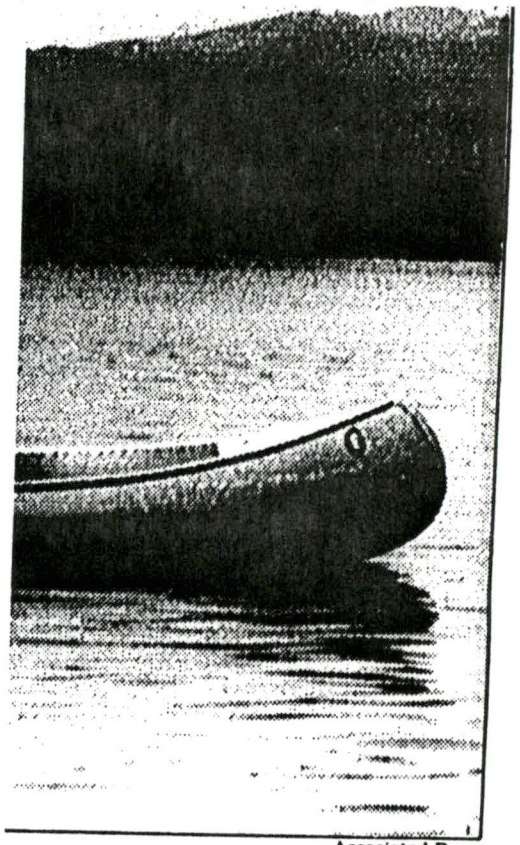
Analysts in Seoul interpreted Roh's speech as potentially the first move toward a far-reaching campaign of detente between the two Koreas. It was the first time, they noted, that a South Korean leader has departed so clearly from the confrontational policies of the past in dealings with the North.

**Tension Over Olympics**

A major reason for Roh's change of course, they added, was the officially unacknowledged worry that tensions on the Korean Peninsula could grow as a result of North Korea's boycott of the forthcoming Summer Olympic Games at Seoul.

The offer of closer non-governmental contacts with the North amounted to an "Olympic gesture," the full sincerity of which would become apparent only after the games take place, the analysts said.

Since the end of the Korean War in 1953, South and North Korea have maintained a joint total of about 1 million soldiers on both sides of the 38th Parallel, which separates the two states.



Associated Press

ld. Many people in Maine are
ıot weather continues this week.

# Pakistan Sentences Five Pan Am Hijackers to Death

ADIYALA, Pakistan (AP)—Five Palestinians were convicted today and sentenced to hang for the bloody 1986 hijacking of a New York-bound Pan Am jumbo jet in which 21 people were killed.

The trial before a special one-judge tribunal began in September and was held in a makeshift courtroom in a prison in this town 30 miles west of Islamabad.

The plane, which took off from Bombay, India, was seized on the ground Sept. 5, 1986, in Pakistan's southern port of Karachi. It sat on the Tarmac for 17 hours before Pakistani troops stormed it.

In addition to those killed, nearly 200 of the 400 passengers were wounded.

"We don't care about the sentence," said Mohammad Hafiz Turk, the accused mastermind. "We care only about the millions of Arabs and Islamic countries."

Turk, a Libyan arrested in Islamabad less than a week after the hijacking, was convicted of conspiracy. He was the only one of the five not to board the Pan Am jet.

The other four—Mohammad Ahmed Munawar, Khalil Hussain Rahayyal and Saeed Abdul Rahim, all of Lebanon, and Abdul Latif Sairfani of Syria—were convicted of hijacking and murder.

All five were sentenced to hang for their roles in the hijacking and to 10 consecutive life sentences for the deaths of 10 people. Three of the four received an additional life sentence in the killing of an 11th person.

The four also were each fined the equivalent of $2,777 for each conviction. Half the money is to go to the families of the hijackers' victims.

All five plan to appeal their sentences and have 30 days to do so. No date was set for the hangings.

## Paintings Doubted

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As Lack described the conversation later in court documents, the assistant manager said most likely Paul Valére didn't even exist. The landscapes actually were painted by teams of artists on an assembly line basis. One would paint the trees, another the chateaux, still another the sky. The conversation in the gallery apparently was light-hearted; Lack said the whole thing was treated as an "inside joke."

The agents were not amused. They checked on Valére, could find no evidence that he had ever put a brush to canvas, and launched a formal investigation into possible interstate art fraud by Simic Galleries.

FBI investigations are not the

**Please see ARTIST, Page 15**

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ever investigation into Pentagon procurement bribery and fraud.

The lawyer's comments provided also some new details of the federal prosecutors' line of attack in unraveling the complex relationships among Pentagon insiders, consultants and defense contractors.

The implication of the suggested deal is that the government is looking for cooperation from some of the lower-profile consultants to help build cases against more prominent individuals.

The deal called for Lackner to plead guilty to two counts of bribery and stealing government property and to cooperate in the continuing investigation. In exchange, government prosecutors offered to "remain silent" at Lackner's sentencing, Dougherty said. Govern-

surprising reporters here with his announcement, said that he had been "a darned good attorney general" and that he had no one in mind to succeed him.

"The President wanted to be sure I felt that this was something

**Please see MEESE, Page 12**

# Mexico Bans Exit Polls for Today's Election

By DAN WILLIAMS,
*Times Staff Writer*

MEXICO CITY—On the eve of Mexico's most hotly contested presidential election, the government has prohibited a local affiliate of the Gallup organization from taking a survey of voters as they leave the polls today.

The decision, announced Tuesday, is almost certain to raise suspicions that the government plans to commit fraud to aid its candidate, Carlos Salinas de Gortari. In Mexico, official results are not released until several days after the polls close.

Mexican observers widely view the election as a turning point in the country's politics because of the unprecedented challenge to the dominance of the Institutional Revolutionary Party, which has

**Please see MEXICO, Page 7**

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Los Angeles Times

# MEXICO: Government Bans Exit Polls

**Continued from Page 4**

ruled for 60 years. Even though Salinas is a sure winner, the appeal of the PRI, as the party is known, has sunk to its lowest point ever, and opposition from the left is unexpectedly strong.

For the PRI, the credibility of the election has become as much of an issue as winning, because there is widespread concern among both party and government officials that the public will not believe the results. Vote fraud in Mexico has been a major issue in the campaign, although both incumbent President Miguel de la Madrid and Salinas have promised clean elections.

On Tuesday, officials at the Ministry of the Interior explained the surprise decision to ban exit polling by saying that the government has the obligation to "protect the secrecy of the vote" and therefore would forbid anyone to survey voters even after they cast their ballots.

And Amador Rodriguez, a lawyer and official at the Interior Ministry, said: "The people are unaccustomed to having surveys taken. It could create chaos."

One PRI official offered a different explanation. Said Maria Emilia Farias, a member of the Federal Election Commission: "The vote count is done by electoral organizations. We cannot permit confusion. What if the poll says one thing and the electoral result is not the same? Who are people going to believe?"

Gallup spokesman Richard Burkholder told The Times that his organization "strongly condemns" the decision but would not defy the government ban. The poll was to be conducted by Gallup de Mexico, which is based in Mexico City.

The Gallup organization, which is based in New Jersey, received notification of the ban last Friday.

Polling is a new phenomenon in Mexican elections. In recent weeks, it became a sensitive issue as a variety of surveys gave different accounts of the relative strength of the candidates.

A Gallup poll released in June was considered by some the most accurate reflection of the voters' choices and was touted by PRI officials as an indication of Salinas' strength. The poll gave Salinas 56% of the vote.

In the same survey, rivals Cuauhtemoc Cardenas, on the left, received 23% and rightist Manuel J. Clouthier had 19%. Cardenas' showing surprised many and indicates he may capture second place. Two remaining minor-party candidates will split a small percentage.

Today's exit poll was to be sponsored by ECO, a Los Angeles-based television production company affiliated with Televisa, Mexico's giant private TV network. The owners of Televisa have openly allied themselves with the PRI, and its news broadcasts have dedicated exceptionally full coverage to Salinas' campaign.

Salinas, 40, is De la Madrid's handpicked successor, and the PRI is expected to mobilize millions of votes in the candidate's favor.

Despite the foregone nature of the election, neither the organizational might of the PRI nor its dominance of the nation's media have obscured the party's faltering hold on the Mexican people. And a weakening PRI has long been looked upon as a sign of potentially deep political change in Mexico.

"The PRI has never come under such a siege," said Adrian Lajous, a newspaper columnist and commentator on presidential affairs.

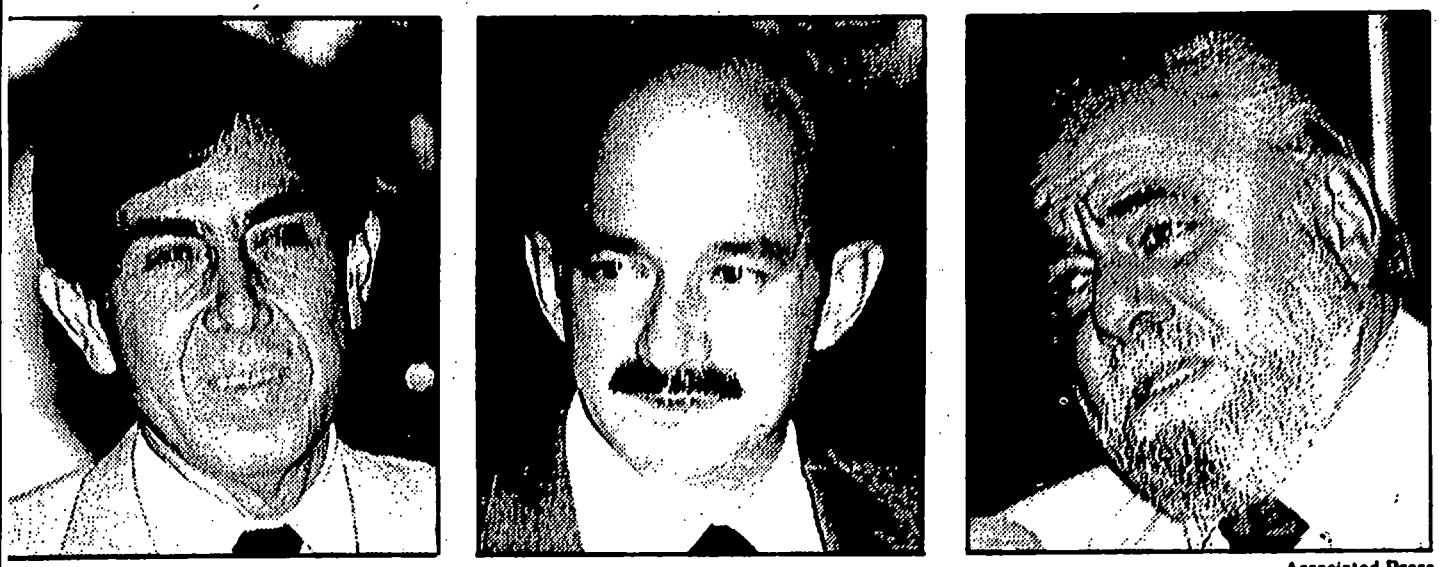
And economist Jorge Castaneda said: "People can now for the first time envision a future outside the PRI. Something is moving in Mexico at last."

PRI strength has been sapped by defections and by the public perception that the governing party is neither able to restore growth to Mexico's economy nor to solve a wide range of pressing problems, from government corruption to crime in the streets.

PRI officials and private polls give Salinas 55% to 60% of the vote, compared with about 70% won by De la Madrid six years ago. In elections dating back over six decades, PRI presidential candidates generally have won at least 80% of the vote.

His main rivals, Cardenas and Clouthier, are expected to win around 20% of the vote each.

An indication that the PRI is no longer the sole political player could be seen in a series of rallies at the Zocalo, Mexico's City's main square.



Associated Press

lexico's candidates, from left: Cuauhtemoc Cardenas, Carlos Salinas de Gortari, Manuel Clouthier.

Last Saturday, Salinas filled the laza with hundreds of thousands f supporters in a display of the 'RI's power to mobilize. But the reek before, Cardenas, a dissident olitician from the PRI running gainst his old party, also filled the quare. And only hours after Salias finished, supporters of Clouthr, the candidate of the conserva- ve National Action Party, stood in ıe rain almost corner to corner in ıe venerable plaza.

Salinas, a balding, Harvard- rained economist, needs a con- incing victory in part to give him mandate to make good on plans to adically alter the national econoıy, Mexican observers say. Salinas roposes what amounts to a trick- -down solution to the ills of the conomy.

According to top aides, Salinas ill try to create a welcome atmoshere for domestic and foreign investment as a means of stimulating growth while limiting government participation in business. This is a reversal of longstanding PRI policy of fostering economic growth through heavy government spending.

To make his program a reality, Salinas will have to keep in check the labor unions, one of the traditional foundations of PRI rule. Such plans, kept under close wraps by the Salinas campaign, are said to have caused nervousness among the traditional labor bosses, known here as "dinosaurs."

The rightist thrust of the Salinas campaign in part opened the way for the rise of Cardenas, who is running at the head of a leftist coalition called the National Democratic Front. It is the strongest leftist challenge to the PRI since the party was founded.

Cardenas' populist rhetoric has attracted many Mexicans who are looking for the government to lead them out of misery and who feel that Salinas ignores them in favor of foreign economic theories. Cardenas, 52, a lank and somber former state governor, has also benefited from a perception that Salinas is overly eager to cooperate with banks abroad who hold Mexico's enormous foreign debt.

Clouthier, 53, has been unable to expand his party's traditional base of middle-class voters. In part, the outspoken Clouthier was crippled by National Action's unwillingness to address the concerns of Mexico's poor; National Action's economic program is not terribly different from Salinas'.

**Times staff writer Marjorie Miller, in Mexico City, contributed to this story.**

## *Moves Beyond Tanker Escorts*

# U.S. Widens Military Goals in Persian Gulf

By DOYLE McMANUS, *Times Staff Writer*

WASHINGTON—The Reagan Administration, in statements reflecting a gradual but significant expansion of its military objectives in the Persian Gulf, pledged Tuesday to keep the U.S. Navy in the war zone as long as Iran threatens the security of the area's pro-American Arab sheikdoms.

Although President Reagan initially sent the Navy into the gulf a year ago this month to protect Kuwaiti oil tankers from Iranian attacks, U.S. policy statements over time have shifted to broader aims.

And in reaffirming the country's military commitment in the gulf, following the shooting down of an Iranian commercial airliner by a U.S. Navy cruiser Sunday with the loss of all 290 persons aboard, officials left no doubt Tuesday that the Administration's objectives now go well beyond protecting merchant ships.

**'Shared Defense'**

"We are there to demonstrate our commitment to the shared defense of the gulf, our commitment to the gulf states [and] to keep the international waters open to all nations," White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said. "We believe that policy has been successful, and there are no considerations of changing it at this point."

At the State Department, spokeswoman Phyllis Oakley said: "As long as there is a danger of the war expanding, and U.S. and Western interests as well as the security of our gulf friends are threatened, we will maintain our heightened presence there.

"Our policy remains firm, and our presence in the gulf will remain firm, as long as the threats to our interests remain," she added.

In particular, these statements put greater focus than before on the long-range objective of ending the Iran-Iraq War on terms acceptable to the United States.

Administration officials point out that the broader aims of ending the gulf war and ensuring the security of the Arab states in the area have always been part of the reason for the U.S. presence there.

But while Reagan has continued to define his main aim in the gulf as protecting "the right of navigation in international waters," as he said Monday, the rest of his Administration has spoken increasingly in terms of a long-term commitment to stabilizing the war-torn region.

"Our purpose in the gulf is to bring the war to an end diplomatically through negotiations," Oakley said. "Secondly, we have talked about our vital interests in the gulf. We are pledged to uphold and

**Please see POLICY, Page 9**

## *Validity of French Paintings Doubted*

# FBI Inquiry Puts Artist, Carmel Galleries to Test

By ROBERT A. JONES, *Times Staff Writer*

CARMEL—In the beginning, the

As Lack described the conversa-

Although Meese said that neither he nor his attorneys had seen a copy of the 830-page report, which was filed with a special three-judge federal court only hours before his press conference, he stressed that McKay had "conclusively determined that there is no basis for criminal proceedings" against him.

**'Constant Drumbeat'**

"I have refused to bend to the constant drumbeat of political and media pressure because I have a responsibility to uphold an important principle, not only for myself and this Administration but for future government officials who are subjected to untrue allegations," the attorney general said.

Meese had been under scrutiny by McKay—the second independent counsel to investigate him—for several matters, from his involvement in the Wedtech Corp. scandal to his role in a controversial $1-billion Iraqi oil pipeline project.

The unexpected announcement by Meese—who participated in a raid on a marijuana patch 70 miles northeast of here earlier in the day—was welcomed by members of both parties. Democrats hailed the resignation of a key Reagan aide that they denounced as an unethical public official who refused to apply the laws evenly and Republicans expressed relief over the departure of a high-profile Cabinet officer who contributed significantly to the so-called "sleaze" issue used repeatedly against the GOP in the presidential campaign.

**Difficult Issue**

In recent months, Meese's refusal to resign had become an extremely difficult issue not only for the Republicans but for President Reagan, who had refused to turn his back on a friend of more than two decades, despite constant calls for Meese's resignation.

Reagan, with whom Meese conferred by telephone shortly before surprising reporters here with his announcement, said that he had been "a darned good attorney general" and that he had no one in mind to succeed him.

"The President wanted to be sure I felt that this was something

**Please see MEESE, Page 12**

## Mexico Bans

Continued from Page 4

defend these interests and to help protect the security of our friends in the gulf.

"We have increased our naval presence in the gulf to accomplish these aims," she said.

Some foreign policy experts, including former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and former National Security Adviser Robert C. McFarlane, have urged the Administration to look for an opportunity to gradually reduce the number of Navy ships in the gulf—now 28—and de-escalate its mission.

### No Homecoming Soon

But Administration spokesmen insisted Tuesday that the fleet was a long way from coming home, despite the likelihood of more military action.

"Our position remains firm," Oakley said. "We have interests there. We intend to protect them."

Critics of the Administration charge that the Navy's objectives in the gulf have expanded largely by accident, as a series of responses to escalating military confrontations with Iranian forces, without a clear strategy behind them.

"The real issue isn't the judgment of our commanders in the gulf," said Sen. Brock Adams (D-Wash.). "The real issue is the policy that put them there . . . a policy of lurching from incident to incident."

### 'Like Marines in Lebanon'

"It's been exactly like putting the Marines in Lebanon [in 1982-1983], only worse," charged Prof. James A. Bill of the College of William and Mary, an authority on U.S.-Iranian relations. "We've stumbled into the middle of a major war, and we've clearly taken sides."

Not surprisingly, Administration officials disagree. "We've had ships in the gulf to defend our interests for almost 40 years," said Arthur Berger, another State Department spokesman. "I don't think we've backed into anything. We've thought this through very carefully."

Still, even some who support the U.S. presence in the gulf agree that the real aim of the Navy's presence is larger than the Administration admitted at the outset.

"To put it very bluntly . . . the purpose of the policy is to prevent Iran from winning the war," former National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski said in an interview on ABC's "Good Morning America." "That's why we're there, and I think we have to stay there."

That is one of the aspects of the policy that worries both Democrats and Republicans in Congress: There does not seem to be a clear signpost to indicate when the Navy can declare a victory and withdraw.

The Navy's mission has largely accomplished its initial aim of reassuring the Arab sheikdoms of U.S. resolve and protecting the passage of oil tankers in the gulf. "I think it's been a success because petroleum has continued to flow through the Strait of Hormuz," said Sen. John W. Warner (R-Va.).

But Administration officials acknowledge that the fleet has had little visible effect on Iran's willingness to continue its nearly eight-year-old war with Iraq, even after a series of reverses on the battlefield.

The United States and other Western nations support a United Nations resolution calling for an immediate cease-fire and a negotiated end to the war, but Iran has refused to agree to the plan. "It's not going anywhere," a State Department official said.

**Times staff writer Sara Fritz contributed to this article.**

# Italy Now Denies Its Warship Pinpointed Position of Airbus

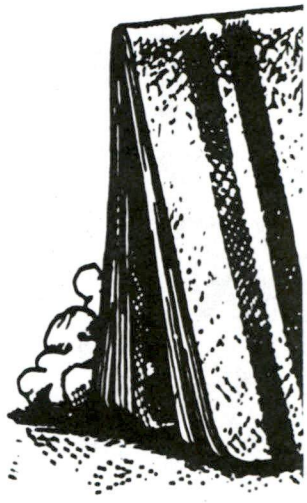
*From Reuters*

ROME—The Italian navy on Tuesday denied that an Italian frigate in the Persian Gulf had clearly identified the position of the Iranian Airbus before it was shot down by U.S. forces Sunday.

An official navy statement said that the frigate Espero, which was on escort duty in the Strait of Hormuz when the plane was downed, "was 70 miles from the scene and never had reliable radar contact with the Iranian airliner."

It said the frigate's radar had not reliably identified the position or the course of the plane.

Tuesday's Italian navy statement confirmed, however, that the Espero heard a U.S. Navy ship ask an unidentified aircraft in the area to identify itself and to change its course



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# Navy Team Arrives in Gulf to Probe Downing of Airbus

By TYLER MARSHALL,
*Times Staff Writer*

DUBAI, United Arab Emirates—A high-level U.S. Navy team arrived in the Persian Gulf on Tuesday to investigate the circumstances of the shooting down of an Iranian airliner, even as Tehran toned down its anti-American rhetoric in an apparent effort to reap full propaganda benefits from the tragedy.

In remarks carried by Iran's official news agency, the country's leader, the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, cautioned those calling the loudest for revenge. He told them to support the Speaker of Parliament, Hashemi Rafsanjani, whose comments have been conspicuously low-key by Iranian standards.

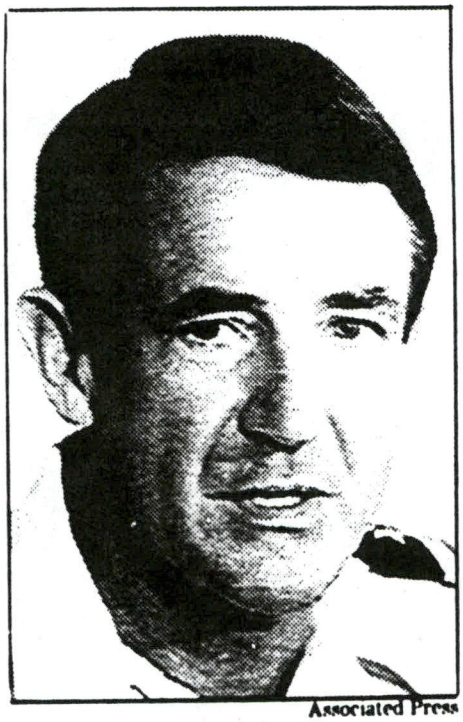
In a speech to Parliament broadcast by Tehran Radio, Rafsanjani called the U.S. Navy missile attack on the Iran Air jetliner "an unprecedented disaster in contemporary history."

Rafsanjani said he reserved the right to avenge the action, but he cautioned against taking precipitous action.

"Maybe today they want a clumsy move to be made somewhere in the world so that they can take the propaganda pressure off America," he said, apparently referring to other Western countries as well as the United States. "We should let this crime be known to everyone in the world and be discussed and be studied."

Shortly after Rafsanjani spoke out, the Navy team headed by Rear Adm. William M. Fogarty flew into Bahrain, 300 miles northwest of Dubai, where the Navy's Persian Gulf fleet is headquartered.

According to Pentagon officials, the team will have 15 days to determine how and why the cruiser Vincennes came to shoot down the A-300 Airbus, killing all 290 people on board.



Associated Press

Rear Adm. William M. Fogarty

No clear evidence emerged here Tuesday to clarify two of the most controversial aspects of the incident, which have become the focus of speculation:

— Why the Vincennes tracked the Airbus as descending at a time when the plane was barely 8 minutes into its flight and had just been cleared to climb from 7,500 feet to 14,000 feet.

— Why the Airbus was not properly identified on a route where there are only five commercially scheduled flights a week.

Sources familiar with the rhythm of the half-hour flight between Dubai and the Iranian port city of Bandar Abbas insisted that the plane should have been climbing in the early phase of its flight. But the aircraft was said to be outside the jurisdiction of United Arab Emirates traffic controllers when it was hit and so was not being observed.

A source here familiar with Iran Air operations noted that flight times on the Bandar Abbas-Dubai route are notoriously erratic, mainly because recently imposed and arduous pre-departure formalities in Bandar Abbas tend to cause delays. Sunday's ill-fated flight was about 90 minutes late.

Iranian authorities said that about 200 bodies had been recovered from the crash site and taken to a morgue in Bandar Abbas. About 40 bodies were still to be identified.

Flights between the two cities remained suspended Tuesday, leaving hundreds of Iranian travelers and many relatives of victims stranded in Dubai. An Iranian air force Boeing 747 transport plane was on the ground at Dubai International Airport and was expected to transport most of those trying to reach Bandar Abbas.

Many of the city's hotels have been deluged with long-distance telephone requests for information about relatives either stranded or believed to be on board the downed Airbus.

### Visa Rules Relaxed

Joseph Antoune, guest relations manager at the Excelsior Hotel, said he had telexed copies of his hotel register to Iran Air in Tehran and Kuwait Airlines in Kuwait to ease telephone congestion.

To focus international attention on the incident, Iranian authorities have relaxed their normally stringent visa requirements for Western journalists and permitted them to travel to the country briefly in order to observe memorial services and, most likely, the funeral for the victims. No formal announcement has been made, but the funeral is expected to be held later this week in Bandar Abbas.

Iran's senior representative to the United Nations in Geneva, Sirous Nasseri, also used restrained language, calling on the United States to pay compensation but

# Iran Asks Security Council to Convene, Condemn U.S.

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# Iran Asks Security Council to Convene, Condemn U.S.

UNITED NATIONS (AP)—Iran's U.N. ambassador called Tuesday for an urgent meeting of the Security Council to condemn the United States for shooting down an Iranian passenger jet.

Ambassador Mohammed Mahallati also told a news conference that contrary to assertions of U.S. officials, the Iranian Airbus, with 290 people aboard, was sending out "normal signals . . . to all radar that it was a civilian plane."

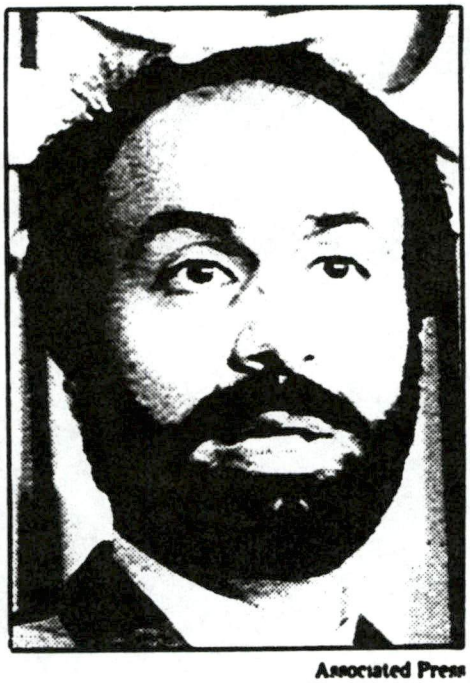
Mahallati said an apology from the United States "cannot wash away the blood," but said the Reagan Administration should apologize, withdraw immediately from the Persian Gulf and take a neutral stand in the Iran-Iraq War.

He said he met earlier in the day with Security Council President Paulo Nogueira-Batista of Brazil and requested an urgent meeting of the council on the subject of Sunday's attack on the jetliner by the U.S. guided-missile cruiser Vincennes.

The United States says the ship's commander mistakenly believed that the civilian aircraft was an F-14 jet fighter preparing to attack his ship. President Reagan says the United States will not withdraw from the Persian Gulf.

Mahallati said the Security Council should call on the United States to immediately withdraw its forces from the gulf "to terminate this kind of barbarism."

He denounced the disaster as



Associated Press

Ambassador Mohammed Mahallati at press conference.

"premeditated" action by the United States and condemned the "awkward logic in the U.S. cover-up story about mistaken identity."

Mahallati said Iranian military officials told him that "the plane for . . . 14 minutes . . . was disseminating the normal signals all civilian planes have, which proves to any radar that this is a civilian plane."

"The question is how the most sophisticated American warship in the Persian Gulf could not receive it," he said.

and, most likely, the funeral for the victims. No formal announcement has been made, but the funeral is expected to be held later this week in Bandar Abbas.

Iran's senior representative to the United Nations in Geneva, Sirous Nasseri, also used restrained language, calling on the United States to pay compensation but stopping short of demanding violent counterattacks.

"Let public opinion and political activity run their course," Nasseri said.

The more measured rhetoric from senior Iranian figures, along with the effort to swing global public opinion behind them, seemed to be in line with recent efforts by Iran to improve its relations with other countries.

### Rafsanjani Critical

Rafsanjani, who not long ago took over as armed forces commander after a series of Iranian military reverses in the country's nearly eight-year-old war with Iraq, recently criticized his government's strident foreign policy. He said it provided no tangible benefit and left Iran isolated politically.

Iran recently re-established diplomatic relations with France and has signaled an interest in breathing life into its long-dormant relations with Britain.

Editorial opinion in leading Persian Gulf newspapers expressed more sorrow than outrage over the airliner incident. The Gulf News, published here, called for a U.N.-led investigation to fix the blame, and the Emirates Times of Abu Dhabi noted "the sad fact that those innocents . . . were the new victims" of the Iran-Iraq War.

# Transponders: Airliners' Electronic ID Cards

By MELISSA HEALY, *Times Staff Writer*

WASHINGTON—Airplane transponders, which have become central to the investigation of the downing of a commercial Iran Air jetliner Sunday by a Navy cruiser, are transmitter/responders that are supposed to identify the type of aircraft carrying them.

For the aircraft, what they say and how they say it can mean the difference between peaceful passage and disaster.

Transponders automatically "squawk," or

transponders. Throughout the flight the transponder responds automatically, often without the pilot's even noticing, when queried by successive air traffic controllers.

On military channels, identification is more complex. In peacetime, military transponders operate much as their civilian counterparts do—but in Modes 1 and 2, which are radio frequencies that are easily distinguished from those of civilian aircraft.

But in wartime, military aircraft operate on a

zona Senate candidate Roy Elson, admitted under-reporting income he received from investors to whom he had promised interest rates of up to 1% a week by lending out money to desperate businessmen.

Mondavano's son, Dennis, 38, was sentenced to four years in

investments ranging from $5,000 to hundreds of thousands of dollars by promising large interest returns.

To reassure the skeptical, Daniel Mondavano often displayed a wad of cash in his sock or a suitcase full of money and implored investors "not to be a working stiff," according to the government's sentencing memorandum.

in loan sharking.

When some investors to notify the Internal Service as their retur ished, Daniel and Denn vano responded with violence, according to th ing report, in one instanc an investor by the t

# Soviets Head Home After Viewing Missile Facilities

TRAVIS AIR FORCE BASE, Calif. (AP)—Teams of Soviet inspectors left for home Tuesday after inspecting five U.S. missile facilities to verify compliance with the recent U.S.-Soviet Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty.

The 48 weapons experts and linguists boarded their Aeroflot jetliner one day after conducting 24-hour spot checks at missile plants in California, Arizona, Colorado and Utah, said Capt. Tom Dolney, a spokesman at Travis.

They returned to the base late Sunday and early Monday in time for a Fourth of July air and fireworks show. "They couldn't help but see it," Dolney said.

"They rested up when they got here because they went pretty hard during their inspections," he said. "There was so much to do and so little time to do it in."

The inspectors conducted the first of five types of inspections allowed under the INF treaty signed by President Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in December.

The "base line inspection" is designed to verify the exact number of medium-range missiles and related components to be destroyed under the treaty.

"It's basically to count and record," said Lt. Col. Joseph Wagovich of the Defense Department's new On-Site Inspection Agency.

Another 22 inspectors who arrived with the five teams will remain up to 13 years at the Hercules Aerospace Co. missile plant in Magna, Utah, to monitor the gates of the facility where Pershing missile rocket motors were made.

The Soviets had arrived Friday as 20 American inspectors departed for Moscow and the Soviet city of Votkinsk for reciprocal inspections.

Armed with tape measures, scales and Polaroid cameras, the Soviets visited five sites: a General Dynamics plant in San Diego; the Pueblo Army Depot Activity in Pueblo, Colo.; the Dugway Proving Ground, a remote Army installation in the western Utah desert; a cruise missile testing and training site at Fort Huachuca, Ariz., about 60 miles south of Tucson, and Davis-Monthan Air Force Base near Tucson, a missile training center.

Under the complex provisions of the treaty, the Soviets had the right to conduct spot checks at any of the five sites this weekend, and they didn't have to say how many of them they wanted to visit until the last minute.

# Anglo Men Nominee Li for Judgesh

*From Associated Press*

SAN FRANCISCO— looking for a judicial ap from Gov. George Deukn a job as a government preferably a prosecutor. fenders and Legal Aid probably should apply els

A survey in the July California Lawyer magaz ined backgrounds of the 500 judges Deukmejian pointed in 5½ years in off 40% of all judges in the found a predominance government lawyers, ex tors, Anglos and males.

As lawyers, the study of Deukmejian's judges ha for the government at s 55% had been prosecu 40% had never worked a attorneys. Only 1.6% career public defenders, had any experience as L attorneys.

**Recruiting Difficult**

Deukmejian's legal affai tary, Marvin Baxter, a for a judgeship on the 5t Court of Appeal in Fre recruiting private lawyer tential judges can be diff cause "successful private tioners will have to significant cut in pay to judges."

Racially, 88.9% of Deuk judicial appointees are A are black, 4.4% Latino a Asian. By comparison, Edmund G. Brown Jr.'s ap were Anglo, 12% were bl Latino and 4% Asian.

Sixteen percent of Deuk judges are women, comp

# *Police See Lesson as Abuse*

HAYWARD, Calif. (AP)—Mary Francis Bergamasco dressed her son like a pig and called it education. Police called it child abuse.

The 7-year-old boy sat on a bench in front of his home with his hands tied behind his back, blue finger paint on his face, a cardboard pig nose taped to his head and a

The punishment was intended to teach the boy a lesson after two weeks of thievery during which he stole $25 worth of baseball cards, $6 cash, an earring, a belt buckle and another child's toy, police quoted Bergamasco as saying.

After each theft, the boy lied about what he had done, she said.

an attorney general's conduct should be judged.

Meese's blindness to ethical issues has tarnished the Justice Department and driven away some of his commitment to the judicial system, a system that he so demeaned, is a fitting if ironic epitaph to a public career that should have ended long ago.

# Murder in Mexico

Under the best of circumstances, today's presidential election in Mexico was going to be closely watched for violence or other signs of political instability in that important but deeply troubled nation. But the weekend killing of two aides of a leading candidate has cast a vast cloud over the voting. Unless the murders are solved soon, they could call into question the very legitimacy of the Mexican political system.

It may not be known until well after the election whether the deaths of Francisco Xavier Ovando and Roman Gil Heraldez occurred as the result of a common street crime or were, as their political colleagues contend, calculated assassinations. The two men were top aides in the presidential campaign of Cuauhtemoc Cardenas, a popular leftist politician who is challenging the powerful Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) in a hotly contested race. Although the PRI has not lost a major election in 60 years, Cardenas is given a better chance than past PRI opponents of diminishing the official party's support because he is the son of Mexico's most revered modern president, Lazaro Cardenas. He is also, along with several key aides like Ovando, a former PRI member who broke away from the official party last year, accusing it of being undemocratic.

Charges like that are not new. They have been made not just by the PRI's political opponents but also by Mexican and foreign analysts who have marveled at the official party's ability to maintain popular support despite the corrupt and heavy-handed methods of some of its leaders. In recent years, however, as a continuing economic crisis has cut deeply into the living standards of the average Mexican, complaints about the PRI and its style of governance have been heard more and more from the man on the street.

The growing public discontent in Mexico is reflected in the heavy turnout at rallies in support of Cardenas and the other major opposition candidate, Manuel Clouthier, of the right-wing National Action Party. Both men have predicted a close election and warned that PRI leaders might use fraud or violence to steal the election for the official party's candidate, economist Carlos Salinas de Gortari. With the violent deaths of Ovando and Gil, such allegations can no longer be dismissed as mere campaign rhetoric.

The government of outgoing President Miguel de la Madrid must now make every effort to solve these crimes as quickly as possible. To do anything less would only feed public cynicism, both in Mexico and outside the country, about its political and legal systems.

It is troubling to note, for example, that when the bodies of the two men were first found late Saturday night, the Mexico City police and the city's normally aggressive press treated the incident as a common street crime. They did so despite the fact that an expensive watch and other valuables that Ovando had in his possession were not taken by whoever shot five .22-caliber bullets into his head. The investigation has now been taken over by the federal government's Interior Ministry, which is responsible for domestic security. Even that may not satisfy the many PRI critics who suspect the Interior Ministry of being part of the ruling party's political apparatus. The investigation must be as open as possible, with information provided to both the national and foreign press.

Some Mexican officials will resent calls for extraordinary measures in a criminal investigation, but this is no ordinary crime. More important, these are not ordinary times in Mexico. The world is watching this year's Mexican election more closely than it has watched a political changeover in that country since 1910, when Mexico suffered through a long and bloody revolution. Many people genuinely fear that unless political change can take place peacefully in Mexico another revolution is inevitable. Mexico's leaders can best put such fears to rest by showing the world that political violence has become unacceptable and that suspects will be aggressively pursued, rapidly tried and severely punished.

# Compensation to Iran Families Not Ruled Out

By JAMES GERSTENZANG and SARA FRITZ,
*Times Staff Writers*

WASHINGTON—President Reagan said Tuesday that the United States, which sent a private note to the Iranian government expressing its "deep regret" for the downing of Iran Air Flight 655, has offered enough of an apology to Tehran.

But the White House did not rule out offering some sort of reparations to the relatives of the 290 people killed aboard the airliner.

Meanwhile, there were indications that congressional leaders are preparing to introduce legislation to compensate the families—a step that could put Congress in the lead in a sensitive foreign policy and political issue.

**Support From Experts**

Such a move won quick support Tuesday from a number of foreign policy experts, among them Zbigniew Brzezinski, former President Jimmy Carter's assistant for national security affairs, and Stansfield Turner, director of the CIA during the Carter Administration. Two former national security advisers, Robert C. McFarlane and Brent A. Scowcroft, had already said that they favored granting an apology and compensation.

On the first day of business in the nation's capital after the Navy shot down the jetliner over the Persian Gulf, the White House kept its low-key approach—giving no suggestion that it would shift its policy in the volatile region as a result.

But support from both Republican and Democratic leaders for some form of reparations raised the possibility that, regardless of his view on the issue, Reagan could be presented with legislation granting such payments and would have to choose between going along or vetoing it.

Reflecting the Administration's effort to shut the window on the initial aspect of the tragedy—the

**Please see REAGAN, Page 8**

## 2 Workers Die, 1 Injured in Stone Quarry Accident

STERLING, Va. (UPI)—Two workers were killed when they fell into a stone-crushing machine Tuesday at a quarry near Washington-Dulles International Airport, authorities said. A third man who fell into the machine suffered minor injuries.

# REAGAN: Reparations Not Ruled Out

**Continued from Page 4**

military action that culminated with the destruction of the wide-bodied Airbus A-300 jetliner when it was struck by at least one missile fired by the U.S. Navy cruiser Vincennes—the President said in a one-page report to Congress: "We regard this incident as closed."

However, the report noted that the Administration is pressing ahead with a Navy investigation into the events surrounding the downing of the airliner.

Describing the military action in the Strait of Hormuz at the mouth of the Persian Gulf on Sunday, Reagan said that the cruiser Vincennes and the frigate Elmer Montgomery sank two small Iranian boats and damaged a third, in response to an attack on a U.S. helicopter.

"Regrettably, in the course of the U.S. response to the Iranian attack, an Iranian civilian airliner was shot down by the Vincennes, which was firing in self-defense at what it believed to be a hostile Iranian military aircraft," Reagan said in his letter to the House and Senate. "We deeply regret the tragic loss of life that occurred."

### 'Entirely Appropriate'

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater was reluctant Tuesday to characterize any U.S. statement about the tragedy as an apology.

"The President believes that the expressions of regret and sadness were entirely appropriate, and they were passed on to the Iranian government," Fitzwater said. "Our regret over the loss of life and the immense human tragedy has been stated in appropriate forums."

He said that the United States' "deep regret" was expressed Sunday in a private message dispatched to the government of Iran. It was forwarded to Tehran by the Swiss government, which represents U.S. interests in Iran. The United States and Iran do not maintain diplomatic relations.

The White House spokesman said the message also asserted that the United States had not intended to target the civilian airliner.

For his part, Reagan, asked by reporters whether the United States had apologized sufficiently, said, "Yes."

He made the comment as he left the White House to visit President Jose Napoleon Duarte of El Salvador, who is undergoing treatment for liver cancer at Walter Reed Army Medical Center.

Asked about speculation that the Iranian airliner was a decoy for an attacking aircraft, Reagan replied: "That's why we're having an investigation."

Reagan's own involvement in the aftermath of the attack has been limited. He discussed the tragedy Sunday in telephone calls with senior advisers but called no special meetings on it after he returned to Washington from Camp David, Md., on Monday. And according to Fitzwater, Reagan's only contact with Adm. William J. Crowe Jr., chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, was in a conference call Sunday with other Administration officials.

The question of compensation for the families of the victims gained public attention in Congress—and privately, lawyers at the Pentagon and State Department were understood to be researching U.S. law to make recommendations to Reagan. The United States supported unsuccessful demands made by South Korea for compensation for the families of the 269 victims of Korean Airlines Flight 007, who were killed when their Boeing 747 was shot down by Soviet fighters over Soviet territory Sept. 1, 1983.

Fitzwater, making it clear that no decision had been made about compensation, told reporters: "That is one issue that has not been considered at this point." He said that the investigation by the naval board—which he defended as an appropriate body to conduct the inquiry—is "the first order of business."

Sen. John W. Warner (R-Va.), the senior Republican on the Senate Armed Services Committee, told reporters that paying compensation would be "a step in the direction of bringing peace and stability to the region."

He did not specify a sum of money that should be paid but suggested that Congress could be guided by the sums established for loss of life in international aviation agreements.

"I think we should move very swiftly on it," he said.

Warner added that the Senate leadership—Republicans as well as Democrats—are likely to propose legislation soon after Congress reconvenes today after the Fourth of July recess.

In London, House Speaker Jim Wright (D-Tex.) predicted that Congress would approve such a compensation bill. ". . . If that would assuage the grief of the other aggrieved party, surely we could do that," he said. "Congress would support that, if it were requested."

## Pilot Safe in Jet Crash

*From Reuters*

STOCKHOLM—A Swedish air force pilot escaped unhurt when his fighter jet crashed into the Baltic off the Swedish island of Gotska Sandon on Tuesday, a military spokesman said.


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# Contradictory Signals Heard

By JOHN M. BRODER
and MELISSA HEALY,
*Times Staff Writers*

WASHINGTON—The Pentagon, providing new details that appeared to compound the mystery of the downing of an Iran Air jetliner by an American warship in the Persian Gulf on Sunday, asserted Tuesday that the plane was emitting contradictory radio signals, some identifying it as a civilian aircraft and some identifying it as military.

This revelation raised a host of new questions because Navy officials had said that the radio signals picked up by the U.S. cruiser Vincennes were among the critical factors that led the ship's captain to believe that the Airbus A-300 was a hostile Iranian F-14 fighter and to order it shot down.

Pentagon spokesman Dan Howard, seeking to explain and justify the downing of Iran Air Flight 655, said that the Vincennes had received radio emissions from two transponders aboard the Iranian plane, one emitting military codes and one emitting civilian codes.

Further compounding the uncertainties, however, Howard conceded that a nearby U.S. guided missile frigate, the John H. Sides, picked up the civilian transponder signals from the aircraft but did not "hear" the military signals.

A transponder is a transmitter that responds to electronic questioning by air traffic controllers or other radar operators by emitting a code that identifies the aircraft.

In early briefings on the incident, military officials had refused to discuss details of the electronic signals picked up by the sophisticated Aegis-type cruiser, saying that such information is classified.

The plane, Howard said, was tracked from the minute it took off

**Please see SIGNALS, Page 10**

# SIGNALS: Iranian Jetliner Sent 2 Radio Codes, U.S. Official Asserts

**Continued from Page 4**

from the airfield at Bandar Abbas on Iran's southern coast, a facility used by Iran for both civilian and military aircraft. American intelligence had, for the first time, detected F-14 activity in the area within the past few weeks, Howard said.

The Vincennes was in the Strait of Hormuz at the time, about 50 miles south of Bandar Abbas, Howard said. Radar operators aboard the Navy ship sent electronic queries to the unidentified aircraft, which responded with signals from both a civilian Mode 3 transponder and the exclusively military Mode 2 transponder.

U.S. military officials said Tuesday that they had never encountered an aircraft that was "squawking"—transmitting—on both Mode 3 and Mode 2.

An Iran Air pilot who flew Airbuses for the airline as recently as last fall questioned the new American account. He said that the planes never carried the transponder device needed to send the military code cited by U.S. officials.

Howard also disclosed that the decision to bring the suspect aircraft down was made 12 minutes after the last shots were fired between U.S. warships and Iranian gunboats. Previous U.S. accounts had said that the missiles were fired while the crew of the Vincennes was still engaged in surface gunfire.

And Howard said that military officials could not explain discrepancies in reports of the doomed airliner's altitude, nor could they account for why the Vincennes' sophisticated radar showed the plane approaching at more than 500 miles an hour, nearly a physical impossibility for the Airbus at low altitude.

The Pentagon official said a six-member board of inquiry headed by Rear Adm. William M. Fogarty arrived aboard the Vincennes on Tuesday to begin to reconstruct the events leading to the tragedy. Howard stressed that whatever the investigation revealed, Capt. Will C. Rogers III of the Vincennes acted properly in what he believed was self-defense.

### 'Very Crucial Decision'

"The commander had a very few minutes in which to make a very crucial decision that was certainly life or death for him and for his ship and for his crew," Howard said. "And he had to make that decision based upon the information available to him at the time."

Howard, discussing the radio signals detected by the Vincennes, said that the military Mode 2 transponder emissions detected by

siles, at least one of which hit the Airbus and demolished it.

Mahmoud Vaziri, an ex-Iran Air pilot who flew Flight 655 until last October, challenged the U.S. account in an interview with The Times. He said the Iran Air Airbus A-300s he flew were never equipped to transmit over the military channel heard by the Vincennes.

"We don't have the equipment to broadcast on anything but Mode Charlie," he said, referring to the purely civilian channel the Pentagon calls Mode 3, known to many aviators as Mode C.

The American-trained Iran Air pilot said he doubts whether Iran's Civil Aviation Organization would have bought the transponders since he left Iran last October.

"They're short of cash," he said. "They're having a hard enough time getting equipment as it is—it has to be paid for with hard currency. Why would they want to buy such unnecessary equipment?"

### Both Are Civilian Sets

Vaziri said that while Iran Air jetliners carry two transponders, both are solely Mode 3 civilian sets, and they cannot transmit at the same time.

The Iranian pilot said that Amir Razvani, whom he identified as the pilot of the downed airliner, would not have allowed Iranian authorities to put a military transponder

> **'Why would you want to have a transponder operating in military mode going toward a [U.S.] Navy ship?'**
>
> —**Mahmoud Vaziri,** ex-Iran Air pilot

aboard an Airbus loaded with 290 passengers and crew. Vaziri said he had known Razvani for several years, flown with him many times and considered him a friend.

"Why would you want to have a transponder operating in military mode going toward a [U.S.] Navy ship?" he asked. "You've got enough on your mind just flying in Iran and in the Persian Gulf. You don't go looking for trouble."

Vaziri described Razvani as "very conservative. . . . If he had the slightest idea there was something out there, he would have delayed. He wasn't radical or religious. He didn't want to die. Nobody wants to die."

Vaziri's account left open the possibility that the Mode 2 emissions were coming from a second airplane or a source on the ground.

jetliner's ambiguous transponder data, its apparently threatening flight path and its refusal to respond to radio warnings, the plane was declared hostile, and the missiles were fired at 10:54.

But Howard said that the Vincennes' captain was "very prudent" in considering the approach of the unknown aircraft a threat related to the recently completed firefight.

Howard acknowledged that Pentagon officials could not explain conflicting reports on the plane's altitude. The Vincennes reported the plane as flying at about 9,000 feet; the Sides reported it at above 12,000 feet, and air traffic control in Dubai, the plane's destination in the United Arab Emirates, pegged it at 7,800 feet.

In addition, sailors on the Vincennes said that the plane was descending and gaining speed as it approached the warship, while radar operators on the Sides said it was maintaining a steady altitude.

It is not yet known whether this conflicting data was available to the commander of the Vincennes when he made the decision to shoot the jetliner down.

Howard said that one assertion not yet in question was the plane's speed as it headed toward the warship. The Vincennes said it was flying at between 450 and 455 knots, about 520 miles an hour. But the Iranian pilot—with support from the authoritative Jane's All the World's Aircraft—said that the plane is structurally incapable of such speed at altitudes below 25,000 feet.

### Data Recorder Sought

The investigative panel will try to determine the speed of the aircraft from computer tapes on the Vincennes and from the plane's flight data recorder, if Iranian authorities recover it from the wreckage and share it with American investigators, Howard said.

Other Pentagon officials have attributed anomalies in radar data to thick haze and humidity in the region. One official intimately familiar with the Vincennes' Aegis radar system said that "the environment in the gulf changes dramatically from day to day" and that the Navy cannot precisely calibrate the radar to correspond to atmospheric conditions each day.

But, he said, the Vincennes' SPY-1 radar "is the most accurate the Navy has. It's never let me down."

### AWACS in Northern Gulf

Howard, the Pentagon spokesman, also revealed that a Saudi Arabian AWACS radar surveillance plane was flying in coordination with a U.S.-escorted merchant

the Vincennes "were signals that we had previously identified or associated with an F-14. That was based on historical information in the gulf."

The official said that the information revealed Tuesday was the first acknowledgment by U.S. forces that they were able to read another nation's Mode 2 transponder signals.

Radiomen on the Vincennes and on the nearby U.S. guided-missile frigate John H. Sides sent a total of 12 warnings to the suspect aircraft, demanding that it identify itself and ordering it to change course, officials said. The plane continued at high speed on a course that would have taken it directly over the Vincennes.

Seven minutes after the jetliner took off, Capt. Rogers sent up two Standard SM-2 radar-guided mis-

But Pentagon officials said that they had no evidence that a second plane was in the air and refused to speculate on the source of the radio signals.

Another new piece of information added to the puzzle was the exact timing of the end of surface gunfire and the takeoff of the Iranian Airbus. Briefing reporters after the incident Sunday, Adm. William J. Crowe Jr., chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said that the decision to attack the plane was made in an intense burst of activity while Capt. Rogers of the Vincennes was "engaged already in surface action" against three small Iranian gunboats.

But according to details released Tuesday, the shooting stopped at 10:42 a.m. local time, while the jetliner did not leave the ground until 10:47 a.m. Because of the

ship convoy at the far northern end of the gulf at the time of the encounter in the Strait of Hormuz. A U.S. guided-missile frigate was escorting the tanker Sea Isle City under AWACS radar cover Sunday morning, but the plane's orbit did not allow it to track the action at the other end of the gulf, some 500 miles away.

Military experts said that the "look-down" radar capabilities of the AWACS would have made it much more likely that the Iran Air jetliner would have been identified as innocent and that the disaster would have been prevented.

"All things being equal," Howard said, "it's desirable to have AWACS and Aegis working together everywhere in every situation, but the fact is that those resources don't exist. You cannot do it everywhere at every time."

# U.S. Willing to Talk With Iran, Shultz Declares

By JIM MANN,
*Times Staff Writer*

ELMENDORF AIR FORCE BASE, Alaska—Secretary of State George P. Shultz said Tuesday that the United States is now willing to have a "direct dialogue" with Iran, and he disclosed that in recent months U.S. officials have received a number of indirect overtures from Iran apparently aimed at improving relations.

In his first public remarks since U.S. forces mistakenly shot down an Iranian commercial airliner Sunday, Shultz emphasized the willingness of the United States to negotiate with Iran and seemed especially eager to defuse tension in the Persian Gulf.

"We've had a number

Please see TALKS, Page 11

Continued from Page 4

of—I guess you'd call them probes—from Iran through third parties, saying they [Iran] would like to talk with us," Shultz told reporters aboard his plane on the first leg of a trip to Asia.

Rather than try to communicate through a number of intermediaries, the secretary said, "we have said that we are prepared for one. . . . We're prepared to have a direct dialogue with them."

Shultz set no preconditions for talks with Iran. In the past, when Iranian officials have suggested the possibility of direct talks with the United States concerning the American hostages in Lebanon, the United States has said that the release of the hostages was not a matter for negotiation.

The tone of Shultz's remarks was strikingly conciliatory, however. Speaking of the U.S. naval presence in the Persian Gulf, he said: "We're not there in a confrontational mode. . . . We're there to protect our interests and those of our friends."

in the U.S. policy of sending warships to the Persian Gulf, or in the liberalized rules of engagement that led to the weekend hostilities.

Over the last several years, the United States and Iran have conducted some official business with one another through Swiss and Algerian intermediaries.

After the shooting down of the Iranian aircraft, Shultz said, the United States sent another indirect

**Shultz said the United States has recently received several feelers from Iran 'in different settings.'**

message to Iran through the Swiss government that "basically stated our view as to what took place, that's all." U.S. officials said that no reply had been received from Tehran.

Shultz and other U.S. officials maintained Tuesday that in expressing a willingness to enter into direct talks with Iran, the secretary was merely repeating longstanding American policy.

### Iran-Canada Ties

But Shultz noted pointedly that, in recent months, Iran has been willing to upgrade its relations with Western countries such as France and Canada. In the case of Canada, he said, Iran dropped its insistence that Canada apologize for secretly harboring U.S. diplomats during the 1979-81 hostage crisis.

"If Iran has decided to normalize itself and its basic diplomatic stance, that's a good thing," Shultz said. "But we'll have to see how it goes."

Until Tuesday, U.S. officials had said nothing in public about any recent "probes" or overtures from Iran. They had denied repeatedly a series of reports that U.S. officials such as U.N. Ambassador Vernon A. Walters might be conducting secret talks with Iran.

Shultz and U.S. officials traveling with him repeated Tuesday that no American officials are currently engaged in negotiations with Iran. But Shultz said that over the last few months, the United States has received several feelers from Iran "in different settings."

**From Various Sources**

These overtures have come from private individuals and from governments, the officials said. One of them, about two months ago, came from a government that seemed to be a qualified, authoritative intermediary. U.S. officials would not identify the country.

Shultz said the United States sent back a message through the intermediary seeking at first to set up continuing indirect talks. The message for Iran, Shultz said, was this: "We are willing to establish a channel, a single, authoritative channel, so name one. . . . We don't want to have talks at random with people."

So far, Shultz said, nothing has come of these overtures. Asked why not, he replied, "You'd have to ask them."

Although the United States had not previously disclosed these overtures from Iran, U.S. officials insisted that Shultz was merely responding to questions about relations between the two countries and that his disclosure had nothing

# Signals Readiness to Meet With Iranians

to do with the weekend incident in the Persian Gulf.

U.S. officials sought to dampen speculation that the United States might be on the verge of entering into talks with Iran. "There's no reason to believe anything was imminent or is imminent," a State Department official said.

Shultz seemed to be seeking general discussions with Iran aimed at settling the Iran-Iraq War and improving relations between Tehran and the United States. He did not mention the possibility of narrower talks to resolve issues concerning the downed Iranian airliner.

"We will continue to seek an end to the Iran-Iraq War," Shultz said. "That's the basic problem here. It's something that should be stopped, and this tragedy only underscores that point."

**'A Little Easier'**

Recent Iraqi military gains have restored the two armies to positions similar to those that existed before the Iran-Iraq War began in 1980, and Shultz said that "should make it a little easier" to find a solution to the war.

He did not explain why he was emphasizing the possibility of negotiations with Iran now, at a time when the regime in Tehran is particularly incensed about the U.S. presence in the Persian Gulf.

Asked about the possibility that Iran will retaliate against the United States through terrorism or some other violent incident, Shultz replied: "There's always that possibility. That's one of our problems with Iran. It is a state that has sponsored terrorism. . . . Of course we are concerned about that. But it isn't as though this incident has caused Iran to decide to use terrorism as a tactic."



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# News Summary

## International A3-15

**Secret Western military plans** for defending Europe have been given to Hungarian intelligence agents by a spy ring uncovered by American and West German officials, the Reagan Administration said. Page A1

**Burma lifted martial law,** withdrew its soldiers from the streets and proposed a referendum on an end to one-party rule. The announcement came at the end of a day of widespread demonstrations in Rangoon. A1

**News analysis: A standoff in Poland** exists between the Government and Solidarity. Warsaw has succeeded in controlling the major damage from labor unrest, which appeared to be ebbing. A1

Polish unrest, in 10th day, shows signs of waning A8

**Moscow will buy American grain** under an agreement to be completed soon with the United States, Administration officials said. The Soviet Union plans to buy millions of tons of wheat, corn and soybeans. A1

**Iraq has reacted to a cease-fire** with Iran with joy and fear that the peace may not hold. Diplomats say that it may be difficult for Iraq to resume the war because Baghdad has depicted the cease-fire as a victory. A3

**Israel rejected American criticism** of Israel's policy of expelling Palestinians from the occupied territories. The State Department had warned Israel that the deportations could damage U.S.-Israeli relations. A3

**Angola, Cuba and South Africa** began talks to set a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. Diplomats said that setting a schedule for the withdrawal was the main hurdle in negotiations. A9

**New talks about reunifying Cyprus** were agreed to by the leaders of the Greeks and Turks on the island, Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar said. June 1, 1989, was set as the deadline for a settlement. A11

**Sweden's Social Democratic Party,** which has ruled for 50 of the last 56 years, faces a strong challenge in the election Sept. 18 because of a scandal over the investigation into the killing of Olof Palme. A4

Mexicans see tumult come to Congress A7

News analysis: Baltics rallies a gamble for Gorbachev A12

Eritrean rebels emphasize women's rights A14

Burundi blames exiles for outbreak of violence A15

## National A16-25, B13-15, B28

**Federal rules on garbage landfills** were proposed by the E.P.A. for the first time to help prevent contamination by municipal dumps. The rules would impose minimum standards for state and local laws. A1

**Federal sentencing guidelines** were ruled unconstitutional by a Federal appeals court on the ground that the commission that drafted them included judges, violating the doctrine of separation of powers. A16

**A military contractor has protested** the awarding of a contract for electornic equipment and wants the Navy to conduct a second competition. The case stems from the investigation into procurement fraud. A21

In teen-speak, "like" now means "to say" A16

Fire threatens Yellowstone Park's largest development A16

Robertson rebuts criticism in dispute about film A17

Shortcomings found in Justice Department's ethics policy A24

Judge delays admission to school for girl with AIDS B13

### Quotation of the Day

*"No one tells union members how to vote. Our members and their families make up their own minds."*

*— Lane Kirkland, president of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. [A1:3.]*

## Politics B14-15

**The A.F.L.-C.I.O. endorsed** Michael S. Dukakis for President. The labor federation's president stressed that union leaders were not trying to tell members how to vote, but they plan to campaign for Mr. Dukakis. A1

**Vice President Bush attacked** Michael Dukakis's military policy and said he would have signed a bill that Mr. Dukakis vetoed requiring school teachers to lead their class in the Pledge of Allegiance. A1

**Michael Dukakis criticized** the Reagan Administration for policies that have caused interest rates to rise and family incomes to fall. He also attacked Vice President Bush's record on trade policies with Japan. B14

Dukakis accuses Bush of ducking early debate B14

Bentsen suggests Quayle lacks maturity B14

## Washington Talk A22

Where success is appearing to be in charge

# New York Times

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New York: Today, partly sunny skies, afternoon breezes. High 79-83. Tonight, clear skies. Low 59-66. Tomorrow, mostly sunny. High 80-84. Yesterday: High 75, low 62. Details, page B10.

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## BOR FEDERATION IDORSES DUKAKIS, TING UNION ISSUES

### ONG DRIVE IS PLANNED

### land Says the Leadership on't Impose Its Choice on Unwilling Members

By E. J. DIONNE Jr.
Special to The New York Times

.SHINGTON, Aug. 24 — The .-C.I.O. today endorsed Gov. Mi- S. Dukakis for President, hoping abor's support will do more good r. Dukakis in 1988 than it did for r F. Mondale, the Democratic dential nominee in 1984.

ıe Kirkland, president of the labor ation, whose movement suffered years ago from charges that it "special interest," was at pains to emphasize that union leaders not trying to impose their choice membership.

one tells union members how to Mr. Kirkland declared as a smil- r. Dukakis stood at his side. "Our ers and their families make up own minds."

**Substantial Effort Planned**

the labor movement, weakened e Reagan Presidency both by es in the economy and by a lack npathy from those who adminis- e labor laws, plans to pour sub- al resources into the Democratic dential campaign, and has up- its campaign techniques in an ef- catch up with its competitors in ess.

leaders of the 14.1-million-mem- merican Federation of Labor and ess of Industrial Organizations reason to believe that their mem- are far more sympathetic to its this year than they were in 1984. t campaign labor leaders went all r Mr. Mondale in both the pri- s and the general election, but nany of their members defect to dent Reagan.

New York Times/CBS News conducted so far this year and a ate CBS News Poll conducted last

ntinued on Page B14, Column 3



The New York Times/Paul Hosefros

Michael S. Dukakis acknowledging applause after endorsement by the A.F.L.-C.I.O. At right was Lane Kirkland, the labor group's president.

## *Bush Intensifies Debate on Pledge, Asking Why It So Upsets Dukakis*

By STEVEN V. ROBERTS
Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 24 — With President Reagan at his side in a raucous campaign rally here, Vice President Bush intensified his argument with Michael S. Dukakis today over the Pledge of Allegiance. He said he would have signed a bill that Mr. Dukakis vetoed in 1977 requiring teachers to lead their classes in the pledge.

"What is it about the Pledge of Allegiance that upsets him so much?" Mr. Bush said of Mr. Dukakis, as an enthusiastic crowd roared its agreement. "It is very hard for me to imagine that the Founding Fathers — Samuel Adams and John Hancock and John Adams — would have objected to teachers leading students in the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag of the United States."

In a combative speech, Mr. Bush also criticized Mr. Dukakis's military policy, saying his Democratic opponent "would leave America totally defenseless" against missile attacks if elected President. "His policies place him far outside the bipartisan consensus — far out on the liberal left wing," the Vice President said. "And that's where he is on these security issues."

**'I Like Your Running Mate'**

Mr. Reagan, joining in the highly partisan spirit of the day, gave his strongest endorsement to date of Senator Dan Quayle of Indiana, Mr. Bush's embattled Vice-Presidential choice. The President said to Mr. Bush: "I must confess, I like your running mate."

Mr. Reagan said that Mr. Quayle, a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, had "many more years of experience in dealing with national security than the leader of the other ticket."

But the argument that seemed most important to the Bush camp, the one that aides advertised in advance to reporters, was the transcontinental debate over the Pledge of Allegiance. The Republicans clearly relished the chance to reply to Mr. Dukakis's sug-

## U.S. AND EUROPEANS REPORTEDLY BREAK A MAJOR SPY RING

### 8 DETAINED BY 2 NATIONS

### Military Secrets Were Routed to Hungary for 10 Years, Reagan Officials Say

By JEFF GERTH
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 24 — American and West German officials have uncovered a spy ring that has been supplying Hungarian intelligence agents with secret Western military documents, including United States Army plans to defend Europe, according to Reagan Administration officials familiar with the case.

The officials said that the espionage network had existed for at least 10 years. No names of those involved or details of the case have been made public, but The New York Times learned about the investigation from officials familiar with it.

Officials in Sweden and West Germany detained eight people on Tuesday, these American officials said.

**Arrests but No Details**

Swedish television reported tonight that three people of Eastern European origin were arrested Tuesday on suspicion of spying, but did not give details on the substance of the case. The broadcast said that the three, two men and a woman, were arrested in the Swedish port of Goteborg, and that they had spied on a country other than Sweden.

Sven-Olof Hakansson, a senior state prosecutor, told the Swedish news agency that "the case concerns military secrets but I cannot say which country is involved," according to a dispatch by Reuters.

**From Budapest to Moscow**

It is not known when West German and American officials will make public the details about the inquiry, though senior officials at the Pentagon and the State Department were told about it in the last few days, officials said. At this point, it is not possible to fully assess damage to national security, but some officials said that military experts were comparing it to the Walker spy case of 1985, in which a former United States Navy warrant officer, John A. Walker Jr., sold vital Navy information to the Soviets for 16 years.

Investigators say they believe that the German-based spy ring, with the aid of couriers in Sweden, provided American, West German and North At-

Continued on Page A23, Column 1

## *r Charged in Fraud of Colleges*

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imes
aled improper payments from o men while they were in college. retrial agreements reached with al prosecutors, they agreed to en- one-year Federal probation pro- , perform up to 250 hours of com- y service and pay back any schol- money they improperly re-



## *Washington Nearing*

# U.S. Reports Breaking a Spy Ring That Sent Army Secrets to Hungary

Continued From Page A1

lantic Treaty Organization secrets, apparently obtained from American soldiers, to the Hungarian intelligence agency. The Hungarians then shared the secrets with the Soviet Union, officials said.

The State Department, in a prepared statement, said, "We understand that there has been an apprehension by West German authorities, but do not consider it appropriate to comment at this time."

"Our policy is not to comment on ongoing, sensitive investigations, particularly when they involve an allied government," said Phyllis E. Oakley, the deputy to the State Department spokesman.

A spokesman at the West German Embassy in Washington, Eberhard von Schubert, said that the Ambassador and the chief press spokesman were both on leave and that he was unable to comment on the case.

It is not known if espionage charges will be brought against anyone. Some of the people detained in Europe were brought in only for questioning, officials said. Those detained included a retired Army sergeant who has been living in West Germany, according to officials. Investigation of the network is continuing, they added.

The available information suggests that the investigation has many of the elements of a classic espionage case, including secret electronic intercepts of conversations, months of tedious surveillance and the piecing together of disparate bits of information.

### Paid and Treacherous

The case may prove embarrassing to the United States and its Western allies. For example, officials said, the Central Intelligence Agency in the last few years paid a person in the network to do work for the agency.

Documents concerning the NATO defense of Europe are believed to have been stolen, officials said. The Hungarians also obtained United States Army contingency plans for an American ground war in Europe against the Soviet Union, officials said.

In addition, the case has put West Germany on the spot at a time when it has been seeking closer ties with Moscow. Bonn now finds itself investigating and possibly prosecuting Americans living in West Germany, since espionage is not covered under the extradition treaty between the United States and the Germans.

Another impediment to American prosecution of the case comes in the form of restrictions on the use in American courts of foreign intelligence information that has been developed through telephone taps and other forms of electronic surveillance, officials said.

### Reasons for Generalization

The officials who discussed the case cited these matters, among others, in requesting that their names and agencies not be identified.

The actions represent the culmination of an investigation by American and German officials lasting more than a year, officials said. The American part of the inquiry mainly involved agents from the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Army.

Based on the limited information available about the case, there are a people in the network is of Hungarian ethnic background, according to officials. Another person involved in the case, who was picked up Tuesday in Sweden, left Hungary in 1956, the year of the unsuccessful uprising against the Soviet-backed Government.

The unfolding of the case began more than a year ago when American officials said it was discovered that important national security information had been compromised but officials were unable to pinpoint how it had happened. Several developments helped narrow the field, they explained.

### Evidence From Intercepts

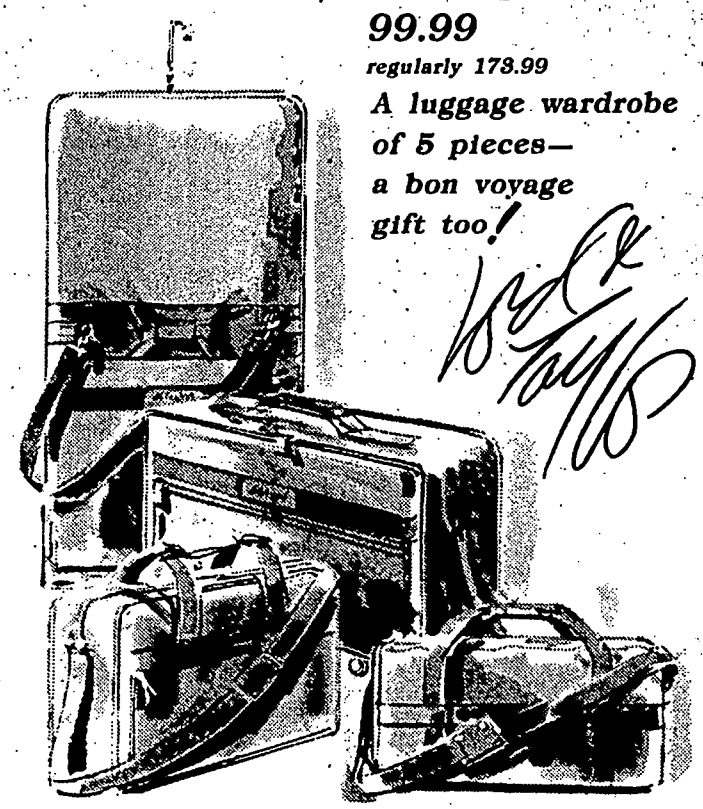
One was the electronic interception of conversations by an unidentified Soviet Bloc aide based in Washington, officials reported. Later, other conversations related to the case were overheard, an official said.

The C.I.A. became suspicious of one of the principals in the network after it paid him a considerable sum of money to get documents out of Hungary. The suspect kept the hefty advance and supplied what turned out to be fabricated documents, officials said. Only then did the C.I.A. suspect that the individual may have been working for the Hungarians.

As the investigation intensified, Army officials conducted considerable personal surveillance of members of the network in West Germany. The Army presented the evidence it had collected to German authorities, who then helped investigate and monitor the network, officials said.

The F.B.I., which is responsible for investigating espionage cases, played a key role in supervising the inquiry and is monitoring the German case for possible prosecution in the United States, officials said.


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few years paid a person in the network to do work for the agency.

Documents concerning the NATO defense of Europe are believed to have been stolen, officials said. The Hungarians also obtained United States Army contingency plans for an American ground war in Europe against the Soviet Union, officials said.

In addition, the case has put West Germany on the spot at a time when it has been seeking closer ties with Moscow. Bonn now finds itself investigating and possibly prosecuting Americans living in West Germany, since espionage is not covered under the extradition treaty between the United States and the Germans.

Another impediment to American prosecution of the case comes in the form of restrictions on the use in American courts of foreign intelligence information that has been developed through telephone taps and other forms of electronic surveillance, officials said.

**Reasons for Generalization**

The officials who discussed the case cited these matters, among others, in requesting that their names and agencies not be identified.

The actions represent the culmination of an investigation by American and German officials lasting more than a year, officials said. The American part of the inquiry mainly involved agents from the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Army.

Based on the limited information available about the case, there are a number of unanswered questions. For example, it is not clear if officials know how many or exactly which secrets have been compromised or when this took place.

Among the documents that officials believe were passed on to the Hungarians are German as well as NATO plans, officials said. German secrets would have had to be compromised in order for West German officials to prosecute an espionage case.

**Any Agents Remaining?**

Another unanswered question is exactly how the spy ring was able to obtain the documents and whether it still has agents operating inside the American or West German armed forces. Investigators believe that retired military personnel living in West Germany contacted former colleagues in the United States Army to obtain some of the documents, officials said. One official said investigators believe that soldiers on active duty in Germany may have been part of the network until recently.

The United States Army has about 250,000 military personnel in West Germany at more than 200 installations.

It is also not known when the spy network first began operating. Officials declared, however, that the principals in this case caused a major security loss to the United States in the late 1970's, which they refused to describe. Other losses were said to be more recent.

Though the damage in the two cases may be comparable, there are a number of differences between the Walker case and the one just broken. While Mr. Walker dealt directly with Soviet agents in the United States and Europe, this network worked with the Hungarian intelligence service, Allamvedelmi Hivatal.

**Well Regarded in the Trade**

The Hungarian agency works closely with the Soviet Union and is highly regarded by American intelligence experts for its ability to handle a long-term spy mission effectively. One American official said the Hungarian intelligence service might have worked with another Eastern European agency, which he refused to identify, in handling the German case.

In the Walker case, his main motivation was greed. In this case, it is not known what motivated those involved, but investigators believe that nationality may have played a role. One of the


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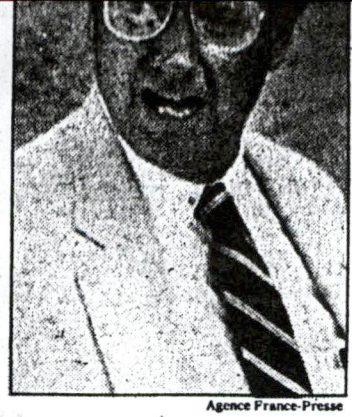
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CONTINE





Agence France-Presse

Ambassador Thomas R. Pickering, above, and Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, far left, leaving Mr. Shamir's office yesterday after their meeting in Jerusalem.

broke out in Israel today over unusually harsh criticism the United States directed at Israel earlier in the week for its policy of expelling Palestinians accused of fomenting the uprising in the occupied territories. Israel formally rejected the criticism today.

A week ago, the Government deported four Palestinians and issued expulsion orders for 25 more, by far the largest deportation order since the uprising began last December.

On Monday, Deputy Secretary of State John C. Whitehead met in Washington with Oded Eran, deputy chief of mission in the Israeli Embassy, and told him Israel should reconsider its deportation orders or "damage to our bilateral relations will occur," according to an Israeli diplomatic cable describing the meeting.

Israeli newspapers reported on the cable today, and American and Israeli officials confirmed its contents.

American diplomatic statements of that sort to close allies like Israel are extraordinarily rare. The United States Ambassador, Thomas R. Pickering, met with Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir today, and while he reaffirmed Mr. Whitehead's comments, he also said he was sorry the diplomatic exchange had been made public.

Within the coalition Government, officials from the Likud bloc suggested that the comments had been made public by the Foreign Ministry — which is run by the Labor Party leader, Shimon Peres — to embarrass Mr. Shamir as elections on Nov. 1 draw near.

The Foreign Ministry would not say whether that assertion was true or false but pointed out that Mr. Peres and others in the Labor Party support the deportation policy, too.

Mr. Shamir told Mr. Pickering that Israel intends to continue deporting people considered dangerous to the state. The Prime Minister's press adviser, Avi Pazner, said Mr. Pickering told Mr. Shamir the criticism "was supposed to be secret, and he was sorry it was published."

**Geneva Convention Cited**

In Washington, Phyllis E. Oakley, the deputy to the State Department spokesman, said Mr. Whitehead "was speaking for the U.S. Government" when he expressed concern about the expulsions to Mr. Eran. She said the expulsions would bring to 60 the number of Palestinians deported this year.

"That appears to make expulsion the norm rather than the exception," she said. "As a strong friend of Israel, we are deeply concerned over the widening use of expulsions."

The United States and others have said the deportation policy is a violation of the Geneva Convention of 1949. The Government said Israeli law takes precedence over international law.

The Israeli radio reported today that the Government "countered that the Geneva Convention article on deportations was written after World War II and was intended to prevent Nazi-style mass deportations for the purposes of extermination, enslavement and economic exploitation."

The latest leaflet published by the underground leadership of the Palestinian uprising, distributed this week, condemns "the terrorist Rabin and his fascist government" for the deportation policy. As Defense Minister, Yitzhak Rabin signs deportation orders.

Two more Palestinians died in rioting Tuesday night and today, bringing the number of Palestinians killed in the uprising to at least 228.

Tuesday night, Palestinians said, 12-year-old Alaa Abu Foul, who lived in the Gaza Strip and had meningitis, died as a result of tear gas inhalation. Today, Hani Alshami, 42 years old, died after a fight with soldiers. Palestinians said he was beaten to death. The army said it was checking both reports.

**Clash in Southern Lebanon**

JERUSALEM, Aug. 24 (AP) — Is-

# Nervous Iraqis Cheer the Cease-Fire

By ALAN COWELL
Special to The New York Times

BAGHDAD, Iraq, Aug. 24 — A cease-fire with Iran has stilled eight years of war and given rise to forgotten and conflicting passions here: release and joy and a dread that the fledgling peace is yet too frail to hold.

Now in its fifth day, the cease-fire, sponsored by the United Nations, may also have undermined Iraq's readiness to return to war should the cease-fire collapse.

"In a way, the Iraqis may have made it hard on themselves by depicting the cease-fire as a victory," a Western diplomat said. "It will be difficult for them to get people to contemplate going back on the defensive" against Iran.

**Celebrations and Falling Bullets**

Where the response to the cease-fire has been muted in Iran, celebrations here last week verged on hysteria.

"It seemed everyone had a gun and everyone was firing it into the air," an Iraqi businessman said. "The bullets went up and no one thought about them coming down." The casualities from the falling bullets may have run into hundreds, a Western diplomat said.

A team of 350 United Nations representatives from 24 countries is in place along the 740-mile frontier to monitor the cease-fire because of Iran's acceptance last month of a Security Council resolution approved a year ago. Direct peace talks between Iran and Iraq are to begin Thursday in Geneva.

Like everything else in Iraq, the celebrations were carefully controlled by President Saddam Hussein, the country's autocratic leader, who ordered his troops to invade Iran on Sept. 22, 1980, after what Baghdad says were intolerable Iranian provocations.

But the festivities unleashed deep emotions. Teen-age Iraqis told reporters that they no longer faced the prospect of death for their country, and were overjoyed at the sudden gift of longevity. Other reports mentioned Iraqi and Iranian soldiers, dire enemies in a war that claimed an estimated one million lives, fraternizing over tea in remote areas of the front.

"The people here want peace very much," said a storekeeper from the country's Christian minority. "They love peace, not war."

As with other Iraqis who spoke in random and sometimes brief interviews, the man declined to be identified, reflecting a pervasive fear of being caught saying things that President Hussein's regime might dislike.

"Iraqis are still very very nervous," a businessman said. "They are nervous that it might not last. Each time they hear the saber-rattling on the radio or on television, they think the cease-fire will all disappear."

**Verbal Battles at the U.N.**

The newest verbal sparring began on Tuesday when Iran, in a letter to the United Nations, accused Iraq of massing its technologically superior forces at a point on the front line roughly 190 miles southeast of Baghdad. Iraq said it had threatened to use force against an Iranian buildup, but reported the Iranians pulling back. The U.N. monitoring group reported no cease-fire violations.

Iraq has chosen to portray Iran's precipitate acceptance of the cease-fire proposals as a clear victory, thereby seeking to vindicate President Hussein's leadership. Throughout the war years, intense propaganda has blurred the distinction between his personality and the nation's survival. Iran had long sought the Iraqi leader's ouster as a condition for peace.

"It is his war, Saddam's war," a Western diplomat said.

The cease-fire, therefore, has been depicted in orchestrated propaganda as a personal victory for President Hussein, cast as the nation's savior. "There was a huge element of homage to the leader," in the celebrations, a diplomat from the region said.

"And he must have known that the festivities would create expectations" not easily fulfilled, the diplomat said.

The authorities, however, have moved to fulfill some expectations. Residents here said the usually empty shelves in state-owned stores had suddenly been filled. "There are baby clothes and food and everything at low prices," an Iraqi journalist said. "People are cheering like crazy" after the privations of the last eight years.

Other expectations go deeper. Since 1982, Iraqis have generally been barred from leaving the country. "Travel is the one thing people are anticipating," the journalist said, "especially the intellectuals, who are the most oppressed within the society."

What neither Iraqis nor foreigners expect is political liberalization by one of the Arab world's most severe regimes. "They will be as tough as ever, if not more so, now that they think of themselves as the winners," the journalist said.

> 'The people here want peace very much. They love peace, not war.'

Publicly, few Iraqis dare challenge the wisdom of the conflict. Such questions are tantamount to a personal affront to the President, and thus treasonous.

**Modest and Personal Dreams**

So, in some ways the dreams people are prepared to discuss with outsiders are more modest and personal. Iran is holding an estimated 70,000 Iraqi prisoners, and many families have greeted the cease-fire as a herald of reunion with relatives held in Iranian camps.

Diplomats said the authorities will seek to promote economic well-being as a palliative should the cease-fire turn to a more durable peace.

Iraq's foreign commercial debt has soared to $60 billion. But with some of the world's largest known oil reserves, exported through pipelines carrying 2.3 million barrels a day of oil, a reduction in the war effort should free up money for economic improvement, Western diplomats said.

"No one expects them to suddenly stop spending money on the military, because they will want to be sure of their strength for a long time to come," a Western diplomat said. "But any liberalization and improvement will have to be economic, not political."

## Corrections

An article on Aug. 15 about the new president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters misstated who was honored at a party sponsored by the union at the Democratic National Convention. It was Representative William L. Clay, Democrat of Missouri, not Gov. Michael S. Dukakis of Massachusetts.

•

An article Monday on the Washington Talk page about Congressional salaries and expenditures misstated the annual staff payrolls of four Senators. The Senators and their payrolls are: Alfonse M. D'Amato, Republican of New York, $1,543,352; Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Democrat of New York, $1,544,546; Bill Bradley, Democrat of New Jersey, $1,236,084, and Frank R. Lautenberg, also a New Jersey Democrat, $1,217,762.

A L L U R E | FOR STYLE INDIVIDUALISTS:

# Polish Unrest, in 10th Day, Shows Signs of Waning

By JOHN TAGLIABUE
Special to The New York Times

WARSAW, Aug. 24 — The latest round of labor unrest in Poland appeared on the wane today, as strikes ended at five coal mines and work resumed at a rail repair yard and large turbine factory.

But at least eight mines and eight industrial enterprises remained crippled by the strikes, and there were reports that workers sought for a second consecutive day to organize a strike at the big Lenin steel foundry at Nowa Huta, near Cracow in southeastern Poland. Steelworkers struck that plant for 10 days during the labor confrontations in April and May, before the mill was stormed by riot police who arrested striking workers and their leaders.

The current wave of strikes, now in its 10th day, has generated intense interest among Poles and has been covered extensively on the state-run television and radio news programs, as well as in the newspapers.

### Ripple of Food Hoarding

Today, the Government was struggling to contain a ripple of food hoarding that erupted as Poles reacted to the prospect of continuing labor trouble.

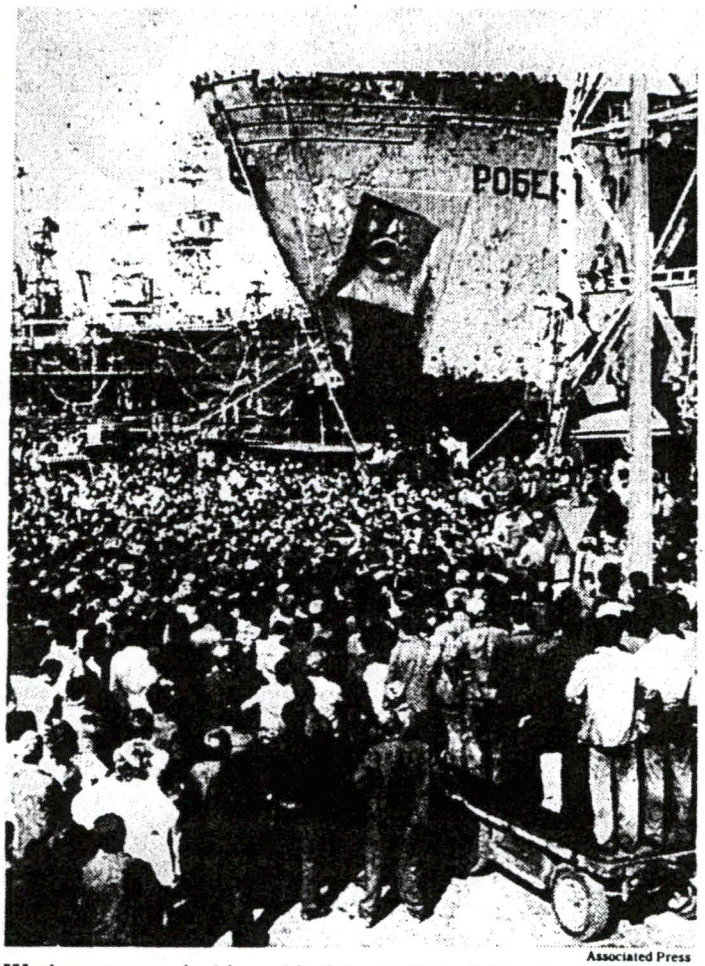
The state-run television reported this evening that Poles were hoarding such staples as sugar, flour and butter. A senior official responsible for the domestic market gave an interview in which he sought to assure Poles that the Government was taking special measures to supply the market, including the purchase of costly imports.

The strikes began in Poland's southern coal fields nine days ago and spread to plants around the country as workers sought the legalization of Solidarity, the outlawed trade union federation, and a pay increase to compensate for price increases included in the Government's plan for reviving the economy.

At Nowa Huta today, a spokesman for the outlawed Solidarity trade union, Maciej Mach, said that about 1,000 workers sought to organize a strike in two of the mill's divisions. Nowa Huta employs about 30,000 people.

### Walesa Assails Polish Leaders

Government officials said there had been trouble at Nowa Huta today, but they would not confirm the start of a strike.



Associated Press

Workers at a repair shipyard in Gdansk, Poland, listening to a speech yesterday by Lech Walesa, the founder of Solidarity.

In Gdansk, the Solidarity founder Lech Walesa, urged striking shipyard workers to press their support of the miners, assailing the Communist leadership, who he said "brought this country to impoverishment."

But a Solidarity adviser, the essayist Adam Michnik, later told reporters, "the strike situation is wavering."

At the same time, the Government was apparently preparing for the political consequences of the strikes, the second wave of labor trouble this year.

On Tuesday, the ruling Politburo ordered emergency economic measures to halt the spread of further unrest, and today officials announced that the Communist Party Central Commitee will meet in extraordinary session on Saturday.

There was widespread speculation a Government shake-up might be impending, after it was announced that the Polish parliament would convene at the end of the month. Officials of the Government-endorsed trade unions have said Government leaders should be made to account for the labor disruptions, which have crippled major coal mines and shipyards and virtually shut down the Baltic seaports of Szczecin and Gdansk.

In a statement issued after their session on Tuesday, the Politburo members said it was urgently necessary to prepare "provisional measures and a program for the consolidation of the national economy."

It did not elaborate, but after the April and May strikes the Government raised the ceiling for pay increases.

Riot police cleared two coal mines, the Victoria and Walbrzych mines in Silesia, without using force, after miners occupying two other sites, the Andaluzja and the Lenin mines, volunteered to leave.

### Enormous Economic Losses

The Government announced tonight that miners at the Borynia mine in Silesia had also ended their strike.

The authorities continue to publicize the enormous economic losses the strikes are producing. The Government press agency said that the continuing mine stoppages had already cost Poland 507,000 metric tons of coal production and that Polish coal exports this year would be cut by 148,000 tons, worth $7.4 million.

And there were laments over the losses caused to trade by the strikes at the Baltic seaports of Szczecin and Gdansk, where dock workers have curtailed traffic. One report said that an Egyptian freighter, the Salen VIII, was forced to depart frm Szczecin with only a part of its cargo of steel products. Twelve vessels were said to be awaiting to unload at Szczecin's docks.

The unrest started nine days ago at the big July Manifesto Mine, in the rich coal fields of Upper Silesia near the border with Czechoslvakia. Shipyard and dock workers in Szczecin and Gdansk, as well as workers at the big steel and machinery enterprise at Stalowa Wola, continue to strike in support of the miners.

### Intimidation Preferred to Force

The authorities appear at pains not to use force to end the strikes. A decision last May to use force to clear the Lenin steel mill at Nowa Huta was met by an international protest.

Nevertheless, the Government has deployed large numbers of paramilitary forces in the last two days, apparently in an attempt to intimidate the striking workers.

A Western journalist reported observing four large columns of paramilitary police near Cracow on Tuesday, and reporters today passed a column of 60 to 70 vehicles, some with water cannons, approaching Gdansk.

# A Standoff for Workers and Warsaw

Continued From Page A1

the union's persistent ability to take hold of spontaneous labor actions and use them to hammer at the regime.

One chronic complaint of the workers is economic hardship. The Government says it needs higher prices to heal the economy's ills. The reasoning is that it can no longer afford the immense price of subsidies that Communist leaders for decades used to fulfill the promise of a society that made basic goods and services like housing, food and health care easily affordable by everyone.

For the latest round of labor strife, the coal miners of Upper Silesia supplied the tinder.

The miners perform hard work and put in long hours, often with poor equipment and in unsafe conditions. Most of the striking miners were in their 20's and 30's, some of them lured to the mines by the prospect of freedom from the draft.




The New York Times/Aug. 25, 1988

Efforts to organize a strike at Nowa Huta reportedly continued.

agers who bartered the offer of a pay raise, up to 500 zlotys a day more, for peace.

But for some workers, the promise

are struggling to revive.

Where such propaganda fails, the Government resorts to threats. On Monday, the Interior Minister, Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak, dressed in his military uniform, went on television to annouce sweeping emergency powers for the leaders of the strike-affected regions.

Then huge columns of paramilitary forces were set in motion near Katowice, the mining center in the south, and around Gdansk, the shipbuilding city in the north.

The threats were more image than content, but there was a clear message: The strikes have pushed Poland to the brink of martial law, with all the terrible restrictions and hardships Poles recall from the years after 1982.

### Appeal From Walesa

To such threats and cajoling, Solidarity's response is that the workers will not pay, through a falling standard of living, for a system that distorts and squanders the effects of their labor and in which they have no say.



ation, and a pay increase to compensate for price increases included in the Government's plan for reviving the economy.

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Associated Press

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But a Solidarity adviser, the essayist Adam Michnik, later told reporters, "the strike situation is wavering."

At the same time, the Government was apparently preparing for the political consequences of the strikes, the second wave of labor trouble this year.

On Tuesday, the ruling Politburo ordered emergency economic measures to halt the spread of further unrest, and today officials announced that the Communist Party Central Commitee will meet in extraordinary session on Saturday.

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*Continued From Page A1*

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**A Broken Promise**

The spark was a broken promise.

In April and May, when the Nowa Huta steel mill and the Lenin shipyards in Gdansk were struck for 15 days, the miners were finally quieted by managers who bartered the offer of a pay raise, up to 500 zlotys a day more, for peace.

But for some workers, the promise was kept only from mid-May to mid-August, when the enthusiasm behind the May strikes had faded and managers apparently had second thoughts about the cost. When the miners, who earn about 40,000 to 50,000 zlotys a month, went for their paychecks on Aug. 15, some found up to 10,000 zlotys a month less than the month before. The next day, the strikes began.

During the latest strikes, the Government has hammered at the workers with the full force of its propaganda machine, arguing that the economy cannot improve so long as the workers lounge in the sun, making slogans.

Unlike April and May, when the Government only grudgingly reported on the strikes, the reporting this time has been overwhelming. Radio and television news programs have gone down the list of struck mines and factories, and Poles have gotten a glimpse of scenes never before shown on the state-run television.

Workers are shown behind banners reading "Solidarity," or chanting the slogan, "No freedom without Solidarity!" Even the strikers' art caricatures of the Government's intensely disliked spokesman, Jerzy Urban, make it onto prime-time television.

**Damage to Economy Cited**

But the message drilled home behind the images, in countless commentaries and interviews with Poles on the street, is the Government's: The strikes are damaging an economy that officials are struggling to revive.

Where such propaganda fails, the Government resorts to threats. On Monday, the Interior Minister, Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak, dressed in his military uniform, went on television to annouce sweeping emergency powers for the leaders of the strike-affected regions.

Then huge columns of paramilitary forces were set in motion near Katowice, the mining center in the south, and around Gdansk, the shipbuilding city in the north.

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**Appeal From Walesa**

To such threats and cajoling, Solidarity's response is that the workers will not pay, through a falling standard of living, for a system that distorts and squanders the effects of their labor and in which they have no say.

This is what Lech Walesa, a Solidarity founder, means when he appeals to the Government for talks, and tells them, as he did Monday: "If we sit down to talks, we expect to be treated seriously. We won't discuss the pluralism question, because pluralism is beyond discussion."

And that is why the principal demand in these strikes has been the return of Solidarity.

But this is the one demand, even in the midst of the current unrest, on which the Government refuses to yield.

So the standoff continues, if only because it often suffices to bring out a few hundred workers to cripple an enterprise that employs thousands.




The New York Times/Aug. 25, 1988

**Efforts to organize a strike at Nowa Huta reportedly continued.**

# *Miners Strike to Protest Austerity in Hungary*

BUDAPEST, Aug. 24 (AP) — More than 300 miners were on strike at an important southern mining area today, the state radio said. It was the first reported worker protest of strict economic policies imposed under Prime Minister Karoly Grosz.

The workers, at the Mescek mine in Komlo, were demanding that their full bonuses be restored and that the income tax introduced by Mr. Grosz be changed, the radio said.

A later radio report indicated that a compromise might be reached to restore some of the miners' bonuses. But there was no final word as representatives of management, the strikers and the official mine workers' union were reported meeting with Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy.

The state press agency called the strike "a pure industrial dispute with no political undertones." The strike came at a time of widespread labor unrest in Poland.

Reports on strikes in Hungary have been rare since the uprising against the Soviet Union was quashed in 1956.

The state press agency said the strike began Tuesday night when 150 miners refused to work at one entrance to the mine at Komlo, 100 miles south of Budapest near the Yugoslav border. The state radio said this afternoon that 150 more workers had refused to work and that the strike was spreading.

## Yugoslav Bread Riot Reported

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, Aug. 24 (AP) — Workers struggling to make ends meet under Yugoslavia's rising inflation stampeded while waiting on line to buy bread, and a newspaper here said today that 20 people had been injured. The incident reportedly took place in the town of Titov Veles in Macedonia, Yugoslavia's southernmost province, the Belgrade daily Vecernje Novosti said. It did not indicate when it occurred. Quoting a local paper, Nova Macedonia, the Belgrade daily said that bakeries often disregard instructions to produce at least 60 percent of their loaves in cheaper bread varieties.

Egyptian freighter, the Salen VIII, was forced to depart frm Szczecin with only a part of its cargo of steel products. Twelve vessels were said to be awaiting to unload at Szczecin's docks.

The unrest started nine days ago at the big July Manifesto Mine, in the rich coal fields of Upper Silesia near the border with Czechoslvakia. Shipyard and dock workers in Szczecin and Gdansk, as well as workers at the big steel and machinery enterprise at Stalowa Wola, continue to strike in support of the miners.

**Intimidation Preferred to Force**

The authorities appear at pains not to use force to end the strikes. A decision last May to use force to clear the Lenin steel mill at Nowa Huta was met by an international protest.

Nevertheless, the Government has deployed large numbers of paramilitary forces in the last two days, apparently in an attempt to intimidate the striking workers.

A Western journalist reported observing four large columns of paramilitary police near Cracow on Tuesday, and reporters today passed a column of 60 to 70 vehicles, some with water cannons, approaching Gdansk.



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# 3 NATIONS DISCUSS ANGOLA PULLOUTS

## Talks in Brazzaville Seeking to Establish a Timetable for Cuban Withdrawal

By JAMES BROOKE
Special to The New York Times

BRAZZAVILLE, Congo, Aug. 24 — Angola, Cuba and South Africa started talks today to set a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

The Cuban expeditionary force has been in Angola since 1975, when it helped a Marxist Angolan guerrilla group seize power. The force is now thought to number around 47,000 men.

Establishing an acceptable schedule for a complete Cuban withdrawal is seen here as the greatest hurdle in the negotiations, which began in May.

"This is the big one — it's all brass tacks, and they are all pointing up," an American diplomat said today. The United States is mediating the three days of talks, which are being held at the level of military chief of staff.

The three-sided talks have produced a cease-fire in Angola between South Africa, Angola and Cuba and a Sept. 1 deadline for the removal of all South African soldiers from Angola.

### Namibia Independence Planned

South Africa has also tentatively agreed that on Nov. 1 it will start a United Nations plan leading to independence for South-West Africa, also known as Namibia, the territory South Africa rules in defiance of United Nations resolutions. The South Africans have made it clear that they will withdraw their troops from Namibia only if Cuban troops leave Angola.

A timetable for a Cuban pullout looms large here because Angola's Government has not reduced its military dependence on the Cubans. In 1977, there were 20,000 Cuban troops in Angola, less than half today's level.

Brazzaville is the site of the sixth round of talks, following London, Cairo, New York, Cape Verde and Geneva.

Publicly, the South Africans say the Cubans must leave Angola by next June. The Angolans say publicly that they should leave in four years.

Narrowing this gap to a mutually acceptable period is the task of the American mediator, Chester A. Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. Since taking his State Department post in 1981, Mr. Crocker has advocated linking a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola with a South African withdrawal from Namibia.

For years, Mr. Crocker's efforts for a southern Africa peace package produced little results. But a series of recent events have started pushing the parties toward an accord.

### Prodding From Soviets

The Soviet Union, Angola's principal arms supplier, has started prodding the Angolans to end the 13-year-old war. A Soviet specialist in African affairs, Vladilen M. Vasev, is here as an observer to the talks.

For the South Africans, the military balance shifted unfavorably this spring as Cuba flew men and weapons to southern Angola. The Cubans set up a 280-mile front line about 15 miles north of the Namibian border.

As more white South African soldiers were killed, the war became increasingly unpopular in South Africa. On the


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**Thirsty towels.** A
**Royal Velvet** and bath rugs, 35% or
**All table linens** a

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**Baker.** Our enti

Cubans must leave Angola by next June. The Angolans say publicly that they should leave in four years.

Narrowing this gap to a mutually acceptable period is the task of the American mediator, Chester A. Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. Since taking his State Department post in 1981, Mr. Crocker has advocated linking a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola with a South African withdrawal from Namibia.

For years, Mr. Crocker's efforts for a southern Africa peace package produced little results. But a series of recent events have started pushing the parties toward an accord.

**Prodding From Soviets**

The Soviet Union, Angola's principal arms supplier, has started prodding the Angolans to end the 13-year-old war. A Soviet specialist in African affairs, Vladilen M. Vasev, is here as an observer to the talks.

For the South Africans, the military balance shifted unfavorably this spring as Cuba flew men and weapons to southern Angola. The Cubans set up a 280-mile front line about 15 miles north of the Namibian border.

As more white South African soldiers were killed, the war became increasingly unpopular in South Africa. On the diplomatic front, Pretoria evidently reasoned that it was better to reach a deal mediated by Reagan Administration officials than to gamble on the unknowns of a future administration.

Starting Sept. 1, the cease-fire is to be observed by another player in the region, the 10,000-member guerrilla army of the South-West African People's Organization. Based in southern Angola, it has been fighting since 1966 to win independence for Namibia.

**Unita Not Taking Part**

The group is widely seen as the probable winner of free elections in Namibia, because it has the support of the territory's biggest ethnic group, the Ovambo. Two members of the group's central committee are here to observe the talks.

The only major player not in attendance is the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, or Unita. Armed by South Africa and the United States, this rebel army fields about 35,000 guerrillas. Unita representatives have said they will not observe the cease-fire, declared Aug. 8.

Indeed, the Angolan military said recently that during the first week of the cease-fire, 202 "Unita bandits" and 57 Angolan Army soldiers died in clashes.

Unita's leader, Jonas Savimbi, has said he wants a political solution to the war — a demand consistently rejected by Angolan Government officials.

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**Botha Reports to Parliament**

Special to The New York Times

CAPE TOWN, Aug. 24 — President P. W. Botha, in his first major speech on the peace talks since they began three months ago, today began preparing white South Africans for the independence of South-West Africa.

Addressing a special joint meeting of the segregated three-house Parliament here, Mr. Botha said: "The day the territory becomes independent as a result of a free choice by its people and the Cubans have withdrawn from Angola, then South Africa will be able to say: The struggle was not in vain; we contributed to the peace and stability of the whole of southern Africa."

He faced strong opposition from the leader of the far-right Conservative Party, Dr. Andries Treurnicht, who warned that independence could mean "suicide" for 100,000 whites in the territory.

The President said, "South Africa's good-will is proved by the fact that our forces have begun to withdraw from southern Angola."

But he repeated the Government position that the Namibian independence process could not begin until agreement on the total withdrawal of Cuban troops had been reached.


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# Greek and Turkish Cypriots to Resume Talks

By PAUL LEWIS
Special to The New York Times

GENEVA, Aug. 24 — The leaders of the Greeks and Turks on Cyprus agreed today to start new talks about reunifying their divided Mediterranean island and set June 1, 1989, as the deadline for a settlement.

The agreement to open new unification talks came in a statement read by Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar of the United Nations after a working lunch he held for George Vassiliou, President of the internationally recognized Republic of Cyprus, and Rauf Denktash, head of the breakaway Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, which is recognized only by Turkey.

The Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaders said their meeting today had "created a new opportunity for finding a just and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem." But they also said that reuniting the island would require "a determined and sustained effort by both sides as well as the creation of an atmosphere of mutual confidence."

### Turkish Invasion in 1974

The island of Cyprus has been effectively partitioned into separate Greek and Turkish states since the Turkish Army occupied the northern part in 1974. Ankara said it acted to protect the 120,000-strong Turkish minority after Greek Cypriot officers overthrew the Government of Archbishop Makarios and called for union with Greece.

The new bid to unify Cyprus will be based on the broad agreement reached by the Greeks and Turks in 1977 and reaffirmed in 1979, under which the island is to become a federal republic comprised of separate and largely autonomous Greek and Turkish regions.

The big British air base on Cyprus will not be affected by the peace talks, officials say, since it is British sovereign territory and would not be part of any reunified Cypriot state.

The two Cypriot leaders will open a first round of talks on political reunification in Nicosia on Sept. 15.

At the end of this first round of talks, probably in late October or early November, the two Cypriot leaders will fly to New York to report on their progress to the Secretary General.

After their lunch today, the two Cypriot leaders both expressed satisfaction with the outcome and said they had got along well together. It was the first time they had ever met.

"The chemistry was good," Mr. Denktash told reporters afterwards, describing Mr. Vassiliou as "a pleasant man to talk to."

"The biggest achievement of the day is that we have the feeling we can talk to one another," President Vassiliou said at a news conference this evening.

The Turks and Greeks on Cyprus are separated today by a barbed wire frontier, minefields and a United Nations peacekeeping force of over 2,000 soldiers. Turkey maintains a garrison of some 30,000 soldiers in the north and has brought in about 50,000 settlers.

About 180,000 Greek-speaking Cypriots fled at the time of the invasion to join the Greek majority in the south. The Greek Cypriots, who now number about 500,000, enjoy a much higher standard of living than the Turks.

A meeting in 1985 between Mr. Denktash and the then president of Cyprus, Spyros Kyprianou, collapsed.

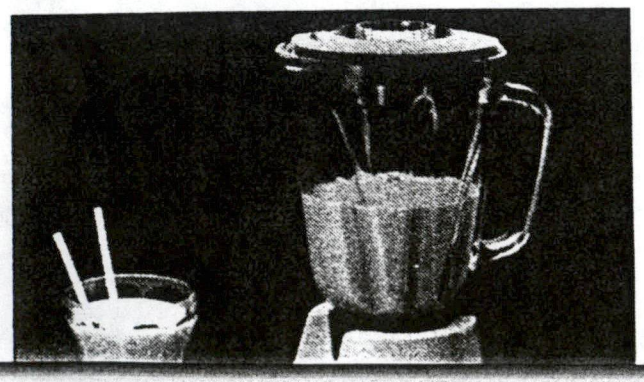
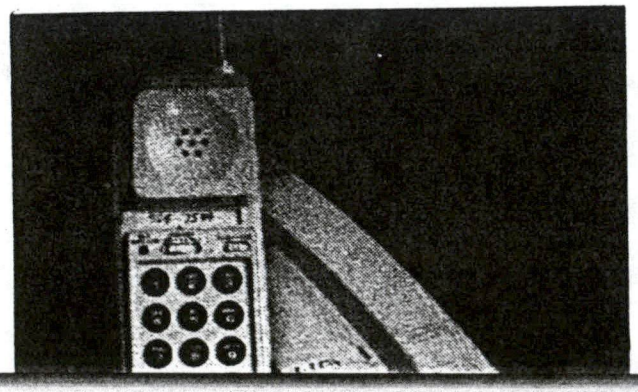
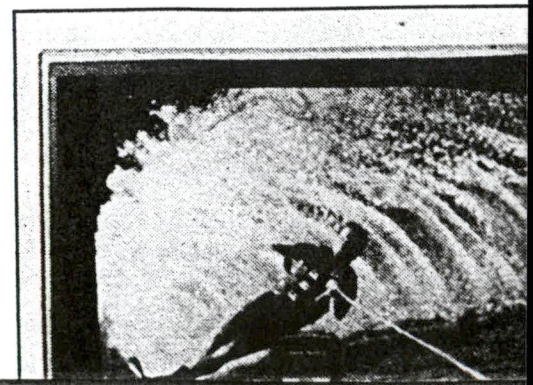
### Indications of Flexibility

Since then, however, several new developments have raised hope that an agreement may now be possible between the two sides, United Nations officials and diplomats say.

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### Indications of Flexibility

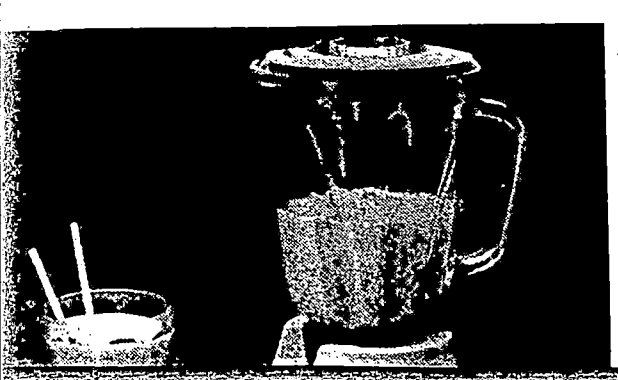
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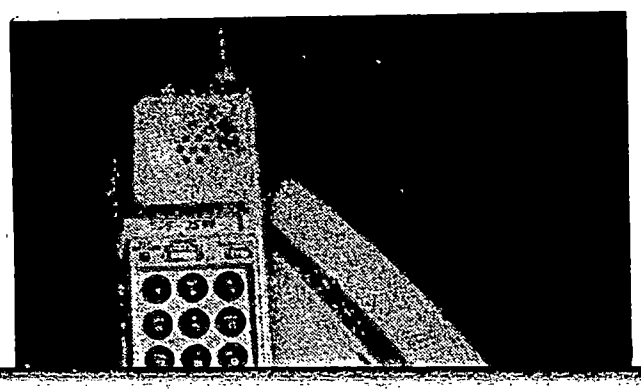
Relations between Greece and Turkey are improving, following informal talks between their prime ministers in Switzerland last January and an official visit to Athens by Prime Minister Turgut Ozal of Turkey this summer.

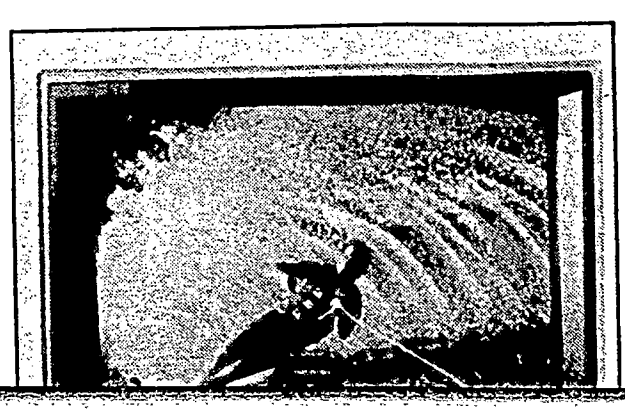
Prime Minister Ozal is seeking closer economic and political links between Turkey and the European Community and has said full membership is his eventual goal. But Greece is blocking his efforts until the Cyprus issue is resolved.

Earlier this year, Mr. Kyprianou lost the presidency of Cyprus to Mr. Vassiliou, who is widely considered more pragmatic and flexible than his predecessor. To make Turkish military withdrawal more palatable to Turks, he has suggested demilitarization of the island, with Greece removing its small force from southern Cyprus.

SAVINGS
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HURSDAY ■ FRIDAY ■ SATURDAY







# Baltic Demonstrations: A Gamble for Gorbachev

By BILL KELLER
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Aug. 24 — The slogans and speeches in the three Baltic republics Tuesday night must have burned the ears of the more conservative colleagues of Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader. The speakers, Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians who had received official permission to assemble, called for independence from Moscow, equated Communism with the Nazi swastika and accused the Soviet authorities of falsifying history.

News Analysis

There is no official explanation why the authorities were so lenient about the demonstrations. But it appears that Mr. Gorbachev may be gambling that if the three tiny republics are given a measure of freedom, they will be more eager to take the lead in his plans to revive the Soviet economy.

And it is the economic restructuring known in Russian as perestroika, that seems to be driving Mr. Gorbachev these days.

The risk in this gamble is that the pent-up resentment of Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians may prove difficult to control, as the emotions of Armenians did earlier this year.

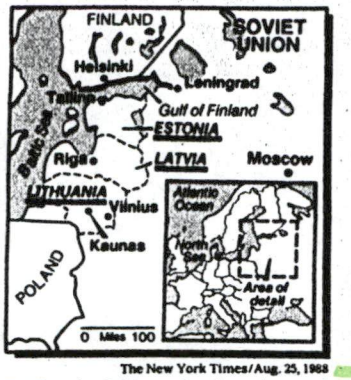
An outpouring of hostility against Soviet authority, or against the large Russian minorities living in the three republics, might imperil support in the Soviet leadership for Mr. Gorbachev's broader campaign of liberalization.

### Huge Gatherings Allowed

This implicit bargain was evident Tuesday as the authorities permitted tens of thousands of Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians to gather in emotional public rallies that questioned the very legitimacy of Soviet rule in the Baltics.

The occasion was the anniversary of the 1939 Stalin-Hitler nonaggression pact, with its secret protocol dividing Eastern Europe into Soviet and German spheres of influence.

In the Baltics this document, discovered by Western Allies at the end of World War II, is evidence that the Soviet Union had plans to occupy the region by force even before the war broke out, and did not, as official Soviet history has it, finally yield to popular demand and agree to incorporate the three former independent states.




The New York Times/Aug. 25, 1988

Rallies in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia questioned Soviet rule.

Moscow has no reservations these days about attacking Stalin's domestic cruelties, but Mr. Gorbachev is clearly unwilling to renounce Stalin's foreign policy moves such as the annexation of the Baltic states, of formerly Rumanian Bessarabia, and of large chunks of eastern Poland. To even hint that these postwar enlargements of the Soviet Union were wrong could fan the hopes of Chinese and Japanese, who have also been at odds with Moscow over territorial questions.

But in this era of "openness," many in the Kremlin must be embarrassed by the decision to refuse even to acknowledge the existence of the secret protocol. Moscow sticks to the official view is that there is no proof that the secret protocol is genuine, even though the opening of the Nazi archives in the early posywar years and the testimony of Germans involved in the policy seem incontrovertible.

### Independence Between Wars

The demonstraters reveled in open nostalgia for the independence they had before Soviet power, flying the long-banned flags of that period from the end of World War I until puppet parliaments voted in 1940 to join the Soviet Union.

In the Estonian capital, Tallinn, a crowd numbering 12,000 jeered and hooted as protest organizers showed old newsreels of Soviet tanks rolling into their territory.

In Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania, a crowd officially estimated at 100,000 — and unofficially at twice that number — reportedly heard speakers read a letter from United States senators denouncing the "illegal Soviet occupation" of the Baltics. The United States still does not recognize Soviet sovereignty in the region.

Few in the Baltics believe that secession from the Soviet Union is a realistic possiblity, and far fewer publicly advocate such a course.

"If you talk about people's emotions, then certainly there is some sentiment for independence," said Rein Helme, an historian at the central government archives in Tallinn. "But real independence in the political sense, no, that is naive."

"What we realistically want is the right to solve our own economic, political, demographic and cultural problems," he said.

### Economic Automony Sought

Specifically, independent political movements that have grown up in recent months call for greater control of local economies, including the power to veto environmentally harmful development projects. They demand an end to russification of the culture, including equal status for their native languages and the right to limit the immigration of Russians into the republics.

While professing enthusiastic support for Mr. Gorbachev's economic and political program, these groups go beyond him.

The People's Front of Estonia, an officially approved independent political group that now claims 60,000 adherents, last week published a platform calling for an end to all state censorship, virtually unlimited private enterprise and an end to the Communist party's "monopoly" on political power.

A year ago, this was the talk of the most fearless dissidents. But at some point in the last few months — Baltic residents say they cannot pinpoint an exact turning point — Moscow began to relax the old limits. It is not at all clear that Mr. Gorbachev intends to satisfy the demands of the Baltics, but he has allowed them to be expressed.

The Estonian Front and similar independent groups in Latvia and Lithuania seem to have almost unlimited access to the official press to publish proposals far beyond what is printed in the Moscow newspapers.

Demonstrations that were previously suppressed are now given favorable coverage on local television.

### Played Down by Moscow Press

The Moscow press and central television have treated these events gingerly, either ignoring them or playing down their nationalist content, but word of the Baltic developments has stirred great excitement among Moscow intellectuals.

Janis Peters, head of the Latvian Writers Union, said in a recent interview that Mr. Gorbachev seemed to have singled out the Baltics as a kind of laboratory.

"Gorbachev has given us the sense that we are living in a different kind of Soviet Union," he said.

The Baltic republics have eagerly taken up Mr. Gorbachev's calls for greater free enterprise and local economic initiatives. Private businesses have developed faster than in other republics. Some factories have become showplaces of good management, and Baltic economists are pushing for a free trade zone in a Baltic seaport.

Mr. Gorbachev, casting about for success stories, often turns to the Baltics.

### Tass Voices Uneasiness

Yet official uneasiness about the three republics remains, as reflected today in the Tass report on the demonstrations.

"The rallies in the Baltic republics showed the enhanced civic activity of the people and their growing interest in history now that acute problems can be openly discussed thanks to the policy of glasnost," Tass said. "At the same time, one cannot fail to notice destructive nationalist sentiments that benefit only forces opposed to the campaign for perestroika."

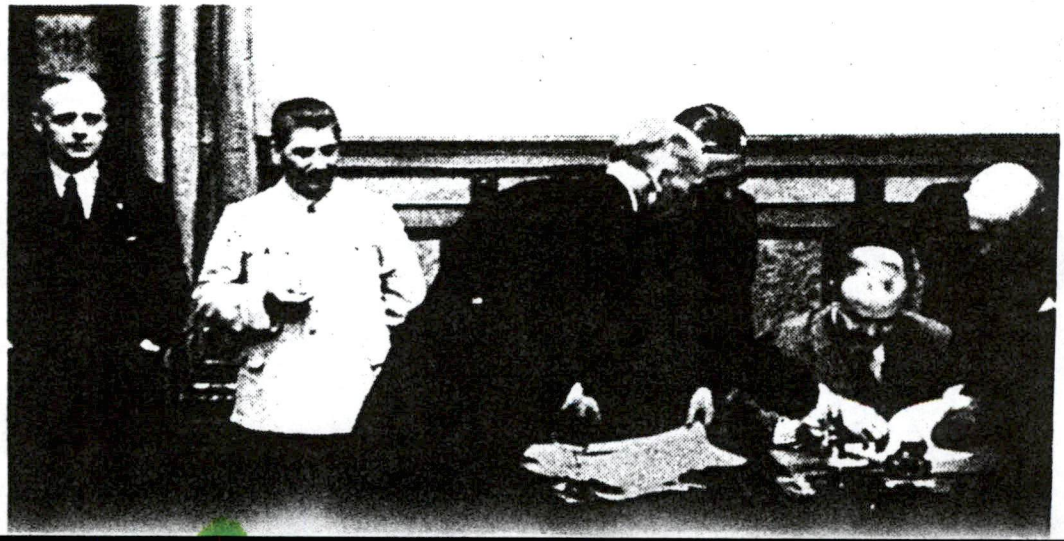
Mr. Helme, the historian, said he understood why officials in Moscow might be nervous.

"I'm absolutely convinced that all this could not be taking place without the permission of Moscow," he said. "They have the power to stop it if they want, and they are not stopping it.

"But on the other hand, this widening self-consciousness has developed too quickly for Moscow to lead it. Now they are giving us permission almost after the fact. The people are moving ahead of the Government."

# Text of '39 Pact: Baltic Nations Enter Soviet Orbit

*Demonstrations on Tuesday in the Baltic republics of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia marked the anniversary of a 1939 nonaggression treaty between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany. A secret protocol to the treaty, found and made public by the West at the end of World War II, is considered the basis for the Soviet takeover of the Baltic region in 1940. The Soviets, however, say the protocol may be fraudulent. Here is the text of the treaty and protocol, as published by the State Department.*



The Government of the German Reich and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, desirous of strengthening the cause of peace between Germany and the U.S.S.R., and proceeding from the fundamental provisions of the Neutrality Agreement concluded in April 1926 between Germany and the U.S.S.R., have reached the following

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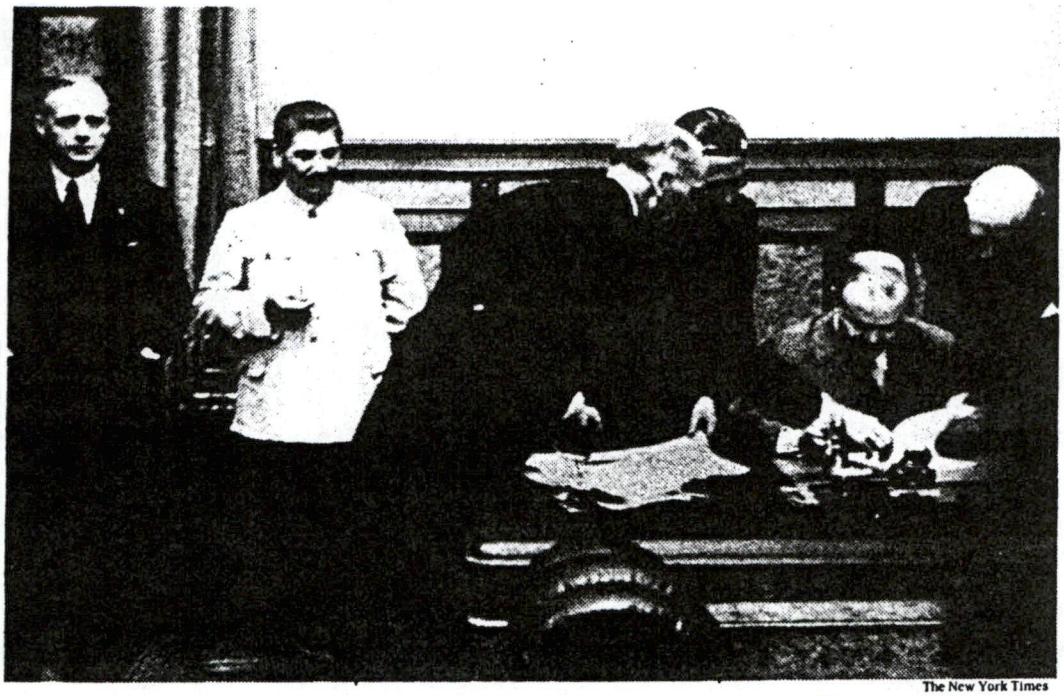
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The New York Times

Stalin, in white jacket, watching as his Foreign Minister, Vyacheslav M. Molotov, signed the Nazi-Soviet Nonagression Pact in Moscow on Aug. 23, 1939. The Germans with them were, from left, Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop, Under Secretary of State Friedrich Gauss, G. Hilger of the German Legation and Count Friederich Werner von der Schulenberg, Ambassador to Moscow.

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**[I]**

Both High Contracting Parties obligate themselves to desist from any act of violence, any aggressive action, and any attack on each other, either individually or jointly with other powers.

**[II]**

Should one of the High Contracting Parties become the object of belligerent action by a third power, the other High Contracting Party shall in no manner lend its support to this third power.

**[III]**

The Governments of the two High Contracting Parties shall in the future maintain continual contact with one another for the purpose of consultation in order to exchange information on problems affecting their common interests.

**[IV]**

Neither of the two High Contracting Parties shall participate in any grouping of powers whatsoever that is directly or indirectly aimed at the other party.

**[V]**

Should disputes or conflicts arise between the High Contracting Parties over problems of one kind or another, both parties shall settle these disputes or conflicts exclusively through friendly exchange of opinion or, if necessary, through the establishment of arbitration commissions.

**[VI]**

The present treaty is concluded for a period of 10 years, with the proviso that, insofar as one of the High Contracting Parties does not denounce it one year prior to the expiration of this period, the validity of this treaty shall automatically be extended for another five years.

**[VII]**

The present treaty shall be ratified within the shortest possible time. The ratifications shall be exchanged in Berlin. The agreement shall enter into force as soon as it is signed.

## Protocol

On the occasion of the signature of the Nonaggression Pact between the German Reich and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the undersigned plenipotentiaries of each of the two parties discussed in strictly confidential conversations the question of the boundary of their respective spheres of influence in Eastern Europe. These conversations led to the following conclusions:

1. In the event of a territorial and political rearrangement in the areas belonging to the Baltic States (Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania), the northern boundary of Lithuania shall represent the boundary of the spheres of influence of Germany and the U.S.S.R. In this connection, the interest of Lithuania in the Vilna area is recognized by each party.

2. In the event of a territorial and political rearrangement of the areas belonging to the Polish state, the spheres of influence of Germany and the U.S.S.R. shall be bounded approximately by the line of the rivers Narew, Vistula and San.

The question of whether the interests of both parties make desirable the maintenance of an independent Polish state and how such a state should be bounded can only be definitely determined in the course of further political developments.

In any event, both Governments will resolve this question by means of a friendly agreement.

3. With regard to Southeastern Europe, attention is called by the Soviet side to its interest in Bessarabia. The German side declares its complete political disinterestedness in these areas.

4. This protocol shall be treated by both parties as strictly secret.

# *Soviets Agree to Open Files on the Nazi Genocide to U.S. Scholars*

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 24 — The Soviet Union has agreed for the first time to open its archives on the Nazi genocide to United States scholars, a step that is expected to give a clearer picture of how Eastern European collaborators helped put to death millions of Jews and others.

An agreement signed in Moscow on July 29 by the Main Archival Administration of the Soviet Union and the United States Holocaust Memorial Council will permit historians, archivists and curators from the United States to copy documents that throw light on the vast killing machine in German-occupied Soviet territories from June of 1941 until the end of the war.

"We will get a picture in depth of life in the occupied territories that will add to our store of memory, which is the quest of history," said Dr. Raul Hilberg of the University of Vermont, a leading historian of the Nazi crimes and a member of the United States delegation that negotiated the agreement.

**'An Ocean of Material'**

Miles Lerman, who is international relations chairman of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, said a preliminary sampling of Soviet documents indicates that the archives may hold from 30 to 40 percent of all records of the German execution policies.

"It is an enormous amount of information," Mr. Lerman said. "It's an ocean of material."

Mr. Lerman said American scholars would make microfilm and microfiche copies of the Soviet documents, which Dr. Hilberg said are scattered in dozens of Soviet archives, and transfer them to the United States Holocaust Museum in Washington. That museum is scheduled to open in late 1991.

The documents in Soviet archives include captured German records and a mass of reports made by local authorities who worked under the Germans in such occupied areas as Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and the Ukraine.

It is possible, but not likely, that the files may help identify some unprosecuted war criminals, Mr. Lerman said. The Soviet authorities have already cooperated with the United States Department of Justice in some cases. They furnished an identity card of John Demjanjuk, who was suspected of being a brutal Nazi camp guard in Poland during the war. Mr. Demjanjuk was extradited to Israel for trial and sentenced to death in April.

Brewster Chamberlin, an archivist for the United States Memorial Commission, said the Soviet-held archives are expected to give "a much better picture" of how the Germans and their collaborators in occupied territories carried out the oppression and killing of Jews, gentiles, Communists, partisans, prisoners of war and gypsies.

"We know it happened — that's been clear since 1945 — but how did it happen?" Mr. Chamberlin said. "These records will show how the system worked. How was it possible to carry it out on this scale."

Mr. Lerman said the documents would show how Nazi officials oversaw a system in Soviet territory that relied on mass killing by firearms, instead of gas chambers.

## The U.N. Today

### General Assembly

**LAW OF THE SEA PREPARATORY COMMISSION, Special Commissions** — 10 A.M. and 3 P.M.

**SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS** — 3 P.M.

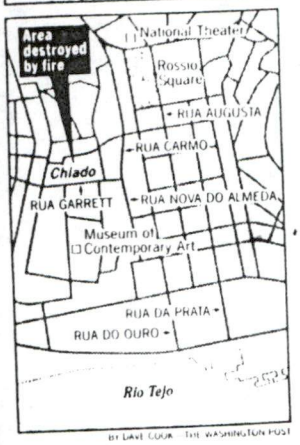
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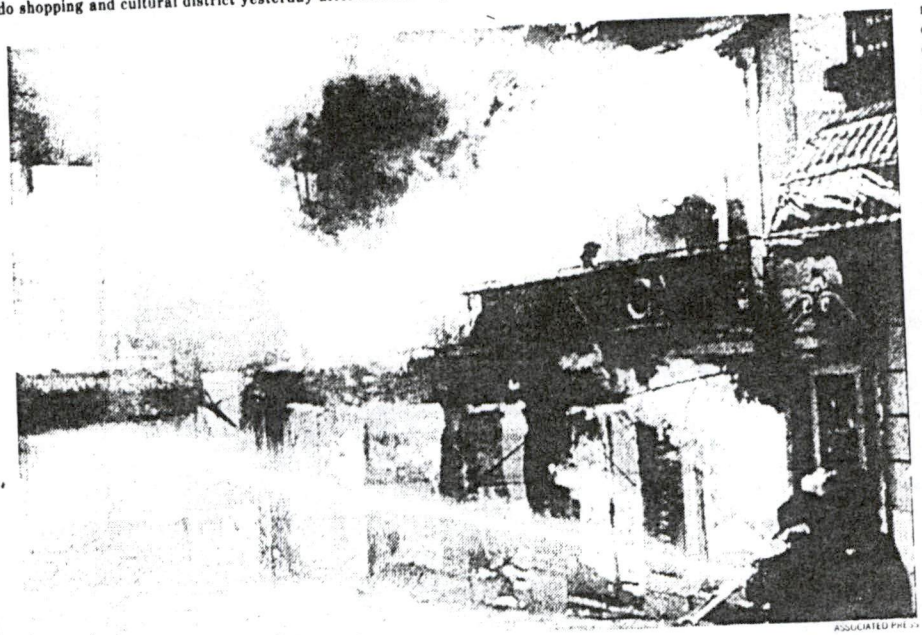
ASSOCIATED PRESS

Smoke rises from ruins of Lisbon's Chiado shopping and cultural district yesterday after fire in a department store spread through old neighboring buildings.




BY DAVE COOK—THE WASHINGTON POST



ASSOCIATED PRESS

A firefighter aims hose on building as flames shoot out windows. Narrow, cobblestoned streets hindered firefighters.

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and literary heart of the cap
One person was killed and 43 w
injured, officials said.

Bottles of butane gas stacke
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paneled cafes and specialty st
on the narrow, cobbles
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Police cordoned off the are
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By late afternoon the fire
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Firefighters did not arrive
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The Armazens do Grand
the Grandes Armazens do
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Both have recently featu
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Manuel Martin Dias, a
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an investigating magistrat
bon yesterday to answer
about a fire in another
group owned.

The firefighters were
further by marble tables
the center of the Rua

# Iran, Iraq Open Talks To End Persian Gulf War

By Patrick E. Tyler
Washington Post Foreign Service

GENEVA, Aug. 25—The first face-to-face negotiations between the foreign ministers of Iran and Iraq adjourned here tonight after what U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar described as a "serious beginning" to find a peaceful settlement to one of this century's most destructive regional wars.

Today's session, which was said by diplomatic sources to have focused on setting an agenda for the talks and a schedule for withdrawal of armies, repatriation of prisoners and other key matters, lasted a total of six hours.

But after the first two hours, U.N. spokesman Francois Giuliani told reporters that the parties had taken a 15-minute break for delegation "consultations." Nearly two hours later, Giuliani said the face-to-face talks still had not resumed.

"The secretary general is consulting with both delegations separately," Giuliani said, adding that Perez de Cuellar and his aides were shuttling back and forth between the two parties, which were encamped in rooms just off the council chamber.

"It's not a bad sign or a good sign, it's the normal process of consultation," he said.

When Perez de Cuellar appeared at 9 p.m., he did not say whether the parties had ever resumed face-to-face meetings, but he said that the two delegations would meet again Friday morning "in exactly the same scenario we had [today]."

"We have covered many points and now the two parties want to consult with their respective governments," he added. Asked if the negotiations had snagged on procedural questions, he said, "We are discussing important things, the procedure is already solved."

An hour later, the two delegations left the building without comment.

Perez de Cuellar said it was too early to be optimistic, but, he said, "I am satisfied because we are working very seriously . . . . I think this is a serious beginning."

In a carefully staged opening ceremony, Perez de Cuellar entered the Council Chamber of the Palais de Nations and five minutes later, his aides gave the signal for the Iranian and Iraqi delegations to enter from rooms on opposite sides of the hall.

Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz strode into the room leading 14 Iraqi officials and appeared to seek eye contact with his counterpart, Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati. Aziz nodded and uttered a greeting across the room to Velayati. But Velayati, leading his 13-man delegation, avoided looking at the Iraqis and instead nodded a greeting to the U.N. secretary general.

The table arrangement in the hall had even been the subject of negotiations, according to diplomatic sources. Iran had sought a triangle-shaped arrangement to emphasize the U.N. role in mediating between the parties, while Iraq had pressed for a U-shaped table so its delegation would directly face the Iranian side.

The final format featured a head table for Perez de Cuellar and his five negotiating assistants facing two nearly perpendicular, slightly slanted tables on his right and left. The arrangement was neither U-shaped nor triangular; Iran and Iraq were partially facing each other but also facing the secretary general.

"Your excellencies, I warmly welcome you," Perez de Cuellar said in his opening remarks. "Your presence here clearly indicates that your governments are quite prepared to pursue the path of peace."

He told them that "the most important work ahead of us is to proceed with the full implementation of Resolution 598," the U.N.-mandated cease-fire passed unanimous-

See GULF, A18, Col. 6



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz, foreground, arrives for peace talks in Geneva.

# China's
# With Ja

Associated Press

BEIJING, Aug. 26
China's senior leader, L
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"With your visit, Ch
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Takeshita held talks
with Chinese Premier L
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Times reported.

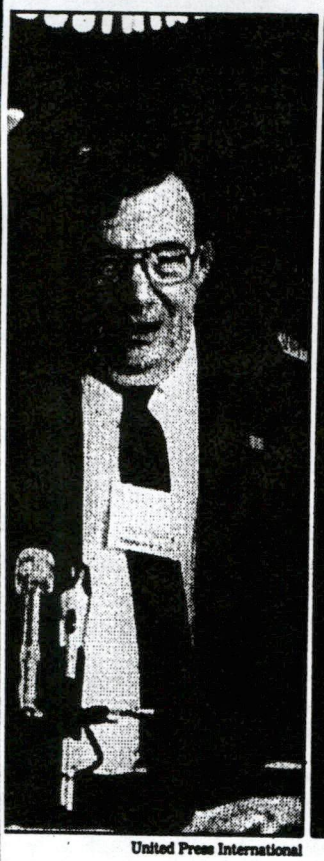
They met for nearly
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Takeshita committed
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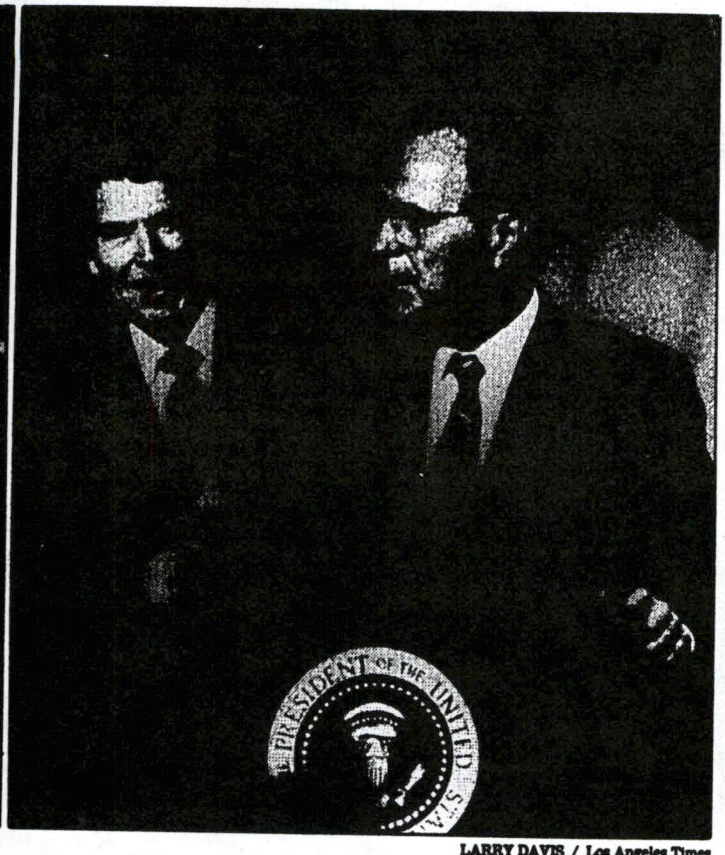
Li, speaking last nig
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Friendship Treaty 10

Angeles Times

Thursday, August 25, 1988 CC†/ 194 Pages Copyright 1988/The Times Mirror Company Daily 25¢ / Designated Areas Higher



United Press International



LARRY DAVIS / Los Angeles Times

e Kirkland in Washington, and President Reagan with George Bush at Los Angeles fund-raiser.

# China Shifts Its Military Emphasis

## Rapid Deployment Force Reflects Change in Policy

By JIM MANN,
*Times Staff Writer*

WASHINGTON—The Chinese People's Liberation Army is developing a rapid deployment force capable of moving overseas on short notice, causing U.S. experts to analyze what the purpose of such a military unit might be.

The special force apparently reflects China's new emphasis on demonstrating its military power to East Asian neighbors and on having the ability to fight smaller, limited wars abroad against regional enemies such as Vietnam, rather than on simply defending itself against an invasion by one of the superpowers.

The Chinese military has been giving new training to marines and paratroopers within the unit and has been seeking to develop ships and aircraft for rapid transport, according to U.S. officials.

### Old Fears May Be Revived

Any shift by China toward a more aggressive military posture could complicate U.S. policy in Asia, which is based on the premise that China is a generally friendly nonaligned country. It also could revive old fears, particularly among the nations of Southeast Asia, that China might someday seek to dominate them.

For China, "the Americans have not been a threat for a while, and the Russians are no longer a serious threat," said Thomas W. Robinson, a specialist on Chinese military affairs at the American Enterprise Institute. "For the PLA, the question is, who are your enemies now? The answer is the Vietnamese, and possibly the Indians or Taiwan, and in the long run, Japan."

Paul H. B. Godwin, a China scholar at the Defense Department's National War College here, said the Chinese military is now seeking to be able to "react quickly to events" as part of a general, continuing shift away from Mao Tse-tung's old strategy of defeating opponents by tying them down in a long war inside Chinese territory.

### Transition in Strategy Seen

"This is part of the transition

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# mmuters e Traffic

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region was slightly over 10
s in Los Angeles and neighbor-
ounties.

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# Dukakis Assails GOP on Deficit, Gets Union Nod

By DAVID LAUTER,
*Times Staff Writer*

WASHINGTON—Calling for a "new economic patriotism," Democratic presidential nominee Michael S. Dukakis received the endorsement of the AFL-CIO on Wednesday and charged in a speech to labor leaders that Republicans had made the nation dependent on "foreign bankers" while allowing average family income to stagnate.

Running mate "Lloyd Bentsen and I," Dukakis said, "believe in investing in America, and the Republicans don't; we want to forge a new era of greatness for America, and they don't."

During the Democratic primaries, Dukakis kept

**Please see UNION, Page 31**

# Reagan, Bush Blast Dukakis at L.A. Rally

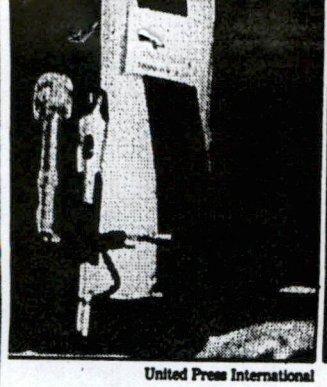
By KEITH LOVE
and CATHLEEN DECKER,
*Times Staff Writers*

In a partisan attack designed to fire up California conservatives, President Reagan and Republican presidential nominee George Bush joined Wednesday to blast Democratic nominee Michael S. Dukakis as a liberal and to challenge him on the issue of the Pledge of Allegiance.

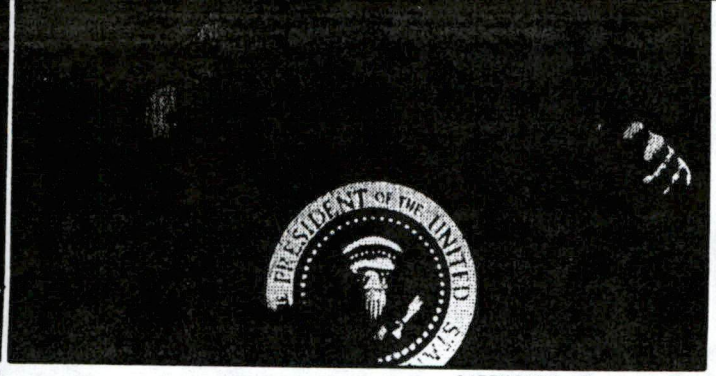
"What is it about the Pledge of Allegiance that upsets him so much?" Bush asked a crowd of nearly 3,000 supporters jammed into a Century Plaza Hotel ballroom. He was referring to Dukakis' veto of a 1977 Massachusetts bill requiring teachers to lead the pledge in their classrooms.

Bush strategists believe that veto gives them a clear-cut way to hang the liberal tag on Dukakis. They hope to make special use of it in California, where Reagan has had huge success over the years by polarizing elections into liberals versus conservatives, rather than Democrats versus Republicans.

# Chile Decrees End to State



United Press International



LARRY DAVIS / Los Angeles Times

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# ›mmuters e Traffic

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**verage Unchanged**

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ecent surveys, including the commission poll, show about same thing: 60% or more of muters still have one-way es of less than 30 minutes. y percent or more are less than inutes.

's remained relatively con- ," acknowledged David Roper, ty director of the Los Angeles

**Please see POLL, Page 22**

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**Please see UNION, Page 31**

# Chile Decrees End to State of Emergency

*From Times Wire Services*

SANTIAGO, Chile—The military government Wednesday decreed an end to all state-of-emergency measures for the first time since President Augusto Pinochet took power in a 1973 coup.

The action was taken less than a week before Chile's military commanders meet to nominate a candidate, expected to be Pinochet himself, for a presidential referendum planned for October.

Interior Minister Sergio Fernandez, in a news conference at the government palace, told reporters that presidential decrees removing the emergency measures "have been issued today and will take effect upon publication in the official bulletin," within the next few days. However, some government sources were quoted as saying that they will take effect today.

"We are confident that this passage toward full, normal democracy will be received responsibly," Fernandez added.

Wednesday's action had been a key demand of the opposition.

# Reagan, Bush Blast Dukakis at L.A. Rally

By KEITH LOVE
and CATHLEEN DECKER,
*Times Staff Writers*

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**'Founding Fathers'**

"It's very hard for me to imagine that the Founding Fathers—Samuel Adams, John Adams and John Hancock—would have objected to teachers leading students in the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag of the United States," Bush said to strong applause. "I just don't believe that was their concept."

Bush got a huge, emotional response from GOP convention delegates last week in New Orleans when he closed his acceptance speech by reciting the Pledge of Allegiance.

On Tuesday, Dukakis attempted to turn the issue around by charging that by criticizing his veto, Bush did not understand the Constitution and thus was "not fit" to be President.

Dukakis noted that before his

**Please see BUSH, Page 20**

*Times Staff Writer*

WASHINGTON—The Chinese People's Liberation Army is developing a rapid deployment force capable of moving overseas on short notice, causing U.S. experts to analyze what the purpose of such a military unit might be.

The special force apparently reflects China's new emphasis on demonstrating its military power to East Asian neighbors and on having the ability to fight smaller, limited wars abroad against regional enemies such as Vietnam, rather than on simply defending itself against an invasion by one of the superpowers.

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Paul H. B. Godwin, a China scholar at the Defense Department's National War College here, said the Chinese military is now seeking to be able to "react quickly to events" as part of a general, continuing shift away from Mao Tse-tung's old strategy of defeating opponents by tying them down in a long war inside Chinese territory.

**Transition in Strategy Seen**

"This is part of the transition away from 'people's war,'" said Godwin, referring to Mao's military strategy. He said Chinese leaders recognize that for a regional war, "you don't have time to mobilize the whole population, the whole economy, as you would for a major war, and the war might not be big enough to require it."

The unit, identified as the "Fist Platoon," was described as highly mobile but small, although the exact size was not given. Godwin said he understands that China is giving special training to one marine division of about 10,000 to 12,000 troops, but it is not certain that this unit is in fact the rapid deployment force.

Several analysts said that it would be misleading to equate China's new unit with the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force, which

**Please see CHINA, Page 17**

# Panel Orders GTE to Cut Telephone Rates by 13.4%

brutality complaints. (Page 4.) | versy alive. (Page 10.) | tive action. (Editorial Pages.) | Carter. (Page 1.)

## The World

25 Apr 1988 LA TIMES

# Japan's Military Chief Quits

**The chief of** Japan's military resigned to take responsibility for the deaths of 30 civilians killed when a submarine collided with a sport fishing vessel last month. "I presented Prime Minister [Noboru] Takeshita with a notice of resignation today, just now," Tsutomu Kawara said at a news conference. Kawara was the first Defense Agency director general in 17 years to relinquish his post in a controversy linked to the armed forces. Takeshita appointed Kichiro Tazawa, 70, to replace Kawara. Only 18 of the 48 passengers on board the fishing boat survived when it collided with the submarine Nadashio in Tokyo Bay on July 23.

**Ousted Philippine** President Ferdinand E. Marcos asked a Manila court to order the government to give him travel documents so he can return home to defend himself against corruption charges. In a petition filed by his sister, Fortuna Barba, the exiled former ruler said he wants to take advantage of his constitutional rights to attend legal proceedings against himself. Marcos, who has lived in Hawaii since being overthrown in 1986, also asked Manila to intercede with Washington to allow him to return. The United States has barred him from leaving Hawaii. A special anti-corruption court, where the petition was filed, has said Marcos has a right to face his accusers at a pretrial hearing.

**The death toll** from the Himalayan earthquake topped 750 as rescue workers hampered by monsoon rains, aftershocks and washed-out roads reached remote areas of Nepal and found more bodies. Rescue workers demolished 50 homes in Dharan, the worst-hit area of Nepal, that were severely damaged by the temblor, police inspector G. Adhikari said. In eastern India, also devastated by the quake, cracks were found in the dikes of six rivers in Bihar state, and officials said floods could pose the next threat to the area's 10 million people. Bihar residents ran screaming through the streets when a mild aftershock rumbled through the area. No casualties or damage was reported.

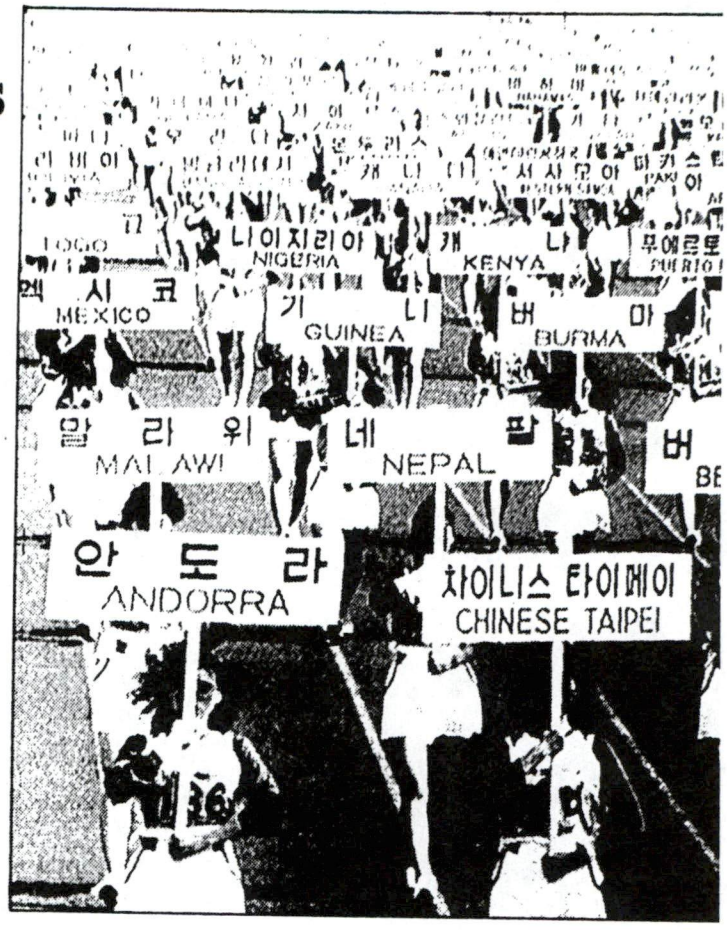
**Israeli troops** thrust 12 miles into southern Lebanon on a "search-and-destroy" mission, and five pro-Iranian guerrillas were killed, an army spokesman said. Six Israeli soldiers were wounded in the action, said the spokesman, who refused to give any other details. Lebanese security officials said Israeli troops, backed by artillery and helicopter gunships, pushed out from Israel's self-declared "security zone" inside southern Lebanon to engage the guerrillas. They said Israeli artillery pounded at least four Shia Muslim villages.

**The chairman of** the House Foreign Affairs Committee has charged that the Reagan Administration is easing its pressure on the Soviet Union on Jewish emigration and other human rights issues. According to his aides, Rep. Dante B. Fascell (D-Fla.) charged in a recent letter to Secretary of State George P. Shultz that the State Department is going easy on the Soviets because of its desire for a quick conclusion to the current European security conference in Vienna. Fascell also suggested that the Administration may be backing off its human rights goals in hopes of getting another summit meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev. State Department officials denied the charges.

**A black bishop** who heads the Anglican Church in Namibia was hit by rubber bullets as territorial police clashed with student protesters, local journalists said. Bishop James Kauluma was bruised on the leg and back by the bullets, reporters said. The state-run radio said 11 people were arrested during the incident at a secondary school in Katutura, a black township adjacent to Windhoek, capital of the South African-ruled territory also known as South-West Africa. The protesters reportedly advocated a boycott of classes to press demands that military bases be moved away from schools. Namibia expects to be granted its independence soon by South Africa.

**More than half** of the U.S. military personnel in Panama have moved from private homes to the safety of U.S. military bases because of Washington's dispute with Gen. Manuel A. Noriega, a Defense Department spokesman said. "There is a perceived threat to U.S. individuals and property," the spokesman said, adding that Noriega followers had stepped up harassment of U.S. service personnel since the Panamanian military leader, who has been indicted in the United States on drug-trafficking charges, took power in February. American officials have urged military personnel living off base in Panama City to move to U.S. government installations. About 1,550 of the 2,450 military personnel and their families have moved since April, the spokesman said.

**Leaders of Canada's** largest Protestant denomination, the United Church of Canada, ruled that homosexuals may be considered for the ministry. The 205-160 vote by the church's general council followed months of heated debate in which one-quarter of the church's 4,000 ministers and 30,000 of its 860,000 members signed a declaration opposing the ordination of homosexuals. The decision could lead to a possible schism in the church.




**March of nations**—Sign bearers in Seoul rehearse Wednes

## The Nation

# Panel to Investigate Rear Se

**National Highway** Traffic Safety Administration engineers have opened an investigation of claims that the rear seat belts on 1.7 million Ford Escort and Mercury Lynx cars manufactured since 1984 can cripple passengers in a crash, the agency said. But the agency said the belts, which have an unusual design, comply with federal standards. NHTSA granted part of a petition by a La Plata, Md., couple, Larry and Patricia Garrett, whose son was crippled in a 1985 accident while riding in a Ford Escort. The Garretts through their attorneys alleged a strap retainer causes the rear seat belts on the Escort and Lynx cars to ride up on the waist rather than settling around the hips, increasing the chance of serious injury in accidents. The Garretts last December won a $3.3-million judgment against Ford Motor Co. for their son's injuries. The auto maker expressed confidence the agency would find no safety-related defect in the belts.

**An oil barge** heading from Baltimore to Richmond, Va., cracked down the middle, spilling 160,000 gallons of diesel oil and gasoline into the Chesapeake Bay near the mouth of the Potomac River, according to Coast Guard officials. It was the largest such accident since 1976, when 250,000 gallons spilled into the bay from another barge. Coast Guard officials said that the 240-foot barge involved in the latest incident, named only by the number 565, carried just over 800,000 gallons of diesel fuel and gasoline. The 37-year-old barge, owned by Eastern Carriers Inc. of Hockessin, Del., passed a Coast Guard safety inspection last week.

**Blacks and other** racial minorities constitute 16% of the work force of American newspapers but only 8% of the news and editorial staffs, according to the American Newspaper Publishers Assn. The ANPA survey also said that 37% of the papers' employees are women. In the nation's overall work force, minorities constitute 21% and women 47% of the total. Ten percent of newsroom employees were members of minorities, and, when clerical and administrative workers were subtracted, the number dropped to 8%, ANPA said.

## Newsmakers

# A Rough Post-'Graduate' Course



# Turkish, Greek Leaders on Cyprus Agree to New Talks

By RONE TEMPEST,
*Times Staff Writer*

GENEVA—Turkish and Greek leaders from the bitterly divided island of Cyprus, aiming to create a unified federal republic, on Wednesday launched their first negotiations in more than three years and agreed to resume talks next month in the Cypriot capital.

U.N. officials, encouraged by a recent thaw in relations between Turkey and Greece—traditional enemies on the Cyprus question—say they are convinced that the new round of talks may be the best chance ever to reach a settlement.

After a day of meetings monitored by U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash and Cyprus President George Vassiliou agreed to restart talks Sept. 15 in Nicosia.

"The two leaders expressed their willingness to meet without any preconditions and to attempt to achieve by June 1, 1989, a negotiated settlement of all aspects of the Cyprus problem," Perez de Cuellar announced.

Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaders have met unsuccessfully dozens of times since 1963, when the island erupted in ethnic violence and a U.N. peacekeeping force was deployed to keep order. Talks were continued periodically after a 1974 coup by Greek Cypriot military officers favoring *enosis*, or union with Greece, which prompted intervention by Turkish military forces.




Los Angeles Times

But the last round of talks fell apart in 1985, mainly over the issue of the 29,000 Turkish troops who remain in the northern area, recognized by the Turkish government since 1983 as the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. An undetermined number of Greek soldiers are also stationed on the island.

However, several factors give hope that the latest talks may succeed where others have failed.

The main new element is the improved relationship between Athens and Ankara, which has come about after the two countries nearly went to war during a dispute over oil drilling in the Aegean Sea.

To try to resolve their differences, the two prime ministers—Turkey's Turgut Ozal and Greece's Andreas Papandreou—met in Davos, Switzerland, last January. In June, Ozal became the first Turkish leader to visit Athens in 36 years.

Another key factor in the new detente is Turkey's fervent hope of being accepted in the European Communities—even if it means withdrawing its troops from Cyprus to win admission.

Denktash, the Turkish Cypriot leader, would be forced to comply with Turkey's wishes, although he is fiercely opposed to the withdrawal of Turkish troops. He and other Turkish Cypriots see the troops as their only line of defense against potential genocide at the hands of the Greek Cypriots.

On the Greek Cypriot side, the main new factor is the personality of Vassiliou, a wealthy businessman new to politics who was elected president in February, two years after last round of talks failed.

Sources who were present in the preliminary negotiating session Wednesday reported that Vassiliou deftly avoided a confrontation with Denktash, who began by listing allegations of Greek atrocities.

"We are entering into an era when regional problems are being solved," Vassiliou said hopefully during an interview Wednesday night. "A better climate has been created for peace. Turkey is realizing the importance of improved relations with Greece. All Cypriots, Greeks and Turks realize this conflict is not benefiting anyone."

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25 Aug 1988

Los Angeles Times

# Kurds Fear a Massacre as Iraq Moves to Crush Rebels

By WILLIAM TUOHY, *Times Staff Writer*

BAGHDAD, Iraq—Fierce battles are taking place between Iraqi troops and Kurdish rebels in the rugged mountains of northern Iraq, and a "bloody massacre" may be in the offing, Kurdish sources reported Wednesday.

Reports have been circulating among Western military attaches here that Baghdad intends to use its cease-fire with Iran as an opportunity to crush the Kurdish insurgency in the northeastern part of the country.

The military operation is "for us a matter of life or death. A bloody massacre is awaiting the civilian population. We believe that the Iraqi authorities will use chemical weapons in this operation," the Kurdish Democratic Party said in a statement.

KURDS FEAR IRAQIS WILL USE CHEMICAL WEAPONS

The statement said that the leader of the Kurdish party, Massoud Barzani, has appealed from his headquarters in Kurdistan to U.N. Secretary General Javier Peres de Cuellar and world leaders to insist that the Iraqi government "prevent the coming human tragedy."

The group asserts that about 15,000 guerrillas and 30,000 militiamen are under arms in the contested area near the Turkish and Iranian borders. The Kurdish rebels are insisting on more autonomy and have been fighting a sporadic guerrilla war against Iraq for years.

For its part, the Baghdad government has declared that the Kurds already have far more autonomous status regarding religion, language and local rule than Kurdish inhabitants of Turkey, Iran, the Soviet Union and Syria.

Further, the Baghdad regime considers the Kurdish guerrillas, as one Western diplomat here put it, "not just rebels but traitors."

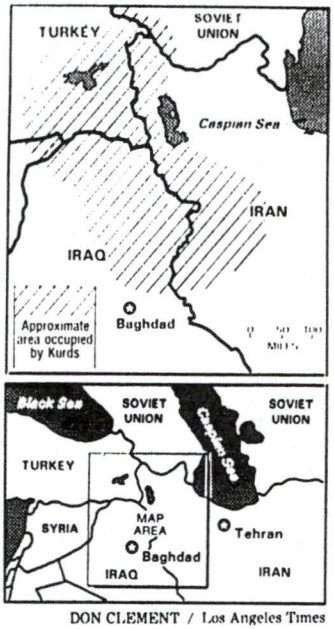
"The Baghdad government believes the Kurds were fighting them at the very time their backs were against the wall fighting the Iranians," he added.

Kurdistan has been closed to foreigners, but reports reaching Baghdad suggest that the Iraqis are employing elite Republican Guards to fight the Kurds. The Iraqis also are engaged in a program of forced resettlement of the Kurds from their mountain retreats.

Ostensibly, this is being done to bring the Kurds into the contemporary world of modern, secular Iraq.

"But that also means that they are resettled in valleys near the highways, where Iraqi army tanks can get to easily if they want to teach the Kurds a lesson," one diplomat observed.

Recalcitrant villages have been bombed or shelled. The rebel group said that Iraqi jets had bombed eight Kurdish villages over the weekend, killing and wounding many people. In turn, guerrillas killed 180 Iraqi soldiers and shot down a helicopter gunship, according to the statement.




DON CLEMENT / Los Angeles Times

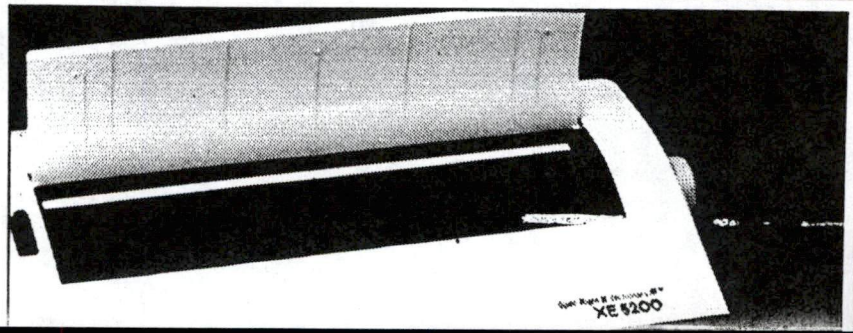
Iran has supported the Kurdish rebels by providing supplies and sanctuary across the border.

But, according to analysts here, the Kurds are well aware that if a peace settlement is announced in the Iran-Iraq War in talks that begin today in Geneva, it will likely lead to a crackdown on any armed resistance in Kurdistan.

"The poor Kurds," one Western diplomat said. "They really have no political future. They are people without a homeland."

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# Iran, Iraq Meet Today for Talks on Ending 8-Year War

By RONE TEMPEST, *Times Staff Writer*

GENEVA—After eight years of conflict that recalled the World War I battlefield horrors of Verdun and Ypres—trench warfare and mustard gas—Iran and Iraq will begin U.N.-sponsored peace talks here today in an atmosphere thick with mistrust.

"The conflict was imposed on Iraq by Iran's expansionist and aggressive policies," charged Iraqi Foreign Minister Tarik Aziz, chief negotiator for his country, on arrival Wednesday afternoon at Geneva International Airport.

And earlier in Tehran, Iran's chief negotiator, Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati, charged Iraq with violating terms of an Aug. 20 cease-fire by reinforcing and moving up Iraqi army forces.

The Persian Gulf War took 1 million lives, involved the first systematic use of chemical weapons since World War I and disrupted one of the world's most strategic sea lanes.

It also devastated the economies of two oil-rich nations, divided the Arab world into rival camps and pitted the militant Islamic theocracy of Iran against the fervid secular nationalism of Iraq.

In light of all this, U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar cautioned that it may take years to resolve the differences between Tehran and Baghdad.

"I don't believe we can resolve all the problems in a matter of months," Perez de Cuellar said on his arrival here. "But one must not be pessimistic. I hope that if there is a political will to resolve the problem, we will be able to proceed on a rather fast and accelerated rhythm."

As part of his formula for a settlement, Perez de Cuellar met with International Red Cross officials in Geneva on Wednesday to ask their help as intermediaries in any exchange of prisoners of war. The numbers are disputed, but Iran is believed to hold about 50,000 Iraqi prisoners of war and Iraq about 20,000 Iranian prisoners.

Perez de Cuellar hopes to begin the talks on a positive note by steering both sides to the prisoner exchange issue, which is believed to be the most easily negotiable of the major differences between the two countries.

The first two phases of the U.N. peace program—a cease-fire and the deployment of a U.N. observer team—already have been achieved, although in somewhat shaky fashion.

The prisoner exchange issue is the next item of Security Council Resolution 598, which has been accepted by both sides as a basis for talks.

What Perez de Cuellar clearly does not want is for the Iranians and Iraqis to take up immediately the last and most difficult issue, a determination of responsibility for the conflict, the roots of which go back to the time of ancient Persia and Mesopotamia.

There were few signs earlier this week that the two countries are willing to cooperate. Iraqi negotiator Aziz made it clear in his initial statement Wednesday that Iraq would not accept blame for starting the war, although its troops were the first to cross the border in September, 1980.

Meanwhile, U.N. officials expressed frustration that neither side would even provide the names of its negotiators until the last minute Wednesday.

"There are security problems regarding movement of the negotiators," U.N. spokesman Francois Giuliani said.

The Iranian and Iraqi diplomatic missions here, in the same building, refused to comment on the talks. On the sixth floor of the building, the Iranian mission was somber, tense and virtually mute. On the ground floor, the Iraqi mission was in better spirits, but a secretary explained with a smile that the press attache was out of touch because his car had broken down en route to the office.

Saleem Fahmawi, a U.N. spokesman in Iraq, described the border between Iran and Iraq as normal this week despite charges on both sides that the terms of the cease-fire were being violated.

Velayati, perhaps setting the tone for the upcoming peace talks, also accused Iraq of using the cease-fire to prepare an attack, while Iraqi leaders accused Iran of reinforcing its positions.

The feuding and the absence of any hint of compromise suggested Wednesday that the early stages of the negotiations will be taken up with righteous posturing by both delegations.

Among the thornier issues to be resolved is the dispute over the Shatt al Arab waterway that separates the two countries in the south.

The waterway is Iraq's only direct route to the Persian Gulf,

and Iraqi President Sadda
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The Iranians want the b
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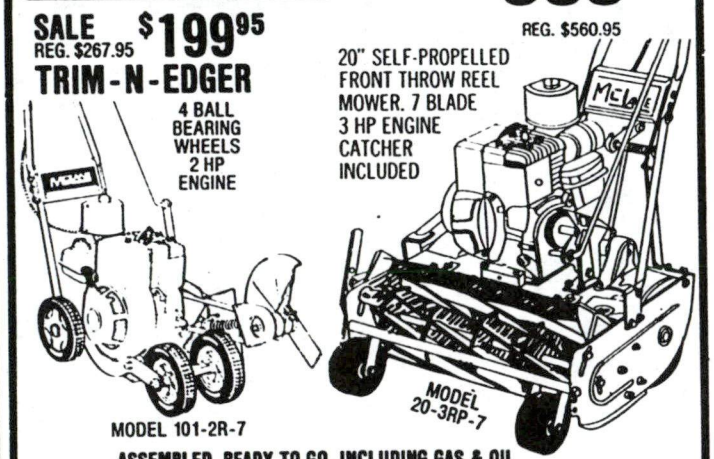
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**Times staff writer Willia
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The waterway is Iraq's only direct route to the Persian Gulf, and Iraqi President Saddam Hussein wants full control of it.

The Iranians want the border in the middle of the waterway.

But international interest in the talks focuses largely on the precedent the war set for the use of chemical weapons. Starting last March, the Iraqis began using mustard and nerve gases, with devastating effect.

U.S. officials here have expressed fear that if the Iran-Iraq talks are not successful, chemical weapons will be used again and will spread to such an extent that a world ban will not be possible.

**Times staff writer William Tuohy, in Baghdad, Iraq, contributed to this story.**


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Los Angeles Times

# 2 Koreas Agree in Principle to Resume Talks

By KARL SCHOENBERGER,
*Times Staff Writer*

SEOUL—North and South Korea agreed in principle Wednesday to resume border talks aimed at arranging an interparliamentary conference in Pyongyang by the end of the month, reviving some hope that the north might abandon its Olympic boycott.

Although chances appeared slim that the two sides could resolve their differences over North Korea's participation in the Seoul Olympics, which begin Sept. 17 in the South Korean capital, it remains possible that they could agree at least to discuss the problem in earnest.

Preliminary talks between five-member delegations of lawmakers from the north and the south broke off Monday after a third negotiating session in which no progress was made on deciding the agenda and the format of a large-scale, main meeting.

But the heads of the two delegations met privately Wednesday at the truce village of Panmunjom and agreed to try to reopen talks by the end of the week.

The North Korean side has not yet formally accepted the south's proposal to meet Friday, but it agreed in principle to meet again, Park Jun Kyu, chief of the South Korean delegation, told reporters in Seoul.

Park said he is optimistic that the north will now compromise on its demands.

"I hope the north will come up with some amended proposals," he said.

The North Korean delegation had insisted that the full membership of the two national assemblies meet in Pyongyang, North Korea's capital, joined by representatives of social organizations in a "mass participatory meeting" involving about 1,000 delegates.

The south had dismissed such a forum as unreasonable and counterproposed that 20-member delegations meet for the main parley. It also asked that two meetings be held for separate discussions on the Olympics and on a proposed nonaggression accord.

Park said the south has set a cutoff date of Aug. 31 for convening the main talks, originally proposed by Pyongyang after Seoul's National Assembly appealed to North Korea to end its Olympic boycott.

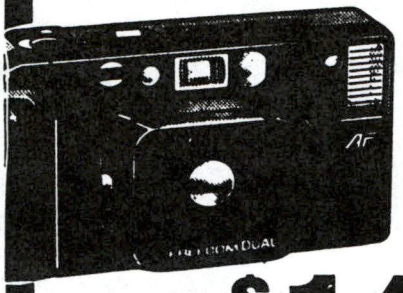
North Korea declared the boycott last year after the two sides failed to agree on a plan to co-host the Games.

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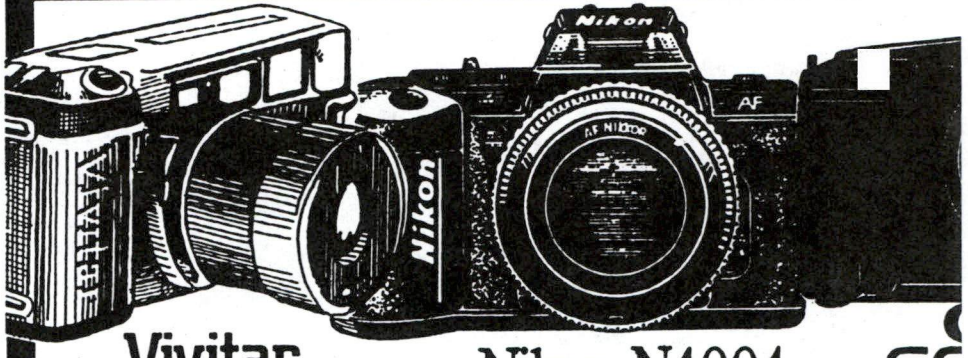
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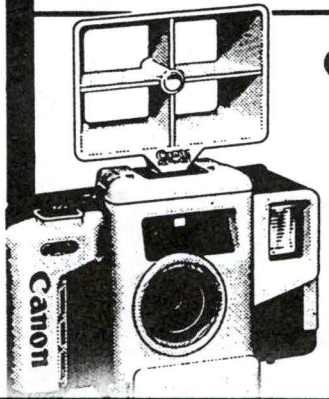
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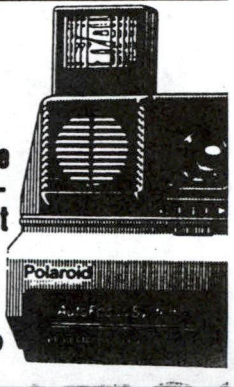
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them long suppressed.

Semya said 9.8% of Soviet babies—or more than half a million—were born to single mothers in 1987, up from 8.8% in 1980. It said the proportion was much higher in Estonia and other western parts of the country.

The problem is even more serious with first pregnancies. For every 1,000 first pregnancies, it said, 411 babies are born out of wedlock or in the first few months of marriage, while there are 272 abortions.

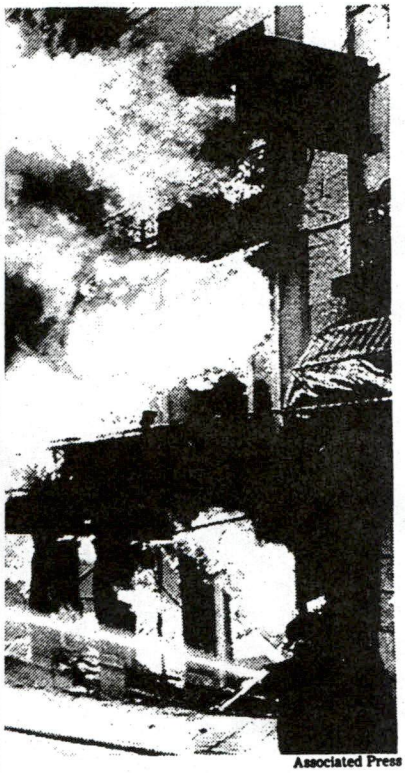
Semya attributed the rise to "the liberalization of sexual morals and extremely bad supply of contraceptives" and urged authorities to improve availability of birth control methods.

The high incidence of single mothers is despite an abortion rate that the weekly Ogonyok said this month is easily the highest in the world.

## GM Recalls '83 Models

WASHINGTON (AP)—General Motors Corp. has begun recalling 613,582 1983 Oldsmobiles and Buicks for repair of the vehicles' emissions control systems, the Environmental Protection Agency said today. A defective thermal vacuum switch causes the cars to exceed federal standards on emission of gasoline vapors and carbon monoxide, the EPA said.

# lopping District



Associated Press

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residents were awakened by explosions of bottled gas in the stores.

Officials at the scene said hundreds of people were left homeless by the fire and that "at least 2,000" are out of jobs.

burgh.

Christie had ruled that the thousands of donations for Ronnie belong in a trust to pay outstanding medical bills or to help sick, needy children. DeSillers this month surrendered her BMW car but nothing else, and a court-appointed estate curator asked the judge to hold her in contempt.

# Manila Stocks Fall on Possible Marcos Return

MANILA (UPI)—Concern over the possible return from exile of deposed ruler Ferdinand E. Marcos triggered a four-day slide on Philippine stock exchanges that continued today with two major markets losing nearly 10% this week.

President Corazon Aquino, questioned about the drop, repeated her resolve to abide by any decision of a court considering Marcos' petition to return to defend himself at a hearing concerning an alleged $5-million kickback scheme.

"I stand by my commitment respecting the decision of our courts," said Aquino, who two days earlier vowed to personally ensure the safety of Marcos if he returns from his Hawaiian exile for the hearing.

That remark, along with comments by her chief adviser a day earlier and the filing of Marcos court papers Wednesday, set off a sharp retreat on the markets, analysts said.

"There is a psychological effect of the former strongman's possible return," said Bebet Dinoy, chief of research for the Manila Stock Exchange. "Most investors are afraid that it might cause trouble."

The Manila Exchange composite index was off 9.5% for the week at today's close at 741.81. The Makati Exchange was off 9.4% since Friday at 734.35.

## Former Texas Gov. and Ex-U.S. Sen. Price Daniel Dies

LIBERTY, Tex. (AP)—Former Texas Gov. Price Daniel, who once said he would rather hold that job than the presidency, died in this southeast Texas town early today. He was 77.

The former governor and U.S. senator died at about 1 a.m., said George Christian, a press secretary to former President Lyndon B. Johnson and a friend of the Daniel family. Daniel apparently suffered a massive stroke at his ranch and was taken to Yettie Kersting Hospital at Liberty, Christian said. He was dead upon arrival.

Daniel served three two-year terms as governor from 1957 to 1963 but lost an unprecedented bid for a fourth term in a Democratic primary race won by John Connally.

Republicans, Sen. Bentsen said, "have behaved as if the flag were a partisan and not a personal virtue."

The Reagan Administration has relied on "extreme partisanship and overheated campaign rhetoric instead of a patient, bipartisan approach to national security issues," he said.

"The simple truth is this: Gov. Dukakis is a veteran, a patriot, and an advocate of American strength and steadiness. He can be trusted as a defender of American security—and as a champion of American values."

Bentsen was well received personally, receiving standing ovations when he arrived and when he left. But he was interrupted by boos four times—three times when he mentioned Dukakis and once when he referred to former President Jimmy Carter.

Stopped by booing after he said that Carter had begun the defense buildup, he told the crowd, "Pretty hard for some of you to accept that."

After the speech, Bentsen said he thought there had been some organized opposition to the speech. Republicans, he said, "were desperate to find an issue."

Bentsen cited Dukakis' emphasis on improving non-nuclear weapons, maintaining a nuclear deterrent, support of the stealth bomber and a new submarine-launched missile.

While praising his running mate, Bentsen blasted both Vice President George Bush and vice presidential nominee Sen. Dan Quayle for supporting cuts in veterans health care programs.

American ally until the drug charges became public.

He suggested that the involvement with Noriega made a mockery of First Lady Nancy Reagan's "Just Say No" campaign to fight American drug use.

"You tell me how can we ask our kids to say no to drugs here at home when we have an Administration that couldn't say no to Gen. Noriega," Dukakis said.

He also took a slap at Vice President George Bush, the Republican presidential candidate, who has played a major role in Reagan Administration anti-drug efforts and says he would put his own vice president in charge of the war against drugs.

"President Reagan tried that and it didn't work," Dukakis said.

## Leonard Frey, Tailor in 'Fiddler,' Dies of AIDs

Leonard Frey, who played the role of Motel the tailor in the 1971 movie "Fiddler on the Roof" after being featured in the Broadway production, is dead of acquired immune deficiency syndrome. He was 49.

The flamboyant Brooklyn native, who died Wednesday at Beth Israel Hospital in New York City, received an Oscar nomination as best supporting actor for his performance as Motel. His theatrical breakthrough came as Harold in Mart Crowley's "Boys in the Band." He later recreated the role for the 1970 film.

# First Step Taken in Watts Redevelopment Project

IRONIC HUH?

By BILL BOYARSKY, *Times City-County Bureau Chief*

A huge economic development plan for Watts, proposing to redevelop more than 1,900 acres of decaying homes, apartments, small businesses, industrial sites and public housing projects, was given initial approval Wednesday by the Los Angeles Community Redevelopment Agency board.

A unanimous vote of the powerful city agency authorized an aerial survey of a 3-square-mile section of South-Central Los Angeles, the first step in a process of creating the biggest redevelopment area in the city's history and eventually making available large amounts of money to revive the impoverished district.

With no opposition in sight, city officials said they hope to see the project approved by Mayor Tom Bradley and the City Council in 1991.

New factories on presently abandoned sites, additional housing, an expanded Los Angeles Unified School District vocational school and shops and restaurants near the historic Watts Towers are envisioned for an area that became a national symbol for urban black anger and protest during the 1965 Watts riots.

More than 56,000 people live in the area, 86% of them black and 13% Latino.

Most are poor. The median income is $11,427. Unemployment is high and education low, with most residents not having completed high school. Most are renters, and of those who work, 39% are in blue-collar jobs, 37% in white-collar jobs and 23% are employed in service businesses.

Although there are many pleasant homes and bustling small businesses in the area, for the most part it presents a landscape of poverty, with vacant lots, boarded-up stores, rundown, overcrowded slum apartments and the abandoned sites of old factories, which once employed thousands. By the end of the century, according to the plans, there will be new homes and apartments, factories, restaurants and stores, providing jobs and services that now do not exist there.

It would be the second redevelopment project for Watts. The first,

**Please see WATTS, Page 23**

LA TIMES

Aug 25, 88

# WATTS: 1st Step Toward Redevelopment Project

Continued from Page 1

less than a tenth the size of this one, was approved a year after the riots. In the years that followed, new housing, a large health center and other facilities were built. But not until 1984, after years of Bradley's jawboning business executives, was the area's centerpiece, the Martin Luther King Jr. Shopping Center, opened at 103rd Street and Compton Avenue in the riot zone's old "Charcoal Alley" of burned businesses.

Councilwoman Joan Milke Flores, who represents most of the area, said she believes this project will move faster because of the potential availability of federal and state funds from enterprise zone programs.

"We see that the time is ripe," Flores said in an interview. "All of this will come together to provide some jobs and increase business development in the area."

### Century Freeway's Impact

Councilman Robert C. Farrell, who represents part of the area, said he believes this project will be more successful than the first one because it is adjacent to the Century Freeway being built to run to Los Angeles International Airport and to the existing Harbor Freeway. Two new trolley lines are already planned to serve the redevelopment area, one along the Century Freeway and the other running from Long Beach to downtown Los Angeles.

"This is what the promise of redevelopment is about, helping communities in great need," Farrell said.

The project, initiated by Flores, would take in an area roughly bounded by the Harbor Freeway, the city's eastern boundary, Century Boulevard and Central Avenue, generally surrounding the first redevelopment area.

While Flores was the inspiration, the project will come as welcome political help for the mayor.

Bradley and the CRA board, which he appoints, have been accused of placing a higher priority on downtown Los Angeles development than on reviving poor neighborhoods and providing housing for the poor.

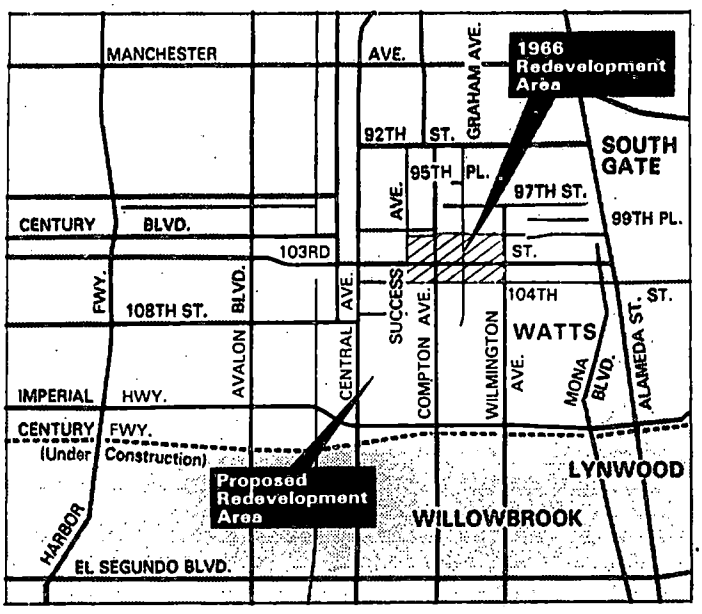
The project is in an important part of Bradley's political base, an area that the mayor is counting on for a big vote when he runs for reelection next year.

The hoped-for improvements would be financed by government and private funds coming from a number of sources, Flores said.

A major source would be the redevelopment agency. It has the power to buy land or take it over through condemnation and then sell it at cut-rate prices to private buyers. In this case, the idea would be to sell the land to industrial firms. If factories were built, property tax revenues would increase and money would be available for housing and other improvements.

A second source would be the new federal and state enterprise zone programs in which businesses are granted tax breaks and other incentives to hire the unemployed.

"We are kind of betting on the come," said Bernard E. Evans, Flores' chief deputy. "Watts has been designated as an enterprise zone. Whatever administration comes in [in Washington in January], we feel there will be more funding for urban areas."




JOHN SNYDER / Los Angeles Times

Evans said federal and state highway funds for the Century Freeway project would be used for new housing. Some money for that project has been set aside to provide housing for those displaced by construction.

Backers of the project said they believe a combination of low-priced property and enterprise zone tax breaks, along with an increased number of graduates from the school district's vocational school, will result in rebuilding of industry and more blue- and white-collar jobs.

Before, during and after World War II, the South-Central area had many industrial jobs from tire and auto plants and other factories. But today, the auto and tire plants are gone, as are the other facilities, with the exception of a large number of junkyards.

The project, totaling 1,900 acres, would be 400 acres larger than the CRA's present biggest redevelopment area, downtown Los Angeles' 1,500-acre Central Business District project. Other CRA upgrading projects under way are Hollywood, 1,100 acres; North Hollywood, 750 acres; Hoover, 406 acres, and Adams-Normandie, 404 acres.

**Times researcher Cecilia Rasmussen and The Times marketing research department contributed to this story.**

## BATTER: Right to Sue Police

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# The Washington Post

FINAL

*Detailed index on Page A2*

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THURSDAY, AUGUST 25, 1988

Prices May Vary in Areas Outside Metropolitan Washington (See Box on A2)

25¢


## to Debate
## e Sept. 20
### *to Limit Matches*

orship of the bipartisan Com-
on on Presidential Debates—
rovoked charges from the Du-
camp that Bush is intention-
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counterpart, Frank J. Fah-
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committed himself to the
ission-sponsored series fea-
three presidential matchups
ne between the vice presiden-
andidates.

e debate negotiations begin as
w Washington Post-ABC News
ndicated Bush has overcome a
kis lead among those most
to vote. The survey also sug-
that the early controversy
unding Bush's running mate,
Dan Quayle of Indiana, does
et appear to have hurt the Re-
ican chances significantly. But
out of five voters remains un-
ded about Quayle's impact on
ticket, according to the poll con-
ed Aug. 17-23.

See DEBATES, A12, Col. 1

## Dukakis
### *Kept at Distance*

Quayle's speech to the Enlisted
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ed States, was repeatedly in-
upted by shouts of support.
e 'em hell, Dan," one man
uted as others cheered. "Just
it," Quayle replied.

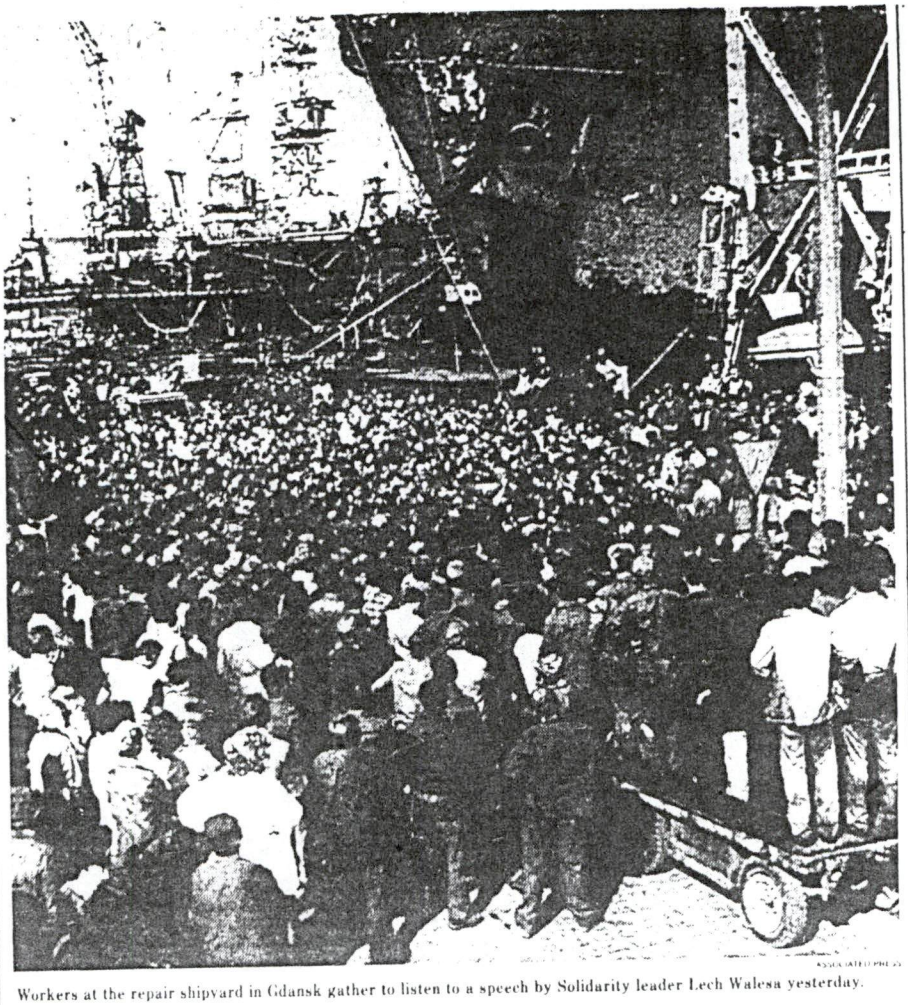
Throughout the day, however, he
ided repeated attempts by re-
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re questions about his Guard
ence and allegations concerning
time he spent in a Florida house
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aising trip.

Earlier today, Quayle's rival,
mocratic vice presidential nomi-
ee Lloyd Bentsen, quipped that
ayle is too immature to be vice
esident.

Bentsen told the Southern Leg-
ative Conference in Lexington, Ky.,

See QUAYLE, A11, Col. 1

*ch initiation" he should. Page A14*



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Workers at the repair shipyard in Gdansk gather to listen to a speech by Solidarity leader Lech Walesa yesterday.

# Power Struggle Intensifies in Poland
### *Police Break Up Some Pro-Solidarity Strikes as Others Begin*

By Jackson Diehl
Washington Post Foreign Service

WARSAW, Aug. 24—Communist authorities and supporters of the banned Solidarity trade union today struggled for control of enterprises across Poland, with strikes in six coal mines ending as new stoppages sprang up in several areas.

Police operations in the Silesian mining district of Walbrzych and the Baltic port of Szczecin forced an end to three strikes, official reports said. Seven persons were reported detained in Walbrzych, but in both cities strikers walked out of occupied enterprises peacefully after riot squads moved in.

With police pressure growing, four other coal mines were reported to have abandoned strikes today. However, eight remained on strike, and unrest spread in the port of Gdansk and the huge Lenin steel mill near Krakow.

By tonight, both the government of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski and opposition leaders were struggling to keep up with new developments in the see-saw conflict, which centers on Solidarity's demand for legalization. "The strike situation is waverings," said Adam Michnik, a leading dissident acting as a spokesman for Solidarity in Gdansk.

In a statement published in newspapers today, the ruling communist party Politburo expressed deep concern over the "mounting losses" of the strike and, in a conciliatory step, acknowledged that an economic reform program pursued this year had failed.

The Politburo promised "bold revision of flawed or ineffective arrangements," calling it "indispensable to prepare urgently a package of stopgap moves . . . for the national economy."

See POLAND, A24, Col. 1

# Martial Law Is Canceled In Rangoon
## President Will Seek Referendum to End Single-Party Rule

By Keith B. Richburg
Washington Post Foreign Service

BANGKOK, Aug. 24—Embattled Burmese President Maung Maung announced tonight that martial law had been lifted in Rangoon and, in what appeared to be a major bow to the swelling ranks of protesters, said his socialist party would hold an "extraordinary" congress next month to propose ending a quarter century of single-party rule.

In a radio broadcast monitored here tonight, Maung Maung—who last week was named Burma's first civilian president in 26 years after massive protests against his military predecessors—said he and the ruling party's 14-member Central Committee would resign if the congress rejected his call for a referendum on multiparty government.

Maung Maung's remarks came as the month-long, student-led protests appeared to be spreading. Originally fueled by discontent over the dismal state of the economy—including food shortages and a disastrous withdrawal from circulation of most currency last year—the protests have taken on political content, with young demonstrators advocating western-style liberal democracy and an end to the rigid state control of the economy.

Government workers and bank employees today joined the students' call for a nationwide general strike, bringing the capital and other cities to a virtual standstill. Hundreds of thousands of demonstrators converged on the capital's center, chanting "Down with socialism" and "We want democracy," according to news agency reports. Diplomats from Rangoon-based Western embassies

Today's protests were scheduled to culminate in the largest such rally—some diplomats estimating that as many as a million people—in Rangoon's historic Kyaikasan Race

Earlier today, Ne Win, [illegible] died

See BURMA, A22, Col. 1

## leavily on U.S. Prisons

## First Black Elected President

# Power Struggle Between Solidarity, Party Intensifies

POLAND, From A1

[In Hungary, more than 300 workers struck at a key mine Wednesday, demanding restoration of cuts in bonuses and changes in a new income tax, state radio said. The strike at the Mecsek mine was the first known worker protest against the economic policies of Karoly Grosz since he became Communist Party leader in May.

[Hungarian state radio said agreement was reached to restore the bonuses and some strikers resumed work. Others, said to include more than 300 miners and some office workers, would wait until Thursday, it was reported.]

Overall, the government appeared to retain the initiative in Poland as it pressed a strategy of breaking the weakest strikes with police operations and increasing pressure gradually against the strongholds of unrest in the coal mines around Jastrzebie and Szczecin.

Late this morning, a convoy of more than 60 police vehicles, including water cannon and troop carriers, moved toward Gdansk. Solidarity chief Lech Walesa continued to lead a weak but symbolically important strike there in the Lenin shipyard, birthplace of Solidarity eight years ago this month.

Government officials confirmed that a strike in the Gdansk port spread today, shutting down divisions that had been operating since the stoppage began Monday. Although state television reported that work continued in some docks, the new development appeared to leave two of Poland's three major ports incapacitated.

In addition, a new stoppage began in the Lenin mill in the Krakow suburb of Nowa Huta, Poland's largest industrial firm and the site of a nine-day strike last May. A previous strike attempt failed there yesterday and it was unclear late today whether the new protest would take hold.



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Workers around a ship being repaired in Gdansk listen to Lech Walesa, right, call for support for strike.

The Politburo statement today said the party leadership felt "profound concern over the persisting shortages of various consumer goods, the threat to the standard of living of some social groups, glaring income disparities ... and the prices and incomes policy presently pursued." It added that efforts to form "a patriotic coalition" for reform with the church and opposition groups would continue.

The tone of the statement suggested that a Central Committee meeting due to be held in the coming days could lead to strong new economic measures, or a shakeup in the government.

A special session of parliament is to be held next week to consider economic measures. This week, Deputy Prime Minister Zbigniew Szalajda suggested a wage and price freeze to stop inflation, now running at more than 60 percent.

The moderate and self-critical tone of the government statements aimed at the public contrasted with a continued hard line toward Solidarity and the strikers. In Gdansk and Katowice, prosecutors began criminal proceedings against strike leaders. Workers in the mines and shipyards were pressed to sign statements of their willingness to work and the Army threatened young striking miners with induction.

Walesa, speaking at a repair shipyard in Gdansk, also shifted to a hard-line stance after days of unanswered appeals for talks between Solidarity and the government. "We must kick out the jerks who are hindering us and have brought the country to beggary," he declared.

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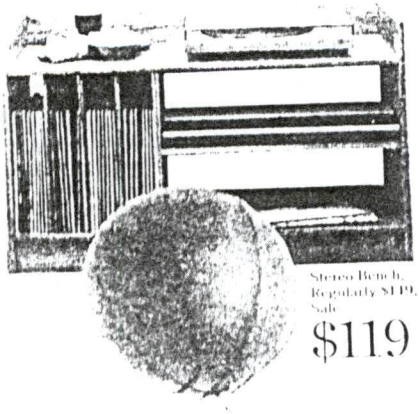
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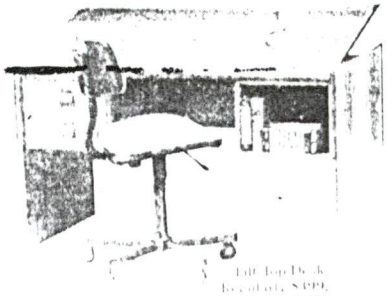

# How To Fit An Entire Dorm Room In Your Car And Still Have Room For The Sweater From Aunt Clara.

Get RTA from Scan: Furniture you take to school (or home) that's ready to assemble. It's packed flat for easy carrying, so you can load him up. Priced low for easy buying, with savings of 15-50% on selected items through September 11. And so simple to put together that even an average student can handle it. And still wind up with above-average furniture.



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Loft Top Desk. Regularly $399. Sale $299



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against Iraq in the northern border region.

In an attempt to intimidate Iran on this issue, Iraq last month dispatched a large part of its armored forces in the south together with what U.S. intelligence officials described as "bridging equipment" to the banks of the Shatt al Arab across from the Iranian port city of Khorramshahr.

This military move was intended to demonstrate Iraqi negotiating strength and national resolve to control the waterway under any new peace accord, according to an Iraqi official interviewed in Baghdad before the delegation departed for Geneva.

Such a negotiating gambit represents a serious escalation of Iraqi demands on the eve of the peace talks and at a time when Iraq's 1-million-man Army holds an overwhelming military advantage behind the newly imposed truce lines.

Iran is expected to react strongly to such a demand, but Iraqi sources point out that Iraq has

side."

He said Iraq expects the direct negotiations "to reach a common understanding" of peace and how to implement it, but he expressed concern about the "concept of acceptance" by Iran.

"Is it a turning point in accepting a peaceful relationship with Iraq, as neighbors in the region, or is it a tactical act?" the Iraqi asked.

Thursday's meeting with Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati will be a personal victory for Aziz, a Christian whose minority religious status in the Moslem-dominated Iraqi government has made him the subject of official taunts from Tehran.

Velayati was due to arrive just after midnight, but a large part of his delegation arrived today on an Iran Air flight from Tehran.

Responding to a reporter's question about Iranian claims that Iraq has violated the cease-

we say we will let them use half of the Shatt, they will be able to impose their veto or their views on such things as our irrigation programs that might affect the flow of the waterway," the official said. "This may lead to lots of friction in the future."

Since the cease-fire, Iraqi officials have been angered to see small Iranian boats venture into the Shatt flying the Iranian flag.

In the fierce nationalistic competition that has enveloped the dispute, showing the Iranian flag on the waterway flouts Iraq's decision on Sept. 17, 1980, to abrogate the Algiers accord and ban all ships from the waterway not flying the Iraqi flag and carrying Iraqi pilots, the official said.

The official acknowledged that in seeking to reexert dominion over all of the Shatt, Iraq, too, appears bent on creating the appearance of "victory" in the negotiated settlement of the war.

REPARATIONS



SOURCE: Associated

# AROUND THE WORLD

## Colombia Suspends 5 U.S. Extraditions

BOGOTA, Colombia—The Colombian state tribunal said yesterday it had suspended extradition orders by the United States against five suspected leaders of the Medellin drug ring.

The Council of State said it had dropped the orders against three brothers—Jorge, Juan and Fabio Ochoa Vazquez—as well as Pablo Escobar and Gonzalo Rodriguez Gacha in the last three months.

The move was in line with a Supreme Court decision last year that the extradition of Colombian drug traffickers to the United States, agreed in a 1979 treaty, was unconstitutional.

### Marcos Appeals to Court

■ MANILA—Ousted president Ferdinand Marcos asked a Philippine court to order the government to give him travel documents so he could return home to defend himself against corruption charges.

In a petition filed by his sister Fortuna Barba, Marcos said he wanted to take advantage of his constitutional rights to attend legal proceedings against him.

The petition followed a court ruling last week allowing government lawyers to take evidence from former Marcos Cabinet minister Baltazar Aquino before they file a formal criminal case against the ex-president.

### Sudan Criticizes Aid

■ KHARTOUM, Sudan—Sudan criticized western countries for what it called their meager aid to flood victims and reasserted its commitment to censor reports by foreign journalists covering the disaster.

Information Minister Abdullah Mohammed Ahmed told foreign reporters that Arab countries had provided 90 percent of the 248 planeloads of relief supplies to arrive so far. Saudi Arabia alone, he said, had sent 126 planeloads.

Sudan appealed for urgent international aid immediately after floods caused by torrential rains hit Khartoum on Aug. 4 and 5. Ahmed imposed censorship on foreign journalists on Monday after criticism abroad of the government's handling of aid.

### Korean Talks Pending

■ SEOUL—Officials of North and South Korea said today that they are willing to resume talks on sharing next month's Olympics and on a nonaggression pact.

But there was no clear agreement. North Korea suggested meeting today and South Korea proposed a session on Friday.

Officials at the National Assembly said their chief delegate, Park Joon Kyu, met privately with his North Korean counterpart, Chon Kum Chol, at the truce village of Panmunjom yesterday. Later in the day, Seoul telephoned Panmunjom to suggest reopening talks Friday.

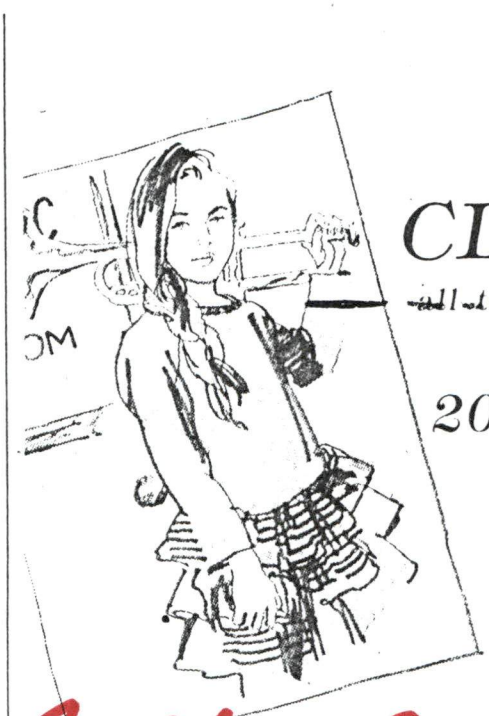
### For the Record

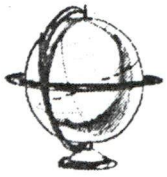
■ About 90 United Nations staff members are in detention around the world, a U.N. report issued in Geneva said. The report said about 60 employees of the U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees had been arrested since October in Arab territories occupied by Israel. Other officials were held in Chad, Rwanda and Ethiopia.

■ Officials in Nepal and India calculated that the toll in Sunday's earthquake had reached 758 deaths and 950 persons injured.

■ The PLO has begun using the expression "the Palestinian Bank" in place of "the West Bank"—a change intended to mark its assumption of a new role in the Israeli-occupied territory. The new name appeared in dispatches of the Palestine Liberation Organization news agency WAFA distributed in Tunis.

From news services and staff reports



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25 Aug 92





Selections for boys and girls, counterclockwise from top left:
Tierdress knit, solid royal, red or grape over striped skirt, 7 to 14, reg. 30.00, 21.99
Little boys' striped knit shirt, reg. 14.00, 9.99
Little boys' corduroys, reg. 16.00, 11.99
Shirt, pants in cotton-polyester, assorted colors, sizes 4 to 7


## Israel Says 5 Hezbollah Guerrillas Killed

Associated Press

diers and more than 1,000 South

# King Hussein—to Israelis, the Once and Future Key to Re

By Glenn Frankel
Washington Post Foreign Service

JERUSALEM—The royal yacht bobbed up and down in the gentle Red Sea waves, a diminutive man in swimming trunks at the helm. The Israelis in the nearby speedboat waved, and the helmsman waved back.

"Come visit Israel," one of them shouted to him. "I hope it will happen one day, *inshallah* [God willing]," Jordan's King Hussein replied with a smile.

Just as his yacht floated off Israel's shore that day a year ago, King Hussein has floated on the edge of Israel's political life and consciousness for more than three decades, an elusive, ambiguous and tempting figure. He is a constant subject of conversation and curiosity here, a key part of any peace settlement envisaged by Israel's government and a major target of its diplomacy, a potential savior and a continuing source of dilemma.

He also fills an important place in Israel's anxieties and its dreams, and his soothing words and image even flood its homes through Jordan Television, the Amman-based, state-run broadcast station whose powerful signal is easily received here.

Ultimately, many in Israel believe he holds the key to resolving this country's trouble-filled occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip and to ending 40 years of Israeli-Arab wars and hostility. And so Israelis speculate on what he wants and how he can be persuaded to come to the bargaining table. They have tried alternately to seduce, cajole and threaten him. They express affection for him and anger, concern for his safety and disdain for his unwillingness to take the big risk by coming to Jerusalem as Anwar Sadat once did.

Now the troubled, bittersweet romance between the king and his Israeli neighbors has reached what experts say may be a new turning point. Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, in their seven-month-long uprising, have not only rebelled against Israel's rule, but against the long-held Israeli notion that these territories, or at least their recalcitrant population, could somehow be entrusted to the care of the king.

"Jordan has seen its influence vanishing here," says prominent Palestinian newspaper editor Hanna Siniora. "If there is one message this uprising has made clear, it is that we do not want to parlay an occupation by Israel into domination by Jordan."

Hussein is 52—younger than any of Israel's senior leaders—but he has ruled Jordan for 37 years. He came to power after the assassination of King Abdullah, his grandfather, and he has survived 11 documented assassination attempts. Above all, it is said, he and his state of 4 million people, sandwiched between the stronger, hostile nations of Iraq, Syria and Israel, are survivors.



*King Hussein has floated on the edge of Israel's political life and consciousness for more than three decades, an elusive, ambiguous and tempting figure.*

The king has met secretly with Israeli leaders at least a dozen times over the years, and there is a de facto peace on their 300-mile-long border. Yet a formal state of war still exists, and Israelis are barred from entering Jordan. But that has not stopped everyone: Jordanian security forces over the years have killed at least a dozen Israelis making illegal overland treks across the southern desert border for a glimpse of the ancient, mythic city of Petra.

For years, a centerpiece of Israel's policy on resolving the problem of the occupied territories has been something called "the Jordanian option." But like everything else in this divided society, the option has meant different things to different politicians.

Jordan ruled the West Bank from 1948 to 1967, when Israel conquered it during the six-day war. The Israeli Labor Party, which forms part of the governing coalition, had for years defined the Jordanian option as turning over to Hussein most of the West Bank—along with the Gaza Strip, which was administered by Egypt before 1967—while retaining East Jerusalem and strategic portions of the West Bank.

In recent years, however, Labor has revised its viewpoint somewhat to embrace the concept that Palestinians in the territories also should have a say in their future. The Jordanian option has thus become for Labor a "Jordanian-Palestinian option," that would have Israel negotiate peace with a joint delegation.

But at bottom, Labor Party hopes have always centered around the pragmatic, rational Hussein, not the explosive, politically dangerous Palestinians. "Hussein has always been attractive to Labor people because, like them, he is a realist with a healthy sense of self-interest that they can appeal to," says Israeli-American philosopher David Hartman. "The Palestinians symbolize chaos and tribal warfare, while Hussein is order and stability."

Hussein also has a weapon the Israelis claim they themselves cannot use in the West Bank—the iron fist.

"If we run matters, we are all the time going to be facing rocks," said Foreign Minister and Labor Party chairman Shimon Peres in revealing remarks to high school students earlier this year. "And we have limitations in how to handle those who throw the rocks—limitations which we have placed upon ourselves, since we do not want to be beasts. If the Jordanians were [confronted with] the goings-on in Hebron, they would handle things differently, and perhaps in a better way."

When Peres came to office as prime minister in 1984, he was eager to cut a deal with Hussein, but the king insisted on first mustering Palestinian support by entering into talks with Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasser Arafat. By the time those talks broke down in February 1986, Peres' term in office was almost over. He and Hussein eventually agreed at a secret meeting in London in April 1987 to endorse a limited international peace conference, but Peres' coalition partner and successor as prime minister, Yitzhak Shamir of the Likud Bloc, vetoed the arrangement.

The more hawkish Likud has always been less enamored of Hussein—Shamir has taken recently to calling him "one of the obstacles to peace"—yet it is equally at a loss over how to proceed without him. The Likud would like the 850,000 Arab residents of the West Bank—most of whom still hold Jordanian passports—to be considered citizens of Jordan, even to the extent of voting in that country's elections, while Israel would retain control of the land, possibly annexing it.

Likud leaders point out often that 65 percent of Jordan's own population is Palestinian and thus Jordan itself is ultimately a Palestinian state, even though Hussein is of Bedouin origin. "There has never been a Jordanian option—there is a Palestinian option," said Shamir's chief of staff, Yosef Ben-Aharon, in a recent radio interview. "And the person who is in charge, the main spokesman for the Palestinians, is King Hussein, whether he wants to be or not. History will force this reality and this truth upon him and us, and upon the Palestinian Arabs."

Labor helped rescue Hussein in 1970 by supporting his successful campaign to combat and ultimately expel the PLO from his territory. At Hussein's request, the Labor government warned off Syrian forces poised to intervene on the PLO's side. By contrast, Likud strategist Ariel Sharon, the former

# *Uganda Experiences Novelty of Peace After Years of Violence and Killing*

UGANDA, From A9

ic reform as well, earning his government $320 million in aid pledges from western donors. This month, the government is expected to announce a reform package, worked out with the World Bank and western donor countries, that is intended to prime the pump for even more assistance next year.

Observers here say the hardest part—figuring out how and when to divide political power among the country's competing ethnic groups—is yet to come, but in the impoverished capital, the novelty of peace has induced a faint but discernible euphoria.

Christopher Sembajjwa, a 47-year-old Ugandan businessman who returned to Kampala late last year after 13 years of exile in Kenya, is running a garage to make ends meet while he negotiates to recover the Wimpy's restaurant franchise taken from him, and subsequently run into the ground, by Amin's cronies in 1971.

"Now you have seen for yourself how Uganda is," he said proudly, showing a visitor the morning crush of minibuses and pedestrians at the city's once-deserted taxi park. "People are working."

Random machine gun fire in Kampala, common as birdcall as recently as eight months ago, now is rarely heard. Instead of rushing







THE WASHINGTON POST

these things did them in confidence that no one would ever do anything about it. This was often told to the victims while they were tortured;

than a fractious collection of mutually suspicious tribes, each convinced, in some cases with good reason, that to be out of power is to be cut out of economic opportunity.

Partly as a result of the divide-and-rule technique of the colonial British, Uganda is split along a north-south fault line, with economic and political power still concentrated in the south and military recruits drawn from the less developed north.

"This is a very difficult country to rule," one Kampala cleric said mournfully. "There are so many people who would like to be in power."

Museveni has tried to balance his Cabinet between north and south with representatives of rival ethnic and political groups. His National Resistance Army has begun to incorporate soldiers from vanquished rebel forces. The government has vowed to spend a large part of its aid money in the long-neglected north.

For all its achievements and promise, however, the Museveni government is still capable of acting arbitrarily. The country's broadly drawn Public Order and Security Act has been used by the government in recent months to arrest and detain journalists, editors and human rights activists as well as political and military opponents.

Political parties are still muzzled,

"You know
for our cook
you'll love
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# in—to Israelis, the Once and Future Key to Real Peace

o Israelis speculate on what he vants and how he can be persuaded o come to the bargaining table. 'hey have tried alternately to se- luce, cajole and threaten him. They xpress affection for him and anger, oncern for his safety and disdain or his unwillingness to take the big isk by coming to Jerusalem as anwar Sadat once did.

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The king has met secretly with Israeli leaders at least a dozen times over the years, and there is a de facto peace on their 300-mile-long border. Yet a formal state of war still exists, and Israelis are barred from entering Jordan. But that has not stopped everyone: Jordanian security forces over the years have killed at least a dozen Israelis making illegal overland treks across the southern desert border for a glimpse of the ancient, mythic city of Petra.

For years, a centerpiece of Israel's policy on resolving the problem of the occupied territories has been something called "the Jordanian option." But like everything else in this divided society, the option has meant different things to different politicians.

Jordan ruled the West Bank from 1948 to 1967, when Israel conquered it during the six-day war. The Israeli Labor Party, which forms part of the governing coalition, had for years defined the Jordanian option as turning over to Hussein most of the West Bank—along with the Gaza Strip, which was administered by Egypt before 1967—while retaining East Jerusalem and strategic portions of the West Bank.

In recent years, however, Labor has revised its viewpoint somewhat to embrace the concept that Palestinians in the territories also should have a say in their future. The Jordanian option has thus become for Labor a "Jordanian-Palestinian option," that would have Israel negotiate peace with a joint delegation.

But at bottom, Labor Party hopes have always centered around the pragmatic, rational Hussein, not the explosive, politically dangerous Palestinians. "Hussein has always been attractive to Labor people because, like them, he is a realist with a healthy sense of self-interest that they can appeal to," says Israeli-American philosopher David Hartman. "The Palestinians symbolize chaos and tribal warfare, while Hussein is order and stability."

Hussein also has a weapon the Israelis claim they themselves cannot use in the West Bank—the iron fist.

"If we run matters, we are all the time going to be facing rocks," said Foreign Minister and Labor Party chairman Shimon Peres in revealing remarks to high school students earlier this year. "And we have limitations in how to handle those who throw the rocks—limitations which we have placed upon ourselves, since we do not want to be beasts. If the Jordanians were [confronted with] the goings-on in Hebron, they would handle things differently, and perhaps in a better way."

When Peres came to office as prime minister in 1984, he was eager to cut a deal with Hussein, but the king insisted on first mustering Palestinian support by entering into talks with Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasser Arafat. By the time those talks broke down in February 1986, Peres' term in office was almost over. He and Hussein eventually agreed at a secret meeting in London in April 1987 to endorse a limited international peace conference, but Peres' coalition partner and successor as prime minister, Yitzhak Shamir of the Likud Bloc, vetoed the arrangement.

The more hawkish Likud has always been less enamored of Hussein—Shamir has taken recently to calling him "one of the obstacles to peace"—yet it is equally at a loss over how to proceed without him. The Likud would like the 850,000 Arab residents of the West Bank—most of whom still hold Jordanian passports—to be considered citizens of Jordan, even to the extent of voting in that country's elections, while Israel would retain control of the land, possibly annexing it.

Likud leaders point out often that 65 percent of Jordan's own population is Palestinian and thus Jordan itself is ultimately a Palestinian state, even though Hussein is of Bedouin origin. "There has never been a Jordanian option—there is a Palestinian option," said Shamir's chief of staff, Yosef Ben-Aharon, in a recent radio interview. "And the person who is in charge, the main spokesman for the Palestinians, is King Hussein, whether he wants to be or not. History will force this reality and this truth upon him and us, and upon the Palestinian Arabs."

Labor helped rescue Hussein in 1970 by supporting his successful campaign to combat and ultimately expel the PLO from his territory. At Hussein's request, the Labor government warned off Syrian forces poised to intervene on the PLO's side. By contrast, Likud strategist Ariel Sharon, the former defense minister, has often suggested that Israel would be better off if the Palestinians overthrew Hussein and took power in Jordan.

Hussein, by all accounts, finds the Israelis just as exasperating as they find him. He dislikes the way they leak details of supposedly secret meetings. He also deplores their insistence that he replay the role of Sadat even though Israel refuses to offer him what it offered the late Egyptian president in exchange for a peace treaty—the return of the territories he lost in 1967.

After his 1986 split with Arafat, Hussein sought to pursue a strategy of "Jordanization" in the West Bank, pledging to pour money into economic development in the territory and quietly cooperating with Israel in cracking down on PLO organizers and supporters. But a 1986 public opinion poll showed that Hussein commanded little or no support in the West Bank, especially among younger Palestinians who grew up under Israeli occupation and have no memory of Jordanian rule and no sense of loyalty to a monarch they have never seen.

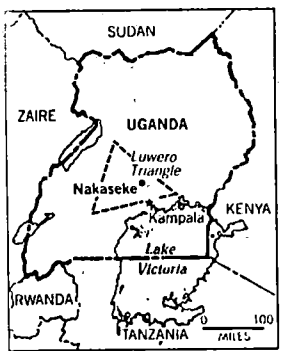
That same generation has led the uprising. Its battle cry is for Palestinian self-determination—in other words, an independent state in the West Bank and Gaza under the control of neither Israel nor Jordan but perhaps linked to one or both of them in some kind of confederation in the future.

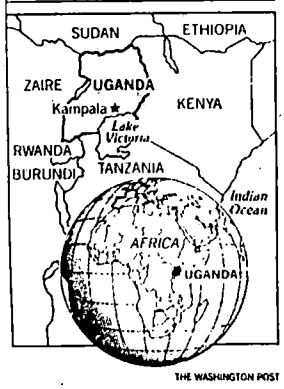
Faced with this new situation, Hussein has scrapped the Jordanization program and emphasized his support for Palestinian self-determination. He remains on the periphery, willing to assist the Palestinians but not prepared to fight for them, waiting patiently for the euphoria of the uprising to wear off and for residents of the West Bank and Gaza to come to the realization that they may need him as much as he needs them.

In the end, many Israelis suspect Hussein will never come to anyone's negotiating table, that his real interest is in simply keeping the game going and his antagonists guessing because that is the best way to ensure his own survival.

Still, to those desperate for some kind of workable political solution, the king dances on the eastern horizon like a desert mirage. "He is such a handsome and romantic person," says Michael Sela, an Israeli journalist who has long covered the West Bank. "We have to find someone we can trust, and we want very much to trust him."

# ?riences Novelty of Peace f Violence and Killing




THE WASHINGTON POST

these things did them in confidence that no one would ever do anything about it. This was often told to the victims while they were tortured:

than a fractious collection of mutually suspicious tribes, each convinced, in some cases with good reason, that to be out of power is to be cut out of economic opportunity.

Partly as a result of the divide-and-rule technique of the colonial British, Uganda is split along a north-south fault line, with economic and political power still concentrated in the south and military recruits drawn from the less developed north.

"This is a very difficult country to rule," one Kampala cleric said mournfully. "There are so many people who would like to be in power."

Museveni has tried to balance his Cabinet between north and south with representatives of rival ethnic and political groups. His National Resistance Army has begun to incorporate soldiers from vanquished rebel forces. The government has vowed to spend a large part of its aid money in the long-neglected north.

For all its achievements and promise, however, the Museveni government is still capable of acting arbitrarily. The country's broadly drawn Public Order and Security Act has been used by the government in recent months to arrest and detain journalists, editors and human rights activists as well as political and military opponents.

Political parties are still muzzled,

"You know us for our cookies, you'll love us for our

THE WASHINGTON POST

WORLD NEWS

25 AUGUST 92



ASSOCIATED PRESS

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In refugee camps near the border, U.N. officials have said there are many Hutus with bayonet and bullet wounds.

[As refugees from Burundi continue to pour into Rwanda, they are reporting that the Army is still engaged in some killing, according to The Associated Press.]

While the government said today that the situation in the north had returned to normal, independent sources here said that there is still automatic weapons fire in the region at night. Fearing government revenge, Hutus are using cover of

See BURUNDI, A23, Col. 3

# Chile to Lift State of Emergency

## *Decision Precedes Military Choice of Candidate for Plebiscite*

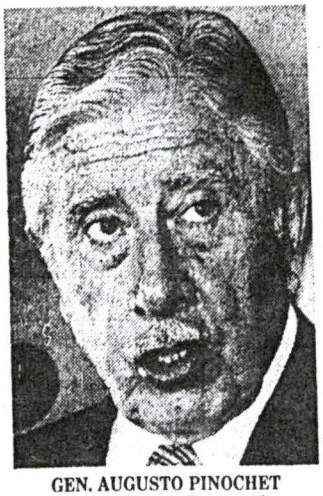
By Eugene Robinson
Washington Post Foreign Service

BUENOS AIRES, Aug. 24—The Chilean government of Gen. Augusto Pinochet, about to conduct a yes-or-no plebiscite that polls show it might lose, announced today it will lift all states of emergency in Chile for the first time since Pinochet seized power in a coup 15 years ago.

Interior Minister Sergio Fernandez announced in a press conference that President Pinochet had prepared decrees abolishing the two existing states of emergency, which had given the government broad powers to stifle dissent. The decrees become effective on their publication in an official government bulletin, perhaps as early as Thursday.

The heads of the Chilean armed forces, including Pinochet, are to meet Tuesday to choose a presidential candidate who will stand in the upcoming plebiscite. If approved by the voters, the candidate—widely expected to be Pinochet—would serve an eight-year presidential term.

The Chilean opposition has run a coordinated campaign for a "no" vote on the government's candidate in the plebiscite, which has not yet been scheduled but is expected to take place early in October.



GEN. AUGUSTO PINOCHET
. . . expected to run for presidency

For the opposition, as well as for the Roman Catholic Church, human rights groups and even some supporters of the government, lifting of the states of emergency was a key issue. They challenged the legitimacy of a vote held under rules that could severely limit civil liberties.

Two states of emergency are to be eliminated—a formal state of emergency and a "state of disturbance to the internal peace." Since Pinochet took power in a coup against the leftist rule of Salvador Allende on Sept. 11, 1973, some sort of state of siege, emergency or disturbance to the peace has always been in effect.

The states of emergency gave the government extraordinary powers to limit public gatherings, restrict the press, arrest and hold persons without judicial authorization and exile persons deemed dangerous to security.

Critics of the regime said it has used its powers to stack the deck in the plebiscite campaign. For example, rallies sponsored by the "no" campaign sometimes have been broken up by security forces under the rules limiting public assembly.

Genaro Arriagada, executive secretary of the umbrella group leading the "no" campaign, has cited the existence of the states of emergency as a major obstacle to a fair referendum.

Socialist leader Ricardo Lagos, a key figure in the "no" campaign, said tonight, "I think it's very early to offer an opinion on what Pinochet has done. Let's see if Chileans are allowed to meet freely. Let's see if

See CHILE, A24, Col. 5

# Japanese Defense Minister Resigns

## *Gesture Intended to Show Remorse for Fatal Submarine Collision*

By Margaret Shapiro
Washington Post Foreign Service

TOKYO, Aug. 24—Japan's defense minister resigned today in a political gesture designed to show remorse for a Navy submarine's collision with a fishing boat last month that left 30 civilians dead. The accident unleashed negative public sentiment toward Japan's military establishment.

Tsutomu Kawara, the civilian head of Japan's Self-Defense Forces, said he was stepping down because of the "very sad accident that the Self-Defense Forces were a party to in which many precious lives were lost."

Kawara's resignation had been expected for some time since the Japanese believe that top management must take responsibility for any serious mishaps involving their organization. Unlike in the United States, where resignation would be taken as an admission of guilt and thus occurs only under extreme pressure, in Japan such an action is seen as necessary to acknowledge the seriousness of an incident and to pay respects to victims and their relatives.

In 1986, for instance, when a JAL jet crashed into a Japanese mountainside, killing most people on board, the airline's president promptly resigned. A defense minister resigned 17 years ago when a Japanese Air Force plane collided in the air with a civilian passenger jet, killing 162 people.

The deeply felt Japanese sense of responsibility on occasion has caused more extreme expressions of remorse. Recently, a police chief

See JAPAN, A23, Col. 1

25 AU



ASSOCIATED PRESS

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week, Deputy Prime Minister Zbigniew Szalajda suggested a wage and price freeze to stop inflation, now running at more than 60 percent.

The moderate and self-critical tone of the government statements aimed at the public contrasted with a continued hard line toward Solidarity and the strikers. In Gdansk and Katowice, prosecutors began criminal proceedings against strike leaders. Workers in the mines and shipyards were pressed to sign statements of their willingness to work and the Army threatened young striking miners with induction.

Walesa, speaking at a repair shipyard in Gdansk, also shifted to a hard-line stance after days of unanswered appeals for talks between Solidarity and the government. "We must kick out the jerks who are hindering us and have brought the country to beggary," he declared.

# Chile to Lift State of Emergency

CHILE, From A18

exiles are allowed to return. Let's see if journalists are allowed to write freely. Eventually we will find out whether this really means something or if it is just a cosmetic act."

In announcing the lifting of the restrictions, Fernandez cited the government's success "in establishing order within the country."

The Catholic Church recently called on the armed forces commanders to choose a consensus candidate acceptable to both the military and the opposition, but Pinochet last week appeared to eliminate that possibility with a series of tough statements.

Pinochet's hard line seemed to make it even more likely that he would run himself, setting up what amounts to a yes-or-no vote on his 15 years of rule.

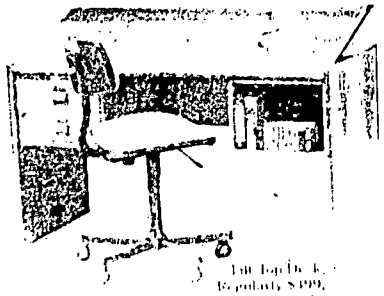
Polls show the contest to be close, with a large but slowly diminishing number of undecided voters. Nearly 7 million Chileans have registered to vote in the plebiscite, out of a total population of about 12 million.

Under the rules of the plebiscite, set down in a disputed constitution approved in 1980, if the government's candidate wins, he serves as president for eight years, after which there is a transition to democracy. If the candidate is rejected, Pinochet remains in power for another year, at which point he is obliged to call free elections.


**oom In Your Car And Still ater From Aunt Clara.**

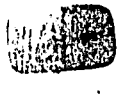
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| SIZE | Compare at | SALE |
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| Twin Set | $16 | $9.88 |
| Full Set | $23 | $15.88 |


25 AUG

# Annapolis' Primping May Be for Naught After Bush-Dukakis Debate Canceled

By Howard Schneider
Washington Post Staff Writer

ANNAPOLIS, Aug. 24—State and local officials who scheduled parties, called for a citywide cleanup, and raised $300,000 to promote a presidential debate in this historic city on Sept. 14 found their plans foiled today when the debate was canceled.

The city's yearlong battle to become the site for a presidential debate this year was apparently lost after Republican nominee George Bush refused to face Democrat Michael S. Dukakis until after Sept 20.

Bush campaign officials said the vice president believed any debate scheduled before then would follow the Republican National Convention too closely, and not leave enough time for preparation.

That left officials from Gov. William Donald Schaefer on down scrambling to figure out whether Annapolis will get to host a later debate, or whether their planning was wasted. Schaefer and others had viewed the debate as a public relations—and economic—tool for the state.

"Maryland is the first of three presidential debates and we are proceeding with our plans," Schaefer said in a written statement released late in the afternoon. The city was picked in the spring by the private, nonprofit Commission on Presidential Debates to host the first of that group's encounters between the two major party nominees. The other scheduled sites are Winston-Salem, N.C., and Pittsburgh, with a vice presidential debate set for Omaha.

In a news release after Bush's announcement, Dukakis campaign chairman Paul Brountas blasted the decision as an "inexcusable" blow to public discourse. Brountas said Dukakis planned to be at the U.S. Naval Academy's Halsey Field House on Sept. 14 to discuss foreign policy and national security issues.

If the Democratic nominee finds himself alone, at least he won't find himself unwelcome. Preparations have been moving into high gear since the spring to ensure that 3,000 members of the international press corps, 2,500 debate ticketholders and contingents from both campaigns all have comfortable places to eat, sleep and park their cars—no small feat in a town designed for life in the 1700s.

Walls and sidewalks were to be scrubbed. Weeds were to be pulled, alleys cleaned, and baskets of red, white and blue flowers hung from the doors of stores along the city's quaint Main Street. Schaefer, Anne Arundel County Executive James Lighthizer and Annapolis Mayor Dennis Callahan were planning to host a party for 1,000 at the Maryland State House. And, of course, the city's fewer than 1,500 hotel rooms were going fast; the local Radisson Hotel had already reserved 150 of its 217 rooms to debate-related visitors on Sept. 13 and 14.

With what local officials say would be the largest television audience for a nonsporting event, the city was primping hard, and everyone, from Schaefer on down, was hoping to capitalize on the attention.

"It is a feather not only in the cap of the city but the state of Maryland," Annapolis tourism director Thomas Roskelly said yesterday. "What kind of value do you put on this kind of national or international exposure?"

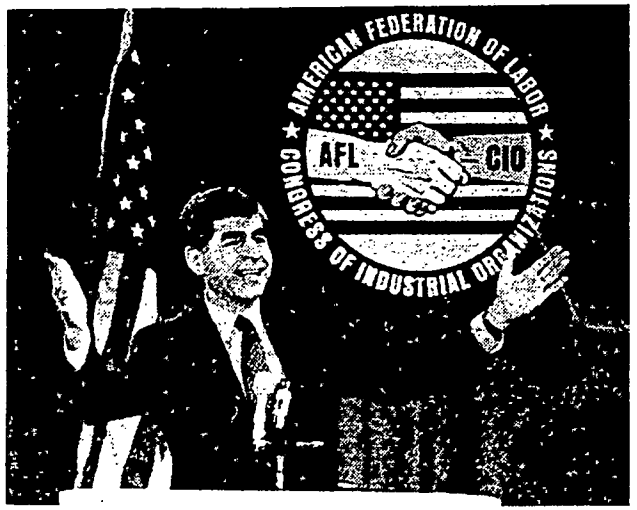
Although Bush might have ruled out the Sept. 14 date, the Republican nominee has not yet agreed to any other debate time or place. That left Roskelly and Schaefer a ray of hope that they quickly seized, pledging to continue their preparations as a debate site—whenever the first debate might be.

"If there is going to be a reshuffling, I don't think that decision automatically, definitely rules out" Annapolis, Roskelly said. "We merely need to explore the other opportunities."

He said the city had raised from private sources more than $300,000 of the estimated $500,000 needed to add air conditioning to the Halsey Field House, install telephone lines and extra power for the media, and otherwise stage the event.

Only about $30,000 of that has been spent, Roskelly said.

The rest will be refunded if no debate is held here.




BY JAMES K W ATHERTON—THE WASHINGTON POST

Michael S. Dukakis speaks to AFL-CIO members after they endorsed him.

# Bush Wants Debates Set No Earlier Than Sept. 20

DEBATES, From A1

The survey showed Bush with a 48 percent to 46 percent lead over Dukakis among a random sampling of 1,123 likely voters. The 2-point Bush lead is within the 3 percent-

Since the four debates between John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon in 1960, televised debates have become a political institution, and have played a major role in every presidential election since 1976, when President Gerald R

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# Iraq Presses for Full Control of Waterway

## *Claim on Shatt al Arab Could Complicate Peace Talks Beginning Today in Geneva*

By Patrick E. Tyler
Washington Post Foreign Service

GENEVA, Aug. 24—As delegations from Iran and Iraq arrived here today to prepare for their first face-to-face peace talks since the Persian Gulf war erupted nearly eight years ago, Iraqi officials indicated that any lasting agreement must recognize Baghdad's control over the entire Shatt al Arab waterway, which separates the southern oil fields of the two countries.

Foreign ministers from the two belligerent nations are due to sit down together Thursday under the mediation of U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar to discuss terms for an exchange of war prisoners and mutual recognition of borders that would buttress a cease-fire in effect for the last five days.

Any Iraqi claim of sovereignty over the entire deep-water channel, which serves as Iraq's only outlet to the sea, would seriously complicate chances for an early agreement. In the 1975 Algiers accord signed when the shah of Iran was still in power, Iraq accepted Iran's claim to fix the southern border at the middle of the Shatt channel in exchange for quelling the Kurdish rebellion against Iraq in the northern border region.

In an attempt to intimidate Iran on this issue, Iraq last month dispatched a large part of its armored forces in the south together with what U.S. intelligence officials described as "bridging equipment" to the banks of the Shatt al Arab across from the Iranian port city of Khorramshahr.

This military move was intended to demonstrate Iraqi negotiating strength and national resolve to control the waterway under any new peace accord, according to an Iraqi official interviewed in Baghdad before the delegation departed for Geneva.

Such a negotiating gambit represents a serious escalation of Iraqi demands on the eve of the peace talks and at a time when Iraq's 1-million-man Army holds an overwhelming military advantage behind the newly imposed truce lines.

Iran is expected to react strongly to such a demand, but Iraqi sources point out that Iraq has controlled the waterway for most of the century and only relinquished half the channel to Iran when the late shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi was exerting strong military pressure on Iraq in the mid-1970s. Under agreements in 1847, 1913 and 1937, Iraq controlled the waterway, the official noted.

Late today, Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz led his delegation into this neutral city far removed from the sweltering heat of the 730-mile cease-fire line where 350 U.N. observers took up positions late last week.

"We have come in good faith," Aziz told reporters at the airport. "We will do our best to make the negotiations succeed."

In a brief statement, Aziz alluded to Iraq's persistent concern that Iran may have agreed to a cease-fire and peace talks only to buy time to improve its military position. Iran has insisted that the country's spiritual leader, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, has personally put his stamp on the decision to end the war.

"I know that you and a lot of circles of international public opinion are worried about the future of these negotiations," Aziz said. But he added, "The future of these negotiations will depend only on the good intentions of the other side."

He said Iraq expects the direct negotiations "to reach a common understanding" of peace and how to implement it, but he expressed concern about the "concept of acceptance" by Iran.

"Is it a turning point in accepting a peaceful relationship with Iraq, as neighbors in the region, or is it a tactical act?" the Iraqi asked.

Thursday's meeting with Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati will be a personal victory for Aziz, a Christian whose minority religious status in the Moslem-dominated Iraqi government has made him the subject of official taunts from Tehran.

Velayati was due to arrive just after midnight, but a large part of his delegation arrived today on an Iran Air flight from Tehran.

Responding to a reporter's question about Iranian claims that Iraq has violated the cease-fire by moving its troops forward on the central front near the border town of Fekkah, Aziz said Iraq had acted under the supervision of U.N. observers during the weekend to push back Iranian forces that had advanced just before the cease-fire began.

The struggle to control the Shatt al Arab, a 30-mile stretch of water that provides Iraq with its only outlet to the Persian Gulf for oil and cargo trade, is more than a century old and remains at the heart of the border disputes that propelled the parties toward warfare in 1980.

Under pressure in 1975, Iraq accepted terms imposed by the late shah in an agreement called the Algiers accord to extend Iranian sovereignty from the eastern bank of the waterway to the center line of the channel.

The official said Iraq made this concession "because the shah wanted to show a victory" and Iraq was anxious to settle the Kurdish rebellion in the north, which was being fueled by the shah and the U.S. government through the Central Intelligence Agency.

The official said Iraq wanted to reclaim its full rights over the waterway, which, he said, were lost in the "bad deal" of 1975.

"When you think of the regime in Tehran, if we say we will let them use half of the Shatt, they will be able to impose their veto or their views on such things as our irrigation programs that might affect the flow of the waterway," the official said. "This may lead to lots of friction in the future."

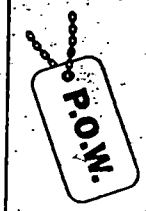
Since the cease-fire, Iraqi officials have been angered to see small Iranian boats venture into the Shatt flying the Iranian flag.

In the fierce nationalistic competition that has enveloped the dispute, showing the Iranian flag on the waterway flouts Iraq's decision on Sept. 17, 1980, to abrogate the Algiers accord and ban all ships from the waterway not flying the Iraqi flag and carrying Iraqi pilots, the official said.

The official acknowledged that in seeking to reexert dominion over all of the Shatt, Iraq, too, appears bent on creating the appearance of "victory" in the negotiated settlement of the war.

## THE GENEVA TALKS AT A GLANCE

**PRISONERS OF WAR**




U.N. Security Council Resolution 598 urges that POWs from the Iran-Iraq War "be released and repatriated without delay after the cessation of active hostilities," in accordance with the Geneva conventions.

U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, who sent a special mission to both countries inquiring into the POW situation, says there are more than 80,000 prisoners. The all-Swiss International Committee of the Red Cross, which supervises observance of the Geneva conventions, has registered 50,182 POWs in Iranian camps and 19,284 in Iraqi camps.

Many of the POWs on both sides are expected to refuse repatriation. The Red Cross says it will organize the process only if it has access to every prisoner to make sure that he agrees to repatriation.

**WAR GUILT**



Resolution 598 envisions establishment of an "impartial body" to investigate the "responsibility for the conflict." Iraq invaded Iran Sept. 22, 1980, and Iran expects Iraq to be branded as the aggressor. Iraq says it acted after assassination attempts against its leaders and Iranian calls for the overthrow of the Iraqi leadership.

**BORDERS**




Resolution 598 refers to the withdrawal of all forces "to the internationally recognized borders without delay." Iran holds that the 737-mile common border was delineated in a treaty concluded in 1975 during the rule of Shah Reza Pahlavi. The treaty granted Iran its long-sought claim to the eastern half of the 127-mile Shatt al Arab, Iraq's only access to the open sea.

Iraq unilaterally repudiated that treaty in 1980, five days before its forces crossed into Iran.

On Sept. 23, 1980, Iraq announced three territorial conditions for ending the war: Iranian recognition of Iraqi claims to the entire waterway, to water rights on rivers flowing from Iran to Iraq and to three Persian Gulf islands seized by Iran in 1971.

**REPARATIONS**



In 1985, Iran officially assessed the cost of its war damage as $350 billion and announced it would seek reparations. An Iranian newspaper earlier this month estimated total losses due to the war at $600 billion. Iraq has not issued an official assessment of war damages. Resolution 598 calls for a "comprehensive, just and honorable settlement," but makes no direct reference to reparations.

SOURCE: Associated Press

THE WASHINGTON POST

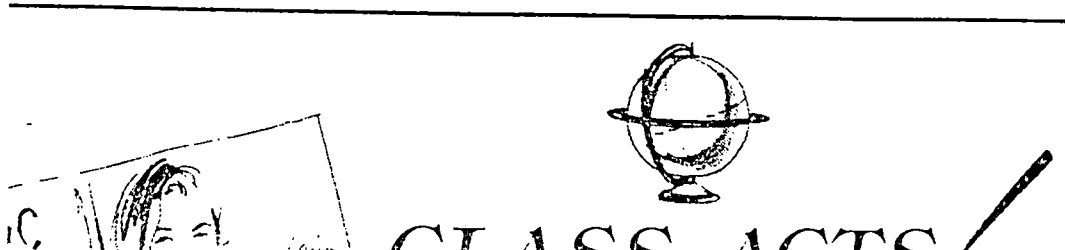
# AROUND THE WORLD

## Colombia Suspends 5 U.S. Extraditions

BOGOTA, Colombia—The Colombian state tribunal said yesterday it had suspended ex-

bia alone, he said, had sent 126 planeloads.

Sudan appealed for urgent international aid immediately after floods caused by torrential rains hit Khartoum on Aug. 4



11 JULY 1988
TIME MAG.



SOVIET UNION

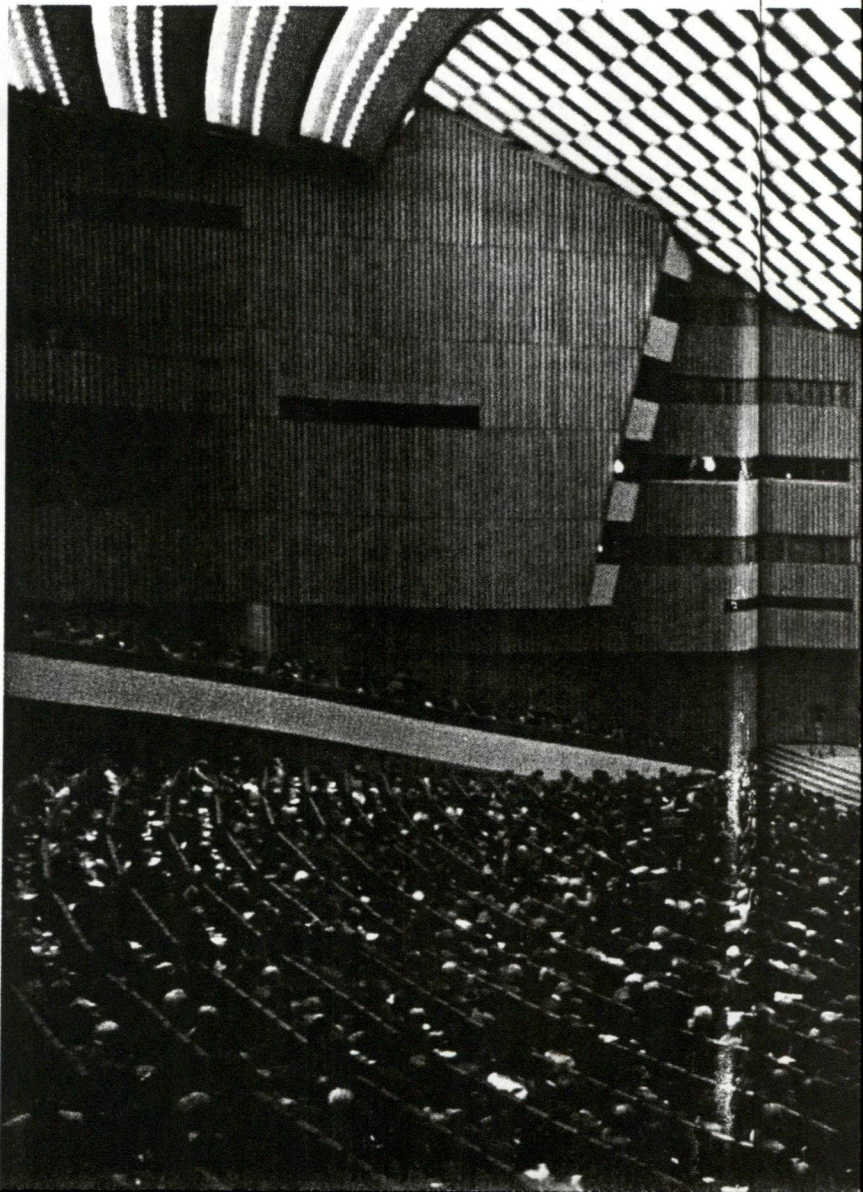
# More Than Talk

## *Gorbachev's gabfest becomes an electrifying gripe session—and then some*

The words were inflammatory, but the audience took them in stride. Referring to the discredited era of Leonid Brezhnev, who died in 1982, Vladimir I. Melnikov, an obscure official from the Russian republic, declared from the podium at the 19th All-Union Communist Party Conference, "People who in previous times actively conducted the policy of stagnation cannot now be on, or work in, central party or Soviet organs in the period of restructuring."

To most people in the auditorium, Melnikov's meaning was clear. But Mikhail Gorbachev wanted him to be even more explicit. Breaking into the speech, Gorbachev asked, "Maybe you have some concrete suggestions?" Then, explaining to other delegates, Gorbachev added with a smile, "We're sitting here and don't know: Is he talking about me or somebody else?" Melnikov proceeded to do what would have been unthinkable even a few months ago, naming names—and prominent ones at that, including Andrei Gromyko, the country's 78-year-old President. The smile faded from Gorbachev's face, but when the highlights of the session were played on Soviet television later in the evening, that remarkable exchange was not deleted.





**IN MOSCOW'S PALACE OF CONGRESSES, NEARLY 5,000 DELEgates gathered to hear more than 70 speeches, including three by Mikhail Gorbachev. Excerpts from his keynote address:**

**"I would like to dwell particularly on the political freedoms that enable a person to express his opinion on any matter. Comrades, what we are talking about is a new role of public opinion in the country. And there is no need to fear the novel, unconventional character of some opinions, there is no need to overreact and lapse into extremes at every turn of the debates."**

**"For much too long, uniformity, monotonous conformity and mediocrity were made out to be the hallmarks of progress. We still lack the custom to engage in debate,...to practice free competition."**

**"Apart from undeniable gains, there still are daily cares largely preventing women from enjoying their rights fully.**

**"The Soviet people want a clear perspective . . . full-blooded and unconditional democracy. *Glasnost* in all things, big and small. Respect for hard work, and talk, and faithful service for the cause and the good of society. We need no social utopias."**

So it went last week at the first, extraordinary party gathering since 1941, an event that proved extraordinary in every sense of the word. Day after sweltering day in an early summer heat wave, nearly 5,000 delegates met in the Kremlin's vast Palace of Congresses to debate their country's political future, and specifically the fate of Gorbachev's three-year-old program of *perestroika* (restructuring). A combination political convention, town meeting, classroom lecture and gripe session, the gathering turned into an astonishing exercise in Gorbachev's second-favorite buzz word, *glasnost* (openness). More than 70 delegates spoke their minds by week's end, and many others wanted to do so. But Gorbachev finally cut short discussion to hold a series of votes on political reforms. He got pretty much everything he asked for, including a new presidential system of government in which he could be not only party chief but also the Soviet Union's head of state.

Whether or not the conference succeeded in making Gorbachev's modernization plans "irreversible"—his stated goal—there was little doubt that he dominated the event. The Soviet leader delivered three addresses, including a 3½-hr. keynote speech and an impassioned follow-up talk starkly warning that socialism "will die unless we reform the political system." He also delivered the meeting's closing address, declaring that the conference had opened the way to "a democratic image of socialism."

As if that were not enough, Gorbachev repeatedly interrupted other delegates as they spoke, usually to endorse their pro-reform assertions. The General Secretary even provided some moments of comic relief. After Politburo Member Alexander Yakovlev read a note asking delegates to refrain from delivering self-serving accounts of local party activities, Gorbachev leaned back in his chair and deadpanned, "That has the support of the conference, right?"

The meeting's most arresting move was a decision, at Gorbachev's urging, to reorganize the Soviet Union's governing institutions in ways that could, depending on how the changes operate in practice, relax the party's iron grip on day-to-day economic and political decision making. As startling as that idea might sound, however, Gorbachev stressed that he was speaking about only some forms of operational authority, not a transfer of ultimate power out of the hands of the party—a point he took pains to clarify in his second, largely extemporaneous speech. "We do not abandon the role of the ruling party in the country," he said. "On the contrary, we want to reaffirm it."

One of his ideas reaches all the way back to the country's revolutionary origins. During the chaotic days that followed the overthrow of the Romanov dynasty, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin and the Bolshevik Party used local councils of workers and soldiers, known as soviets, as their springboard to power. Lenin's famous call for "all power to the soviets" was abandoned, however, almost as soon as its author had managed to establish a one-party state. Gorbachev proposed refurbishing the soviets, now largely impotent






CHRIS NIEDENTHAL

**A group of delegates heads across Red Square for an early-morning visit to Lenin's Mausoleum, Moscow's No. 1 tourist attraction. Behind them, stretched across a history museum, is a banner commemorating the conference**

councils that do little more than endorse party directives, and making them serve as basic units of local government. Said Gorbachev: "We should assert the full and independent authority of the soviets in managing the development of the areas they run."

On the national level, the conference approved the creation of a new supreme organ, a 2,250-member Congress of People's Deputies. It would meet annually to select a smaller full-time legislature, the Supreme Soviet, and also a President, who would serve as the country's chief executive. Gorbachev did not say whether that job should be filled by the current leader of the Communist Party, namely himself. But he did specify that local party leaders should get the top jobs in the soviets, raising the possibility that he favored a parallel arrangement on the national level.

One of the key questions left unanswered was whether this system would satisfy Gorbachev's insistence on lines of "strict demarcation" between party and government functions. Noting that the proposal called for automatic election of party leaders as heads of the soviets, Leonid Abalkin, director of the Academy of Science's economics institute, pointed out that this was actually a step away from Gorbachev's previous calls for multicandidate votes. The plan, he said, amounted to a "vote of confidence rather than a vote with many variants." But Gorbachev insisted that the system's provision for secret balloting would offer a genuine choice. If a party candidate were turned down for office in a soviet, he said, then the local party committee would be forced "to draw the necessary conclusions"—presumably, that the person was not fit for the party office either.

Addressing the principal issues that have arisen in his term of office, Gorbachev candidly admitted that "we could have accomplished far more than we have in these three years in the main *perestroika* areas." To resolve the chronic difficulty of food shortages, which he termed "the most painful and the most acute problem in the life of our society," Gorbachev called for the introduction of land-leasing agreements that would make agricultural workers feel that they are "true masters on the farm." The Soviet leader stepped up his attacks on the country's economic bureaucracy; he blames its obsession with sheer output for sabotaging his reform program's emphasis on efficiency and product quality. "We do not need millions of tons of steel, millions of tons of cement, millions of tons of coal as such," he said. "What we need are tangible end results."

Gorbachev also discussed what is likely to become one of his most difficult problems in the near future: the necessity of raising prices on many consumer products, including meat and bread, which currently soak up wasteful state subsidies. Until these artificially inexpensive goods are subjected to what he delicately called "pricing reform," said Gorbachev, "we shall not be able to create normal relations in the economy and secure a properly grounded assessment of the costs and results of production." The Soviet leader, however, was well aware that announcements of sudden and severe price hikes have proved explosive elsewhere in the East bloc, notably in Poland. Adjustments in the Soviet cost of living, he promised, will be made only after a "thorough nationwide discussion."

Gorbachev demonstrated less patience with the problem of nationalist unrest, which has broken out with violent repercussions in the southern republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan. While praising the "growth of ethnic self-awareness," the General Secretary cautioned that "any ob-

session with national isolation can only lead to economic and cultural impoverishment." Nationalist "collisions," he said, must be settled "within the existing state structure of our union," a reference to the roiling secessionist movement in the autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh, an area that is geographically part of Azerbaijan but ethnically 75% Armenian.

The Soviet leader invited delegates to use the conference for a freewheeling exercise in "criticism and self-criticism." He did not have to ask twice. As speaker after speaker assumed the podium for an allotted 15 minutes of temporary fame, the strictures and inhibitions of decades of Soviet political life seemed to slip away, at least for the moment. Not that candor has been entirely absent from previous party gatherings, perhaps most memorably when Nikita Khrushchev denounced Stalinism at the 20th Party Congress in 1956. What made last week's display of political emotion so remarkable is that much of it was shared, via nightly television summaries, with the nation and the world. Many Soviets found the experience difficult to believe. Said one Muscovite, an artist in her 40s: "I am hearing things on television that weeks ago I would never have whispered over the telephone."

Complaints ranged from the mundane to the exotic. One crowd pleaser was Vladimir Kabaidze, 64, general director of a machine-tool plant in the city of Ivanovo. Earthy and outspoken, Kabaidze took pleasure in skewering the ministerial bureaucracy that oversees Soviet industrial enterprises. Kabaidze offered some feline advice: "If a minister can catch mice, feed him. If he can't, don't bother." He also denounced the bloated cadre of "scientific workers" who are designated to carry out state-supported research-and-development projects but actually perform little productive labor. "I recently heard a horrible statistic," he told the conference. "There are supposed to be 900,000 scientific workers in Moscow. What is this supposed to be, a gathering place for wunderkinder?" Baiting bureaucrats is hardly a high-risk enterprise in the Gorbachev era, of course, but Kabaidze's gibes drew appreciative chuckles and applause, even from some of their targets in the audience.

Among ordinary workers, who according to official statistics constituted one-third of the delegates, the most frequent gripe was that *perestroika* so far has provided few benefits in day-to-day life. Said Veniamin Yarin, a metalworker in the west Siberian city of Nizhni Tagil: "The workers say, 'Where is *perestroika* when the supply of goods in shops is as poor as ever, sugar is bought with ration cards and there is no meat?' "

Yarin also called for an end to the Soviet tradition of cloaking the individual responsibilities of ruling Politburo members in secrecy. "We don't know the specific matters each Politburo member is personally responsible for," he declared. In fact, last week's conference produced one important new disclosure along those very lines. At a press conference, Byelorussian Party Chief Yefrem Sokolov confirmed earlier rumors that Politburo Member Yakovlev, a strong Gorbachev supporter, has become chief overseer of party ideology, replacing Yegor K. Ligachev, who is thought to be the Soviet leader's major rival.

Another frequently voiced concern was the environment. Rafik Nishanov, the Uzbekistan party chief, complained bitterly about a disastrous drop in the water level of the inland Aral Sea, which has been depleted over the years by efforts to irrigate the arid republics of Central Asia. The chief of a new environmental protection committee, Fyodor Morgun, blamed the "ill-considered drive to build gigantic plants" for a Pandora's box of ecological problems, including air and water pollution.

By and large, delegates refrained from discussing Soviet foreign policy. The exception was the eight-year war in Afghanistan, which was criticized as a misguided Brezhnev-era adventure by two speakers, Editor Grigori Baklanov and Economist Yevgeni Primakov. But Gorbachev was applauded when he defended the performance of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. The commander of the Soviet forces there, Lieut. General Boris Gromov, told the conference that "we have performed our duty with honor."

A leading Soviet actor, Mikhail Ulyanov (who often plays his eponym, Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov Lenin), cited a now famous letter, printed earlier this year in the newspaper *Sovietskaya Rossiya*, from a Leningrad schoolteacher that criticized *glasnost*. Ulyanov warned that all too many intellectuals "snapped to attention and waited for the next orders" as a result of its publication, convinced that the period of openness was about to end.

## Making of the President

Among the more striking ideas set forth by Mikhail Gorbachev last week was one for a radical restructuring of the Soviet government. As envisioned by the General Secretary, the present system would be supplanted by bodies and offices somewhat more Western in style.

| THE OLD SYSTEM . . . | WOULD BE REPLACED BY . . . |
|---|---|
| **President of the Presidium**<br>Nominally head of state, the President presides over the Supreme Soviet and performs largely ceremonial duties. | **President of the Supreme Soviet**<br>This U.S.-style executive would conduct foreign and defense policy and be elected by secret ballot of the new Congress. |
| **Presidium of the Supreme Soviet**<br>Its 39 members oversee ministries and issue laws, but like the President, the Presidium is answerable to the party. | **Presidium of the Supreme Soviet**<br>Its 17 Vice Presidents would assist the President and oversee the work of committees of the new Supreme Soviet. |
| **Supreme Soviet**<br>Technically the highest organ of state authority, this 1,500-member legislature is actually just a rubber stamp for the Presidium's decisions. | **Supreme Soviet**<br>A smaller, two-chamber parliament with real legislative duties, it would sit year-round to decide specific matters and be answerable to the new Congress. |
| | **Congress of the People's Deputies**<br>A 2,250-member forum, it would meet annually to decide major policy issues and elect the President and the Supreme Soviet. |
| **Local Soviets**<br>These councils supervise departments in their areas but are bound by local party directives. | **Local Soviets**<br>The councils, which would have enhanced authority to manage economic enterprises in their area, would be presided over by the party's regional secretaries. |



FAGET/ARMAND—AFP

Others, unhappy with *glasnost,* criticized the Soviet press for carrying the campaign too far with its newfound appetite for muckraking. Calling those who produce such fare "princes of extremism," conservative Novelist Yuri Bondarev declared, "Not all newspaper and magazine editors have realized that the immorality of the press cannot teach morality."

At one point the proceedings were interrupted by a spicy dispute involving the weekly magazine *Ogonyok,* which has emerged as one of the staunchest supporters of *glasnost*—and one of the most daring probers of its limits. Shortly before the conference convened, the newspaper had alleged that several unnamed delegates from the Central Asian republic of Uzbekistan were guilty of accepting bribes. When the conference's credentials chairman said it would take time to subject the charges to official investigation, there were shouts for *Ogonyok* Editor Vitali Korotich to substantiate them himself. Korotich gamely came to the podium and explained that he could not name the alleged culprits because their party membership protected them from public prosecution. Then, with a flourish, he turned and handed Gorbachev what he said was his evidence.

Perhaps the best-known political casualty of the Gorbachev era, former Moscow Party Boss Boris Yeltsin, issued a typically brash plea for political rehabilitation. Fired last November for his attacks on fellow Politburo members who showed a lack of enthusiasm for Gorbachev's reforms, Yeltsin portrayed himself as the victim of circumstance. "I believe that my only mistake was that I chose the wrong time, [just] before the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the Revolution," said Yeltsin, now a high-ranking construction minister. "I took very much to heart what happened." Showing that he is as combative as ever, Yeltsin tore into the party's Central Committee for publishing the text of its agenda too close to the opening of the 19th All-Union Conference to allow for significant debate.

Yeltsin's tirade did not go unanswered for long. In what amounted to a public airing of a long-simmering Kremlin feud, Ligachev urged the conference to deny Yeltsin rehabilitation because he had failed to renounce his "doubtful and uncomradely methods." Gorbachev sought to put the matter to rest, saying everyone involved in the Yeltsin affair had "learned a lesson."

In his closing address, Gorbachev pronounced the four-day meeting a success and hailed *glasnost* as "one of the heroes of our conference." He also promised to "bring about a qualitatively new condition in our society and give a human face to socialism"—the exact phrase used 20 years ago by Czechoslovak Reformer Alexander Dubček. As Gorbachev joined the delegates in singing verses of the *Internationale,* he took off his glasses. A pensive, almost weary expression crept across his face, the look of a man who has put one more victory behind him but still has many more battles to face. ***—By William R. Doerner. Reported by Ann Blackman and John Kohan/ Moscow***



CHRIS NIEDENTHAL

**Soviet veterans, above, at a memorial for the 13,000 soldiers killed during the Afghanistan war, which became a conference issue; Gorbachev's keynote speech draws the rapt attention of shoppers in a Moscow TV store**

AFGHANISTAN

# Careful Exit from An Endless War

*As the Soviets split, the government and rebels take over the battlefield*



Skimming over the bone-dry terrain of northwestern Afghanistan at 150 m.p.h., the Soviet pilot of the Mi-8 helicopter gunship hugs the ground, popping over hills and swooping through narrow ravines in the hope of surprising rebel units in his path. The strain of contour flying less than 100 ft. off the ground shows on the faces of the intent three-man crew as they scan the hostile terrain for an enemy who could turn up anywhere: behind the mud walls of a sprawling village, among goatherds whose flock scatters at the deafening beat of the rotors, in a rocky defile just over the next rise. The gunner, edgy, fires a burst from a nose-mounted gun into an arid hillside. As the chopper passes through a likely ambush site, the pilot releases a string of flares to divert heat-seeking Stinger antiaircraft missiles. The only time the men's faces relax is when they pass over homeward-bound Soviet troops, who wave to their airborne protectors.

The Soviet troops who withdrew from Afghanistan last week spent their final hours in the war zone rolling along potholed roads through regions still under the control of the *mujahedin*. With half of Moscow's 115,000-man invasion army now gone, complying with the Aug. 15 deadline, the Islamic insurgents remain a force to be reckoned with despite the more than eight-year Soviet campaign to wipe them out.

The Soviets took no chances two weeks ago when a column of 1,500 men in 300 armored personnel carriers and trucks made its bumpy way 400 miles from Kandahar, a ruin of a city in the southwest, through Herat, where the Soviets retain a major base, to the Soviet border. Though officers explained that they had agreed to an informal truce with Ismael Khan, the most powerful rebel chieftain in the Herat area, they plainly did not place much stock in the understanding. The two-mile-long column rarely left the cover of Soviet artillery set high on ridges or the protection of clattering helicopter gunships. The precautions served their purpose: over a period of two weeks, the withdrawal convoys suffered no casualties.

Days before the column set out, Fazl Haq Khaleqiar, the governor of Herat province, told a group of Western journalists that he had made peace with most of the rebel groups in his region. But as the column rolled toward the provincial capital, it became clear that there was a threat. Tanks and artillery dug in every few hundred yards covered the approaches to the city. Hostile Afghans greeted the soldiers, and a rock thrown by someone in the crowd caromed off a vehicle. When journalists tried to walk around the city, armed teenage Afghan members of the Communist Party youth organization blocked the way. Just then an embarrassed Governor Fazl Haq appeared to tell the reporters that they were free to stroll around. When the newsmen tried to take him up on his offer, the Afghans rounded them up at gunpoint. Their explanation: rebels prowling the city might mistake Western journalists for Soviets and kill them.

The next morning the column left Herat for the remaining 3½-hour ride to the frontier. As soon as the vehicles rumbled across the Soviet border into Kushka, broad smiles spread across the faces of troopers who had been tense through much of the journey; a few jumped off their vehicles to dance with local Turkmen women. For the men in the convoy and an additional 10,000 withdrawn during the past two weeks, the war was over. Asked what the pullback meant to them, the soldiers generally repeated the official line of having "fulfilled their internationalist duty," though one lieutenant was more candid. Said he: "Obviously, it is time to leave. Gorbachev himself said that Afghanistan was something of a mistake."



LUDWIG—SIPA

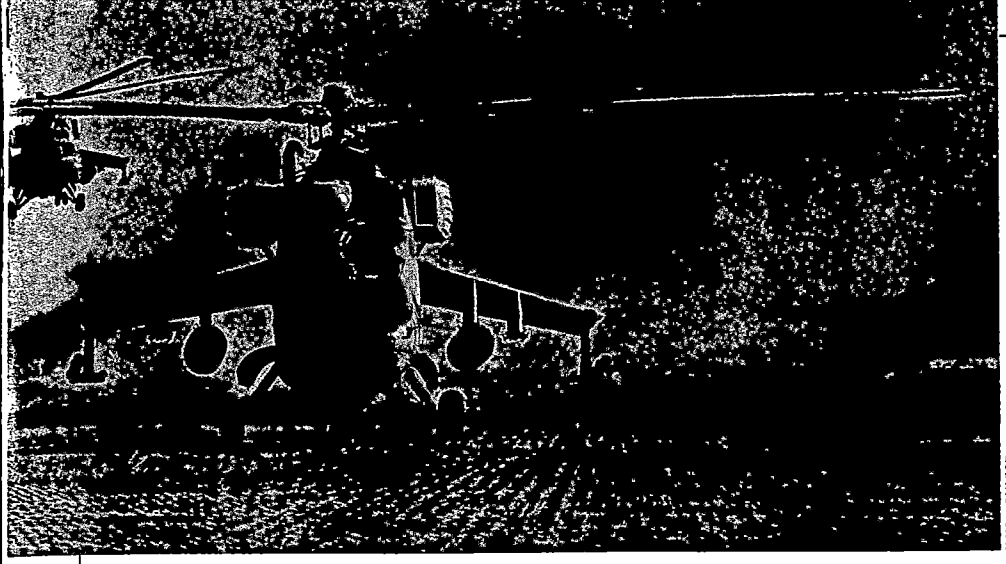
**In Kushka, a trooper gets a welcome-home hug**

*Said a Soviet lieutenant: "Obviously, it is time to leave."*

A mistake? A cause unworthy of more Soviet blood? Certainly. But Moscow is still determined to stand by its Communist allies in Afghanistan—at least until a suitable alternative emerges. In an interview with TIME, Nikolai Yegorychev, the Soviet Ambassador in Kabul, reiterated that Moscow saw the only solution as a compromise government involving both Communists and the *mujahedin*. Said he: "The problems facing Afghanistan cannot be solved militarily. A political settlement is essential."

Translated, that means Moscow will continue to help the Najibullah government avoid military defeat. Earlier this month the regime's forces lost two provincial capitals in the northeast: Taliqan, a relatively insignificant small city, and Kunduz, a strategic strong point. Though Afghan troops, supported by Soviet air power, subsequently recaptured Kunduz, Moscow apparently regarded the setbacks as serious enough to quash earlier suggestions that the 50,000 troops still in Afghanistan might be home by the end of the year, well ahead of the Feb. 15, 1989, deadline established under the Geneva accords signed by Afghanistan, the Soviet Union, Pakistan and the U.S. Said Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov: "The situation in Afghanistan does not give grounds to accelerate the withdrawal of Soviet troops."

According to U.S. intelligence sources, in fact, the regime regained Kunduz only after Soviet fighter-bombers based in the



LUDWIG—SIPA

**Swooping over hills and through ravines: two Mi-24 helicopters return from a mission**

Soviet Union blasted and strafed rebel positions, reducing portions of the city to rubble. Washington considers the sorties a violation of the Geneva accords, as well as a serious threat to the *mujahedin's* efforts on the battlefield. If the Soviets fear that their Afghan comrades are not tough enough to fend off the *mujahedin,* Western analysts and rebel leaders have quite the opposite concern: so far, Najibullah's troops have been showing more gumption than expected. Around Jalalabad, a city the Soviets left three months ago, Afghan troops have thrown back repeated rebel assaults. So far, the *mujahedin* are holding only two dozen small towns. Concedes a senior aide to Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, leader of a rebel Hezb-e-Islami faction: "They [Najibullah's forces] have fought much better than expected."

Nor are their Soviet allies willing to see them beaten in a major engagement, as they nearly were at Kunduz. The city of about 40,000, straddling a main road to the Soviet border 37 miles away, fell to units of Jamiat-i-Islami and Gulbuddin's Hezb-e-Islami six days after the 10,000-man Soviet garrison pulled out. The guerrillas overran the government defenders and freed the prisoners at the local jail, but failed to capture the heavily defended airport. Within two days government reinforcements closed in, and Soviet aircraft went to work. After three days of fighting, the *mujahedin* withdrew; according to TASS, twelve Afghan troops and 173 insurgents died (the latter figure possibly includes civilian casualties). The Kunduz affair apparently triggered a shake-up in the Afghan military. TASS reported that Najibullah had appointed a new Defense Minister and army chief of staff.

In the wake of Kunduz and other rebel setbacks, Western analysts' predictions

**A Soviet chopper pilot's nightmare: a *mujahedin* unit and their antiaircraft gun in the mountains of southern Afghanistan**

TONY O'BRIEN—PICTURE GROUP





DIETER LUDWIG—SIPA

**The rewards of fulfilling an "internationalist duty": Soviet soldiers feast on cider, melon and bread at festivities outside Kushka**

that major Afghan cities would fall quickly once the Soviets pulled out look overly optimistic. Says a Western diplomat in Kabul: "The *mujahedin* are not capable of waging large-scale conventional warfare. The regime still has superior firepower and transport capacity.

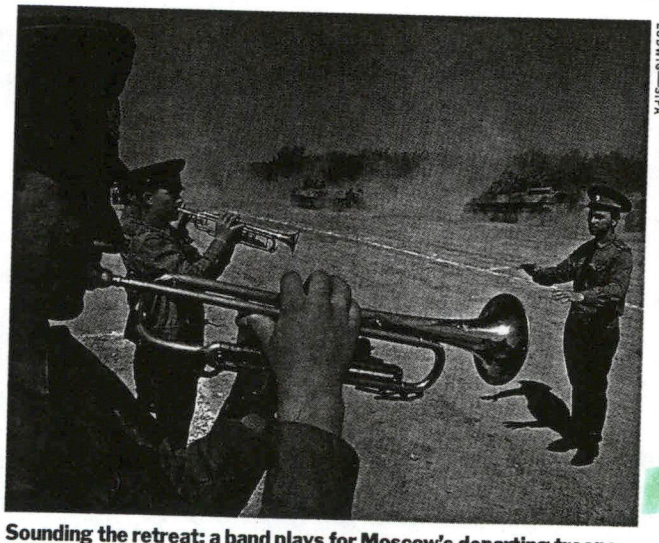
The guerrillas learned that lesson the hard way at Kandahar last week when insurgents of Jamiat-i-Islami broke off attacks on strategic high ground around Baba Wali, a heavily fortified point overlooking the city, after coming under air and artillery barrages from entrenched government forces. An assault by fighters of Yunis Khalis' Hezb-e-Islami last month on outposts screening Jalalabad was similarly thrown back at the cost of as many as 50 *mujahedin* lives. Such large-scale attacks under heavy fire are something new for the guerrilla forces. Says Abdul Qadir, a senior rebel commander with Khalis: "The *mujahedin* are not ready to risk high casualties."

Instead, the resistance has been adopting the Maoist strategy of controlling the countryside, isolating towns and cities, and gradually wearing down government morale through rocket barrages. Earlier this month, a huge munitions dump near Kalagay was blown up, reportedly claiming hundreds of Soviet lives. Last week Najibullah's enemies scored a propaganda coup when his brother Sediqullah Rahi, 37, turned up in Washington to announce his defection and call his brother "mentally deranged." Though heavy combat has not touched the capital, Kabul, the sights and sounds of war intrude almost daily. At the airport planes follow a narrow corkscrew flight path down to the runway rather than risk flying in low over hostile territory. Day in and day out, the crump of outgoing artillery echoes through the city as government forces try to keep the *mujahedin* off balance.

Moscow and Kabul's answer to the emerging rebel strategy of slow strangulation is to dig in at a few strongholds—Kabul, Jalalabad, Herat, Faizabad, Ghazni, Kandahar and Mazar-i-Sharif—and await a change in the military or political equation that could give them an advantage. Most of the remaining 50,000 Soviet troops are garrisoned in Kabul and Shindand, the huge air base in western Afghanistan, as well as in Herat and a few other cities along the main roads to the Soviet border. As many as 100,000 Afghan troops are deployed in the same areas and at dozens of smaller outposts.

If most of the Soviet forces remain in place until late this year or early 1989, as the Kremlin indicated last week, they will almost certainly guarantee Najibullah's survival through next winter. Moscow continues to supply the regime with a bountiful flow of weapons and ammunition, and has announced long-term aid and economic agreements.

The Soviets hope to prop up Najibullah long enough to allow a transition to a more broadly based regime friendly to the Soviet Union. Whatever the stripes of the new regime, Moscow aims to have it seeded with friends open to continued Soviet access to gas fields and copper and oil deposits that it has developed in the north. Says Ambassador Yegorychev: "There is no doubt that we have our national interests here. Our main interest is that Afghanistan be a good neighbor of the Soviet Union." —***By Edward W. Desmond. Reported by T.A. Davis/Peshawar, Ross H. Munro/Kabul and Ken Olsen/Moscow***



LUDWIG—SIPA

**Sounding the retreat: a band plays for Moscow's departing troops**

*"Gorbachev said Afghanistan was something of a mistake."*

MAY-19-'92 TUE 11:43 ID:NAVAMUSEUM NASP FL TEL NO:9044523296 #538 P04

Jan. 1943

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| 27 | N2S-3 | 07237 | 1.2 | " | Bush | | C Solo |
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CADET FROM CAPT. BUSH CO'S FLIGHT OF STRAHMAN (N25)

TRANSCRIPT OF ACCIDENT REPORT OF TBF-1 00416 (AIRCRAFT FLOWN BY G.H.W. BUSH ON CARRIER QUALIFICATIONS 24 AUG 1943 (ONE YEAR TO THE DAY BEFORE THIS ACCIDENT))

AIRCRAF HAS BEEN LOCATED IN LAKE MICHIGAN AND IS BEING CONSIDERED FOR SALVAGE BY NATIONAL MUSEUM OF NAVAL AVIATION.

24 August 1944

Pilot: LOVE, David K. ENS.
AVN, USNR
Organization: CQTU
Date of pilot rating: 16 MAY 1944
Total Hours: 415.0
Previous Accident Record: none
Injuries: none
Aircraft:TBF-1 BUNO 00416

Remarks: Aircraft and engine lost in Lake Michigan

Analysis: Pilot had just taken a 'wave off' and was proceeding on his upwind leg when the engine failed. The pilot made a forced landing in the water and was rescued immediately. The plane sank and has not been recovered. The cause of this accident is attributed to the failure of the engine. However, it is believed that the oil leakage referred to in the pilot's statement was not the cause of the failure and that the pilot, in switching gas tanks, may have turned the fuel quantity gage instead of the fuel tank selector valve.

PILOT STATEMENT. I had just taken a 'wave off' from the signal officer and was proceeding on the upwind leg. When full throttle was supplied on the 'wave off', I noticed a slight engine roughness which cleared as I throttled back. All instruments were immediately checked and read as follows: cylinder head temperature 185, oil pressure 80, oil temperature 87, fuel pressure 7, gasoline (right tank) over one third full. I made a turn to the left and the engine immediately quit. I then flipped the emergency fuel pump on and shifted the fuel selector valve from right to left tank. The engine caught and turned over for almost three seconds. I was also moving the throttle at this time. Fuel pressure was almost 9. I shifted from left to center main tank and began turning into the wind. I leveled out of this turn and flipped the wheels up and stalled the plane into the water, tail first. The plane had been throwing oil on previous hops I had learned before getting into the plane. It was still throwing oil on this hop because I had the windshield wiped off after my first landing. This accident, in my opinion, was due to mechanical failure of an unknown nature. It was not due to running out of fuel.

Juliane
Gallina

# NEWS

United States Naval Academy • Annapolis, MD 21402-5000 • (301) 267-2291

#0099
April 25, 1991

NOTE TO ASSIGNMENT EDITORS: Because of final examinations, required summer training and leave schedules, Midshipman Gallina will not be available for interviews until she assumes command of the brigade in late August. Requests for interviews during the fall should be directed to Naval Academy Public Affairs at the numbers below.

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NEW BRIGADE COMMANDER AND DEPUTY CHOSEN AT NAVAL ACADEMY

ANNAPOLIS, Md. -- The top two positions of command in the Naval Academy's 4,300-member Brigade of Midshipmen will be filled next semester by Midshipmen Juliane Gallina of Pelham, N.Y., and Daniel Truckenbrod of Sycamore, Ill.

As brigade commander, Gallina will hold the rank of midshipman captain and will be responsible for the daily military activities and performance of the brigade.

Most visible in parades, ceremonies and daily formations, she will also perform administrative functions and will be the key link in the chain of command between the midshipmen and top academy officers.

As a freshman and sophomore, Gallina served on the honor committee for her class and was a coxswain for the women's varsity crew team. During her junior year, she was the editor of Labyrinth Magazine, a literary magazine, and the vice president of the Women's Professional Association which provides education and training about service selection for all midshipmen. She was also the vice president of the women's lacrosse club for two years in a row.

more

"Being involved in sports and serving on the honor staff provided some valuable leadership experience for me, but I also learned a lot in the daily course of events as I earned more responsibility each year," Gallina said. "I feel like I'm one in a long line of brigade commanders chosen not because I did anything special, but because I was doing what I was supposed to do all along."

Before assuming her role as brigade commander in the fall, Gallina will have a busy summer. She plans to attend Airborne School at Fort Benning, Ga., where she will earn her military jump wings. She will return to the academy to serve as company commander responsible for the military indoctrination of around 65 academy plebes (freshmen). She will also train as a junior officer aboard a Navy ship.

"All this will be good experience for me when I become brigade commander," she said. "Last summer I was in charge of 12 plebes, and it was excellent training for me as I helped them adapt to a military lifestyle. This summer will be equally good training as I learn to give orders to my peers."

Gallina is an English honors major with minors in French and Spanish. During the fall semester 1990, she served as an intern at the U.S. Naval Institute in Annapolis, learning the publishing process, while taking a courseload of 16 semester hours at the academy. Last semester she also was a delegate to the Corbin Seminar, a seminar for discussion of women's issues that rotates annually between the different service academies. Gallina continues to work on a number of projects for the seminar, which was held at the Naval Academy last October and will be held at the U.S. Military Academy in West Point, N.Y. in October 1991.

Gallina came to the academy because she wanted to fly and become an astronaut, but she was also influenced by the academy's discipline and its honor concept.

A 1988 graduate of Pelham Memorial High School, Pelham, N.Y., Gallina is the daughter of Mrs. Marie Gallina of Pelham. She is the first woman to hold the highest-ranking midshipman position at the Naval Academy.

As deputy brigade commander with the rank of midshipman commander, Truckenbrod will assist Gallina in handling the administrative details involved in the daily operation of the brigade.

The deputy runs the brigade staff, handles special projects like the Combined Federal Campaign, meets with key academy guests and helps find solutions to brigade problems.

This summer Truckenbrod will be deputy regimental commander, the midshipman who is second in command of the military indoctrination of approximately 1,130 plebes.

He has been a member of the academy's Scuba Club and has played intramural football, basketball and softball.

A systems engineering major, a major that combines electrical and mechanical engineering with hydraulic systems and controls them by a computer, Truckenbrod has made the superintendent's list for five semesters. The

superintendent's list recognizes midshipmen with high grades in military, academic and athletic performance.

After graduation from the academy, Truckenbrod plans to fly A-6 attack aircraft.

Truckenbrod, son of Dennis Truckenbrod of Fairfield, Calif., and Kathleen Munter of Sycamore, Ill., is a 1988 graduate of Sycamore High School.

The Naval Academy prepares young men and women to become professional officers in the Navy and Marine Corps. Midshipmen attend the academy for four years, graduating with bachelor of science degrees and commissions as ensigns in the Navy or second lieutenants in the Marine Corps.

USNA

# Commanding excellence, Gallina seizes the day

By Tami Terella
Trident Staff

If you ask Midshipman 1st Class Juliane Gallina when she knew she wanted to attend the Naval Academy, she'll respond with a gleaming smile.

"I've wanted to come here since I was 13," said the midshipmen brigade commander. "Of course when I was in high school, I thought being a midshipman was just about 'it.' I thought it was the greatest thing I could ever be."

She made it to the Naval Academy to become a midshipman. But she did even more; she became the brigade's first female leader. As brigade commander, the 21-year-old from Pelham, N.Y., commanded 4,300 midshipmen. Over this past semester, the brigade followed her lead on the parade field, followed her orders in Bancroft Hall, learned from her example as their commander and joined her in "Navy spirit" during weeks leading up to Navy's recent victory over Army in Philadelphia.

Gallina assumed the high-profile job as brigade commander in August. She and Deputy Brigade Commander Midshipman 1st Class Daniel Truckenbrod faced several challenges. Both were new leaders among midshipmen, and both faced implementation of significant changes in the way things were done in Bancroft Hall.

**"I've always been a very busy person. That part of being brigade commander never bothered me. But the pressure is there. It's difficult knowing that there are 4,289 individuals who are going to be affected by every decision I make. That adds pressure to the job. And it's a much bigger strain than any outside scrutiny I may receive."**

The first semester of 1991 brought many differences. Gallina and her administrative staff had new policies to promote. "Positive leadership" became the driving force and the phrase "ship, shipmate and self" was the brigade's newest motto. Also new to his academy position during the first semester, Superintendent Rear Adm. Thomas C. Lynch called for renewed accountability among the brigade. He asked midshipmen to lead each other, rather than expect the academy's administration to make all brigade decisions. Though a firm believer in the new approach to brigade leadership by the first class, Gallina admitted that some of the brigade's old habits and expectations were hard to change.

"I think the biggest change occurred when more control was given to the first class than ever before," she said. "And that was somewhat difficult for us at first. As leaders we must hold ourselves to higher standards. Now it's easy to say that we are going to do more things by ourselves, and it's easy enough to set a higher standard before your classmates. But much more difficult to hold yourself to it.

"At the same time it hasn't been easy convincing some officers that the upperclass are capable of running the brigade," she added. "That's not to say that [the administration] did not want us to run Bancroft Hall. It's just a whole lot easier for someone with full leadership experience to come to the job and do it."

Despite any initial setbacks, Gallina and her striper staff accepted the leadership challenge.



Juliane Galina

During the summer the brigade conducted its own leadership classes and forums. The summer stripers continued their leadership training through the fall semester, as the rest of the upperclass returned from summer break. Changes resulted. Upperclassmen were holding themselves up as examples to the plebe class, and the entire brigade took on more responsibility.

But Gallina insists there is still much work to be done. "It's all been an evolutionary process," she said. "Some things are easier than others. For example, it's more difficult to discipline an individual midshipman than it is to discipline an entire class. When you see a classmate or even a friend doing something wrong, you have to correct that person. That's where it became difficult for me."

But Gallina doesn't do the whole job herself. She gives her staff — the regimental leaders — full credit for the improvements being made within the brigade.

"They are an amazing bunch of individuals," she said. "Any time I've ever had any qualms about doing something or about getting something accomplished, all I've had to do is take a good look at my staff. They were very reassuring to me, and they helped make many of my fears go away."

For Gallina the job of brigade commander has been an intense learning experience, with quite a few enjoyable "perks" blended in. Gallina received national exposure when she took on the job. As both as the academy's first female leader and as the brigade's primary representative, she appeared on the "Today Show." She was interviewed frequently by national and local news organizations, and *Glamour* magazine selected her as one of its "Top 10 College Women of 1991." She has also met a number of celebrities visiting the Naval Academy.

Bob Hope was honored here in September, when the Bob Hope Performing Arts Center was unveiled at Alumni Hall. Gallina presented him with a Navy bathrobe emblazoned with "Beat Army" on the back. More recently, Harrison Ford came to the Naval Academy during the recent filming of the movie "Patriot Games."

"It was great meeting Bob Hope," she said. "He kissed me on the cheek at the gala, and my mom told me not to wash it off! Meeting people is the fun part of my job."

During her four years as a midshipman, Gallina also served on the Brigade Honor Committee. She was also a coxswain on the women's varsity crew team and editor of *Labyrinth* magazine. She served as vice president of the Women's Professional Association and vice president of the women's lacrosse club for two years.

But the accomplishment of which she is most proud is her leadership of the brigade. She recognizes its the position that's important, noting that there is no difference with a woman in command.

"Every day I attend all the meetings and meet each crisis with a solution," she said. "It just reaffirms my belief that nothing is different. I do exactly what other brigade commanders have done in the past. I was chosen for the same reasons they were chosen."

I've always been a very busy person," she added. "That part of being brigade commander never bothered me. But the pressure is there. It's difficult knowing that there are 4,289 individuals who are going to be affected by every decision I make. That adds pressure to the job. And it's a much bigger strain than any outside scrutiny I may receive."

Gallina added that the authority of the position sometimes got in the way. Some of her classmates saw Brigade Commander Gallina in a different light. "I personally found it sometimes difficult to 'break the barrier' with some of my classmates," she said. "Some came to think of me on a different level. They considered me unapproachable and wouldn't easily communicate with me because of my position. People who would have called me 'Juliane' last year, now call me 'Miss Gallina' — and they're not even plebes! But I guess it's really kind of funny."

With the upcoming second semester, Gallina steps down as brigade commander so that Midshipman 1st Class Mark Fusco can grab his chance at leadership. She hopes the brigade will continue to lead itself under their new commander.

"I'd like to leave the brigade with more of a feeling of self-control than they had when I began the job," she said. "I want them to feel proud of themselves just because they are midshipmen, in the Navy and part of the country's armed forces."

Some may now be more comfortable in calling her Juliane. But just as any other first classman, she will continue to set an example. She will continue to lead her peers, and she will continue her own pursuit for success.



USNA photo by Wayne McCrea

**Midshipman 1st Class Juliane Gallina presents Bob Hope with a souvenir Navy bathrobe, symbolizing the brigade's deep appreciation for his years of entertaining the troops.**

DISTINGUISHED ATHLETES

Attached are several clips on Class of '92 members who are exceptional athletes. In addition to the ones in the clips, there are a few others to mention:

- Luis Nicolao is a three-time All-American in water polo. He led Navy to the NCAA tournament three straight years and was the Eastern tournament MVP two straight years.

- Michael Davis is a three-year letterwinner in football and was chosen for the Associated Press First Team All-East. He won the Fritzinger Memorial Award which is given to a member of the graduating class (always a football interior lineman) who has excelled as a student-athlete and has contributed to the overall team leadership and spirit.

- Chris Thompson is Navy's #1 tennis singles player this year. As a freshman, he was named All-East, Colonial Athletic Association Player of the Year and Region I Rookie of the Year. He posted a career record of 79-61.

Athletics

#0126
August 1991

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MIDSHIPMAN SUSIE MINTON: SAILING ALL-AMERICAN AND TRIDENT SCHOLAR
by Debbie Carroll, Public Affairs Office

ANNAPOLIS, Md. -- It is a windy, gray afternoon in Annapolis. The stretch of the Severn river that flows by the sailing center is packed with small white sails as the Naval Academy's intercollegiate sailing team practices for upcoming racing events.

At the helm in one of the dinghies is academy senior, Midshipman 1st class Susie Minton, 21. She and her crewman, classmate Reid McLaughlin, are hiked over the side of their small sailboat. They glide rapidly across the water towards the Naval Station, then turn quickly to come back to the academy's side of the river. With precision timing, she and McLaughlin slip under the boom to the other side of the boat. Although it is a cool day, and Minton is soaked, she doesn't seem to mind. As she races through the water, her face is a study in determination and delight -- Minton loves to sail.

Not only does Minton love sailing but she's a champion. A member of the academy's intercollegiate sailing team, she was named an All American intercollegiate sailor and the Outstanding Woman Sailor by the Intercollegiate Yacht Racing Association in June 1991.

"I've been sailing since I was 13 years old," she says. "I started out in the Newport Harbor Yacht Club junior program, bought a boat the following summer and started racing right away."

more

MIDSHIPMAN SUSIE MINTON: SAILING ALL-AMERICAN AND TRIDENT SCHOLAR
2-2-2-2

At the academy, Minton practices sailing at least three hours each day and races every weekend in the fall and spring. Her hectic routine starts around 6:30 a.m. when she breakfasts with 4,300 other midshipmen. After classes end at 3:00 p.m., she rushes back to her room to change for sailing practice. After practice, she eats dinner and studies until she falls into bed at 11 p.m. She usually (surprise) sails on the weekends.

One of three women skippers on the 50-midshipmen, co-ed intercollegiate sailing team, Minton sails 420s, a two-person 13-foot sailboat and has three crews -- one woman for the all-women competitions, and two men for the co-ed competitions.

Minton first became interested in the Naval Academy when her sailing friends in high school started applying to the academy.

"At that point," she says, "I didn't have the grades to get in, so I put even thinking about it aside." Two years later, the academy's intercollegiate sailing director, Gary Bodie, contacted Minton and encouraged her to apply.

The rest is now part of academy sailing history. For the last two years, Minton has won the A-Division of the women's national sailing competition and has been named to the All American team.

Minton credits Doug Clark, the Naval Academy's assistant director for intercollegiate sailing and her coach for her first two years, with being the most influential person in her sailing success.

"Doug was always there to encourage and support me," Minton explains.

more

MIDSHIPMAN SUSIE MINTON: SAILING ALL-AMERICAN AND TRIDENT SCHOLAR
3-3-3-3

"Susie is amazing," says Clark. "She feels the performance of the boat which is essential in racing. And I think she has yet to really show us her actual sailing potential."

Minton's sailing ability is only one of her many attributes. An oceanography major, Minton was selected to be one of only 13 Trident Scholars doing independent research at the academy next year. Her Trident project will investigate the causes of explosive cyclones over the Atlantic Ocean.

After graduation next May, she hopes to go to post-graduate school and become a Navy oceanographer.

As a midshipmen at the academy, Minton devotes long hours to study, practice and her many other professional responsibilities. To many college students, this type of lifestyle would be stifling. But Minton doesn't feel she's missed out on much.

"There are certain things that I can't do here," she concedes, "but there are certain things that I have gained by being here, things that I won't forget, for instance, last summer I spent a week at Quantico Marine base, a week flying T-34 airplanes and helicopters, and a week on a submarine. How many people can say that they've done all that?"

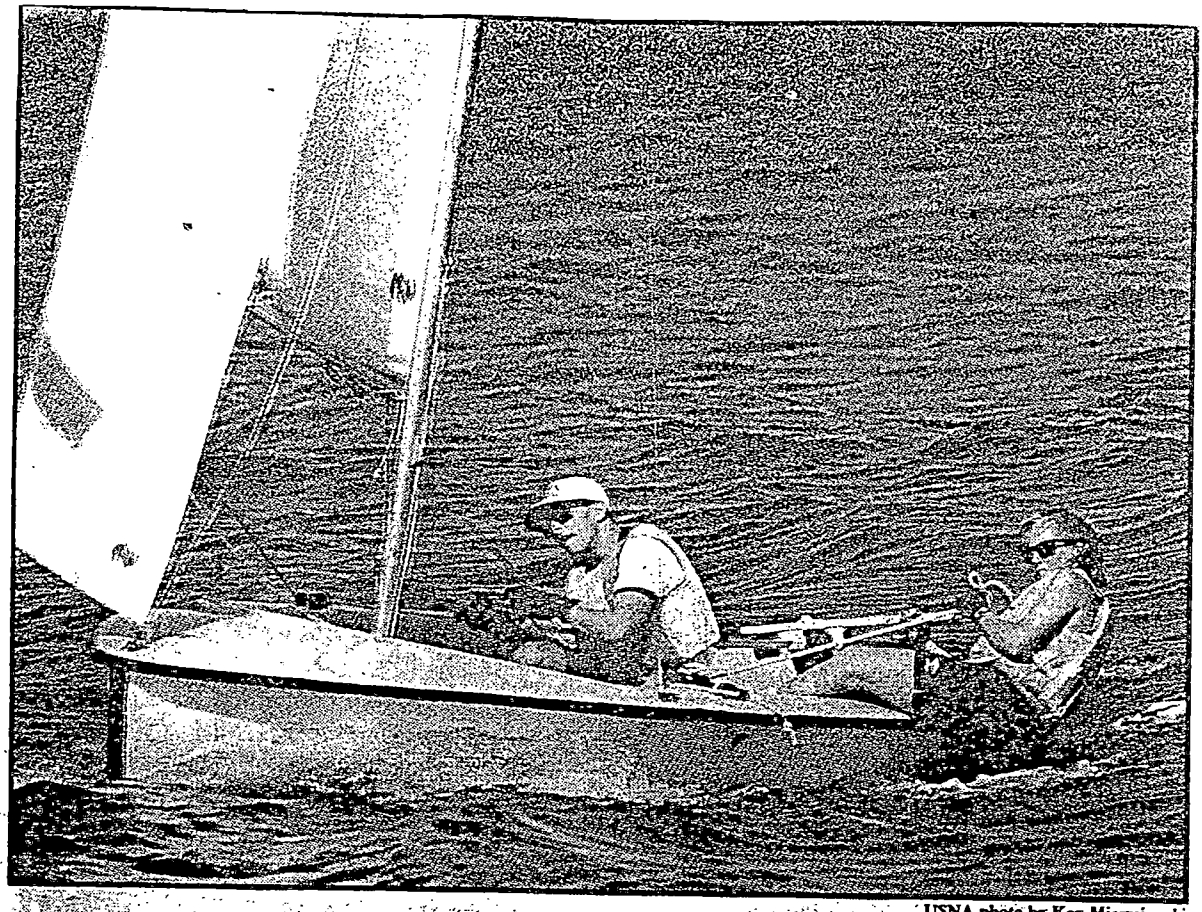
Although she is the first member of her family to go into the military and the first one to be interested in sailing, her parents are very encouraging.

"My family has always been supportive of me -- even when I think I'm doing terrible, they think I'm doing great," Susie says.

Susie Minton has achieved a lot in a short time: she's 21 and an All American who's also been recognized for her academic grit and determination.

"Some people have the 'get by' attitude," she says, "but I always want more."

USNA



USNA photo by Ken Mierzejewski

**Midshipman 1st Class Reid McLaughlin (left) and classmate Susie Minton battle the waves of the Severn River. Minton, one of this year's 13 Trident scholars, started sailing at the age of 13.**

# Navy's Minton tops on and off water

**By Debbie Carroll**
Public Affairs

On a windy, gray afternoon in Annapolis, the stretch of the Severn River that flows by the Naval Academy Sailing Center is packed with small white sails as Navy's intercollegiate sailing team practices for upcoming racing events.

At the helm of one of the dinghies is Midshipman 1st Class Susie Minton. She and her crewman, classmate Reid McLaughlin, are hiked over the side of their small sailboat. They glide rapidly across the water towards the Naval Station, then turn quickly to come back to the academy's side of the river. With precision timing, Minton and McLaughlin slip under the boom to the other side of the boat. Although it is a cool day and Minton is soaked, she doesn't seem to mind. As she races through the water, her face displays her determination and delight — Minton loves to sail.

Minton not only loves sailing, but also wins races. A member of the academy's intercollegiate sailing team, she was named an All-American intercollegiate sailor and the Outstanding Woman Sailor by the Intercollegiate Yacht Racing Association in June 1991.

"I've been sailing since I was 13 years old," said Minton. "I started out in the Newport Harbor Yacht Club junior program, bought a boat the following summer and started racing right away."

See **Minton,** page 8

# Navy sailing All-American, Trident Scholar 'wants more'

**Minton,** from page 1

At the academy, Minton practices sailing at least three hours each day and races every weekend in the fall and spring. Her hectic routine starts around 6:30 a.m. when she has breakfast with 4,300 other midshipmen. After classes end at 3 p.m., she rushes back to her room to change for sailing practice. After practice, she eats dinner and studies until she falls into bed at 11 p.m.

One of three women skippers on the 50-midshipmen, coed intercollegiate sailing team, Minton sails 420s, a two-person 13-foot sailboat, and has three crews — one woman for the all-women competitions and two men for the coed competitions.

Minton first became interested in the Naval Academy when her sailing friends in high school started applying to the academy.

**"Some people have the 'get by' attitude, but I always want more."**
**—Susie Minton**

"At that point," she said, "I didn't have the grades to get in, so I just stopped thinking about it." Two years later, the academy's intercollegiate sailing director, Gary Bodie, contacted Minton and encouraged her to apply.

The rest is now part of academy sailing history. For the last two years, Minton has won the A-Division of the women's national sailing competition and earned selection to the All-America team.

Minton credits Doug Clark, the Naval Academy's assistant director for intercollegiate sailing and her coach for her first two years, with being the most influential person in her sailing success.

"Doug was always there to encourage and support me," Minton explained.



Naval Academy photo

**Susie Minton and her sailing partner and classmate Reid McLaughlin practice maneuvers off the academy seawall.**

"Susie is amazing," said Clark. "She feels the performance of the boat, and that is essential in racing. I think she has yet to really show us her actual sailing potential."

Minton's sailing ability is only one of her many attributes. An oceanography major, Minton was selected to be one of only 13 Trident Scholars doing independent research at the academy this year. Her Trident project will investigate the causes of explosive cyclones over the Atlantic Ocean.

After graduation and commissioning next May, she hopes to go to post graduate school and become a Navy oceanographer.

As a midshipmen at the academy, Minton devotes long hours to study, practice and her many other professional responsibilities. To many college students, this type of lifestyle would be stifling. But Minton doesn't feel she's missed out on much.

"There are certain things that I can't do here," she conceded, "but there are certain things that I have gained by being here, things that I won't forget. For instance, last summer I spent a week at the Quantico Marine base, a week flying T-34 airplanes and helicopters and a week on a submarine. How many people can say that they've done all that?"

She is the first member of her family to pursue a military career and the first with a serious interest in sailing.

"My family has always been supportive of me — even when I think I'm doing terribly, they think I'm doing great," said Minton.

Susie Minton has achieved a lot in a short time: she's 21 and an All- American who's has earned recognition for her academic grit and determination.

"Some people have the 'get by' attitude," she said, "but I always want more."

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## Sea/Shore time based on readiness

**Rotation,** from page 2

berthing space for women aboard those ships, a restriction which is gradually being reduced as more ships undergo physical alterations.

# Just one of the guys. Not!

Susie Minton, a senior at the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, is the only female skipper to win either division in the 50-year history of the coed Dinghy Nationals. Her explanation is simple: "Because I'm competitive with men."

She is one of three women skippers in the 50-person intercollegiate team at the Academy, but the school's enrollment is only 10 percent women. Minton also sails in the women's division on 420s and FJs.

An oceanography major, Minton was a nominee for the prestigious Rolex Yachtswoman of the Year award for 1991. She was named 1991 All American intercollegiate sailor and Outstanding Woman Sailor by the Intercollegiate Yacht Racing Association. The 21-year-old has won the A division of the Women's National sailing competition for the past two years.

She attributes her success to dedication to the sport since she first learned to sail at age 13. "To me, I love sailing and if there ever were a time I was out on water and didn't like it, I wouldn't do it," she said. "I've loved it from the beginning."

"One thing I've really learned is I've developed a really good feel for the boat," she said. "I know how fast my boat is going relative to other boats."

Her advice for women interested in competitive sailing is to not be intimidated. She explained that women tend to drop out from sailing programs at a higher rate than men because they feel intimidated. "It's a sport where I feel men and women can be competitive together," she said. *--Sally Hetter*



Phil Hoffmann photo

*Susie Minton knows tough competition and is a top competitor at the U.S. Naval Academy.*

# Dobbs' attention returns to scoring points

By Dorianne Beckford
Assistant Navy Sports Information Director

For Navy women's basketball captain Angela Dobbs, Service Selection Night proved to be far more stressful than stepping to the foul line with a game on the line.

Dobbs, from Perry Hall High School in Baltimore, has been anticipating this important day since she entered the Naval Academy Prep School nearly five years ago.

Here was the holder of eight school records, third-on the all-time scoring lists, recorder of the first triple-double in the history of women's basketball at the academy, a Division II All-America in 1991, anxious about what her first assignment in the Navy would be.

This was not a basketball game — service selection was out of her control. She worked hard for four-and-a-half years on the court and in the classroom and yet there was nothing she could do to manipulate what or where she would be for the first three years of her service obligation.

No, she couldn't make a last second shot in the lane or a three-pointer from the corner. No combination of points, rebounds or steals mattered here. For once, the go-to person of the Navy women's basketball team could not affect the outcome.

Dobbs first choice was to go to San Diego in the general unrestricted line capacity. The ball bounced in the right direction, but landed aboard the *USS Cape Cod,* a tender.

"This will be different for me and won't be just pushing paper," pointed out Dobbs. "We'll actually be going out for 25-40 days each quarter and this will be good experience for me. As a junior officer, you are given a great deal of responsibility right away. It will be a great learning experience."

The location (San Diego) was important to Dobbs for another reason, as her fiancee', Marine 2nd Lt. Bill Muir, a 1990 academy graduate, will also be stationed in San Diego.

Dobbs will report to Surface Warfare School Oct. 30 for five-and-a-half to six months, where she will be trained for her position aboard the *Cape Cod.*

"I will probably be a division officer with anywhere from 15-30 people under me," said Dobbs.

For Dobbs, the excitement of going on board a ship will be heightened by the fact that she has never been overseas. She will soon know what the Navy expression of "Join the Navy and see the world" is all about.

Graduation is May 27. Between then and October?

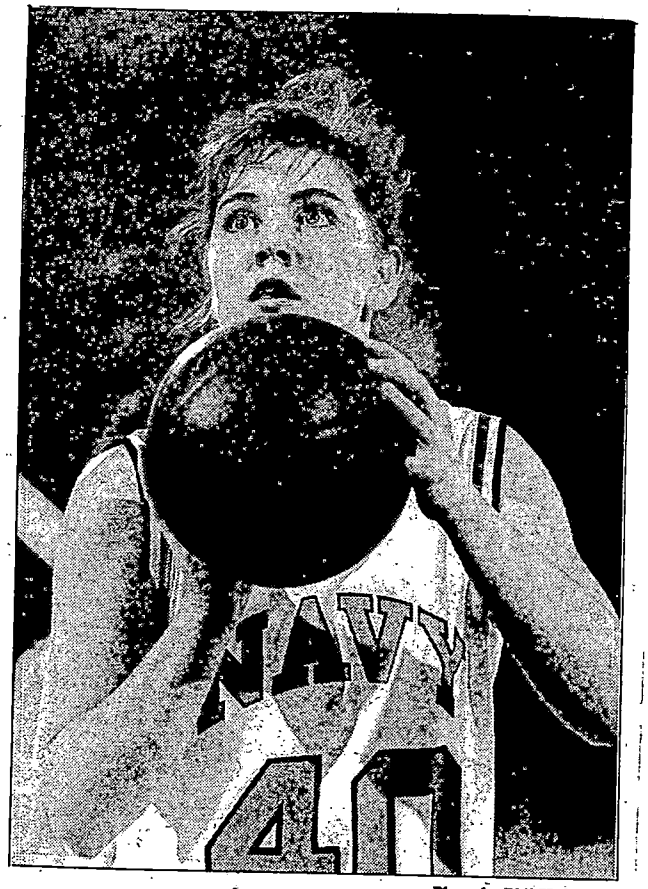



Photo by Phil Hoffmann

**Angie Dobbs**

"I will be on temporary duty with the women's basketball program and Coach Debbie Schlegel," said Dobbs.

In Dobbs' eyes, with seven games left and the Patriot League championship one month away, there is still a lot of basketball to be played. And with service selection now out of the way, she can concentrate once more on getting the Mid women back on a winning track, as they have lost four of their last five games.

For Dobbs, the losses and her temporary loss of shooting touch have been frustrating.

"We have to turn things around and get a good run going to ready ourselves for the tournament in March [at Lehigh University]," said a determined Dobbs.

The uncertainty in the game of basketball remarkably resembles the uncertainty in the game of life. But one thing is certain here — the Navy women's basketball team will be losing a leader, but the United States Navy will be gaining one.

# Navy hockey captures ECHA title, sets course for club nationals

**By Midshipman 1/C Vince Vertin**

The Navy hockey team skated its way to a first-ever Eastern Collegiate Hockey Association Championship last weekend and this week will make its second consecutive trip to the National Collegiate Club Hockey Championships. This year's tournament host is Pennsylvania State University.

In the ECHA playoffs at Dahlgren Hall last Saturday, Navy routed Lehigh 8-2 in the semifinal and then came back to post an 8-4 victory over West Chester Sunday afternoon.

The Mids dominated the action in both games. "We received very consistent play from the whole team, and we tired our opponents quickly," said Navy Coach Jim Barry. "Our superior conditioning became apparent as the games wore on. The other teams just weren't able to keep up with our tempo."

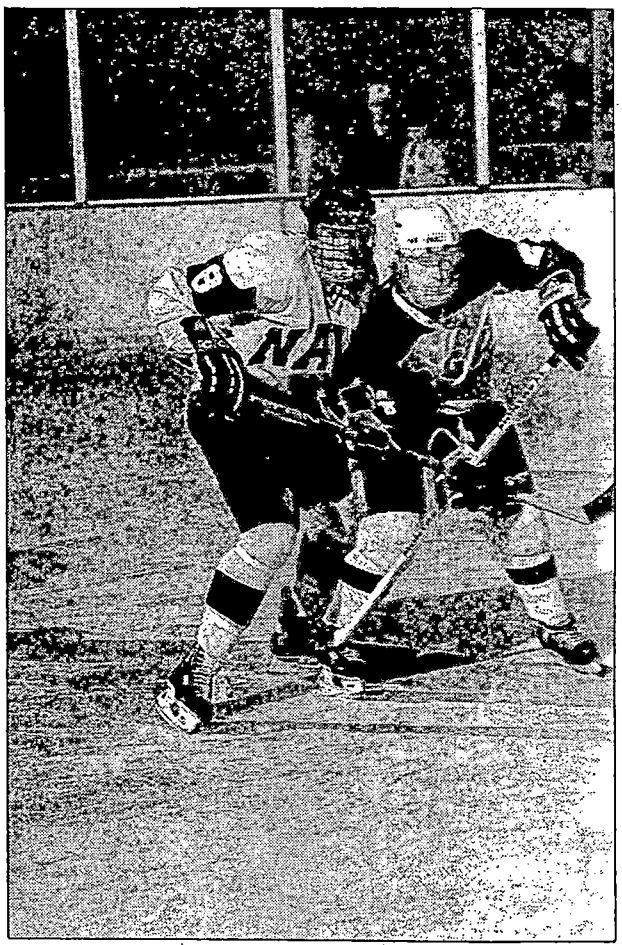
According to Coach Barry, forwards Jeff Fogarty and Vince Vertin, defenseman Steve Godinho and goalie Rich Doyle all performed well on the ice last weekend.

"We are definitely playing our best hockey of the year," said team captain Tim Fetsch. "We are coming off four big wins and it couldn't happen at a better time. We are definitely focusing our attention toward the nationals."

"If we play with the same intensity and enthusiasm as we have in the past couple of games, we will end up with a national championship," added defenseman Godinho.

The Mids will skate against top-ranked Michigan-Dearborn Wednesday at 10 a.m. and then face host Penn State Thursday at 7:30 p.m. Navy will skate Friday against Ohio University at 1 p.m. The championship game is set for Saturday.

Although Navy entered this year's tournament as an underdog, Coach Barry said he wouldn't have it any other way. "This is exactly the way we want it," he said. "We will be looking to knock off the top teams and then carry home the trophy."



USNA Photo by Wayne McCrea

**Team captain, Midshipman 1/C Tim Fetsch**

# Kerley hurdles academy obstacles

**By Scott Strasemeier**
Navy Sports Information Intern

Junior Lucas Kerley is a true track and field athlete. He competes in both running and field events. Kerley, a native of Watertown, N.Y., runs the hurdles and long jumps for the undefeated Midshipmen. It's a task that's not easily accomplished.

"It can be difficult at times," said Kerley. "A lot of times they are going on at the same time. Last year at Army I had to make my jump in the long jump and then run right over and get in the blocks for the hurdles. That is tough to do." Kerley, though, says combining the hurdles and long jump is by Army, Virginia and Notre Dame.

Kerley has found the academic side of the academy to be very challenging. "It's tough," said a smiling Kerley. "I'm majoring in electrical engineering which I feel is the toughest major here. It's tough balancing athletics and books, but the coaches are really flexible about it. If I need some time off to study I get it. I really appreciate that."

Two inspirational people for Kerley are the great Carl Lewis and his uncle, Ralph Kerley. "I really admire Carl Lewis. He's great in both the long jump and the sprints. He's just a tremendous athlete. I would really like to see him pick up a couple of golds this year in the Olympics."

Closer to home, Kerley says his biggest inspiration

# Navy gra going fo

Sports, from page 1

In the national ranl Cummings, 14th, Stor Stepanic 17th. Smith

Army counters witl 12th at 134 and has a junior T.J. Wright at 1 Garcia, who spent a se the Naval Academy as 21-6-2 at 167.

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Numerous All-Ame including Bill Carmic (1950), Mike Harman Pete Vanderfloske (19 Kihlstadius (1979), Ma Schleicher (1989 and (1990).

The oldest alumna Class of 1935. Also co Mies, an EIWA champ who was recently selec Admiral (lower half).

The wrestling alum in the Captain J.O. (B Alumni Hall and will between the Mids and Director of Athletics for Navy.

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The Capital

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4

# Relaxing racquet

## Navy's McCartney uses squash to help balance rigorous Trident Scholar studies

By JOE GROSS
Sports Editor

When Andrew McCartney came to the Naval Academy from the Cleveland suburb of Gates Mills, he had only heard of the game of squash.

Today, less than four years after picking up a squash racquet for the first time, McCartney is one of the better players on Navy's 14-4 team.

Chosen as the Mids' most improved player last season, McCartney's quickness to pick up the game is discernible by his 7-3 record as Navy's No. 4 player.

But the ability to learn new things quickly isn't unusual for McCartney, a physics major.

A 3.8 grade point average and his selection as a Trident Scholar distinguishes him scholastically.

"The squash time is my entertainment," McCartney said, "my release, if you will, to get all the energy expended so I can sit down and study. You have to discipline yourself to practice and enjoy yourself while you're playing the game so you can go back and study.

"I count that as my exercise and my enjoyment time and then I go back to work."

As a Trident Scholar — only 12 others were selected this year — McCartney is working on a project entitled, "Pico-second optical mixing in photorefractive materials."

He explained the project as working with lasers and a crystal aimed at improving the present day random access memory capabilities.

"That counts for 10 to 12 credit hours of class and I have to write a paper at the end that will be published and put in the library here. It's a pretty involved paper," McCartney said. "I only have three other classes.

McCartney followed his older brother Michael to the Naval Academy. But despite reaching the high school state championships in doubles, McCartney was not recruited as a tennis player and didn't get the opportunity to work out with Navy's tennis recruits.



ANDREW MCCARTNEY
. . . strong tennis background.

But squash coach Dave Brown approached the young man about playing squash.

"I thought that was a really good

(See NAVY, Page B5)

# NAVY

(Continued from Page B2)

opportunity," McCartney said. "I got to work out with John Sprenger, who was an All-America, during plebe summer. I didn't know how good a player he really was."

But playing against a player of Sprenger's caliber gave McCartney a good introduction to squash and he earned a spot the jayvee team.

"I spent that first year working out every day," McCartney said. "After the season a couple of guys on the team worked with me for a couple of hours every day through the spring and that's when I really started to improve."

That devotion resulted in McCartney earning a spot on the varsity as a sophomore. Last year, as a junior, McCartney's game soared. And his tennis background is one reason why.

"In tennis some players stay back at the baseline and can be very effective in that kind of game, but in squash you have to be attacking all the time," McCartney said. "It's more like a serve and volley type of tennis game that lends itself to squash more easily.

"I don't know that one is any more challenging than the other because they are totally different sports. But squash lends itself to an aggressive, quick volleying type of game."

McCartney pointed out that it's easy to get another player to go to the courts and practice as much as possible when they aren't in class, studying or drilling.

"We don't go out and get the good prep school players some of the other schools are getting, but we sure can be in better shape than the other guys," McCartney said. "Being in good condition has always been a strength of Navy squash teams. We can outlast guys even if we can't hit the great shots that have been practiced for so many years.

"For guys like me who have been learning for the past couple of years, the only way to compete against guys who have been playing for eight or nine years is to outlast them."

As a coach, Brown likes that kind of confidence in his players.

"Andy had some quality wins last year against Dartmouth, Cornell and Trinity and was 17-7 at No. 6," Brown said. "We counted on him this year to provide leadership as well as for his typical good play."

# Rivet hits his mark at the academy

By Scott Strasemeier
Navy Sports Information Intern

When people think of Naval Academy athletics the first thing that pops into their mind is football, and deservingly so. The academy has a long tradition of football excellence, buoyed by two Heisman Trophy winners, Roger Staubach and Joe Bellino. But while football may get all the attention, another sport is quietly making its mark at the academy. The Navy rifle team has won 23 of its last 24 matches and is currently 14-1 on the year. One of the main contributors has been senior Dennis Rivet.

Rivet is a rags-to-riches story both on the range and in the classroom. He applied three times to the academy before finally being accepted. While waiting to get into the academy, Rivet enlisted in the Air Force and went to college at Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University in Daytona Beach, Fla.

"I lived three miles from the beach," said Rivet, "It was a lot of fun while it lasted, but I wanted to go to Navy. When I got the opportunity to go I didn't hesitate."

Since enrolling here four years ago, Rivet has been a model midshipman. He has been a Trident Scholar (3.46 grade point average in chemistry), a battalion commander, an academic All-American and captain of the rifle team. He is currently working on an organic chemistry synthesis project in conjunction with AT&T and Bell Laboratories. All this from a man who was turned down by the academy twice.

"I never gave up my goal of going here. I knew I would do well if I got the chance. I'm just glad they gave me that chance."

His coach, Ray Anti, is impressed by Rivet's work ethic. "He has an outstanding work ethic both in the classroom and on the range. He gives you a steady, solid performance every time out."

Rivet picked up on the sport of rifle at a summer camp and it was obvious he was a natural. He had never shot a gun before, but came away from that camp with a NHRA expert rating for his outstanding shooting.

"I was kind of amazed," said Rivet. "I had never even handled a gun before. I had never been hunting and my parents don't own a gun either. It was something that just felt natural."



Dennis Rivet

USNA photo

Since rifle is not much of a spectator sport most people don't realize that it is physically demanding. Most matches last six hours. "It requires a lot of vascular conditioning," explained Rivet. "You can't be out of breath and expect to hold the gun still."

After graduation Rivet hopes to attend medical school at either Georgetown or Dartmouth, but right now his main concern is a national championship for the Navy rifle team.

"We have a shot at winning the national title in the air rifle competition. We have already broken the school record twice this year. A national championship would cap off a good four years for me."

# Midshipmen receive graduate research fellowships

By Dr. Joseph F. Lomax
Fellowship Coordinator

Midshipman 1st Class Carlos D. Flores of 26th Company is the first Naval Academy recipient of a National Science Foundation (NSF) Minority Graduate Research Fellowship. Flores intends to use this fellowship at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) where he is enrolled in the nuclear engineering program. He will continue his naval service as a nuclear submariner after completing his master's degree.

Flores, a Fort Worth, Texas, native, will receive his bachelor's degree in electrical engineering this May. Other minority students interested in research will also benefit from his award. With the minority fellowship comes a $1,000 Incentive for Excellence Scholarship prize that will be awarded to one or two promising minority midshipmen.

"I'm very happy to win the fellowship," said Flores. "I feel very content. I was hoping to go to graduate school after my first class year at the academy and this scholarship allows me to do that."

Flores has selected Navy submarine duty in the fleet. After grad school at MIT, he will go on to serve aboard a nuclear-powered submarine.

Flores is not alone in his success. Two other midshipmen, 1st Class John Cooley and Rick Needham, each received an honorable mention in the NSF Graduate Research Fellowship competition.

Though the NSF honorable mentions do not provide monetary awards like Flores' fellowship, both midshipmen have received other graduate school scholarships for continued education.

An Anchorage, Alaska, native, Midshipman Cooley has chosen a Master's in Chemistry graduate program at the Georgia Institute of Technology. Cooley believes the honorable mention given to him by the NSF program helped him gain the Georgia Tech scholarship.

"I had hoped to win the NSF scholarship," Cooley admitted, "but I found out last week that I had been accepted into grad school at Georgia Tech. I'm not disappointed though, because the Georgia Tech scholarship will allow me to receive a full graduate education."

Cooley has selected to become a surface nuclear warfare officer on board *USS Enterprise* after completing his graduate education.

As another NSF honorable mention winner midshipman Needham, of Croton, N.Y., also gained an outside scholarship. Like Flores, Needham will enter graduate school at MIT. Through the MIT scholarship, Needham hopes to obtain a master's degree in astronautics.

"Although I plan to go into the nuclear submarine program after graduate school," said Needham, "I'm really interested in the space program. It's much different from submarine duty, but I really believe nuclear power is an up and coming aspect of the national space program."

The NSF Graduate Research Fellowship program is available to United States citizens and foreign nationals. The fellowship is awarded for study and research leading to master's or doctoral degrees in the mathematical, physical, biological, engineering and behavioral sciences. A $14,000 stipend for a 12-month tenure as well as a tuition waiver is awarded. The policy of the National Science Foundation is to have the application of the fellowship self-selected. The Naval Academy's policy follows those guidelines as long as the needs of the Navy are properly considered. For example, midshipmen can only use the fellowship for a master's program in a field that would lead to a naval service subspecialty. For more information about the NSF Fellowships, call the NSF Fellowship Coordinator, Dr. Lomax, at 267-3305 or stop by Michelson Hall, Room 307.

# Naval Academy holds Holocaust memorial

The Naval Academy's Annual Holocaust Memorial Program will be held Sunday at 7 p.m. in the academy's Main Chapel.

The featured speaker is Benno Gerson, a Naval Academy graduate born in Germany in 1937. At age 3, he and his 5-year-old sister were sent to Belgium by their parents. Gerson will tell stories about his experiences — how he was given a new name, religion and identity in Belgium.

Unable to be reunited with his parents who were killed during the war, he made his way to America to be raised by distant relatives. Gerson attended the academy and graduated in 1961.

For further information, call Chaplain Albert Slomovitz at 410-267-2881.

Academics

# NEWS

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NAVAL ACADEMY ANNOUNCES 1991-92 MIDSHIPMEN TRIDENT SCHOLARS

ANNAPOLIS, Md. -- The U.S. Naval Academy has selected 13 midshipmen second class (juniors) to conduct independent research as Trident Scholars for academic year 1991-92. Under the guidance of faculty advisors, the new Trident Scholars will devote nearly all their academic hours during their final year at the academy to researching and completing their projects. Academic Dean and Provost Robert H. Shapiro announced the new appointments at the academy's annual Trident Scholar conference on April 20.

The Trident Scholar Program began in 1963 to offer midshipmen an opportunity for independent academic research. From a broad range of academic disciplines, next year's projects include one that examines the effects of processing the Navy's new stainless aluminums and another that explores the causes of explosive cyclones over the Atlantic.

The following Trident Scholars, all midshipmen second class, will begin their year of independent research in the fall:

Robert L. DeWitt Jr., Scottsdale, Ariz.;

Andrew S. Lomax, York, Pa.;

Charles A. McCartney, Mayfield, Ohio;

more

NAVAL ACADEMY TRIDENT SCHOLARS ANNOUNCED
2-2-2-2

Matthew F. McLaughlin, Scotia, N.Y.;

Susan S. Minton, Newport Beach, Calif.;

John C. Mohs, Webster, S.D.;

James E. Parker III, Richardson, Texas;

Kenneth E. Poorman, Salt Lake City, Utah;

Dennis J. Rivet II, Springfield, Mass.;

Bonnie R. Roberts, Amarillo, Texas;

Frederick G. Schenk, Cedarburg, Wis.;

William T. Shaffer, Helena, Mont.; and

Andrew D. Wolff, Cashmere, Wash.

Earlier this year, midshipmen eligible for the program submitted their project proposals for review and recommendation by the Trident Scholar committee. Following a rigorous selection process, the academy's superintendent picked the scholars based on project quality, evidence of independent thought and preparation, and excellent oral and written expression. The scholars must complete their projects by the end of the spring semester of their senior year.

From this group of scholars the committee will judge the completed reseach projects and will choose the winner of the Office of Naval Intelligence Harry E. Ward Trident Scholar prize, which will be announced at an awards ceremony prior to the class's graduation ceremony in 1992.

USNA

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

- Chase Untermeyer
- Fred McClure
- Rodger Stubach-Angle
- Naomi Ore (file)
  Stan Cuba
- John Hessler

produce a memorable shot; grace under pressure—and I mean it—and a total belief in your work. And more importantly, more personally, the very name that I've bestowed, "photo dogs"—and you've adopted—say a lot about the good-natured relationship that we enjoy and the good will that's shared on both sides.

And I will say this from the bottom of a grateful heart: Knowing the Bush family as you do now, I have always appreciated the thoughtfulness and the consideration and the kindness that you have shown to our family and, indeed, the kindness and consideration that you have shown in our quest for privacy from time to time. And that means a great deal. So, thank you all. It's time to declare a lid. And any followup questions can go to Rich Little—and I'm scared to death. [*Laughter*] Thank you all. And lights, please.

*Note: The President spoke at 9:20 p.m. in the International Ballroom at the Washington Hilton Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Marlin Fitzwater, the President's Press Secretary; Larry A. Rubenstein, chairman of the awards dinner and assistant picture editor at Reuters; David Valdez, the President's photographer; Cynthia Johnson and Dirck Halstead, photographers for Time magazine; and entertainer Rich Little.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting With Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel

*May 24, 1989*

The President just completed a productive half-hour meeting with Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin. President Bush reaffirmed the U.S. commitment to a close relationship with our long-term friend and strategic partner Israel. Toward this end, the President made clear his determination to provide Israel with the resources necessary for its security.

The two leaders also discussed the situation in the West Bank and Gaza. The President told Defense Minister Rabin that the recent elections proposal put forward by the Government of Israel constitutes an important contribution to a process that has the potential to bring about negotiations leading to a comprehensive settlement consistent with Israeli security and Palestinian political rights. The President noted that the Israeli elections proposal gives us something to work with, and we are now looking for a constructive Arab response to it. The President also voiced his deep concern over the escalating violence in the occupied territories and expressed the strong hope that all parties would exercise maximum restraint.

## Remarks at the United States Coast Guard Academy Commencement Ceremony in New London, Connecticut

*May 24, 1989*

Thank you all very much. And Mr. Superintendent, my friend, Rick, thank you for inviting me here. Thank all of the—particularly those in the white uniforms who are fixing to move on—for that warm welcome. To Admiral Yost, the Commandant, and Secretary [of Transportation] Skinner, Dr. Alex Haley, and all the distinguished, broke, but happy parents sitting over here—[*laughter*]—this is a special day. I want to single out Admiral Cueroni, who will be leaving the service that he has served so well. And it was my pleasure as Vice President of the United States to work directly

with him when he headed the south Florida effort fighting narcotics. And he showed us a lot of class then, and he showed the country a lot of class for his many years in service to the Coast Guard.

I want to congratulate each member of this year's class on receiving your commission into such a proud service. You mention the Coast Guard, and most people think about lives saved at sea, daring rescue operations; but those daily acts of heroism are just one part of the vital work that this Coast Guard performs. Right now, in Prince William Sound, the Coast Guard continues to work around the clock in a major environmental cleanup. And let me at this point, on behalf of a grateful nation, commend Admiral Yost. Through his personal commitment, his involvement, and the leadership that he has shown, he has served his country in the finest tradition of the United States Coast Guard. And those of us who care about the environment—and that is 250 million Americans at a minimum—he's showing us the way. And your service—backing him up in every way. And I am very proud of what Paul Yost has done.

Right now, off the Florida coast, Coast Guard patrols are chasing down drug smugglers, helping to keep the drugs off the streets. And that may be all in a day's work for the Coast Guard, but it is absolutely vital to our national health, our well-being, and our security.

I'm sure on that long first day of Swab Summer that you never thought 4 years could pass so quickly, but they have; and you've worked hard. Billet Night has come and gone—[*laughter*]—and you're ready—Semper Paratus, in the words of your motto—ready to enter the Coast Guard service, enter the world. And the truth is, that's what commencement is all about. The world is yours, and today's ceremony is really part of the change of command from one generation to the next.

Today our world—your world—is changing, East and West. And today I want to speak to you about the world we want to see and what we can do to bring that new world into clear focus.

We live in a time when we are witnessing the end of an idea: the final chapter of the Communist experiment. Communism is now recognized, even by many within the Communist world itself, as a failed system, one that promised economic prosperity but failed to deliver the goods, a system that built a wall between the people and their political aspirations. But the eclipse of communism is only one half of the story of our time. The other is the ascendancy of the democratic idea. Never before has the idea of freedom so captured the imaginations of men and women the world over, and never before has the hope of freedom beckoned so many—trade unionists in Warsaw, the people of Panama, rulers consulting the ruled in the Soviet Union. And even as we speak today, the world is transfixed by the dramatic events in Tiananmen Square. Everywhere, those voices are speaking the language of democracy and freedom. And we hear them, and the world hears them. And America will do all it can to encourage them.

So, today I want to speak about our security strategy for the 1990's, one that advances American ideals and upholds American aims. Amidst the many challenges we'll face, there will be risks. But let me assure you, we'll find more than our share of opportunities. We and our allies are strong, stronger really than at any point in the postwar period, and more capable than ever of supporting the cause of freedom. There's an opportunity before us to shape a new world.

What is it that we want to see? It is a growing community of democracies anchoring international peace and stability, and a dynamic free-market system generating prosperity and progress on a global scale. The economic foundation of this new era is the proven success of the free market, and nurturing that foundation are the values rooted in freedom and democracy. Our country, America, was founded on these values, and they gave us the confidence that flows from strength. So, let's be clear about one thing: America looks forward to the challenge of an emerging global market. But these values are not ours alone; they are now shared by our friends and allies around the globe.

The economic rise of Europe and the nations of the Pacific Rim is the growing suc-

cess of our postwar policy. This time is a time of tremendous opportunity, and destiny is in our own hands. To reach the world we want to see, we've got to work, and work hard. There's a lot of work ahead of us. We must resolve international trade problems that threaten to pit friends and allies against one another. We must combat misguided notions of economic nationalism that will tell us to close off our economies to foreign competition, just when the global marketplace has become a fact of life. We must open the door to the nations of Eastern Europe and other Socialist countries that embrace free-market reforms. And finally, for developing nations heavily burdened with debt, we must provide assistance and encourage the market reforms that will set those nations on a path towards growth.

If we succeed, the next decade and the century beyond will be an era of unparalleled growth, an era which sees the flourishing of freedom, peace, and prosperity around the world. But this new era cannot unfold in a climate where conflict and turmoil exist. And therefore, our goals must also include security and stability: security for ourselves and our allies and our friends, stability in the international arena, and an end to regional conflicts.

Such goals are constant, but the strategy we employ to reach them can and must change as the world changes.

Today the need for a dynamic and adaptable strategy is imperative. We must be strong—economically, diplomatically, and, as you know, militarily—to take advantage of the opportunities open to us in a world of rapid change. And nowhere will the ultimate consequences of change have more significance for world security than within the Soviet Union itself.

What we're seeing now in the Soviet Union is indeed dramatic. The process is still ongoing, unfinished. But make no mistake: Our policy is to seize every—and I mean every—opportunity to build a better, more stable relationship with the Soviet Union, just as it is our policy to defend American interests in light of the enduring reality of Soviet military power. We want to see *perestroika* succeed. And we want to see the policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika*—so far, a revolution imposed from top down—institutionalized within the Soviet Union. And we want to see *perestroika* extended as well. We want to see a Soviet Union that restructures its relationship toward the rest of the world—a Soviet Union that is a force for constructive solutions to the world's problems.

The grand strategy of the West during the postwar period has been based on the concept of containment: checking the Soviet Union's expansionist aims, in the hope that the Soviet system itself would one day be forced to confront its internal contradictions. The ferment in the Soviet Union today affirms the wisdom of this strategy. And now we have a precious opportunity to move beyond containment. You're graduating into an exciting world, where the opportunity for world peace, lasting peace, has never been better. Our goal, integrating the Soviet Union into the community of nations, is every bit as ambitious as containment was at its time. And it holds tremendous promise for international stability.

Coping with a changing Soviet Union will be a challenge of the highest order. But the security challenges we face today do not come from the East alone. The emergence of regional powers is rapidly changing the strategic landscape. In the Middle East, in south Asia, in our own hemisphere, a growing number of nations are acquiring advanced and highly destructive capabilities—in some cases, weapons of mass destruction and the means to deliver them. And it is an unfortunate fact that the world faces increasing threat from armed insurgencies, terrorists, and, as you in the Coast Guard are well aware, narcotics traffickers—and in some regions, an unholy alliance of all three.

Our task is clear: We must curb the proliferation of advanced weaponry. We must check the aggressive ambitions of renegade regimes, and we must enhance the ability of our friends to defend themselves. We have not yet mastered the complex challenge. We and our allies must construct a common strategy for stability in the developing world.

How we and our allies deal with these

diverse challenges depends on how well we understand the key elements of defense strategy. And so, let me just mention today two points in particular: first, the need for an effective deterrent, one that demonstrates to our allies and adversaries alike American strength, American resolve; and second, the need to maintain an approach to arms reduction that promotes stability at the lowest feasible level of armaments.

Deterrence is central to our defense strategy. The key to keeping the peace is convincing our adversaries that the cost of aggression against us or our allies is simply unacceptable. In today's world, nuclear forces are essential to deterrence. Our challenge is to protect those deterrent systems from attack. And that's why we'll move Peacekeeper ICBM's out of fixed and vulnerable silos, making them mobile and thus harder to target. Looking to the longer term, we will also develop and deploy a new highly mobile single-warhead missile, the Midgetman. With only minutes of warnings, these new missiles can relocate out of harm's way. Any attack against systems like this will fail. We are also researching—and we are committed to deploy when ready—a more comprehensive defensive system, known as SDI. Our premise is straightforward: Defense against incoming missiles endangers no person, endangers no country.

We're also working to reduce the threat we face, both nuclear and conventional. The INF treaty demonstrates that willingness. In addition, in the past decade, NATO has unilaterally removed 2400 shorter range theater warheads. But theater nuclear forces contribute to stability, no less than strategic forces, and thus it would be irresponsible to depend solely on strategic nuclear forces to deter conflict in Europe. The conventional balance in Europe is just as important and is linked to the nuclear balance. For more than 40 years—and look at your history books to see how pronounced this accomplishment is—for more than 40 years the Warsaw Pact's massive advantage in conventional forces has cast a shadow over Europe.

The unilateral reductions that President Gorbachev has promised give us hope that we can now redress that imbalance. We welcome those steps because, if implemented, they will help reduce the threat of surprise attack. And they confirm what we've said all along: that Soviet military power far exceeds the levels needed to defend the legitimate security interests of the U.S.S.R. And we must keep in mind that these reductions alone, even if implemented, are not enough to eliminate the significant numerical superiority that the Soviet Union enjoys right now.

Through negotiation, we can now transform the military landscape of Europe. The issues are complex, stakes are very high. But the Soviets are now being forthcoming, and we hope to achieve the reductions that we seek. Let me emphasize: Our aim is nothing less than removing war as an option in Europe.

The U.S.S.R. has said that it is willing to abandon its age-old reliance on offensive strategy. It's time to begin. This should mean a smaller force, one less reliant on tanks and artillery and personnel carriers that provide the Soviets' offensive striking power. A restructured Warsaw Pact, one that mirrors the defensive posture of NATO, would make Europe and the world more secure.

Peace can also be enhanced by movement towards more openness in military activities. And 2 weeks ago, I proposed an "open skies" initiative to extend the concept of openness. That plan for territorial overflights would increase our mutual security against sudden and threatening military activities. In the same spirit, let us extend this openness to military expenditures as well. I call on the Soviets to do as we have always done. Let's open the ledgers: publish an accurate defense budget. But as we move forward we must be realistic. Transformations of this magnitude will not happen overnight. If we are to reach our goals, a great deal is required of us, our allies, and of the Soviet Union. But we can succeed.

I began today by speaking about the triumph of a particular, peculiar, very special American ideal: freedom. And I know there are those who may think there's something presumptuous about that claim, those who will think it's boastful. But it is not, for one simple reason: Democracy isn't our cre-

ation; it is our inheritance. And we can't take credit for democracy, but we can take that precious gift of freedom, preserve it, and pass it on, as my generation does to you, and you, too, will do one day. And perhaps, provided we seize the opportunities open to us, we can help others attain the freedom that we cherish.

As I said on the Capitol steps the day I took this office as President of the United States: "There is but one just use of power, and it is to serve people." As your Commander in Chief, let me call on this Coast Guard class to reaffirm with me that American power will continue in its service to the enduring ideals of democracy and freedom. Congratulations to each and every one of you. Thank you, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 12:13 p.m. on Nitchman Field at the Academy. He was introduced by Rear Adm. Richard P. Cueroni, Superintendent of the U.S. Coast Guard Academy. In his opening remarks, the President referred to Adm. Paul A. Yost, Jr., Commandant, U.S. Coast Guard; Secretary of Transportation Samuel K. Skinner; and author Alex P. Haley, who received an honorary doctor of humane letters degree from the Academy. Following his remarks, the President returned to Washington, DC.*

## Nomination of C. Austin Fitts To Be an Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development

*May 25, 1989*

The President today announced his intention to nominate C. Austin Fitts to be an Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (Federal Housing Commissioner). He would succeed Thomas T. Demery.

Since 1978 Mr. Fitts has served in several capacities with Dillon, Read & Co., Inc., in New York City, including managing director, 1986 to present; senior vice president, 1984–1986; vice president, 1982–1984; and an associate, 1978–1982.

Mr. Fitts graduated from Bennett College (A.A., 1970), the University of Pennsylvania (B.A., 1974), and the Wharton School of Business (M.B.A., 1978). He was born in 1950 in Philadelphia, PA, and resides in New York City.

## Appointment of Barbara Hackman Franklin as a Member of the Advisory Committee for Trade Policy and Negotiations

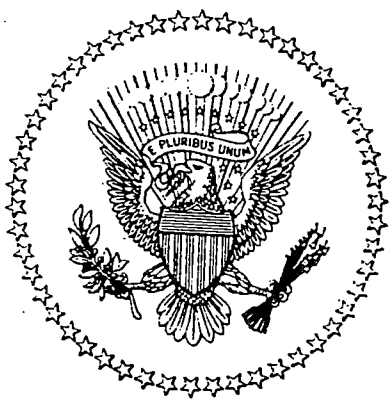
*May 25, 1989*

The President today announced his intention to appoint Barbara Hackman Franklin to be a member of the Advisory Committee for Trade Policy and Negotiations for a term of 2 years. She would succeed Lawrence A. Bossidy.

Ms. Franklin is currently president and chief executive officer of Franklin Associates, a Washington-based management consulting firm, which she founded in 1984. Since 1979, she has been senior fellow of the Wharton School of Business of the University of Pennsylvania; and for 8 years she served as director of the Wharton government and business program. Ms. Franklin has served two terms on the Advisory Committee for Trade Negotiations, 1982–1986, and has chaired its Task Force on Tax Reform. In addition, Ms. Franklin serves in various capacities, including member of the Services Policy Advisory Committee; adviser to the Comptroller General of the

PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS
OF THE
UNITED STATES

# George Bush




## 1989

(IN TWO BOOKS)

BOOK I—JANUARY 20 TO JUNE 30, 1989

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1990

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August 25, 1988, THURSDAY

SECTION: OFFICIAL KREMLIN INT'L NEWS BROADCAST - NEWS/CURRENT EVENTS

LENGTH: 533 words

HEADLINE: Vremya August 25, 1988

KEYWORD: August 25, 1988

BODY:
Soviet and Afghan cosmonauts approved the 'Soyuz TM6' spaceship for flight at the Baikonur cosmodrome today. The crews were selected a long time ago. But there is a great distance between crew selection and its final approval as the main one. Here, for example, Afghan pilot, Colonel Mohammad Dauran Gulyam Massoud. From the very beginning of the preparation in Star City he strived to be in the primary crew. But a month and a half ago he had an operation for acute appendicitis, and physicians saw him fit only as a back-up so far. Today, after the inspection of the spaceship, Anatoly Berezovoy said: 'A good machine. It's only a pity that it is not ours.' And this crew, the primary one, does not have a 100 percent guarantee of flight either. For the decision is made by the State Commission. But today each of the six has entered the spaceship as if he was the one to fly in it. Look, Valery Polyakov, as if preparing for a surgery, is washing his hands for a long time, in habitual motions. The spaceship is already sterile. Abdul Akhad Mohmand even said good-bye to everyone, as they do before the launch. It is well known that equipment without people is dead. And to make it alive, to make the spaceship obedient, Vladimir Lyakhov, it seems, has already learned every screw by heart. One can learn all right, but it's a pity that one can't perform a training flight in a spaceship. As with physicians, many operations cannot be brought back, redone, that's why they are called 'irreversible'. Where, then, does one get this confidence that every block, wire and screw is in the right place? Why are all spaceships different, each one has its own character for cosmonauts? V. A. Lyakhov, crew captain: "The machine is good because it was prepared whole-heartedly. I approved a lot of machines, I was a back-up 9 times, and flew twice, and I like this machine best of all, exactly because it is prepared... All of them are prepared whole-heartedly, but this one is prepared somehow in a special way. I simply don't know, well, I don't know why it is so, but I like it very much." V. Slipchenko, correspondent: "Good luck both to you and the machine." Lyakhov: "Thank you." V. V. Polyakov, physician-researcher: "Well, what shall I say? I have lost weight and it simply became very comfortable for me to lay in my couch." Slipchenko: "On the whole, it is not like an airplane at all, right?" Abdul Akhad Mohmand, astronaut-researcher, Afghanistan: "Of course. There is a big difference. I would not only not compare the machine to an airplane, but I would not compare it to a simulator, on which we were training there either. There are all the conveniences here, but there it was simply very difficult to work. Thanks for the work." Heart or no heart, but this stack of papers, documents, protocols had still to be signed by cosmonauts today. They state that there are no remarks, that all the requirements of the crew have been completely met, and the personal things will be packed only after that. Lyakhov: "No remarks." Voice: "Well, we also thank you for your work, and are waiting for you at the launch." Lyakhov: "Thank you. Till the launch."

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The Associated Press

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August 25, 1988, Thursday, AM cycle

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 623 words

HEADLINE: U.S.-Soviet Friendship Exchanges on Increase

BYLINE: By BITTE LARSSON, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: STOCKHOLM, Sweden

KEYWORD: U.S.-Soviet Youth

BODY:

Young Americans and Soviets are getting together more and more these days at high school proms and conferences and in organizations that range from orchestras to peace groups.

It's "citizen diplomacy," says Valentin Seveus, a Swede who runs a three-way exchange program for teen-agers from the United States, the Soviet Union and neutral Sweden.

"In the United States there is a wish to show that the Russians are ordinary people like you and me," he said. "It is an extremely important thing."

The Soviets, under Mikhael S. Gorbachev's glasnost (openness) policy, want to open their country to the outside world, and their programs often are organized under the banner of peace, said Seveus, who operates out of Stockholm.

Swedes, who cultivate their non-aligned position to pursue issues like peace and disarmament, actively promote such projects.

"It's always easy to reach people when you work with peace," Seveus said.

U.S.-Soviet exchange programs were cut off by the United States when relations soured after the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The contacts were renewed under a cultural agreement signed by President Reagan and Gorbachev at the 1985 U.S.-Soviet summit meeting in Geneva.

Liza Malott of Reagan's U.S.-Soviet Exchange Initiative said about 100,000 Americans are now going to the Soviet Union annually, mostly on private tours, in contrast to 10,000 Soviets who visited the United States last year.

The proportion is even more lopsided when it comes to youth, but the number of youngsters is climbing on both sides, Ms. Malott said.

Seveus, 46, founded Cooperation for Peace in 1983 to promote student get-togethers through summer camps or conferences, working through parallel

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Soviet and U.S. organizations. Teen-agers from Poland, India and other countries also have taken part.

Seveus' latest program, Peace Quest, brought 50 teen-agers together for six weeks visiting each others' U.S., Soviet and Swedish hometowns.

On a stopover in Sweden, the Americans said their visit to the Soviet Union had changed some of their preconceptions. They visited private Soviet homes, looked in on the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Ukraine and met with representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church and youth groups.

"They took us very seriously and we freely discussed everything ... with straight answers," said a group leader, Elisabeth Bentley, a nurse from Barre, Mass.

"Peace work at this stage in the U.S. is so new," she added. "We would like them to go back (home) and get involved, make speeches, form clubs ... you know, throw a stone in the water with all the ripples."

"It's been fantastic," said one traveling youth, Andy De Braber, 17, of Grand Rapids, Mich. "In a few weeks so much has happened, it's almost hard to absorb."

Ina Dubovik, 17, an English major from Minsk, U.S.S.R., said she joined the tour as a way to "fight for peace." As the leader of her school's International Club, she said she was looking forward to reporting back on her experiences.

Ms. Dubovik said the members of her group were leaders in Soviet youth groups or international clubs.

Another American group leader, Susanne Sklar, 30, of Chicago, called the Soviet youth the future ambassadors and leaders of their country.

The Soviet press closely covered the group, she said, and members were on Soviet television and radio several times.

One of the breakthroughs in the youth exchanges was the case of Samantha Smith, an 11-year-old Maine schoolgirl.

In 1983, she won the hearts of millions of Soviets when she visited at the invitation of the late Yuri V. Andropov, then the Soviet president, whom she had written about her concerns of superpower tension. She died in a plane crash two years later.

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Summary of World Broadcasts

August 25, 1988, Thursday

SECTION: Part 3 The Far East; C. SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT; AFGHANISTAN

PAGE: FE/0239/C/1

LENGTH: 159 words

HEADLINE: HOW THE ''CRIMINAL EXTREMISTS'' ''PLUNDERED'' AND BURNT IN KONDUZ

SOURCE: (b) Tass in Russian for abroad 0740 gmt 23 Aug 88

Excerpt from report from Kabul

BODY:

As a result of the armed opposition's recent attack on Konduz, carefully planned with the aid of foreign advisers, great material damage was done to the town and its population. The attack was accompanied by mass robberies and violence. The bandits stole 35 tonnes of fuel from storehouses, 54 tonnes of foodstuffs and more than 50 tonnes of various types of belongings. All the shops were looted. All the state establishments and enterprises were destroyed. The bandits carried off 200 young women by force and organised a kangaroo court for a group of captive soldiers from the Sarandoy (people's militia), whose hands were chopped off.

The insurgent grouping is withdrawing and taking its plunder to the sub-districts of Khanabad and Eshkamesh, 15-20 km to the north-west of Konduz. Armed groups of the irreconcilable opposition operating along the line of communication between Pol-e Khomri and Konduz are withdrawing towards the west.

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Summary of World Broadcasts

August 25, 1988, Thursday

SECTION: Part 3 The Far East; C. SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT; AFGHANISTAN

PAGE: FE/0239/C/1

LENGTH: 399 words

HEADLINE: OFFICIAL UN STATEMENT ON SOVIET TROOP WITHDRAWAL

SOURCE: Kabul home service in Dari 1600 gmt 19 Aug 88

Text of statement by spokesperson of the UN Secretary-General

BODY:

Following the withdrawal of half of the Soviet limited contingents from the Republic of Afghanistan in accordance with the Geneva accords, a spokesperson of the UN Secretary-General has been authorised to announce the following

16th August 1988, Kabul and Islamabad.

(1) The UN Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan [UNGOMAP], in accordance with the duties assigned to it under the Geneva accords, has observed the process of withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan since 15th May 1988, when the Geneva accords entered into force.

(2) On 14th May 1988, the military representative of the USSR government in the Republic of Afghanistan informed UNGOMAP that the number of foreign forces on that date in Afghanistan was more than 100,300 persons.

(3) On 15th May 1988, foreign soldiers were present in 18 main garrisons located in 17 provinces of Afghanistan out of 31, namely Badakhshan, Baghlan, Farah, Ghazni, Helmand, Herat, Kabul, Kandahar, Konar, Konduz, Logar, Nangarhar, Paktia, Parwan, Samangan, Takhar and Zabol.

(4) From 15th May to 7th August 1988, 10 main garrisons previously held by foreign forces were evacuated and handed over to the Afghan armed forces, namely Baraki, Dawlatabad, Fayzabad, Gardez, Jalalabad, Kandahar, Lashkargah and Rukha.

(5) After 15th August 1988, the eight main garrisons at which foreign forces are still present are located in the following provinces Baghlan, Herat, Kabul, Parwan and Samangan. A number of foreign troops will also remain in the vicinity of Hayratan in Balkh Province, which will be used as a border crossing point for the withdrawing forces.

(6) The UNGOMAP teams of military officers have observed the withdrawal of foreign troops from Bagram, Jalalabad, Kabul, Kandahar, Konduz and Shindand as well as at the border towns of Hayratan and Torghondi, where they have set up permanent posts. An UNGOMAP team also visited Gardez city after the evacuation of the garrison.

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(7) The UN Secretary-General and his envoy are fully satisfied that the withdrawal of foreign forces has proceeded in accordance with Document 4 of the Geneva accords. In this connection they wish to express their sincere thanks to the governments of the Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union and to their military and civilian representatives for their continuous assistance and all-round co-operation.

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Summary of World Broadcasts

August 25, 1988, Thursday

SECTION: Part 3 The Far East; C. SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT; AFGHANISTAN

PAGE: FE/0239/C/1

LENGTH: 263 words

HEADLINE: STATEMENT BY UN SECRETARY-GENERAL'S ENVOY ON AFGHAN SOLUTION

SOURCE: Kabul home service in Dari 1600 gmt 19 Aug 88

Text, as broadcast, of ''statement by Diego Cordovez, special envoy of the UN Secretary-General, on the settlement of the situation relating to Afghanistan' '

BODY:

It is obvious that serious determination exists concerning the implementation of the objectives and purposes of the Geneva accords. What are regarded as external elements in the dispute which were the subject of the Geneva accords are being removed. I therefore once again invite all Afghans to utilise the practical opportunities for peace created by the Geneva accords. Further military conflict between Afghans would be senseless and a political solution would enable the Afghan people to be re-united in their homeland once again. The killing and suffering must end. Internal divisions can be re-solved by political means. The history of Afghanistan attests to this.

During my last visit to the region I emphasised that Afghans must rely on their traditions, as they have always done when faced with a crisis. I outlined some ideas that could be used for the restoration of peace and enable the reconstruction of the country. In line with the mandate which I received at Geneva I saw my role in this context as that of a catalyst.

However, only the Afghan people can decide how to proceed and what specific political approaches and solutions should be adopted. I remain convinced that the Afghan political forces will act with a sense of responsibility and also with a sense of urgency. I am constantly in touch with my colleague and friend Benon Sevan, alternate representative of the UN Secretary-General, who stands ready to facilitate communication between those forces at this crucial period. I myself will spare no effort to assist in these endeavours.

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27 May

To Jeannie

Date _____ Time _____

## WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Lt. V Murray

of US something or other

Phone 804-445-5838

Area Code Number Extension

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| TELEPHONED | | PLEASE CALL | |
| CALLED TO SEE YOU | | WILL CALL AGAIN | |
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Message re: speech research(?)

Operator

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David Robert Hopkins
born 1970 @ Naval
Academy on May 27th

father – NAVAL ACAD. Grad.
Lt. Cmdr. Bob Hopkins
1965.

To Jeannie Bunton

Date _____ Time 4:40

# WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Ut. Mum

of _____

Phone 804-445-5838

Area Code Number Extension

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| CALLED TO SEE YOU | | WILL CALL AGAIN | |
| WANTS TO SEE YOU | | URGENT | |
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Message _____

Bobby

Operator

AMPAD EFFICIENCY® 23-021 CARBONLESS

fr. James Robert Hopkins
"Bob"

Son David

34th Company — go to flight school in Pensacola in Oct.

— Major ocean engineering

88 TIME YR IN PICTURES →

"SOVIET TROOPS & ARMOUR HEAD HOME AS A BLOODY 9YR WAR WINDS DOWN;

"SMALL AFGHANISTAN HAS TRIUMPHED OVER THE WILD SOVIET BEAR."

MUJAHEDEN RESISTANCE LEADER

IRAQ ~~BEATS~~ IRAN (END TO 8YR WAR)

"Making this decision was more deadly than drinking poison."

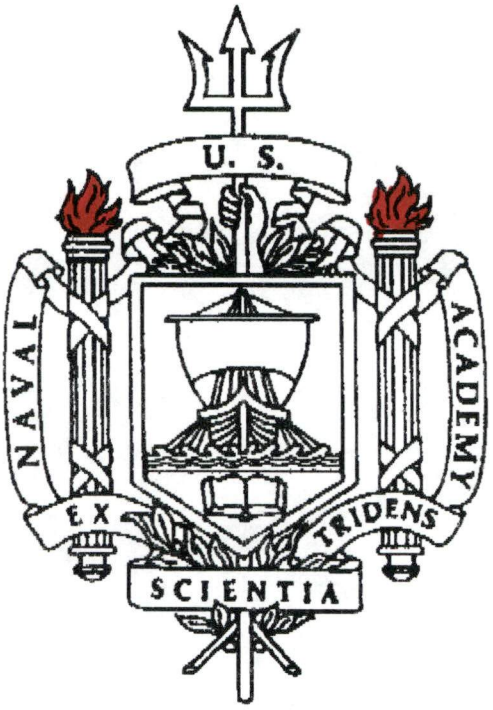
Ayatullah Khomeini on ordered end to 8yr. war

Armenian demonstrators in Yerevan demand self-determination

"This is a crusade, a flow that can't be stopped. There are rivers of people.

Musician in Yerevan

Kurds → poison gas;




*From:* Mike Jr

Public Affairs Office
U.S. Naval Academy
121 Blake Road
Annapolis, Maryland 21402

Phone (410) 267-2291 (Autovon 281-2291)

Telefax Number (410) 267-3133 (Autovon 281-3133)

Page one of 3 pages

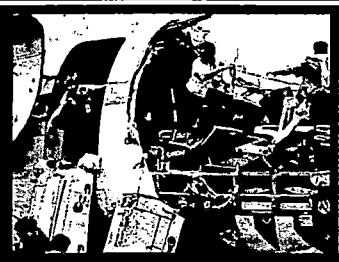
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Ms J. Bonton

① Some material not in your package

② This is extra "gauge"

# IMAGES
Pictures of 1988





DECEMBER 26, 1988 $2.00

# TIME




# About Face

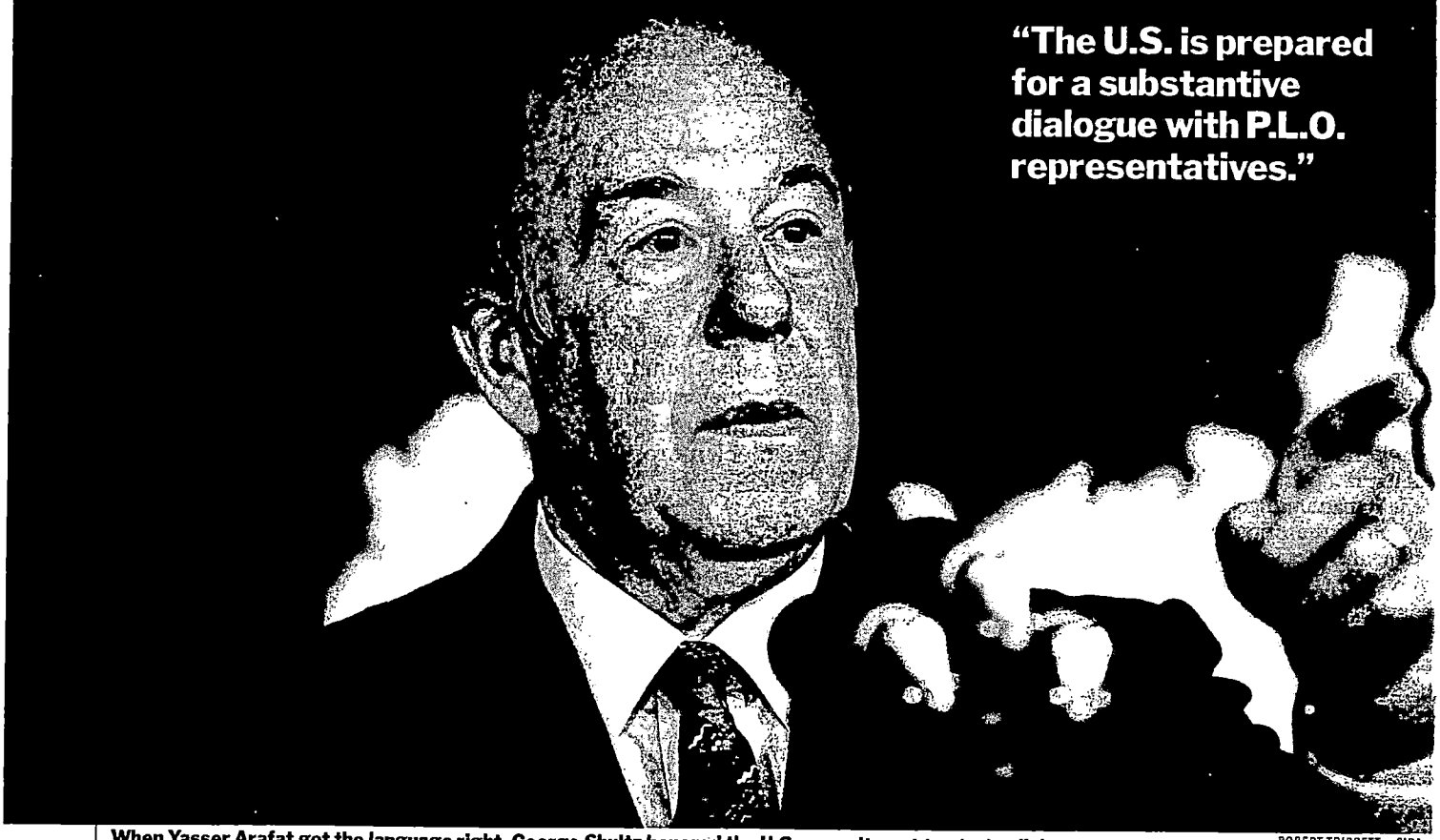
**WHY ARAFAT said the magic words**

**HOW THE U.S. changed course**

**WHAT NEXT in the Middle East**

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When Yasser Arafat got the language right, George Shultz honored the U.S. commitment to start a dialogue

ROBERT TRIPPETT—SIPA

TIME/DECEMBER 26, 1988

COVER STORIES

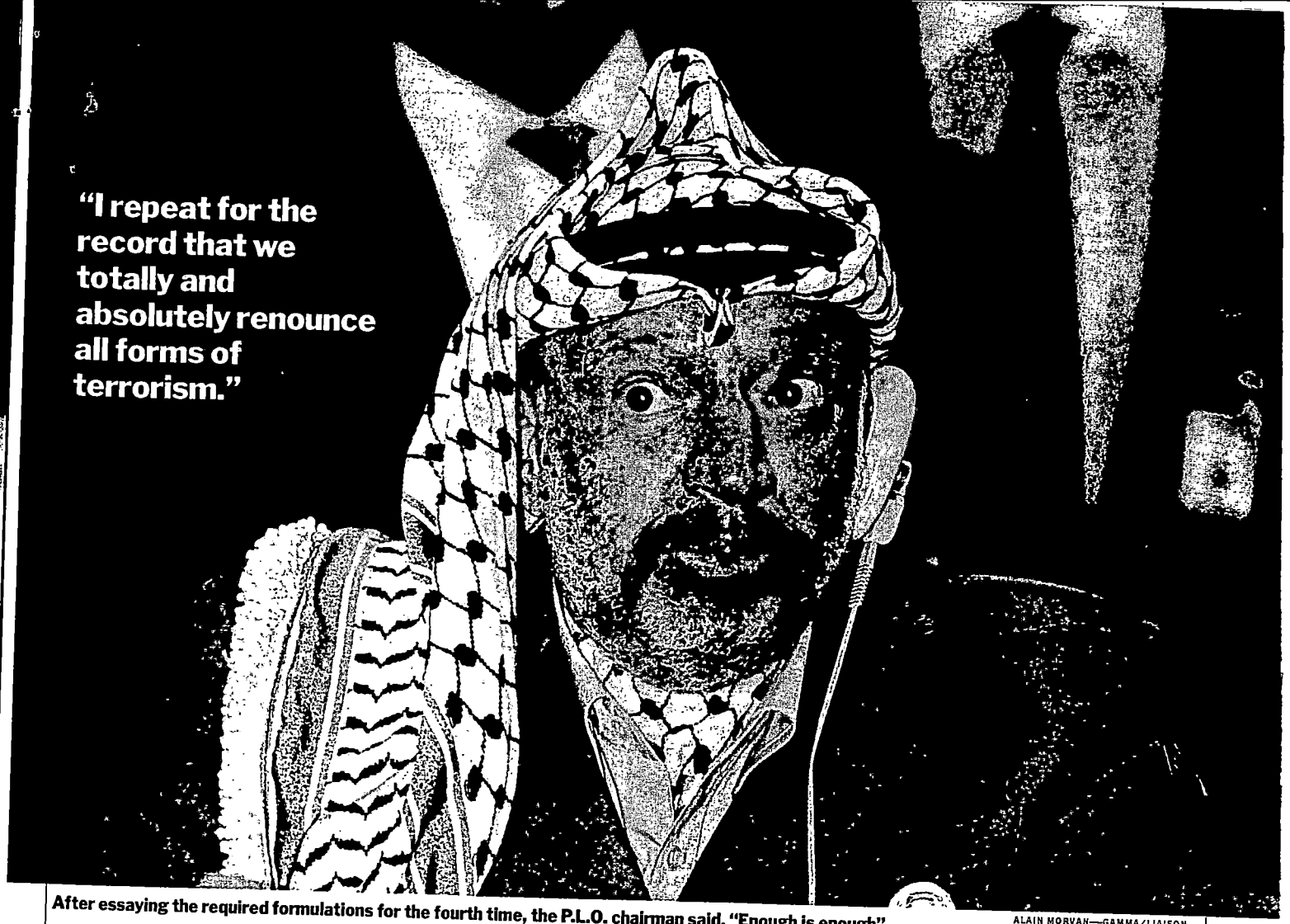
# Breakthrough

*After 13 years of silence, the U.S. agrees to talk with the P.L.O., angering Israel and profoundly altering the Middle East's diplomatic landscape*

BY JOHANNA McGEARY

A few simple words. Israel. Renounce. 242. Such is the flimsy coin of diplomacy. Yasser Arafat's decision to utter these particular words has shaken the Middle East puzzle and launched the stalemated parties on a perilous and by no means certain course toward peace. After weeks of waffling, the chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization last week finally ended a crazily contorted semantic dance with what passed, for him, as plain speaking. Yes, the P.L.O. recognized Israel's right to exist in peace and security. Yes, the P.L.O. accepted United Nations Resolutions 242 and 338 as the basis for negotiations to end the Arab-Israeli conflict. Yes, the P.L.O. renounced terrorism in all its forms. Period.

For 13 years the U.S. has been waiting to hear these exact words from the lips of the man the Palestinians have chosen as their leader and others have regarded as a murderous terrorist. Historians will argue whether Arafat actually said them on Nov. 15 in Algiers, when the Palestine National Council declared an independent state; or on Dec. 7 in Stockholm, when the P.L.O. leader and a group of U.S. Jews issued a joint "clarifying" statement; or on Dec. 13, when Arafat delivered an impassioned appeal for peace negotiations to a special U.N. General Assembly session in Geneva. Each time the cotton in Arafat's mouth prevented the U.S. from hearing the precise syntax it wanted. But on Dec. 14, in a frantically arranged press conference to delineate the P.L.O. position one more time, Arafat finally got the linguistic formula right.




**After essaying the required formulations for the fourth time, the P.L.O. chairman said, "Enough is enough"** ALAIN MORVAN—GAMMA/LIAISON

"As a result," declared Secretary of State George Shultz four hours later, "the U.S. is prepared for a substantive dialogue with P.L.O. representatives." With that, the Reagan Administration opened a door securely locked in 1975 when Henry Kissinger promised Israel that the U.S. would not deal with the P.L.O. unless the organization met Washington's preconditions. In the end, the words Arafat finally uttered were less significant than the intent Washington glimpsed of a P.L.O. apparently ready to swap its strategy of intransigence for the bargaining table.

The Administration's bold response was all the more remarkable for coming at a time when Mikhail Gorbachev had made U.S. diplomacy appear calcified and reactive. American willingness to talk with the P.L.O. profoundly alters the political landscape of the Middle East in ways not yet clearly outlined but fresh with the potential for progress. The announcement sent a wave of approval through the West European and Arab communities, which have long urged the U.S. to end its increasingly futile code of silence. The move shocked Israel, which now stands alone in rejecting all contact with the P.L.O. With only a few weeks left in office, Ronald Reagan gave George Bush a huge Christmas present: the opportunity to make real progress in the Middle East without taking the heat for a fiercely controversial decision.

Was the startling announcement a cave-in by Arafat to the U.S., as many Americans believe? "I didn't change my mind," said Shultz. "They made their statement clear." Or was it an about-face by the Reagan Administration cleverly engineered by the P.L.O. peace campaign, as the West Europeans, Arabs and Soviets saw it? It mattered little who claimed vic-

## The Magic Words

*By shifting a clause here, a word there, Arafat inched the P.L.O. toward dialogue with the U.S.*

*The Palestine National Council affirms: . . . the necessity of holding an effective international conference concerning the Middle East issue . . . on the basis of United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.*

**—Algiers declaration, Nov. 15**

*The P.N.C. [Palestine National Council] accepted two states, a Palestinian state and a Jewish state, Israel.*

**—Arafat, Stockholm, Dec. 7**

*The P.L.O. will seek a comprehensive settlement among the parties concerned in the Arab-Israeli conflict, including the state of Palestine, Israel and other neighbors [to guarantee] respect for the right to exist in peace and security for all.*

**—Arafat, U.N. speech, Dec. 13**

*In my speech yesterday, it was clear that we mean . . . the right of all parties concerned in the Middle East conflict to exist in peace and security, and, as I have mentioned, including the state of Palestine, Israel and other neighbors.*

**—Arafat, Geneva, Dec. 14**

tory when both sides had in effect converged on the same piece of reality: they need to talk with each other to advance their separate interests.

The U.S. lost no time following up on its commitment. The next day U.S. Ambassador to Tunisia Robert Pelletreau, the "only authorized channel" for the discourse, telephoned P.L.O. headquarters in Tunis to arrange a meeting Friday at a state guesthouse in nearby Carthage. Pelletreau and a four-member P.L.O. delegation met for 90 minutes; afterward both parties called their first official talks "practical."

As far as the U.S. is concerned, the first topic in an extended dialogue will be terrorism. The U.S. wants to serve notice on Arafat that it remains highly skeptical of his renunciation of the tactics that have subjected Israelis and others to decades of hijacking, bombing and murder. Washington will hold Arafat personally responsible for controlling his organization, and if he fails the U.S. will not hesitate, as President Reagan said, "to break off communications." The U.S. also expects Arafat to condemn and dissociate himself from violent acts by renegades and to help bring any terrorists to heel.

Beyond that, the U.S. wants to advance the dialogue toward the essential business of peace negotiations. "I view this development as one more step toward beginning direct negotiations between the parties," said Shultz. The U.S. will make it clear that it does not recognize the P.L.O.'s self-declared independent state and will not adopt any of the Palestinian objectives in advance of peace talks with Israel. Pelletreau will have to impress upon the P.L.O. that it must convince Israel, and not the U.S., of its readiness to engage in serious negotiations. Nor will the U.S. cease its unflinching support for the Jewish state or let the P.L.O. divide the two allies. But Washington sees its official face-to-face talks with the P.L.O. as a chance to probe and define an acceptable Palestinian role in direct negotiations with Israel.

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir denounced Arafat's U.N. address as a "monumental act of deception" and called the U.S. decision a dangerous "blunder" that "will not help us, not help the United States and not help the peace process." Even Shimon Peres, the Foreign Minister who has struggled to devise a working peace plan of his own, considered the U.S. naive. "While other countries are expressing their views out of sincere hope, we express our views out of bitter experience," he said. Israel has cause for its unyielding refusal to trust the P.L.O.: 24 years of terrorist violence.

Israel's reaction has been confused by its domestic politics. Since the election Nov. 1, neither the Labor Party nor the Likud bloc has been able to muster a governing majority. Now, however, there is a greater chance that the two main groups will continue their paralytic unity coalition, if only to give cover to each other in handling this diplomatic bombshell. On one point they are already united: Israel will not alter its refusal to talk with the P.L.O. Both parties are bracing for a bumpy time with Washington. Ever the optimist, Peres suggested that the U.S. will soon wise up to its mistake and back out of a bad judgment. The dour Shamir offered little but bitterness last week.



SICCOLI—GAMMA/LIAISON

**On Friday the U.S. and the P.L.O. take the measure of each other in Tunis**

*Both sides agreed that their first official meeting was "practical."*

To the Israeli public, the U.S. decision came as the loss of an anchor, the anchor that guaranteed the rightness of their attitudes toward the P.L.O. Only a whisper from the left judged the news positive. "There is nothing to fear from talking. We are strong enough to talk," said Haim Ramon, a leftist Labor Party Knesset member. The pervasive Israeli distrust of Arafat has yet to be replaced by even the hint of a grass-roots movement to change Israel's policy toward the P.L.O. Certainly no major politician was ready to consider any change in attitude. Few in Israel expressed relief, much less victory, over Arafat's much belated acknowledgment that Israel had a right to exist.

In the West Bank, however, jubilant Palestinians toasted one another with *mabrouk*, the Arabic word for "congratulations." To the foot soldiers in the *intifadeh*, the yearlong rebellion in the occupied territories that has won worldwide sympathy for Palestinian national aspirations, this was the first tangible victory. "If we succeeded in forcing America to sit with the P.L.O., we will force Israel to recognize the P.L.O.," crowed a 17-year-old Palestinian activist from Jerusalem.

To the Arab states long pledged to the P.L.O., the U.S. move vindicated a trend they have encouraged in recent years: greater moderation and realism on the part of Palestinian nationalists. Even George Habash and Nayef Hawatmeh, leaders of two notoriously radical pro-Syrian factions within the P.L.O., hailed the American decision as a triumph for the *intifadeh*. But the renegade group of Abu Musa issued a veiled threat. "We fully reject the Arafat concessions and will prove our stand practically, in a way that neither Israel nor the United States would expect," said a spokesman in Damascus.

It is precisely that ability to wreck the dialogue with one well-placed Molotov cocktail that makes this tentative and guarded rapprochement so fragile. Anti-Arafat radicals in the occupied territories are reportedly planning to launch attacks against Israeli targets to show that Arafat's renunciation of terrorism does not apply to them. It may be cynical but it is not unthinkable to fear extremist Israelis might seek a similar escalation of violence to prevent a dialogue that they like no better. Another danger for Arafat is the one that has kept him on the move for more than two decades: the possibility of assassination by those who reject his views.

For Arafat, however, the gains made last week far outweigh the risks. Washington in effect recognizes the P.L.O. to be the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The implicit recognition marks a personal triumph for Arafat,

who has been down so often but never out. His organization has been splintered by factionalism and scourged by armies from Jordan to Israel but never destroyed. He has promised his people much but never delivered. In 1982 he was drummed out of Lebanon, and just a year ago he was all but ignored at an Arab summit that consigned the Palestinian problem to the dead file. Yet a combination of events and his uncanny talent for survival have pushed him back to the top.

Most of all, the unexpected and unquenchable uprising in the occupied territories emboldened Arafat to take a chance. He risked losing control of the Palestinian cause altogether unless he could win the "children of the stones" some tangible gain for a year of pain. At the same time, the *intifadeh* blessed the Palestinians, and by extension even the P.L.O., with a legitimacy Arafat had never been able to earn. Perhaps the past 13 years of diplomatic isolation by the U.S. was simply the necessary learning period for the movement.

Arafat's public commitment to cease terrorism was straightforward: "I repeat for the record that we totally and absolutely renounce all forms of terrorism." Arafat also made a significant concession of substance in his Geneva speech to the U.N. He rejected absolutism in favor of "realistic and attainable formulas that settle the [Arab-Israeli] issue on the basis of the possible." That is new and welcome from the P.L.O. Specifically, Arafat said the Palestinians would settle for two states in the Holy Land, one Palestinian and one Israeli, borders undefined. Those who do not trust him will recall the words of the 1968 Palestinian National Charter, which calls for the complete destruction of Israel. The P.L.O. has not renounced that covenant, but many Western diplomats were prepared to accept last week's words as the operative policy.

The P.L.O. has made life more difficult for Israeli diplomats by publicly committing itself to a negotiated settlement. For years Israel was able to argue that it had no need to go to the bargaining table because no partner sat there. Now the Palestinians' designated spokesman, however unlovely, may be there.

The U.S. had little to lose in testing the P.L.O.'s sincerity. The Jordanian option, the long-favored attempt by the U.S. and Peres to make King Hussein the surrogate peacemaker for the Palestinians, withered away last July when the King gave up all responsibility for the occupied West Bank. Washington's stubborn holdout in the face of Arafat's peace offensive had bound Uncle Sam in the unaccustomed straitjacket of the spoiler. Shultz's announcement not only ended months of intense criticism from West European and Arab friends but also restored U.S. credibility and influence as an honest broker in the Middle East conflict.

RICKI ROSEN—PICTURE GROUP



**In East Jerusalem, Palestinians demonstrate after their tangible victory**

ZAMIR—SCOOP 80




**In downtown Jerusalem, embittered Israelis burn Arafat in effigy**

*Jews and Arabs remain as far from a negotiated peace as ever.*

Even American Jews were surprisingly mild in their response to a move many of them deeply mistrust. Most of them trust George Shultz as the best friend Israel ever had, and that seemed to help them see beyond natural fear to the glimmer of hope these events refract. In a rare divergence from the Israeli government line, the major umbrella organization of American Jews said it would not fight the Administration's decision. "Knowing this man," said Morris Abram, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, "I believe he would like to produce peace in the area without impairing the security of Israel one bit." But many U.S. Jews doubt the dialogue will work as planned. They believe, Abram warned, it will reveal once and for all that "the obstacle to peace is not Israel but Arab intransigence."

Bush's Middle East policy has yet to be articulated, but officials around him say he will be more flexible than his predecessor, without diminishing U.S. support for Israel. Yet the danger in a dramatic reversal of policy is that it creates expectations that cannot be fulfilled. The gap between what the Palestinians want and what the Israelis may give is as wide as ever. Perhaps most tragically, the P.L.O. may have evolved toward negotiating a settlement at a time when Israel is moving away. Despite what the Palestinians may believe, no recent U.S. President has been willing to muscle Israel to the bargaining table.

But the U.S.-P.L.O. dialogue has stripped away an excuse Israel has long hidden behind. The policy of not dealing

with the P.L.O. has allowed Israel to avoid entering a negotiation certain to result in its losing pieces of Eretz Yisrael. Branding the P.L.O. as terrorist has been the most convenient and effective way of keeping the occupied territories in Israeli hands. As long as the U.S. did not talk with the P.L.O. either, Israel felt no need to address the fundamental trade-off of territory for peace. Now Israel may find it harder to avoid the issue. In the meantime, some prominent Israeli politicians are contemplating unilateral action, such as limited autonomy for the territories, as a way to deflect the growing pressure to negotiate a territorial trade.

Vernon Walters, the U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., spoke for the world last week when he said, "We are tired of this conflict and tired of their unwillingness to make fair compromises." He was talking about both Israelis and Arabs.

There is no guarantee that a "substantive dialogue" between the U.S. and the P.L.O. can work a miracle where all past efforts have failed. And there is still reason to doubt Arafat's Christmas conversion from gunslinger to peacemaker. No one knows if he can deliver. No one knows what the U.S. and, more important, Israel can deliver. But diplomacy, even the hard-nosed kind, is an act of faith. "Come, let us make peace," Yasser Arafat said. Yes, let us. — ***With reporting by Dean Fischer/Geneva, B. William Mader/United Nations and Bruce van Voorst/Washington***

# The Case for Skepticism

**BY MICHAEL KRAMER**

Talking to Yasser Arafat is not like talking to Mikhail Gorbachev. During the past three years, in word and deed, Gorbachev has earned the West's cautious trust. The INF treaty, the recent announcement of planned unilateral reductions in Soviet conventional forces, the removal of old-line naysayers suggest, in Margaret Thatcher's words, that Gorbachev is a man with whom "we can do business."

Arafat is another story. He and his confederates have raised double-talk to an art form. Seeming concessions have become traps, hard-line interviews in Arabic have contradicted hopeful statements in English, renunciations of terrorist acts have been undermined by evidence suggesting Arafat's support for their undertaking. Even recently, when the diplomatic grapevine has been alive with speculation that the P.L.O. would finally recognize Israel's right to exist, Arafat's closest associates have telegraphed a different stance: continued adherence to a "phased strategy" whose odious goal is Israel's eventual liquidation.

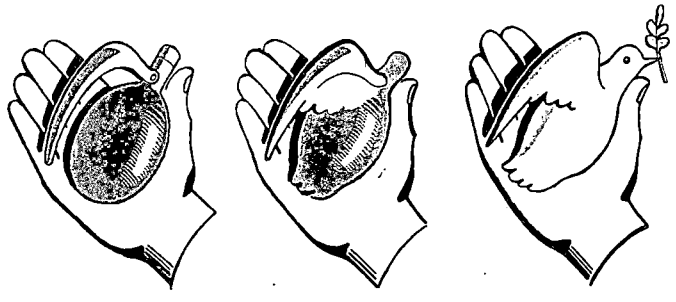


ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY DAVID SUTER

Originally adopted by the Palestine National Council in 1974, the strategy of phases was affirmed after the P.N.C. meeting in Algeria. "The P.N.C. decisions," said Arafat's deputy Abu Iyad on Nov. 28, "are a refinement of the . . . position adopted in the phase program 14 years ago. The [P.N.C.] session was meant to revitalize this program and to create a mechanism in order to get it moving."

Two other worrisome facts support Israel's skepticism about last week's actions and lend credence to an observation Henry Kissinger has made privately: "If you believe that their real intention is to kill you, it isn't unreasonable to believe that they would lie to you."

For one thing, the P.L.O. has yet to amend its charter's infamous Article 19: "The partition of Palestine in 1947 and the establishment of the state of Israel are entirely illegal, regardless of the passage of time." For another, Israelis remain fixated on an important date. In 1964, when the P.L.O. was founded, the very land most of the world now believes the Palestinians would settle for was still in Arab hands.

Given the hostile signals implicit in these facts and words, how should the U.S. proceed? In a decidedly nontraditional manner. With adversaries like Gorbachev, it is right and proper that negotiations begin without preconditions. With the P.L.O., however, it may be best to establish the bottom line in advance. As Kissinger suggests publicly, dealing with the P.L.O. requires a focus on substance, because "procedures will not give us a clue to whether there is a chance" for progress. The question requires an advance determination of the ultimate answer: What is Israel willing to give? What can it live with?

"We need to give the Palestinians a sense of reality," says David Hartman, a liberal Israeli rabbi who has long favored talking directly with the P.L.O. "We have to give them a sense of what we can finally accept—parameters, like demilitarization, that are essentially nonnegotiable. It won't be all they will want. But the Palestinians must first prove that they will actually live with us on the same land in peace, even with a two-state solution. They must prove that they will not use a West Bank state as a foothold to strike for the rest of Israel."

Significantly, some prominent Palestinians have agreed. "We need to know the substance first because it goes to the limits of what we can expect from Israel regarding our self-determination," said Bashir Barghouti, editor of the East Jerusalem paper *al-Taliyah*, last summer. "We need to know what we will be able to do on the land that's given to us, no matter what the borders of that land are. The negotiating mechanisms—how we get from here to there—are secondary."

Following this script is not only prudent; it can yield an important public relations benefit for both Washington and Jerusalem. To most of the world, and to many Israelis too, Israel appears to have its head in the sand. By declaring substantively what exactly they are willing to trade for peace, Israel and the U.S. can get themselves off a p.r. hook.

If the Palestinians reject an offer reasonable people can identify as forthcoming and courageous—as they have rejected every attempt at compromise for almost a century—no one could fault Israel for then saying, "Shalom. Come to talk to us again when you've grown up." ■

# A Dance of Many Veils

*Shultz and Arafat reached common ground only after intense prodding by their allies, Swedish mediators—and a nudge from George Bush*

On successive days last week, George Shultz's senior Middle East aides gathered in a small private room that abuts the Secretary's spacious office on the seventh floor of the U.S. State Department. On Tuesday executive assistant Charles Hill, Under Secretary Michael Armacost, Assistant Secretary for Middle East Affairs Richard Murphy and counsellor Max Kampelman clustered around a TV set to watch Yasser Arafat's United Nations speech in Geneva. By the time Shultz walked in near the end of the speech, the glum group had already prepared a single-page memo. "There was no dispute; there were no differences," says a participant. "Arafat's presentation was unacceptable."

The same aides gathered again early the next afternoon, this time to listen to a tape recording of Arafat's press conference, relayed by a U.S. diplomat in Geneva. Once again the group's verdict on Arafat's performance was unanimous, but this time the judgment was reversed. At 4:01 p.m. Shultz telephoned National Security Adviser Colin Powell. "We're agreed that he did it," the Secretary declared. After 13 years of stalemate and more than a month of intense back-channel negotiations, the U.S. would at last talk to the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Who blinked, Shultz or Arafat? In the State Department's view, the stubborn, strong-willed Shultz had played hardball diplomacy with Arafat until he got what he wanted. Even Shultz's unpopular decision to deny Arafat a visa to speak at the U.N. in New York City was portrayed as a deliberate tactic to push the P.L.O. chairman into uttering the magic words that had never before passed his lips: that the P.L.O. renounced terrorism and "recognized Israel's right to exist within secure borders." Insisted Shultz: "I didn't change my mind . . . Now we have acceptance of our conditions."

That tidy explanation smacks of comforting hindsight. The decisive events were far more complex: both Shultz and Arafat finally acted only under tremendous pressure from other nations. "He was sweating blood," said a Swedish diplomat who dealt with Arafat as the delicate backstage minuet was played out. The P.L.O. leader had the recalcitrant radicals in his organization pulling him back from the edge. Pushing him forward were Egypt and Jordan, as well as the Soviet Union, which "landed on Arafat like a ton of bricks," according to a Washington source. Reversing past policy, the Kremlin urged Arafat to seek talks with the U.S. and acknowledge Israel.

What turned Shultz around? "He has a visceral hatred of Arafat," explained a senior U.S. diplomat. "But finally reality gained the upper hand, helped by a weight of pressure that he had probably not experienced before." The Secretary also felt gentle but firm nudges from George Bush to move the U.S. beyond its isolated stance of just saying no to every overture from the Palestinians.

Even so, the final outcome remained uncertain as the two principal players repeatedly thought they had an agreement, only to find that the other had failed to deliver what had been expected. In the end, it was the persistent middleman ef-

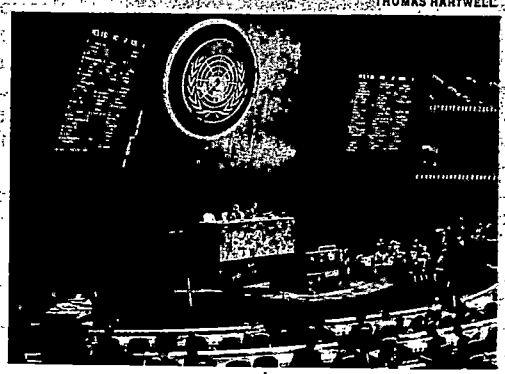
## SEVEN STEPS TO A BREAKTHROUGH

**1** **In Algiers on Nov. 15, the P.L.O. declares an independent Palestinian state. Arafat also wins support for implied recognition of Israel, which could lead to a long-awaited dialogue with the U.S.**



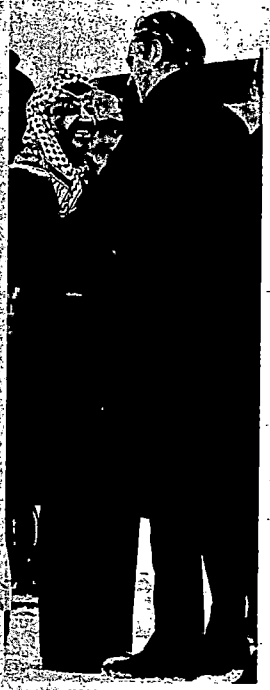
THOMAS HARTWELL

**2** **Shultz is unimpressed by the P.L.O.'s shift in position. He denies Arafat a visa to address the U.N. in New York City, calling him an "accessory" to terrorism. In the uproar that follows, the U.N. votes 154 to 2 to hear Arafat in Geneva.**



SIMON—GAMMA/LIAISON

**3** **The P.L.O. leader flies to Stockholm to embrace Foreign Minister Sten Andersson, who is acting as middleman between Arafat and the U.S. The Swedes relay proposed wording of critical points between Shultz in Washington and Arafat in Sweden. The three parties work out conditions for breaking the deadlock.**



HOLMSTROM—PRESSENS BILD

forts by Swedish diplomats that helped close the deal.

Long before the tortuous, on-again, off-again negotiations of the final weeks, the changing situation in the Middle East had been pushing the U.S. toward a dialogue with the P.L.O. Shultz had repeatedly carried his American peace plan around the region in his own version of shuttle diplomacy last spring. The centerpiece of the plan was an end to Israeli occupation of Gaza and the West Bank, creation of an undefined "homeland" for Palestinians, and an international conference at which negotiations to achieve these ends would begin. But each effort ran up against Israeli objections to a conference even before any answer could be found to the question of who should speak for the Palestinians.

The U.S. and Israel had hoped that Jordan's King Hussein would fill this role. But last July the King announced that he would no longer assume any legal or administrative responsibility for Arabs living in the occupied West Bank. Shultz conceded that when he had invited moderate Palestinians to meet with him in the past, no one had shown up. Insisted a Palestinian representative at the U.N.: "He finally came to the conclusion that the P.L.O. is the only interlocutor for the Palestinians."

Meanwhile, the yearlong uprising by the occupants of the West Bank and Gaza had drawn worldwide sympathy for those Arafat called "the children of the stones." The best way to exploit that sentiment and further isolate Israel was for the P.L.O. to move toward a more moderate, reasonable role. Arafat was strongly urged to do so by Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak, Jordan's King Hussein and, after the cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq war, Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. For the U.S., which sharply criticized Israel's heavy use of force against the *intifadeh*, an overly close relationship with Israel became a liability in its relations with nearly every other nation.

The P.L.O. took advantage of the uprising when its national council convened in Algiers on Nov. 12 by unilaterally declaring the existence of an independent Palestinian state. For the first time, a council statement also accepted U.N. Security Council Resolution 242, which calls for withdrawal of all forces from lands occupied after the 1967 Arab-Israeli war and implies a recognition of Israel. It endorsed Resolution 338 as well, urging all relevant parties to negotiate.

Still, the statement was deliberately drawn to be ambiguous enough to prevent a walkout by George Habash and Nayef Hawatmeh, two of the P.L.O.'s more radical leaders. Shultz declared that the P.L.O. wording was not clear enough on Israel's existence and did not flatly rule out all forms of terrorism.

Sweden's Foreign Minister Sten Andersson moved quietly to bridge the Shultz-Arafat breach. He had visited Israel in March, seen the violence there close up, and discussed the situation personally with Shultz on a Washington visit in April. Shultz did not explicitly say he wanted the Swedes to act as intermediaries, "but I can read thoughts," Andersson joked last week.

Swedish diplomats have a tradition of mediating between Arabs and Jews that goes back to Count Folke Bernadotte and U.N. Special Representative Gunnar Jarring. Last September was the 40th anniversary of Bernadotte's assassination in Jerusalem, and many Swedes were enraged when two former members of the ultra-Zionist Stern Gang went on Israel television and boasted about their part in the killing. The incident may have helped intensify Swedish efforts to get the U.S. and the P.L.O. talking.

Seeking a buffer, Andersson had his aides invite three prominent American Jews to Stockholm. New York attorney Rita Hauser, Los Angeles publisher Stanley Sheinbaum, and Drora Kass of the Center for Peace in the Middle East met with Arafat aides on Nov. 21. Out of this came a covert P.L.O. statement, which the visiting Americans and the Swedes considered a decisive advance beyond what the P.L.O. had said in Algiers. The new language was shown to Shultz by the Swedish diplomats on Nov. 25.

If he was impressed, the Secretary did not show it. His concern about terrorism was so great that on the very next day he seized the issue to reject Arafat's visa request to appear before the U.N. General Assembly. Arafat was "an accessory" to terrorism, Shultz held, and his presence in New York City would pose an unacceptable security problem. The worldwide criticism of the lonely U.S. stand was deafening.

Although unable to say so publicly, Bush and his incoming Secretary of State James Baker were troubled by Shultz's actions. "They were annoyed that his actions were going to make it extremely difficult to get anywhere in the Middle East," said an Administration official. "Their sense was that he was creating a mess that he could walk away from in a few weeks." Both men felt that the visa rejection, while based on principle, gave Arafat the image of an underdog being bullied by the U.S. Bush publicly backed Shultz but quietly urged that he press the Palestinians to meet the U.S. conditions.

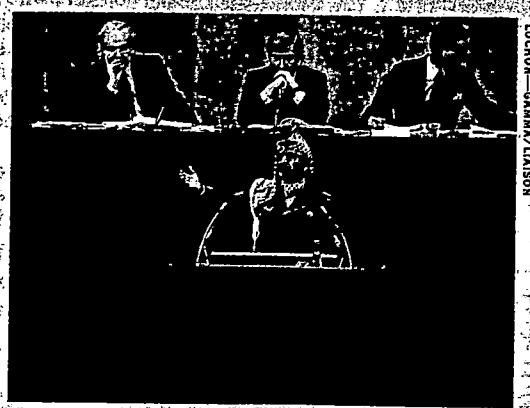
As the General Assembly voted overwhelmingly to hear Arafat in Geneva instead of New York, Andersson decided to invite the Americans back to Stockholm. In a critical meeting on Dec. 7, exactly a week before Arafat's speech, five American Jews met with Arafat.

The Swedish government had asked the U.S. for suggestions on the language for Arafat to use that would be acceptable to Shultz. The State Department drafted wording, clearly stating the P.L.O.'s acceptance of Israel and renunciation of terrorism. In addition, Shultz sent word through the Swedes that if Arafat accepted the key phrasing,



DAHLSKOG—PRESSENS BILD

**4 New York lawyer Rita Hauser and four other American Jews meet Arafat in Stockholm on Dec. 7 at the invitation of the Swedish government. The Americans serve as a sounding board and help push Arafat toward words that will satisfy Shultz.**



LOCHON—GAMMA/LIAISON

**5 On the U.N. podium in Geneva on Dec. 13, Arafat disappoints his U.S. listeners by failing to utter the critical words agreed upon earlier. The Swedes persist, and European allies like Britain and France press Washington to reassess its rejection of the speech.**

the U.S. would push for immediate talks.

Although a public summary of the discussions fell short of Washington's stiff requirements, Arafat privately agreed to the State Department's proposed language. It was clear that the P.L.O. leader wanted to save his big move for his Geneva U.N. speech, magnified in importance by the Shultz visa rejection.

After flying back to Tunis to consult with his aides on the weekend before his Geneva address, Arafat finally rejected advice from some Palestinians that he give up on the U.S. until Shultz was gone. That, Arafat decided, would stall the promising P.L.O. peace drive too long and ruin his impending hour on TV screens around the world. He accepted the wording worked out at the secret Stockholm meeting and incorporated some changes from the State Department's proposed language. Arafat informed the Swedes, who told Washington, that he would deliver the critical words at the U.N.

Ronald Reagan, meanwhile, had been getting a fusillade of transatlantic telephone calls urging him to be more sensitive to Arafat's position and readier to accept his concessions. Repeated pleas came from Egypt's Mubarak, Jordan's Hussein, Saudi Arabia's King Fahd. Just as important, such close U.S. friends as Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, France's President François Mitterrand and West Germany's Chancellor Helmut Kohl joined the persistent chorus.

The common element in this high-level pitch: if Arafat could not get some favorable response from the U.S. for his painful and personally dangerous efforts, he would face a radical Arab backlash, perhaps headed by Syria. A rare chance for progress on peace would be lost. "It was a full-court action to get both sides to see reason, especially Washington," said a Swedish diplomat.

Finally, on the day Reagan and Bush met with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev on New York's Governors Island—six days before Arafat's speech—Reagan told Shultz that, if Arafat delivered as promised, the State Department had permission to open "substantive discussions" with the P.L.O. After Arafat's assurances on the following Monday, U.S. Ambassador to Israel Thomas Pickering told Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres of Reagan's decision. Cairo and Stockholm were also informed. All the players were expecting a breakthrough.

But the pressures were still mounting on Arafat. Habash and Hawatmeh were telling him that he was going too far. "They insisted that he stop altering the meaning, as they saw it, of the Algiers declaration," said an Egyptian diplomat. "They were not prepared to go further."

When he took the podium at Geneva's Palais des Nations on Tuesday, the unpredictable P.L.O. chairman again stopped maddeningly short of uttering the precious words. Instead of saying, "I recognize Israel's right to exist," Arafat declared, "The P.L.O. will seek a comprehensive settlement among the parties concerned in the Arab-Israeli conflict, including the state of Palestine, Israel and other neighbors." While he "condemned" terrorism "in all its forms," he did not "renounce" it, and he saluted "those sitting before me in this hall" who had fought in "national liberation movements."

Gloom engulfed the negotiations. The State Department, although seeing "interesting and positive developments" in Arafat's address, judged it insufficient for starting talks. "Close but no cigar," said a State Department deputy. Bush and Baker were equally disappointed. Said a source close to them: "It's like you are at the church ready to get married and the bride shows, but she's not wearing white."

Persistent as ever, Thatcher, Mitterrand, Mubarak and Hussein were back on the White House telephones urging Reagan to reassess the speech. Using a colorful metaphor, Mubarak told Shultz that Arafat had already taken off his shirt and that the U.S. was asking for his trousers.

Sweden's Andersson and Egypt's Foreign Minister Esmat Abdel-Meguid told Shultz they still had a shot at persuading Arafat to take the required extra steps. In Geneva, Abdel-Meguid carried his plea personally to Arafat when the two dined together on Tuesday night. In Geneva, U.S. Ambassador Vernon Walters was asked by Momammad Said, a Palestinian-American adviser to Arafat, what Arafat must do to satisfy the U.S. "Just tell him to say in public what he said in private," replied Walters. Said passed this along. Andersson resumed his delicate persuasion, meeting twice with Arafat. The Arab moderates—Egypt, Jordan and Iraq—also pressed him to try once more to clarify his views.

Finally, all the pressure paid off. A jaunty and jovial Arafat strode into a conference room in the Palais des Nations on Wednesday night (afternoon in Washington) to face 800 reporters. He put on his spectacles and read a statement in English. This time he accepted Resolutions 242 and 338 without coupling them with demands for Palestinian independence. He specifically named the state of Israel as having the right "to exist in peace and security." Most significantly, he declared, "We totally and absolutely renounce all forms of terrorism, including individual, group and state terrorism."

"Enough is enough," Arafat told reporters. Then, in an apparent reference to Mubarak's metaphor, he added, "What do you want? Do you want me to striptease?" At last, his dance of many veils was a hit. *—By Ed Magnuson. Reported by Dean Fischer/Geneva and Bruce van Voorst/Washington*



**6 Arafat receives calls from moderate Arab states and the Soviet Union. At a press conference on Dec. 14, he satisfies U.S. conditions by renouncing terrorism and accepting Israel's right to exist.**



**7 Only four hours later, Shultz announces an end to the 13-year policy of ostracizing the P.L.O. Shultz authorizes the U.S. Ambassador to Tunisia to meet with P.L.O. representatives in Tunis.**

# OF WAR AND POLITICS

## Admiral **WILLIAM CROWE,** America's top military man, assesses Gorbachev's troop-reduction proposal and reflects on the role of the peacetime soldier

*Few people listened more closely to Mikhail Gorbachev's announcement of a unilateral cut of 500,000 in the Soviet armed forces than the Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. On issues as disparate as the START negotiations and military involvement in the Persian Gulf, William Crowe (rhymes with how), 63, ultimately speaks for the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines as the President's top uniformed adviser.* TIME *senior correspondent Bruce van Voorst talked with him in his Pentagon office.*

**Q. What are the military consequences of Gorbachev's proposal?**
**A.** If he makes good on his promise, I would consider it a very welcome move. The reductions he's proposing do not redress the conventional balance in Europe, but removing tank divisions, cutting people and taking out some of the "offensive" systems like bridging equipment will change the military calculus. This could be significant, particularly in terms of warning time. Personally, I suspect he'll go through with it.

**Q. Why did he go for a unilateral cut?**
**A.** I see this in terms of Gorbachev's larger goals. He wants to improve the economic situation, and for this he needs time, stability and foreign capital.

**Q. To become a greater threat to the West?**
**A.** That depends. My instincts are that he cannot do the things that are necessary to genuinely improve the nation's economy and still have it remain an autocratic Communist society. He will have to decentralize authority, educate his citizenry more broadly; he's got to initiate data-processing systems and information networks throughout the country. He must increase international contacts. When you do that, you play with the guts of the system.

**Q. Has Gorbachev seized the diplomatic initiative from the West?**
**A.** There's always that danger. But in fact his unilateral action affirms the wisdom of what we've been doing. He appears to have decided that massive military investments do not give him a suitable return, because the West is determined not to be intimidated. We've said all along the Soviets have more military than they need. He's responding to our agenda. But we're dealing with a first-rate politician, and he's bound to harvest some political goodwill.

**Q. You were host to Chief of Staff Marshal Sergei Akhromeyev this summer and found him very congenial, but suddenly he's retired, and it is rumored he's at odds with Gorbachev.**
**A.** Marshal Akhromeyev invited me to a reciprocal visit but cautioned that he might retire by then. He's 65, was wounded in the war and mentioned his health. I presume he'll remain a key military adviser. He's sent word that the General Staff looks forward to receiving me next summer as planned.

**Q. But does he disagree with Gorbachev's unilateral troop reduction?**
**A.** Instinctively, I don't think so. He's a strong supporter of Gorbachev's *perestroika.* In our talks he emphasized that for the arms process to be effective, both sides must make concessions. He is aware of the need to reduce asymmetries, but emphasized that both sides must take steps to ameliorate them. I can't imagine he took such vigorous exception to the Gorbachev proposal that he would resign over that.

**Q. You know that other elements of the U.S. Government were not overjoyed at the Chairman "negotiating" with the Soviets.**
**A.** I wasn't negotiating anything. But if better relations are to be achieved, the military should participate in and contribute to the process. If you say that only the State Department can talk to the Soviets, then, given the stakes, the multiplicity of contacts and the complexity of the issues, I must disagree. You know, senior military commanders deal all the time in diplomacy. The commanders in Europe and the Pacific go to country after country and are welcomed by heads of state and government officials and talk about a lot more than military affairs.

**Q. It's widely said you are the most powerful military figure in U.S. peacetime history. Is this a fair judgment?**
**A.** I'm an "adviser." The implication of your question is that I'm making all these decisions and directing everything. In fact, in our system, my military advice is rendered, but it is always only one element. I must defend my views; I don't get a free ride because of my office. There are a lot of disappointments, even for the Chairman.

**Q. You seem to be much more than a military adviser. With your Princeton Ph.D. and negotiating experience, you're the classic "diplomat-warrior."**
**A.** The No. 1 thing I took from my graduate education is that there are political dimensions to everything. Akhromeyev mentioned that he came to office without any political training. He suggested that my broad background must be helpful as Chairman. That was his perception, and he's right.

**Q. Did the widespread criticism of the Persian Gulf reflagging operation distress you?**
**A.** Not the opposition per se, but the shallow understanding of what we were trying to do. There were a lot more political merits than was widely understood by critics. In tes-



**"We've said all along the Soviets have more military than they need. He's responding to our agenda."**

tifying before Congress, I found myself focusing more and more on the political ramifications. That wasn't my original intent. But—and that's the whole point of this diplomat-warrior business—there was no way to separate the political from the military.

There are no solely military solutions. So we need warriors who can operate in the policy world as well. It's the same within the military. We need broad-based fighters. We need managers too. The Pentagon spends huge sums developing and producing new weapons systems. That has to be done well. Our challenge is to develop leaders who can fight and manage and fighters who can contribute to policymaking. We have to develop a promotion system that recognizes all those talents. A man can be a first-class warrior, but if he can't function in the policy arena, that's a serious deficiency in higher commands.

**Q. But the system doesn't recognize initiative.**

**A.** That's not necessarily true. I am always looking for innovative people. In Viet Nam I was running the riverboat operation, and two kinds of people showed up. One asked for the tactical doctrine on how to operate those boats. When we said there wasn't any, he froze. That man was useless. Another type would say, "You mean nobody knows how to do this?", and "I know as much as anybody?" And when I said yes, he'd say, "Hot dog!" and go off and do it. That guy was great.

**Q. How does an Oklahoma kid become a Navy admiral?**

**A.** As a young kid I read a boy's book about Annapolis, and this triggered a lifetime fascination with the Navy. My father had been a Navy man—radio operator on the battleship *Pennsylvania* in World War I—and he thought going to the Naval Academy was great. Later, when Admiral [Hyman] Rickover made fun of my going to graduate school, I persisted. I recall Dad saying that if you run a ship aground in the Navy, that's the end, but if you get a Ph.D., they can't take it away.

**Q. Has it harmed your Navy career to be so involved in diplomacy?**

**A.** At one time I was slated to command a cruiser when Admiral [JCS Chairman] Tom Moorer asked me to serve on the team negotiating the end of the Micronesian Trust. I objected, but to no avail. I received a nice letter from [chief of Naval Operations] Admiral [Elmo] Zumwalt explaining that this was necessary because we have many naval offi-

cers who can command a cruiser but only a few who can participate effectively in international negotiations.

**Q. Did that hurt?**
**A.** I was devastated. It was nice to know Zumwalt thought well of me, but I was a captain at the time, and in losing the cruiser, I was convinced I'd never be an admiral. I figured my education had torpedoed my future.

**Q. How else did you deal with this?**
**A.** A sense of humor helped. That's what keeps me going in tough times. There's no situation that doesn't have its ludicrous side. Even failure. To understand that simple reality is probably the first sign of maturity. Besides, I'm a pessimist at heart. I never expected to be promoted, and it always surprised me. When nice things happen to me, it is quite exhilarating.

**Q. An element of fatalism?**
**A.** I think so. I've concluded that in Washington on all these decisions we deal with, it's never as bad as the critics say it's going to be. And never as good as the advocates expect. I agonized when the *Bridgeton* hit a mine in the Persian Gulf. Had I oversold our capabilities? I was in a blue funk. The *Vincennes* Airbus shootdown was painful for me. I had lived in fear of such a mistake. But once it occurs, I believe you have no choice but to face up to it—publicly—well aware that you'll be criticized no matter what you do.

I have learned that there's always a new dawn. I was shattered when I first ran into really world-class criticism. Then I discovered that if I hung in there, in a week or two nobody even mentioned all those bad things. Fortunately, there's a new newspaper on the doorstep every morning.

**Q. Do you still refight the Viet Nam War?**
**A.** I think about it a lot. That's true for all of us. I don't believe any decision is made today on force commitments without thinking of Viet Nam. It's not always said openly, but it's there. The trick is to decide when the Viet Nam example is truly applicable. There's a tendency to make the connection without really thinking through the analogy.

**Q. Who are your heroes?**
**A.** General [Robert E.] Lee was great at recovering from his mistakes. The intriguing thing about war is how many mistakes are made. My conclusion from military history is that successful generals are wrong 95% of the time. For unsuccessful generals, it's 99%. In the fog of war, there's so much uncertainty. I am a strong admirer of Kemal Atatürk, because he achieved so much with so little. It's one thing for generals to win when they are backed by tremendous resources and production capability. But Atatürk with few resources wrested control of Turkey from the sultans and expelled the Greeks from his country. He's my candidate as the greatest military man of the century.

**Q. How has battle changed?**
**A.** The canvas has greatly expanded. It involves the whole globe, including the sea depths and a large chunk of space. Weaponry has expanded the scale of destructiveness. But the uncertainty of war has not disappeared, and the tendency for things to go wrong has increased. Battles are still fought by people, and their state of mind will still influence the outcome more than weapons.

**Q. You're the senior adviser to the President and must at least ponder a decision to go nuclear. Could you push the button?**
**A.** I believe so. I'll tell you, however, it's awfully hard to be hypothetical about this. I've played a few war games that involved limited nuclear attacks, and in that hypothetical climate, heavy pressures to stop using nuclear weapons developed on both sides very quickly. These were intellectual exercises. But they do suggest that our leaders understand the horrors of nuclear devastation, and will work hard to avoid it.

**Q. Are you comfortable with your job?**
**A.** I agonize a lot. I have known individuals who made a big decision and never gave it another thought. I don't. When it's a big issue, I don't sleep soundly. I remember Gordon Cooper falling asleep while in the capsule waiting for lift-off. Now that's real class. When he blasted off, his pulse went to 70. I can get mine to 90 just thinking about it.

**"I have known individuals who made a big decision and never gave it another thought. I don't. When it's a big issue, I don't sleep soundly."**

**Q. Can the U.S. have confidence in somebody who drinks bourbon and Coke?**
**A.** Some would say no. People in Oklahoma would say yes.

**Q. Do you really read the comics?**
**A.** Religiously. I like *Andy Capp*. I used to be avid on *Pogo* and was sorry to see him go. That's not the only way I waste time. I watch sitcoms too. I really like *Cheers*. Probably the biggest plague of my life is all the time I waste. What I don't like is getting up early. In that respect, a Navy career has been tough on me. You know, the Russians do a lot of work at night—at least Stalin did. So did Churchill. That lifestyle has an appeal for me.

**Q. Where do you draw strength in time of trouble?**
**A.** Primarily from my family. Former POW [Admiral] Jim Stockdale is a classmate and great friend. He said that when he was in prison camp in Viet Nam, one great source of strength was the *Book of Job*. Relating to Job, he could accept that life isn't fair. Many others couldn't and became bitter. There are things you can't do anything about when you're taking a buffeting. Something of this is applicable to being Chairman. You can't take the good part and ignore the rest. I find Job's experience useful in surviving in Washington. Harry Truman observed that if you want a loyal friend in Washington, you'd better buy a dog. My wife and I hedge our bets—we own two dogs.

**Q. A final word?**
**A.** Just note that we talked for several hours, and I didn't mention defense appropriations. ■

**Essay**

Walter Shapiro

# The First Crisis of the New Year

Even though I had been dreading the moment all year, I fought to keep the abject terror out of my voice. "Yes, lunch on the fourth would be terrific," I burbled into the phone with false bonhomie. "I'll make a note of it right now."

But where to inscribe the first appointment of the New Year? Like a condemned man fantasizing about a reprieve from the Governor, I riffled through my woefully nondescript black vinyl 1988 Daily Planner praying that somehow it contained extra pages for the first week of January. Instead, with fear and trembling, I peered into the abyss: a blank daily entry for New Year's Eve and then no more. Nothingness. Maybe I could take the cowardly way out and try to recycle the pages from last January. But there in big block letters on the top of Jan. 4, 1988, was the chilling inscription: "In Iowa with Gephardt." Even masochism has its limits; no sane man would choose to relive the Iowa caucuses. The long-feared existential crisis was at hand; I would have to buy a new desk diary.




ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY PATRICK MC DONNELL

Only the young and the supremely self-confident could view such a task with equanimity. For as Michael Korda sagely observed in one of his treatises on modern success, "Desks can tell us a great deal about people's power quotient." Another year shackled to a black vinyl Daily Planner would be the final indictment of the drab ordinariness of my workaday life. As my power quotient tumbled beneath even that of Michael Dukakis, gone would be those wistful dreams of a corner office and secretaries heralding my daily arrival with eager chirps of "Good morning, Mr. Shapiro."

Even if it were bound in rich Corinthian leather with a silken page marker, my Daily Planner would still not be able to transcend its plebeian origins. All through 1988, I fell behind in the race to the top because my desk diary lacked the fat glossary of practical information that people like Michael Korda take for granted. It is galling to admit that I have at my fingertips neither the international dialing code for Abu Dhabi nor an up-to-date list of bank holidays in Kuala Lumpur. Even worse, I am forced to rise from my swivel chair and wander down the hall each time I need the name of the concierge at the Hôtel George V in Paris. In contrast, about the only power tool my Daily Planner offers is a page of metric equivalents. Unfortunately, the last time I needed a metric crib sheet, I was standing on a bathroom scale in Italy after a huge dinner, trying to convince myself that pounds and kilograms are almost equal.

My black vinyl stigma of inferiority would, of course, vanish instantly with the purchase of the right upscale desk accessory. These days, given the vast array of choices, selecting a personal diary has become a bold and precarious act of self-definition. It is fine for Gail Sheehy in *Passages* to decree that "somewhere between 35 and 45 if we let ourselves, most of us will have a full-out authenticity crisis." Sure, I know it is about time for me to decide who I really am and where I fit in the cosmos. But do I really have to grapple with these conundrums now, before I go to lunch on Jan. 4?

In a sense, psychic salvation is just an elevator ride away. In the lobby of the Time & Life Building, I can obtain an impressive desktop planner offered by our sister publication FORTUNE magazine. But I just could not imagine treating the appointment book's appendices, filled with FORTUNE 500 listings, as a personal breviary. Let others run with the bulls and the bears; the symbol of my investment strategy has always been the Cowardly Lion. To me, a term like "covering a short position" refers to St. Louis Cardinal infielder Ozzie Smith.

Luckily, my options did not stop at the lobby's edge. Virtually every magazine seems to be in the business of helping its readers mark the inexorable passage of time until their subscriptions are up for renewal. For example, I quickly skipped over a promotion for the *Newsweek* Pocket Diary that bills itself as "the perfect corporate gift." Not in *every* corporation, it isn't.

An infinitely more prudent alternative appeared to be the 1989 *New Yorker* Diary. The ad promises that its "50 all-time classic" cartoons will "start each day with a smile." But such an enforced daily dose of risibility struck me as being a little like wearing a lampshade at a party while completely sober. *Esquire* is another competitor in this smile-button sweepstakes. Its diary boasts cartoons and ads drawn from the magazine's issues of 1939. Not, however, exactly the world's most fun year. Somehow the memory of Nazi troops pouring into Poland might mar my enjoyment of next Sept. 1. Others might be attracted by the international status that instantly accompanies ownership of the *Economist* Desk Diary. But then, others in their youth went to England as Rhodes scholars; I had to pick up my Anglophilia during a three-day theater tour of London.

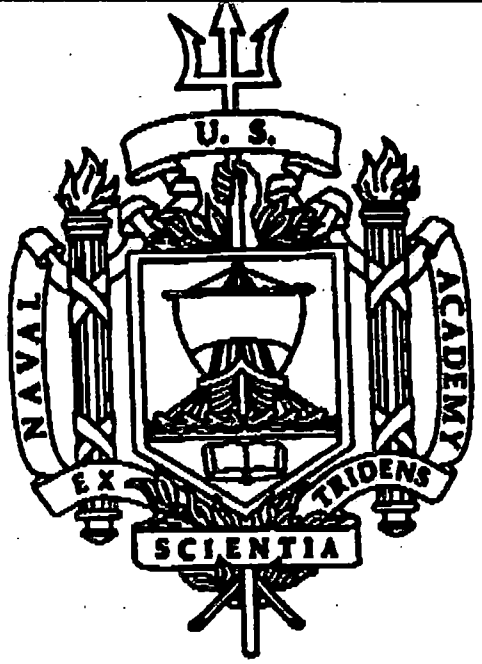
By now, I was a man possessed as I wandered the streets of midtown Manhattan questing after the appointment book that best reflected my station in life. I was briefly tempted by a Filofax until I remembered that all I needed was a datebook, not a new religion. And the Weight Watchers calendar just did not seem right for inscribing lunch engagements.

In the midst of this full-fledged identity crisis, I stumbled upon an old-fashioned, comfortable jumble of a stationery store, sort of the office-supply version of the Homesick Restaurant. In the window was a hand-lettered sign promising 20% OFF ON 1989 CALENDARS. My epiphany came as I discovered that the 1989 black vinyl Daily Planner had been marked down to $5.06. Suddenly, just as Gail Sheehy promised, I at last understood my precise position in the Great Chain of Being. As soon as I got back to my office, I eagerly scrawled in my new datebook my sole New Year's resolution for 1989: "Memorize that table of metric equivalents." ■

Jeannie-

Here are copies of the Annapolis stuff from Bob's file.

George




*From:* Public Affairs Office
U.S. Naval Academy
Annapolis, MD 21402

Phone (301) 267-2291 (Autovon 281-2291)

Telefax Number (301) 267-3133 (Autovon 281-3133)

Page one of 15 pages

Attention:

To: Bob Simon - White House

From: Martha Thorn - USNA PAO

NEWS

United States Naval Academy • Annapolis, MD 21402-5000 • (301) 267-2291

## ORIGINS OF THE PLEBE RECOGNITION CEREMONY

The Plebe Recognition Ceremony celebrates the end of a tough year for the plebes (freshmen) -- one that began with Plebe Summer, the period of rigorous military indoctrination for academy freshmen, and continued into the academic year when they not only had to adjust to college level academics, but to handling professional demands and athletic requirements.

The firing of cannons signals the start of the race to climb the 21-foot obelisk, Herndon Monument, in front of the Chapel. The plebes manage, through teamwork and perseverance, to raise one of their classmates to the top of the lard-covered monument to retrieve a white plebe "dixie cup" hat, and replace it with an upperclassman's hat.

According to legend, the midshipman who switches the hat will become the first member of the class to become an admiral. The superintendent of the Naval Academy presents the successful midshipman with one of his shoulder boards mounted on a plaque.

Like all academy traditions, the Herndon Monument climb has evolved over the years. The exact date when the celebration began is not known, but it seems to have originated as an exuberant rush of new youngsters (sophomores), following the graduation ceremony, to cavort on Lover's Lane, in the vicinity of Herndon, which had been off limits to them while they were plebes. Below are some milestones of the celebrations gleaned from academy yearbooks:

more

1902 Lucky Bag - Beneath a photograph

"At last came that day of days, that longed-for Mecca of all plebes - graduation day, when we threw aside our shackles and were free and lordly youngsters. We welcomed the event by the usual ceremonies, with a few original turns thrown in..."

1911 Lucky Bag - "...and then what a race for the heretofore forbidden precincts of the Lane! [Lover's Lane]. How we sang and capered around the monument."

1913 Lucky Bag - the first photograph of a snake dance which was part of the celebration for thirty years. After shaking hands with the newly-commissioned officers, the new third-class raced towards the monument, then turned their caps and coats backwards, snake-dancing through the yard chanting "'Tain't no mo' plebes."

1943 Lucky Bag - first photograph of the monument being scaled, although no cap was involved, nor was the monument greased; last evidence of the snake dance.

1953 Lucky Bag - first photograph of a cap being placed on the monument.

1955 Lucky Bag - first photograph of the monument greased to make the climb more difficult.

1957 - first recorded name of the midshipman to reach the top and placing cap.

1961 Lucky Bag - first photograph of a dixie cup hat, already on top of the monument, to be removed and replaced by a cap.

1962 - first recorded time of the monument climb.

In 1967, the graduation ceremonies were moved to Navy-Marine Corps Memorial Stadium, and midshipmen could no longer run to Herndon Monument immediately following the ceremony. It may be for that reason the Herndon climb was scheduled following the first parade of what was called "June Week."

In 1968, the event became known as the Plebe Recognition Ceremony and was held in the afternoon of the first day of Commissioning Week.

In 1973, Superintendent Rear Adm. William P. Mack spontaneously presented Lawrence J. O'Donnell Jr. with his admiral's shoulder boards. Now a permanent part of the ceremony, the shoulder boards are presented on a plaque.

Today, the Herndon Monument Climb remains one of the highpoints of Commissioning Week, occurring on the first day of the week. Before the climb begins, the plebes gather in Tecumseh Court in front of Bancroft Hall. Having endured a summer and an academic year of rigorous military indoctrination together, they are united for this team effort. At the firing of cannons, they explode across the campus to the monument.

Throwing t-shirts and shoes removes some of the 200 pounds of lard smeared on the monument by upperclass midshipmen. The plebes then begin to build a greasy, sweaty human pyramid to give a class member the platform to reach a hand to the top of the monument for the exchange of hats.

After successfully completing the Herndon climb, the freshmen are no longer called plebes but "fourth classmen."

Herndon Monument was erected in memory of Cmdr. William Lewis Herndon who elected to go down with his ship, Central America, when she sank in 1857.

USNA

News Release

Commissioning Week Events

# United States Naval Academy
## Public Affairs
Annapolis, MD 21402-5000 (301) 267-2291

COMMISSIONING WEEK

Plebe Recognition Ceremony

The firing of cannons will signal the plebes (freshmen) to begin their assault on the grease-covered Herndon Monument in front of the Chapel.

The ceremony originated sometime before 1900 as an exuberant rush to the monument where plebes celebrated their new found freedom as fourth class. The actual climbing of the monument when it was greased came about around 1955. The plebes attempt, through teamwork and perseverance, to raise one of their classmates to the top of the 21-foot tall obelisk, covered with 200 lbs. of lard, to retrieve a white plebe "dixie cup" hat, replacing it with an upperclassman's hat.

Legend has it that the midshipman who accomplishes the hat switch will become the first member of the class to reach the rank of admiral. As of this year, none of the midshipmen who have made the switch has attained the rank.

The superintendent of the Naval Academy presents a set of his shoulder boards mounted on a plaque to the midshipman who accomplishes the feat.

more

1962 - first recorded time - 3 minutes

1969 - 1 minute 30 seconds (fastest time to date)

1981 - 1 hour

1982 - 1 hour 44 minutes

1983 - 1 hour 43 minutes 55 seconds

1984 - 2 hours 22 minutes

1985 - 3 hours 12 minutes 23 seconds (longest time to date)

1986 - 1 hour 23 minutes 7 seconds

1987 - 1 hour 51 minutes 20 seconds

1988 - 43 minutes 44 seconds

1989 - 1 hour 51 minutes 30 seconds

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Dedication Parade

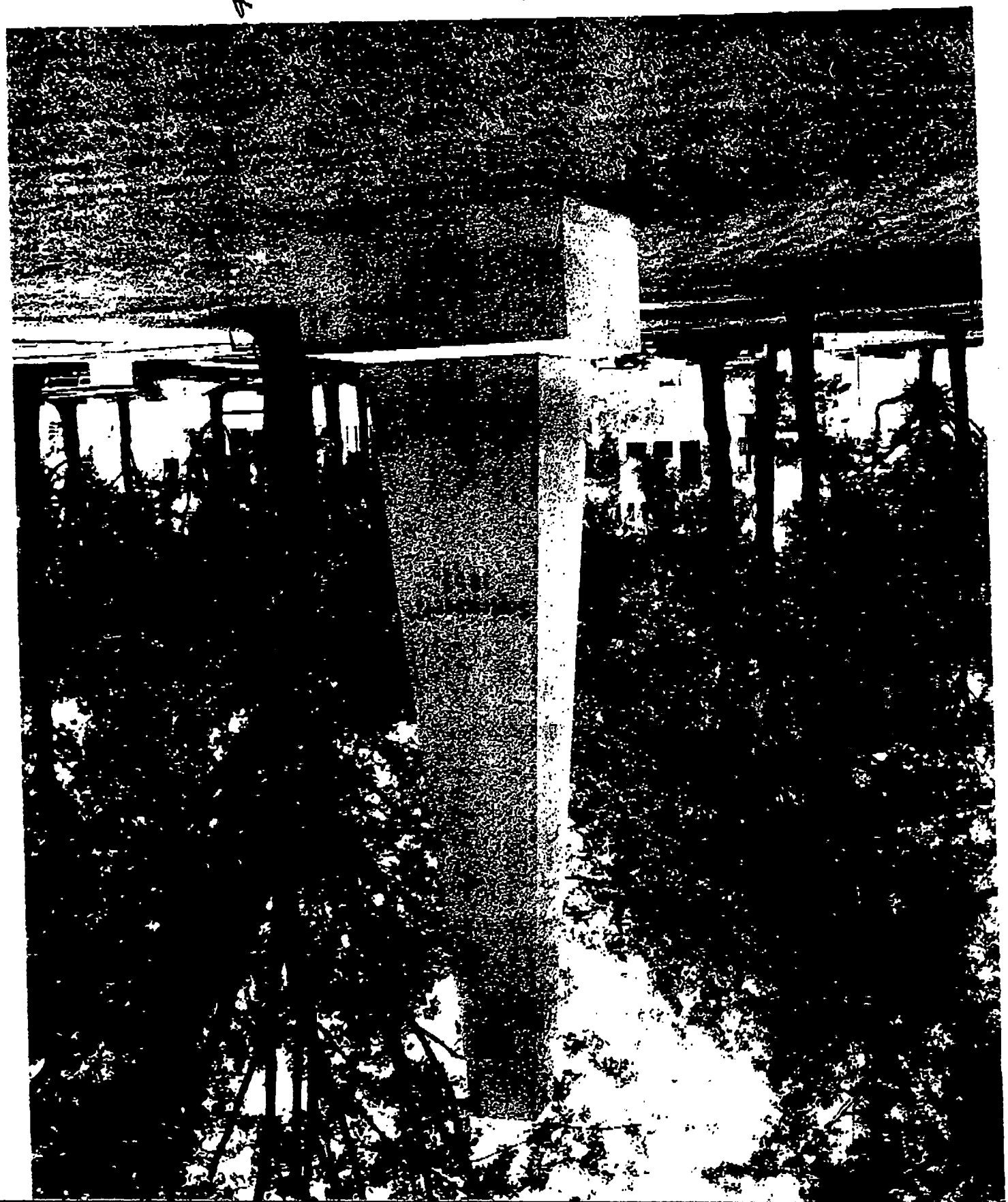
The first Dedication Parade was held at the Naval Academy on May 31, 1969. The dress parade honors those members of the academy faculty who are retiring, completing twenty years of service, or who have been selected as Professor Emeritus, and the recipient of the William P. Clements Award for excellence in education.

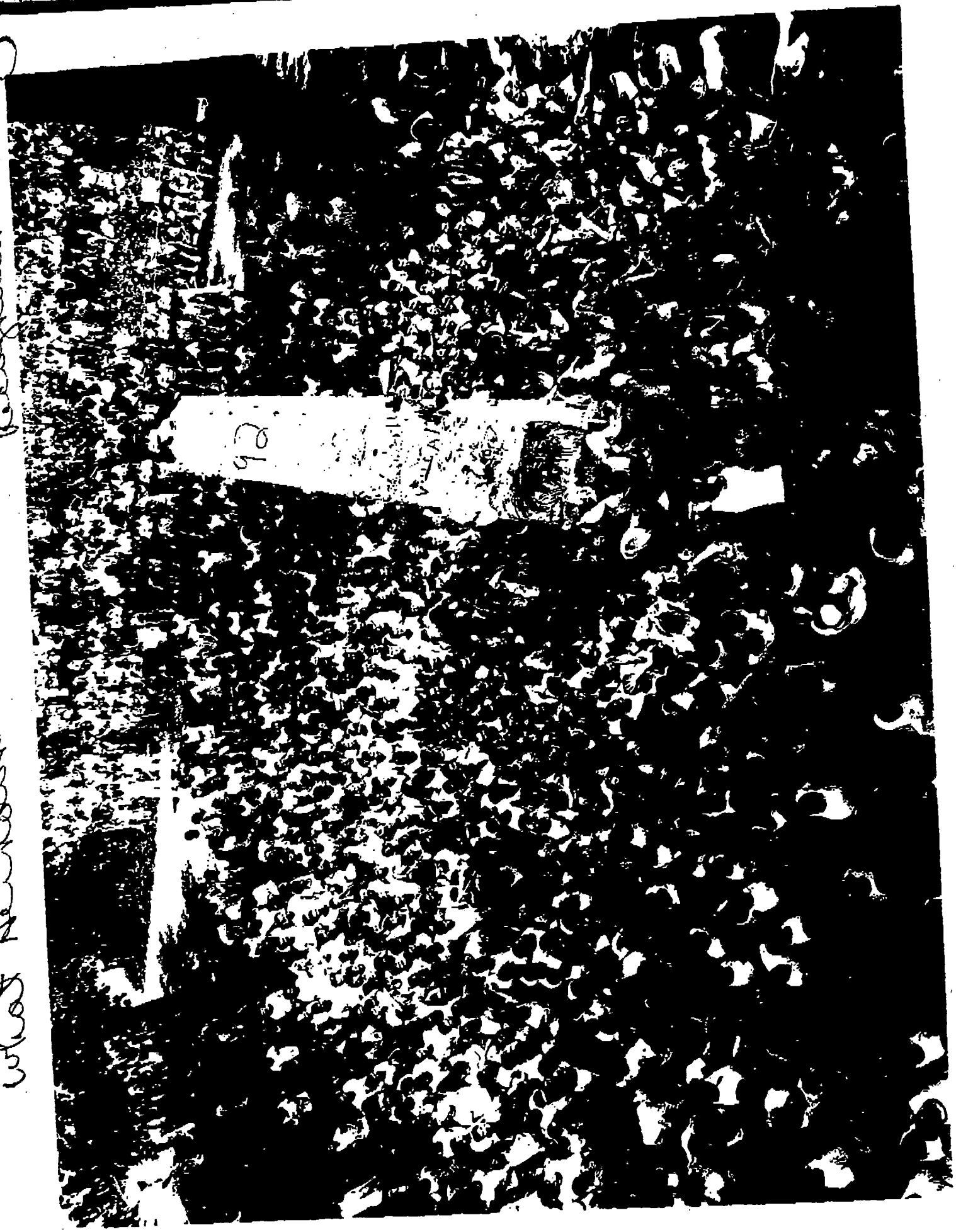
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William P. Clements Award

The William P. Clements Award for Excellence in Education is presented annually during the Dedication Parade, to the military faculty member whose contributions to the academic, professional and moral development of midshipmen reflect the highest principles of excellence in education.

more







Memorial to Chevron (redrawn)
by Hermelgro



0088
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# U.S. NAVAL ACADEMY AND ANNAPOLIS COMPLEX PERSONNEL BECOME INVOLVED IN COMMUNITY SERVICE

Blood drives. For many years, the Civilian Personnel Department has held blood drives with the blood being donated to the Red Cross. Likewise, blood drives are held for the midshipmen with the collected blood going into the Navy's Blood Bank.

Thanksgiving. In 1990 approximately 1,100 boxes of food were collected at the Thanksgiving Service to give to the area's needy, up from 170 boxes the year before. In 1991 the Chaplain Center hopes to double the number of boxes.

Catholic and Protestant Outreach Programs. Ninety per cent of the money collected at the Naval Academy Chapel are donated to local, national and worldwide charitable organizations. One Christmas, for example, $70,000 was given to organizations to help the poor, elderly, abused and victims of disaster. Chapel committees select the charities to receive donations on the basis of how they react to human needs. They don't necessarily have to be religious organizations, but they do have to be service-oriented, helping people to help themselves and giving a hand to those in need. Among those local groups who have received contributions are Meals on Wheels, Anne Arundel General Hospital, YWCA Battered Spouse Program, Crownsville Hospital, Helping Hands, Anne Arundel Association for Retired Citizens, Anne Arundel Hospice, and Anne Arundel Lodge. National groups receiving donations include CARE, Church World Services, World Vision, Lutheran World Relief, YMCA, Red Cross and Salvation Army.

Special interests. Sometimes, the midshipmen get a special request and take a special interest in someone. Such a person was Shawn Burton, a leukemia patient who wanted to visit the academy. In November 1990, he visited the academy and the midshipmen accepted him as one of their own.

CFC. In December 1990 the U.S. Naval Academy and the Annapolis-area complex exceeded their goal for contributions for the fourth year in a row. In 1990, with a goal of $285,000, local Navy personnel contributed more than $367,000.

Navy Relief.

Big Brothers/Big Sisters

Marine Corps Toys for Tots. The "Toys for Tot," a nationwide campaign coordinated and sponsored by the U.S. Marine Corps Reserve, helps collect and distribute toys for underprivileged children each year at Christmas time.

Friends of Parks. Midshipmen help Friends of the Parks, a committee of private citizens and businesses working with the City of Annapolis to maintain and build parks and paths for the people of Annapolis.

Habitat for Humanity. Midshipmen work with the Habitat for Humanity to build homes for poor families.

Annapolis Jaycees. Midshipmen work with the Annapolis Jaycees to sponsor the Special Olympics, a year-round, world-wide program, offering athletic competition for the mentally handicapped. They also help with the hanging of the greens, the decorating of the downtown area for Christ-

participating are Rolling Knolls, Severna Park, Hillsmere, Georgetown East, West Annapolis, Tyler Heights, Annapolis, and Germantown Elementary Schools; Naval Academy Primary School; Central and Southern Middle Schools; and St. Mary's Elementary and Middle School. Thirteen academy companies (groups of about 120 midshipmen) have "adopted" schools.

Math Tutorial Program for Bishop Banneker Middle School. Midshipmen volunteers participate in a mathematics tutorial program for Montgomery County students. Every other Saturday during the school year, more than a dozen students from the school come to the academy, where they are tutored in mathematics by the midshipmen and are treated to lunch in King Hall, the midshipmen's dining area. The midshipmen, who act as big brothers and sisters, are also planning to take the students to some Navy football games this fall and to the Naval Station, Norfolk, Va., where they can show the youngsters Navy ships and aircraft. The program is sponsored by Floyd Grayson, one of three black graduates in the Naval Academy Class of 1965, with the purpose of providing positive role models for black youngsters. The program was coordinated by Navy Lt. Ronald K. McDonald, a 1984 academy graduate assigned to the academy's Admissions Office, and J.D. Speller, president of the PTA at Bishop Banneker Middle School.

Draketail.

Parade of Lights

Drugfree Annnapolis Halloween Party

Miscellaneous -- Science fairs, carnivals, visits to senior centers

Concerts at senior centers

Action #1 — Action #2

#0065
22 March 1991

Media Contacts:
Carol Feldmann (print)
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(301) 267-2291
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NAVAL ACADEMY MIDSHIPMAN ACTION GROUP PLANS UPCOMING EVENTS

ANNAPOLIS, Md. -- Hundreds of Naval Academy midshipmen will be sprucing up local parks, constructing, restoring and remodeling homes for the area's poor, and tutoring and reading to students at county schools in the coming weeks. These midshipmen provide community service as volunteer members of the Naval Academy's Midshipmen Action Group.

More than 800 midshipmen have volunteered to tutor students in local elementary and middle schools through "Mids for Kids." Among the schools participating are Rolling Knolls, Severna Park, Hillsmere, Georgetown East, West Annapolis, Tyler Heights, Annapolis, Harbor and Germantown Elementary Schools; Naval Academy Primary School; Central and Southern Middle Schools; and St. Mary's Elementary and Middle School.

Thirteen academy companies (groups of about 120 midshipmen) have "adopted" schools. Midshipmen company representatives will, for example, be going to Hillsmere Elementary School each Tuesday and Wednesday, 1 to 3 p.m., from now until the midshipmen begin final exams on May 1.

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NAVAL ACADEMY MIDSHIPMAN ACTION GROUP PLANS UPCOMING EVENTS ....2222

In addition to working with children in local schools, midshipmen will again be helping Friends of the Parks, a committee of private citizens and businesses working with the City of Annapolis to maintain and build parks and paths for the people of Annapolis. On Saturday, March 23, midshipmen applied a wood preservative to the playground equipment at the downtown Annapolis Playground and cut brush and put in more than 200 bollards around the Mayo Ball Field. In these projects, the midshipmen worked not only with Friends of the Parks, but also with the city and county recreation and parks departments.

"The midshipmen are great," says Mary Berry, one of the project coordinators for Friends of the Parks. "On any given workday, at least 30 -- and sometimes as many as 100 -- midshipmen volunteers show up. These groups are then broken up into smaller groups to work on individual projects."

Long-term projects with Friends of the Parks include building 38 miles of pathways throughout Annapolis and maintaining and beautifying the parks. "We're going to be putting benches along the pathways and grading and putting down gravel on the paths," says Berry.

Berry, who, like the midshipmen, works with a number of community service organizations, applauds the midshipmen's efforts not only with Friends of the Parks, but also with other groups. "They've been planting trees around Annapolis, putting down wood chips on the paths in Truxtun Park, helping the Annapolis Housing Authority paint some of the low-income housing areas, helping with remodeling and painting Stanton Senior Center, working with the Arundel Habitat for Humanity to build homes for poor families, and helping the Annapolis Jaycees hang greens in Annapolis. The list of midshipmen community involvement just goes on and on."

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NAVAL ACADEMY MIDSHIPMAN ACTION GROUP PLANS UPCOMING EVENTS ....3333

The Midshipmen Action Group will join the Annapolis Jaycees in sponsoring the Special Olympics at the academy April 20 and 21.

Lt. Blake Bush, a computer specialist in the academy's Division of Professional Development, founded the Midshipmen Action Group in 1982 when he was a midshipman. Returning to the academy in 1989, Bush continues to coordinate the volunteer efforts of the midshipmen and to inspire them to follow in his footsteps.

"During your four years here, you develop close ties to Annapolis," says Bush. "The city becomes almost like a second home to us, and we want to do our part to make it a better place to live."

For more information about the school visits, call Lt. Blake Bush at (301) 267-3132 or (301) 267-2570. For more information about Friends of the Parks projects, call Mary Berry at (301) 280-3204 or Phil Caroom, chairman of the Friends at (301) 268-6828. For more information about the Special Olympics, call (301) 263-8451 or (301) 544-2200.

USNA

Friends 81

#0081
24 April 1990

MIDSHIPMEN LEND A HELPING HAND

ANNAPOLIS, MD. -- More than 1,000 United States Naval Academy midshipmen helped with Earth Day observances and with Annapolis and Anne Arundel County Appreciation Days, a time for giving the local community a special thanks for their support of academy programs.

The midshipmen volunteered their services to groups such as the Annapolis Jaycees, Friends of the Parks, the YWCA, the March of Dimes, and to Germantown, Georgetown East and West Annapolis elementary schools, Bates Middle School, and the Naval Academy Primary School.

"During the past six months or so, more than 300 midshipmen have participated in our programs," said Phil Caroom, chairman of Friends of the Parks, a committee of private citizens and businesses working with the City of Annapolis to maintain and build parks and paths for the people of Annapolis.

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MIDSHIPMEN LEND A HELPING HAND....2222

Saturday, April 21, approximately 35 midshipmen turned out to help the Friends of the Parks plant trees. They dug up 15 dogwood trees donated by Patricia Aiken of Epping Forest and transplanted them to Lookout Point in Truxtun Park. Also in Truxtun Park, they planted more than 200 pine seedlings to prevent soil erosion and washing out of trails.

That same Saturday, the midshipmen helped plant six trees at St. Martin's Church on Spa Road and 50 trees and shrubs at Georgetown East Elementary School in Eastport.

Planting trees was a popular way to prepare for the Earth Day observances, and a contingent of 40 midshipmen planted trees at West Annapolis Elementary School on Saturday. The school received a grant from the Maryland Forest, Park and Wildlife Service to plant a mini-forest as part of the national Earth Day celebration.

While some midshipmen were involved in tree planting, 700 volunteered to be huggers for the Anne Arundel County Special Olympics held April 21 and 22 at the Naval Academy. Approximately 150 assisted with the Naval Academy Primary School Spring Festival and still others with the YWCA 10-kilometer run.

Midshipmen volunteers are participating in the read-aloud program at Germantown Elementary School, April 23 - 27; the March of Dimes Walk-a-thon on Sunday, April 29; and a field day at Bates Middle School on Tuesday, May 1.

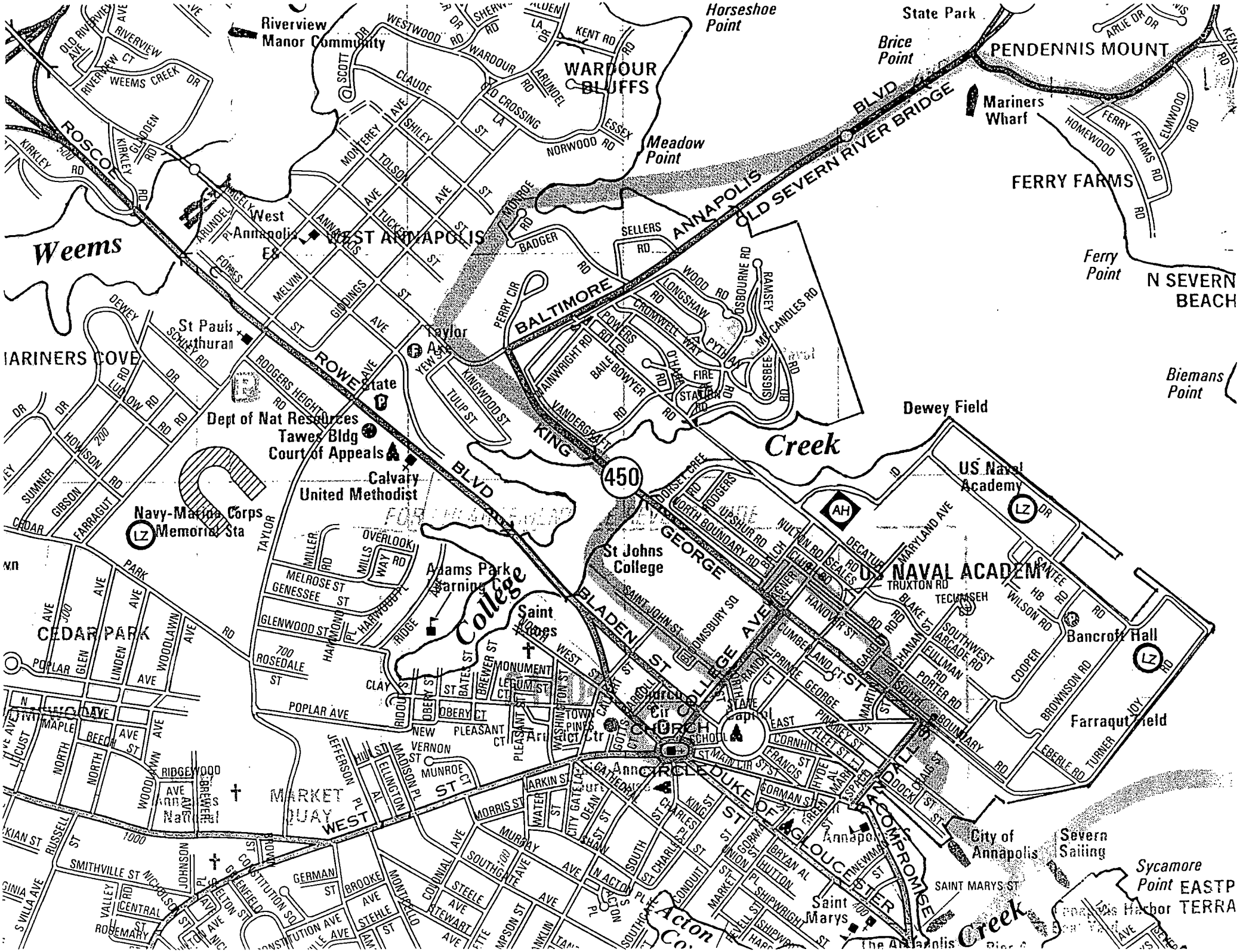
more

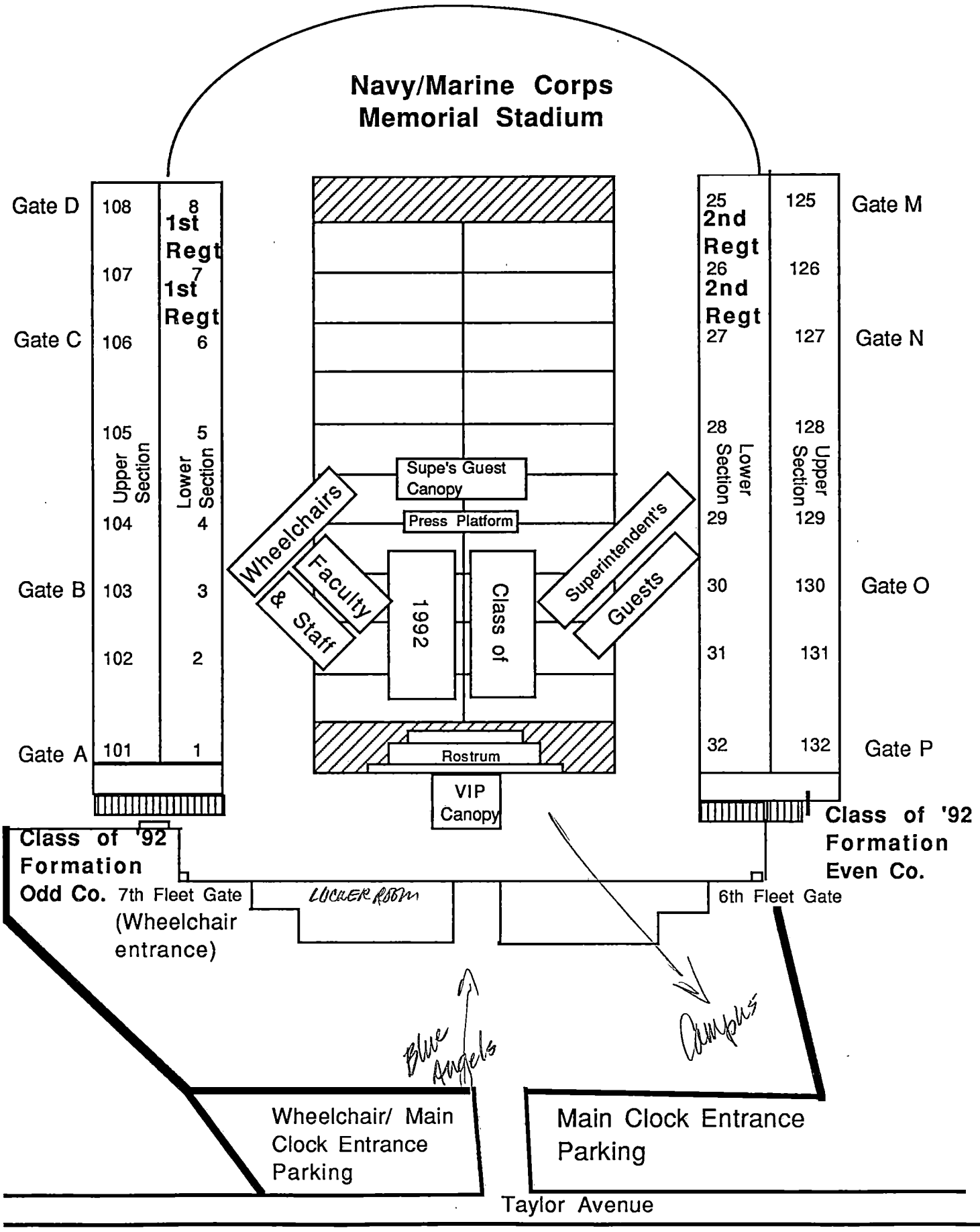
"We really appreciate all the contributions of time and effort of our midshipmen volunteers," Caroom said. "Their efforts are like a shot in the arm for our program and for many other community programs. They're enthusiastic and energetic and, with their help, the projects get completed in record time.

"Future projects include building playgrounds, clearing walking and bike paths and putting up trail marking signs, and we expect midshipmen to be involved every step of the way," Caroom said.

"I think you really have to applaud the efforts of the midshipmen," said Lt. Blake Bush, officer representative of the midshipmen action group. "The midshipmen give up their free time, which is extremely limited, to help others. Sometimes, because of the demands of the midshipmen's schedules, we can't provide as many midshipmen volunteers as we would like, but we try our best, and we hope that we are making a meaningful contribution to the community."

USNA


Riverview Manor Community
Horseshoe Point
State Park
Brice Point
PENDENNIS MOUNT
WARDOUR BLUFFS
Meadow Point
Mariners Wharf
FERRY FARMS
Ferry Point
N SEVERN BEACH
Weems
WEST ANNAPOLIS
ANNAPOLIS
OLD SEVERN RIVER BRIDGE BLVD
ROSCOE
ROWE BLVD
BALTIMORE
KING
Creek
Dewey Field
Biemans Point
MARINERS COVE
St Pauls Lutheran
Taylor Arts
State
Dept of Nat Resources
Tawes Bldg
Court of Appeals
Calvary United Methodist
Navy-Marine Corps Memorial Sta
450
US Naval Academy
US NAVAL ACADEMY
St Johns College
Adams Park
Saint Anne's
CEDAR PARK
MARKET
QUAY
CHURCH CIR
COLLEGE AVE
GEORGE
ST
DUKE OF GLOUCESTER
COMPROMISE
CALVERT
Bancroft Hall
Farragut Field
City of Annapolis
Severn Sailing
Sycamore Point
Saint Marys
SAINT MARYS ST
Acton Cove
Creek


Navy/Marine Corps
Memorial Stadium
Gate D
108
8
1st Regt
107
7
1st Regt
Gate C
106
6
105
5
Upper Section
Lower Section
104
4
Gate B
103
3
102
2
Gate A
101
1
Supe's Guest Canopy
Press Platform
Wheelchairs
Faculty & Staff
1992
Class of
Superintendent's Guests
Rostrum
VIP Canopy
25
2nd Regt
125
Gate M
26
2nd Regt
126
27
127
Gate N
28
128
Lower Section
Upper Section
29
129
30
130
Gate O
31
131
32
132
Gate P
Class of '92 Formation Odd Co.
7th Fleet Gate
(Wheelchair entrance)
Class of '92 Formation Even Co.
6th Fleet Gate
Blue Angels
Wheelchair/ Main Clock Entrance Parking
Main Clock Entrance Parking
Taylor Avenue

# NAVY MARINE CORPS MEMORIAL STADIUM
# GRADUATION 1992

## ROSTRUM SEATING

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | CAPT Storm | CAPT Key | COL McCormick | CAPT Husrt | RADM(sel) Evans | Mr. Lengyel | | Dean Garrett | Prof. Davis | Dean Werking | Dean Good | Dean Halbig | | | |
| HON Ball | HON. Korth | RADM Hill | VADM Lawrence | VADM Minter | USSS | VADM Holloway | | CAPT Hines | HON Pope | Mr. McCormick | HON Machtley | Mr. Cannon | Mr. Bemiss | Ms. Colgan | Mr. Fitch |
| | | | REP. McMillan | HON Garrett | PRES. Bush | RADM Lynch | | RADM Haskins | Dean Shapiro | ADM Kelso | Gen , Dailey | | | | |
| | | | | | PODIUM | | | | | | | | | | |

**Possibles**

| SUPTS | CNO's | BOV | Fmr SECNAV |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mack | Burke | Bentley | Middendorf |
| McKee | McDonald | McClure | |
| Larson | Moorer | McCain | |
| Mrs Davidson | Zumwalt | Mrazek | |
| | | Sarbanes | |

## GRADUATION 1992 TIME LINE (Stadium)

| | |
|---|---|
| 0845 | CLASS OF '92 (1045) BEGIN TO ARRIVE GATES A & P |
| 0900 | BRIGADE (Approx 2000) ARRIVES AT STADIUM GATE D & GATE M |
| | CLASS OF '92 FORMATION |
| 0930 | BRIGADE SEATED |
| 0945 | CLASS OF '92 PROCESSION |
| 1000 | CLASS OF '92 SEATED |
| | ACADEMIC PROCESSION |
| → 1025 | BLUE ANGEL'S FLYBY |
| 1030 | GRADUATION CEREMONY BEGINS |
| 1240 | CEREMONY ENDS |

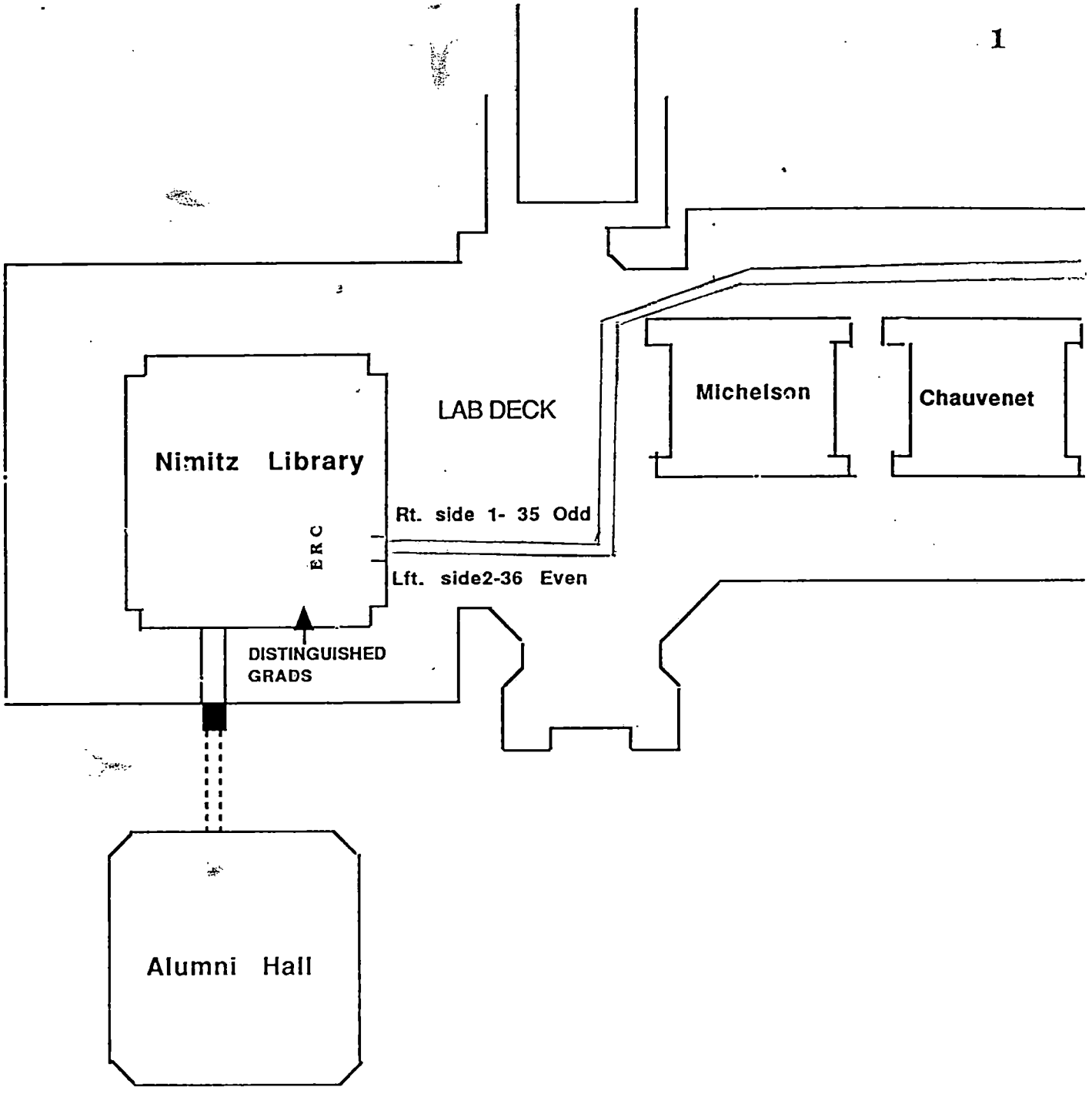
distinguished graduates - POTUS hand & shake [103, top 10%]
remaining graduates - POTUS shake hands

# GRADUATION 1992 DETAILED SEQUENCE

| TIME | EVENT |
|---|---|
| 1000 | PRESIDENT ARRIVES AT STADIUM |
| 1000 | ACADEMIC PROCESSION |
| 1025 * | BLUES ANGELS' FLYBY ( * omit for Alumni Hall) |
| 1027 | ROSTRUM PROCESSION |
| 1030 | ARRIVAL OF SPECIAL GUEST<br>1. Special Guest Proceed to Rostrum<br>2. Announcement of the President<br>3. Ruffles and Flourishes - Hail to the Chief<br>4. Gun salute |
| 1035 | NATIONAL ANTHEM |
| 1038 | INVOCATION |
| 1042 Sec. Garrett? | ADM LYNCH'S REMARKS AND INTRODUCTION OF THE PRESIDENT |
| 1046 | REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT |
| 1106 | CONFERRAL OF DEGREES |
| 1108 | RECOGNITION OF ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT AND SCHOLARSHIP AWARDS |
| 1110 | RECOGNITION OF DISTINGUISHED GRADUATES |
| 1111 | PRESENTATION OF DIPLOMAS |
| 1226 | COMMISSIONING OF GRADUATES IN USMC |
| 1229 | COMMISSIONING OF GRADUATES IN USN |
| 1234 | CLASS OF '92 GIFT TO PRESIDENT |
| 1235 | RECOGNITION OF HONORARY MEMBER OF '92 |
| 1236 | SIGNING OF NAVY "BLUE AND GOLD" |
| 1237 | CHEERS FOR THOSE ABOUT TO LEAVE US/LEAVE BEHIND |
| 1240 | END OF CEREMONY - DEPART ROSTRUM |
| 1245 | DEPART STADIUM FOR LANDING ZONE |
| TBD | DEPART ANNAPOLIS |

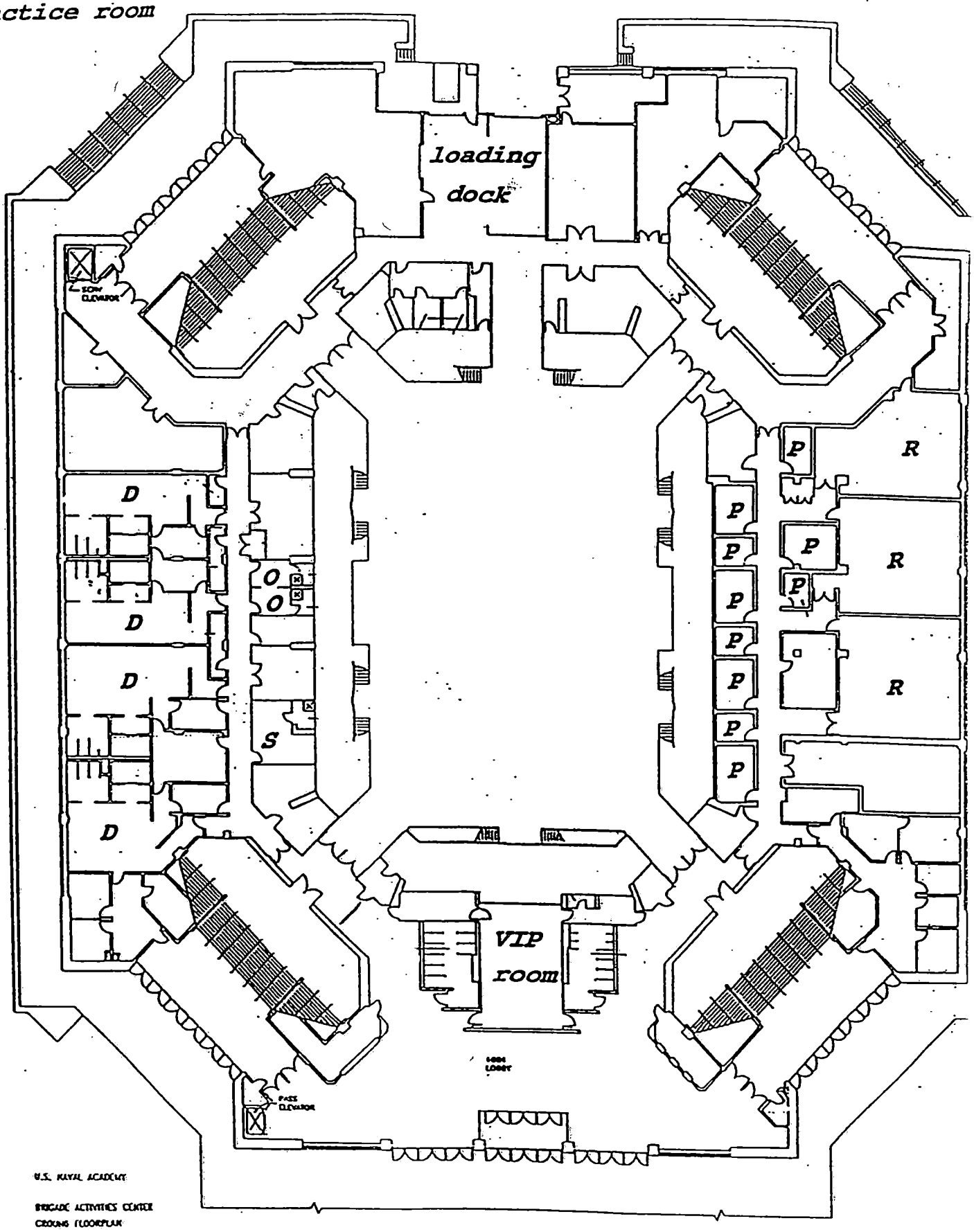
PRODUCED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE





EY
) = Dressing room
) = Official's room
; = Star Suite
: Rehearsal room
) = Practice room

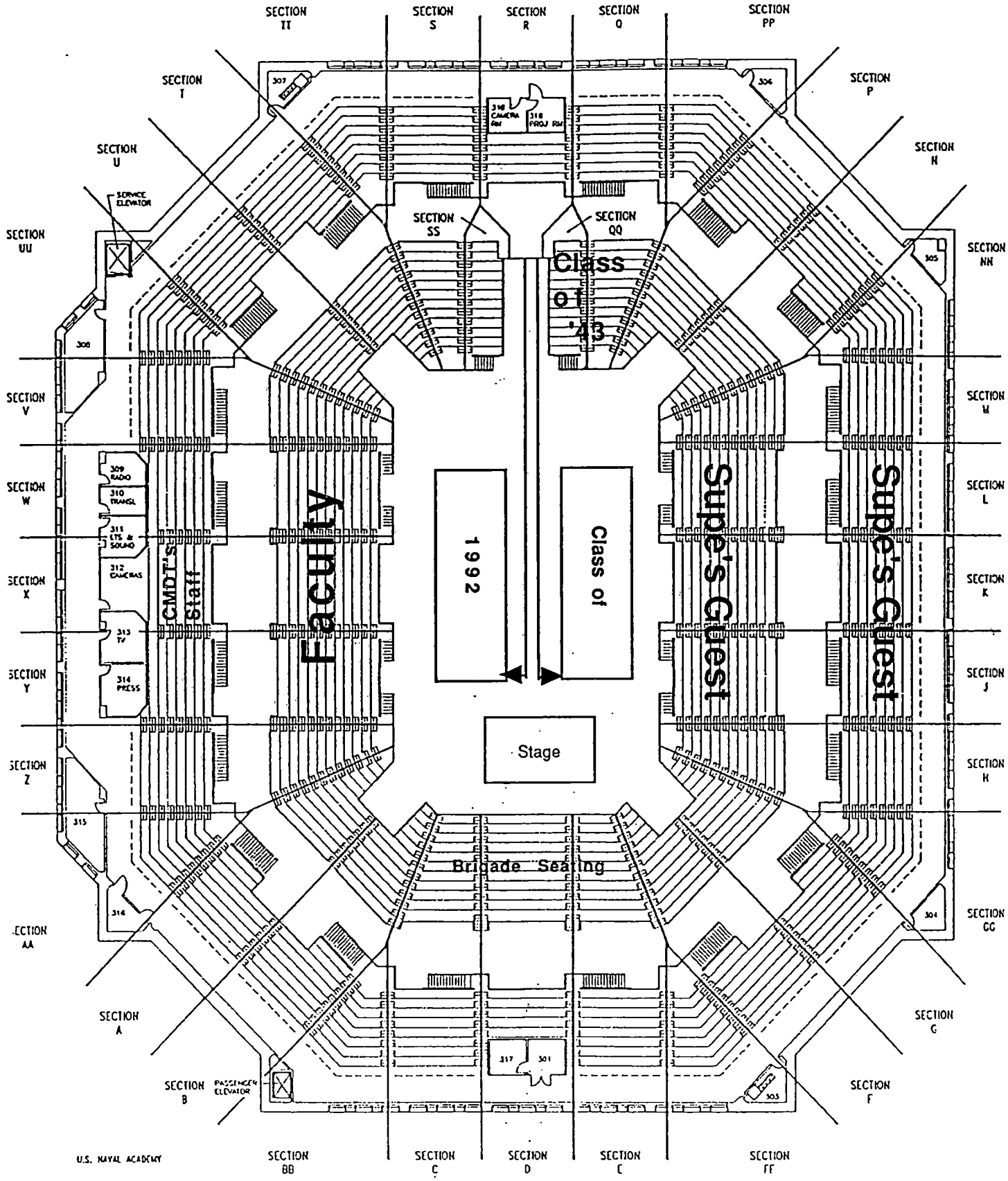
# First Floor




U.S. NAVAL ACADEMY

BRIGADE ACTIVITIES CENTER
CROWNS FLOORPLAN

GRAPHIC SCALE
0 5 10 20 30 40 50




U.S. NAVAL ACADEMY

BRIGADE ACTIVITIES CENTER
ARENA LEVEL FLOORPLAN / WITH SECTIONS

DRAWN T.R. MOHEISER

GRAPHIC SCALE

0 5 10 20 30 40 50

FEET

NOTE: IF THIS DRAWING IS A REDUCTION THE GRAPHIC SCALE MUST BE USED.

## GRADUATION 1992 TIME LINE (Alumni Hall)

| | |
|---|---|
| 0845 | CLASS OF '92 (1045) BEGIN TO ARRIVE CHAUVENET & MICHELSON HALL LAB DECK |
| 0900 | BRIGADE (Approx 600) ARRIVES AT ALUMNI HALL SOUTH AND WEST ENTRANCE |
| | CLASS OF '92 FORMATION |
| 0930 | BRIGADE SEATED |
| 0945 | CLASS OF '92 PROCESSION |
| 1000 | CLASS OF '92 SEATED |
| | ACADEMIC PROCESSION |
| 1030 | GRADUATION CEREMONY BEGINS |
| 1240 | CEREMONY ENDS |

# NAVAL ACADEMY SECURITY DEPARTMENT PERSONNEL ASSETS

## TOTAL STRENGTH

25 DOD POLICE OFFICERS

23 MARINE GUARDS

## AVAILABLE FOR PRESIDENTIAL DETAIL

14 DOD POLICE OFFICERS

10 MARINE GUARDS

# USHER FORCES

## STADIUM

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| OFFICER (USN/USMC) | - | 36 |
| MIDSHIPMEN | - | 250 |
| ENLISTED | - | 5 |

## ALUMNI HALL

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| OFFICER (USN/USMC) | - | 36 |
| MIDSHIPMEN | - | 250 |
| ENLISTED | - | 5 |

## OUTSIDE SECURITY & PARKING CONTROL

5 CPO's
55 SAILORS

## MEDICAL FACILITIES

* ANNE ARUNDEL GENERAL HOSPITAL (ANNAPOLIS)

  EMERGENCY ROOM WITH FULL FACILITIES

* SHOCK TRAUMA UNIT UNIVERSITY HOSPITAL (BALTIMORE)

  EMERGENCY ROOM WITH FULL FACILITIES

* NAVAL MEDICAL CLINIC (ACADEMY)

  TREATMENT ROOMS WITH LIMITED FACILITIES

* BRANCH CLINIC (BANCROFT HALL)

  TREATMENT ROOMS WITH LIMITED FACILITIES

* NAVAL ACADEMY FIRE DEPARTMENT AMBULANCE

  TWO EMERGENCY MEDICAL TECHNICIANS

BRIGADE

# For midshipmen... the career choice is now!

By Tami Terella
Trident Staff

Service Selection is probably the most anxiously awaited event in the life of a graduating midshipman. It is every bit as important as graduation itself.

After four years of intense indoctrination and exposure to the available service options, the time is here to make *the* choice. By now seniors know what they want. Some want to fly, others want to be leaders in the Marine Corps and still others see submarines and nuclear power or the surface Navy in their career sights. Graduation may still be months away, but making a career choice is now!

Next Tuesday, Feb. 4, the members of the Class of 1992 face these critical career decisions concerning their future in the Navy or Marine Corps. They stand in possibly the longest and most important line of their service careers.

Marine Lt. Col. Chuck Peterson, service selection coordinator, and his staff will begin lining up first class midshipmen in the commandant's conference room in Bancroft Hall at 3:30 p.m. on Tuesday.

"They'll come into the room in Order of Merit," Peterson explained. "We usually line them up in blocks of 25, but they'll make their selections individually. We verify that each person is medically qualified and if required, has also been screened by the particular service community for that choice."

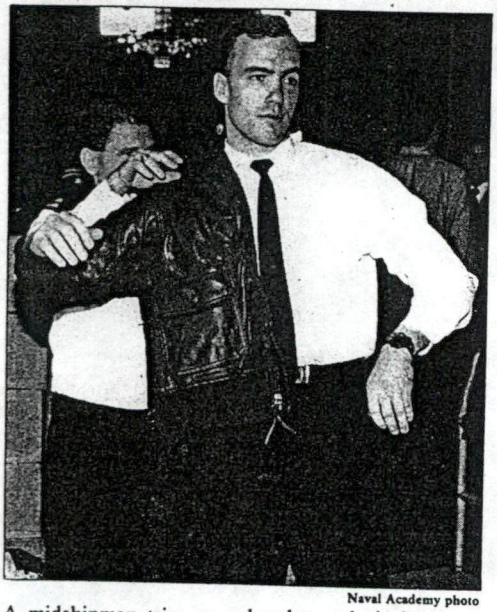
If everything is in order, the midshipman makes his or her choice and is provided with a selection receipt. Hopefully there was a billet open in the community of first choice. If not, the midshipman chooses a suitable alternative.

When the midshipman leaves the conference room, there are more decisions to make. These decisions are also very exciting for the midshipman.

"If someone chooses to become a surface line officer, they must also decide on which ship they will serve," said Peterson. "The individual must go to where surface line representatives have set up a display and select both a ship and a home port."

By the end of the process, each mid selecting surface line will know his or her ship assignment, the class convening date for surface warfare school and the ship's home port.

Midshipmen going into other service communities face similar decisions. When choosing aviation, mids obtain their flight training class date. They will not be able to pick the type of aircraft until they complete flight training and go through a similar selection routine.



Naval Academy photo

**A midshipman tries on a bomber-style jacket symbolizing his successful election of aviation training.**



Naval Academy photo

**Commandant of Midshipmen, Capt. Michael D. Haskins, congratulates midshipmen during last year's service selection.**

Midshipmen also choose where they will serve their temporary duty assignments while waiting for class convening dates for the school in their warfare specialty. Many stay on at the academy as junior officer instructors or assist in summer training or academic programs.

Midshipmen electing to go the Marine Corps route will normally request a particular Basic School class date, as well as a specialty within the Corps.

While midshipmen select the particular field they are interested in, Order of Merit determines what type of service they will ultimately get. The determination of a mid's Order of Merit is based on academic, professional and military performance.

"About 65 to 75 percent of service selection is determined by the midshipman's academic performance," said Peterson. "The rest is determined by performance in the other professional areas."

Another important factor of career choice is simply the number of billets or spaces available in a particular area. These raw numbers, eventually filled by the eager graduating mids, are sent to the academy from the Navy's Bureau of Personnel.

"We can expect that about 900 graduates from the Class of 1992 will go Navy, with about 120 graduates selecting the Marine Corps," said Peterson.

What about the military cutbacks from Congress? "The only direct impact cuts have had this year is in the number of pilot slots available to the graduating class," said Peterson. "Although we have more pilot billets this year than last, there have been some cuts in the Navy's pilot-training pipeline overall."

There are currently 214 pilot billets available to men and 16 to women in naval aviation. For naval flight officer billets (non-pilots), there are 109 spaces available for men and five for women. In the Marine Corps aviation program, there are 33 pilot and five NFO slots open for men.

In the submarine and surface warfare communities, there are no limits on the positions available for Naval Academy graduates. "There isn't a limit put on nuclear accessions for academy graduates — going either surface or submarine. The same is true for line officers," Peterson commented. But he adds that there are other limitations for women of the Class of '92. "Women cannot select submarines or surface nuclear vessels. Women can go on conventional ships, and there are 20 spaces available to women in the graduating class."

Special Operations has spaces available for eight men and two women, but the Navy SEALS program only has positions available for men. Peterson said there are 10 billets available in the SEAL program.

Mids selecting the general unrestricted line field can choose from 34 billets for women and two for men.

"The academy has an annual limit of 15 graduates who can become doctors," Peterson said. "They will go to either a combined services medical school after the academy or a civilian medical school. Other areas like cryptology, intelligence, supply and civil engineering corps include positions for both men and women. Supply is the largest, with 25 spots for men and 12 for women."

The Marine Corps accesses its people a bit differently, according to Peterson. "All Marine billets are unrestricted line. You must be qualified medically to become a Marine pilot or flight officer. Other than that, the only limitation is in the numbers. One-sixth of the academy's graduating class can be commissioned into the Corps."

Peterson chose the Marine Corps aviation program as a 1973 graduate of the Naval Academy. "I always wanted to fly," said Peterson. "So for me it was a matter of determining whether I wanted to be a Marine pilot or a Navy pilot. I felt a little closer to the institution that the Marine Corps represents. So, for me, the Marine Corps was really the best of both worlds. It allowed me to do the things I wanted to do in terms of flying airplanes, and it also allowed me to be a part of what I believe is the best fighting organization in the world."

Peterson feels he was lucky to get his first choice of a career in aviation and points out that because of limited space or other limits on qualifications, some midshipmen may not receive their first choice. Peterson and his staff understand this and try to help every midshipman make the best choice.

"We began providing graduating midshipmen with information about all of the fields that might be of interest to them as early as September. This way they can make an informed decision about what they want to do when they graduate. We make an effort to give the mids their first choice. If that's not possible, there are other opportunities for midshipmen to make an alternative selection.

"It's a fairly clean process. If your Order of Merit does not allow you to fill an aviation billet, for example, we tell the mids to do a good job in the fleet and then try to transfer to aviation some time later — if that's what they want to do. People who have that kind of determination will get there."

## "All Officers Should Compete for Regular Commissions"

(*See* S. Nunn, p. 32, February 1992 *Proceedings*)

*Rear Admiral Thomas C. Lynch, U.S. Navy, Superintendent, U.S. Naval Academy*—Senator Nunn provided the congressional rationale for recent legislation directing that all military officers be initially appointed as reserve officers beginning in October 1996. According to Senator Nunn, the issue is one of fairness and equity; all military officers recognize from the first day they enter an officer-training program that competition is a healthy and an integral part of a professional, combat-effective officer corps.

On the issues of fairness, equity, and competition I am in complete agreement with Senator Nunn. I differ, however, in determining the point where these factors come into play. Senator Nunn's implied position—that competition begins at commissioning—ignores what has occurred in the officer training and development program. I believe competition and the entwined issues of fairness and equity begin, not at commissioning, but more appropriately upon initial entry into an officer accession program.

All military service academies and their Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) counterparts receive applicants from among the best and brightest young men and women our country can provide. Competition for either an appointment to a service academy or an ROTC scholarship is keen. Congress itself plays a significant role in this initial competition by screening, evaluating, and nominating to the service academies only those whom they believe to be most deserving. Congress further controls this competition by legislating the size and required service obligations of both the academies and the ROTC programs.

Once selected for either a service academy or an ROTC scholarship, all newly appointed midshipmen and cadets are expected to dedicate themselves right then to unselfish and honorable service to our nation. This personal dedication cannot wait until commissioning, for without this dedication, satisfactory completion of these rigorous commissioning programs is most unlikely. The intensity of competition within these programs is reflected in more than 25% attrition rates at the service academies and within the various ROTC units.

Upon completion of a service academy program each midshipman or cadet receives a bachelor's degree, a five- or six-year service obligation, and a regular commission. This service obligation exceeds the obligation from any other officer accession source. In the past, the service academy graduate's regular commission served as partial compensation for the longer term of required service. Without this compensation, how will this disparity in service obligation be viewed on the scale of fairness and equity? Furthermore and perhaps more significantly, what effect will the reserve commission have on the quality and quantity of future military service-academy applicants?

Elimination of direct regular commissions is not only a service academy-related issue, but also could adversely affect the quality and performance within the ROTC program. At present, the Navy grants both regular and reserve commissions to NROTC graduates. All NROTC scholarship students receive regular commissions. In addition, those non-scholarship NROTC graduates who excel through demonstrated self-discipline, motivation, and professional drive are designated Distinguished Naval Graduates and also are granted regular commissions. In 1991, 88.9% of all NROTC graduates received regular commissions. To eliminate the regular-commission option may not only adversely affect NROTC scholarship applications and retention, but also would remove a positive incentive for non-scholarship students.

Beyond the issue of fairness and equity in commissioning policy, the more critical issue of career motivation must be addressed. As a nation, we have asked these young men and women to dedicate and obligate themselves to unselfish service in our nation's defense. Many have committed themselves to a career of military service. To now deny dedicated academy and ROTC graduates regular commissions implies (in light of their reserve commissions) uncertainty about their career potential. This will undercut significantly the confidence and career motivation of these newly commissioned officers.

Demonstrated fleet performance is the final determinant. All services have ample opportunities now, through selection and promotion boards, to ensure that only the best performers achieve positions of increased trust and responsibility, regardless of the commissioning source or level. The current system of awarding regular and reserve commissions has served our armed forces and our nation well.

The high-quality mixture of reserve and regular officers currently serving in our armed forces is superb in every respect, as proved by their superior performance in Desert Storm and Desert Shield. To alter this system without a full examination of both the short- and long-term effects of such a change does not seem prudent. Many questions concerning the impact of this decision remain unanswered. I strongly encourage our policy makers in Congress to conduct hearings that will address all aspects of this critical issue. ❑

**POSSIBLE FEATURE IDEA**
**Class of '92**

The Katcharian family of Fairfax, Va., has a unique relationship with the U.S. Naval Academy. When Noel Heather (known as "Heather") graduates this year with the Class of 1992, she will be the third Katcharian daughter to graduate from the academy.

Mr. Leon Katcharian is a first generation American -- his family came from Armenia. He graduated from the Coast Guard Academy in 1961 and met his wife, a native of Spain, when he was stationed overseas. Mr. Katcharian is now retired from the Coast Guard and employed by the National Transportation Safety Board in Washington. Throughout his career, the family lived in New York City, St. Louis and Minnesota.

The daughters all graduated from W.T. Woodson High School in Fairfax. Hope Katcharian graduated from the Naval Academy in 1988, went into the Civil Engineering Corps, spent two years in Spain and is now a construction battalion Officer-in-Charge in Jacksonville, Florida. Ann Marie graduated from the academy in 1990 and is now a supply officer in Spain. After Heather graduates this month, she will prepare to go to supply school in August.

The Katcharians will have a family reunion at this year's Commissioning ceremony. Hope and Ann Marie have made plans to come to Annapolis for the occasion.

## COMMUNITY SERVICE

The entire brigade of midshipmen participates in various community service projects throughout the year. Many graduates are involved in these projects. Among the community service projects that the mids volunteered for this year are:

- Habitat for Humanity
- Special Olympics
- Thanksgiving food drive
- Greenscape (clean up of area parks, schools and churches)
- Eagle Scout Jamboree
- Mids for Kids (mids volunteer as tutors, mentors and role models for area school children)

# TRIDENT

*Serving the Annapolis-area Navy community*

*Vol. 2, No. 1* *Annapolis, Maryland* *January 10, 1992*


# Academy reflects on '91 as New Year begins

By Leo Mehalic
Trident Editor

The year 1991 was possibly the most significant in world history during this century. Many changes occurred and major events took place that literally changed geographical boundaries as well as the atmosphere of the world.

The easing of tensions between world powers, the release of western hostages held in Lebanon and the collapse of Communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc countries brought new hope, and great expectations, as well as many new question.

The Naval Academy also felt the effects of change over the past year, beginning with the command's first newspaper — *Trident* — which began publication in 1991. Other significant events in this year's scrapbook include:

• **The bombing of Baghdad, Iraq,** on Jan. 16, 1991, focused everyone's attention on the war in the Middle East. Many academy graduates took part in the conflict which ended on Feb. 27, following a ground war that lasted only 100 hours. The nation gave returning troops the largest homecoming celebration in decades.

• **President George Bush and Joint Chiefs Chairman Gen. Colin Powell** visited when it was announced the academy was a "Point of Light." Midshipmen volunteerism, in particular the action of the black midshipmen's study group, were cited.

• **Midshipman Juliane Gallina** became the first female brigade commander in the academy's history, and weathered well the attendant media blitz.

• **Naval Academy Graduation** brought Army Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, former Commander of Allied Forces in the Gulf, in to "meet Navy."

• **Rear Adm. Thomas C. Lynch** returned to his alma mater in June, as the Naval Academy's 54th superintendent, replacing Rear Adm. Virgil L. Hill Jr. . .

• **Midshipmen Summer Cruise** began with a story of its own, as two midshipmen were commended for saving a fellow shipmate's life during an Atlantic YP cruise.

• **The Fall of 1991** brought the USO's most beloved entertainer to the academy's newest complex. Bob Hope was honored and performed at Alumni Hall during the gala dedication weekend. The Bob Hope Performing Arts Center was dedicated in Mr. Hope's honor.

• **Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney** spoke in the first Forrestal Lecture held in Alumni Hall after its dedication.

• **Patriot Games** was filmed at the academy with actor Harrison Ford playing the role of Naval Academy History Professor Jack Ryan.

• **Victory in Philadelphia** was celebrated as Navy beat Army 24-3. The trouncing began during the highly-spirited Army-Navy week as midshipmen "special forces" captured the four Army mules and the Corps of Cadets leader, Cadet Omar Jones. The victory was a sweet end to 1991, an unforgettable year in many respects.




**Operation Desert Storm, distinguished visitors and Naval Academy academic, sports and extracurricular activities transformed 1991 into an exciting and challenging year.**

## Inside:


*New brigade leaders* p.3

*Heroic mids* p.4

*Staubach at Forrestal* p.6

# FACTS

United States Naval Academy • Annapolis, MD 21402-5000 • (301) 267-2291

**Contact: Cdr. Mike John**
**Ms. Carol Feldmann**

**The school:** Founded as the Naval School in 1845, the United States Naval Academy today is a four-year service academy which prepares midshipmen morally, mentally and physically to be professional officers in the naval service.

**Location:** The academy is set on 338 acres between the south bank of the Severn River and historic downtown Annapolis, the state capital of Maryland. Annapolis is 33 miles east of Washington, D.C., and 30 miles southeast of Baltimore.

**Campus:** Bob Hope Bldg. Dedication? The Yard, as the campus is called, features tree-lined brick walks, French Renaissance and contemporary architecture and scenic vistas of the Chesapeake Bay. The Bancroft Hall dormitory complex, The Cathedral of the Navy, and other 80-year-old buildings make the academy a National Historic Site. New facilities such as the multi-purpose Brigade Activity Center, 580,000-volume Nimitz Library, Rickover Hall engineering complex, and Hendrix Oceanography Laboratory give the academy ultra-modern educational resources.

**Students:** About 4,300 men and women represent every state in the U.S. and several foreign countries.

**Faculty:** The 650-member Naval Academy faculty is an integrated group of military and civilian instructors in approximately equal numbers. The student-faculty ratio is low, with class sizes ranging from 10 to 22 students.

**Academics:** In addition to a core curriculum of academic and professional courses, majors are offered in 18 subject areas: eight in engineering, six in science, mathematics and computer science; and four in the humanities and social sciences.

**Professional training:** Subjects such as small arms, drill, seamanship and navigation, tactics, naval engineering, naval weapons, leadership and military law are learned during the four-year program. In addition, midshipmen train at naval bases and in ships of the fleet during part of each summer.

**Athletics:** Midshipmen can choose from 23 men's and 10 women's intercollegiate varsity sports, 23 intramural sports and 12 club sports.

**Extracurricular activities:** More than 100 extracurricular activities are offered in areas ranging from music and drama to parachuting and scuba diving.

**Graduation:** Bachelor of science degrees specifying a major field are awarded to midshipmen upon graduation in May. They are commissioned as ensigns in the U.S. Navy or second lieutenants in the U.S. Marine Corps and begin at least five years of exciting and rewarding service as naval officers.

# FACTS

United States Naval Academy • Annapolis, MD 21402-5000 • (301) 267-2291

## MIDSHIPMEN'S COMMUNITY SERVICE

**Big Brothers/Big Sisters.** For more than 20 years, midshipmen have volunteered with children from 8-14 years old who have only one parent.

**Friends of Parks.** Midshipmen routinely help Friends of the Parks, a committee of private citizens and businesses working with the City of Annapolis to maintain and build parks and paths for the people of Annapolis.

**Habitat for Humanity.** Working with the Habitat for Humanity, midshipmen help to build homes for poor families.

**Special Olympics.** Midshipmen work with the Annapolis Jaycees to sponsor the Special Olympics, a year-round, world-wide program, offering athletic competition for the mentally handicapped.

**Hanging of the greens.** Again working with the Annapolis Jaycees, midshipmen help with the hanging of the greens that brighten the downtown area for Christmas holidays.

**"Mids for Kids" and adopting schools.** More than 800 midshipmen have volunteered to tutor students in local elementary and middle schools through "Mids for Kids." Among the schools participating are Rolling Knolls, Severna Park, Hillsmere, Georgetown East, West Annapolis, Tyler Heights, Annapolis, and Germantown Elementary Schools; Naval Academy Primary School; Central and Southern Middle Schools; and St. Mary's Elementary and Middle School. Thirteen academy companies (groups of about 120 midshipmen) have "adopted" schools.

**Math Tutorial for Benjamin Banneker Middle School.** Midshipmen volunteers participate in a mathematics tutorial program for Montgomery County students. Every other Saturday during the school year, more than a dozen students from the school come to the academy, where they are tutored in mathematics by the midshipmen and sometimes are treated to lunch in King Hall, the midshipmen's dining area.

**Drakeiail.** A community project with Anne Arundel County School students to build a Chesapeake Bay Oyster boat includes more than 150 midshipmen volunteers who serve as mentors to the student boat-builders.

**Blood drives.** Each Tuesday, midshipmen bleed for the Navy's blood bank. Midshipmen also donate blood through the American Red Cross.

**Thanksgiving.** For Thanksgiving 1990, midshipmen collected approximately 1,100 boxes of food to give to the area's needy families, up from 170 boxes the year before. In 1991 the Chaplain Center, which coordinated the effort, hopes to double the number of boxes.

**Special requests.** Shawn Burton, a 12-year-old leukemia patient who wanted to be a midshipman, visited the academy in November 1990. After a standing ovation by the midshipmen in the dining hall who applauded his courage, Shawn was given a Navy bathrobe and the jersey of Navy's quarterback. The Class of 1991 has selected Shawn to be this year's honorary graduate.

**Combined Federal Campaign.** With a brigade goal of $115,000, midshipmen gave more than $168,000 to the CFC in December 1990. 98% of the brigade participated in the record-breaking collection.

*PAO-0088*
*1991*

Other Examples of Midshipmen Community Service:

* For more than 20 years, midshipmen have volunteered to spend time with children 8 to 14 years old who have only one parent.

* Midshipmen are highly active in a venture with the city to maintain and build parks and paths for the people of Annapolis.

* Volunteers have helped build homes for poor families.

* Help brighten downtown area during Christmas holidays by hanging decorations or greens.

* More than 800 midshipmen have volunteered to tutor students in local elementary and middle schools. Thirteen academy companies have "adopted" schools.

* Each Tuesday, midshipmen donate blood to the Navy's blood bank.

* During Thanksgiving 1990, approximately 1100 boxes of food were collected by the midshipmen and distributed to the area's needy families.

* Shawn Burton, a 12 year old leukemia patient who wanted to be a midshipman, visited the Naval Academy in November 1990. After a standing ovation by the midshipmen in the dining hall who applauded his courage, Shawn was given a Navy bathrobe and the jersey of Navy's quarterback. The Class of 1991 has selected Shawn to be this years honorary graduate.

* With a Brigade goal of $115,000, midshipmen gave more than $168,000 in 1990's annual charitable contributions drive.

Army-Navy

#230
December 10, 1991

Media Contacts:
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(410) 267-2291
(301) 261-2261 (D.C. Metro area)
(410) 267-6100 (after hours)

NAVY WINS!

ANNAPOLIS, Md. -- Victory went to Navy both on and off the field as the U.S. Naval Academy won the Army-Navy football game 24-3 on Dec. 7, the 50th anniversary of Pearl Harbor.

Navy also won in the traditional good-natured pranks leading up to the Army-Navy game. Naval Academy midshipmen bombed the West Point noon meal formation with almost 2,000 pingpong balls, captured the first captain of the Corps of Cadets and the coup de grace, kidnapped all four Army mules (a first in Army-Navy game history).

Each year the rivalry between the two schools is intense as each tries to capture the other's mascot and outdo the other in pranks. But this year Navy pulled out all stops.

Reconnaissance missions; watching for the authorities while negotiating winding, twisting roads; impersonating Army soldiers .... it all sounds like part of a spy thriller. Yet, 17 U.S. Naval Academy midshipmen spent a year planning to capture an Army mule and their meticulous planning paid off when they captured not one but all four Army mules. They started their planning after last year's Navy game. Dan Barchi, the brigade commander at the time,

more

came up with the idea and it was handed down to Midshipman 1st Class Shawn Callahan, who got Midshipman 1st Class Chris Middleton involved in the planning. Over time, 15 more midshipmen were added to the team.

Dressed as tourists, the group went on reconnaissance missions to West Point where they took video and still pictures of various alarm-secured areas and began developing maps of the area.

Their first attempted mule-napping before Thanksgiving was aborted. The midshipmen rescheduled the mission for the week before the Army-Navy game, a week when such kidnapping attempts are expected.

"That made our job more difficult because they were watching for something like this," Middleton said.

Divided into two assault teams and one mule-handling team, the midshipmen developed a plan right out of a "Dirty Dozen" movie. The midshipmen synchronized watches, assigned duties and timed the completion of each task down to the minute.

They entered the Army compound at 9:20 a.m. Posing as a feed delivery team and Army military police, they surprised three guards and fooled six other workers. Dressed as a military policeman, Midshipman Martin Howell told the workers, "We're doing a security check because Navy is trying to steal the mules." By 9:24 a.m., they were gathering Army booty such as the black knight helmet, saddles and bridles. At 9:28 a.m., they radioed for the truck to pick them up at the site and 2 1/2 minutes later they were on their way out of the compound. The only problem came when they exited the Army gates. By that time, the alert was out.

Aiding the midshipmen in their efforts was Weir "Tennessee" Denton. This 76-year old farmer from the Annapolis area had joined the mission for very personal reasons -- he been on watch at the academy's Dairy Farm 37 years ago when the goat was stolen.

"He never forgot that," said Middleton.

Denton, who keeps three mules at his farm, taught Midshipman 1st Class David "J.R." Anderson to handle mules during a three-month training period. He also drove to West Point twice with his four-horse trailer and, when the second attempt was successful, he brought the four mules back to Annapolis.

The midshipmen continued to allude their West Point pursuers on the long journey back to Annapolis. The chase didn't end until the midshipmen entered the gates of the Naval Academy where they were apprehended and released by Department of Defense security police. They received a police escort to the Army-Navy pep rally last Thursday where the mules were triumphantly paraded.

On the Friday preceding the game the midshipmen presented the mules for a media "photo opportunity" in Tecumseh Court, the large courtyard in front of the midshipmen dormitory.

In return for his help, Naval Academy Superintendent Rear Adm. Thomas Lynch invited Weir to sit with him on the 50-yard line during the Navy victory Saturday.

As for the midshipmen, they received a heroes' welcome. Commandant of Midshipmen Michael D. Haskins cited 10 midshipmen for their efforts as part of the reconnaissance team, 15 midshipmen for their part in actually taking the

mule and Midshipmen Callahan and Middleton for conceiving the plan and leading the way. The commandant praised the midshipmen that captured the mules for "enduring subfreezing outdoor temperatures while engaging specially trained security personnel, multiple layers of electronic and mechanical physical security and just plain outsmarting the opposition." All were inducted into "The Order of the Mule."

Callahan's assault team included Midshipmen Elizabeth B. Ravndal, Stephen Moody, Monroe Martin Howell II, William J. Wiseman IV, Leif E. Mollo and Joseph R. Schuyler. Middleton led a second assault team including Craig L. Slack, Beau D. Laskey, David D. Rudko, Kurt M. McClung and Brett G. Odom. While these two groups led the assault, another group of midshipmen, led by J.R. Anderson, captured the mules. The "mule handlers" included John Cody Allee, George P. Botoulas and Damien R. Christopher.

Will the mules ever be captured again? "Never again," these midshipmen say. "At least not in another 20 years. The cadets will have the area too closely guarded. They wouldn't let this happen twice."

Knowing that it probably won't happen again hasn't dampened the enthusiasm of these midshipmen. Beating Army means a winning season, and they're savoring their victories....one if you count the football game; two if you count the mule kidnapping; three, the taking of the 1st captain of the Corps of Cadets; and four, the bombing of Army's noon meal formation with almost 2,000 blue and gold pingpong balls and another 2,000 "Go Navy, Beat Army" flyers.

What's the outlook for next year? More top secret plans as midshipmen and Naval Academy alumni rev up to

BEAT ARMY (again)!

United States Naval Academy • NEWS • Apr. 28, 1992

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TUESDAY
APRIL 28, 1992

THE SUN

# Great Mule Caper detailed, finally

## Mids nabbed 4 Army mascots on eve of big game

By Robert A. Erlandson
Staff Writer

ANNAPOLIS — When they disguised themselves as soldiers and executed a daring commando-style raid on the enemy stronghold, 17 Naval Academy seniors risked their careers — and perhaps even jail — to make their mark in the Class of '92.

They assured their place in academy lore as the fabled guys who stole the mules.

These weren't just any mules. They were the four Army mascots, and the foray, slashing like a cutlass into the heart of West Point, was on the eve of the 101st Army-Navy game.

The Army reacted furiously, launching an interstate manhunt that ended that night at the Naval Academy gates, where Defense Department security agents ambushed the mule-nappers and tried to take the animals back to West Point.

"They were accusing us of federal crimes: misappropriation of government property, grand theft mule," chuckled Midshipman 1st Class Chris Middleton of Laurel, a planner and leader of the foray.

The raiders' luck held, though. The academy's duty officer rode to the rescue, ordering the cops to take the mids and their four-legged trophies to a jubilant pregame pep rally. Two days later, Navy's football team added injury to insult by winning the game, 24-3, for its only victory of the season.

The raiders became the heroes of Annapolis. The embarrassed Army never pressed charges. And the commandant of midshipmen even created a unique honor for them: "The Order of the Mule," certifying their exploit to be "in the highest traditions of the naval service."

Although the Great Mule Caper was reported at the time, only now are the mids able to talk about it publicly, a group of them said in An-

See MULES, 4A, Col. 1

Superintendent
Commandant
Deputy Commandant
Academic Dean and Provost, 1C
Chief of Staff, ACOS Operations,SJAG, 1B
Deputy for Management, 1D
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Comptroller, 20F
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Executive Director, Alumni Assoc., 1H
Dean of Admissions/CGO, 17A
Director of Athletics 4D
Director, Sports Information, 4D
Director, Professional Development, 7A
Brigade CDR, 3A
PAO(5)

# Now it can be told: Midshipmen 'mule-napped' Army's mascots on eve of game

**MULES,** from 1A

napolis last week.

Here is their story, a tale of rivalry, revenge and military planning that has a generation of future admirals chuckling:

The mule raid, a year in the making, was conceived by members of the Class of 1991 after the 1990 Army-Navy game and passed along to the incoming seniors for execution.

"They've come down and taken Navy's goats many times," said Midshipman 1st Class Bill Wiseman of Cockeysville, the other Marylander in the group. "But the goats are on a farm 20 miles from here. There's only a farmer there, so the cadets cut a lock and take a goat. No big deal."

The Army mules were a different story, however. Locked in a veterinary compound at West Point, they were surrounded by guards in the heart of a military complex that also serves as a federal silver repository.

"No one ever did it before, and I don't think anyone will get the mules again," Mr. Middleton said. "We penetrated right into West Point."

Disguised as tourists, midshipmen reconnoitered West Point, 50 miles north of New York City, taking video and still photographs to devise entrance and escape routes.

An initial attempt to steal the mules at Thanksgiving failed when a mule tender changed the feeding time. Then Army tightened security after word leaked that Navy was planning to steal the mules. Time was running out.

Mr. Middleton recruited a new, smaller group of seniors, devoted volunteers who will enter special training after graduation May 26 as pilots, Marines or members of the SEALS, the Navy's elite commando unit.

At a motel near West Point, the mids disguised themselves as Army Military Police and soldiers. Plastering their vehicles with "Beat Navy" stickers, they checked their radios, synchronized watches and drove unchallenged to the veterinary office and stables.

But instead of a lone mule tender on a quiet Thursday morning, the raiders found several soldiers and a civilian employee. Improvising quickly, the invaders "subdued and restrained" the people, Mr. Middleton said. In layman's language, that means they were bound with plastic handcuffs and gagged.

Meantime, elsewhere in the building, a midshipman disguised as an MP was conning another group of employees into believing the raiders were Army security men checking reports of an attempted Navy incursion.

Outside, using molasses-sweetened feed as a lure, the mids had bridled the four mules and were loading them into a waiting horse van.

Then, at the last minute, fortune frowned.

The last raiders were leaving when one of the "prisoners," a 6-foot-3-inch Ranger sergeant, shattered a window and rolled outside, shouting an alarm, the midshipmen said.

One soldier tried to block the last fleeing Navy car, then leaped into his own car for a brief high-speed chase to the West Point gate, they said. The fugitives evaded the gate guards — but the guards got the tag number of the last car.

"If that hadn't happened, they never would have caught us because no one had seen any of the vehicles," said Midshipman 1st Class Dave Rudko of Long Island.

Meanwhile, the van with the mules embarked on a route known only to the men with them. "We didn't want anyone else to know, so that if we were caught we couldn't tell," Mr. Rudko said.

The Army scrambled three helicopters to search for the mules, the midshipmen said. State police were alerted and stationed at New Jersey Turnpike toll booths. Defense Department security police gathered at Naval Academy gates.

But the mids with the mules, anticipating pursuit, took evasive ac-

(Cont'd)

(Cont'd)

tion.

Instead of heading south from West Point, the shortest way, they drove north to Albany. There, they turned southwest to Scranton, Pa., then followed a roundabout route south through Pennsylvania to the academy dairy farm outside Annapolis, where the mules were fed and watered.

From there they linked up with the other raiders for the final dash for the pep rally and glory for the Class of '92.

The young men laugh now as they describe the surreal scene at the academy's back gate that night, but they were scared at the time.

The mule convoy reached the gate about 7:15 p.m. Suddenly, lights flashed and police cars roared out of the darkness. Defense Department agents hauled the midshipmen from their vehicles and spread-eagled them against a baseball backstop, the mids said.

"They dragged us out and treated us like criminals," said Mr. Rudko.

But fortune's smile returned, probably as a big grin.

Mr. Wiseman, who had driven through the gate before the trap was sprung, sped across campus to alert Lt. Angela Smith, the command duty officer.

As duty officer, Lieutenant Smith, who captained Navy's 1983 women's basketball team, was in temporary command of the naval station.

Taking in the scene, she ordered the agents to release the midshipmen and escort them — and the mules — to the waiting pep rally, where all hands received a triumphant welcome, Mr. Middleton said.

"They were humiliated, they went from arresting criminals to escorting heroes," Mr. Wiseman chortled.

Meanwhile, Navy brass, who knew a plan was afoot to steal the mules, were concerned as phone lines burned between West Point and Annapolis with Army allegations of what the midshipmen had done, Mr. Middleton said. It took the mids a while to explain.

"We didn't get to debrief the admiral [Superintendent Thomas Lynch] until 9:30 p.m. Once he heard our side of the story, he believed us. The Army had given him bad information," the midshipman said.

"We didn't hurt anyone and we compensated for everything we did," Mr. Middleton said. "We took along new locks to replace what we cut and we paid that big sergeant for ripping his uniform."

The testimony of a commissioned officer who went along — just in case — also helped, he said.

On Friday, tension mounted as game day neared. Army demanded that the mules be returned to West Point. Navy demurred, telling the cadets they could collect their mascots in Annapolis. Cadets finally caught the 1,000-pound animals — after a chase around a big field because the mids had turned the mules loose.

The big week ended the next day, Dec. 7, when Navy's football team clobbered Army 24-3 — its only win of the season — as the Brigade of Midshipmen chanted "We stole your mules" at the crestfallen cadets riding their recovered mascots around Philadelphia's Veterans Stadium.

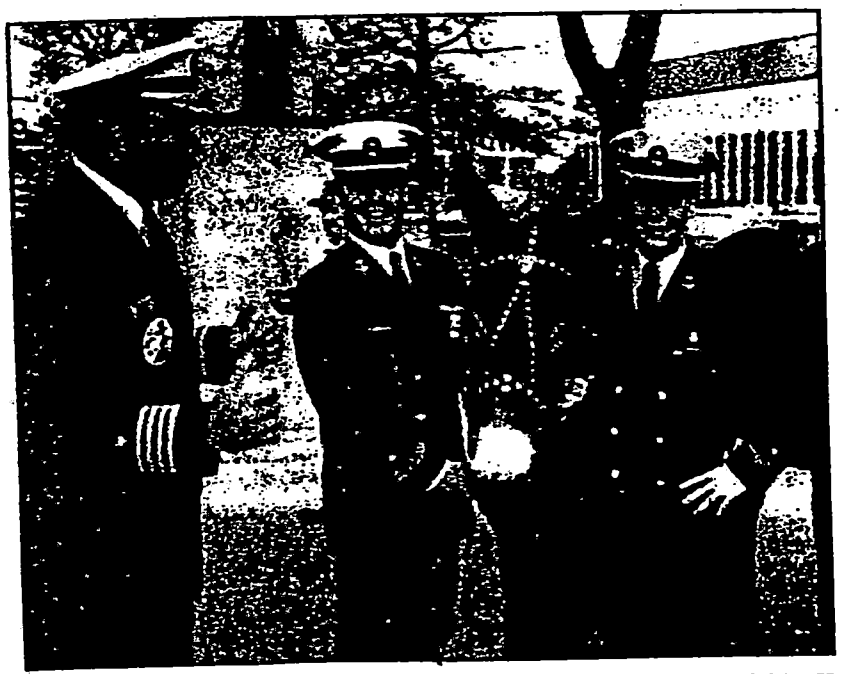
It took until February to settle the dispute over the incident, including the threat of possible charges, said Mr. Middleton, who then published an account in the campus magazine, *the Log*.

Although the incident still smarts, West Point spokesman Ray Aalbue credited the sailors with excellent planning and execution. "Their ingenuity was incredible. They flat caught us," he said.

"The mules are very important to West Point; we were very concerned about them being taken," he said. Security has been tightened, "so they won't do it again," Mr. Aalbue said.

Both sides agree that the mules likely won't be snatched again, at least not for many years.

"We'll get 'em next year. Army will avenge its loss on the field and tradition will march on," said Mr. Aalbue. That, he added, leaves the door of retaliation "as wide open as I can leave it."



BY MIDSHIPMAN JOHN CODY ALLEE

**Capt. Anthony Watson (left), Midshipmen Chris Middleton of Laurel and Bill Wiseman of Cockeysville (right) are shown with a mule.**

(3) Package enroute "to" you shortly
Sincerely

# COMMISSIONING WEEK TRADITIONS

## Plebe Recognition Ceremony: Herndon Climb

**The firing of cannons signals the start of the race to climb the 21-foot obelisk, Herndon Monument, in front of the Chapel. The plebes manage, through teamwork and perseverance, to raise one of their classmates to the top of the lard-covered monument to retrieve a white plebe "dixie cup" hat and replace it with an upperclassman's hat.**

By throwing t-shirts and shoes, plebes remove some of the 200 pounds of lard smeared on the monument by sophomores, who remember how hard it was for them last year and try to make it equally hard for this year's class. The plebes then begin to build a greasy, sweaty human pyramid to give a class member the platform to reach a hand to the top of the monument for the exchange of hats.

According to legend, the midshipman who switches the hat will be the first member of the class to become an admiral. The superintendent of the Naval Academy presents the successful midshipman with one of his shoulder boards mounted on a plaque. After successfully completing the Herndon climb, the freshmen are no longer called plebes but "fourth classmen."

Like all academy traditions, the Herndon Monument climb has evolved over the years. The exact date when the celebration began is not known, but it seems to have originated following a graduation ceremony as an exuberant rush of new youngsters (sophomores) to cavort on Lover's Lane in the vicinity of Herndon, which had been off limits to them while they were plebes.

Herndon Monument was erected in memory of Cmdr. William Lewis Herndon, who elected to go down with his ship, *SS Central America*, when she sank in 1857.

Previous times for making the Herndon climb are:
1962 - 3 minutes (first recorded time)
1969 - 1 minute, 30 seconds (fastest time to date)
1981 - 1 hour
1982 - 1 hour, 44 minutes
1983 - 1 hour, 43 minutes, 55 seconds
1984 - 2 hours, 22 minutes
1985 - 3 hours, 12 minutes, 23 seconds (longest time to date)
1986 - 1 hour, 23 minutes, 7 seconds
1987 - 1 hour, 51 minutes, 20 seconds
1988 - 43 minutes, 44 seconds
1989 - 1 hour, 51 minutes, 30 seconds
1990 - 1 hour, 34 minutes, 50 seconds
1991 - 2 hours, 36 minutes, 57 seconds

## Graduation Hat Toss

The "hat toss," now a traditional ending to graduation and commissioning ceremonies at all of the service academies, originated at the Naval Academy in 1912. Before 1912, Naval Academy graduates were

required to serve two years in the fleet as midshipmen before being commissioned as officers in the Navy, thus they had a need for their midshipmen hats. The Class of 1912, commissioned at graduation, was issued officer caps. In a spontaneous gesture, the new officers tossed their midshipmen hats into the air. This "hat toss" has since become the symbolic end to the four-year program at the Naval Academy.

## Parades

Commissioning Week dress parades at the U.S. Naval Academy got their start in 1846, one year following the establishment of the academy. The first parade, held June 27, 1846, was in honor of the Board of Examiners. It consisted of exercises in the manual of arms and infantry tactics.

### Dedication Parade

The first Dedication Parade was held at the Naval Academy on May 31, 1969. The dress parade honors those members of the academy faculty who are retiring, completing 20 and 45 years of service, or who have been selected as professor emeritus. Faculty recipients of the William P. Clements Award for Excellence in Education, the Class of 1951 Civilian Faculty Teaching Excellence Award, the Class of 1951 Military Faculty Teaching Excellence Award, the Alumni Association Research Excellence Award, the Captain Frank M. Adams Junior Officer Leadership Award and other awards are also honored at the Dedication Parade.

### Color Parade/Color Competition/Color Girl

The highlight of the Color Parade is the formal presentation of the colors (flags) to the company that, by virtue of its excellence in academics, athletics and professional accomplishments throughout an entire year of competition, has won the honor of being designated color company. This company will carry the colors for all events until Commissioning Week the next year. The color company competition began in 1867.

Chosen by the color company commander, the Color Girl has been a part of the Commissioning Week activities at the Naval Academy since 1871. Grace Worden, daughter of Admiral John L. Worden, then superintendent of the academy, was the first to participate in the parade as a Color Girl. She was Color Girl again in 1874. Only Anne Rodgers, whose father was Rear Admiral C.R.P. Rodgers, Superintendent from 1874 to 1878, shared the honor of being Color Girl twice --she was chosen in 1877 and 1878.

In 1921 the Color Company Commander added a romantic twist to the Naval Academy's Color Girl Ceremony. At the time, the young woman's duty was to walk onto Worden Field with the superintendent and present the flags to the Color Company. The day before the 1921 parade, however, Midshipman Harold D. Hail's classmates dared him -- the Color Company Commander -- to kiss his Color Girl on the parade grounds after the presentation of the colors. Midshipman Hail took the dare and, along with Miss Helen McDonough, established one of the most enduring traditions of the Color Parade.

## Blue Angels

The Blue Angels, known officially as the U.S. Navy Flight Demonstration Squadron, have performed their precision flying demonstrations for more than 239 million spectators. They have performed during Commissioning Week for more than 30 years. Although the individual maneuvers performed by the team are those taught to every prospective Navy and Marine Corps aviator during flight training, the show has evolved throughout the years since the first team was organized in 1946 to become the epitome of aerial artistry. There were four Grumman F6F Hellcats in the original demonstration, when the tight diamond formation flown by the pilots became the trademark of the Blue Angels. In 1972 the Blue Angels began flying the McDonnell Douglas A-4 Skyhawk II, with the McDonnell Douglas F/A-18 Hornet introduced in 1986.

## Naval Academy Class Rings

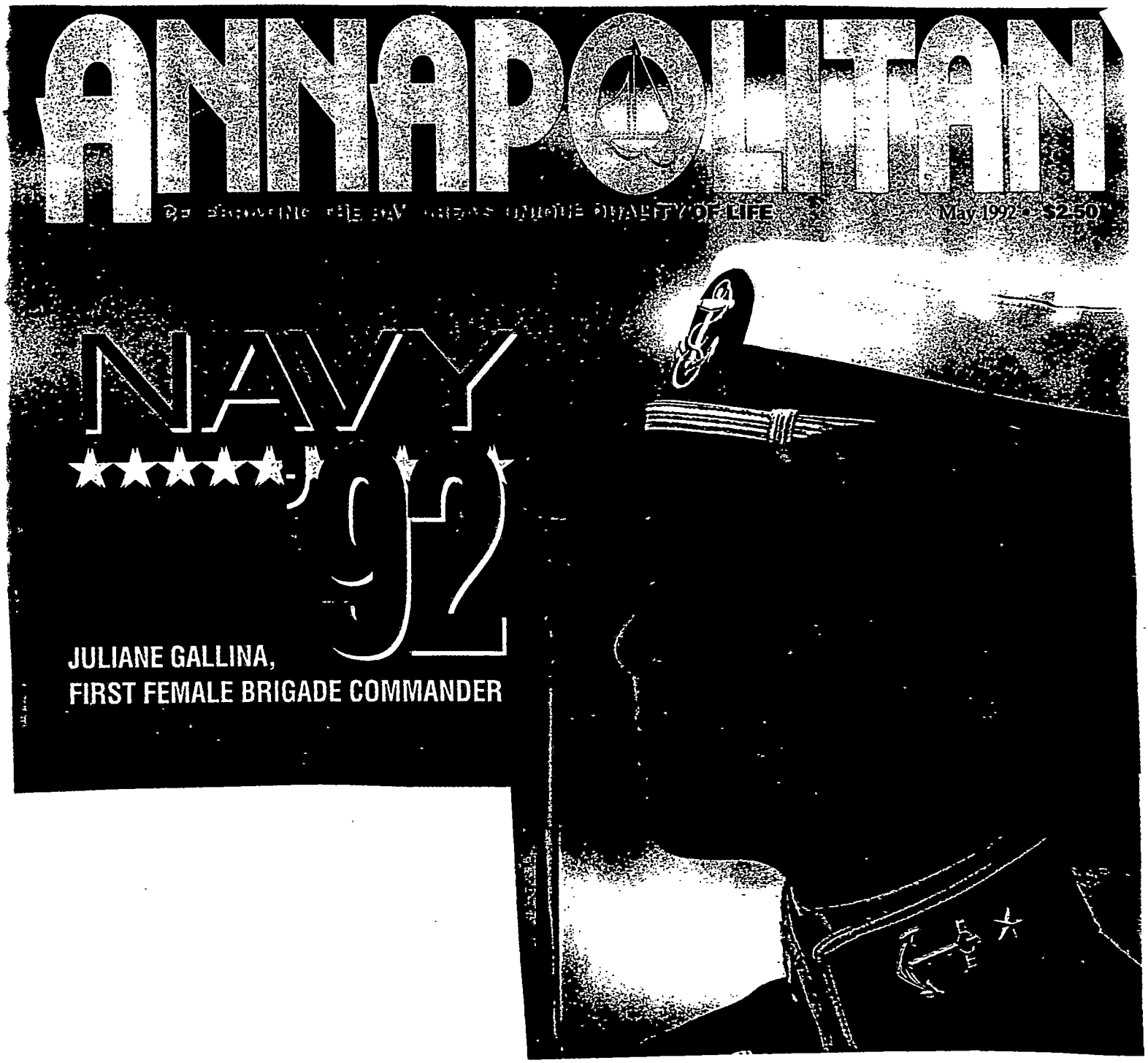
Midshipmen at the U.S. Naval Academy design their own class rings, a custom that started with the Class of 1869. Naval Academy midshipmen receive their rings during the final week of their second class (junior) year, at the Ring Dance--hailed as the social event of Commissioning Week. According to custom, a midshipman's date wears the ring suspended on a blue ribbon around the neck. At the dance, the ring is dipped in a binnacle containing water from the seven seas, symbolizing the travel that lies ahead of the midshipmen. The couple then enters a large gold replica of the class ring where the ring is placed on the midshipman's finger. The ceremony is sealed with a kiss.

UNITED STATES NAVAL ACADEMY
MIDSHIPMEN SERVICE SELECTION INFORMATION

| | CLASS OF 1990 | | CLASS OF 1991 | | CLASS OF 1992 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| TOTAL SELECTING | 1004 | | 952 | | 1016 | |
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| USMC | 91 | 2 | 93 | 3 | 138 | 3 |
| NAVY UNRESTRICTED LINE (URL) | | | | | | |
| GENERAL URL | 1 | 35 | 1 | 27 | 6 | 34 |
| SURFACE WARFARE | | | | | | |
| (conventional) | 239 | 9 | 256 | 5 | 273 | 10 |
| (nuclear power) | 37 | -- | 41 | -- | 19 | -- |
| URL/ENGINEERING DUTY OPTION | 4 | 0 | 4 | 1 | -- | -- |
| URL/OCEANOGRAPHY OPTION | 1 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| SUBMARINE WARFARE | 135 | -- | 101 | -- | 92 | -- |
| SPECIAL WARFARE | 20 | -- | 19 | -- | 10 | -- |
| SPECIAL OPERATIONS | 5 | -- | 6 | 1 | 9 | 1 |
| NAVAL FLIGHT OFFICER | 109 | 5 | 99 | 5 | 109 | 5 |
| PILOT | 223 | 10 | 195 | 15 | 216 | 14 |
| RESTRICTED LINE/STAFF CORPS | | | | | | |
| AVIATION MAINTENANCE DUTY | -- | 1 | -- | 1 | -- | -- |
| CRYPTOLOGY | 4 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| INTELLIGENCE | 2 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| OCEANOGRAPHY | -- | 3 | 1 | 1 | -- | 1 |
| MEDICAL CORPS | 8 | -- | 8 | -- | 15 | -- |
| SUPPLY | 22 | 17 | 26 | 14 | 19 | 13 |
| CIVIL ENGINEERING CORPS | 3 | 7 | 7 | 4 | 4 | 6 |
| INTER-SERVICE TRANSFER | | | | | | |
| USAF | 4 | -- | 6 | -- | 5 | 2 |

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Commandant
Deputy Commandant
Academic Dean and Provost, 1C
Chief of Staff, ACOS Operations,SJAG, 1B
Deputy for Management, 1D
Supply Officer, 20A
Comptroller, 20F
Library Reference Desk, 10A
Executive Director, Alumni Assoc., 1H
Dean of Admissions/CGO, 17A
Director of Athletics 4D
Director, Sports Information, 4D
Director, Professional Development, 7A
Brigade CDR, 3A
PAO(5)

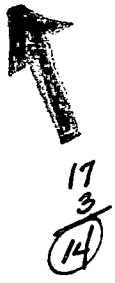
NAVY

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

'92

# MAKING CHANGES

## The Class of '92 Has Shown a Willingness To Adapt to a New World, New Navy



17
3
14

By Carol Mason Feldmann

At dawn, two days before Navy was to meet Army on the football field in Philadelphia, seventeen midshipmen, all but three of them members of the Class of 1992, rendezvoused secretly in a seedy hotel near West Point, New York. Their mission, which they had chosen to accept, was to mule-nap Army's four mascots. For a year, they meticulously planned the snatch. Just the week before, they had mobilized the teams and stormed West Point's bastions, only to have to abort the mission in the face of certain failure. Undaunted, they decided to attempt the strike again, this time under a heavier cloak of security.

In the uniforms of soldiers and military police, two teams entered the gates in cars sporting New York tags and "I love my cadet" and "Beat Navy" bumper stickers. Senior Shawn Callahan strode to the door of the veterinary clinic where the mules live in the heart of the Point. "We're delivering the feed for the game," he told the startled sergeant, one of three extra guards posted against the possibility that Navy would attempt the outrageous robbery of the mules. Before the three men could react, Callahan was across the room, Bravo team behind him, and out another door to unlock the barn door between him and Chris Middleton's team Alpha.

In broad daylight, under the watchful eyes of smoking civilians, the mule team led by future Navy Seal J.R. Anderson took on the 1,000-pound animals while trying to look natural. Guards subdued ("with only the required force") and animals newly fitted with bits, midshipmen using elaborate communications equipment and codes signalled the horse trailer to enter the heavily guarded base. Accompanied by another MP-uniformed midshipman, the horse trailer sailed straight to the clinic and backed up to the mule barn through the cones thoughtfully placed by the fraudulent policeman. The mules were loaded. Approximate time loading: two minutes.

After a grueling drive home — which began by going north to evade the three UH-1 Huey Cobra helicopters and federal, state and Department of Defense police — the convoy regrouped at Weir "Tennessee" Denton's Anne Arundel farm just before the traditional Thursday bonfire. Under cover of darkness, the convoy arrived at the Academy's Gate 8. Federal marshals and DOD police waiting to snare them shoved the culprits up against the baseball backstop, spread-eagled. The horse trailer would have to leave the Yard. Mission: failed.

But not just yet. The marshals had overlooked the mids' communication equipment, and compatriots inside the Yard were alerted to the impending danger. In the nick of time, Lt. Angela Smith, who just happened to be the command duty officer, was rounded up and brought to the gate. To the marshals she said, guys, you are now on our property. You can keep them in sight, but let's move the mules to the pep rally now. Mission: accomplished.

First semester Midshipman Brigade Commander Juliane Gallina describes her class as "very professional, very intense." Only an intense and professional class could accomplish what had not been accomplished in 102 years of Army-Navy rivalry. And there's more.

On paper, the class of 1992 looks like a very smart class. Comparing them to the classes of 1989 through 1995 — all the classes they have compared themselves to at one time or another in their time at the Academy — they have the highest average SAT scores, 588 on verbal, 667 on math, and 83 percent of them were in the first fifth of their high school classes, more than any other Academy classes of their era. The class includes such All-American athletes as basketball's Angie Dobbs, water polo's Louis Nicolao and sailing's Susie Minton.

In person, the class looks just as impressive.




It also has had to be, above all else, adaptable.

The class of 1992 has held on for the ride through roller-coaster changes in the Navy's and their own expectations. As freshmen, they were counting on a 600-ship Navy and unlimited opportunities to fly for graduates. In March, Secretary of the Navy H. Lawrence Garrett told the assembled brigade they could expect a downsized 450-ship Navy.

Seniors were well aware of the ramifications of Garrett's remarks: standing in lines based on class rank, in February they chose their future specialties in an annual ritual called service selection. The top third of the class seemed to get the assignments it coveted; the middle third wore down a lot of fingernails watching the slots dwindle as choice ships and home ports closed out; the bottom third picked through the leftovers.

"We were juniors in high school when *Top Gun* came out," remembered Mike Dowling, from Garden City, N.Y. "Plebe summer everyone wanted to be a Tom Cruise pilot — then service selection night, flight billets went out at 669, and all of a sudden the ships were snatched up. From the late 700's on, everybody ended up on an amphib. I mean, they're the ships you never see on posters."

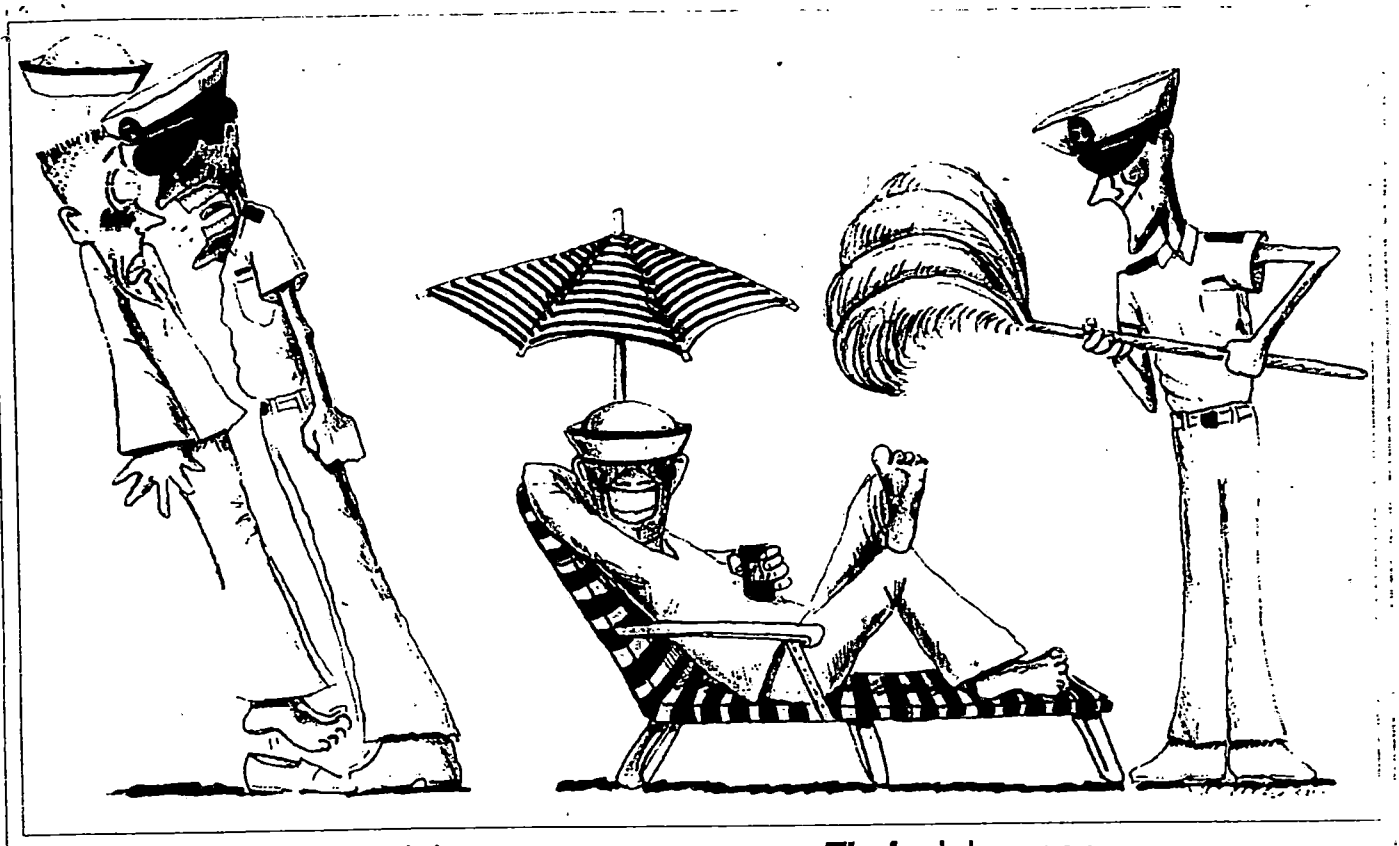
Disappointed, surprised, even, the members of the class of 1992 remain undaunted by the prospects of a smaller Navy.

"The attitude I've picked up is that it doesn't matter, that I'm here to serve, I want to fly, I want to be in the Marine Corps, whether or not we are downsizing or increasing or who we have to fight — this is what I want to do," says Class President Doug Barber, of Portland, Ore. "That kind of adaptation to changing circumstances impresses me."

The Class of 1992 had to adapt to many "changing circumstances" throughout its tenure, none perhaps more dramatic than plebe training. Ask any Academy midshipman or graduate which class had the last tough plebe year, and the answer, invariably, will be "my class." Graduates continually grumble about the country club atmosphere of Camp Tecumseh.

Seniors grumble, too, about how soft plebe training is these days, not like those long-ago days when *they* were freshmen. But the Class of 1992 may actually have a point.

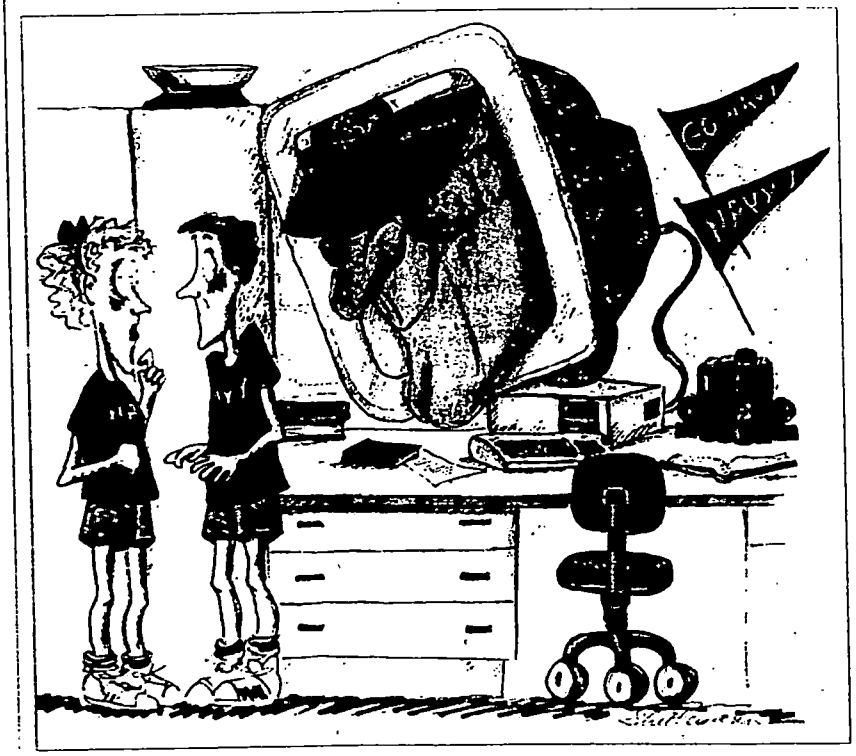
**Illustrations by Shelley Ann Reid**



***Our*** plebe year . . . . . . ***Their*** plebe year.

"Plebes now have less classes, less professional material, fewer formations, fewer meals. Their day ends at 12:45, but my plebe day ended at 8 p.m. There wasn't a time that I couldn't be asked a question," says Carlos Mendez of Miami, Fla.

Still, he says, "It was not necessarily better then, but it is easier now."



The 'Dant is watching.

Sweeping changes were made in plebe indoctrination in the summer of 1990, just as the class was returning to Annapolis for its first significant leadership experience training the new midshipmen-to-be. No touching, not even to straighten out a uniform, no "involuntary" horseplay, yelling not encouraged.

"People came back and said, 'I'm going to do Plebe Summer, I remember how it was done and I'm ready to do it.' Then they had to play by a whole different set of rules and nobody liked it," says Doug Barber.

Echoing his classmate, Mike Dowling says, "We came into second class year (junior) all fired up to be the way the seconds were toward us when we were plebes, and then all the changes came, and we just said, 'Wow, what do we do now?' I saw a breakdown."

"I was just real careful in what I did and what I said. You just had to keep the regulations in the forefront of your mind," says Portland, Ore., native Todd Harman.

"I don't think I talked to a plebe for six months. We saw a lot of bogus things going on, people going down for weird offenses and things we had seen going on for a long time — and getting kicked out of the Naval Academy for it," adds Carlos Mendez.

Mike Dowling thinks "that's the nature of this place that you tend not to want to accept change at first, but you can see that the last couple of years it's gotten better already. Hopefully, the plebes [we trained] won't know the old way. It probably all happened that way when women were first admitted, and when the hazing was stopped. It all worked out

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 50)

# CLASS OF '92

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 44)

after awhile."

Mark Fusco, second semester brigade commander, "was opposed to change for the fact of change. I fought the new plebe training harder than anybody.

"When we were plebes, the system didn't have to make sense, nor would it ever make sense, and there was nothing we could do to change it. No matter how many times they told us that, we kept saying, 'that still doesn't make sense.'" Fusco thinks it makes more sense now.

Far more than freshman training was transformed. Human relations within the brigade were scrutinized, not just by student leaders and officers, but by the the Academy's governing board and by members of Congress. All midshipmen spent hours learning about a Command Managed Equal Opportunity program.

Importance of equal opportunity and mutual respect were not the only messages midshipmen heard.

"I don't think the message was 'treat people more fairly.' I think the message was 'be careful what you say and what you do.' CMEO turned into the Red Scare. Be careful what you say because your words may come back to haunt you,'" says Harman.

"That's when all the jokes came out that the 'dant (commandant of midshipmen) could see you through your computer monitor," laughs Mendez.

Although philosophical and material plebe training and human relations changes had been planned for some time, they were hurried along by an event that had a special impact on the Class of 1992. In May 1990, a classmate, sophomore Gwen Dreyer, resigned from the Academy, accusing male company mates of chaining her to a urinal during Army-Navy Week in December 1989. Dreyer's charges resulted in a media firestorm the likes of which the Academy had never seen. "Tormented female mid resigns," blared the *Capital*'s Sunday morning headline.

Questions of classmate loyalty, a hallmark of Academy life, made it a particularly uncomfortable time for Dreyer's classmates. "Do we support her because she was our classmate, or do we turn against her because she turned against us?" asks Juliane Gallina. "That was the whole issue."

"Dreyer gave women a bad name," says Todd Harman.

"The Gwen Dreyer affair aggravated everything," concedes Gallina. "I think we have gone through a real maturation as a class. Plebe year there was a good feeling across the board from all my classmates that we were all plebes, we were classmates. But the whole of youngster (sophomore) year was difficult for me. All of a sudden I felt like I wasn't one of their classmates anymore. I was a female. I felt more identified by sex, by gender.

"In the long run, I think talking about it and getting it out makes our class a world apart from other classes. They don't know what it's like to have . . . the class fingered out. I think that made us stronger."



***It's time for midshipmen to smile at last. Being very typical are these graduating members of the 10th Company: Geoff Broderick, Keith Gordon, Ken Miller and Eric Ostler.***

Gallina herself can take some credit for the strengthening of her classmates. The first woman ever to be appointed brigade commander, the highest-ranking midshipman, she risked being branded a token.

"A lot of people were saying, 'I can't believe '92 has to be the first class to have a female brigade commander,'" says Todd Harman. "But she's a neat girl, very charismatic, diplomatic, knows how to talk to people."

"She seemed like someone from the brigade," adds Steve Gordon of Vienna, Va.

"Juliane is one of us," Mike Dowling says, simply. "Plebe year, if a woman came to the anchor (the microphone in the dining hall) to make an announcement, we'd do catcalls. We went from that to everyone hearing Juliane, and everyone would come straight to attention for her."

Gallina and Fusco presided over more changes for the class.

"Our class is the first class in truly a long time to have as much control of each other as any class in the past. Company officers and battalion officers were running a large part of what was going on in Bancroft Hall. Officers have taken a step back and given us the freedom to lead, and with that freedom has come the freedom to make mistakes," Gallina says.

Army-Navy week is the traditional time for a class to do it big. 1991 was '92's year to shine. The day prior to the humiliation of the mule-stealing, Army's cadet commander was briefly kidnapped; just hours after the mule theft was discovered, thousands of Beat Army! ping pong balls were dropped on West Point. The Class of 1992 didn't rest on its laurels: it may have had a winless team, but it did win the spirit contest for sure. A '92 squad made its way to the Pentagon under cover of darkness and spelled Beat Army! in 24-foot letters on a hill near the Pentagon with 400 pounds of lime.

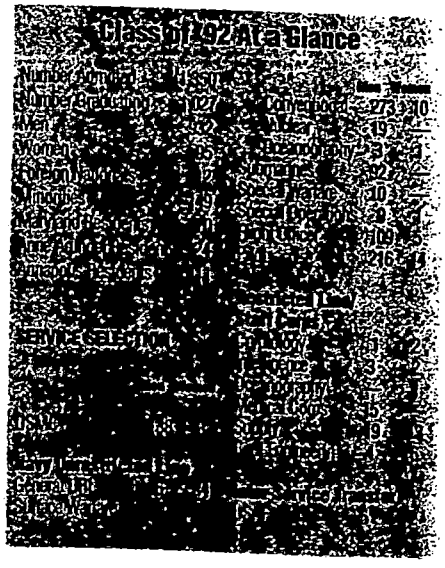
The efforts paid off. Navy whipped Army 24-3, the team led by '92ers B.J. Mason and Byron Ogden.

Understating the case dramatically, Army-Navy is not just another game. "To see them on the field victorious was real emotional for me," says Gallina. "It was important for our class to have that victory . . . all was insignificant in the face of victory over Army."

The Class of 1992 is not one of those forgettable, muddle of the road classes. Nothing halfway with them.

"We've always been the first — or maybe the last — to do something," says Chris Middleton. "We've endured changes and adjusted to the changes. Our class has not hung on to the past. Our class is oriented to the future, and that's probably our number one strength."

They'll need that special strength as they go into a Navy and Marine Corps still making a painful transition from steady growth and a clear enemy to the murkier goals and less expensive services of the future. They'll need fair winds and following seas.



COMMISSIONING WEEK INFORMATION
CLASS OF 1992
(information as of April 1, 1992)

1. Number admitted in the Class of 1992, also breakdown of men and women:
   Total admitted: 1350
   Men: 1203
   Women: 147

2. Number graduating, also breakdown by men and women:
   Class of 1992, as of April 1: 1027
   Men: 932
   Women: 95

3. Number of foreign nationals, as of April 1: 12

4. Number of minorities, as of April 1: 149 TOTAL

   | | |
   |---|---|
   | Hispanics: | 56 |
   | Oriental Amer.: | 46 |
   | Native Amer.: | 5 |
   | Afro American: | 42 |

5. Number of Maryland residents: approx. 70