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2013-0359-S

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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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(b)(6)

Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

A Case for Polyandry

SAN FRANCISCO

The institution of marriage has been put into play.

A couple of judges in Hawaii, tossing judicial restraint to the gentle breezes, have declared that marriage need no longer be construed as the legal union between a man and a woman. They have ruled that the denial of marriage licenses to homosexual couples is discrimination on the basis of sex, unconstitutional in that state.

What is upsetting Americans in the other 49 states (not to mention the great majority of Hawaiians) is the possible extension of this ruling throughout the nation by virtue of the "full faith and credit" clause of the U.S. Constitution. That says plainly that each state must recognize "public acts, records and judicial proceedings of every other state."

Remember the old days when unhappy spouses traveled to Nevada for a quickie divorce, which had to be recognized as legal at home? Same

their way with women and then run out on them. "Deadbeat dads" are an alliterative blight on our society.

But if just one judge in one state dared to strike a blow for polyandry, think of the positive repercussions:

1. A woman's chance of being left alone would be cut in half overnight. If one man left, there would still be another standing by. Both the wife and the stay-behind spouse would, in their joint rejection, be drawn more closely together. Moreover, the search for a replacement second husband would be easier, conducted by two abandoned spouses, one of whom could work or stay home with the children while the other cruised singles bars or followed up personal ads. Also, because women live longer, a backup husband reduces full widowhood.

2. The likelihood of the presence of a male role model in the home for children would be doubled. The era of the latchkey child would end abruptly, as one of the husbands would be at home at all times for roughhouse and nurturing.

3. Marital fidelity would be enhanced by internalizing the eternal triangle. The costs of living together could be cut sharply by eliminating the need for assignments. Three can live as cheaply as two; remove the adult from adultery.

Who could oppose this modest proposal to extend connubial rights, inheritance-tax advantages and benefits blessings to millions of lonely women and angry extra males?

Oh, we can expect to hear from feminists who fear to go too far, as well as male chauvinists who are not into sharing and caring. Traditionalists may mutter about the risks of fiddling with fundamentals, though research will show the origins of polyandry in biblical times.

To the peroration: If you believe marriage to be indispensable to the upbringing of children; if you argue for the stability this institution brings to human relationships; if you sense the values inherent in the mutual love and loyalty of families; and if you believe, with our Federalist Fathers, in the "full faith and credit" clause — then how, in the name of all that virtuous men and women hold sacred, can you object to the expansion of this bulwark of civilization?

Ladies and gentlemen of the Platform Committee, if this polyandry plank is not included intact, I am marching my people right out of this convention. □

Why only one husband?

principle: If the state judges get their way, marriage in Hawaii would enable a gay couple to claim all the legal and insurance protections of marriage anywhere in the U.S.

Those of us who run our thumbs along the cutting edge of social change, however, are less interested in the pros and cons of "same-sex marriage" than in the possibility its acceptance would open up for a far larger segment of the population.

With the age-old institution of one-man, one-wife finally in play, the time has come to make the case for polyandry.

For those who have not given the matter much thought, polyandry is the marriage of one woman to two or more men. (Do not confuse it with the discredited, sexist "polygamy," the marriage of one man to more than one woman.) Consider what the adoption of polyandry would do for the social fabric of families in America.

What is the reason for the divorce explosion, wedlock-free children, the loss of our traditional values, galloping anomie and rampant ennui? The root cause is the way some men have

Abroad at Home

ANTHONY LEWIS

D Plus 90

BOSTON

The international force in Bosnia passes the 90-day mark of its deployment this week. With a quarter of its scheduled year's life finished, how are IFOR and the Dayton peace plan doing?

Militarily, the process has so far been breathtakingly successful. IFOR is the unchallenged master of the scene. The warring forces all withdrew on schedule according to the Dayton rules. The 60,000 soldiers of IFOR have met no organized opposition in their role of keeping the forces separated.

NATO, which supplied the bulk of IFOR's strength, has shown that its troops and weapons are overwhelmingly superior. Just as we learned last summer that the Bosnian Serbs would not stand up to serious NATO bombing, we know now that NATO ground forces could have cowed them at any point during their three years of genocidal aggression.

But when one turns to the political and psychological elements that are crucial to a genuine peace, the picture is not bright. On paper, the Dayton accords created the framework for a Bosnia embracing all its people. If the first 90 days are indicative, that hope will remain on paper.

The two accused war criminals who led the Bosnian Serbs to slaughter their countrymen, Ratko Mladic and Radovan Karadzic, have continued to foment hatred of The Other. In the weeks before Serbian-held suburbs of Sarajevo were returned to Bosnian Government control, they urged the Serbs there to leave — and sent gangs of thugs to frighten

The Bosnian Government of President Alija Izetbegovic took no meaningful steps to reassure Serbs in the suburbs that they would be safe. Its behavior, suggests that it does not really want a multi-ethnic Bosnia.

The civilian side of the peace operation has contributed to the disappointing picture by not organizing an international police force quickly enough and lagging on reconstruction. The latter can be attributed in good part to the United States Congress, which has failed disastrously to come up with the first \$200 million pledged for reconstruction. Senator Bob Dole, who has understood the Bosnian tragedy from the start, could make a real difference on that issue.

IFOR has also been a big disappointment on the political side. It is king of the hill, but it has not used its great authority to protect the peace process from threats or gross provocations.

A sad example: Shortly before the suburb of Ildiza was to come under Bosnian Government control, elderly residents pleaded with British Lieut. Gen. Michael J.D. Walker, IFOR's ground commander, to protect them from Serbian gangs pressing them to leave. The custodian of a school asked him to protect it. General Walker told them all he could do nothing. The next day the school was burned down, along with a church and 15 other major buildings.

The gravest piece of timidity on IFOR's part, or perhaps more accurately of misdirection by its political masters, has been its unwillingness to take effective measures to arrest accused war criminals. One official of the U.S. Defense Department said the force would arrest General Mladic only if he turned himself in, preferably with his hands up. IFOR, he said, had a much bigger mission than arresting war criminals.

But there is no bigger mission than that. The blunt fact is that the Dayton agreements will not work — and Western credibility will fall with them — unless General Mladic and Dr. Karadzic are brought to justice. As long as the monsters remain free, taunting justice, no one can believe in a peaceful future for Bosnia. □

Is the Bosnian peace operation working?

them out by looting and arson.

General Mladic and Dr. Karadzic have mocked the International War Crimes Tribunal that indicted them. General Mladic went skiing on the slopes near Sarajevo the other day and made himself available for news photographs: a stunt of in-your-face brutality. It was from those same hills that he personally directed the shelling of Sarajevo's hospitals, libraries and homes.

Tensions between Croats and Muslims in the U.S.-sponsored Muslim-Croat federation have not eased. Mostar remains a city divided between the two; Western peacemakers have effectively yielded to Croatian gangsters there who do not want to end the division. President Franjo Tudjman of Croatia has promised but done little to end intransigence of Bosnian Croats.

THE NEW YORK TIMES
MONDAY, MARCH 18, 1996

In America

BOB HERBERT

Sardine Sandwich

Hop aboard the New York transit elevator. Fares going up, services going down.

A man who regularly rode the M72 bus between the East and West Sides (there is no comparable subway route) recently gave up. He had spent too many frigid, snowy nights waiting for buses that never showed. Last week he bought a car.

The magazine Time Out has posted ads on city buses that say, "Our magazine is a lot like this bus. It covers the city and comes about once a week."

Subway service is getting ugly, too. Consider the D train. Before service reductions on that line took effect last November, about 6,640 passengers were jammed into 72 subway cars between 7 A.M. and 8 A.M. each weekday. Now the same number of passengers are jammed into 56 cars, an increase from an uncomfortable 92 people per car to a very uncomfortable 119.

"It means," said Gene Russianoff, staff attorney for the Straphangers Campaign, "more elbows in the ribs, more packages in the thighs, more being pinned to the door."

Even 119 passengers is well short of the Transit Authority's "crush load" limit for the type of car used on the D line. The maximum allowed is 155, which works out to a tiny patch of 3 square feet per passenger. As Mr. Russianoff drily noted, "That equals the U.S. Department of Agriculture's guidelines for shipping cattle."

It would be foolhardy to begin another long slide in bus and subway service in New York. Thanks to an enormous effort and a tremendous infusion of funds, public transit improved mightily over the past decade and half. Bus and subway riders have gotten used to being treated a little more like human beings and a little less like cattle. As Public Advocate Mark Green put it, "The recovery of our subway system from the decay of the 70's is one of New York's proudest success stories."

Now, with the arrival of Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who will not fight for transit, and Gov. George Pataki, an enemy of public transit in the city, we are headed back the other way.

The transit fare went up 20 percent to \$1.50 last November. The increase came as huge funding cuts ordered by the Governor and the Mayor, and decreases in Federal transit subsidies, were causing the first widespread cuts in transit service since the 1970's.

Transit riders are paying a lot

more and getting a lot less. For those who think that is inevitable, think again. While Governor Pataki ordered cuts in aid to New York City transit, he gave increases to every other major transit agency in the state.

Worse is to come. The Governor's point man on transit, E. Virgil Conway, chairman of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, has crafted a long-term financing plan that might have been dreamed up by three-card monte players in Times Square.

Nobody believes Mr. Conway's plan is for real. It calls, among other things, for more than \$7 billion in capital improvements from 1997 through 1999, but provides little real money to pay for them.

The shrinking of public transit.

As The Times's Richard Pérez-Peña wrote on Friday, "Almost from the day it was released, Mr. Conway's plan was derided by former transit officials and riders' groups as a prescription for higher fares, poorer service, deferred maintenance, a mountain of debt or a combination of those factors."

The M.T.A.'s most recent budget has already forced the curtailment of service on 11 subway lines and dozens of bus routes. Token booth clerks are vanishing by the hundreds and officials are warning of more cuts to come.

The Mayor has been a collaborator in this unconscionable assault on transit riders. As early as October 1994 he began hacking at the funding of transit passes for half a million school kids. Mr. Pataki took office three months later and immediately let it be known that fiercer attacks were to come.

The city's transit system moved 81 percent of the state's transit riders last year but received just 63 percent of state transit aid. Governor Pataki has made it his mission to increase that inequity.

And the Mayor? Well, we know how he feels about the Police Commissioner's book contract, and he went all the way to Israel to shout about Yasir Arafat. It would be nice to see him go to the mat for several million bus and subway riders. □

Jammed Doors Cited in Report On Train Crash

By Don Phillips
Washington Post Staff Writer

A1

The National Transportation Safety Board said yesterday that most doors jammed on the first two cars of the Maryland commuter train that rammed an Amtrak train Feb. 16 in Silver Spring and that the only survivors from the burning front car escaped through a hole slashed through a corner of the second car.

In the first results of the federal agency's investigation, the board issued urgent recommendations on improving commuter car safety nationwide and revealed new details of how 12 people escaped from the burning Maryland Rail Commuter Service (MARC) train while others vainly beat on windows that would not budge.

The safety board recommended that the Federal Railroad Administration order a nationwide inspection to determine whether commuter rail cars have easy-to-open emergency doors and windows that are clearly marked with reflective signs and order "corrective action" by those commuter rail systems that do not.

The board separately recommended that MARC install quick-release emergency exits on all doors and removable windows or install kick panels on all doors and that it replace faded or missing escape signs with easily understood instructions.

MARC already has announced plans to make evacuation improvements that would go beyond the safety board recommendations, including escape mechanisms on all windows

See TRAIN, A14, Col. 8

TRAIN, From A1

and revision of the cumbersome process necessary to open doors. But those changes could take months to implement.

The safety board, as an independent investigative agency, has no rule-making power. However, its recommendations to regulatory agencies, such as FRA, carry great weight and, by law, must be answered.

An FRA spokesman said the agency "welcomes their comments" and already has ordered commuter rail agencies to produce new safety plans within 45 days.

The safety board has not completed its investigation into the cause of the wreck, which killed 11 people, but the agency often issues interim recommendations if it uncovers situations in urgent need of correction.

Problems with escape mechanisms and signage were one of the early findings to emerge from the investigation of the collision, which occurred on a snowy evening when the MARC train slammed into Amtrak's Capitol Limited. The first car of the MARC train, which was being pushed by its locomotive, rammed the fuel tank of the Amtrak locomotive and causing burning fuel to spray through the interior of the car.

The board said yesterday that one crew member and one passenger died in the initial impact, rather than three as originally announced. The nine other victims all died of smoke inhalation.

Through interviews with six surviving students from a Job Corps camp in Harpers Ferry, W.Va., the board pieced together a story of desperate attempts to open jammed doors, followed by the discovery that the impact had knocked a hole in the second car.

One student who was sitting next to an emergency window said that smoke immediately filled the car from the ceiling to about two feet from the floor and that he felt he did not have time to open the window, so he moved to the rear of the car. Another student said he crawled to the rear to avoid the smoke.

Two other students seated near the rear of the first car immediately went into the vestibule between cars but were unable to budge either side door.

"These two students made their way into the vestibule of the second car and escaped through an opening in the damaged left front corner of the second car," said a safety board letter to MARC and the Federal Railroad Administration, signed by Chairman Jim Hall. "All surviving students, as well as a 26-year-old passenger who was seated in the cab [front] car, followed."

The board said that an inspection of the cars revealed four jammed doors. One of them was the end door on the second car, which would have prevented anyone from entering the second car and running to the rear of the train. Another door was destroyed at the point where the escape hole was made.

The board also said that several students said they were unaware of the emergency exits and that none knew how to operate them.

"The safety board found that the interior emergency window decals were not prominently displayed and that one car had no interior emergency window decals," the letter said. "The safety board noted that the exterior emergency decals were often faded or obliterated and that the information on them, while legible, directed emergency responders to another sign at the end of the car for instructions on how to open emergency exits, which is a time-consuming process."

Muddling Through

Despite Hardships, GIs Coping in Bosnia

By Rick Atkinson
Washington Post Foreign Service



VLASENICA, Bosnia
You're in the Army now. And you're in Bosnia. You've been here a couple of months, with probably nine or 10 to go, although you're really not sure.

You rise at dawn and often work until 9 or 10 p.m., since there's little else to do. You're supposed to have a day off every week, but somehow that rarely happens.

The food has improved, and you get a hot shower once or twice a week. Some amenities the outside world takes for granted have begun to appear: movies and regular mail and laundry service that won't shred your clothes. Some soldiers are living in spiffy prefabricated containers with bunks and wall lockers. You, like most, are still in a tent.

Mud remains ubiquitous; you're constantly scraping it off your boots and fatigues. For some reason, the higher echelons still

won't let you have a beer after work, and you resent being treated like an adolescent. Other NATO soldiers here all have generous leave policies—typically six weeks of vacation in a year-long deployment—but the U.S. military has yet to decide whether you can escape for a week or so this summer.

Still, morale is high—surprisingly high, all things considered.

For the 20,000 American men and women participating in Operation Joint Endeavor, the novelty of shipping out for the Balkans has long since faded. They are here for the long haul, trying to settle in to a cruising speed, attempting to get comfortable in a place abjectly short on creature comforts. For most, that means making do, marking time and contemplating life after Bosnia.

"I'm really looking forward to getting in my car when I get home and driving someplace by

See TROOPS, A16, Col. 1

TROOPS, From A1

myself without a four-vehicle convoy" for security, said Master Sgt. Gary Thrasher of Salt Lake City, who works in Lodgment Area Lisa, headquarters of the 1st Armored Division's 2nd Brigade, on a hilltop above Vlasenica, about 30 miles south of Tuzla. "I'm looking forward to cooking my own dinner. I want to go bicycling. I want to watch 'ER.' I want to see a videotape of the Super Bowl.

"I just hope," Thrasher added, "that what we've been doing over here really makes a difference."

Considering that the U.S. deployment to one of Europe's most underdeveloped regions began in mid-December, the accomplishments thus far are impressive: 24 camps built in Bosnia—for an estimated \$750 million—plus three in Croatia and four in Hungary.

Since a pontoon bridge was erected across the Sava River on the last day of 1995, more than 21,000 vehicles have crossed into Bosnia freighted with the proverbial beans and bullets, and a whole lot more. The camps are too crude to be described as Little Americas—the architecture here inclines toward sandbags, triple-strand concertina wire and guard towers.

"The duty's all right, better than I figured it would be," said Spec. William Blake, a military policeman from Southeast Washington. "The living, well, that's something else. But you can't expect too much on a deployment like this."

Quality of life varies among the camps, although U.S. commanders have tried to maintain a rough parity. At the headquarters on Tuzla Air Base, home to more than 2,000 soldiers, there is now a small post exchange, with offerings from condoms to condiments. The mess hall recently switched from canned to fresh-cooked rations, although lunch is limited to Meals Ready to Eat. Films are shown on big-screen television—recent viewings included "The Santa Clause" and "Tootsie"—and an occasional USO entertainer breezes through. Last week it was Gates McFadden, who stars as Dr. Crusher on "Star Trek: The Next Generation."

"This ain't Club Med, but we're dealing with it. Every time you go on patrol you come back with mud to the knees," Staff Sgt. William Owens of Gary, Ind., said as he stood, in fact, in knee-deep mud. "Some of the guys have shipped in their own weight sets or VCRs or little refrigerators, some of those little things that make it seem more like home."

At Camp Harmon, a staging base in southeastern Croatia, engineers have bridged the mud with wooden boardwalks and the tents have plywood floors. A small recreation center boasts Stairmasters and table tennis, and the camp has ordered a karaoke machine.

Farther south, living tends to be more rustic. Col. John Batiste, the 2nd Brigade commander, said he has not taken a shower since Jan. 6, a gesture of solidarity he will sustain until all of his 4,500 soldiers have shower facilities. At the camps named Angela and Lisa, a ferocious midnight storm earlier this month flattened hundreds of tents, leaving the soldiers soaked and miserable. Many camps still want for commercial telephone lines to call home, and the army's "MWR" packages—morale, welfare and recreation—have been slow in coming with exercise equipment, small libraries and other niceties.

Those at the far end of the supply pipeline, particularly camps in the southern mountains, find themselves constantly peering up the road for truck convoys. "Where we are it's easier to get a chocolate éclair from Sarajevo than an MRE from Tuzla," said Maj. Ken Lucas, an armor officer based in Olovo. Several camps—such as Lodgment Area Demi—have traded tents for three-man modular trailers erected by the Brown & Root construction firm at a reported cost of more than \$5,000 each. Engineers first dumped \$100,000 worth of gravel as a foundation to keep the trailers from sinking in mud. Although warm and comfortable, the prefab barracks have been criticized even by some denizens as too extravagant for a one-year deployment—soldiers are taxpayers, too.

Slowly the constellation of camps is becoming an American community, albeit a very transitory one, with drama and melodrama. As on every long deployment, commanders and senior sergeants find themselves consoling soldiers who receive Dear John letters from wives or sweethearts who won't wait a year. Stress and overwork have taken a toll, and it's a rare trooper who hasn't felt a flicker of despair in contemplating the long months that remain until the mission ends.

Yet discipline problems remain few, largely because "the soldiers have been so busy there's not much time to get into trouble, and besides, we're out here in the middle of nowhere," said Lt. Col. Paul W. Self, commander of the 47th Support Battalion.

Although many fear that the United States somehow will find itself bogged down in Bosnia—"I just spent a year in Korea, and we've been keeping the peace there since 1953," said Master Sgt. Leonard Bonamo of New Orleans—it's unusual to find a soldier still dead-set against the U.S. commitment here.

"The consciousness of the soldiers has been raised," said Maj. Gen. William L. Nash, commander of U.S. forces in Bosnia. "There are a lot of guys who think this makes a lot more sense now than they did a couple of months ago."

Lt. Tamara McNealy, a platoon leader from Brunswick, Md., agreed. "Now that we're on the ground and can see what happened here and the impact we've had," McNealy said, "there's definitely a point to this."

THE WASHINGTON POST
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 13, 1996

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

U.S. Negotiates to Send Vietnamese Home, Quietly, From Asian Camps

By STEVEN ERLANGER

WASHINGTON, March 3 — White House aides have a nightmare: the last 36,000 Vietnamese boat people, after years in camps vainly waiting for resettlement in the West, are forcibly returned to Vietnam in ugly scenes, shown on television, that recapitulate the pain, anger and guilt of the war that President Clinton opposed.

That nightmare may soon come true, staining the last episode of a dramatic 20-year story of saving and resettling more than one million refugees who fled their homelands after the collapse of American-supported Governments in Communist revolutions throughout Indochina.

This final chapter to the Vietnam War is quickly coming to a close, with a meeting scheduled in Geneva on Tuesday and Wednesday to conclude the 1989 International agreement that governed the issue of the boat people and to set a target date of June 30 for sending the last of them back to Vietnam.

In essence, the meeting is to mark the end of the two-decade aftermath of the Vietnam War and the emotional cloud of guilt and politics that grew up around it.

The countries of Southeast Asia, having taken in the boat people after promises that they would only be there temporarily, want the camps closed and the last boat people repatriated, forcibly or otherwise.

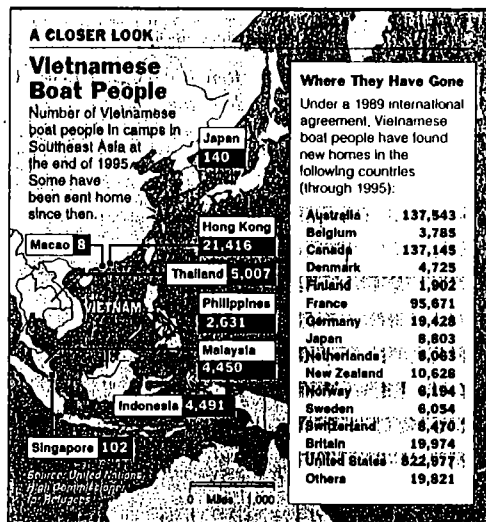
The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees wants to devote its time and resources to other pressing refugee problems in Bosnia and elsewhere, though it will continue to monitor the fates of the Vietnamese who return.

U.S. Proposes One Last Screening

Under the international plan governing boat people since 1989, officials of the United Nations refugee agency have screened the people in the camps and satisfied themselves that no legitimate refugees remain. But many critics are not so sure and argue for a generous closing of the books.

The United States, after taking in more than a million Vietnamese refugees since 1975, wants one last screening by immigration officials, to insure that no one with legitimate connections to the American military or the former South Vietnamese Government or with family ties in the United States has been overlooked.

The American proposals are being



rebuffed by Vietnam, though American officials say they will continue to press the Vietnamese in Geneva.

But the emotional and political impact of failure to convince Hanoi could be strong and swift.

"Forced repatriations could start very quickly following the Geneva meeting, and then what do you do when people associated with the United States are beaten, wounded or even killed?" asked Lionel Rosenblatt, president of Refugees International, who helped formulate the plan for a final screening.

"This is not a problem the United States can just walk away from, that will somehow sort itself out," he said. "It's the final inning of a long and honorable humanitarian program that has rested on bipartisan American leadership and that is about to end in ignominy and disaster."

Similar concerns have been expressed to the White House by figures ranging from Senator Mark O. Hatfield, the Oregon Republican, to former President Jimmy Carter.

Agreement Sought With Vietnamese

American officials do not really disagree, but one official said their focus "has to be to try to reach an agreement with the Vietn that

is credible and workable, and we're hopeful."

"We recognize the difficulties of reaching an agreement," he said, "but we're not prepared to cut and run, either." While refusing to describe American alternatives, he said, "Our discussions are encouraging."

In November, American officials presented a plan called Track II, which would have provided the final screening inside Vietnam once the boat people had returned there.

A major part of the proposal, officials admit, was to get the last and most resistant of the camp population to agree to return to Vietnam without being forced onto buses and planes. They could then be screened privately, and if they were rejected, as most would be, their drama would be without what officials call "the CNN factor."

But American officials who had youthful experience in Vietnam, like the national security adviser, W. Anthony Lake, also wanted to be sure that boat people with ties to the American war effort, even if too vague for the refugee commissioner's screeners, were allowed entry to America. Working with Congress and refugee advocates like Mr. Rosenblatt, the Administration drew up Track II, and the refugee agency gave its support to the plan.

Hanoi Objects To U.S. Plan

But at a meeting in Bangkok in mid-January, Vietnam indicated that it would reject Track II, saying a final screening would be unfair to the 75,000 Vietnamese who had already returned from the camps. Vietnam also objected to setting up an "extraterritorial" screening center staffed by American Immigration officials on its soil when Vietnamese citizens already had a means to apply for emigration to America through a longstanding system called the Orderly Departure Program.

Vietnam also was worried that large numbers of those rejected in the final screening would become violent and remain actively disgruntled.

American officials have continued trying to allay Vietnam's concerns. But one senior official said he doubted that Vietnamese officials would change their minds.

Another Administration official said the idea of final screening in the camps of Southeast Asia before a return to Vietnam, as some refugee advocates now urge, had not even been broached with the first asylum countries. These countries made it very clear in the Bangkok meeting, he said, that "no other actions or new initiatives should take place that might interrupt or adversely affect the implementation of repatriation."

After Bangkok, instances of violence in camps in Malaysia and the Philippines followed botched efforts at forcible returns in the Philippines, especially, there were ugly scenes of violence and beatings as hundreds of Vietnamese tried to block an airport runway where a flight was to take off.

Pressed by the Roman Catholic Church, the Philippine Government promised that there would be no further forcible returns, and that the remaining 2,500 or so boat people there would be allowed to settle in the Philippines.

Asian Hosts Want All to Go Home

But this would have broken the Southeast Asian consensus that the remaining people in the camps must return home. Under pressure from its neighbors, the Philippines soon reversed itself.

or American officials recognize a moral dilemma that forces well-meaning people to choose between a general good — putting a

finish to the horrible half-life of the camps — and the possibility of individual pain if some Vietnamese with legitimate ties to the United States are returned.

But if some American officials are torn between historic ties to the Vietnamese and the need to end a refugee program that has in general been a humanitarian success, the Asia director for the United Nations refugee agency, Alexander Casella, has few such doubts.

The refugee program, known as the Comprehensive Plan of Action, was started in 1989 to stop the seemingly endless outflow of Vietnamese boat people with little or no connection to the American war.

Since then, Mr. Casella said, "possibly tens of thousands of lives have been saved from pirates and the sea, the right of every boat person to a hearing was restored, more than 80,000 refugees were recognized and resettled, more than 500,000 refugees were allowed to depart Vietnam legally and 75,000 Vietnamese who were not judged to be refugees could return home under an amnesty program that is among the best monitored in the world."

'Everyone Knew End Would Come'

The screening process deemed 80,000 boat people to be legitimate refugees and 115,000 to be only economic migrants, Mr. Casella said. All but 36,000 or so of the second group have gone back to Vietnam. And 19,000 of them, most from north Vietnam, are still in Hong Kong.

"The basic issue is that we are no longer dealing with refugees," Mr. Casella said in a telephone interview

from Geneva. "These are still human beings, but they are not political refugees. And the international community has to come to grips with that fact. But there is a segment, a minority of American opinion, that hasn't. And these poor people have become to some degree a football in the internal American debate."

Even American officials concede that there is no evidence of general discrimination against the Vietnamese who have returned, that the refugee agency will continue to monitor the returnees and that they will still have the right to apply to immigrate to the United States once they return to Vietnam.

"This is an historic moment after a long and very successful program," said Phyllis Oakley, the Assistant Secretary of State for Population, Refugees and Migration. "After all the piracy, the dead, the push-offs, we created a regime that brought some order and security, took care of the refugees, provided hearings for resettlement. It was an international effort that stopped boat people from leaving, and it represented an imaginative international conclusion to a very difficult problem."

But after 20 years, she said, "It's time to bring this program to an end, so people can get on with their lives and get out of the camps." America has other business with the countries of the region, including Vietnam.

A senior American official said: "Nobody wants to end this program with terrible scenes — nobody. No one's trying to do evil. Everybody knew the end would come and that certain people would have to go back."

But no one wanted to think about that. It's much easier to start refugee programs than to end them."

India and Pakistan Troops Clash in Kashmir

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan, March 3 (Reuters) — Indian and Pakistani troops clashed today across the dividing line of the disputed Himalayan region of Kashmir, the Pakistani Defense Ministry said.

A ministry spokesman, quoted by the official news agency, accused the Indian troops of starting the clash with "unprovoked firing" on Pakistani posts and civilians living close to the control line in the Rawalakot sector.

The spokesman said "intense fire of various calibers was exchanged," but he reported no casualties.

The incident follows a series of recent clashes between the two sides

In another sector, where Pakistan says India is trying to alter the status of what it calls the working boundary between its Punjab province and the Indian-ruled part of Kashmir.

Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Asif Ahmad Ali, said on Saturday that India was trying to build a fence along the boundary and that Pakistan would "not allow this to happen at any cost."

Tension has run high between the two sides after a separatist Muslim revolt erupted in early 1990 in two-thirds of Kashmir ruled by India.

Pakistan controls the remaining third of the territory, over which the two nations have fought two wars.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

THE NEW YORK TIMES
MONDAY, MARCH 4, 1996

2 Turkish Parties Agree on Freezing Out the Islamic Forces

By CELESTINE BOHLEN

GENEVA, March 3 — Turkey's months-long political stalemate ended today with an agreement by two rival conservative parties to form a coalition government that will leave the pro-Islamic Welfare Party out in the cold.

The union of the two center-right parties, which had both narrowly trailed the Welfare Party in last December's Parliamentary elections, was favored by Turkey's secular establishment as the best way to block Necmettin Erbakan, the Islamic leader whose anti-Western, antiseccular statements have been unsettling to many inside and outside Turkey.

"I believe this is the most logical resolution from the picture that was thrown up by the elections," said Mesut Yilmaz, the 48-year-old leader of the Motherland Party, who will head Turkey's new minority government for the rest of this year. The Welfare Party, which in December drew the most votes with a mere 21.4 percent share and last month came close to entering a coalition government, will now become the main opposition party in the 550-seat Parliament with 158 seats, the largest bloc held by any single party in Turkey's fractured political spectrum.

After a week of intense negotiation, Prime Minister Tansu Ciller, leader of the True Path Party, and Mr. Yilmaz, her former foe, overcame their personal feuds to settle on a power-sharing formula that will allow Mr. Yilmaz to take the first turn at a rotating premiership.

Mrs. Ciller, whose insistence on keeping her job had until now been a major stumbling block to an agreement Mr. Yilmaz, will wait her turn as a member of Parliament — without a Cabinet seat — until 1997, when she will serve two years as Prime Minister. The remaining two years of the proposed coalition government will be divided between Mr. Yilmaz and an unnamed member of the Motherland Party.

The new government, which falls about 20 votes short of an absolute majority in Parliament, will have to rely on support from left-wing parties to survive a political handicap compounded by the tough economic choices ahead brought on by 80 percent annual inflation, high unemployment and a ballooning budget deficit.

But after the two months of political uncertainty that followed last December's election, the success of a



Prime Minister Tansu Ciller of Turkey and her former rival Mesut Yilmaz celebrated the agreement yesterday to form a center-right coalition, blocking an Islamic party that won parliamentary elections.

center-right coalition, however weak, is bound to be greeted with relief by Turkey's financial markets, where stock prices last week jumped 14 percent at the prospect of an Yilmaz-Ciller agreement. In an interview last week, Mrs. Ciller described her decision to step back for the rest of this year as a "sacrifice" to make to stop Refah, the Turkish name for the Welfare Party.

Mr. Erbakan, the 69-year-old leader of the Welfare Party, was briefly mentioned by Mr. Yilmaz in a coalition agreement that would have effectively given the Welfare Party leader a trial period to prove that his policies in government would not be so radical as his statements on the campaign trail.

But the coalition between Mr. Yilmaz and Mr. Erbakan fell apart after two weeks of talks, in large part because both party leaders were facing severe criticism from within their ranks for making too many concessions. And while many in Turkey said they were prepared to see the Islamic Party take its turn in

government, many others felt that Mr. Erbakan — despite his recent more moderate stance — could not be trusted.

A veteran of Turkish politics who served twice in coalition govern-

New Worry for Falklands

PORT STANLEY, Falkland Islands, March 3 (Reuters) — British naval vessels will start patrolling the waters off the island of South Georgia to stop unlicensed fishing in disputed waters, Adm. Sandy Backus, the commander of British forces in the Falklands, said today. He said a British destroyer, Northumberland, would be sent to South Georgia, a British territory 800 miles southeast of the Falklands.

Britain maintains sovereignty over South Georgia. Argentina, which also claims South Georgia, has disputed Britain's right to charge fees in an area whose sovereignty is in dispute.

The pro-Islamic Welfare Party will become the main opposition.

ments in the 1970's, Mr. Erbakan last year made his most direct challenge to Turkey's most modern secular state by calling for closer ties to the Islamic world and cutting some of Turkey's links to the West. A NATO member with longstanding aspirations to join the European Community, Turkey is viewed by its Western allies as a strategic country in a troubled region.

But most political analysts see the Welfare Party's success in the last elections — and in 1994 municipal elections — as a reflection of widespread dissatisfaction with Turkey's mainstream political parties rather than an endorsement for Mr. Erbakan's antiseccular ideas.

As Mr. Ciller and others have repeatedly pointed out, almost 80 percent of Turkey's electorate voted for secular parties last December. The challenge now, she said last week, is to make the next coalition a success politically by uniting the country's main center-right constituency under one roof and economically by grappling with those issues left to fester during the protracted government crisis.

DRAFT 2
3/17/96

SATURDAY, MARCH 23

6:30 pm Wheels up from DC
 (Flight Time: 7 hours and 40 min +7)

SUNDAY, MARCH 24

9:10 am Wheels down in Rhamstein

9:30 to DOWN TIME
11:30 am

11:30 am Motorcade to Baumholder

12:15 pm Lunch w/Troop's Families
 - Entertainment

2 pm Meet and Greet w/Rear Detachment

3 pm School Children
 - 7th grade class
 - 2nd grade class

4:30 pm Vesper Services

6 pm Motorcade to Rhamstein

RON Ramstein
 Germany

MONDAY, MARCH 25

PREV RON Ramstein
 Germany

7 am Wheels up from Germany
 Flight Time: 1 hour and 40 min)

8:40 am Wheels down in Tuzla

8:50 am Little Girl Presents poem
 At Airport

9:30 am Meeting w/GOBH Leadership

11 am Notables Roundtable

1:30 pm Meeting w/NGO's

3 pm Entertainment

5 pm	Wheels up from Tuzla (Flight Time: 1 hour and 5 min)
6:05 pm	Wheels down in Aviano
6:20 pm	Tarmac Event Aviano
7:30 pm	Wheels up from Aviano (Flight Time: 3 hours +1)
11:30 pm	Wheels down in Ankara
Ron	Ankara

TUESDAY, MARCH 26

PREV RON	ANKARA
10:30 to 11:15 am	American Embassy Event Ambassador's Residence CLOSED PRESS
12:to 12:20 pm	Wreath Laying OPEN PRESS
1 to 3 pm	Discussion w/Prominent Women Ambassador's Residence POOL PRESS
3:30 to 4:30 pm	DOWN TIME CLOTHES CHANGE
5 to 5:30 pm	Meeting w/Prime Minister POOL SPRAY
5:45 to 6:15 pm	Meeting w/President POOL SPRAY
6:30 pm	Reception hosted by Turkish Government President's Pink Palace
8:30 pm	OTR Dinner
RON	ANKARA

*spiritual
leaders of
all Orthodox
80-90% man.
interface
diverse
community
in Amer.*

*18 very
"visionary"
visit at Duce
Patriarchali
(Sen. Sarbanes)*

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 27

PREV RON	ANKARA
8 am	Wheels up from Ankara (Flight Time: 1 hour and 5 min)
9:05 am	Wheels down in Ephesus
9:20 to noon	Tour Ephesus
12:30 pm	Wheels up from Ephesus (Flight Time: 55 min)
1:25 pm	Wheels down in Istanbul
2 pm	HOLD/CLOTHES CHANGE Hotel near airport
3 pm	Maternity Hospital/Family Planning Clinic POOL PRESS
5 pm	Speech at Topaki Palace OPEN PRESS
6 - 7 pm	DOWN TIME
7:30 pm	Ride on Yacht
8 pm	Meeting w/NGOs Site TBD
RON	Hyatt Hotel Istanbul

THURSDAY, MARCH 28

PREV RON	Hyatt Hotel Istanbul
9:30 am	OTR Covered Bazaar
11 am	Coffee w/Former PM Chiller Mrs. Chiller's Residence PRESS???
noon	Tour Blue Mosque OPEN PRESS

1:30 pm	Tour Aya Sofya OPEN PRESS
2 - 4:30 pm	DOWN TIME - OTR Spice market
5 pm	Meeting w/Religious Leaders Islamic Institute POOL PRESS
7:30 pm	Wheels up from Istanbul (Flight Time 1 hour and 20 min)
8:50 pm	Wheels down in Athens
RON	Hilton Hotel Athens

FRIDAY, MARCH 29

PREV RON	Hilton Hotel Athens
8 am	Tour Acropolis & Agora OPEN PRESS
10:30 to 11:30 am	DOWN TIME Hilton Hotel
noon	Speech Zappeon Conference Center OPEN PRESS
1:30 pm	Lunch w/Prominent Women Ambassador's Residence POOL SPRAY
4 pm	Discussion w/Greek Family Private Residence
RON	Hilton Hotel Athens, Greece

SATURDAY, MARCH 30

PREV RON	Hilton Hotel Athens
9 am	Wheels up from Athen (Flight Time 45 min)
9:45 am	Wheels down in Olympia

10:30 am	VIP Ceremony
11:30 am	Torch Lighting
noon	Relay
1:30 pm	Lunch
3 pm	Wheels up from Olympia (Flight Time: 40 min)
3:40 pm	Wheels down in Athens
4:30 pm	Embassy Meet and Greet
5:45 to 7 pm	DOWN TIME
7:30 pm	Meeting w/President POOL SPRAY
8:15 to	Meeting w/Prime Minister and Mrs. Simitis POOL SPRAY
8:45 pm	Reception Hosted by Greek Government
Ron	Hilton Hotel Athens

SUNDAY, MARCH 31

PREV RON	Athens
9 am	Wheels up from Athens (Flight Time: 45 min)
9:45 am	Wheels down in Santorini
	DOWN DAY

RON	Santorini
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MONDAY, APRIL 1

PREV RON	Santorini
10 am	Wheels up from Santorini (Flight Time: 4 hours and 20 min -2)
12:20 pm	Wheels down in Shannon, Ireland
12:20 to 1:50 pm	REFUEL STOP

1:50 pm

Wheels up from Shannon, Ireland
(Flight Time: 7 hours and 10 min -6)

3 pm

Wheels down in DC

RON

Washington, DC