

The Ongoing Nuclear War

Every government engaged in the exploitation of nuclear technology for weaponry and/or energy is waging radionuclide war against its own population, all populations, all living things and the environment.

This war started with the first chain reaction and the mining of uranium. The human-released and the human-engineered radioactive particles are the most insidious and unmanageable weaponry ever devised. Once unleashed, they observe no local or national boundaries or the dictates of any body politic as they sicken, kill and commit genetic damage far into whatever future there might be.

The planet has survived Nature's disasters, natural background radiation and the ravages of wars and tyrants of the past, but the excess burden upon fragile life systems of incidental, accidental or arbitrarily released radionuclides places the life process in insuperable jeopardy...even though there may be no massive catastrophes.

Warnings of the horrendous consequences of pursuing the technology were brushed aside as exultation in "cleverness" and "one-upmanship" led our policy-makers and Congress into the creation of coterie of "experts," strategists, educators and entrepreneurs - first for weaponry and subsequently for energy production, with the effluent of this so-called "peaceful" adaptation of the technology providing material for bombs. Vast infusions of tax monies abetted the abrogation of conscience.

This country had no monopoly on "cleverness," and - out of fright and/or national pride, one after the other of various rival, friendly or non-aligned governments followed us into this nuclear war.

The nuclear perpetrators, in whatever country, duped their peoples with the litany: "For the defense and/or progress of the country." The terrible hazards were concealed, omitted or stated in obfuscatory terms, the continued warnings of concerned, knowledgeable scientists ridiculed as hysterical or even unpatriotic.

This litany is the same as all the past tyrants have employed as they directed the slaughter of millions of people.

The technology cannot be for "defense," because no one is defended.

Everyone is endangered.

- It cannot be for "progress," because nuclear energy production is not only a physical menace, but an economic fiasco.
- It cannot be for banishing any hated political system or saving any favored system, because all systems and all people are ravished by the enormous costs and drained of morale as they become aware that they are paying to support what have become terrorist regimes of magnitude beyond any before experienced.

The obsession with the technology may not be clinically defined as a pathology, but the results of the obsession are the same as those of any madman as "experts" diddle with calculations on enslaved computers and are in turn enslaved by the computers. The motivation for the "experts" and strategists must be the titillation derived from the admittedly exciting challenge of trying to manipulate the awesome force given off by radioactive elements - with the added prestige, high pay and feeling of "specialness" their brilliance brings them. For policy-makers and fund-providers, it is the titillation of being "in-the-know movers-and-shakers." In capitalist countries the entrepreneurs enjoy the profits.

Unless the nuclear perpetrators experience a restoration of moral responsibility toward life and forswear their adventurism, careerism and protection of investment, there can be no hope for the future. It can be done. Many have turned their abilities to constructive endeavors. Sheer luck has so far saved us from massive "events" - military and civil - as one mishap after the other occurs. The mutual horror of a terminal confrontation of adversaries has so far prevented a confrontation. But there is no diplomatic effort, no avowal of the horrors, no law or policing that can stop the devastation by the radionuclides already released in this ongoing war against life.

A moratorium must be declared... to salvage this beleaguered planet.

15 Oct 1980 Leone Hayes 5416 Candlelight Dr. La Jolla Ca 92037

Divided Arabs OK aid plan, disagree on peace strategy

AMMAN, Jordan (AP) — The 11th Arab League summit conference approved a \$5 billion regional development plan and paid lip service to Iraq's claims against Iran. But the Syrian boycott blocked plans for a unified approach to the next U.S. administration.

Jordan's King Hussein used yesterday's final session to condemn Syria and other Arab states for their support of non-Arab Iran and vowed to repulse any attack from the 20,000 Syrian troops massing on the Jordanian border.

The conference failed to reach its stated main goal of developing a comprehensive Middle East peace plan to supplant the U.S.-sponsored talks between Israel and Egypt. Egypt is suspended from the league.

Hussein had hoped to carry such a plan to President-elect Ronald Reagan. He told a news conference after the summit he was willing to go to Washington after Reagan takes office in January, but only in his capacity as Jordan's leader.

There had been speculation that the summit would authorize Hussein to speak on behalf of all Arabs, but the mandate apparently fell through in the confusion of boycott and the hostility that followed.

The summit did approve a 10-year development program to narrow the gap between oil-rich Arab states and their poorer Arab neighbors. But the \$5 billion earmarked for the project was only a third of the sum initially proposed — an indication that the conservative oil producers were angered by the absence of the more radical countries.

The Syrian boycott was joined by Algeria, South Yemen, Lebanon, Libya and the Palestine Liberation

Organization. All but Lebanon, which is neutral, have expressed support for Iran.

At the end of the three-day conference, the 15 nations which attended issued a cautious statement recognizing Iraq's "rights to its lands and waters" and calling for a cease-fire "to preserve Arab Islamic ties."

Iran, while Moslem, is Persian rather than Arab. Iraq is Moslem and Arab.

Hussein was explicit in his support for Iraq and his contempt for Arabs siding with Iran.

"It is a disgrace that while Iraq is fighting today to recover its rights and sovereignty over its land and waters ... Iraq is being stabbed in the back by an Arab hand," the 46-year-old monarch said.

Firm told to relinquish giant citrus producer

WASHINGTON (UPI) — In an unusual move, a Federal Trade Commission judge today ordered Beatrice Foods to divest itself of Tropicana Products and ordered the firm to surrender to the government millions of dollars in profits it made since taking over the orange juice giant.

Beatrice said it would appeal the order by FTC administrative law judge James Timony to the five-member commission, which will make the final decision.

The FTC said it did not know how much money might be involved in the profits turnover if the order becomes final. Beatrice, headquartered in Chicago, acquired Tropicana in April 1978. Tropicana's net, after-tax income for fiscal 1977 was \$22.5 million.

Percy says he convinced Soviets of necessity for new SALT treaty

MOSCOW (AP) — Sen. Charles Percy said he told Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko today that "SALT II as such is dead" and he said the Kremlin leadership was convinced there must be a new treaty.

Percy also told reporters he warned President Leonid I. Brezhnev that a Soviet military intervention in Poland would have a "catastrophic effect" and destroy any hope of U.S.-Soviet cooperation "in our lifetime."

The Illinois Republican, who is expected to become chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, conferred with Gromyko for four hours today in the Kremlin.

Later, he told reporters: "I had to clarify for Ambassador (sic) Gromyko . . . that in my judgment SALT II as such is dead and they must accept that."

He continued, "with Afghanistan, it had no chance of passage whatsoever

— Negotiations that will take place — and I'm sure they will take place — must take place on a realistic framework."

President-elect Ronald Reagan has said the SALT II arms limitation treaty signed by President Carter and Brezhnev in 1979 is "fatally flawed" and that it must be renegotiated.

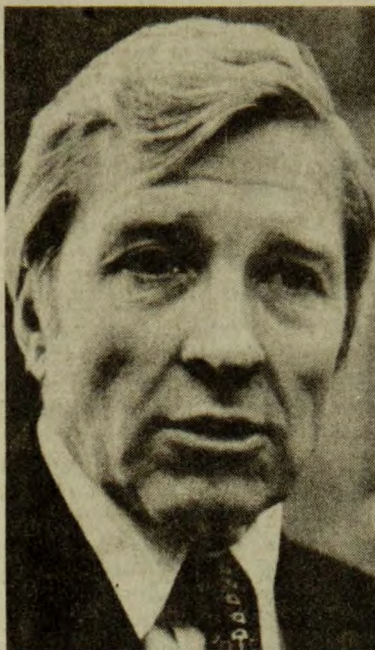
The Soviets, angered by the U.S. Senate's failure to ratify the treaty, have publicly insisted that it be approved in its original form. However, Americans who met with Soviet officials in recent weeks said the Soviets seemed open to hearing new American ideas to break the deadlock.

Percy, who conferred for nearly three hours with Brezhnev Wednesday and for three hours yesterday with Soviet Defense Minister Dmitri Ustinov, said:

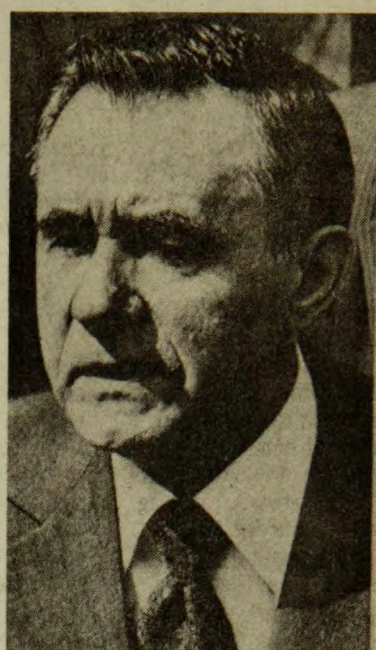
"There was no question but that they now have the message. I think they now fully understand that the treaty is unacceptable as it now stands. I do believe that they are now convinced after nine hours of discussions at the highest levels that there must be a new treaty."

Percy, who said earlier his visit here was "closely coordinated" with Reagan and his advisers, described his meeting with Gromyko, like his earlier meetings here, as free give-and-take on the issues.

"I think always Foreign Minister Gromyko is very direct, very blunt. I



SEN. CHARLES PERCY



ANDREI GROMYKO

felt his tone was a businesslike tone. He was down to earth. He presented his points. But he also recognized reality."

Political observers in the United States believed the SALT II treaty initialed by the two countries in Vienna, had little chance of passage even before the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan last December. The Soviet troops were sent in to help the Moscow-backed Kabul government in its continuing fight against Moslem Afghan insurgents.

After that, the Senate did not consider SALT II.

Percy had said his talks today would include stern U.S. warnings against any interruption in the flow of Persian Gulf oil. Details of the talks were not immediately available.

Percy also had said he planned to raise the more general problem of the Iran-Iraq war during today's talks. There was no immediate indication of whether those subjects were discussed.

Yesterday, Percy told reporters: "Any effort by anyone to jeopardize the secure flow of oil from that region would cause us to react decisively — and there should be no misunderstanding or ambiguity about this."

Earlier, he met with Ustinov and with Brezhnev, who had not

conferred with a top U.S. leader since five months before the Afghanistan crisis last December.

Percy says he is not on an official mission for Reagan, although he is coordinating his trip closely with the president-elect.

Labor unrest in Poland since last summer and the Polish government's concessions to independent unions have raised fears the Russians may use force to crush the union movement before it spreads to other Soviet Bloc countries.

Percy said he also gave the Kremlin blunt warnings about U.S. concerns over the 85,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan and the Soviet military buildup. The Soviets had no immediate comment on Percy's remarks or the meetings.

"I explained that the United States must and will increase its defense spending substantially to avert falling into any inferior position by the mid-1980s, and that the United States — by its mandate to Gov. Reagan — has shown that it is fully prepared to support whatever measures are necessary to that end," Percy said.

He added: "I did mention that, in my judgment, the Reagan administration is not eager for a new arms race. We would prefer to spend our money on other needs."

Percy is to leave Moscow for Brussels, Belgium, tomorrow.

VIEWPOINT

Aid to 'Palestinians' —
the World's Great Fraud

By Prof. Sol Modell

On Friday, Aug. 29, the Los Angeles Times printed a news article from the Reuters News Agency, entitled "Palestine Refugee Aid Short of Funds."

Since there is no country called Palestine — only Jordan could possibly qualify and I am quite certain the Times headline writer was not referring to Jordan — I must assume that we have here a case of the arbitrary creation of a hypothetical entity dreamed up by the PLO and endorsed in the Times press room.

Proceeding to the substance of the article, we find Olof Rydbexk of Sweden, commissioner general of the UN Works and Relief Agency, and Terence Davidson, spokesman of the UNWRA at its Vienna headquarters, lamenting the financial crisis confronting the organization, which is faced with a projected deficit of \$70 million for 1981.

Both men suggested that the crisis made necessary a new system of financing the work being done by the "relief" agency.

Let us examine some of the statements and their implications that were made in a news article that is supposed to be a factual presentation of the problems created by an admittedly tragic human situation.

The article states that "the (UN) agency began oper-

ations to help three-quarters of a million Palestinians who were driven from their homes in the violence and turmoil preceding the establishment of Israel in 1948."

In this single remarkable sentence there are no fewer than four false statements:

(1) At that time (1948), no Arabs living in the British Palestinian Mandate territory considered themselves Palestinians, a term they categorically rejected; only the Jews were referred to as Palestinians.

(2) The Arabs who left the territory that became Israel were not "driven" from their homes. They abandoned their homes either because they were ordered to do so by the Arab Higher Committee, which promised them a reward of captured Jewish property if they temporarily abandoned their homes and threatened them with dire punishment if they remained, or because they fled in fear that the impending warfare would engulf the areas in which they lived. The British police at the time reported to their superiors — this is fully documented — that the Jews in various cities and towns pleaded with the Arabs to remain, but to no avail. And we have copies of our claim.

(3) It is not true that the entire Arab exodus occurred "preceding the establishment of Israel in 1948." It was mainly the wealthier Arabs — about 20,000 people

— who abandoned the territory between November 1947, when the General Assembly passed a resolution endorsing the establishment of a Jewish state, and May 15, 1948, when the armies of five Arab countries invaded the newly created state of Israel. The great majority of Arabs, as I have already indicated, left after the war broke out, mainly at the command of the Arab leadership.

(4) It is untrue that three-quarters of a million Arabs left at that time. British estimates put the figure at 450,000; the highest contemporary figure was 550,000. If we agree on an approximate total of one-half million, it is still a quarter-million less than the inflated figure of the Reuters report.

But there is another aspect to the refugee issue that is notably absent from the Reuters report.

Between 1948 and 1952, more than 800,000 Jews were driven from the Arab-controlled countries in which they had lived for many centuries — in most cases far longer than the Arabs themselves. Of this number, approximately 200,000 went to European countries (mainly France); the remainder, more than 600,000 refugees, went to Israel.

A score of Arab governments, wealthy almost beyond imagination and occu-

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Carl Alpert

INSIDE
ISRAEL

Slamming the Door

Haifa — In recent months there has been a drastic decline in the number of Jews permitted to leave the Soviet Union. In the first seven months of 1979 there were 26,000 Jewish emigres; in the first seven months of 1980 the number had dropped to 16,000.

During this past July there were only 1,200. The August figure was considerably lower. The number of Jews registered to leave still runs up to the many tens of thousands, but the Soviet authorities have begun to close the doors.

For this we have only to blame ourselves and a good many of the Russian Jews who did succeed in getting out before it was too late.

When the emigration began a few years ago, the Soviet government set down certain ground rules. The Jews were recognized as a national minority, and within reason those who wished to be "repatriated" to their homeland would receive permission on condition that they were rejoining members of their family who already lived there.

The government did not wish to set any dangerous precedents which might stimulate general mass emigration. The procedure was quickly established in a fixed pattern. Relatives in Israel sent formal letters of invitation to their kinfolk in the Soviet Union. The requests were checked, and in ever increasing numbers the Jews were permitted to leave. Those who went gave up their Soviet citizenship.

It seemed almost too good to be true, and at first many

Russian Jews hesitated to avail themselves of the opportunity. Later, when it became clear that the exit permits were indeed available, the number of applications rose into the hundreds of thousands — exactly how many, nobody really knows. Nor is it clear why some applications were approved quickly, some delayed for long periods of time, and some never granted.

The Russian immigration to Israel was another of the unexpected miracles of our time. The family reunions were joyful and dramatic. The newcomers were a valuable addition to Israel's population. They were being rescued physically, but were also being restored to the Jewish people and to Judaism in the spiritual and educational sense.

Along the line, a few dropped out in Europe and made their way to the United States instead. The Hias organization undertook to help the latter, and American Jewish communities went out of their way to provide homes and hospitality, and to ease the process of integration.

Indeed, the American welcome became so lavish, that word spread rapidly back to Russia. Armed with letters of invitation from Israel, and permitted to leave with the understanding they were going to that country, more and more Russian Jews were attracted instead by the generous warmth and hospitality of American Jews. Over the years the drop-out rate rose. This past July, no less than 75 per cent of the Russians reaching Vienna

opted for the U.S. instead of Israel.

At this point, other Russians, not Jews, began to complain. If the policy was indeed to permit general emigration for all who wanted it, no matter where they were going, why was favoritism being shown to the Jews? There are a million, or ten million, or perhaps 50 million other Russians who want to get out as well.

And so — because American Jews were so hospitable, Hias so helpful, and the emigrants themselves dishonest in their declarations when they left Moscow, the Russian government in self-defense, and to check a swelling demand from other groups in the USSR for similar permission to go to the U.S. or elsewhere, has sharply curtailed the departure of the Jews.

Every Russian emigrant who changed his destination when he got to Vienna, and every American Jew, undoubtedly moved by humanitarian considerations, who helped make the U.S. such an attractive place, has been responsible for the gradual slamming of the doors in the faces of those who were left behind.

If the USSR permits Jews to leave with the understanding that they are going to Israel as Israeli citizens, then every such emigre should go to Israel, and anyone who encourages or aids a diversion en route is rendering a grave disservice to those still waiting in line. Only a strict enforcement of this understanding may yet bring about a reopening of the doors.

President Carter Must Be Defeated...

Continued from Page 1

"There is no government leader from any party in Israel," Mr. Begin persisted, "who will sit in this same room and listen to this talk of dividing Jerusalem again. Of the 120 members of the Knesset, only three would sit here and listen to your proposal — and they are the Communists."

Menachem Begin returned to Israel — and suffered another of his heart attacks.

Pro-PLO Policy

Jimmy Carter never deviated from that developing pro-PLO policy. Clearly, any gesture to the "Palestinians" was a gesture to Yassir Arafat — no less than the appalling demagoguery of Carter's UN emissary Andy Young which later carried Jesse Jackson to Beirut.

"The President then sent Harold Saunders to see King Hussein and the West Bank Mayors," said Hank Greenspun, "to tell them that he considered the West Bank and East Jerusalem to be occupied territories."

The Las Vegas publisher had been with Mr. Begin on each of his visits to Washington, as he had been with previous Israeli heads of state.

Greenspun told Heritage that the first Sadat visit to Jerusalem had come about after considerable prior planning.

"Anwar Sadat knew that Jerusalem and the West Bank were not part of the game plan for peace between Israel and Egypt," said the hero of Israel's War of Liberation. (Greenspun is one of the authentic heroes

of our people — having risked his life to run large shipments of arms to the embattled Israelis despite an embargo on such activity by the Truman Administration.)

Carter's Intrusion

"It is only when Jimmy Carter and his henchmen intruded into the peace talks that Mr. Sadat was trapped into a position of having to demand more out of Israel than he was willing at first to accept," Greenspun told Heritage.

"Because of Carter's treachery to the Jewish people and to the State of Israel, there is a real crisis in the Middle East today," he added. "The very survival of Israel is at stake — Jews are again in peril."

"If any Jew has any feelings for the State of Israel, he must forget all peripheral issues. We must all come out for Ronald Reagan who is a proven partisan for the Jewish State."

"In effect, anyone who says one good word for Jimmy Carter is actually supporting the PLO. It's as simple as that. Jimmy Carter has emerged as a vindictive man. He is bitter at the Jews of New York who voted for Ted Kennedy."

"Four years ago, I also supported Jimmy Carter — but from the first days of his administration I saw the handwriting on the wall. Remember, Jimmy Carter denounced Lyndon Johnson as being a thieving liar after the 1964 Civil Rights Act was passed. And I don't recall Carter disavowing Lester Maddox.

"Talks Must End!"

Greenspun warned that pressures on Israel to proceed with the long-postponed "autonomy talks" means a Palestinian state. This is not in the best interests of Israel, the Middle East, the United States, nor the free world. "The autonomy talks must end — right now!" he said.

"There is a new realization beginning to surface in the Middle East among all the Arab powers with the exception of Libya and Iraq that a strong power like Israel is absolutely essential to the welfare of the nations of the area," said Greenspun.

"Even the Saudis and Syria recognize that the Middle East cannot long endure with Russia threatening the entire Persian Gulf area. Even the giant oil companies look upon Russian penetration with alarm and recognize that Israel is a definite buffer in the containment of the Soviets."

"What appears in newspaper stories to be strident voices for a Palestinian state, along with token subsidies to the PLO, is for public consumption and do not reflect the realities of covert talks that have been going on suggesting a peaceful co-existence with Israel and total Arab support for Egypt's peace venture with Israel."

Greenspun noted that many facets of the Middle East peace search had better be left unsaid — "but none of them include U.S. pressure on Israel."

But with another four years of Jimmy Carter, pressures on Israel are certain to mount, the Las Vegas publisher noted. That would spell disaster for our beloved State.

Our People Responded Proudly

How proud we are of our Jewish people! Throughout America — Jews stayed away from the showing of the incredible insult, "Playing for Time" over CBS television network.

Thousands attended Temple and Synagogue events to demonstrate solidarity with our aging Holocaust Survivors.

Jewish Community Centers, such as that in San Diego, staged programs underscoring our people's response to the gross corporate insult by CBS.

It hardly matters that the Redgrave outrage attracted a 35 per cent rating of available viewers. That is not a Roots nor a Shogun rating of 60 per cent.

What matters is that all good Americans, whether watching or turning off the Redgrave monstrosity, knew precisely what CBS was doing.

And in the loss of our battle against the idiots at CBS, the fact of the insult went abroad to the land.

So many thousands of phone calls and letters were sent to CBS in protest to the choice of Redgrave as "Fania Fenelon" that the network couldn't keep up with them. Letters were being sent back to writers, unopened. CBS found itself with many minutes of

"empty air" toward the end of the program — and its assertion that "because of the importance of the film there will be only four breaks" fell flat.

Junky, bargain basement advertisers got into the act when major American TV sponsors refused to touch the Redgrave idiocy with a 10-foot pole.

Oh, American Motors and Pfizer Drugs were on the program as sponsors, as well as Fiat and Renault. But even Preparation H would have no part of the mess.

Jewish people do not need a television production of the Holocaust to win the hearts of America — at the cost of a stinging insult to our Survivors of the German madness.

There will be other and more responsible TV productions forthcoming, such as that of the great Hersey book, "The Wall."

That film will also be carried over CBS — produced by the very sensitive David Susskind (whose brother, Murray, a Silver Star winner, worked on our advertising staff).

One would hope that CBS will have learned by its idiocy in the Redgrave matter that human sensitivities do matter. But with self-hating fools like Producer Linda Yellen around, it can all happen again.

HERITAGE EDITORIALS

Jerusalem, Jerusalem

With all good will to Pope John Paul II, who on Sunday appealed to Muslims and Jews to make Jerusalem into a "common home" — we might suggest that is precisely what has emerged in Jerusalem under Jewish auspices.

Certainly, the world of nations, and even the Vatican, was unable to allow a single Jewish prayer to be voiced at the most holy of Jewish Shrines, the Western Wall, during 19 years of Transjordanian occupation of the Eternal Capital of the Jews.

When the great new Pope in Rome refers to the "exclusion" of Palestinians from their homeland — history is hardly on the side of the Pontiff's suggestion.

The Israelis accepted the 1948 UN division of the Holy Land with deep sorrow — only to have to face invading Arab forces from all sides. In the dynamics of a war unleashed by the Arabs, civilian dislocations took place.

All Jews (for Jerusalem is more the hearthrob of Jewish life than the Vatican is for Catholics) earnestly pray for an era of brotherhood in Jerusalem, the City of David, the City of Peace.

There has never been an exclusion of Arabs from Jerusalem, nor of Christendom under Jewish hegemony. Who in all the world can bring love to the Eternal Capital of the Jewish people more than the inheritors of the legacy of David?

Yes on Prop. A

One of the nicest people in public life in the West is Kenny Hahn, a member of the board of supervisors of America's single most populous county — L.A. County.

(Bet you didn't know that L.A. County, with its seven million people and our estimate of 700,000 Jews has come a long way from the Frisco crack of "a bunch of villages in search of a city".)

All Southern California is emerging as part of a metropolitan complex and what Kenny Hahn is suggesting in Los Angeles via his Proposition A proposal on the November ballot will one day become a blueprint for other Southland areas with a bootstrap need for public transit improvements.

The proposal is a half cent sales tax to finance a panoply of transit improvements — from buses to fixed rail systems.

Proposition A may one day be valued as one of the significant acts taken by California voters via the initiative process. We're with the proposal all the way.

LETTERS:

Write, or you're wrong!

ASHAMED

Dear Herb: You know me as Esther Lawrence, the Jewish Folk Song Artist.

I am also a public school teacher and for the last two years I was the drama teacher at Eagle Rock High School in the L.A. City School District.

Because of the crazy turmoil in the district that is being made worse by the conservative school board majority and the terrible harm which is being inflicted on the teachers and the educational process, I have just resigned my contract with the Los Angeles City Schools.

I was a good teacher, had good ratings from my principal and great response from my students and the community — but I could not remain in the district any longer.

The cuts in educational programs and the chaos and mismanagement caused by the board are simply too painful.

A Black science teacher and I were discussing the mess and she confided in me how she and her friends have

always admired the Jewish people for what we have achieved in spite of adversity.

She and her friends could not reconcile Jewish values with the vindictive actions of Bobbie Fiedler, Roberta Weintraub and Tom Bartman.

With a sinking heart, I admitted the three were Jewish and advised her to restructure her thinking.

Her prejudice in favor of Jews is ill advised.

There are good ones and bad ones.

Esther Lawrence Schiller
Pasadena

NICE NOTE

Editor: I have been in a hospital now reaching my 90th year on Nov. 8, 1980. I have spent over 50 years of my life working for Israel. I always enjoy reading Heritage — my Herb, dear Herb Brin — "G-d 'bless Him!"

Mrs. Gertrude Garland
New York

DOESN'T LIKE US

Editor: You are Nazis!
Unsigned

Win some, lose some.



Light Candles
Tonight 6:05

heritage

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"Justice, Justice Shalt Thou Pursue..."

HERB BRIN, Publisher DAN BRIN, Editor

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Across the
**CITY
DESK**
Herb
Brin

Not only were political delegates sprouting all over Manhattan when I was there for the recent Democratic convention — the Hare Krishna hoppers were jumping all over the place while the Jews for Jesus jerks were on a gospel tract binge.

One nice young girl stopped a visitor to the Big Apple offering her "I Love New York" pins. I did a stage whisper to the man: "She's Hare Krishna." The guy didn't want to love New York that much.

Winked at me and fled.

Eastside, Westside, all around the town, the Jews for Jesusniks were working in packs. One said the Freakies distributed 2,540,000 tracts — the folders with the slinky come on messages.

The Jesus Freak (who didn't exactly come through as a Jewish girl — quite Nordic in facial expression) said the summer campaign in New York netted 964 Jewish names and addresses "for follow up after the campaign."

In my wanderings, I picked up a Freakie tabloid newspaper — Vol. 11:5740. You see, even the Jesus Freaks use the Hebrew dating game.

The newspaper carried some interesting reports, underscoring the fact that Jesus Freaks are hardly a simple, haphazard development. A committee of 20 top figures in the Evangelical movement to snag Jews is chaired by a Dr. Erwin Kolb, director of Evangelism for the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod.

The committee's coordinator is a gink named Rev. David Harley, an Anglican priest, a professor at All Nations Christian College located, the newspaper says, in a suburb of London.

The Freakies are nominally headed by a feller who uses the name of Moishe Rosen. Makes him sound more "Jewish," you see. The entire effort is masterminded under aegis of a Lausanne Committee for World Evangelism.

This is big business, folks. Huge funds are available to the projects of LCWE.

According to portions of a report on Evangelism to the Jews, the Freakies note that a decline in Synagogue attendance is evident among Jews — that in Britain and Australia Synagogue attendance is as low as 8 or 10 per cent.

The well documented study of Jewish communal patterns notes that while a fallout is taking place — a significant Orthodox revivalist trend is emerging such as the "Mission for Judaism" of the Lubavitch movement and the outreach of the Reform Movement to convert "un-churched Gentiles" to liberal Judaism.

The entire process of the Jews for Jesus is a well developed stunt that is calculated to embrace young, troubled Jewish students — especially during times of crisis.

It's a money process.

The Freakie newspaper that I have tries to bridge its greatest problem: teaching Jesus Freaks how to be Jewish!

Most of the members, if they are from Jewish homes, know little or nothing about our Jewish faith and practices.

Thus, the newspaper contains a lengthy report from a putz named Rachmiel Frydland who calls himself "The Almost Rabbi."

Frydland says in his column that he was studying to be a rabbi when Jesus came into his life. Now he teaches the Freakies what they never learned at home about Jewish life and ways.

Tells them what the Sabbath is, the woman's role in Jewish life, what a tallit is, what the Jewish calendar is.

Which leaves one with the suspicion that the Freakies are hardly Jews at all when they cross the threshold of the Moishe Rosen Church.

Did you know there are even Jews for Jesus "uniforms"? And for those who are not exactly Jewish but want to play — there are "Goyim for Jesus" T-Shirts.

But when it comes to Evangelistic banquets — the standard uniform for men is the black tuxedo.

One photo shows a David Baker giving a "Christ in the Passover" presentation at a church. The photo caption notes that "David's costume is typical of the

Continued on Next Page

Nations are Powerful but Bow to Weakness

By Rabbi Edgar F. Magnin

The story of Noah and the Flood has a profound meaning. It tells us that we are our own enemies and create our own disasters.

This is the history of all the powerful nations of the past who were able to conquer other nations but not their own weaknesses.

Immorality, war and politics ruined them. All that is left of their material and physical achievements are granite fragments of their palaces and temples.

There is no guarantee that the same tragedy cannot occur in our own age or sometime in the future. As a matter of fact, the handwriting is already on the wall for all who have eyes to see and the wisdom and imagination to comprehend.

Continued from Opinion B

type of vestments worn by Orthodox Jewish men at Passover time. The white robe signifies royalty."

And there is another note: in 1975 there was some discussion as to whether the Freakies should call themselves Messianic Jews, Hebrew Christians or Jews for Jesus.

The name Freakies came later. Here.



Women in the Army

By Nechemia Meyers
Heritage Israel Bureau

□The following three part series was written for "Inside" — the magazine of the Jewish Exponent of Philadelphia.

With the United States contemplating compulsory military service for women, it is logical that Americans should look to Israel, the only Western country where women are drafted into the army.

But, often enough, what they see here is what they expect to see and not what actually exists.

A recent case in point was a New York Times article, "This Man's Army" by Frances FitzGerald, author of "Fire in the Lake: The Vietnamese and the Americans in Vietnam."

In this article the author asserts that "women in Israel have long served in the armed forces in almost every capacity, including the manning (or womanning) of tanks along the Golan Heights."

When I brought this quotation to the attention of a senior woman officer in the Israel Defense Forces she laughed heartily and then commented: "Sure we were in tanks along the Golan Heights; after the battles were over we got into the tanks and had our pictures taken."

Rabbi William M. Kramer

MY SHITTEL CALIFORNIA

Remembering Blumenthal

Every Jew in California who has been active in the last half-century remembers the late Will Blumenthal, who served in San Francisco and Los Angeles and whom I remember from Cleveland association decades and decades ago. Will was also a giant of our Southern California Jewish Historical Society, which is so nobly served by Pauline Hirsch today.

This item on Will appeared in San Francisco's Emanu-El Nov. 4, 1921:

"William R. Blumenthal, executive secretary of the newly organized Jewish Committee for Personal Service in State Institutions, took a leading part in the deliberations of the first quarterly meeting of the superintendents of State institutions which was held in Sacramento last Wednesday, Thursday and Friday.

"The invitation to participate in the meeting was extended to Blumenthal by R.T. Fisher, director of State institutions.

"Blumenthal addressed the conference on the work of the Jewish Committee for Personal Service. He stated that the work of the Jewish committee had its inception

Indeed, I.D.F. regulations, like those of the American army, prohibit women from serving in combat. They have nevertheless sometimes been caught in battle situations, as happened during the Yom Kippur War at the Rafidim Air Base in Sinai, where two girls belonging to a communications unit were killed by Egyptian bombs, as well as at a command post near Sharm el-Sheikh, where another one was cut down by an Egyptian rocket.

But the three were quite far behind the front lines when this happened, and more significantly, they were the only young women killed by enemy fire in a war that claimed the lives of a thousand times as many young men.

The prohibition against combat duty is accepted by nearly everyone here, to a significant extent because of fears about what might happen to army girls should they be taken prisoner.

"Make no mistake about it," a former woman officer said to me, "there would be no equality in such a situation; the girls would suffer to a greater extent than their male comrades. Moreover, if they survived sexual abuse, they would then be used to blackmail the Israeli

government into ransoming them, in response to the pressure of public opinion, at a disproportionately high price."

What then about other, noncombat roles for women in the Israeli army? Or to put it more bluntly, why is it that women seem to have risen higher in the American army than in the Israeli army?

At Fort McClellan, Alabama, Maj. Gen. Mary Clark commands 13,000 soldiers, 75 per cent of whom are men. Yet in Israel, no military installation is commanded by a woman.

The same discrepancy exists in the schools where future officers are being trained. West Point has female cadets; the military academies in Tel Aviv and Haifa do not!

This situation does not surprise Stella Levy, who headed the Women's Corps of the Israeli army from 1963 to 1970 and is now parliamentary secretary of the seven-member Shai Faction in the Knesset.

She points out that all of the women in the U.S. Army

are volunteers who have signed up for at least three years, and many of them for five, seven or ten years. This means that any training they receive will be "useful" for a much longer period than is the case with girls who do two years of compulsory service here.

Ms. Levy even goes so far as to ask whether "it might not be to the Israeli army's advantage if it had fewer women, but ones who were better trained and served for longer."

□More next week.

Prof. Arnold Ages

BOOK REVIEW

Holocaust Trivialized

□The Faith and Doubt of Holocaust Survivors. By Reeve Robert Brenner. Free Press. 266 Pages. \$14.95

This is the kind of book that might have been invented by lexicographers to justify the existence of the word "trivialization."

This is indeed a harsh judgment of a book that took as its task an explanation of the faith and doubt of those who had the fortune to survive the Holocaust. It is a criticism which is offered in melancholy rather than in anger.

The author, a rabbi and researcher, went to interview hundreds of Israeli survivors in order to study the effect

which their wartime experiences had on them in terms of religious beliefs and philosophical positions.

Unfortunately, the author's high aims have been crushed by his methodology. Instead of synthesizing the

The object was a noble and important one. Most of the literature on the subject is excessively abstract and academic. Rabbi Brenner's approach was to be far more down to earth and practical. raw materials which he collected and turning them into a work of analysis and reflection on deep questions, the author chose to go the path of sociological jargon, quantification methods, graph analyses.



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Yarmulka History is On Our Heads

By Mordechai Beck
Jewish Chronicle

When Heaven and Earth were being created, so it is said, they whirled about in space like two domes. The awesome sight put the angels into a deep dread, all but two who were not afraid and asked the Almighty if they might have the two hemispheres as gifts.

How could He give away Heaven and Earth? But in the end He agreed and gave one to each angel. They bounced their gifts back and forth with great delight and Michael, the angel who was given Heaven, placed it on his head like a cap. He settled in Jerusalem, and became the guardian angel of the Children of Israel.

The angel who was given Earth eventually became tired of it, and gave it to a giant to place it on his shoulders. Carrying the weight of the whole world, he settled on an island in the Mediterranean sea and proclaimed, "I am Atlas, master of Crete!"

Ever since, every Jew has, like Michael, treated Heaven as his possession. And this is the origin of the kippa, the skullcap which pious Jews wear at all times. It is a constant reminder that while other people may carry Earth on their shoulders, the Jew carries Heaven on his head.

This charming story was related to me by an old Jerusalemite rabbi and storyteller to explain why Jews wear the skullcap. The truth, however, is that nobody is sure exactly how, when or why the custom arose. So legend has taken the place of hard fact. And in recent times it has attracted a deal of controversy too.

Differences of practices go back to early times, to the period of the Talmud in the early centuries of the common era. At that time, covering the male head was considered a sign of status and rank, but in the Babylonian communities the practice had spread to ordinary folk too, while in Palestine even the *shema* was recited without head covering.

In later years, when Jewish communities spread into North Africa and Europe, both the frequency of wearing a kippa and its design varied. The Sephardim, in North Africa and Spain, tended to accept the kippa as a religious obligation and its design showed strong Arab or Moslem influence. The Jews in and around Germany — known as Ashkenazim — were on the other hand influenced by their Christian host peoples against the wearing of head covering. Rabbis and scholars did cover their heads but it was not a binding obligation.

The custom spread following the Expulsion from Spain in 1492, probably in reaction to the attempts to impose Christianity. But as

late as the eighteenth century the greatest Ashkenazi religious authority of the age, the Gaon of Vilna, ruled that going with head uncovered was "not forbidden."

The custom became binding, in the eyes of Orthodox Jews, only last century, as a symbol of Jewish distinctiveness, in face of assimilation and as a shibboleth against Liberal (or German Reform) Jews. Ironically, the best monographs on the skullcap and its history were written by two Reform rabbis.

The terms *yarmulka* and *kippa* came into common use only in this century, the former a Slavonic derivation, the latter a Hebraised version of the Germanic *cap* or *kappe*.

In Israel today, skullcaps can be seen in great variety and splendor. Their size, shape and color can well throw light on the wearer's geographic origin, the degree of his religious observance, even his social and political background. Highly colored and intricately embroidered specimens are evidence of Sephardi origin, while plain black ones in linen or velvet show Ashkenazi or East European Chasidic provenance.

Many of the pious men of Jerusalem wear white yarmulkas that come to a tassled point. Among the young there has been a veritable explosion of colorful kippot. Revival of interest in folk art is spawning a whole new range of designs.

The kippa has also become a collectable item. Probably Israel's best known collector of kippot is Prof. Eli Davis, formerly of England and now a surgeon at the Hadassah Hospital in Jerusalem, who has spent many years collecting skullcaps in all their

DAYENU

BY HENRY LEONARD



"I don't care what the 'new look' is in yarmalkes . . . I just want a simple black one!"

The Great 'Palestinian' Refugee Fraud

Continued from Page A

pying more than five million square miles of territory, refused to absorb and resettle their fellow Arabs, people who belonged to the same Arab nation, spoke the same language, worshipped the same God, and were heirs of the same historical traditions and culture.

During the same period, however, tiny Israel, with a minuscule 8,000 square miles (half of it desert), with no natural resources and besieged on all sides by hostile Arab powers, absorbed 600,000 Jewish refugees from Arab lands and an additional 500,000 survivors from the European Holocaust perpetrated by the Nazis against the Jews during World War II.

The world chooses to ignore the fact that during this war and its aftermath, some forty million human beings all over the world fled or were driven from the countries in which they and their ancestors had lived for generations.

In every case but one these refugees were absorbed, sometimes with great difficulty, by the peoples of the lands to which they fled. No special UN agencies were set up to care for them; no special funds were appropriated to feed, house, and clothe them.

Singled out were the Arabs who fled from Israel. They, unlike all other refugees throughout the world, were thrown into miserable camps — by none other than their Arab "brothers," who decided to use the suffering of these people to arouse the sympathy of the world.

variety.

The last word about the kippa was, as usual, said about the rabbis of the Talmud. If bareheadedness is no sin, they said, lightheadedness is.

The refugees would thus become their pawns, exceedingly useful tools in the never-ending Arab effort to bring about the destruction of Israel.

Many practical plans were devised to resolve the Arab refugee problem, but all were frustrated and thwarted by the utter intransigence of the Arab powers.

It was Abdel Nasser, at that time the President of Egypt, who declared that if the refugees were permitted to return to Israel, the Jewish state would quickly be destroyed.

The UN spokesmen state in this article that since 1948 the number of "Palestinians" eligible for UN assistance has more than doubled. They neglect to say, however, and the report does not indicate, that among the reasons for this increase are the following:

(1) Arabs from all over the Middle East, especially during the early years, migrated into the camps and were accepted by the camp authorities as "refugees" from Israel. No documentation was required; no checks were employed; no questions were asked.

(2) In great numbers of instances deaths were not recorded, and the families of the deceased continued to claim and receive benefits in the name of their family members who were no longer among the living, but who were kept on the rolls as though still alive.

The Reuters report states that the 22 member countries of the Arab League "have lagged behind Western nations in contributing funds to

the UN agency chiefly because the Arabs have long held that it is the West that created and perpetuated the Palestinian problem and that the West therefore must pay for it."

This is a totally false statement, but Reuters makes no attempt to correct it and tell the truth.

The truth is that the Arabs themselves — no one else — created the problem by launching their wars against Israel. Had they not attacked Israel on four separate occasions, there would be no Arab refugees today.

And it is the Arabs themselves — no one else — who have perpetuated the problem by categorically refusing to resettle and absorb their Arab blood brothers in their vast domains.

The Reuters report does admit that "The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries made its first contribution to the relief agency earlier this year: \$2 million, a minute sum in comparison with the \$143 million provided by the United States and other Western countries in the first seven months of 1980," but it does not amplify the comparison and fails to arrive at the necessary conclusion.

The fact is that during all the years since 1948, the obscenely wealthy Arab powers have contributed almost nothing to alleviate the suffering of their kinsmen in the miserable camps they themselves established, while the Western powers supplied several billions of dollars to the relief agency.

And in 1980, a year in which authorities in the field

estimate the Arab oil-producing powers alone will have a net surplus of approximately \$100 billion, all the OPEC powers together, including the Arabs, have thus far contributed a miserly \$1 million.

One final point. According to Reuters, UNWRA has a staff of 16,500 people in the Middle East, by far the largest of all the UN agencies. It admits that this huge army of UNWRA personnel is "almost exclusively Palestinian," but omits one or two extremely important facts.

This enormous staff of 16,500 is not only largely Arab in composition but is also completely controlled by the PLO.

The schools it has established are dominated by the PLO. The curriculum is developed under the supervision of the PLO. Textbooks used in the schools, replete with the vilest anti-Jewish and anti-Israeli propaganda imaginable, glorifying extreme violence against the Jewish people, are written in accordance with PLO ideology.

In other words, money contributed by the western democracies — the communist countries have never given a dime to UNWRA — has been used over the years to aid in the development of a movement designed to undermine and destroy the only democracy in the Middle East.

And ten million Jews of the free world, through the taxes they pay, have unwittingly participated in this outrage.

To this end has support for the UN and its evil enterprises brought us.

A Black Eye for CBS...

Continued from Page 1
than \$2 million on the project.

Switchboards of CBS affiliates across the country were jammed by angry telephone callers last Tuesday night, when the program was aired.

CBS Television City in Los Angeles logged some 2,100 protest calls. Similar response was reported by affiliates in Philadelphia, Denver, Chicago and New York.

Three gunshots shattered the doors of CBS-owned KNXT, without hurting anyone, and a Molotov cocktail was thrown at KOOL in Phoenix.

An estimated 2,000 persons showed up at Stephen S. Wise Temple in Los Angeles for an "alternative" evening of Jewish song and dance Tuesday evening. Similar programs took place throughout the Jewish communities of Southern California.

Consumer Backlash

The advertisers who bought time on "Playing for Time" apparently did so because of the bargain prices offered by CBS.

Jeffrey Martin, Inc., a Union City, N.J.-based firm, purchased seven 30-second spots for its Porcelana skin cream, Topol tooth polish and Compoz sleeping pills.

"It was a good buy. I am 100 per cent satisfied," Jeffrey Martin president Martin Himmel told newsmen.

American Motors purchased four spots on the show.

Pfizer Drugs, a leading pharmaceutical company that markets Ben-Gay, Desitin, Visine and other products, also purchased several commercials.

A Southland doctor told Heritage that he wanted to promote resistance to Pfizer products among Jewish doctors.

Dozens of calls and letters came to Heritage offices in Los Angeles, Orange County and San Diego to congratulate this newspaper for printing the names of the advertisers in an exclusive page one bulletin last week.

But a representative of Laemmle Theaters disavowed responsibility for the appearance of a commercial for the film, "The Elephant Man," which is playing at

one of the chain's theaters.

The Laemmle spokesman said he hoped Jewish patrons would not take offense at the theater for the appearance of the ad, which was placed by Paramount Studios.

Following is a reprint of the list of advertisers which appeared last week:

Control Diet Pills, Brite Floorwax, Vicks Formula 44 D and Nyquil, Pledge Furniture Polish (Johnson & Johnson), Oil of Olay, Ex Lax, American Motors, Topol Toothpaste, Soft Scrub cleanser, Formula 409 cleaner, Porcelana skin cream, Canon Copiers, Visine, Taylor Rental Centers, Bolla Wine, Ideal Toys, Household Finance Corp. (HFC), "Gloria" (movie), Compoz, Sucrets, Aqua Fresh Toothpaste, Unisom sleep pills, the film "It's My Turn," Tums, Ben Gay and Fiat.

These products sponsored the show locally:

"The Elephant Man" movie, the Sizzler restaurant, International Real Estate Network and McDonald's.

Heritage urges readers to write to these companies voicing their outrage.

WILPF San Diego Branch
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Women's International League
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1956 Seaview, Del Mar 92014

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OCTOBER 1980

Saturday, Oct. 25 General Membership Meeting: Workshop & Direct Action on Disarmament. 10AM - 12: Workshop at Ettilie's, 3712 Promontory, Pacific Beach. 1PM - 2PM: Direct action at Old Town Park. Bag lunch. See below for details.

Friday, Nov. 7 Board Meeting: 10AM, 3712 Promontory, PB. Please note that board meetings have been moved to the 1st Friday of the month.

Many Americans are afraid of disarmament. Almost everyone else in the world is more afraid of arms--of an escalating arms race veering out of control. World-wide there is a growing movement for relief from the arms race and all it portends. Governments & people are beginning to realize that there must be better ways to resolve international differences than by force & threats; that we live in an interdependent world with a limited supply of goods & energy; & that nuclear war-making potential threatens soon to spread beyond the control of a few big powers, & thus beyond any controlling. In 1978, representatives of 149 countries addressed this problem in the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament. They agreed that the accumulation of weapons is much more a threat than a protection for mankind, and that the time has come to seek security in disarmament, defined as a gradual process beginning with a reduction of armaments. They agreed on a near-term Program of Action for moving toward that goal. The success of that program will depend greatly on the cooperation of the United States, & hence on the attitudes & understanding of the American public.

In observance of World Disarmament Week (Oct. 25-31), our Saturday, Oct. 25 meeting will focus on the disarmament issue. SAVE ALL DAY for this special meeting! From 10AM to 12 noon, at Ettilie's, we are planning a workshop to help prepare us for an afternoon of direct contact with the public. Following the workshop, we will gather between 12 and 1PM at the Old Town Park (across from the Bazaar del Mundo) for a bag lunch picnic, followed at 1PM by leafletting. Plans are also being made to leaflet at various places the following week. Please join us Saturday to prepare for these activities.

Sylvia & Phyllis have worked out an exciting format for the 25th & need our help with the role-playing. A planning meeting will be held at Sylvia's, Oct. 21, 7PM, 5485 - 55th Street, Apt. 8B, to finalize the presentation. We hope some of you may have time to join us at this planning meeting. Call Sylvia at 583-1626 for information or directions.

SAVE Saturday, November 22, for our annual Fundraiser-Luncheon!

* * * * *

The September General Meeting approved the full slate presented by the Nominating Committee. Committee appointments are being made at the present time and will be announced in the next newsletter.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION

Our Legislative Chair, Phyllis Korman, has composed a splendid questionnaire directed to congressional candidates. Among the questions asked were: Do you support President Carter's limited nuclear war directive? Do you favor cancellation of the MX Missile System? Would you support a unilateral ban on all war gas & on-site destruction of all stockpiles? Of the 19 candidates polled, only 4 have responded so far. Those responding were Democratic congressional candidates Lionel Van Deerlin and Tom Metzger, Libertarian candidate Joseph Alldredge, and Peace & Freedom candidate David Wald.

* * * * *

COMMITTEE AGAINST REGISTRATION & THE DRAFT: In observance of National Anti-Draft Week, Oct. 12 - 17, the Committee Against Registration & the Draft will be focusing on leafletting at high schools around the county. In addition, on Friday, Oct. 17, 12:30PM, there will be a picket at the County Court House on Broadway in support of the three San Diego Students for Peace members harassed on August 1 by the police for anti-draft activities. In a 3½ hour period, the students received 10 vehicle code citations & were momentarily placed under arrest. Rather than fighting the charges in traffic court, they are demanding a Municipal Court trial.

WOMEN SPEAK OUT! See the enclosed flyer for information regarding the Post-Copenhagen Decade for Women Conference, Saturday, November 8. WILPF member Carol Jahnkow will conduct a workshop concerning peace issues at this conference.

* * * * *

As some of you know, one of our invaluable board members, our beloved Doris Steinmetz, former chairperson of our San Diego Branch, is now critically ill. Our love goes out to her and to Harry. Their lifetime commitment to peace is an inspiration to all of us.

1980 - 1981

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This WILPF "bond" is an offering to members to invest in six new programs WILPF plans to launch this year. These programs are ambitious but urgent for the vigorous outreach necessary to combat rising U.S. militarism.

Along with the increased missile-rattling and development of new nuclear weapons systems has come a resurgence of racism, sexism, jingoism, and other forms of reaction and bigotry. Since 1915 WILPF has worked to overcome these, and has contributed to the real progress that has been made. But there is still a great deal of work ahead.

Throwing money at problems doesn't necessarily eradicate them, but in the case of WILPF there has never been the danger of being drowned in too much funding. WILPF's annual budget, plus the cost of the programs described here, adds up to less than the Pentagon's cost for shredding secret documents. But we also know that when it comes to spreading good ideas and honest information, a little money can go a long way.

WILPF has the ideas and the information, but needs the minimal cash to send the message across the country to reach new people and bolster those already working with WILPF.

These are the programs and the budget:

Women and the Federal Budget \$20,000.

A planned series of training programs for WILPF members selected by branches to educate women in local communities about how the federal budget works and how they can affect it. Our guide booklet on Women and the Budget is just coming out.

Key Congressional Districts \$15,000.

An organizing program to aid individual members not yet organized, and potential members across the country, to form new WILPF branches and act together to affect Congress on our issues.

Nuclear Moratorium \$10,000.

Nuclear weapons and power are the greatest threats to our survival, yet vast sums of our tax money are spent on these, and their lobbyists are powerful. WILPF will supplement current anti-nuclear efforts by providing speakers, literature, and audio-visual materials relating these life-and-death issues to women's concerns.

Conferences on Critical Issues \$7,500.

WILPF invited leading women in feminist and peace groups to a national meeting in February 1980 to take up mutual concerns and consolidate forces and resources. This led to the "Feminist Brigade" at the March 22 anti-draft March on Washington and other followup actions. In these times of renewed sexist, racist and militarist activities, it is crucial that WILPF increase efforts to bring together and activate affected groups.

Organizing on College Campuses \$7,500.

Draft age women and men are calling on WILPF for information, materials, help. Transportation and new literature are needed to enable organizers to accept the many invitations coming to WILPF at this time.

Special Reports \$5,000.

Further studies are needed to add to the work started with "Women and the Budget," focusing on other areas of urgent concern. These will be used as guides for activists and community workshops.

TOTAL \$65,000.



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In this 65th Anniversary year when prospects for peace are dim, we optimistically launch this \$65,000 budget for *new* programs beyond those we normally carry on. We believe we owe it to all of us, in the face of current crises, to make these additional efforts to stop the draft and war preparations, inform women about the military budget, reverse the arms race, stop nuclear weapons and power, organize and educate for peace.

**This bond is our mutual guarantee
of renewed efforts and hopes for a
future of peace and justice**



Through the past decade, investments in WILPF have gone far. These are a few of the dividends:

Vietnam: Women's Emergency Conference on Vietnam in Washington, 1970. International congress in New Delhi followed by group meeting with women in Vietnam, "people's peace treaty" made in spirit of first Women's Peace Congress. Since war ended, 1975, WILPF has urged diplomatic relations, end to US blockade, rehabilitation aid.

Latin America: Conference of Women in Colombia, 1970. Mission in 1974 to investigate repression in Chile, findings given to UN Commission on Human Rights.

Education at home: WILPF peace curricula distributed by thousands to private and public schools, 1972-3. Economics seminar in Washington, 1973, regional seminars to change government priorities.

Women's Movement: International women's disarmament conference at UN co-sponsored as part of International Women's Year, 1975. At National Women's Conference, Houston 1977, plank adopted for cuts in military budget, transfer of funds to needs of women and other disadvantaged. Continued support for ERA.

Civil rights and liberties: Opposition to repressive versions of Federal Criminal Code and other legislation curtailing rights. Initiated seminars on racism.

Nuclear power and weapons: Support of anti-nuclear movement, linking power and weapons because of dangers of plutonium production and whole fuel cycle. Helped start anti-nuclear coalition Mobilization for Survival, 1977.

Disarmament: National campaign launched 1976 to "Feed the Cities, Not the Pentagon," urging transfer of funds from military to human needs. Conference on SALT II and the Arms Race. Organized international delegation, 1979, to talk with NATO officials about deployment of first-strike nuclear weapons. Continued opposition to conscription for both women and men.

WILPF is committed in the new decade to carrying on the struggle for the rights of women and all human beings, for economic and social justice, and for a peaceful, non-nuclear world.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM – U.S. SECTION

National Office:

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PATRICIA ELLSBERG
RUTH CALVIN EMERSON
FRANCES FARENTHOLD
W.H. FERRY
JEROME FRANK
HARROP FREEMAN
ERICH FROMM
REP. WILLIAM H. GRAY, III
VIVIAN HALLINAN
DAVID HARRIS, JR.
JANE HART
CLARIE COLLINS HARVEY
BRIG. GEN. HUGH HESTER
CORETTA SCOTT KING
FLEMMIE KITTRELL
MAGGIE KUHN
WILLIAM KUNTSLER
CORLISS LAMONT
HELEN LINDGREN
ELIZABETH MCALISTER
KATE MILLETT
REP. PARREN MITCHELL
M.F. ASHLEY MONTAGU
OTTO NATHAN
HOLLY NEAR
YOKO ONO
MARJORIE P. PASCHKIS
VICTOR PASCHKIS
JERRY PAUL
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HAROLD TAYLOR
GEORGE WALD
RUTH WALD
JOANNE WOODWARD

Dear member,

WILPF is a candidate in 1980!

Before you become completely discouraged about your options on election day, consider ... WILPF is a political choice this year. Your membership in WILPF is a statement as important as your vote on November 4.

Will you endorse a track record of 65 years that has seen no equivocation in its quest for justice? Will you cast your vote for disarmament and women's rights?

Who else has opened a dialogue with the Iranian people, organized to reorder our national priorities, spoken out against threats to our civil liberties, and at the same time kept in touch with WILPF Sections all over the world? Who else has done so much on such a small budget?

In 1980, as in every year since 1915, WILPF is campaigning for your membership support. \$15 covers dues for the year.

For only \$5 more, you will become an international supporter, and strengthen new Sections in Mauritius and Ghana, to name only two.

Add a generous contribution if you can. 1979-80 was a difficult year, when threatening world events were coupled with double-digit inflation. 1981 promises no improvement. Dues have not gone up since 1974, and so, even more than before, we rely on your generosity and on the support of the branches.

Politics in an election year are usually conservative. But this year's major candidates are particularly dismal. WILPF offers you the opportunity to make a positive statement of your beliefs. Send your check today, and register your vote for peace and freedom.

Yours in peace,

Marjorie Boehm

Marjorie Boehm, President
U. S. Section

P.S. If you haven't already made a 65th Birthday gift to WILPF, please do so today. The enclosed "peace bond" is the best investment you can make in the future. Make your investment now!

'EXPOSES HYPOCRISY OF DEMOCRACY'

Film Proves Rights Nonexistent in U.S., Chinese Say

By **LINDA MATHEWS**
Times Staff Writer

SHANGHAI—In a nationwide campaign apparently aimed at dimming, the appeal of America to young Chinese, the government has been showing a U.S. movie about a corrupt Southern sheriff and hailing it as proof that human rights are nonexistent in the United States.

The film, originally shown by ABC-TV in November, 1976, as "Nightmare in Badham County," tells the violent and sex-laced saga of two UCLA coeds, one black and one white, who have a flat tire while driving through a Southern backwoods area and run afoul of the bigoted local sheriff.

Soon the sheriff, played by a menacing Chuck Connors, rapes the black girl and railroads both of them into the county prison farm on trumped-up prostitution charges. They are unable to notify their parents or even telephone a lawyer. In an escape at-

tempt, the black coed is shot in the back.

Under the title "Wumeng" (Nightmare), the film is showing at hundreds of theaters throughout China. It has been seen by at least 50 million Chinese, according to a Ministry of Culture spokesman. It is so popular that here in Shanghai tickets are sold out days in advance and some theaters have resorted to round-the-clock screenings.

Chinese moviegoers simply seem eager for any glimpse of contemporary American life—U.S. movies are still rarities—but the government apparently had political reasons for selecting "Nightmare" from all the American fare available.

"This movie . . . forcefully exposes, in a real and convincing way, the hypocrisy of American democracy and the deceptive nature of the capitalist legal system," the Guangming Daily, an intellectual journal, said in a review June 11. "It should open some eyes."

As China has opened up to foreign

Los Angeles Times

PART VIII

SUNDAY, JUNE 22, 1980

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Kidney Dialysis Bill
Climbing Page 4

Learning in Cuba—
10,300 Third World
Students Page 6

trade and technology, "some people have begun to worship foreign things blindly and to harbor fine illusions about the capitalist legal system, democracy and human rights," the

newspaper continued. "Obviously we can see from this movie that their notions do not conform with reality."

Similar articles have appeared in at least half a dozen Chinese periodicals in the last month, all with blistering observations about "Nightmare" and the American judicial system.

Such a confluence of views usually signals that a propaganda campaign is under way, directed by the Communist Party. The campaign is apparently designed to deflate the pro-America feeling building here since normalization and to answer China's young dissidents, who have advocated American-style civil liberties in underground publications and even quoted from the U.S. Declaration of Independence in posters on Beijing's now defunct Democracy Wall.

In New York, a spokesman for ABC's international division confirmed that "Nightmare in Badham County" had been sold to the Chinese through a distributor and said the network had not been aware of how
Please Turn to Page 2, Col. 4



'PROOF'—A Shanghai billboard advertises the U.S.-made movie "Nightmare in Badham County," now being promoted in China as proof "there is no such thing as human rights in the United States."

Times photo by Linda Mathews

Marxist Ethiopia Turns to West for Help in Famine

By DAVID LAMB
Times Staff Writer

NAIROBI, Kenya—Famine caused by widespread drought is threatening as many as 5 million Ethiopians with starvation, and it has forced the Marxist government in Addis Ababa to turn to former allies in the West for help.

Relief agency officials say the famine is centered in southern Ethiopia, and that unless a large-scale international effort is mounted it could be a devastating as the drought in Wollo and Tigre provinces that killed tens of thousands of Ethiopians in the mid-1970s.

The military junta ruling Ethiopia, mindful that the Wollo drought led indirectly to the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974, has been slow to acknowledge the famine, which is now in its second year. Last month, however, the government

took Western diplomats and international aid officials on a tour of the drought-stricken region.

Selassie's 58-year rule ended in a coup, led by junior army officers who mounted a skillful campaign to discredit him and his opulent life style in one of the world's 10 poorest countries.

A poster that was put up all over Addis Ababa showed a picture of Selassie tossing large chunks of beef to his two Great Danes, alongside a photograph of starving children begging for grain in the drought areas.

Ethiopian officials say the present famine threatens the lives of 5 million of the country's 27 million people. It has already resulted in the death of half a million head of livestock and displaced more than 1 million persons, the government says.

But Ethiopia has few resources of its own to combat the famine. It is beset by a crippled economy and drained by wars against Somali and Eritrean guerrillas in widely scattered parts of the country. A "green revolution" launched last year to revive the agricultural sector with the help of East German farm machinery shows little evidence of success.

Western diplomatic sources with access to Ethiopia said the Soviet Union has not provided any substantial aid to alleviate the famine. Soviet aid to Ethiopia is largely military, although in April, 1979, Moscow did give Ethiopia an \$85-million rural development loan repayable in 12 years at 2.5% interest, the sources said.

To combat the drought, Ethiopia has been forced to look for help from Western aid agencies and Western governments, notably the Scandinavian countries.

Ethiopia, which was allied with the West until Salassie's overthrow, received about \$20 million last year from the United States, for food and disaster relief. It also received more than \$200 million from the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the European Economic Community.

U.S. MOVIE IN CHINA

Continued from First Page

the movie would be promoted. "I'm sorry to hear what they're doing with it," the ABC spokesman said.

"Nightmare," which also stars Deborah Raffin and Lynne Moody as the coeds, has stirred controversy before. When it was first broadcast, several ABC affiliate stations in the South refused to show it because of the gratuitous violence and what they charged was an unfair, stereotyped view of Southern law enforcement.

The Guangming Daily review noted that despite the U.S. Supreme Court's assurances of legal representation for accused criminals, the two coeds in "Nightmare" were summarily tried without lawyers and shipped off to a prison farm because extra hands were needed to pick cotton. The county judge turned out to be the sheriff's cousin.

Calling the prison a "human hell," the newspaper pointed out that the inmates were forced to work against their will and at least once were conscripted to serve as waitresses at a lavish party for the town's Establishment, including the sheriff, the judge and a prison official with an eye for

15-year-old girls.

"The difference in living conditions between those who were in power and the poor women prisoners depicted in the film was as searing as night and day," the Chinese review said. "Is this what democracy is all about?"

Even more searing was the critique published in a Shanghai movie magazine and displayed outside the Cathay Theater here, which said the movie demonstrated that "American society has profound social problems and no intention of solving them . . . What a dark and doomed society!"

"America is an ideal kingdom in some people's eyes, but let us examine the reality," wrote reviewer Xiao Yang, a pseudonym that means "morning light." "In this film, no one dares stand up to demand justice, no one can help these victims. There is no trial, no right to appeal. People are sent to the prison farm without their families being informed. If they try to make phone calls, their fingers are cut off. So where are the human rights we have heard so much about? Where is the legal order?"

Like the film critics, many Chinese moviegoers seem to accept "Night-

mare" as an accurate depiction of the American judicial and prison systems, not an aberration.

"When I came out of the theater with my friends, they said 'So that's what it's really like in America,'" remarked Steve Allee, a U.S. exchange student in Nanjing. "I didn't want to say the whole movie was garbage or deny that prison farms exist, because some do, and they may be as bad as this one.

"So I just asked these guys whether China had labor camps, and the answer was 'Yes, of course.' And then I asked whether they ever expected to see a Chinese-made movie about those labor camps, and they laughed . . . 'Well,' I said, 'that's the difference between your country and mine.'"

Reindeer Suffer Ulcers

HELSINKI, Finland (AP)—Four out of every five reindeer slaughtered after a recent round-up in Lapland were found to be suffering from stomach ulcers. Scientists say the ulcers were caused by the use of helicopters instead of dogs to round up the herds. The noise level of the machines causes severe stress to the animals, according to the scientists.

1980

Dear Friend:

Women aren't the better half – in government, they're the missing half. Consider these facts:

- Of the 435 members of the U.S. House of Representatives, only 16 are women.
- Only 1 woman serves in the 100-member U.S. Senate.
- Only 2 of our nation's 50 Governors are women.
- Nationally, women hold fewer than 10 percent of all elective offices.

After 200 years of debate over equality, public office remains the fortress of inequality. To put it another way...

Men run America.

There is something you can do to open up America's political decision-making process to women. You can support the work of the WOMEN'S CAMPAIGN FUND.

WCF is the only national organization devoted exclusively to helping elect qualified women of both parties to public office. In the past six years, WCF has helped scores of talented women win difficult elections.

This year – 1980 – our task is greater than ever. Women candidates from every part of the country are depending on us for financial assistance.

We, in turn, are depending on you.

Please take a moment to read about the Women's Campaign Fund. Then send WCF a check for \$25, or more if you can. And put it in the mail today.

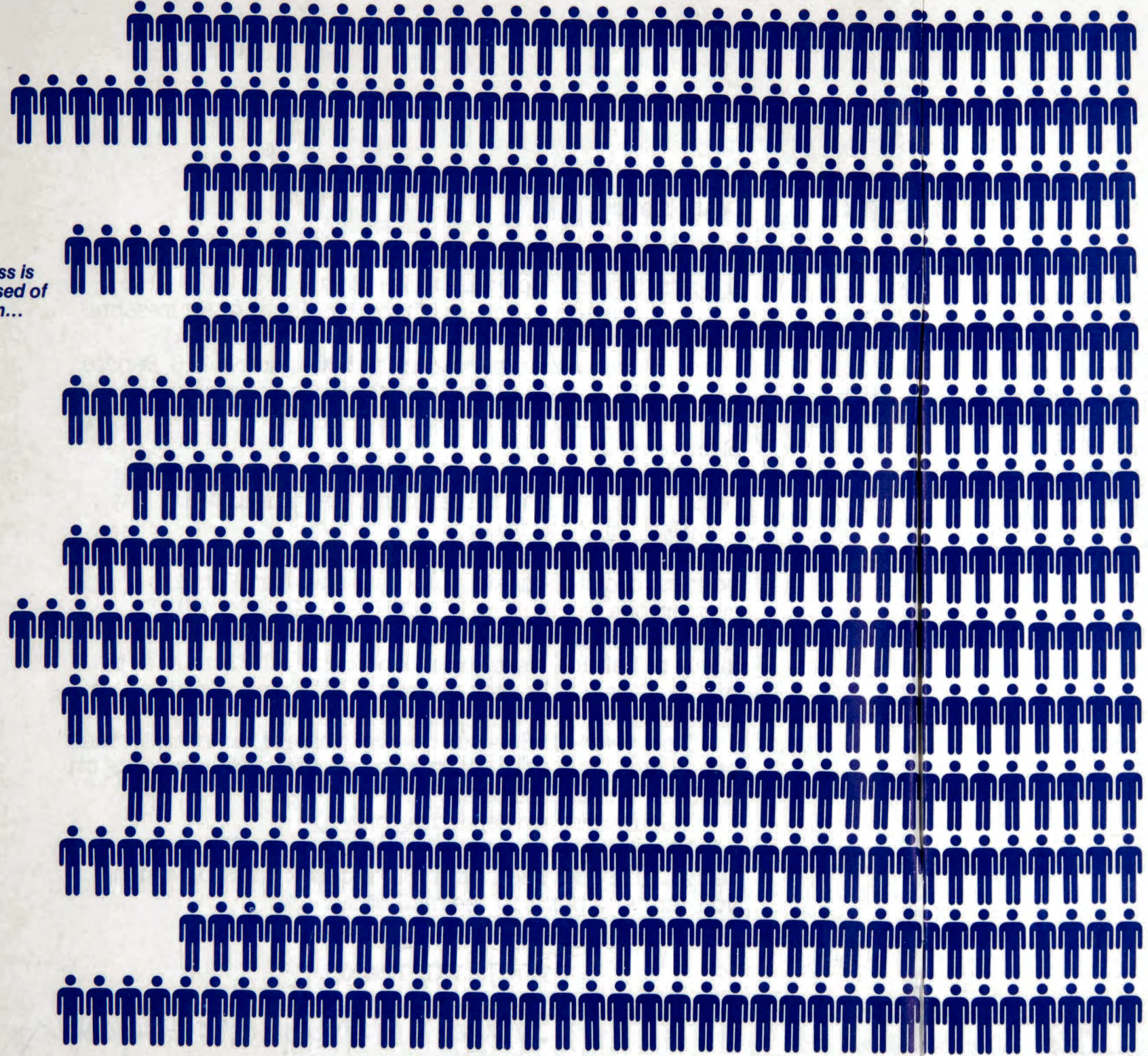
We're counting on you.

For the WCF Board,

Sharon Percy Rockefeller

Sharon Percy Rockefeller

Why there's a Women's Campaign Fund.



Congress is comprised of 518 men...

...and 17 women

	Women	Men
U.S. Population	51.3%	48.7%
U.S. Senators	1%	99%
U.S. Representatives	4%	96%
Governors	4%	96%
Lt. Governors	12%	88%
State Senators	5%	95%
State Representatives	11%	89%
County Officials	5%	95%
Mayors and Councilors	9%	91%
School Board Members	25%	75%

(Figures compiled by the National Women's Education Fund and the Center for the American Woman in Politics.)

Since WCF first began, we've helped 59 women finish first.

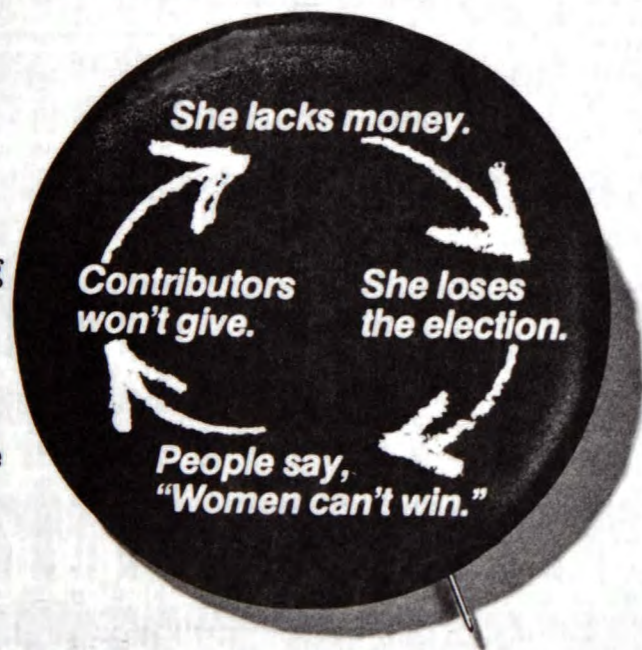
Early in 1974, a woman named Maya Miller ran for the U.S. Senate from Nevada. Although she had strong credentials for that job, Maya ran into a brick wall when she tried to raise money in Washington. Maya Miller and her staff found that many potential donors viewed her not as a candidate or a future Senator – but only as a woman.

Looking around the country, we found that women in other states were subjected to the same kind of treatment, with the same devastating results. Qualified women candidates simply were not taken seriously.

And that's where we came in. Since 1974, we've put tens of thousands of dollars into women's campaign coffers. And we've put some of the best political consultants in America – pollsters, media advisors, and fundraising experts – into their campaign headquarters.

The results have been impressive: In less than six years, we have helped elect 59 women to public office.

While we've come a long way in a short time, we still have a long way to go. Your support today will help WCF take a giant step forward in 1980 – sending scores of qualified women to state capitals and Capitol Hill.



The Women's Campaign Fund assists women candidates who:

- 1. Take progressive stands on major issues**
- 2. Have a chance to win**
- 3. Need WCF help**

Behind the scenes of a WCF success story.

Can women candidates overcome the obstacles placed in their path?

Congresswoman Geraldine Ferraro of New York will tell you, "Absolutely yes."

In 1978, she upset a party-endorsed candidate in a three-way Democratic primary, and went on to capture 54 percent of the

vote in the hotly-contested general election.

In the beginning, "Nobody believed in her, except a few enlightened souls like the Women's Campaign Fund," recalls Ferraro's campaign manager Carmine Parisi.

"Women running for office have a tough time raising money," Ferraro

told WCF. "Your \$6,000 and your fundraising advice were critical.

"The WCF was in constant communication with us and helped us plug into other sources of good money. Many candidates don't know which labor and corporate groups might be helpful. The Women's Campaign Fund was able to answer those questions for us."

Since we helped her win office, Representative Ferraro has been an active proponent of Social Security reform and the employment of displaced homemakers. And an active proponent of WCF.

She knows that what we did for her we have to do for many other women in 1980: Provide them with encouragement, expertise and, above all, money.



Our winners come from all parts of the country, every level of government, and both parties.



Nancy Kassebaum

Running a campaign that *Time* magazine called "strong-spirited and refreshingly frank," Republican Nancy Landon Kassebaum was elected to the U.S. Senate from Kansas in 1978.

She told us: "Your money was important and your endorsement was critical. It added credibility to my effort and increased my chances of winning."



Patricia Schroeder

Although she was outspent 2 to 1, Congresswoman Pat Schroeder was re-elected to a fourth term in 1978. The Colorado Democrat won a solid victory without abandoning her convictions on controversial issues such as freedom of choice and the ERA extension.

"Even as incumbents, women running for office find themselves at a severe financial disadvantage," she said. "In all three of my races for re-election, WCF has been at my side, providing critical assistance."



Dianne Feinstein

In November, 1979, with the aid of WCF, interim-mayor Dianne Feinstein, topped the field of primary candidates, then captured 53 percent of the vote in the December election to become the first elected woman mayor of San Francisco.

"Many national candidate assistance groups don't get involved in city elections," Mayor Feinstein noted. "Fortunately for me and others, WCF recognizes the need for women to succeed at all levels of government."



Olympia Snowe

In 1978, a 30-year-old GOP State Senator named Olympia Snowe won a seat in the U.S. House from the state of Maine by capturing 55 percent of the vote in the general election.

"Equal in importance to your monetary contribution was your moral support. To know that I could rely upon the people at the Women's Campaign Fund for advice, counsel, and encouragement meant as much as your check."



Diane Watson

"The under-representation of minority women is particularly serious," says Diane Watson, the first black woman and second woman elected to the California Senate.

"Most women candidates have few resources to draw on for their campaigns, and minority women have fewer still. The Women's Campaign Fund serves a much-needed purpose by adding greatly to these resources."

State & Local Offices

Because experience in state and local government often provides women with credentials for higher office, the Women's Campaign Fund maintains an active and separate state and local office program. Its aim is to enlarge the pool of qualified women candidates from which candidates for state-wide and federal office are drawn.

The program also pays immediate dividends on issues of concern to WCF. In 1978, WCF was involved in many state legislative races, winning key votes for the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment and for other important issues.

Although the number of women serving in state legislative posts has doubled in the last decade, women still hold fewer than 11 percent of these seats. Therefore, in 1980 WCF will expand its efforts in state capitals, making an investment that will pay dividends on Capitol Hill in years to come.

State and local candidates are supported through a separate, segregated fund.

"Winning campaigns have four components: money, the candidate, issues, and organization. But if you don't have money, you can forget the other three."

The lessons of one campaign.

It's no secret that substantial sums of money are required to wage a successful campaign for state or federal office. Less well-known, however, is the extent to which women candidates have been shortchanged in the fundraising process.

For years, self-styled political "pros" have scoffed at the potential appeal of women seeking office. Women have been viewed as improbable candidates and probable losers.

The Women's Campaign Fund is meeting this problem head-on.

We've spent the past six years boosting candidates turned away by traditional donors. And in one race after another, our contributions have convinced individuals and organizations to open their checkbooks to qualified women.

Recognizing that WCF support frequently unlocks other doors, we aim our assistance at the early stages of a campaign. We realize the sooner a candidate begins raising money, the easier it becomes to quiet the doubters and gain the visibility necessary to get elected. Old myths die hard. But with your help, we'll bury the notion that women candidates can't find enough funding to win.



In 1978, Susan Engeleiter decided to run for Congress in the 9th district of Wisconsin. Her campaign was based on her formidable record in the state legislature where she championed consumer protection and helped reform the state's rape and divorce laws.

Her problem was that not enough people in the 9th Congressional District knew enough about her or her record. She urgently needed to buy television time to air her record and her name.

That TV cost \$20,000, which was \$20,000 Engeleiter didn't have and couldn't raise. The Women's Campaign Fund gave her major support — \$5,000 worth — and brought her to the brink of victory.



But the brink was as far as she got.

When the ballots were counted, she lost the primary. By 589 votes.

With a little more help from other sources, Susan Engeleiter would probably be Congresswoman Engeleiter today.

We think one of those sources is you. With your support in 1980, we'll do our best to make sure qualified women like Susan Engeleiter don't have to learn too many lessons the hard way.



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“Is there so great a superfluity of men fit for high duties that society can afford to reject the service of any competent person? Are we so certain of always finding a man...for any duty or function of social importance which falls vacant, that we lose nothing by putting a ban upon half of mankind and refusing beforehand to make their faculties available, however distinguished they may be...?”

John Stuart Mill “The Subjection of Women” 1869

A copy of our report is filed with and available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. 20463. Under the Federal Campaign Finance Law, in any calendar year, individuals are limited to aggregate political contributions of \$25,000 and to a \$5,000 contribution to WCF.

Tax Information

You can take a tax credit of one-half your contribution - up to \$100 on a joint return, and \$50 on a single.

I'd like to help women get elected to public office. Here's my check for:

_____ \$25 _____ \$50 _____ \$100 _____ Other \$ _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

IMPORTANT: We're required by law to request the following:

Occupation _____

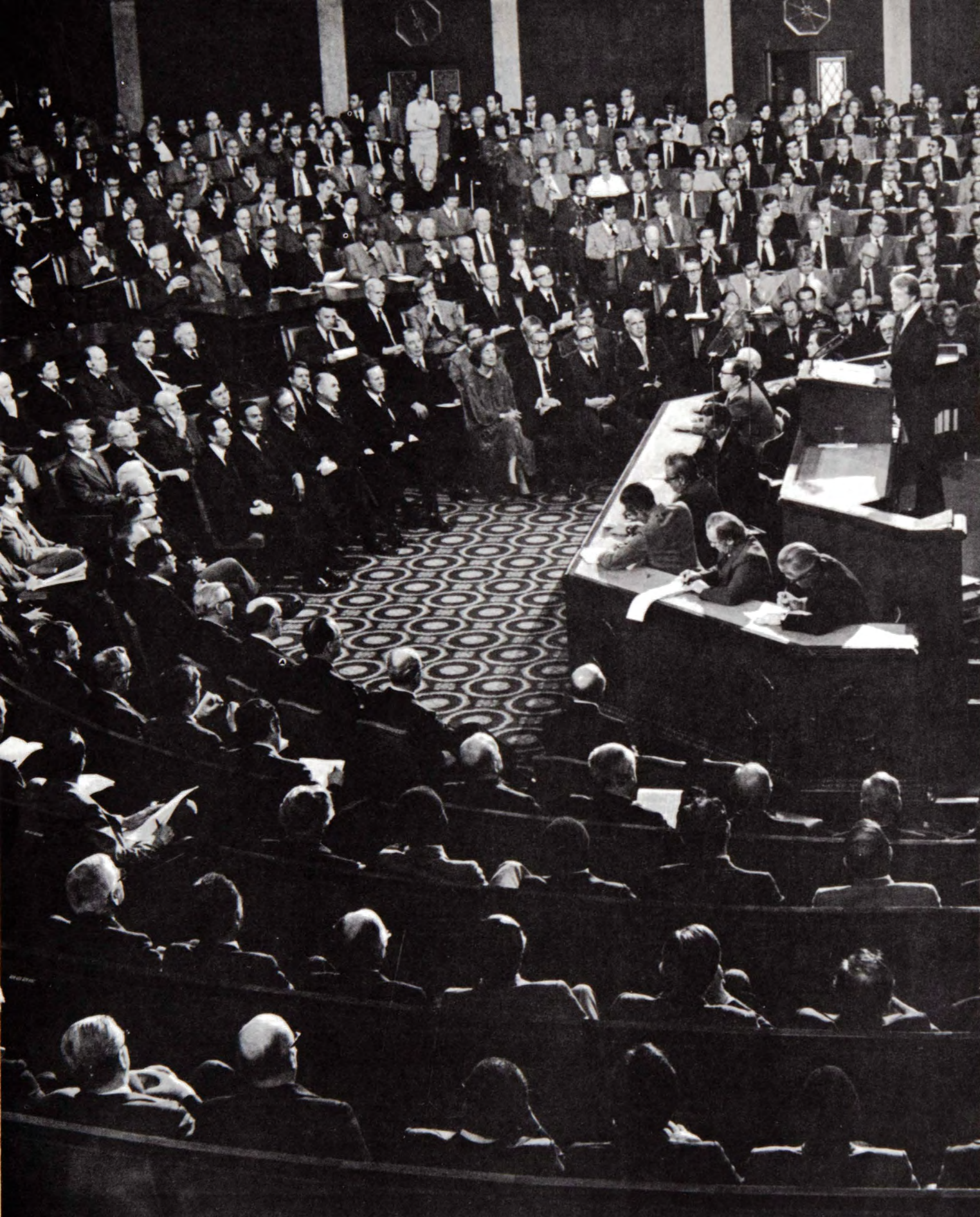
Name of Employer _____

Business Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Please make checks payable to: Women's Campaign Fund

Your stamp on this envelope will save us the cost of return postage.



Half of America is missing in Congress. And it shows.

Some people wonder if it really matters that only 4 percent of Congress is made up of women.

It matters.

It matters if you want to eliminate sex bias in our Social Security system. Or provide pregnancy benefits. Or permit or deny abortions.

It also matters on issues where the under-representation of women

is less obvious – on energy policy, anti-inflation measures, health care, the military budget.

On these issues, America needs all the fresh ideas, perspectives, and human energy it can get. And we at the Women's Campaign Fund want to provide these new resources as early as the 1980 elections.



If the missing half of America gets the chance to help make decisions on all the issues that come before Congress, we're convinced the whole country – women and men alike – will be better off.

Some well-known people know us well.

"The growing strength of the Women's Campaign Fund is one of the healthiest developments in American politics in recent years. The financial and technical support the WCF has extended both parties has made a major impact in a number of elections."

**Bill Brock, Chairman
Republican National
Committee**



"Women continue to be woefully under-represented in both elective and appointive offices. The Women's Campaign Fund offers hope for increasing the number of women who serve in policy-making positions."

**Patricia Roberts Harris,
Secretary
Department of Health and
Human Services**

"Women are under-represented throughout government, particularly in decision-making offices. Efforts to utilize the enormous energy and talent of more than 50% of our population would be more likely to succeed if there were more women in Congress itself. That's one of the reasons the work of the Women's Campaign Fund is so important. I strongly urge that all Americans, women and men, support its efforts."

U.S. Senator Edward Kennedy



know us well.



"No American can be satisfied when women — who make up 51.3% of our population — hold fewer than 10% of all elective offices nationally. Those statistics represent a tragic waste of human talent and skills which our nation cannot afford. We need the perspective and contributions of qualified women at all levels of government to meet the complex challenges facing our country today."

Vice President Walter Mondale

"When I first ran for the Senate in 1948 the opposition cry was that 'the Senate was no place for a woman.' Fortunately, I overcame that negative thinking so successfully that two elections later in 1960 the Democrats nominated a very fine woman against me. Now the more accepted statement is 'A Woman's Place is in the House — and the Senate too!' But there has not been enough action to back those words. 30 years later there is still only one woman in the Senate and for six years prior to 1978 no woman at all. We must continue efforts to put more women in our highest legislative forum."

**The Honorable Margaret
Chase Smith**



"It has been nearly 60 years since we won the right to vote, and we've spent most of those years voting for men. I am convinced that the whole country would benefit if more women were elected to public office."

Mrs. Rosalynn Carter



Some of the women
WCF helped elect.

U.S. Senate

Nancy Kassebaum, Kansas

U.S. House

Shirley Chisholm, New York
Cardiss Collins, Illinois
Millicent Fenwick, New Jersey
Geraldine Ferraro, New York
Barbara Mikulski, Maryland
Patricia Schroeder, Colorado
Olympia Snowe, Maine
Gladys Spellman, Maryland

Lieutenant Governor

Nancy Dick, Colorado
Madeleine Kunin, Vermont
Nancy Stevenson,
South Carolina

Secretary of State

March Fong Eu, California
Joan Growe, Minnesota
Norma Paulus, Oregon

State Legislators

Helen Arnold, Oklahoma
Miriam Balanoff, Illinois
Gloria Cabe, Arkansas
Earlean Collins, Illinois
Ruth Cook, North Carolina
Cleta Deatherage, Oklahoma
Jean Ford, Nevada
Rachel Gray, North Carolina
Helen Rhyne Marvin,
North Carolina
Carolyn Mathis, North Carolina
Barbara McConnell, New Jersey
Lura Tally, North Carolina
Diane Watson, California

Mayors

Dianne Feinstein, San Francisco
Janet Gray Hayes, San Jose

The Washington Post

Tom Braden

Support For the Other Half

WASHINGTON—An organization called the Women's Campaign Fund (WCF) has been calling attention to an odd fact about our government. It is that women—that is to say half the population of the country—are, so far as the country's government is concerned, the missing half...

...It is hard for women candidates to raise money. Usually, they don't have longstanding business and professional connections. The "old boy" network is not at their disposal. Two years ago this month, there were four women running for an all-male U.S. Senate. When they gathered in Washington for a news conference, they discovered that none had received financial support from any national organization other than the Women's Campaign Fund...

...I don't know why it has taken so long for an organization such as the WCF to get started. After all, women got the vote back in 1920. But I think it's about time somebody challenged the unspoken proposition that in running our public affairs, half our population, half our talent and half our brains should be wasted. ©1978, Los Angeles Times Syndicate

Write us in and write it off.

Form 1040	Credits	
38	Credit for contributions to candidates for public office . . .	38
39	Credit for the elderly (attach Schedules R&RP) . . .	39
40	Credit for child and dependent care expenses (attach Form 2441) . . .	40
41	Investment credit (attach Form 3468) . . .	41
42	Foreign tax credit (attach Form 1116) . . .	42
43	Work incentive (WIN) credit (attach Form 4874) . . .	43
44	Jobs credit (attach Form 5884) . . .	44
45	Residential energy credits (attach Form 5695) . . .	45
46	Total credits. Add lines 38 through 45 . . .	
47	Balance. Subtract line 46 from line 37 and enter difference (but not less than zero) . . .	

Your contribution to the Women's Campaign Fund counts as a tax credit on your federal return. That means up to \$50 per individual — \$100 for a couple filing jointly — can be deducted from the taxes you pay.

So write us in now and write off your contribution when you file your 1980 federal tax return.

Women from across

America are counting on us. And we're counting on you.

Right now, while you're thinking about it, send us a check. We'll keep you informed all year long about which candidates your money is going to support.

With your help, 1980 will be the kind of year we can write about for years to come.

What to do if you received more than one copy of this brochure.

1. Please accept our apology. We are trying to reach as many people as we can in 1980, and some duplication is inevitable.
2. Please consider passing the extra copy(ies) you receive on to a friend.

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SEPTEMBER 1980

Saturday, Sept. 13 GENERAL MEETING: Branch Elections followed by Report on the Triennial. 10:30AM - 12:30PM, Pacific Beach Methodist Church, 1561 Thomas Ave., PB. Refreshments will be served.

Thursday, Oct. 9 BOARD MEETING: 10AM, 3712 Promontory, Pacific Beach. All members are welcome and encouraged to attend. Sack lunch.

ANNUAL ELECTIONS FOLLOWED BY SPECIAL REPORT ON THE TRIENNIAL: Carol Jahnkow has returned from the WILPF Triennial in New Haven, Conn., where over 500 women from 28 countries were present. Carol will share with us her report, Sat., Sept. 13. San Diego WILPF members, Anne Blokker & Joan Swartz, who also attended the Congress, will report on the workshops they attended & share their impressions. All three San Diego WILPF members have returned with many exciting ideas & experiences. Please come and catch their enthusiasm!

One of the projects from the Triennial which we will be implementing, is a World Disarmament Petition Campaign begun in the United Kingdom. The campaign is directed towards influencing the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament in Madrid in 1982. October 24-30 is Disarmament Week. Our October 25th meeting will focus on Disarmament. Please mark your calendars.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION

FARMWORKERS BOYCOTT: Due to customer concern & action, Food Basket/Gemco Markets are now offering a choice of iceberg lettuce after months of selling only "Red Coach" lettuce. Customers will now find 2 brands of iceberg lettuce in the store. One brand will be "Red Coach"; the other will be wrapped lettuce from another lettuce company. The 2 brands will probably be in different locations in the produce section; the displays may or may not be equal. The United Farmworkers are continuing & intensifying the primary boycott of Bruce Church's "Red Coach" label lettuce. We can help by: 1) Being careful NOT to buy "Red Coach" lettuce; instead please buy the alternative lettuce 2) Expressing thanks to the store manager for offering a choice & indicating a preference for the alternative brand. Money is urgently needed for the North County Food Project reported in last month's newsletter. Send contributions to The National Farm Worker Ministry, 3000 E. St., San Diego, Calif. 92102 and note that they are for North County.

CRIMINAL CODE REFORM: Frank Wilkinson, of The National Committee Against Repressive Legislation, has reported to us that the Senate may take action on S1722 after it convenes on Sept. 8. Action in the House will follow. Write your Senators immediately urging that they vote against this measure or call their offices Sept. 8th.

LIMITED NUCLEAR WAR: Immediate action must be taken on Presidential Directive #59, which outlines counterforce strategy for

1st strike capacity & preparation for a limited nuclear war. There is no such thing as a limited nuclear war! Shifting to counterforce strategy does not deter, but rather encourages nuclear war. Our immediate objective must be to make sure that the policy is debated. Express your objections in letters to the following; 1) your local paper 2) your Senators & Congressperson 3) President Carter 4) Secretary of State Edmund Muskie 5) Presidential candidates Ronald Reagan & John Anderson.

POL POT: It is imperative that the deposed Pol Pot regime not be re-seated when the United Nations General Assembly convenes Sept. 16th. Pol Pot does not represent the people of Kampuchea. Write to the President & to your Representative urging that the U.S. vote against the seating of Pol Pot. Applaud U.S. pledges to continue to provide one-third of U.N. relief aid to Cambodians, but stress that the humanitarian spirit of this aid is incompatible with a vote that makes the vast majority of surviving Cambodians fearful by giving international legitimacy to Pol Pot's attempt to regain power.

Thank you for returning your petitions on Iran, which are being forwarded to President Carter.

Did you hear the interview Aug. 19th on KPBS with Branch Chairperson, Florence Stevens, regarding WILPF history & purpose? Carol Jahnkow was also on KPBS Aug. 22, reporting on the Triennial from Connecticut!

COMMUNITY MEETINGS

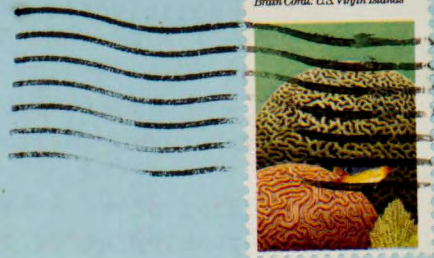
Saturday, Sept. 6: Talk by Michio Kaku on the nuclear fuel cycle and how it relates to international politics and nuclear accidents. 7:30PM, Drama Theater, San Diego State University. Sponsored by Womancare.

Wednesday, Sept. 17: Peace Resource Center General Membership meeting. Narmic Slide Show: "Acceptable Risk?" concerning whether the risks of the Atomic Age are really acceptable. 7 to 9PM, Peace Resource Center, 5717 Lindo Paseo, San Diego. Info: 265-0730.

Friday, Sept. 26: Workshop on War Tax Resistance led by Lonnie Valentine of Pacific Yearly Meeting of Friends, 7:00PM, Peace Resource Center.

Sunday, Sept. 28: "Women & the Third World." Speaker: Terry Albright, recently returned from Cuba & Puerto Rico. Womancare Center, 424 Pennsylvania, San Diego. Call 298-9352 for time & info.

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1956 Seaview Avenue
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SALE OF TECHNOLOGY PROTESTED

Swiss Aid Pakistan A-Bomb, U.S. Says

By LEONARD DOWNIE JR.

The Washington Post

BERN, Switzerland—Despite repeated U.S. protests, Switzerland has been knowingly exporting to Pakistan sophisticated nuclear technology that Pakistan is believed to be using to develop an atomic bomb.

The Swiss government, which contends it is violating no international agreements, has allowed several Swiss firms to sell Pakistan vital components for a gas centrifuge process to produce highly enriched uranium necessary for nuclear weapons.

The Swiss technology has helped enable Pakistan to continue development of this process despite steps taken by the U.S. and some European countries to curtail such exports to Pakistan.

In the latest of a series of secret diplomatic complaints dating back to last year, the U.S. State Department informed Switzerland recently that it had evidence that five Swiss firms are still providing

equipment and technical assistance for the centrifuge process being developed by Pakistan at a well-guarded plant at Kahuta, about 25 miles south of Islamabad, the capital.

The Carter Administration has told Switzerland that this is undermining its efforts to prevent Pakistan from developing nuclear weapons. U.S. officials fear that would dangerously expand the nuclear arms race in the developing world and create the possibility of nuclear war between Pakistan and India, which exploded a nuclear device of its own in a 1974 test.

The specific items being exported to Pakistan by Swiss firms appear on no international list of materials barred from such transactions, the Swiss contend, largely because they can be used for a variety of purposes other than nuclear technology.

At the same time, the United States among other countries, has shown itself willing to depart from anti-proliferation guidelines when it considers this politically useful. President Carter, for example, has

overruled the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and pressed for shipments of low-enriched uranium to India, although the Commission ruled the transaction in violation of the 1978 Nuclear Proliferation Treaty.

Activities Acknowledged

Swiss officials acknowledged here that they knew of the activities of several if not all of the firms named in the latest formal complaint from Washington. But they said the Swiss government has not acted to stop the exports to Pakistan because it does not believe they violate either Swiss law or international agreements to stop the spread of nuclear weapon.

Swiss officials also suggested that some of the components being exported by Swiss firms to Pakistan may be earmarked for another method of producing nuclear material for a bomb: a reprocessing plant to separate weapons-grade plutonium out of used nuclear fuel from the Canadian-built Pakistani nuclear reactor that generates elec-

tricity for Karachi. But they said exports of these components also apparently were not covered by Swiss law or international guidelines.

"We wish to analyze the information we got from our American friends to see if anything got through our controls," said Switzerland's new deputy foreign minister, Raymond Probst, who was leaving Washington after more than four years as Swiss ambassador when he received "this new information" from U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Pickering.

"We will explain to our American friends what the situation is," Probst said in an interview here. "We are aware of the importance of the whole thing. We know we have to clarify it for the United States and for ourselves because we believe in non-proliferation and don't want to help the spread of nuclear weapons."

Nevertheless, some U.S. officials believe Switzerland is knowingly violating the spirit if not necessarily the letter of the 1968 non-proliferation treaty, signed by Switzerland and 113 other countries, as well as supplementary agreement by a "supplier" club of 15 exporters of nuclear technology, including Switzerland, to restrict transfer of

"sensitive" technology" that could be used to produce nuclear weapons.

"What the Pakistanis are getting from Swiss firms is very important," one informed U.S. source said, "not in terms of sensitivity, but it is high-quality precision equipment that they would have difficulty buying elsewhere and certainly great difficulty manufacturing on their own."

Swiss officials answered that the Swiss exports to Pakistan are not prohibited either by the suppliers' agreement or Swiss law because they are components that can be applied to a wider variety of uses.

Requests Refused

The international agreement and Swiss law control the export only of a list of specific processes for producing weapons-grade nuclear materials, including the gas centrifuge process being developed by Pakistan, but not their individual components, Swiss officials pointed out.

"If it is not on the list, we cannot control its export," said Herbert von Arx, the Swiss Foreign Ministry's expert on nuclear and legal matters. "Unfortunately, some things are not on the list, but Switzerland is a free country. We have told companies

you do not have to inform us about what is not on the list."

Switzerland has refused repeated U.S. requests to close what Washington considers this loophole—as the United States, Canada, Britain and some other countries have—either by adding the specific components to the Swiss list of "sensitive" technology whose export should be controlled or by restricting the export of anything the Swiss government believes is likely to be used by Pakistan to develop nuclear weapons, whether it is on the list or not.

Probst said the Swiss government would not do this by itself because it would unfairly handicap Switzerland's nuclear technology industry in competition with other nations that, the Swiss believe, also are not strictly limiting their exports in the way the Carter administration wants.

"It's just not possible" for Switzerland to do what the Carter Administration asks, Probst said. "We will not do it."

However, he said he has told U.S. officials that Switzerland is willing to discuss new controls that would be binding on all nations exporting nuclear technology so Swiss industry "can compete on an equal basis."

Please Turn to Page 8, Col. 1

SWISS HELP FOR PAKISTAN BOMB

Continued from 7th Page

"We wish to maintain our highly developed nuclear technology industry," Probst said. "The rules should be the same for everyone. Everyone should have the same chance. This is in keeping with the American philosophy. We appeal to something very American."

Probst and other Swiss officials also suggested that stricter controls by Switzerland's relatively weak federal government might risk a rebellion by Swiss industry, which had opposed ratification of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty by traditionally neutral, free-trading Switzerland.

Treaty Seen as Hinderance

"Our industry felt the nonproliferation treaty might be a hinderance to industrial activity and exports in the nuclear fields," Probst said, "but the diplomats convinced them to go along."

Probst said there had been Swiss trade with Pakistan in specialized nuclear technology for some time before "we were informed by the United States in 1979 of its worries about the development of a nuclear industry in Pakistan because it

might lead to the development of nuclear weapons."

"It's everybody's guess that this is what Pakistan is doing because of the Indian nuclear explosion," Probst said. "But this is not the official view of the Swiss government. Switzerland has not made a judgment."

The Swiss government was first asked by the United States in 1979 about exports to Pakistan by two Swiss firms, called VAT and KORA, of essential components for the gas centrifuge process being developed at Kahuta. Oversimplified, the process is designed to enrich uranium by rapidly rotating uranium hexafluoride gas in a series of hundreds of centrifuges, separating heavier uranium-238 from lighter uranium-235.

VAT sold Pakistan vacuum valves to be used to regulate the stream of uranium hexafluoride gas into and out of the centrifuge system, according to Claude Zangger, the scientist in charge of nuclear technology export policy and controls for Switzerland's federal office of energy here.

"But these valves are not limited to this application," Zangger said.

"They are not on the international or Swiss list" of sensitive technology whose export is to be restricted.

"VAT is known all over the world for the quality and efficiency of its vacuum valves," Zangger added. "It has been selling them for the past 30 years to all kinds of laboratories for things like accelerators and vacuum technology."

Many Other Uses

Nevertheless, VAT asked the Swiss government if an export license would be needed because of the valves' use in a gas centrifuge uranium enrichment process. The firm was told by the government that no license was needed because the vacuum valves themselves were not on the suppliers' club list, although the gas centrifuge process was.

KORA specially designed, built and supplied to Pakistan in 1978 and 1979, according to Zangger, both an evaporation system for converting the uranium hexafluoride into a gas at the beginning of the centrifuge process and a condensation system for recovering the uranium hexafluoride as a solid at the end of the centrifuge process.

Zangger said KORA must have known what these systems were being custom-made for, and KORA also checked with government officials here before exporting them to Pakistan. But Zangger added that "it is an operation made hundreds of times in the chemical industry" and also was not specifically listed among the technology restricted by either the suppliers' club guidelines or Swiss law.

Probst said Switzerland "made it clear" to U.S. officials last year that the technology VAT and KORA were supplying to Pakistan was not on those lists and that its export was perfectly legal and could not be stopped by the Swiss government.

"We thought it was understood," Probst added.

But U.S. officials kept pressing Switzerland to halt the exports. Then, as Zangger put it, "another wave of new information from the U.S. authorities" hit the Swiss government in the last few weeks.

"We feel there is a lot of misunderstanding in the new information," Probst said, referring to the reappearance of VAT and KORA among the five Swiss firms named by U.S. officials in the new complaint. "We feel a lot of it goes back to a year ago when we thought we had it under control."

"The Americans say that KORA people are still there" at the Kahuta site in Pakistan where the gas centrifuge process is being developed, according to Zangger, who said he believes "KORA may now be involved in after-delivery service there" of the systems it sold to Pakistan.

Zangger said he was surprised that the new U.S. information stated that "there were also additional exports by VAT" to Pakistan.

Zangger said he had been told by VAT officials that they would not sell anything more to Pakistan because of "bad publicity" in Switzerland. Leaks to the press, which Zangger blamed on "many indiscretions from Washington" based on last year's U.S. complaint to Switzerland, led to Swiss newspaper headlines that said, according to Sanger, "Swiss Firms Helping Pakistan Build Bomb."

Zangger and Probst said the new U.S. complaint also identified three other Swiss firms—whose names they would not disclose—who it stated were exporting a ventilation system, aluminum tubing and machine tools to Pakistan for use in the uranium enrichment project.

"We feel Washington has been told about equipment that has no application at all to nuclear weap-

ons," Probst said. "For example, air conditioning installation. If it happens to be used in a reprocessing plant to cool people, we believe we can't control it."

Zangger said Probst was referring to a special ventilation system that Zangger thought might be for use in a reprocessing plant for the separation of weapons-grade plutonium from used nuclear reactor fuel—the other possible Pakistani route to a bomb.

"The Swiss government was asked some time ago if (the special ventilation system) fell on the list under reprocessing" of restricted nuclear technology exports, according to Zangger, who said the firm was told the item was not on the list and no export license was needed.

Citing the "machine tools" he said also appeared in the new U.S. information, Probst said, "They're used for everything. If it happens to be used in a plant for nuclear fuel production, it does not by itself have anything to do with nuclear fuel production."

Swiss Foreign Office legal expert Von Arx, who was sitting in on the interview, asked, "What about windows? What if they were being exported to Pakistan?"

"Or furniture?" added Probst. "You have to draw the line somewhere," Von Arx said.

Casting a Vote for Anderson

By ARTHUR SCHLESINGER JR.

As a lifelong Democrat, I have been watching the Reagan-Carter-Anderson contest with serene detachment. Confronted with a real Republican nominated by the Republicans, a crypto-Republican nominated by the Democrats and an ex-Republican nominated by himself, this Roosevelt-Truman-Kennedy Democrat doesn't see an obvious way out. Any choice is difficult, and political disagreements in 1980 are not worth breaking friendships over.

I do not find it easy to abandon lifetime habits of Democratic regularity. But I cannot see that on his record President Carter has earned 20 more seconds—not to speak of four more years—in the White House. He has shown no steadfast purposes either in domestic or in foreign policy. This is the end of his term, but no one yet knows the direction in which he wants to take the country. He alters course with every prevailing wind. He has had half a dozen anti-inflation policies. His recent economic program is his third in eight months. He has no compunction about basing a policy on premises he had grandly rejected a short time before. Lacking any unifying vision, displaying no interest in the way specific policies relate to each other, he ad hoc's it all over the place, while the country sinks ever deeper into the morass.

This waywardness is especially disturbing in foreign affairs. Yesterday's righteous dove has become today's righteous champion of limited nuclear war, the MX and the Rapid Deployment Force. Mr. Carter's rattled overreaction to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (the "gravest threat" to world peace since 1945, he solemnly told us) hardly inspires one to wish his finger on the button for another four years. Sen. Jackson has wisely warned us to beware of born-again hawks.

Incoherent and Incompetent

The Carter administration is not only exceptionally incoherent. It is also exceptionally incompetent. ("Although he is a poor hitter, he is also a bad fielder.") Tom Wicker has accurately written that Mr. Carter's record of ineptitude stands unmatched since Warren G. Harding. One of Carter's few accomplishments has been the rehabilitation of Gerald Ford: depicted by night-club comedians four years ago as a stumbling buffoon, now elevated by the really impressive bungling of his successor into beloved elder statesmanship.

Incoherence and incompetence might not be decisive disqualifications if Mr. Carter showed any signs of learning from his blunders. Quite the contrary, he gets worse every year. At this rate one shudders to think what four more years might do to the republic. Experience is a meaningless claim unless it implies a capacity to grow.

Instead of learning from error, Mr. Carter digs in all the deeper, withdraws all the more from face-to-face argument and attacks the motives of his critics. Underneath that brittle mask of control one senses an uptight and agitated psyche, filled with repressed anger and venom. His meanness of spirit and heart has come out in the campaign, especially in the pattern of cowardice displayed in his flight from debate and in his truly Nixonian facility for piously saying nasty things while piously denying that he is saying them.

His abiding theme is self: the justification of self, the celebration of self, the substitution of self (*my* sincerity, *my* piety, *my* never lying to you) for discussions of direction and policy. Re-election would come as the ultimate vindication of self and very likely produce a dangerous euphoria. The most deluded people in this campaign are those liberal Democrats who think that effort on Mr. Carter's behalf would be repaid by presidential attention

to their concerns in a second term. As he would attribute defeat to their iniquity, so he would attribute victory to his own virtue, and he would pay them no more heed after the election than he did before the convention.

Mr. Carter's dismal presidency offered the Republicans a splendid opportunity. Typically, they have botched it. With their genius for self-destruction, they have found the one man capable of convincing the electorate that he is even more incoherent and incompetent than Mr. Carter. Before the campaign began, a sort of case could be made for Mr. Reagan. There might be

Board of Contributors

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an advantage, it could be argued, in replacing a tense, unstable, unpredictable President by an affable, relaxed, indolent 70-year-old with an accommodating personality who talks wild but doesn't (or at least as governor of California didn't) do much about it. This was the theory of Mr. Reagan as a kind of sub-Eisenhower.

But Eisenhower concealed astuteness and craft under surface imprecision. Mr. Reagan, it is evident, is shallow all the way down. His incurable penchant for gaffes almost ruined him until his staff put him under virtual house arrest and sealed him off from the press. Irresponsible babble might not have mattered in the White House in a time like the 1920s. It will not do in the dangerous 1980s. Even in the 1920s, as Calvin Coolidge used to say, the first lesson a President has to learn is that every word he says weighs a ton.

The single argument seriously advanced for Mr. Carter is that Mr. Reagan would be worse. We must return the President with all his infirmities, we are told, because otherwise America will start sending troops all around the world. The last time we heard that argument was in 1964, when people returned Lyndon Johnson in order to avert the escalation of the war in Vietnam. Or we must rally around Mr. Carter to save the Supreme Court. This is a more substantial argument. Still, the basic issues about the reach of federal power have long since been resolved, and a Senate Judiciary Committee led by Sen. Kennedy and (we trust) Sen. Bayh will be as capable of stopping bad appointments as it was when Mr. Nixon came up with Judges Haynsworth and Carswell. Who can really know what the difference would be between this demonstrably poor President and this speculatively hopeless aspirant? "Sir," said Dr. Johnson, "there is no settling the point of precedence between a louse and a flea."

So we are left with John Anderson. Mr. Anderson is another one of those twice-born fellows. In public discourse he is often preachy. In private he seems a talker rather than a listener. Yet he is not without humor, and he is a man of high intelligence. He rivals Mr. Carter in command of detail and, unlike Mr. Carter, sees particular policies as part of a larger framework. His foreign policy is sober and realistic.

He is, moreover, a man of authentic independence. In a time when the country has moved to the right, he has moved to

the left—not very far left, but definitely to the left of Mr. Carter and Mr. Reagan. His platform lacks the boldness of new ideas that has marked some other third party efforts in American history, but it is unfailingly intelligent and thoughtful. Organized labor still affects to see Mr. Anderson as the right-winger he was when he first entered the House. Yet he is the only one of the three candidates with a Rooseveltian belief in affirmative government. Long before 1980 Mr. Anderson said of Mr. Carter's demagogic assault on the Roosevelt tradition, "He campaigned against Big Government and he has planted the seeds of doubt in the minds of the American people on the ability of government to solve problems. It may be almost something that comes back to haunt him." People change and grow. The absurd constitutional amendment Mr. Anderson proposed declaring the U.S. a Christian republic is as relevant to his present views as Hugo Black's membership in the Ku Klux Klan was to his work on the Supreme Court.

Would Mr. Anderson make a good President? One is reminded of the old joke: Two friends meet after many years; one asks the other, "And how is your wife?"; he replies, "Compared to what?" Compared to Mr. Carter, a demonstrated failure, and to Mr. Reagan, a monumental gamble, Mr. Anderson looks pretty good.

Guilty Party

But he has little chance of winning. Can a lifelong Democrat support him at the risk of electing Mr. Reagan? The Carter people are already trying to set up disaffected Democrats as the guilty parties if Mr. Reagan should win. This blackmail can be ignored. If Mr. Carter loses, there is only one man to blame; and that is himself. If after four years in the White House, with all the resources of incumbency, he has miserably failed to win the confidence of the electorate, and even of fellow Democrats, *he* is the guilty party. The invocation of 1968 is irrelevant. Mr. Carter is no Hubert Humphrey, and Mr. Reagan, even if he is no Eisenhower, is presumably not a Nixon either. And the worse Mr. Reagan looks, the more Mr. Anderson will draw disaffected Republicans as well as disaffected Democrats.

Some think that a vote for a man who is not likely to win is by definition a wasted vote. This is surely wrong. A vote for Mr. Anderson is the only way to rebuke the major parties for offering us Mr. Carter and Mr. Reagan. Brooks Hays, for many years a Congressman from Arkansas and the best of political raconteurs, tells of an aged woman he encountered when running for re-election. "I hope you will vote for me," he said. "Nope," she replied. "Why not?" he asked. "I don't vote," she said. "I've never voted in my life." "You mean that you are 86 years old and have never once voted? Why in the world not?" "Because," the old woman replied, "it only encourages 'em."

If most Americans wearily accept the choice between Mr. Carter and Mr. Reagan, it will only encourage the major parties to believe that they can get away with nominating third-raters in the future. Non-voting is no remedy. The best way to discourage the major parties from imposing such ridiculous alternatives on the country is to register a mighty outpouring of popular disgust through the Anderson-Lucey ticket.

Mr. Schlesinger is Albert Schweitzer Professor of the Humanities at the City University of New York, winner of Pulitzer Prizes in history and biography and a member of the Journal's Board of Contributors.

PSA STRIKE IS CALLED AS TALKS FAIL

MOSTLY SUNNY

Mostly sunny today with a temperature range of 60 to 77 degrees along the coast; 55 to 90 degrees inland. Details, Page A-20.

The San Diego Union

FINAL

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112th YEAR SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA, a Copley Newspaper THURSDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 25, 1980 122 PAGES * DAILY 25 CENTS

U.S., Allies Back Open Strait



This photo, according to the Iraqi News Agency, shows Iranian soldiers taken captive during the Iraqi drive into the northwestern Iranian town of Qasr-e Shirin, which reportedly was captured Tuesday.

Iraqi Troops Push 20 Miles Into Iran; Oil Depots Hit

New York Times News Service

Iraq and Iran struck at each other's oil installations again yesterday as Iraqi troops pushed 20 miles into Iranian territory.

Kharg Island, Iran's oil-loading terminal, came under Iraqi air attack. Tehran radio said export loadings were halted as storage tanks were set afire.

Iran earlier had suspended shipments from Abadan, site of one of the world's largest oil refineries, after the city was surrounded by Iraqi ground forces Tuesday. Abadan was attacked anew yesterday and Iraq demanded that it surrender. The Iranian port of Khorramshahr also remained encircled.

Iranian planes bombed Iraq's new petrochemical plant near Basra for the second day. After four bombing raids on the complex, fires were said to be burning there, and many injuries were reported.

Late in the morning, Iranian planes struck at oil fields near Mosul and Kirkuk in the mountainous northeastern region, center of Iraq's oil resources. The Iraqi military command claimed that 10 Iranian planes were shot down at Kirkuk and six planes downed at Mosul.

Iranian navy ships reportedly shelled Iraqi oil installations off the terminal of Fao and Basra. According to the Iraqi command, they were driven off in a fierce battle in which Iraqi vessels sank two Iranian frigates and seven gunboats.

Iraqi troops, meanwhile, were reported by the Iraqi command to have seized a 10-mile-deep strip of Iranian territory 200 to 300 miles north of Abadan.

A communique said Iraqi ground forces that took the town of Qasr-e Shirin on Tuesday, 10 miles inland and 300 miles north of Abadan, had pushed 10 miles further inland, capturing 350 Iranian soldiers and encircling Sar-e-Pol on the road to Tehran. The command also said Iraqi troops had seized the town of Mehran, 100 miles to the south, along with two neighboring villages, Sin Jin and Al Zaydi.

The Iranian command conceded, Tehran radio said, that its troops were being pushed back in some areas. However, some Iranian broadcasts said Iranian troops also pushing Iraqis back.

Talks Held To Ensure Hormuz Not Closed

New York Times News Service

WASHINGTON — President Carter said yesterday that the United States was consulting with other nations on ways of preventing the vital Strait of Hormuz — through which 60 percent of the world's oil trade passes — from being closed as the result of the Iran-Iraq conflict.

"Freedom of navigation in the Persian Gulf is of primary importance to the whole international community," Mr. Carter declared. "It is imperative that there be no infringement of that freedom of passage of ships to and from the Persian Gulf region." The Strait of Hormuz comprises the gateway to the Gulf.

Mr. Carter would not divulge details, but other sources here and in New York said one contingency being discussed is the formation of an international naval force to ensure, if necessary, that Gulf ports other than those in Iraq and Iran are kept open during the conflict.

Secretary of State Edmund S. Muskie, in New York for consultations with other foreign ministers in connection with the United Nations General Assembly session, flew to Washington for a National Security Council meeting and then returned to New York.

Mr. Carter said that he and Muskie were calling various world leaders in an effort "to bring this fighting to a prompt end and to obtain a negotiated settlement."

Muskie met with French Foreign Minister Jean Francois-Poncet for lunch in New York and later said to reporters that "we are making plans for contingencies" to keep the Strait of Hormuz open.

The Iranians have moved to assert military control over the strait to prevent ships from going to Iraq, but the State Department said yesterday that so far the Iranians have not tried to stop international shipping from going to other ports.

Mr. Carter, speaking to reporters at the White House after the meeting of the National Security Council, said the Iran-Iraqi conflict had produced a "very dangerous situation." But he stressed as he had Tuesday that the United States was neutral in the dispute and believes that there should be "absolutely no interference by any other nation in this conflict."

ALL FLIGHTS BUT CHARTERS CANCELED

Pilots Walk Out In Pact Dispute

By KEN HUDSON
Staff Writer, The San Diego Union

Nearly 500 striking PSA pilots and flight engineers were scheduled to set up picket lines early this morning at San Diego, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Oakland.

A PSA spokesman said yesterday, after a final attempt at settling the labor dispute over a new contract failed, that the airline will not attempt to operate any of its 200 scheduled daily flights.

"All we are asking is the industry standard in wages and work rules," said Capt. Bryan Conn, president of the Southwest Flight Crew Association (SFCA) and a 13-year pilot for PSA.

He termed an offer in one area of the contract that was made by PSA yesterday as "an insignificant, small item that we rejected."

A PSA spokesman said the company offer amounted to about a 1½ percent increase over earlier proposals. The offer was to pay flight crews for the time that it takes to push an aircraft back from a boarding gate and into position so the pilot can take over the plane's operation.

The company has maintained that it cannot meet the pay demands of the SFCA and remain a competitive carrier.

"There is nothing to indicate there is anything more that we can do," said Charles Barnes, a federal mediator who has been trying to get agreement between the airline and the flight crew union.

Federal mediation jurisdiction in the matter ended at midnight last night and Barnes said that although the service is still available, there was no indication that either party would ask for it.

Both he and Robert Harris, a member of the Federal Mediation Board, have plans to leave San Diego late today unless they can be of further service.

PSA said that while it has no plans to try to operate any of its regularly scheduled flights, it will fulfill its commitment on charter flights using qualified management flight crews.

About 3,900 PSA employees will be furloughed, most of them beginning today and tomorrow.

PSA said it has been carrying up to 25,000 passengers a day on its routes in California, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, and Mexico.

SFCA spokesmen said the dispute over a new contract stems primarily from the union's efforts to improve pay, work and rest rules and the conditions under which the new-generation DC9-80 will be flown when it is

(Continued on A-8, Col. 1)

LDO PROGRAM

Navy To Dip Into Ranks For New Pilots

By KIP COOPER
Military Affairs Editor, The San Diego Union

Plagued by a shortage of seasoned aviators, the Navy said yesterday it will commission enlisted men as pilots to fly some of its planes and to serve as flight instructors.

The move was explained in a message yesterday to fleet and force commanders from Adm. Thomas B. Hayward, chief of naval operations, who said the program will help offset pilot shortage.

Hayward said the Navy will establish a limited duty officer (LDO) program making aviators of second class, first class and chief petty officers under 30 years of age who can qualify.

Applicants who are recommended by their commanders will have to pass rigid physical and psychological tests that are given to military aviation students, the Navy's top admiral said in his message.

The Navy said commissioning enlisted men as limited duty officer aviators will help with the pilot situation which has seen retention of Navy pilots drop from a 61 percent rate in 1977 to 30 percent in fiscal year 1980, which is just ending.

"The objectives of this LDO program are to improve utilization and retention of aviators," the Navy said.

Other objectives are to provide opportunities for commissioning enlisted personnel and maintaining personnel stability in flight instructor ranks.

The Navy envisions that limited duty officers commissioned under the program will replace unrestricted line officer aviators in selected shipboard billets.

An unrestricted line officer has no restrictions on what he may do in his field of specialization. A limited duty officer, as the title implies, is restricted to those activities allowed him under the regulations set up to govern his job.

The Navy has not spelled out what duties LDO pilots eventually may be assigned to other than jobs as flight

(Continued on A-15, Col. 1)

Flow Of Iran, Iraq Oil Through Gulf Is Halted

From The San Diego Union's News Services

Both Iraq and Iran yesterday stopped all their oil exports from the Persian Gulf region, taking some 2.7 million barrels of oil a day out of the international market, according to Western oil industry and shipping executives.

The sudden cutoff of oil raises the probability that the estimated 2.5 million barrels of oil a day now in surplus — which played a major role in moderating oil prices during the past few months — could be wiped out within a few weeks. Such a development would ensure a renewed and sharp climb in prices, the oil industry believes.

Executives of major oil companies warned that even though stocks of oil are at record levels now, with an estimated 5 billion barrels stored away in reservoirs and tankers floating in the oceans, a "psychological factor" could hasten the pace of events even before a real shortage begins.

Oil exports from Kharg Island, Iran's main loading terminal in the Persian Gulf, came to an end yesterday after Iraqi airplanes bombed the small, poorly defended island. Iraqi loading terminals in the northern end of the gulf, around the disputed Shatt al-Arab estuary region, also came under assault by Iranian airplanes,

forcing an end to all loading there, according to shipping sources.

"If this fight is not over within a week, and if these guys go on hitting at oil facilities, you can kiss the (oil) glut goodbye. We'll be in trouble," commented a senior American oil executive whose company is a major buyer of Persian Gulf oil.

The American Petroleum Institute said that U.S. oil inventories rose to near-record levels last week, a trend that confirms government estimates

(Continued on A-11, Col. 1)

Reagan Blames Carter For War

Iran-Iraq Fighting Tied To U.S. Errors

By RAY KIPP
Staff Writer, The San Diego Union

TYLER, Tex. — Ronald Reagan yesterday said the Iran-Iraq war erupted because the Carter administration allowed the overthrow of the government of the late Shah of Iran. The Republican presidential nominee also said the United States is powerless to intervene militarily in the dispute.

"For 37 years Iran was the power, the linchpin of our Middle East policy, holding, maintaining a stability there and there was no excuse for our helping to pull the rug out from under that government," Reagan told reporters.

"What I think we can say about this tragic situation is it could never have happened had our government's foreign policy been more sensible than it has been," Reagan said.

Vice President Walter F. Mondale, campaigning in Warwick, R.I., responded to the former California governor by saying there was little the Carter administration could have done to avert the growing conflict between Iran and Iraq.

Mondale said the forces that led to the fall of the Shah of Iran and the present crisis "were internal."

Jack Murphy Dies At 57; S.D. Union Sports Editor, Community Leader

By MICHAEL GRANT
Staff Writer, The San Diego Union

Jack Murphy, sportsman and patron of sport, died yesterday morning of cancer in his Poway home, stilling at age 57 a giant but gentle voice of journalism.

He was in his 29th year as sports editor and columnist for The San Diego Union, a tenure not so coincidentally paralleling San Diego's growth from "very much a small town," as Murphy once put it, to a ranking major league city.

Murphy had returned home last week following hospitalization for treatment of cancer that was discovered in July. His last column appeared in The Union on July 23.

He is survived by Patricia, his wife of 33 years; a



There are some empty spaces that can't be filled — See Sports, Page D-1; What he liked most was the fall — Page D-11; Editorial — Page B-10.

daughter, Robin Sue George of El Cajon; a son, John Patrick, of El Cajon; two grandchildren, Amy George, 11, and Christopher David George, 16, and a brother, Robert of Greenwich, Conn.

Plans for a memorial service are pending. The family requests donations to the American Cancer Society in lieu of flowers.

As both observer and advocate, Murphy, who came to San Diego in December, 1951, from Oklahoma City, turned no small hand in organizing community support for sport at all levels.

He was a founder of the Greater San Diego Sports Association in the late 1950s; was instrumental in bringing the Chargers here from Los Angeles in 1961; and was a principal contributor to the mood of an electorate that in 1965 approved by a 73 percent majority plans for a 50,000-seat stadium in Mission Valley.

He later remembered that election night as "the happiest night I ever enjoyed. That made everything that's followed possible."

(Continued on A-4, Col. 1)

JACK MURPHY ... with Abe of Spoon River in 1976

Rose Kennedy Has Surgery On Intestines

BOSTON — Rose Kennedy, wife of an ambassador and mother of two senators and a president, underwent surgery at New England Baptist Hospital last night to remove a part of her intestines, according to a hospital spokeswoman.

Mrs. Kennedy was reported in stable condition in the hospital recovery room early today.

The 90-year-old matriarch of the Kennedy family was sent from her Hyannis home and admitted at 8:30 p.m. yesterday on the advice of her personal physician, Dr. Robert Watt, according to nursing supervisor Priscilla Severance.

The surgery to "remove a kink" in Mrs. Kennedy's intestine was completed at 12:40 a.m., Severance said.

Severance said Mrs. Kennedy was not accompanied by any family members when she was admitted.

Mrs. Kennedy's late husband, Joseph P. Kennedy, was a former ambassador to England. Two sons, former President John F. Kennedy and Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, were assassinated.

Another son, Edward M. Kennedy, is a U.S. senator from Massachusetts.

She celebrated her 90th birthday in July, leading a march of grandparents in Hyannis on behalf of the Special Olympics, a series of games for mentally retarded children.

One daughter, Rosemary, was born retarded.

—AP

PCB Cleanup

ALBANY, N.Y. — The General Electric Co. agreed yesterday to spend an estimated total of more than \$30 million to clean up thousands of tons of hazardous waste containing polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs) that it had dumped in seven landfills in three upstate New York counties before 1976.

The agreement, which took the form of a consent order signed by the company and Robert F. Flacke, the state commissioner of Environmental Conservation, was announced by New York Gov. Hugh L. Carey, who commended both sides for negotiating a settlement without going to court.

Flacke said that to his knowledge it was the first time that a major industrial company had agreed to spend its own money to cover the cost of a large and hazardous waste disposal program.

As part of the agreement, Flacke said that General Electric would start engineering studies immediately but that the first removal of the PCB-contaminated sediment could not start until 1981. He estimated that the work might be completed by the spring of 1984.

—New York Times News Service

Tokyo Earthquake

TOKYO — A powerful earthquake, the second in two days, jolted Tokyo and surrounding towns early today, killing two people and injuring 59 others, police said.

Today's quake, registering 6.4 on the Richter scale, was the most powerful to hit Tokyo in six years and was followed by four minor tremors, the Japanese Meteorological Agency said.

Two elderly persons died of heart attacks attributed to the quake shaking the area, police said.

—UPI

Oswald Exhumation

AUSTIN, Texas — The Texas Supreme Court yesterday dismissed a year-old suit by British author Michael H.B. Eddowes to have the body of alleged presidential assassin Lee Harvey Oswald exhumed for examination.

The ruling upholds a decision by a lower court in Fort Worth that prevented Eddowes from having the body exhumed. The decision was a result of a suit filed in January 1979 against Tarrant County District Attorney Tim Curry seeking a court order for the exhumation.

—UPI

Animal Cruelty

WARWICK, R.I. — A judge yesterday convicted a man on animal cruelty charges and fined him \$200 for killing a stray cat in a microwave oven.

District Court Judge Victor J. Beretta found James F. Tweedie, 33, a bottling plant worker from North Kingstown, R.I., guilty of a misdemeanor charge.

Before fining Tweedie \$200 plus court costs, Beretta said the evidence convinced him "this cat was made to suffer."

—UPI

House Probe Fails To Resolve Stealth Controversy

By CHARLES MOHR
New York Times News Service

WASHINGTON — In the last three weeks officials of the Carter administration have had opportunity to reply to charges by Ronald Reagan and others that the administration dealt a "grievous blow" to national security by disclosing, for political purposes, a secret effort to develop an aircraft capable of escaping radar detection.

The administration defended its disclosures about the "Stealth" aircraft by arguing that they would have become necessary within months in any case and that unauthorized disclosures of information in August made prompt official disclosure inescapable.

Despite those arguments and despite the indignant denials of high Defense Department officials and President Carter that they or anyone acting on the President's authority had engineered the disclosures to jus-

tify the official disclosure, the issue may die hard.

And its ultimate bearing on Mr. Carter's re-election prospects may depend not so much on unproved suggestions of impropriety as on judgments and actions freely admitted by administration officials.

Days of testimony before the subcommittee on investigations of the House Armed Services Committee, interviews with a variety of sources, the growing printed record and the accumulation of administration statements have created a body of information that in some ways illuminates but in other ways deepens the shadows of the Stealth controversy. This is the chronology that emerges:

Soon after taking office in 1977, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown and the undersecretary for research and engineering, Dr. William J. Perry, were reviewing approximately \$2 billion worth of experimental

"technology base" defense programs and found among them a program to develop "low observable" characteristics in aircraft that would enable them to avoid detection by air defense systems, such as radar.

The technical details of the Stealth program were secret, but its existence had been discussed in fragments in aerospace and defense trade journals in 1975 and 1976.

Brown and Perry apparently believed the program had unusual significance and promise. All elements of it, including "program existence," were placed under "compartmented" and "named list" secrecy of the highest order, and to Perry's many other duties was added that of project manager.

Financing stood at about \$10 million in 1977, according to an article published Aug. 22, 1978, in Armed Forces Journal that was based in considerable part on an interview with Perry. The article, written by

the editor, Benjamin F. Schemmer, said at one point that spending on Stealth had grown to "hundreds of millions of dollars a year."

Because Mr. Carter, Brown and Perry have all said the program has grown "a hundredfold," there is indirect evidence that financing may now be in the neighborhood of \$1 billion.

Certainly, some Defense Department officials regard the Stealth program as the most promising and important of all experimental military efforts now under way, even though it is far from turning out operation military aircraft, they say.

Perry himself testified to a congressional subcommittee investigating the matter that "we set extraordinary goals — performance far beyond what had been achieved, with program schedules moving at a substantially faster pace than we normally expect."

"I take more personal pride in this

program than in any other program in which I have been involved," he added.

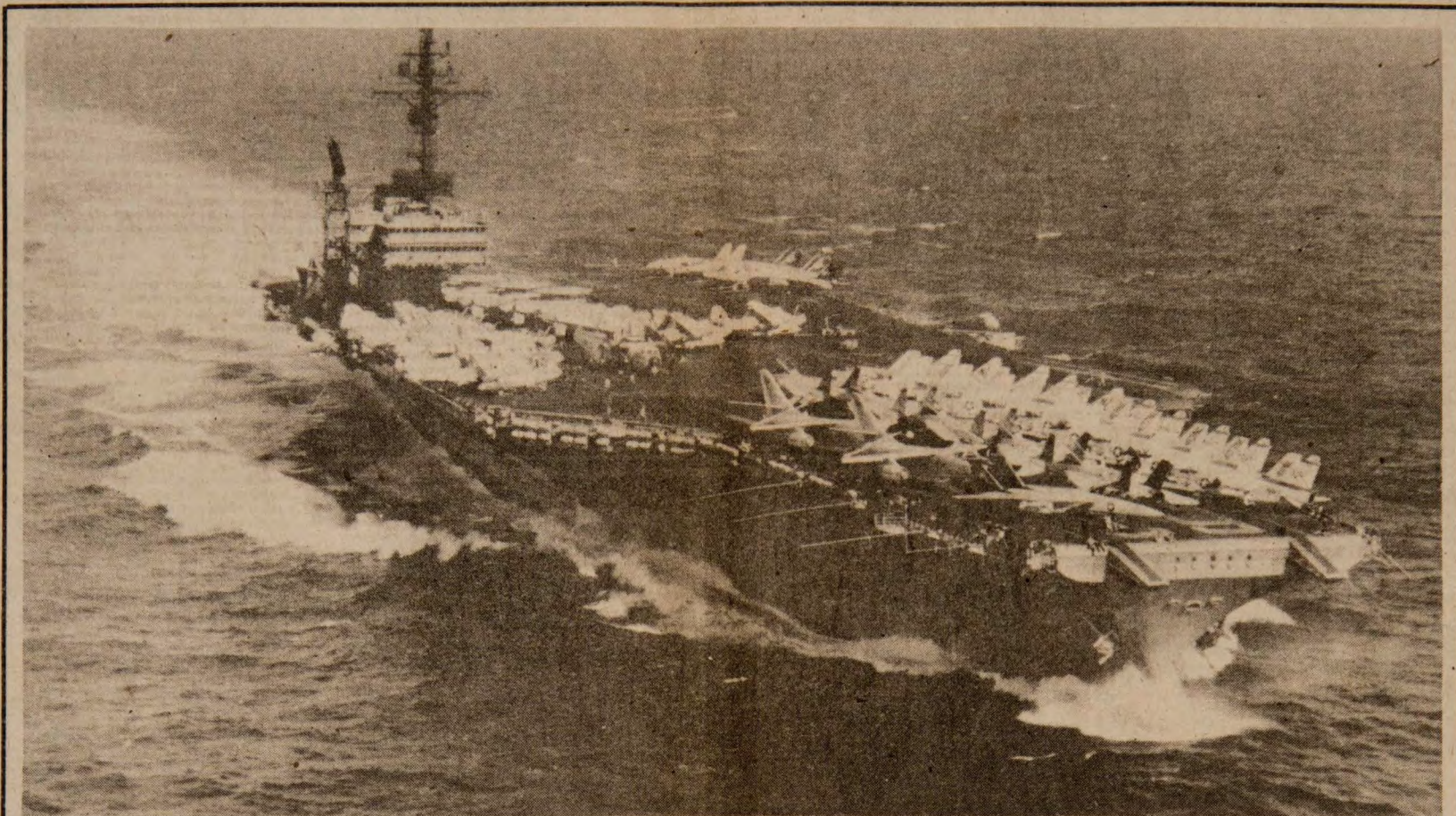
In June of 1978, Perry has testified, he prevailed upon Schemmer not to publish an article on Stealth that had been pieced together from technical records and other sources. Perry argued that publishing the article would harm the national interests.

Perry also has testified, however, that by this year he had become increasingly doubtful of maintaining the secrecy of "program existence" much longer and that he had told Brown so.

The expanding size and expense of the program meant that a growing circle of people, including senators and representatives, would have to be informed of the program's existence, the two men say.

Even so, two glancing references in the press to Stealth in June did not

(Continued on A-14, Col. 4)



U.S. AIRCRAFT CARRIER KITTY HAWK
... seen moving through the South China Sea

—UPI/U.S. Navy photo

Lack Of Skilled Personnel, Arms Besets Navy

Officials Fear Service Would Be Unable To Sustain Global War For More Than Week

Fifth in a series

By DREW MIDDLETON

New York Times News Service

Beset by shortages of skilled personnel, by slippage in the delivery of new ships, submarines and aircraft, and by a shrinking inventory of weapons, ammunition and spare parts, the United States Navy is stretched very thin.

Admirals, junior officers, petty officers and enlisted men fear that under present conditions the Navy would be unable to sustain a global battle with the Soviet Union that lasted for more than a week.

Despite the concerns of Navy personnel, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown in a recent interview said, "Our fleet still is clearly the world's best."

Brown acknowledged that in recent years "the Soviets really have come a long way." He added, "They have come a lot further in the past 20 years than we have, because they started from so much further back."

"I think there are legitimate concerns on the part of our naval people about the decade of the 1980s, or early 1990s, but I don't think that is because they think the Soviet fleet is going to get better than ours."

"It's because they measure our fleet by a higher standard, and correctly. We need to maintain dominance in critical areas of the seas, whereas, if worse comes to worse for the Soviets, they can get by even if they don't have any great capability on the seas."

Balanced against Brown's overall assessment is the view of several top Navy officers who see gaps in Navy resources. Moreover, the situation has forced a rethinking of fleet missions.

In the event of war with the Soviet Union, Adm. Harry D. Train, who commands North Atlantic Treaty Organization naval forces in the Atlantic, said the Navy would not have enough assets to execute simultaneously two of its chief missions: supporting with naval aircraft a land war in Europe and escorting convoys of troop and supply ships across the Atlantic.

Discussing the slight edge he believes the Navy holds over the Soviet fleet, Train warned, "You must recognize that the edge of which I speak is a very thin edge. It does not permit you to lose battles. It does not permit you to have high attrition. You have to win every time you engage."

The Navy cannot be certain of the dimensions of future wars. The spectrum of speculation runs from a global conflict with the Soviet Union leading to a strategic nuclear exchange to one or more limited wars across

the world in the Persian Gulf, northeast and Southeast Asia or in the waters off southern Africa.

As long as the adversary is a client state of the Soviet Union or a non-aligned country, the Navy assumes that the conflict can be limited by geographical scope and combat intensity. Once Soviet forces are involved, however, the war would sweep across the world.

The Navy's assessment of its power is more confident when sights are lowered to a "one-ocean battle" in the Indian Ocean. Vice Adm. Sylvester R. Foley, chief of operations and plans, said the fleet can "sanitize" that ocean, eliminating Soviet submarines, countering the air threat and supporting a movement ashore by the Marine Corps or the Army with tactical aircraft from the carrier battle groups.

Navy personnel are confident of the preparedness and efficiency of the 36 nuclear-powered submarines armed with Poseidon and Polaris nuclear missiles. The deployment in this decade of the new Trident submarines will give the fleet a nuclear capacity superior to that of the Soviet Union, officials said.

The Ohio, the lead ship of this class, will become operational in August 1981. Seven other Tridents were authorized through the fiscal year 1990, and long-term financing has been authorized for a total of 11 vessels.

Each Trident will be armed with 24 missiles with a range of 4,600 miles, as against the Poseidon and Polaris boats, which carry 16 missiles with a range of 2,900 miles. The Navy is satisfied that when the Trident boats are deployed it will contribute to one of the most powerful and probably the least vulnerable element of America's nuclear "triad" of air, sea and land-based missiles.

Offsetting this confidence is the possibility that Soviet science will master the detection of submarines at extreme depth and increase their vulnerability. Most Defense Department scientists regard the possibility as remote.

Brown said the United States was far ahead of the Soviet Union in anti-submarine warfare. "We are just much better able to detect and to avoid detection," he said.

Distant from calculations of global power and from future technological marvels are the approximately 525,000 Americans, including about 25,000 women, who serve the fleet at sea or ashore. Their complaints over pay, family stability and overwork are one of the main reasons the fleet of 522 ships and 1,100 combat aircraft is less formidable than might be assumed.

(Continued on A-15, Col. 1)

Ethics Panel Votes To Expel Myers For Abscam Role

WASHINGTON (AP) — The House ethics committee voted yesterday to recommend that Rep. Michael Myers, D-Pa., be expelled from Congress for his bribery conviction in the Abscam scandal.

Rep. Charles E. Bennett, D-Fla., the panel's chairman, said the committee voted 10-2 to oust Myers from his seat.

Bennett said a report would be filed in the House today, enabling that body to take up expulsion this week. The full House must vote to expel Myers.

The chairman said he intends to have a House vote on Myers before Congress adjourns Oct. 4. "There will be a detailed report filed for the public in a few days," said Bennett, who refused further comment.

Myers could not be reached for comment, but his administrative assistant, Michael Corbett, said Myers "sort of felt after his own testimony and his attorney's strong statement that the committee was going to follow through like it did with the Diggins matter and recommend censure."

His reference was to the House

censure last year of former Rep. Charles Diggins, D-Mich., for financial misconduct.

"When the time comes, he (Myers) will, of course, take the floor and explain to his colleagues his story, just like he did at the hearing," Corbett said.

Myers told the committee he saw his involvement in Abscam as a way of "making some easy money" but denied breaking the law.

"I'm not saying what I did was right, but it's not criminal," Myers told the committee's disciplinary hearing. "The bottom line is that I didn't do anything wrong and never intended to do anything wrong as far as selling my office goes."

The Philadelphia lawmaker was convicted last month in Brooklyn of accepting \$50,000 from FBI agents posing as representatives of Arab sheiks in return for help in passing a private-immigration bill. That transaction, secretly videotaped, was shown to the committee and about 120 observers at the hearing.

"I never made one phone call to anyone, I never met with anyone and

I never instructed anyone on my staff to do research to prepare any bill," he added.

Earlier in the hearing, Rep. Austin Murphy, D-Pa., a friend of Myers, asked the panel to recommend a House censure for Myers, but to stop short of expulsion. "Only the people in a given congressional district should have the right to decide who should serve them in Congress," Murphy said.

The House has removed only five members in its history — three of them expelled in 1861 for serving in the Confederate army. In 1900, Brigham Roberts of Utah was barred for polygamy before he was seated, and in 1921, Victor Berger, a socialist, was similarly barred after he was convicted of violating the federal espionage law.

Last June, the House censured Rep. Charles Wilson, D-Calif., for accepting \$10,500 from a man with an interest in legislation before Congress and for converting almost \$25,000 in campaign contributions to his own use.



REP. MICHAEL MYERS, D-PA.
... convicted of taking \$50,000

In one of its most celebrated cases, the House unseated Rep. Adam Clayton Powell Jr., D-N.Y., at the start of its 1967 session on charges that he had misused about \$40,000 in congressional funds.

LARGEST NETWORK

Rail Merger By Seaboard, Chessie Set

New York Times News Service

WASHINGTON — The Interstate Commerce Commission yesterday approved the merger of the Seaboard Coast Line and the Chessie rail systems, creating the largest rail network in the nation.

The consolidation brings together in one 27,000-mile system the Chessie, which is the nation's major coal hauler, with routes linking eastern coal fields with Ohio and Michigan, and far-ranging Seaboard, whose lines will now link Chessie with points southward to Florida.

Earlier this year, the way was cleared for the huge consolidation when several major competitors, including the Norfolk and Western Railway and the Southern Railway, dropped their opposition. The Southern and N&W have their own merger proposal pending.

The merged railroad, which will be called CSX Inc., will link the two systems at Cincinnati; Louisville, Ky.; Richmond, Va.; and Elkhorn City, Ky., creating a network that will reach into 22 states, the District of Columbia and the Canadian province of Ontario — all east of the Mississippi.

As the first rail system to bring together the industrial Northeast, the Great Lakes region and the Southeast, CSX provides shippers with many new opportunities for single-system service, the ICC said.

Among the new connecting corridors, it said, would be Philadelphia to Jacksonville, Fla.; Philadelphia-Atlanta; Detroit-Jacksonville; Pittsburgh-Birmingham, Ala.; Toledo, Ohio-Atlanta; Detroit-Savannah, Ga.; and Jacksonville-Baltimore.

The merger of the two rail systems is being accomplished by authorizing CSX Corp., a new holding company, to obtain control of both the Chessie System and Seaboard Coast Line through an exchange of stock. Under a merger agreement, each share of Chessie common stock will be converted into one CSX common share, and each share of SCL common will be converted into 1.324 shares of CSX common.

Hays T. Watkins, chairman and president of Chessie, will become president of CSX, and Prime F. Osborn 3d, chairman of Seaboard, will be chairman of CSX. Watkins has said the value of the transaction is about \$1 billion.

Carter Narrowly Upheld On India Uranium Sale

New York Times News Service

WASHINGTON — The Senate yesterday narrowly approved the sale of 38 tons of enriched uranium fuel to India — a major foreign policy victory for the Carter administration.

After more than seven hours of debate, the Senate voted 48-46 to reject a resolution that would have blocked the uranium shipments authorized last June by President Carter.

The House last week voted 298-98 to reject the shipments, but disapproval by a majority of both chambers was required to block the sale. Thus, the administration's victory in the Senate staved off an embarrassing foreign policy reversal for Mr. Carter in the midst of his re-election campaign.

The narrow approval was prompted in part by intensive lobbying by administration officials, including the President, who telephoned several of the more than 20 senators who were wavering.

The emotionally-charged issue, however, cut across ideological and traditional partisan lines, as reflected in the vote. Eighteen Republicans voted against the resolution blocking the sale along with 30 Democrats.

(Continued on A-15, Col. 5)

Klan's Metzger To Testify Today At Murder Trial

MARYSVILLE — California Ku Klux Klan leader Thomas Metzger is scheduled to testify at the murder trial of a man charged with shooting a Klan member to death on the banks of the Yuba River.

The Yuba County district attorney's office said Metzger has been subpoenaed as a prosecution witness in the trial of Robert George Dent, 53, accused of slaying a young Klansman nearly two years ago.

Metzger, a television repairman from Fallbrook, is the Democratic Party candidate in the 43rd Congressional District. He indicated he would appear at court proceedings today, and other Klan officials are also expected to testify.

Former Klan member Dent is charged with killing Hal Ray Burdick, 26, of Linda with a .22-caliber pistol equipped with a silencer.

Actors' Strike

HOLLYWOOD — Negotiations in the actors' strike resumed yesterday amid optimism that the 65-day dispute could be resolved this week.

The resumption came after a 21-hour bargaining session ended Tuesday when Screen Actors Guild negotiator Chester Migden was taken ill. Migden had recovered sufficiently from an allergy problem yesterday to resume negotiations, a SAG secretary said.

The strike by 67,000 members of SAG and the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists has virtually halted the new fall television season and forced several thousand non-performing craftsmen and others dependent on the movie-TV industry out of work.

'Starsky' Struck

LOS ANGELES — Actor Paul Michael Glaser, who played Detective Dave Starsky in the ABC-TV series "Starsky and Hutch," had to be rescued by helicopter from a remote Wyoming fishing camp after suffering a stomach ailment, his publicist said yesterday.

Ed Margulies, a spokesman for the 37-year-old actor, said Glaser was recuperating at a ranch in Wyoming after being flown out of the fishing camp at Bridger Lake on Monday.

Margulies said Glaser and two friends had stopped at Bridger Lake on Sept. 18 after a 3½-day horseback ride from Jackson, Wyo. He began suffering severe stomach cramps the next day.

"On the fourth day, the 22nd," Margulies said, "he became so ill one of his friends jumped on a horse in desperation and rode to a ranger station, even though he knew it was shut down for the season. By a complete fluke, a ranger had stopped by. He was able to radio for a helicopter."

The horseman was identified as Los Angeles businessman Robert Sherman.

Cranston Vs. Gann

LOS ANGELES — U.S. Sen. Alan Cranston, D-Calif., and his Republican challenger, Paul Gann, have agreed to hold three debates before the November election, aides to the two candidates said yesterday.

One of the meetings, an hourlong debate sponsored by the League of Women Voters, will be held Oct. 21 and include the three minor-party candidates also on the Nov. 4 ballot.

Campaign aides said Cranston and Gann had also agreed to appear without the minor-party candidates on half-hour television interview programs in San Francisco and Los Angeles.

Also running for Cranston's seat are David Wald of the Peace and Freedom Party, Libertarian David Bergland and Jim Griffin of the American Independent Party.

Valley Quake

COALINGA — A pre-dawn earthquake yesterday rattled windows, shook dishes and woke a few San Joaquin Valley residents, but no injuries or serious damage were reported from the tremor centered between Coalinga and Lemoore.

Residents in Coalinga, Huron and Kerman all reported feeling the quake, but local law enforcement agencies and fire officials said no damage or injuries were reported. UC Berkeley seismologist Roy Miller said the quake originated about 42 miles southwest of Fresno and registered 4.2 on the Richter scale.

Miller said there were several foreshocks recorded in the area Tuesday and there were several aftershocks yesterday.

From wire reports

Brown Aides Rebuff Curb's Bid For 2 Bills

By OTTO KREISHER
Staff Writer, The San Diego Union

SACRAMENTO — Gov. Brown's staff, ignoring a state Supreme Court ruling, has effectively blocked Lt. Gov. Mike Curb from getting access to two bills which he likely would have handled exactly opposite from the way Brown is expected to treat them.

After stalling Curb's top aide, David Ackerman, for 30 hours, Brown's chief of staff, Gray Davis, finally offered the bills and supporting documents for Ackerman's examination yesterday afternoon, about 90 minutes before Brown was expected back in the state, ending Curb's powers as acting governor.

"The lieutenant governor is very unhappy about this," Curb's press secretary, Roger Gamst, said. "He hopes we don't run into this problem again. He hopes that the public pres-

sure will prevent it from happening again."

Republican Curb became acting governor late Monday evening when Democrat Brown flew to Washington, D.C., for a Governor's Conference executive committee meeting. Just before he left he vetoed a bill that would have curtailed the powers of the United Farm Workers, which Curb had hoped to get a chance to sign.

Gamst said Ackerman requested the files on two other bills at 9:30 a.m. Tuesday but did not get an answer from the governor's office until around 1:30 p.m. yesterday when Davis told him he could look at the bills and related material.

Brown was scheduled to land in Los Angeles around 3:15 p.m., Gamst noted, and with the uncertainty about what time he entered California airspace it was impossible for Ackerman to make a careful study of the

bills and go through the procedures necessary for Curb to sign or veto them.

This was the first power struggle between the Republican lieutenant governor and the Democratic governor since the state Supreme Court last year rejected Brown's suit to reverse the historic constitutional interpretation giving the lieutenant governor full powers whenever the governor leaves the state.

"The spirit of the thing was not carried out," Gamst said.

Davis, who declined to comment on the conflict Monday, explained yesterday that he told Ackerman "neither bill was ready for final action by either the governor or the lieutenant governor."

He said the governor felt "duty bound to allow for comment by the affected groups" and to allow Curb to have the bills "would have short-circuited the process."

Both bills were passed more than three weeks ago.

One of the bills Curb wanted was by Assemblyman Paul Bannai, R-Gardena, that would require a mandatory prison sentence for use of a knife in commission of a crime. Curb would have signed that bill, Gamst said.

The other bill was by Assemblyman John Knox, D-Richmond, which critics say would sharply curtail the ability to qualify initiatives and would have handicapped deputy district attorneys from challenging judges up for election. Curb was likely to have vetoed that measure, which has been attacked by many GOP legislators, Gamst said.

Brown has not indicated how he will treat the two bills but Republicans believe he will veto Bannai's bill because it would help Bannai's re-election effort, and may allow the Knox bill to become law.

L.A. School Attendance Down 25%

Early Figures Show White Resistance To Integration Busing

LOS ANGELES (AP) — Enrollment of white students has dropped about 25 percent at the 153 city schools scheduled to be bused for integration this year, according to a source in possession of preliminary figures from the school district.

The source, who asked not to be identified, said figures from the first three days of school also showed white enrollment down 36.4 percent from last year in grades 1-3 and down 28.4 percent in grades 4-6 at the 57 elementary schools involved in integration at the beginning of last week.

However, as new overall attendance figures filtered down to district headquarters yesterday, school officials increased their estimate of the number of students they believe will be bused under the mandatory integration program.

District spokesman Bill Bolton said 29,491 students at the 153 schools will be bused this semester, under the program ordered by Superior Court Judge Paul Egly. The new figure is still well below integration estimates of 40,000 pupils given by school officials as recently as last week, but higher than the 25,000 figure given Monday.

The latest figure represents about half the 60,000-student enrollment of the 153 schools to be included in the plan by next Monday.

The source at school district headquarters said that among the 153 schools, the district lost between 12,000 and 15,000 white students from the 1979 enrollment level. The source said the attendance figures were from Sept. 17, the day after the state Supreme Court restored to Egly the power to decide which schools should be integrated, effectively restoring 96 schools to the plan.

Bolton, public information officer for the district, said he was unable to supply attendance numbers that might reflect so-called "white flight" — the refusal of white students to join in the integration program. He indicated that district officials feared early projections of white flight could be "misinterpreted" by parents who otherwise would eventually return their children to the schools.

Complete attendance figures won't be available until the fourth week in October, he said.

Bolton said the new estimate of 29,491, based on enrollment data gathered during the second week of school, could change again as more attendance figures become available. He said the district is sure that many students who are staying out to protest busing eventually will come back to their schools.

"As they drift back into the program — and we're sure they will — the numbers will go up," Bolton said.

Officials still have to count the students of eight schools that joined the integration program Tuesday, bringing the number of schools involved to 127.

Bolton said the new projection figure includes the 20,739 students from 119 schools that were bused on Monday, plus the nearly 8,800 students expected to be available for busing at 26 schools joining the program next Monday.

Picketing by hundreds of anti-busing protesters outside at least five schools was reported yesterday. Marchers paraded in front of Hartman, Hale, Frost and Hughes junior high schools in the San Fernando Valley, as well as Point Fermin Elementary School in San Pedro, but no violence was reported.

At Hughes Junior High School in Woodland Hills, a lottery conducted by principal Josephine Spearman to select which students would be bused this semester was disrupted when a man overturned three plastic buckets containing student numbers.

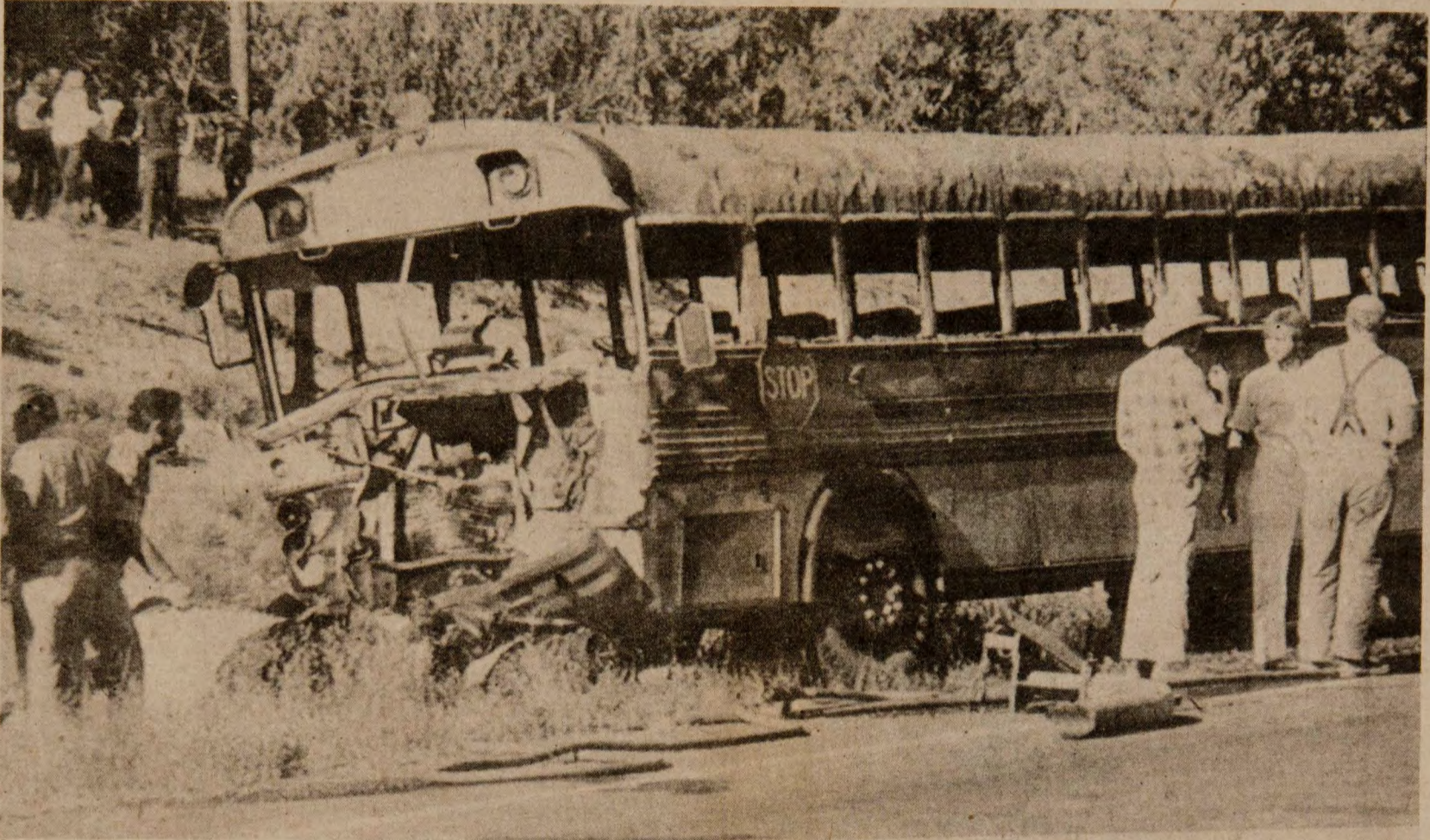
"It was not a pretty sight," said spokesman Shel Ehrlich. "After it happened the kids rushed in and began throwing the slips around and standing up on chairs for the cameras."

Ehrlich also said some youngsters also were seen tearing up the slips. The man who overturned the buckets was not identified by any of the teachers or parents present, Ehrlich added.

Boy, 16, Sentenced To Die For Killing 7-Year-Old Girl

CAMPTON, Ky. (AP) — A Wolfe Circuit Court jury has recommended the death sentence for Todd Ice, 16, convicted of the slaying of a 7-year-old Powell County girl. The jury had convicted him Saturday of the 1978 stabbing murder of Donna Knox.

If the court follows the jury's recommendation, Ice will become the seventh person condemned to die since the General Assembly re-wrote Kentucky's death penalty statute in 1976.



ARIZONA SCHOOL BUS CRASH KILLS 1, INJURES 20

Police and highway personnel inspect a school bus that collided yesterday morning with a highway sweeper near Show Low, Ariz.

The driver of the sweeper was killed and 20 aboard the bus were injured, four critically, when the sweeper's fuel tank exploded. The

bus driver, severely burned in the explosion, managed to get most of the students out through windows and the back door of the bus.

— AP Wirephoto

Foes Of Canal Claim Enough Petitions Signed

By MERVIN D. FIELD

The state's voters are shifting away from supporting construction of the controversial Peripheral Canal, the California Poll has found.

Last July the California Poll found 47 percent in favor and 28 percent opposed to building the canal. Twenty-five percent were undecided among registered voters statewide.

But a survey completed this month found 35 percent opposed to construction, 34 percent in favor and 31 percent undecided.

The canal would permit more Sacramento River water to be sent to Southern California instead of flowing into

THE CALIFORNIA POLL

the delta and San Francisco Bay.

In both the July and September surveys, opinion about the canal divided along sectional lines with Southern California voters very much in favor of the project and Northern Californians opposed.

What has caused the overall negative shift of public opinion is that during the past two months Southern Californians have moderated their favoritism for the canal's construction while Northern Californians have increased their degree of opposition.

AMONG REGISTERED VOTERS	FAVOR	OPPOSE	UNDECIDED
Statewide			
September 1980	34%	35%	31%
July 1980	47%	28%	25%
Southern California			
September 1980	46%	15%	39%
July 1980	59%	13%	28%
Statewide			
September 1980	16%	66%	18%
July 1980	30%	49%	21%

While discussion and debate about the Peripheral Canal has been going on for a long time the issue has been getting increased public attention and scrutiny during the

Brown Is Urged To Seek Election To Senate In '82

By DIANE KIESEL
Copley News Service

WASHINGTON — Gov. Brown was urged yesterday by several California Democratic congressmen to run for the U.S. Senate in 1982 when Republican Sen. S.I. Hayakawa's term ends.

In Washington to restore long-neglected contacts with the National Governors Association and the state's congressional delegation, Brown found political warmth from the congressmen who used to respond to his aloofness with disdain.

One of the legislators who urged Brown to consider running for the Senate was Rep. Lionel Van Deerlin, D-Chula Vista.

"I was urging him not to drop out of the political picture," Van Deerlin said after Brown's closed-door session with 15 of the state's 25 Democratic congressmen.

"I pointed to the '82 Senate race



GOV. BROWN ... in Washington, D.C., to mend fences

and he said it was an option," he added.

Rep. Tony Coelho, D-Merced, said "some (at the meeting) were even urging him to use the Senate seat as a stepping stone to another presidential race in 1984" or later.

Van Deerlin confirmed that such a suggestion was made.

Brown later would say only that "there was general discussion about

a Senate race ... I didn't rule anything out."

Most of the California Democrats had ignored Brown's futile race for the Democratic presidential nomination, and many privately had chastised him for failing to develop and maintain effective lines of communication with the congressional delegation on issues that affect the state.

Friends, Associates Mourn A 'Journalistic Giant'

By S. A. DESICK
Staff Writer, The San Diego Union

"If it weren't for Jack Murphy, there would be no major league baseball in San Diego" — E.J. "Buzzie" Bavasi, former president of the San Diego Padres.

"He gave all three sides to a story, yours, theirs and the truth" — Jim Murray, Los Angeles Times sports columnist.

"I could go to Jack with any problem and he would help me in any way he could" — Don Coryell, San Diego Chargers head coach and former San Diego State football coach.

Spoken in pain, and in disbelief, the top figures in sports, his fellow writers, and people in government came forth with their grief yesterday over Murphy's death.

"We're heartbroken," said Ray and Joan Kroc.

Gerald L. Warren, editor of The San Diego Union, recalled a line from Murphy's last column on July 23 — "I see they decided to hold the summer of 1980 without me." Said Warren, "It is difficult to imagine the next decade without Jack Murphy."

Mayor Wilson, calling Murphy "a

journalistic giant," noted, "Jack gave something more to this community; he provided vision, whether it would be to build a stadium or any number of significant community projects. He was a champion of San Diego. As one of many San Diegans who was often touched by Jack's writing, I extend my deepest sympathy to his wife, Pat, and his family, and to his special family at The Union."

As a member of that family, Helen K. Copley, publisher of The Union and Evening Tribune, spoke of the "great loss" not only to the newspapers, but also to "the people of San Diego."

Said Copley, "It is easy for me to understand why Jack Murphy was so popular and beloved as a columnist. He was a wonderful, warm human being. His happy tales of days with Abe, his horror over the senseless killings at the Munich Olympics, his admiration of (boxing champion) Archie Moore in the classic role of aging gladiator, his unselfish work to bring major sports to San Diego — these and so much more provide memories of Jack Murphy, who touched us all."

Murphy, said Red Smith, sports co-

lumnist for the New York Times, "was one of the very best in our business. He had a horror of bad writing, of sloppy writing, of clichés."

Smith, himself a living legend in the profession, and Murphy were longtime, close friends and fishing companions. They had shared quarters at the last Winter Olympics at Lake Placid, N.Y. Said Smith, "I just loved the guy. If we worked together on the same story, he very often contributed the greater part of the story."

Smith described Murphy's columns as reflecting the warmth that made Murphy a most likable man. "There was always that warmth of feeling underneath the light-heartedness. There was humor there, always," Smith said.

He was one of the truly competent workmen in the field, a craftsman and a truly great guy," said Smith.

Gene Klein, owner of the Chargers, said, "I could not put into words the respect I had for Jack. He fought for the building of San Diego Stadium, and through his leadership the stadium was built. He did so much for the sports fans of San Diego with his support of the teams and his wonderful-

ly entertaining columns. He was a giant in his profession."

Editor Warren, noting Murphy's "sense of responsibility to his city," pointed out that "Jack's impact went far beyond sports. He preferred to work behind the scenes, as when he helped Gene Klein bring Don Coryell back home and when he helped build the stadium that now houses Coryell's team."

Warren, too, spoke of Murphy's wit — "Some laughter died today when Jack died."

To Coryell, Murphy "was such an unselfish guy. I've never known a finer person or better friend. I could go to Jack with any problem and he would help in any way he could. He cared about people. He did so many things behind the scenes and never asked for anything in return."

Coryell said Murphy "was a wonderful person" who was "always trying to help any sport by doing anything he could. . . . Think of the time he gave. He gave everything he had."

Coryell recalled that when he was at San Diego State Murphy "helped us in every way — with the city, with the school administration. There's no

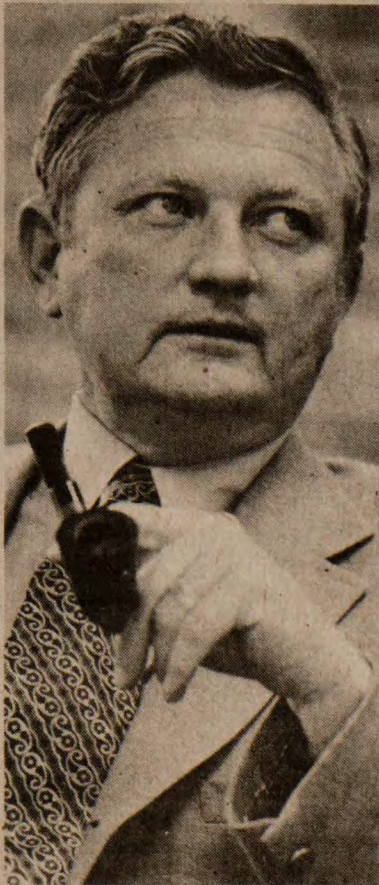
way we could have done as well without him."

"Jack Murphy was an ornament to our trade," said columnist Murray. "He was fair. He never raised his voice in print or in person. But he was deft in wounding in prose those who deserved it. He did it so well they never felt a thing. He was a gentleman, he kept the company of gentlemen, and the sports personalities he dealt with respected him and he respected them. He was courtly. He saw all three sides to a story, yours, theirs and the truth, which he wrote with great wit and insight."

"A few years ago," Murray said, "when the San Francisco Examiner made him an exceptional offer to take his great skills up there, he came to me for advice, and I gave it to him. I said, 'Jack, why would you want to leave San Diego? You're an institution there.' San Diego has lost an institution, and so has our business."

Ray Kroc, owner of the Padres baseball team, said "We're all saddened. Jack was a wonderful human being." Kroc's wife said that when Kroc bought the team, "I knew very little about baseball. Jack was my mentor, my uncle-like maven. And he was always right in his approach."

(Continued on A-5, Col. 1)



JACK MURPHY
... ornament to his trade

Sports Editor Murphy Dead At 57

(Continued from A-1)

What followed was the San Diego Stadium, a new home for the Chargers, the arrival of the National League Padres and the maturation of sport in San Diego. Murphy's maturation as a caring, professional journalist occurred some time earlier.

"I knew Jack Murphy in the early 1950s, during his first years at The San Diego Union," said Helen K. Copley, publisher of The Union, yesterday.

"Sports columnists usually have a specialized following; it was obvious from the first that Jack's gentle personality and professional standards were such to be admired by a broader spectrum of readers."

When Richard Pourade, then editor of The Union, lured him away from the Daily Oklahoman in 1951, Murphy at 28 became the youngest sports editor of a metropolitan daily in the country.

At that time, the Union's sports staff numbered seven, and it seldom ventured beyond the city limits in its coverage. Murphy insisted on expanded coverage and soon won permission from the editor to send his reporters on assignment wherever the stories were.

In addition, Murphy quickly expanded the staff, bringing in baseball writer Phil Collier from Fort Worth, outdoor writer Rolla Williams from San Antonio, golf writer Jim Trinkle (since returned to Texas) from Fort Worth, and football writer Jerry Magee from Norman, Okla.

Today, the sports staff numbers 20 and routinely covers events as far-flung as the Olympics, the Davis Cup, the World Series and the America's Cup.

Murphy himself, besides his duties as sports editor, wrote five columns a week, frequently accompanying the beat writers to provide The Union's readers with his own clear, crisp commentary.

Nelson Fisher, The Union's longtime turf writer, remembered when Murphy began to accompany him to the Kentucky Derby.

"The most important thing about that," Fisher recalled, "was that it nurtured what turned out to be a beautiful friendship with Red Smith."

"Jack might have been my best friend," said Smith, the Pulitzer Prize-winning sports columnist for The New York Times, by phone from New York yesterday.

"Neither of us could remember when or how we first met," Smith said. "Not all of a sudden, but after a while, we found ourselves pounding the same beat, covering the same assignments. We became traveling companions. He was a great companion."

"When he came to New York on assignment in recent years, he always, by our earnest invitation and, I think, by his preference, he always chose to stay at the Smith Hilton, instead of in Manhattan."

"He was one of the truly competent workmen in our field," Smith said, "a craftsman and a truly great guy."

"Ironically, several of Murphy's most telling works were accomplished without his typewriter."

"It isn't generally known," said Murphy in 1976, on the occasion of a banquet honoring his 25th year here, "but we kept Don Coryell here (at San Diego State) an extra 10 years by supplementing his salary, with the permission of Dr. (Malcolm) Love."

Dr. Love was then president at San Diego State. Coryell had just begun to build what would become an Aztec football powerhouse when he received a lucrative offer from the University of Arizona.

Murphy asked Coryell if money would matter in keeping him here.

"He said, 'You bet it would,'" Murphy recalled.

"The next morning, I got on the phone. Within half an hour, I got pledges for \$10,000. The Sports Association took over that money. And Coryell stayed for another 10 years before we lost him (to the St. Louis Cardinals)."

More than 600 attended that 1976 banquet, where Murphy was presented a Jeep Wagoneer. Coryell was still coaching in St. Louis. But Murphy would not rest on his laurels. Coryell would be back.

"Jack was a catalyst in the hiring of Don Coryell (in 1978) as head coach of the Chargers," said Chargers owner Gene Klein yesterday. "He urged me to hire Don when Don was free, and he urged Don to go to work for the Chargers."

"I consider Jack one of the best personal friends I've

ever had," said Coryell yesterday.

John Patrick Murphy was born in Tulsa, Okla., on Feb. 5, 1923. His father was in the oil business, but before he had finished grade school, Jack Murphy knew what he wanted from life.

"I remember one day when I was 11 years old," he said once. "I was reading the paper and something just clicked. I said, 'This is something I want to do,' and I set about learning how to do it."

At 17, Murphy was stringing for the Tulsa World. For two years, he attended Tulsa University and worked a full shift, 4 to midnight, at the World's sports department.

In 1943, at age 20, Murphy joined the Marines. He went to Okinawa as a rifleman but soon convinced a captain in the public information detachment that he would make a good war correspondent.

"I told him he was overlooking one of the great journalistic talents in the Western Pacific," was the way Murphy reconstructed it.

Murphy served out his tour in the Pacific, and also saw duty in China after the Japanese surrendered. He was offered Far East positions both with the Associated Press and a United Nations agency.

He chose instead to return to Tulsa, and the World. But no jobs were open in sports. He became the assistant oil editor and was able to endure it for only six weeks. He begged a transfer to the police beat, and there met a young woman reporter named Patricia Aston.

"Pat was a reporter, and a damn good one," Murphy would recall. In six months, they were married. And eventually Murphy got back into sports.

He wrote his first columns for the World, and after a brief fling at public relations as Tulsa University's sports information director, became a sports writer and sometime columnist for the Fort Worth Star-Telegram.

Murphy's work at the Star-Telegram was such that the Daily Oklahoman offered him a job as full-time columnist. Murphy took it, and Pourade, looking for a sports editor for The Union, found him there in 1951.

Murphy almost didn't accept Pourade's offer. He had seen San Diego from a Marine's-eye view.

"Thank God Pourade waited around four days for me to make up my mind," Murphy remembered. "I didn't know the charms of San Diego. It didn't take me long to realize that I'd never go anywhere else."

Three years after his arrival here, Murphy won a National Headliner Award for "a consistently outstanding sports column." In 1962, he won the "Best Sports Story" award given by the E.P. Dutton annual anthology, "Best Sports Stories." Murphy's work has appeared in seven editions of "Best Sports Stories." He won, among other honors, national awards for his columns on golf and horse racing.

Murphy wrote pieces for Sports Illustrated, Collier's, Venture Magazine, The Saturday Evening Post, Golf Digest and The New York Times Sunday Magazine.

His piece on Archie Moore, breathing easy poignancy into that old warrior's tale of perseverance, stood as the longest profile ever published in the New Yorker. "The Mongoose," as the piece was titled, is among Murphy's best-known works.

He also authored two books, "Abe and Me," and "Damn You, Al Davis!"

Murphy admired, and worked very hard to produce,

clean sentences. What resulted was a facile style that carried the reader along as lightly as a leaf on a running brook.

"It seems to me," said Red Smith, "that he himself was a very warm person, and a great deal of that showed in his column. I don't know where he got his convictions. He told me once that when he left Tulsa for the first time, his old sports editors said, 'You'll be back. Nobody can leave Tulsa forever.'"

Murphy didn't go back, but he never lost his Tulsa's eye for the simple heart of the matter.

"I think of myself as a storyteller, to a considerable extent," he once said.

When he had to, he could tell a story of tragedy in terms that all could understand. "The Olympic Games lost their innocence in Munich," he reported from West Germany in 1972.

But he much preferred the laughter of life that fell so easily on his ear and trickled through his sentences. Don Freeman, The Union's television columnist, once described Murphy's world as "populated by no heroes and no villains. Instead, that world is inhabited only by individuals with fire in their bellies who stir up a writer's juices . . ."

Many of Murphy's most memorable columns dwelled not on sport at all, but on the way the sky looks in autumn; the logic of hunting deer without bullets ("Why didn't you shoot one?"; "Because if I shoot one, I'll have to stop hunting."); the miracle that rain works on mountain meadows; and Abe.

Murphy wrote frequently and with marvelously controlled feeling of Abe of Spoon River, the black Labrador whose companionship he treasured for 13 years. When Abe was struck and killed by a car in February of 1977, the community wept.

Of course Jack, in his eulogy, went straight to the mark. "Abe is everywhere in the house," he wrote, "but I can't find him."

So it is now, with Jack and the city.

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	44-50		42-52

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2 Plead Guilty In Fatal Smuggling

TUCSON (AP) — A Salvadoran and a Mexican have pleaded guilty to federal alien-smuggling charges in the incident in which 13 Salvadorans died near Ajo in July, authorities said yesterday.

Elias Nunez Guardado, 26, of El Salvador, and Mateo Preciado Navarro, 54, of Sonota, Sonora, pleaded guilty before U.S. District Judge James Walsh, who scheduled sentencing for Oct. 20, said Assistant U.S. Attorney John Hawkins.

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Jack Murphy's Death Mourned By Associates

(Continued from A-4)

We had faith and trust in him. Unfortunately, we could not always follow his counsel."

"It just hurts," said Al Davis, managing general partner of the Oakland Raiders football team and former Chargers' assistant coach. "He played a great part in my formative years. He was one sports writer who was loved whether you agreed with him or not."

This last point was stressed by Barron Hilton, original owner of the Chargers who still has a financial interest in the team. He and Murphy

were friends since 1960 and went hunting together. Said Hilton, "He never let his friendship interfere with viewing the team objectively. We took some heat from Jack, which was proper."

Hilton said, "We were having difficulty establishing the club in Los Angeles, and Jack came to visit me. Jack's tenacity was the motivating factor in convincing me to move the club. He just felt San Diego was ready for a major league football team, that the city would embrace the Chargers."

George Pernicano, also a longtime friend and minority-interest owner in the Chargers, said, "It would have been a different San Diego without Jack. He meant so much to the city. There will be other writers, but there will be only one Jack Murphy. There will be a void in this town."

Pete Rozelle, commissioner of the National Football League, said, "Jack gained great success in a highly competitive field because of his sensitive and stylish writing. But his integrity made him a bigger winner as a man."

"Jack had great compassion, especially for the underdog," said former Mayor Frank Curran. "He contributed much to the development of all sports in San Diego. And to me, he was a gifted writer because he made things interesting even when he wasn't talking about sports."

Shirley Povich, former sports columnist for the Washington Post, assessing Murphy's writing, said, "Our fraternity has lost a great one." Moreover, he said, "Jack's character added a great deal to the profession. He had our utmost respect and admiration."

State Labor Leaders Open Vote Campaign

By SUSAN JETTON
Staff Writer, The San Diego Union

LOS ANGELES — California's labor leaders last night set into motion their plans to carry California for President Carter, return Alan Cranston to the U.S. Senate and elect other "friends of labor" Nov. 4.

There were few surprises as leaders of the state's 1.7 million trade unionists endorsed candidates recommended by local and state labor Committee on Political Education (COPE) groups, the political action arms of the AFL-CIO.

But despite a recorded "No" vote on every labor-backed measure that came before the U.S. House last year, Republican Rep. Clair Burgener of La Jolla won the endorsement of the

California Labor Federation on an overwhelming voice vote.

It was a case of endorsing Burgener or flying in the face of labor's own historic record of support for social and economic justice, unionists said, since Burgener's Democratic opponent is state Ku Klux Klan leader Tom Metzger of Fallbrook.

Metzger was one of the few Democrats running for state or national office who failed to win the support of the delegates to the federation's 13th biennial convention, which concluded with the endorsements of candidates and taking of positions on the 11 propositions on the statewide ballot.

Burgener was the only Republican running for Congress to be endorsed.

Delegates were not particularly happy about endorsing Burgener, but said they had no choice.

"We can't endorse that racial bigot," Dick Scannell of the Laborers Union in San Diego said of Metzger.

The electrical workers' Dick Robbins said Burgener probably will win and, with labor's endorsement, might be persuaded to see some future labor issues in a different way.

After a rousing pep talk encouraging "the leadership in this hall" to register their members to vote, educate them about the issues and drive them to the polls Nov. 4, the delegates enthusiastically endorsed Democrats Carter, Vice President Walter Mondale, and Cranston.

Correction

A paragraph was dropped in a news story yesterday in *The San Diego Union* reporting on a debate between candidates Bill Lowery, Republican, and Bob Wilson, Democrat, changing the meaning of the last segment of the story.

In a discussion of ratings by groups such as the Young Americans for Freedom, Lowrey had challenged the survey as a "phony index." Dropped from the story was a paragraph reading:

Later, Lowery — a former YAF county chairman — got the current YAF county chairman, Jay Martin, to call reporters to insist the poll in question had been deliberately skewed by the group. Martin said the YAF leadership had based the ratings on particular council votes specifically "chosen to make Councilman Fred Schnaubelt look good, and to make the council members allied with Mayor Wilson look bad."

A report on results of the annual San Diego Press Club journalism competition was incorrect yesterday in *The San Diego Union* in listing an award to Bruce Bernhart, winner in the radio business reporting category, as being affiliated with KPBS. Bernhart until recently was affiliated with KSDO and entered the contest as a KSDO reporter.

It is the policy of The San Diego Union to correct all errors. To discuss accuracy or fairness in the news, please write Alfred Jacoby, reader's representative, Box 191, San Diego, Calif., 92112, or telephone 295-1525.

'Jogging Bandit' Sought In Dallas

DALLAS (AP) — A "jogging bandit" is suspected of committing eight Dallas-area savings and loan robberies, and authorities believe he may be responsible for holdups in Amarillo, Lubbock and Austin as well.

In at least four holdups, the robber wore blue jogging shorts, running shoes and a gray hooded sweatshirt. In three robberies, he wore trousers, a short-sleeved shirt, blue or yellow windbreaker and a motorcycle helmet.

The San Diego Union

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Bitter Roots Underlie Ominous Iraq-Iran Rift

New York Times News Service

WASHINGTON — The war between Iraq and Iran, the seats of two of the world's most ancient civilizations, renews a conflict that can be traced back to the 16th century, although its origins are much older.

On one level, it's a border war, a battle for control of a waterway separating the two nations and important as a means for shipping the oil that is the basis of the economies of the two countries.

On another level it is a ideological fight, pitting a secular Iraq with its vision of pan-Arab leadership against Iran with its newly dominant religious government, seeking a pan-Islamic union stretching beyond the Arab world.

Ultimately, it may be a struggle for control of the Persian Gulf, through which 40 percent of the non-Communist world's oil passes.

The roots of conflict between these two countries can be found in the seventh century, when the Arab conquest brought Islam into the region, almost completely obliterating the people's memory of the ancient ways.

While Persia, until 1935 the name for Iran, had long been a strong power, it wasn't until 634, when Iraq was subdued by the followers of Mohammed, that two strong and distinct lines were drawn.

Persia stood in the way of Arabic control over Mesopotamia and its expansion elsewhere.



There was intermittent fighting between the two sides, and in 637, the Arab forces defeated the Persians, who are not Arab but Indo-European, at Qaddisyah on the banks of the Euphrates River.

For the Iraqis, at least, the present conflict can be dated back to that battle, which brought Islam to Persia. President Saddam Hussein of Iraq has contended that Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's moves against Iraq are an attempt to "avenge Qaddisyah."

Before the seventh century ended, a major split in Islam occurred that is also given as a reason for the antagonism between modern

Iraq and Iran.

A disagreement over the successor to Mohammed, who had died in 632, culminated in bloodshed when Mohammed's son-in-law, Ali, was passed over and assassinated. Ali's son, Hussein, led a small group of rebels in revolt against what they viewed as usurpers. He and his men were massacred in 680, and from their defeat was launched Shiism, breaking Islam into two sects.

Today Iran is ruled and populated by Shiite Moslem's. Iraq, and the rest of the Persian Gulf, is ruled by the Sunnis, the larger of the two groups.

Iraq is in a precarious position. Between 55 percent and 60 percent of its population is Shi-ite, yet the rulers are of the Sunni minority. The Shiite majority has long resented their economic, political and social domination.

In 1921, an army officer named Reza Khan staged a successful coup in Iran, proclaiming himself shah and beginning the process of modernization.

It was his son who was deposed as shah last year, ending what had been proclaimed to be 2,500 years of monarchy in Persia.

The overthrow of the late Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi by Iran's Shiite clergy has exacerbated Iraqi Shiites feelings, and statements by Khomeini urging them to overthrow their "satanic" government have further disrupted Iraqi-Iranian relations.

(Continued on A-7, Col. 1)

Pakistan Leader Warns Of Soviet Moves

New York Times News Service

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan — President Zia ul-Haq of Pakistan said Tuesday night that unless the conflict between Iraq and Iran can be settled quickly, he expects the Soviet Union to exploit the situation in pursuance of what he regards as Moscow's premeditated and long-standing designs on the Persian Gulf.

"We hope the conflict will end soon but if it escalates, you will find the Russian moves," the Pakistan president said in an interview with The New York Times. Next week Zia will address the United Nations as chairman of the 42-nation Islamic Conference and also will visit Washington for bilateral talks with President Carter.

The two separate missions have some overlapping objectives and some potential contradictions. As chairman of the Islamic group, Zia is charged with raising the major concerns of Muslim states, including not only the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan but also condemnation of both Israel and the Camp David initiative. Last week, Islamic foreign ministers meeting in Morocco pledged themselves to a jihad, or holy war, if necessary, to prevent the permanent absorption of east Jerusalem by Israel. In the United Nations address, Zia also will be affirming Islamic solidarity, a task made that much more difficult by the fighting between Iran and Iraq. After his speech in New York, Zia will go to Washington, where he will seek to impress upon Mr. Carter his view that Pakistan with its aging weapons is the strategic lynchpin in the Gulf.

"I am going to provoke the responsibility that the United States of America has to our region, and I am going to provoke him to the responsibility the United States has towards a situation like Afghanistan," he said.

But Zia's paramount concern on the eve of his trip rested with what



ZIA UL-HAQ ... cites Soviet aims

he views as a Soviet pincer maneuver aimed at the Gulf and involving Pakistan. He said he had written to the White House expressing his views, and has had many discussions with U.S. legislators and with Zbigniew Brzezinski, the President's national security adviser.

He said he felt Washington shared his assessment of the situation, but he managed in the context of his remarks to convey the impression that he felt some lingering hesitancy and suspicion in his Washington contacts.

Zia, who last year turned down a United States offer of \$200 million in military credits as "peanuts," said he will not ask for arms.

"If it comes up, I would be prepared to discuss it, but men would be not to create controversial issues like military assistance or military equipment," he said, "not because I am ashamed of anything but because of the embarrassment of the United States ... I feel that the United States is very allergic, they have these sensitivities about (India)."

The Pakistani leader said he hoped that in the meeting with Mr. Carter

"we are able to clear the clouds a bit. In the past we have had a lot of misgivings, apprehensions, I won't say complaints, but misgivings about one another."

Zia took note that some of the aloofness of Washington toward his government was based on reports that his country was seeking to develop a nuclear military capability, and he once again flatly denied this. "We are not making a bomb, we have no bomb," he said, adding that the disbelief with which his disclaimers have been met in the past is the result of a "conspiracy."

"This is not only a feeling or an inkling," he said. "I can prove it."

As to those behind "the conspiracy," Zia said, "at the top of the list are our friends the Israelis, followed closely by our friend next door, India, and the filip to the whole thing has been given by the so-called free media of the world, originating from London, New York and Washington. West Germany has also jumped in."

On the subject of his military rule which also has brought him condemnation in the West, Zia said he remains committed to restoring civilian rule on the basis of "Islam as close to democracy as possible. We are here to transfer power to the people's elected representatives who would be civilians," he said.

In the past, Zia has set and bypassed targets for elections and legalization of political parties. Most recently he had suggested that an interim civilian cabinet might be appointed before his departure for New York that would pave the way for electoral politics. It is clear now that such a cabinet will not be named in the next week, but Zia said he had plans for a system "in which the people would be able to elect their representatives in accordance with Islamic concepts," and he declared it will be implemented "in the not too distant future, I can assure you."

Afghan Rebels Claim Slaying Of 1,500 Soviet Troops

NEW DELHI, India (AP) — Anti-Marxist rebels claim to have killed more than 1,500 Soviet troops and destroyed 35 tanks and a helicopter in heavy fighting in the strategic Panjshir Valley north of Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, a diplomatic source here said yesterday.

The Moslem insurgents conceded in leaflets distributed in Kabul to

have suffered 20 deaths in the nearly month-long fighting, said the source, who asked not to be identified. The leaflets also said Soviet warplanes had bombed 208 villages in the valley and killed 100 civilians.

The report of Soviet casualties tallied with one earlier from a source in Kabul who has been accurate in the past. That source said the Soviets

had pushed 25 miles into the valley to Rokha when the rebels, who control the high ground, trapped the Russian tanks by blasting boulders down the hillsides.

Panjshir Valley stretches 110 miles across northeast Afghanistan from Gulbahar, 60 miles north of Kabul.

Philippine Military Frees 12 Jailed In Protest

CEBU CITY, Philippines (AP) — The military has released two opposition leaders and 10 other persons arrested during a protest march against President Ferdinand E. Marcos' martial law regime, authorities said yesterday. Demonstrations — except those in support of the government — are outlawed under martial law.

The 12 included Interim National Assembly lawmaker Valentino Legaspi.

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Bitter Roots Underlie Conflicts Of Iraq-Iran

(Continued from A-6)

Also, a Shiite group called Al Dawa ("The Call") has been held responsible for a number of assassinations of Iraqi officials and acts of sabotage.

"The Iranian revolution is perceived by Iraq as a threat," explained Alan R. Taylor, professor of International Relations at the School for International Services at American University.

When Mesopotamia, as Iraq was then known, was conquered by the Ottoman Turks in 1534, the Turks became the strongest enemy of the Persians, and they began a pattern that survives in the present conflict.

"The border problem can be traced easily back to the Ottoman-Persian conflict," said R.K. Ramazani, chairman of the Woodrow Wilson Department of Government and Foreign Affairs at the University of Virginia. "After Iraq became a nation, it really inherited many of the problems."

The frontier with Iraq — then part of a line between Turkey and Iran — was first defined by treaty in 1639, and then again in the Treaty of Erzurum signed May 31, 1847. Incessant border disputes eventually

brought Britain and Russia into the region.

The Ottoman Empire, which had chosen to fight with Germany in World War I, dissolved in that conflict and the region experienced an enormous increase of British and French influence.

On Oct. 3, 1932, Iraq was admitted into the League of Nations as an independent nation. Three years later, Persia officially changed its name to Iran.

Relations were still far from cordial. Both sides traded charges of non-cooperation among border officials, trespassing by armed forces and tampering with border waters and property. In 1934, Iraq appealed to the League of Nations to rule on the dispute.

Following bilateral talks in 1937, a border agreement was signed under the auspices of the British. On the crucial issue of the Shatt al-Arab, where the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers meet and flow to the sea — one of the central areas of dispute between Iran and Iraq — Iran was allowed to use the river, but it was not given what it wanted, a border down the middle of the

(Continued on A-9, Col. 1)

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Iraqi Troops Push 20 Miles; Refineries Hit

(Continued from A-1)

Abadan radio said four Americans and a number of Iraqi soldiers were captured at Shalanshah in western Iran. The broadcast said nothing further about the Americans.

Three Americans employed in Basra by Lummus Construction Co. of Bloomfield, N.J., were listed as missing yesterday. A company spokesman identified them as Harvey Johnson of Dickinson, Texas, Sidney Grant of Tucson, Ariz., and Luke Cline of Johnson City, Tenn.

Iraq said its planes attacked seven Iranian air bases yesterday morning, striking at Sanandaj, Ahwaz, Kermanshah, Shahabad, Dizful and two bases near Tabriz. Tehran conceded that Iranian airfields had again been attacked by Iraqi planes as they had been two days ago.

Baghdad, capital of Iraq, was quiet for much of the day yesterday, although air raid sirens went off at 4:30 p.m. Two sonic booms were heard, and authorities said two jets had flown high over the city. There was no attack.

Iraq's defense minister, Gen. Adnan Khairallah, told reporters last night that "whether it has been declared or not, it is, in fact, war." He warned that Iraq would face increasing Iraqi attacks if it did not halt its bombing raids in Iraq.

Tehran radio aired reports — unconfirmed elsewhere — that Syrian planes had attacked the Iraqi city of Basra. The Syrian press and radio, however, have said little directly about the Iraqi-Iranian conflict.

Syria and Iraq, ruled by rival wings of the Arab Baath Socialist party, are bitter enemies. Syria is one of the few Arab countries that has openly supported the Islamic revolution in Iran, a Moslem but predominantly non-Arab nation.

Damascus radio reported that President Chadli Benjedid of Algeria



telephoned President Hafez Assad of Syria to discuss what could be done diplomatically to bring the conflict to an end. They decided to remain in touch, the radio added.

U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim appealed to Iran and Iraq for a cease-fire. "The international community is profoundly concerned both on the possible repercussions of this conflict and of its inevitable economic consequences," Waldheim said in letters to leaders of both countries.

Yasir Arafat, head of the Palestine Liberation Organization, was reported to have arrived in Baghdad yesterday in an attempt to mediate the conflict. The PLO is officially supported by governments of both Iraq and Iran.

At his news conference last night, Iraqi Defense Minister Khairallah, who is also the deputy prime minister, said: "We do not accept mediation of this sort."

A spokesman for the Iraqi government told Kuwaiti reporters in Baghdad that Iraq would insist that Iran give up three islands — Abu Musa and Greater and Lesser Tunb — that guard the entrance to the Strait of Hormuz as a condition of a cease-fire. Much of the Mideast's oil is shipped through the strait.

The other conditions, already stated, are acceptance of Iraqi

claims to the entire Shatt-al-Arab waterway and Iran's surrender of several strips of land it had been given under a 1975 treaty between Iraq and Iran's late Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi. President Saddam Hussein of Iraq abrogated the pact last Wednesday.

At his news conference, Khairallah noted that what he referred to as "the Arab islands" had been seized by the shah in 1971.

"Before that time and throughout history, the inhabitants were Arab and they fell within the Arab region," he said. "Iraq is quite clear who they belong to."

Reports on the fighting yesterday from both sides showed that the Iraqis were apparently carrying out air and ground attacks along the southern two-thirds of the border, with particularly sharp fighting where the Shatt-al-Arab flows by the oil-producing province of Khuzestan on its way to the Persian Gulf.

Exemption Plan Gains

WASHINGTON (AP) — The House approved legislation yesterday that gives states three more years to grant case-by-case exemptions for public water supply systems that fail to meet interim drinking water standards.

American Dependents Flee Fighting In Iraq

WASHINGTON (UPI) — The State Department said yesterday that many of the 700 Americans in Iraq are fleeing the country's expanding border war with Iran but there are no plans to order a general evacuation.

The department began evacuating dependents of Foreign Service employees at its interest section in Baghdad but is making no immediate move to close the facility, said department spokesman John Cannon.

Many of the Americans fled from the Basra region of Iraq, where Iranian warplanes have attacked a major refinery. Some were American women married to Iraqis who work for U.S. firms involved in petroleum and chemical industry construction.

An estimated 150 Americans ar-

rived yesterday in neighboring Kuwait.

"No other official Americans are in that area (Basra)," Cannon said. "Although the U.S. government has not organized the departure of private Americans there, we certainly concur that this withdrawal is a prudent measure, given the air raids that have taken place."

Cannon said the American interest section at the Belgian Embassy in Baghdad has worked with the Iraqi Foreign Ministry and the U.S. construction companies in assisting the evacuation.

He estimated about 35 Americans — private U.S. citizens who came to the interest section as well as dependents of foreign service employees — would leave Baghdad.

"We have no plans to withdraw the

American officials from our interest section in Baghdad," Cannon told reporters. "We are, however, as a precautionary measure, evacuating dependents of official Americans from Baghdad in view of the tensions and general fighting in the general region."

Kuwaiti officials estimated 1,200 foreign refugees had arrived there by nightfall yesterday.

Ray Peppers, spokesman at the U.S. Embassy in Kuwait, said the 150 Americans fled Basra in taxis, buses and private cars and all had "come through and gone" to Copenhagen and Amsterdam on special flights arranged by their companies.

A report by Iran on its state radio that its forces had captured four Americans in the border fighting was termed "implausible" by a State Department official.

Iraq Said Backing Iranian Exile Coalition

Cox News Service

WASHINGTON — Iraq intends to recognize an Iranian exile coalition led by former prime minister Shahpour Bakhtiar and Gen. Gholam Oveissi as the provisional government of Iran, according to reliable Iranian opposition sources in the West bent on overturning Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's regime.

The knowledgeable exile sources said prominent Iranian anti-Khomeini ayatollahs in Iraq and within Iran also intend to denounce Khomeini and urge the Shiite Islamic people of Iran to renounce their allegiance to him.

Iraqi officials here declined yesterday to comment on the report. For the past several months, however, Iraq has permitted both Bakhtiar and Oveissi to broadcast daily messages into Iran.

Iraq has been helping Iranian exiled leaders and their military followers in their bid to regain control of Iran, the exiles have claimed. Iraqis have since last spring assisted Kurdish tribesmen who have been fighting, with the blessings of Bakhtiar and Oveissi, against Iranian forces.

Other Iranian exile sources reported yesterday that Iranian officers and men who deserted to escape Khomeini's frequent military purges are gathering throughout the West to invade Iran under the direction of Oveissi and other exiled Iranian generals.

Bakhtiar and Oveissi, along with other high-ranking

Iranian politicians and military figures under the shah, have been plotting for months to stage a coup d'etat that would restore a pro-Western government in Iran.

Exile factions recently closed ranks and made a tentative pledge to cooperate with each other in their attempt to restore themselves to power in Iran.

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Iran's Capital Takes On War Atmosphere

BY REUTERS

TEHRAN — Long lines for gasoline, food and other essentials in the Iranian capital yesterday were the most visible signs of the population's reaction to the war with Iraq.

The conflict came to the capital with stunning suddenness two days earlier, when Iraqi jets burst into Iran's airspace to strike at Tehran's Mehrabad Airport, killing two persons and wounding a number of others, many of them cut by glass from the shattered windows of two terminals and the VIP pavilion.

The airport remained closed to civilian traffic yesterday, but airport sources said both runways were in use by fighter and transport aircraft.

The shock caused by the surprise attack appeared to have subsided yesterday, but people were glued to their radios to hear news of the border fighting. Communiques from the joint staff were interspersed with martial and revolutionary music.

A blackout in the capital was almost totally effective Tuesday night, and Revolutionary Guards set up checkpoints throughout the city to keep people off the streets.

For 48 hours after the Iraqi aircraft struck at Tehran, all external telecommunications were cut for what officials said were technical reasons. They were restored

early yesterday.

The crisis appeared to have induced Iran's varied political groupings to forget their differences. All the leftist groups have offered to send men to the front, and followers of left-wing organizations attended a massive demonstration by students near Tehran University Tuesday.

Dozens of foreign businessmen and visitors have been marooned in Tehran because of the ban on civil flights. Some may attempt an overland departure through the northwestern frontier with Turkey, but most were expected to heed embassy advice and stay put for the time being.

The shrinking community of foreign residents, already inured to the dramatic twists and turns of post-revolutionary life, is unlikely to flee the country, unless the war spreads from the western border.

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Iraq-Iran Struggle

(Continued from A-7)

river. Rather the river was said to be Iraqi, and the border was decreed to be at the low-water point on the Iranian side.

Iran maintains this was imposed by British imperialist pressures and in violation of common international practice. It leaves Iran with less sea room for ships to get to the petroleum shipping site of Abadan, Iran's largest oil refinery, than a median channel would.

Iraq, on the other hand, points out that the river is their only access to the Persian Gulf.

In 1958, the monarchy in Iraq was overthrown. And in 1968 a coup brought to power the Baath Party, which still rules the socialist country. Throughout this period the question of navigation on the Shatt al-Arab continued to be a point of contention. All shipping in the area was stopped for a time in early 1961.

Iraq's pro-Western position began to shift, and by the mid 1960s, it had become the third largest recipient of Soviet aid in the Arab world, following the United Arab Republic and Algeria. In 1972, prompted in part by rebellion among the estimated 2 million Kurds living in Iraq, Iraq signed a treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union.

From their mountain strongholds in northern Iraq, the Kurds have been fighting intruders for more than 2,000 years. By 1974, Iraq was exhausted in its fight against them, and the Kurds, aided by Iran, were still strong.

Then, in 1975, Iran and Iraq reached a new agreement. Their leaders conferred in Algeria during a meeting of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. Iran agreed to end its support of the Kurds. In exchange the boundary between the two countries was agreed to be down the middle of the Shatt al-Arab. Iraq also dropped its claim to an area they call Arabistan and Iran calls Khuzistan and which by either name is the oil-rich province of Iran populated by Arab Iranians.

In 1978, Iraq began to moderate its radical image, stressing its independence from outside powers and external influences.

Over harsh Soviet objections, Iraq executed 21 Communist Party members

accused of illegal political activities on behalf of Moscow in 1978.

The disintegration of the Iranian military following the fall of the shah has given Iraq a chance to reassert its power. In the Persian Gulf, Iraq is demanding that Iran return three Arab islands in the Strait of Hormuz — Abu Musa and the Greater and Lesser Tunbs — to the United Arab Emirates. These islands were seized by the Iranians when the British withdrew forces from the area between 1968 and 1972. The Iraqis also assert they have already taken back 90 square miles of disputed border territory.

"There has been armed conflict in the past," noted Ramazani, "but the mutual vulnerability of both sides has kept it at the level of skirmishes and brinkmanship."

"This time I'm baffled. Apparently this mutual restraint does not exist. It is unprecedented that it has gone as far as it has."

One explanation for this, he says, is that the battle has become increasingly ideological, with Iraqi newspapers denouncing the "racist Persian regime."

Some Arab analysts attribute at least part of this to the fact that Iraq ousted Khomeini from their country, where he had been living for 15 years in exile. The ayatollah has said that he believes Hussein made a deal with the shah to deport him.

Their mutual antagonism also continues a 19th century tradition of the Shiite clergy as the acknowledged

leaders of nationalist revolts in Iran ranged against the military officer class of Sunnis as the traditional leaders in Iraq.

"But the fact is," said Ramazani, "since the fall of the shah's regime, Iraq has emerged as the dominant power."

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President Chooses Envoy To Malawi

WASHINGTON (AP) — President Carter will nominate John A. Burroughs Jr., a career bureaucrat who has spent the last 10 years promoting equal opportunity in government, as ambassador to the African Republic of Malawi.

The appointment of Burroughs, 44, to replace Harold E. Horan, who is serving as deputy assistant secretary of state for African affairs, is subject to Senate confirmation.

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War Brings Dilemma For U.S., Russia

Options For Influencing Outcome Are Different, Potentially Dangerous

By RICHARD BURT
New York Times News Service

WASHINGTON — While Moscow and Washington have found themselves sitting on the sidelines of the war between Iran and Iraq, their stakes in the conflict are vastly different as are their military and diplomatic options for influencing the outcome of the crisis in the Persian Gulf.

U.S. officials say that the war has confronted the United States and the Soviet Union with real dilemmas and potential dangers. In the view of most analysts here, however, Moscow is in a far better position than Washington to capitalize on the conflict, regardless of its outcome.

For the United States, the overriding strategic reality is that almost two-thirds of the non-Communist world's oil imports come from the Persian Gulf. Iranian and Iraqi shipments already have been disrupted and officials express fear that spread of violence in the region could result in a severe petroleum shortage that would undermine Western economic strength and political cohesion.

But while substantial Western interests are involved in the conflict, U.S. officials acknowledge that the Carter administration has virtually no means of affecting the course of the fighting between Iran and Iraq. "It is truly an extraordinary situation," observed a State Department expert. "We don't have much leverage with either

party, but both have suggested that one way or another, we are responsible for the war."

Consequently, the administration has adopted a low-profile, neutral posture in which direct military intervention has been ruled out. Officials report that only in the event of an attempted Iranian blockade of the Strait of Hormuz, the waterway connecting the Persian Gulf with the Indian Ocean, would U.S. warships and aircraft possibly be brought into play.

From Washington's perspective, Moscow finds itself in a very different position. It is embroiled in a costly guerrilla war in Af-

ghanistan and government specialists say they believe the Kremlin must be anxious about the growing chaos along its southern border.

At the same time, officials stressed that unlike Washington, Moscow does not have to worry about losing access to oil supplies. Moreover, numerous officials contended that the Soviet Union possesses much more diplomatic latitude in the crisis than does the United States.

For instance, if Iranian defenses began to crumble against repeated Iraqi assaults, some White House and State Department aides suggested that Moscow could abandon its neutral stance in the conflict and side with a "winner," the government in Baghdad. This course of action, they asserted, would be designed to restore close ties with Iraq while also gaining approval with other governments in the Arab world.

Since Iran currently is perceived as having virtually no foreign supporters, the diplomatic cost of backing Iraq would be virtually nil.

At the Pentagon, officials said a more disturbing possibility was that a severe military defeat for Iran could lead to increased internal strife and fragmentation, which eventually could result in Soviet intervention in the northern part of the country.

In the event of a military stalemate between Iran and Iraq, U.S. officials express concern that Moscow might reap diplomatic advantages. One fear is that, as in the 1971 war between India and Pakistan, Moscow might offer services as a mediator in peace talks between Tehran and Baghdad.

White House national security aides also are known to be worried over the possibility that the Soviet leadership could call for joint action by Washington and Moscow to enforce a settlement of the war.

If Moscow succeeded in achieving a role in mediating or guaranteeing a settlement, officials asserted that in the process it also

would acquire new political influence in the region as a whole. With this in mind, White House officials assert that by avoiding any involvement in the conflict, the administration hopes to set an example that could serve to inhibit any Soviet effort to exploit the situation in order to strengthen its diplomatic or military footing in the area.

But State Department aides contended that, whatever Moscow's motives, the administration had little choice in adopting a course of neutrality and non-involvement in the conflict. Some aides said that a policy of "tilting" toward Iraq could win favor in Saudi Arabia and other Arab nations, but they added it would reinforce the fierce anti-Americanism in Iran, risking the lives of the 52 American hostages being held in Iran.

In statements this week, President Carter and other senior officials have raised the possibility of siding with Iran by suggesting that if the hostages were released, the administration might consider supplying the Iranian military with spare parts for its large inventory of U.S.-built weapons.

But in internal discussions, officials are said to have warned that a decision now to deliver military equipment to Iran would not only meet fierce resistance on Capitol Hill, but might also antagonize Arab countries, such as Saudi Arabia and Oman, with which the administration has been working for months to forge new security ties.

One alternative open to the administration for taking action in the crisis is said to be a naval operation designed to head off any attempt to block the Strait of Hormuz.

ANALYSIS

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Carter Blamed In Iran-Iraq War

(Continued from A-1)

Reagan, in speaking to an enthusiastic crowd of about 1,200 at the East Texas County Fair grounds also said that Mr. Carter has allowed the nation's defense capabilities to become so weak it could not respond militarily to the Iran-Iraq conflict or any other situation.

"Now that the war dogs are loose in one part of the world we should be very conscious that in spite of the rhetoric, this nation does not have the capability to defend itself against outside aggression.

Reagan said the Carter Administration now has been pushed into having to adopt a position of neutrality in the war that could seriously interrupt future oil supplies for western nations and Japan.

"The truth is, he has no choice," Reagan said of Mr. Carter. "He has allowed the defensive capability of the United States to become so weakened that it's like when he said we would use force with regards to the Persian Gulf and two weeks later had to admit we don't have the force."

However, Reagan, whose judgment about war and peace has come under heavy fire from the Carter campaign, said

he would not intervene militarily in the Iran-Iraq conflict.

"I'm not looking to use force anywhere unless it is absolutely to our national security," he said.

Reagan said the war is now a localized conflict between two countries and his criticism was aimed at what he said were American foreign policy positions that led to the toppling of the late Shah.

Campaigning for Texas' 26 electoral votes, Reagan yesterday also delivered a sharp attack on the President's energy programs which have angered many Texans.

"For too long this administration has crippled our ability to free ourselves from OPEC and has made our energy future less secure," Reagan told the fairgrounds crowd in Tyler at the center of the East Texas oil fields.

Playing to a popular Texas theme, Reagan said Mr. Carter's windfall profits tax on oil was really a severance tax collected on every drop of oil pumped out of the ground and not a tax on profits.

Spain Mishap Kills 19

VALENCIA, Spain (AP) — A passenger train from Madrid and a bus collided yesterday, killing at least 19 persons and seriously injuring 20, the provincial governor's office said.

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Iran, Iraq Halt Exports Of Oil Through Gulf

(Continued from A-1)

that America has enough oil to weather a Persian Gulf crisis.

The institute reported the nation's crude oil stocks climbed last week to 388.6 million barrels, compared with the all-time high of 391.4 million barrels set in the week ended August 29. The total was up from 388.1 million barrels the previous week.

The United States had 316.8 million barrels of crude oil in storage a year ago.

Meanwhile, Japanese business and government officials said they were watching the fighting "with deep concern." With a 110-day supply and no oil resources of its own, Japan's economy could weather only a brief interruption of oil shipments if that should result from the war.

Japan depends on the Middle East for more than 70 percent of its oil needs, and thus is more vulnerable than any other major country to a closing of the Strait of Hormuz, the Persian Gulf's outlet for world trade.

While Japan imports almost no oil from Iran — because of a dispute over prices — it gets 8.9 percent of its crude oil from Iraq. Saudi Arabia is Japan's major oil supplier.

Oil industry executives and diplomats in the Western and Arab worlds, who are watching events in the area with great apprehension,

seemed yesterday to have lost some of their early confidence that Iraq can bring the war to an early conclusion.

"I don't think the Iraqis expected the Iranian air force to respond so vigorously. Certainly, they didn't expect bombs in Baghdad or over their oil terminals. It may very well be that Iraq has bitten more than it can chew," said a senior British diplomat.

Industry officials and diplomats feel that if the attacks on oil facilities in both countries continue for another two weeks, the relaxed trend on oil prices will begin to evaporate.

In London, there was some speculation that insurance rates on vessels sailing into the Persian Gulf may go up again. The war-risk insurance on cargo sailing through the gulf was tripled yesterday by insurers for Lloyd's of London, the insurance association.

The speculation of another increase was triggered by reports from shippers, confirmed by Western and Arab diplomats, that Iranian navy ships stationed at the entrance to the gulf were monitoring traffic through the Strait of Hormuz.

"They cut in on communications to ask where the ship is going. They haven't stopped anyone yet, but many shippers are beginning to

avoid the gulf altogether," said one well-informed diplomat from the area.

A spokeswoman for Lloyd's said all cargo to the Iraqi and Iranian ports in the gulf has stopped. Shipping to other countries around the gulf was continuing, with 920 vessels last reported on their way to the gulf or already there. But shipping companies said that there were signals yesterday that the traffic was slowing down as the level of hostility rose.

Oil industry sources pointed out yesterday that Iraq will be able to divert some of the oil it shipped through the gulf into the two pipelines connecting the country to Mediterranean ports in Iskenderun, Turkey, and Tripoli, Lebanon.

According to oil industry data, these two pipelines could accommodate a total of 1.6 million barrels a day. But Arab diplomats here pointed out that only the Turkish-Iraqi pipeline, which has a maximum capacity of 700,000 barrels a day, is likely to be used by the Iraqis.

The other pipeline, which goes through Syrian territory on its way to the Lebanese Mediterranean coast, is the subject of political controversy, the diplomats say.

U.S., Allies Make Plans To Keep Vital Strait Open

(Continued from A-1)

However, the United States was evidently distinguishing between direct involvement in the Iran-Iraqi conflict, which was ruled out, and possible international intervention if the local war between Iran and Iraq endangered oil exports from such Gulf states as Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates.

Formation of an international force would be a difficult task, given the opposition of local countries to outside involvement in their affairs, and also because of the uncertainty of the Soviet reaction.

American officials said the task force would probably only be feasible if it were given the backing of the Saudi Arabians and other Gulf states, who could supply at least a symbolic presence.

"I know that the conflict has caused considerable concern that world oil supplies might be severely reduced, therefore driving up oil prices and endangering the economic security of the consuming nations," Mr. Carter said.

He said, however, that such concern "is not justified by the present situation" in which only oil exports from Iran and Iraq have stopped.

On the basis of a report given at the National Security Council meeting by John C. Sawhill, deputy secretary of energy, Mr. Carter said that even if oil shipments from Iran and Iraq should be halted for an extended period, "The consuming nations can compensate for this shortfall."

This is because oil inventories around the world "are

now at an all-time high," he said, and there was no reason for a repetition of the shortages and price rises of 1979 after the fall of the Shah of Iran.

But the President stressed that a total suspension of oil exports from the other Gulf nations "would create a serious threat to the world's oil supplies and consequently, a threat to the economic health of all nations."

On Tuesday, the European Economic Community issued a statement of "strong concern" about the Iraq-Iran conflict. It underscored "the primary importance for the whole international community of the freedom of navigation in the Persian Gulf and in this connection it is imperative that there be no infringement of that freedom."

Mr. Carter, in his statement to reporters, said he wanted to "add my own strong support and that of my nation to that of the nine members of the (European) community."

He then added: "Let me repeat that we have not been and we will not become involved in the conflict between Iran and Iraq."

As to the hostage crisis, Mr. Carter responded to Iran's continuing charge that the United States had instigated the Iraqi attack.

He said, "The United States is in no way involved in this dispute and charges to the contrary are obviously and patently false."

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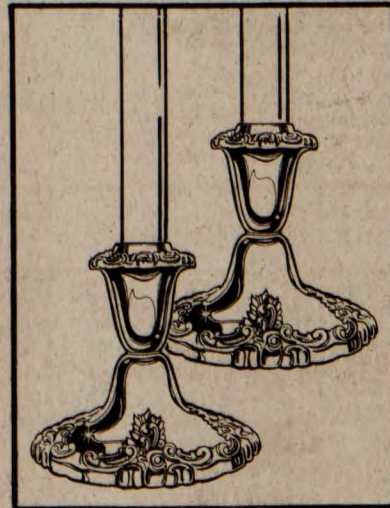
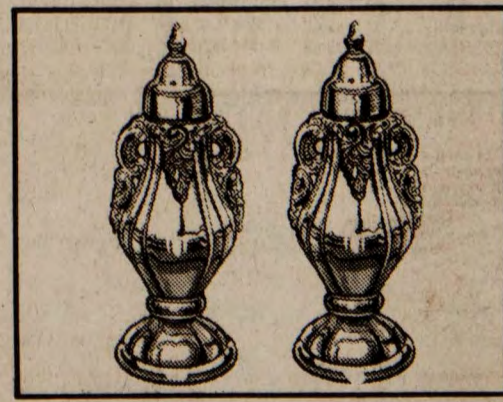
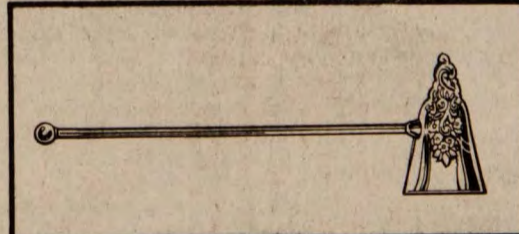
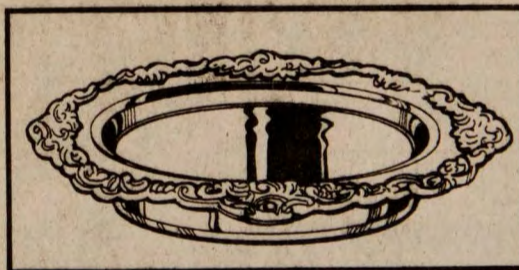
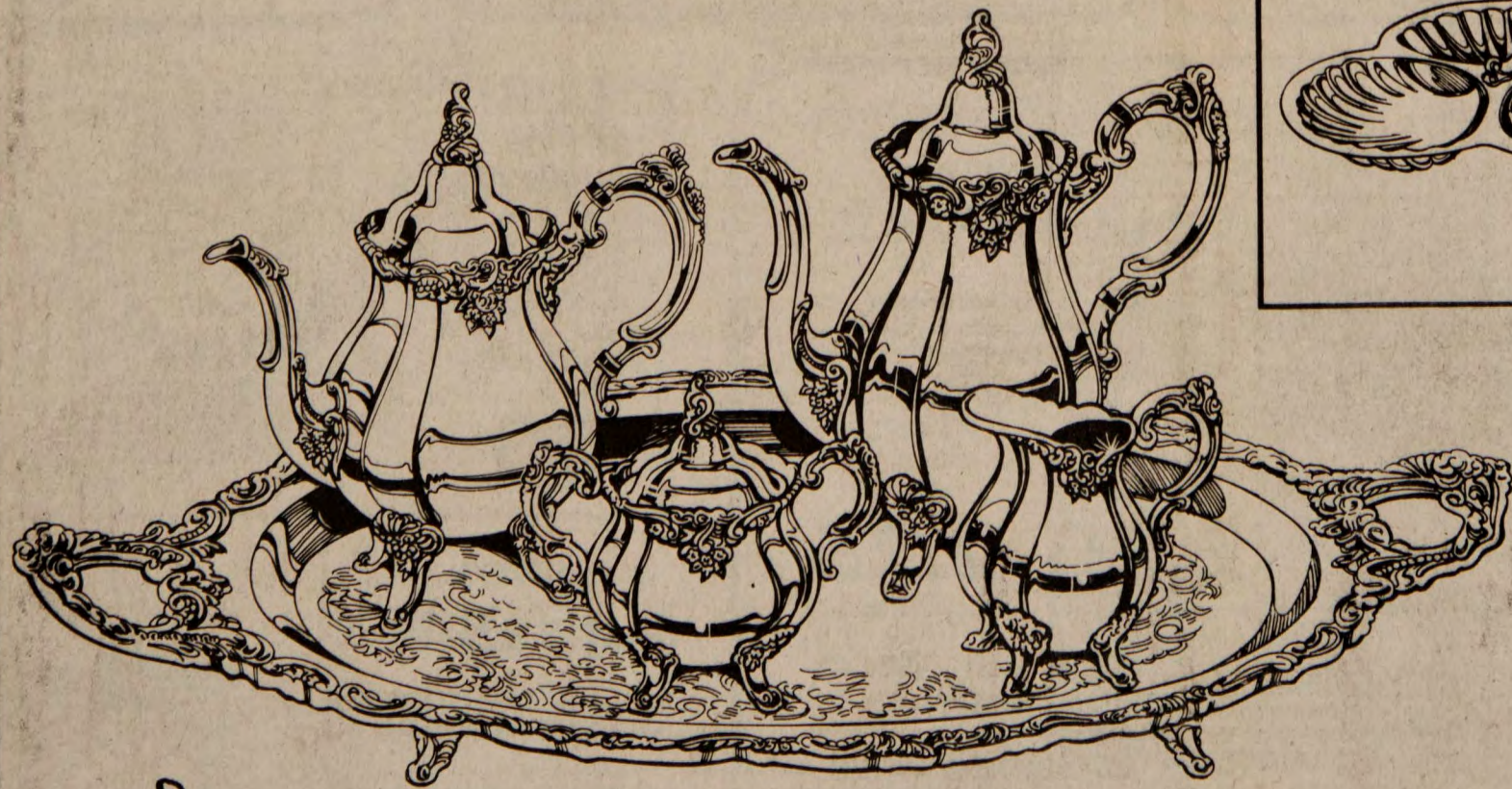
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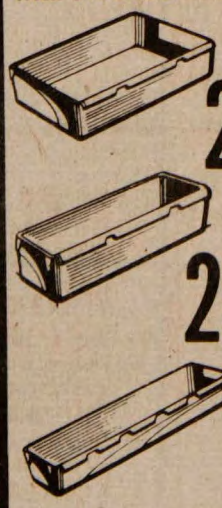
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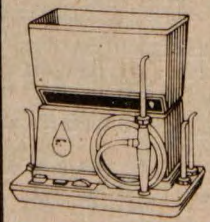


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Strike At PSA Called By Pilots And Engineers

(Continued from A-1)
 put into service later this year. Negotiations have been under way for 11 months. The old contract expired last Dec. 31 and mandatory federal mediation efforts began in the late spring.

A federally required 30-day "cooling off" period expired at midnight last night, setting the stage for the walkout.

The flight crew association wants pay increases that will bring its members "up to the level of other airlines similar in size and operations," Conn said.

On Tuesday, the union reduced its pay scale demands by about 3.8 percent for 12-year captains flying B-727s and about 6.4 percent for 12-year captains flying the coming DC9-80s, but that was rejected.

The largest single category of captains at PSA are those at the top of the scale with 12 years service. Currently, base pay is \$67,702 annually. SFCAs proposed \$96,758 for B-727 captains and \$103,523 for DC9-80 captains, effective the last six months of the two-year contract. The company proposed \$87,481 for the same period.

First officers (co-pilots) with seven years service currently are paid \$41,904. SFCAs proposed they be paid \$61,638 on B-727s and \$65,948 on DC9-80s. The company proposed \$54,143.

The biggest category of second officers are pilot-qualified flight engineers with three years service. They are paid \$33,643. SFCAs proposed



THREE PSA PILOTS ... manning strike-information desk

\$50,368. The company proposed \$43,482.

With a strike looming, other airlines said they would make extra efforts to provide additional air service, particularly on the San Diego-Los Angeles-San Francisco-Las Vegas routes.

Pan American-National said it would add extra flights on the California coastal corridor beginning tomorrow. Less sure but studying the possibility of additional service were Western, United and Air California.

Commuter airlines were also expecting a substantial increase in passenger volume although much of the impact of the strike is not expected to be felt until tomorrow and early next week.

The strike of PSA pilots and flight

engineers is the second in the company's 31-year history. The first was in November and December of 1973, when mechanics walked out. That strike did not shut the company down but it did have a major impact on operations.

In a related matter, PSA has disclosed that it has asked for federal mediation in negotiations with flight attendants, who are represented by the Teamsters union.

The nearly 750 stewards and stewardesses have been negotiating with the airline for more than seven months. Their contract expired Feb. 26.

Mandatory federal mediation and a 30-day "cooling off" period is also required before they can strike if no settlement is reached.

Probe Fails To Resolve Stealth Controversy

(Continued from A-2)

provoke any official announcement of the program. And last January an Air Force general, Kelly Burke, was permitted to say in a speech to an aeronautical association meeting in Monterey, Calif., that "high on our list of hardware explorations is radar-absorbing material to reduce radar cross sections" of aircraft, because, Perry later testified, failure to mention such research would have "created a vacuum which would have been inexplicable" and might have aroused Soviet suspicions of a breakthrough.

The reaction to a front-page story in The Washington Post on Aug. 14 was starkly different.

That story said Mr. Carter would "commit himself" to developing a new strategic bomber, perhaps that very night in his acceptance speech at the Democratic National Convention in New York. Mr. Carter, the story added, would thus be able to argue that he had acted wisely in cancelling the B-1 bomber program in 1977 and thereby "steal a march" on Reagan.

The Republican presidential candidate's criticism would be blunted, the thinking went, because the President could say that "breakthroughs in technology" would make a newer bomber more capable, and a rudimentary description of the "new bomber" followed.

Although the concerned Defense Department officials were later to deny almost every aspect of the story, and though its description of Stealth was sketchy, Perry now describes the story as "the major security break" that "irretrievably compromised the existence of the program."

Perry has testified before the investigations subcommittee of Rep. Samuel S. Stratton, D-N.Y., that the same day the story appeared, Aug. 14, he sent a recommendation to Brown that "program existence" be declassified and new security guidelines adopted. On Aug. 16 that was done.

Brown argued before the Stratton subcommittee that to have ignored the Post story was a "totally unworkable option" leading to a "cascade of new leaks, some of them containing

much more damaging information about the technical details of the program."

That is one of the central elements of the controversy and one that, perhaps, can never be resolved.

Several Republicans, notably Rep. Robin L. Beard, R-Tenn., and Sen. John W. Warner, R-Va., say they simply cannot see how Brown's basic argument is credible. And Gen. Richard H. Ellis of the Strategic Air Command strongly urged against official confirmation, saying it would be giving Moscow years "of advance warning" of an operational system they must eventually counter and would "sound the death knell of that system."

Whether or not there was merit in the defense secretary's basic logic, the actual steps taken by the department to "limit damage" left some congressmen in both parties dumbfounded.

On Aug. 18 Perry summoned Schemmer and informed him that some elements of the program were being declassified. Because Schemmer had suppressed a story two years before at Perry's request, he was given permission to publish a new story, the one that appeared on Aug. 22.

Perry later told the Stratton subcommittee that he had dealt with Schemmer only partly out of a sense of obligation to the editor.

However, Schemmer has testified that, after rereading his own story and the information disclosed in other publications, he concluded that the other disclosures were just "smoke." He telephoned Perry to urge, unsuccessfully, that no disclosure be made.

Schemmer has said that 20 to 30 percent of his article was new mate-

rial furnished that day by Perry, and the article seems vastly more authoritative and revealing than any of the unauthorized disclosures that Brown described as "deplorable."

It contains considerable information about test flights on several prototypes and mentions that a Stealth version of a strategic bomber is on the drawing boards.

The transcript of Brown's own news conference of Aug. 22 also apparently is a complete confirmation of what Brown called "a major technological advance of great military significance." The secretary said that the Stealth technology "enables the United States to build manned and unmanned aircraft that cannot be successfully intercepted with existing air defense systems. We have demonstrated to our satisfaction that the technology works."

It was this emphasis on the success of the program that Reagan most criticized, calling it a "cynical misuse of power and a clear abuse of the public trust."

In attempting to inform members of four congressional committees of the decision to declassify the program, Perry encountered embarrassing resistance from senators who strongly advised against declassification and then from some representatives who say that they believed they were being admonished to keep the secret that soon flashed across their television screens. Their reaction led to the congressional investigation, which began on Aug. 27.

The contrast in attitude between the administration and its critics about the gravity of the security leaks and wisdom of the official disclosure may in fact be the fuel that keeps the controversy alive.

Largest New Hampshire Paper Alters Its Name

MANCHESTER, N.H. (AP) — The Manchester Union Leader announced it is changing its name by dropping the name of the city from the morning and afternoon editions.

The newspaper, the only statewide and morning daily, called the change "a subtle but significant one."

The newspaper, published by William Loeb, said the new title in the

morning reflects that the paper is circulated throughout the state. The new name for the afternoon paper shows that the coverage area includes Manchester and the towns that surround the city, the newspaper said.

The Sunday newspaper, also published by Loeb, retains its name, New Hampshire Sunday News.

Both Sides Say Results Mixed In Maine Nuclear Vote

New York Times News Service

AUGUSTA, Me. — Both sides in Tuesday's special referendum on the future of nuclear energy in this state yesterday said they had achieved a mixture of victory and defeat, although the anti-nuclear forces were soundly beaten.

More than half the electorate cast ballots, voting nearly 3-2 against a measure that would have closed

Maine's only nuclear power plant and banned the construction of future nuclear plants.

Voters turned out in record numbers for the nation's first plebiscite on nuclear energy since the accident in March 1979 at the Three Mile Island plant near Harrisburg, Pa.

With 660 of the state's 665 precincts counted, the tally was 230,780, or 59 percent, in favor of keeping the

plant open and 159,761, or 41 percent, in favor of closing it. Vote counts from the remaining five small districts are not expected for several days.

The nuclear energy industry, which had contributed heavily to efforts to defeat the measure, called the vote an endorsement of nuclear energy as an alternative to dependence on imported oil.

U.S.-Mexico Pact Stalled To Halt Oil 'Giveaway'

WASHINGTON (UPI) — Sen. Rudy Boschwitz, R-Minn., said Tuesday he successfully obtained a delay in Senate ratification of a maritime boundary treaty with Mexico after discovering it may cede that nation rich oil deposits in the Gulf of Mexico.

Boschwitz said in a statement he had uncovered information indicating that large potential oil deposits were contained in the area in the Gulf of Mexico to be given to Mexico under the treaty signed on May 4, 1978.

The treaty, similar to maritime boundaries accords signed with Cuba and Venezuela after the U.S. established a 200-mile fishing zone, was to have been ratified last week as part of an eight-treaty package.

The Venezuelan treaty was ratified, the Cuban accord was postponed to avoid conservative attempts to link it to foreign policy issues and the Mexican treaty was delayed at Boschwitz's urging.

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INVITATION FOR BIDS

The Campo Indian Reservation (herein called the "Owner") will receive bids for rehabilitation of housing units in the Campo Indian Reservation until 11:00 a.m. on the 8th day of October 1980, at the Campo Indian Tribal Hall, telephone 478-5384 or 478-5492 or 478-5543.

Description of work: To rehabilitate 19 housing units up to tribal standards.

Proposed form of contract documents, including plans and specifications are on file at the offices of the Architect and Owner.

Bona fide bidders may obtain copies of the documents by depositing \$20.00 payable to the Owner for each set of documents so obtained. Copies will be issued at

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9/23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29 (33601)

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In accordance with Education Code Sections 35690 to 35706, inclusive, you are hereby notified that a petition has been filed in this office asking for a transfer of territory from the Poway Unified School District to the San Diego Unified School District as follows:

That portion of the Poway Unified School District in the northern extremity of the area covered by the master plan of development for the Scripps Ranch in the City of San Diego, County of San Diego.

A complete legal description and map of the parcel to be transferred are on file at the office of the county superintendent of schools.

YOU WILL THEREFORE TAKE NOTICE that this matter will come before the Board of Education of the County of San Diego, State of California, in the Board Room, County Education Center, 6401 Linda Vista Road, San Diego, California, on December 10, 1980, at 11:00 a.m.

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<p>Pictures Artist's originals, signed and numbered prints and graphics. All are framed. pictures 75 \$29-\$69* orig. \$80-\$160</p>	<p>Dining sets Table and 4-chair sets in woods and wood veneers. Only 5 so come early. furniture 142 \$599* orig. \$999</p>	<p>Dinette sets 5-pc. set, including table and four chairs. Your choice furniture 142 \$99* orig. \$499</p>

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Navy Beset By Personnel, Arms Shortages

Officials Fear Service Unable To Sustain Global War Over Week

(Continued from A-2)

If the Navy and the naval forces of the NATO fight a global war against the Soviet Union, it would face a fleet whose size and quality have increased dramatically since the Cuban missile crisis of 1962.

The Navy estimates that the Soviet fleet numbers 1,004 combatant vessels, including two Kiev class aircraft carriers. Personnel strength is 422,000, including 59,000 in the naval air force and 12,000 marines.

The Navy's principal advantage over the Russians is its 12 aircraft carriers, with their ability to project conventional or nuclear air power around the world.

To this must be added the Soviet fleet's geographical disadvantage. All the main fleets in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and the Baltic and Black Seas must move through relatively narrow passages before reaching blue water.

The Navy is concerned both with the present Soviet fleet and with what it may become in the middle years of the decade, a period Navy strategists regard as critical.

Adm. Thomas B. Hayward, chief of naval operations, told the House Armed Services Committee, "With the appearance of each new class of ship and aircraft, the Soviets have improved their operating radius, their staying power and their war-fighting capability."

The Russians are building four new classes of cruisers. One, called Kirov, is nuclear-powered and has the tonnage and armament of a bat-

tle cruiser. The Russians have deployed, in Hayward's words, "the world's deepest-diving, fastest and only titanium-hulled submarine." Titanium is a light but strong metal.

Intelligence sources report that Russian submarine-building capacity is the world's largest, producing at a rate of six to eight boats a year. And Hayward says the marriage of the long-range, supersonic Backfire bomber with long-range, air-launched cruise missiles is "a quantum jump" in Russian naval aviation. He believes it represents "a major increase in the threat to military and commercial shipping of the United States and its allies."

The Marine Corps is apparently alone among the services in overcoming the effect on morale of the personnel problems that plague the Army, Air Force and Navy.

The esprit de corps of the Marines, with 185,000 troops, including just over 7,000 women, remains high. From generals to privates just out of boot camp, Marines believe they would be effective in any battlefield environment.

Lt. Gen. E. J. Miller, commander, Fleet Marine Force, Atlantic, said he thought his command's readiness was due to rigorous training.

The Fleet Marine Force, he said, has trained under simulated combat conditions, landing in Norway's arctic, Turkey and Guantanamo in Cuba. Alerts and standbys are called frequently.

The general characterized his troops as "smart and tough; some

'hamburgers,' of course, but the great majority have guts and motivation."

The high level of Marine efficiency and readiness is maintained despite chronic shortages of new weaponry and an influx of recruits from what some in the service perceive as a permissive society at odds with traditional Marine discipline.

In addition, many senior military officers and congressmen continue to question the corps' role in the global military situation. Proposals that two of its three divisions be transformed into heavy infantry divisions operating under the Army's command have been rejected.

Establishment of the Rapid Deployment Force, in which Marines will play a major role, temporarily gives the corps a reason for being.

One tank battalion of about 60 tanks is attached to each Marine division. Soviet motor rifle divisions in Central Europe deploy 266 tanks, armored divisions 325. This disparity is one reason for the Marines' classification as light infantry.

The corps counts heavily on its air component of 25 fighter-attack squadrons to compensate for weakness in other weapons.

If the Marines are relatively free of personnel problems, a pattern of such ills persists elsewhere. In the view of Navy personnel, these difficulties put the national security at hazard.

The inability to retain experienced personnel plagues the Navy with insufficient and unskilled manning.

Foley reported that the retention of experienced, skilled petty officers and pilots is now at 30 percent.

Vice Adm. Robert Baldwin, chief of Navy Personnel, said, "The Navy is losing people from its 'guts,' men with eight to 10 years' experience." In 1977, he said, the Navy retained 57 percent of the men trained to operate nuclear reactors. At the end of July the figure was 25 percent.

The shortage of petty officers means that the Navy, while not short 20,000 men, lacks 20,000 men trained for jobs requiring high technical skill.

"We are short senior maintenance technicians, and I think that's overall," said Lt. J.g. Charles V. Baker of Pittsburgh, a fire-control officer aboard the guided-missile destroyer Farragut.

He added, "We've had shifts when commanding officers have actually come back and said, 'I can't get it under way. I can't do it. I'm missing the people and it's dangerous.'"

The personnel problems reduce "sustainability," the ability of the fleet to man all its vessels in time of crisis. When the Indian Ocean deployment was mounted after the takeover of the American Embassy in Tehran last November, crews had to be brought to strength with specialists from other vessels and shore stations.

The Navy has an ambitious shipbuilding program for the next five years. But the shipbuilding industry has a record of slow deliveries and the Navy frequently slows the process by demanding adjustments to original specifications.

The program will reach its climax in the fiscal year 1985 with the addition of 23 ships to the fleet. The five-year total is 97 ships of all classes.

Senate Barely Upholds Sale Of Uranium Fuel To India

(Continued from A-2)

(California's senators, Democrat Alan Cranston and Republican S. I. Hayakawa, voted to block the sale.)

Opponents of the sale portrayed the shipments to India as a "landmark test" of U.S. laws and policies against nuclear proliferation because India, which exploded an atomic device in 1974, had rejected international inspection of its atomic facilities and prohibitions on the production of nuclear weapons.

"If we back down at the first test, especially in the case of India, the country with the worst history of any of our trading partners," said Sen. John Glenn, the Ohio Democrat who led opposition to the sale, "what does that do to the credibility of our non-proliferation policy?"

On the other side of the debate, Sen. Frank Church, D-Idaho, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, argued that rejecting the sale would abrogate the agreement signed by the United States and India in 1963, in which the United States pledged to supply fuel for the Tarapur atomic power station near Bombay.

This, in turn, Church warned, would permit India to disregard safeguards and controls on the Tarapur facility contained in the agreement. He also argued that breaking the contract would postpone indefinitely the prospect of serious negotiations with India on nuclear matters and non-proliferation.

The administration echoed this

theme in its reaction to the Senate vote. The Senate's action, administration spokesmen said, would "help further the administration's policy of seeking to prevent nuclear proliferation, and adds support to our discussions with the government of India towards bringing all of that nation's nuclear facilities under international safeguards."

More broadly, Church and others argued that rejecting the sale would force India to move closer to the Soviet Union, whose entry into Afghanistan, they argued, had made improved relations with New Delhi even more vital.

"Can anyone honestly contend," asked Church, in an impassioned plea, "that alienating India will make it easier to counter Soviet expansionism?"

And in one of the few direct references to the issue's potential impact on Mr. Carter's ability to mold and implement foreign policy, Church noted that rejection of the sale would "weaken his hand in dealing with the entire situation which confronts us in Southwest Asia."

Many supporters of the sale contended that India was merely being punished for its close ties to the Soviet Union, which recently sold the Indian government \$1.6 billion in weapons.

"Here's a chance to get even," Church said.

Navy To Pull New Pilots From Ranks

(Continued from A-1)

instructors, catapult or combat information officers on carriers, or duty on the staff of such commanders as the Pacific Fleet Naval Air Force here or the Pacific Fleet Fighter Airborne Early Warning Wing at Miramar.

While the Navy has not said at this time whether the LDO pilots will be flying tactical aircraft in a potentially hostile environment such as the Indian Ocean, such an assignment would not set a precedent.

There have been more than 2,200 enlisted pilots in the Navy from 1917 until the mid-70s when the enlisted aviation program was ended.

Some of the enlisted men flew combat in Europe and other areas of the world.

H.L. "Kiddy" Karr, enlisted aviator No. 1, who lived in San Diego until his death in March 1978, flew fighter planes for the British Royal Air Force and bombers for the Italian Air Force in World War I.

Karr was one of the most colorful and famous of enlisted pilots.

The Navy said enlisted men selected under the LDO program will be sent to the aviation school at Pensacola, Fla., in April next year to begin a 53-week training program leading to commissioned rank.

The Navy estimates that it costs from \$200,000 to \$300,000 to train a pilot, depending on the type of craft he flies.

There are 12,000 pilots in the Navy, 5,000 of them jet pilots.

Enlisted men, except those in nuclear power billets or programs, are eligible to apply for the LDO program.

Those completing the program will be assigned to flight instructor duty for two years, followed by a tour of duty at sea aboard aircraft carriers.

The LDO aviators then will return ashore to serve on the staffs of aviation commands before returning to sea gain.

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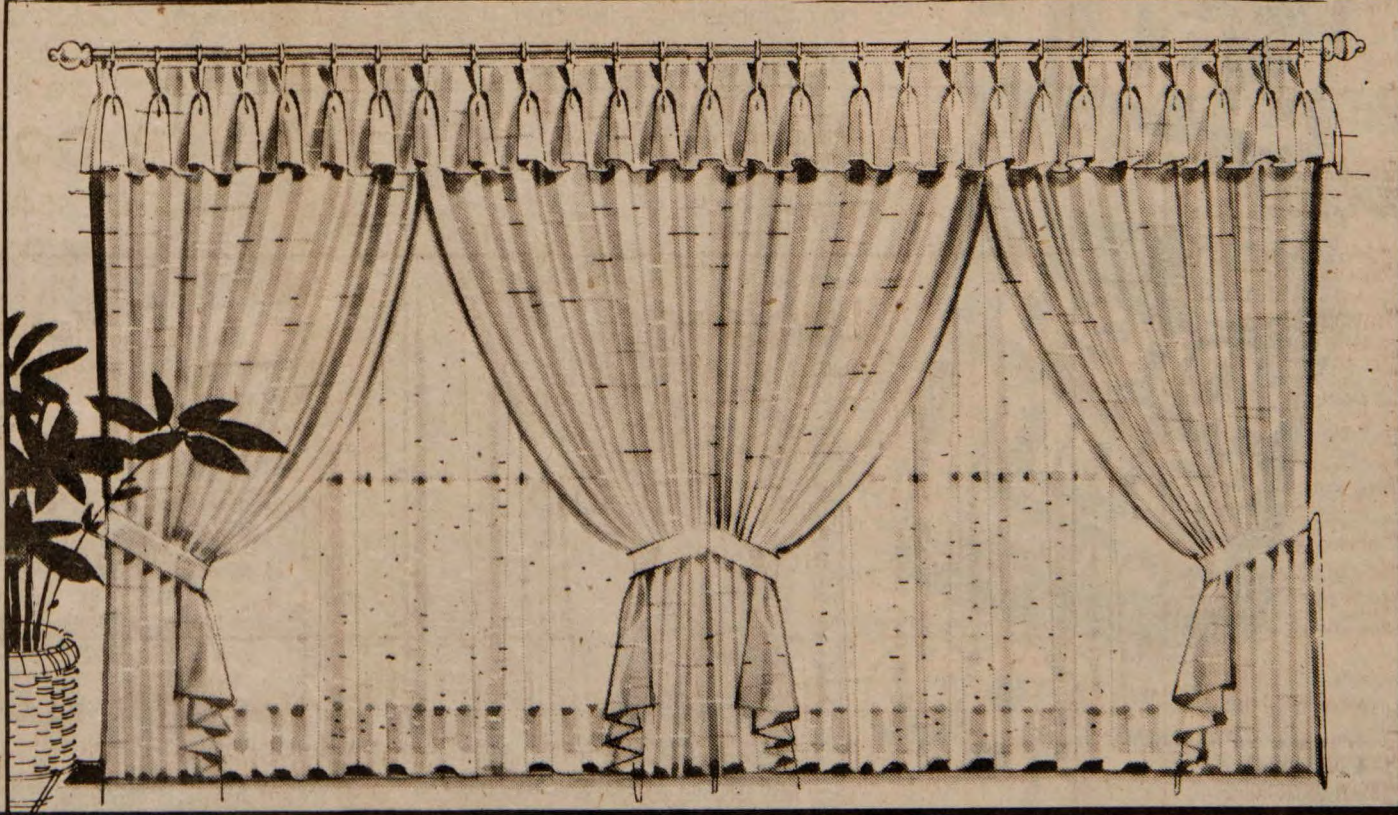
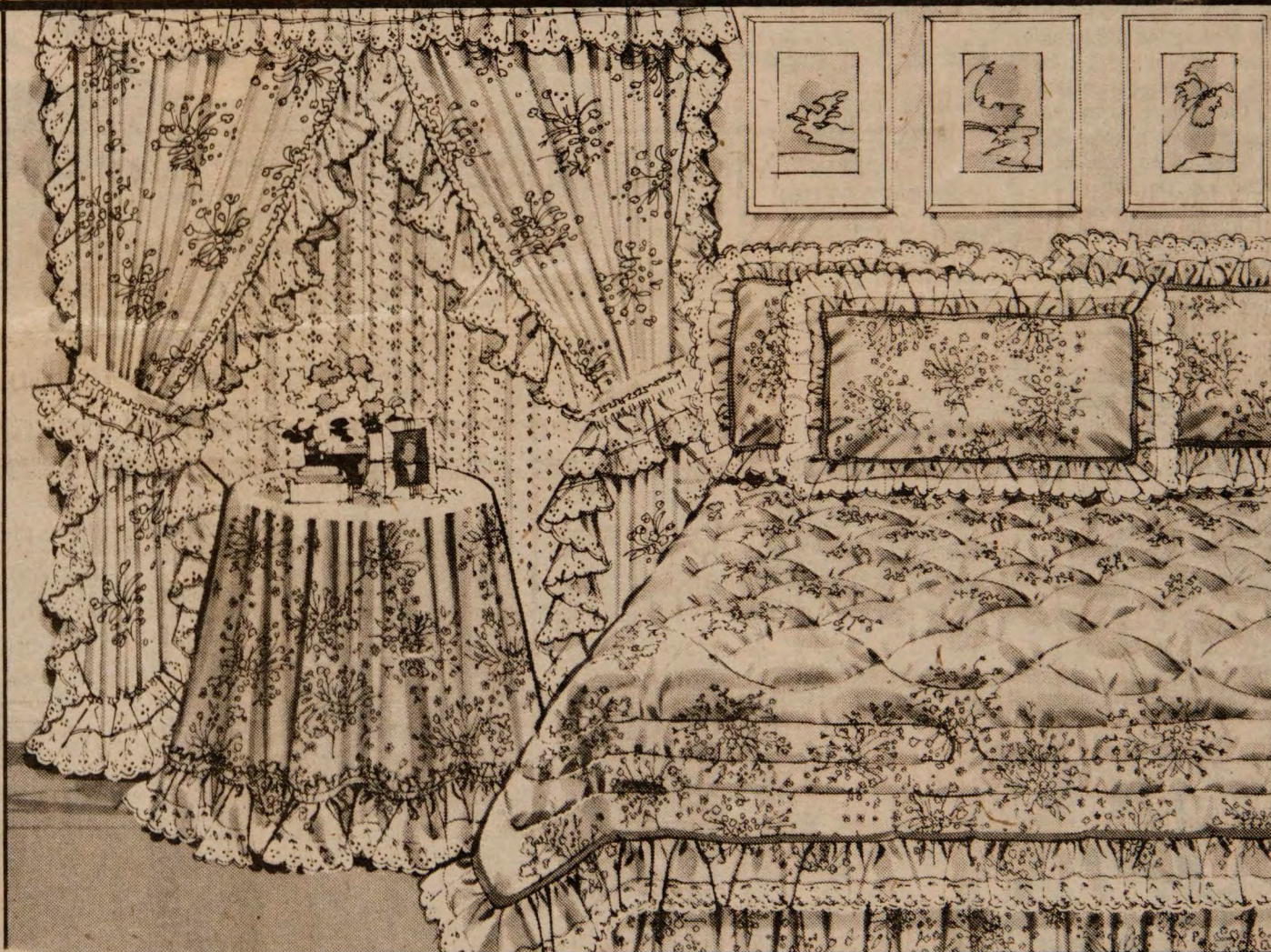
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Soviet Dissident Imprisoned For 'Slander'

At Second Trial, Religious Activist Wins Suspended Term By Recanting

MOSCOW (AP) — Soviet courts yesterday sentenced a dissident to three years in labor camp but gave another defendant, a religious activist, a five-year suspended sentence after he "renounced" his alleged anti-Soviet activities, Tass news agency reported.

The dissident trials were the fifth and sixth of a series that began after the conclusion of the Summer Olympics in Moscow last month.

Activist sources said another trial, that of Valery Abramkin, editor of the underground literary and political journal "Poiski," opened yesterday but was adjourned until Oct. 1.

Vyacheslav Bakhmin, 33, a critic of alleged political use of Soviet psychiatric hospitals, was sentenced yesterday to three years in a labor camp for anti-Soviet slander. The term was the maximum under the charge.

Reporting on his trial, Tass said Bakhmin "spread slanderous inventions about the alleged facts of the use in the

U.S.S.R. of psychiatric hospitals for 'political purposes' as 'an instrument for suppressing civil freedoms.'"

Bakhmin helped found a group in 1977 that documented the use of psychiatric detention and treatment against critics of the Soviet system. He was arrested last February.

In another courthouse, Russian Orthodox religious activist Lev Regelson received a suspended five-year term after he "sincerely repented," Tass said.

Regelson, 41, emerged from the courthouse shortly after the verdict and told reporters he was guilty "to some degree" of anti-Soviet activities and had made "a certain capitulation" during his nine months of pre-trial confinement.

"I would have been ready to go to a labor camp as a Christian, but not for human rights," he said without elaborating. He and his wife then moved briskly past reporters and drove off in a taxi.

The widely diverging sentences — Regelson had faced seven years in prison and five in exile inside the Soviet Union — may have been intended to demonstrate to dissidents the advantage of renouncing their activities.

Regelson had been charged with engaging in anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda between 1974 and 1979, including the distribution of "slanderous materials" abroad.

He belonged to no underground dissident group but had made statements on behalf of other dissidents or in protest against what he said was religious repression in the Soviet Union. He was arrested Dec. 24.

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Soviet Dissident's Death Stirs U.S.-Russian Dispute

MOSCOW (AP) — A Soviet newspaper yesterday accused a U.S. diplomat of offering aid and trips to the United States to relatives of a dissident in an effort to get them to say that her fatal auto accident "was arranged by authorities."

The article in Literary Gazette was the first Soviet report on the death of dissident Irina Kaplun, 30, killed July 23 along with three other people when their car collided with a truck on a Lithuanian road.

The U.S. Embassy confirmed that Donald C. Johnson, a second secretary in the embassy's political section, had visited Kaplun's family after her death. An embassy spokesman said the Literary Gazette article "totally distorts" the purpose of the visit.

"I don't want to go into detail about the purpose of Mr. Johnson's visit. Suffice it to say that he had a legitimate reason. It appears to be simply another effort by the Soviet press to discredit American diplomats," the spokesman said.

Two days after Kaplun was killed, her exiled husband, former Soviet underground labor-union activist Vladimir Borisov, claimed at a Paris news conference that the accident was a "premeditated crime" arranged by the KGB, the Soviet secret police. Her family in Moscow, however, rejected Borisov's claim.

Literary Gazette said: "It is clear to every Soviet citizen, to every clear-minded person who knows our reality, that in our country there can be no such arranged killing."

Son N. Korean Communist's Heir

SEOUL, South Korea (UPI) — The son of North Korean Workers' Party President Kim Il-Sung is expected to be confirmed officially as his father's handpicked successor at a Communist Party congress next month, according to a highly placed source.

The source said Kim Jung-Il, who has risen rapidly through the ranks of the North Korean hierarchy, will be named to succeed his father by the North

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September 1, 1980

Dear Council Supporter:

At the recent Democratic National Convention in New York, major speeches were made by Council Board members Paul Warnke on the MX and John Kenneth Galbraith on arms control. I, as Council President, addressed the convention on a range of issues connected with nuclear weapons; this was carried on prime time television by the three major networks.

The Council for a Livable World furnished important financial and organizational assistance to the delegates who sought to amend the Democratic platform by eliminating support for the MX. This effort lost by only 597 votes out of 3,151 despite the fact that President Carter appealed to each delegate in a handwritten letter as "your Commander-in-Chief" and put Defense Secretary Harold Brown as well as most of the Cabinet on the convention floor to lobby.

Our July newsletter "1980 U.S. Senate Elections and Arms Control" listed Senator Bob Packwood of Oregon as a hawk running for re-election. He was also described as the heavy favorite against state senator Ted Kulongoski.

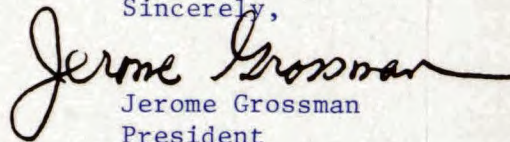
Since then, Kulongoski has made extraordinary progress; public opinion polls now give him a good chance to upset the incumbent. There never was any question about Kulongoski's support for arms control, only about his electability. The Council for a Livable World endorses Ted Kulongoski with enthusiasm.

Senator Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin is besieged by hawks and conservatives in his bid for re-election. In what has become the pattern for 1980, this solid and reliable arms control activist is being dramatically outspent.

This is the second time the Council has appealed for contributions for Senator Nelson. He needs the funds if he is not to be upset.

May we remind you that contributions made through the Council guarantee the candidates' awareness of a substantial issue-oriented constituency for arms control.

Sincerely,


Jerome Grossman
President

Enclosures:

- *Profile of Ted Kulongoski
- *Profile of Senator Gaylord Nelson





TED KULONGOSKI

Endorsed by the Council for a Livable World Democrat - Oregon

One of the sleepers of the 1980 election campaign may come in the Oregon Senate race. At the beginning of this year, Republican Senator Bob Packwood appeared to have clear sailing in his bid for a third term. Now he is faced with a determined challenge from a bright, young and articulate state senator, Ted Kulongoski, who has an increasingly promising opportunity for an upset.

Ted Kulongoski has taken strong positions on Council for a Livable World issues, including support for arms control measures and opposition to excessive military spending. But there was a serious question whether he could get elected against an incumbent raising record amounts of money and in a year when a tide seems to be running toward the Republicans. The evidence is building that in fact Kulongoski can win against the hawkish Packwood and that the challenger is building momentum for the final two months of the campaign.

In May Kulongoski won a surprisingly lopsided primary victory against four opponents, polling close to 50% of the vote. Then in July, the Oregon AFL-CIO, which has been heavily courted by Packwood for the last few years, surprised observers by overwhelmingly backing Kulongoski over Packwood. Other independent unions have also endorsed the challenger.

The latest polls also show a tightening race. Where Packwood led Kulongoski last December by a 55% to 25% margin with 20% undecided, the widely respected Oregon Poll released in August shows Packwood's margin down to 42% to 34% with 24% undecided—despite the fact that Kulongoski's name recognition is only 47% in the state. An incumbent with only 42% of the vote at this point in the campaign has serious weaknesses.

One of Packwood's problems is the general anti-incumbent feeling that has struck Republicans as well as Democrats, especially in Oregon. Moreover, there is disenchantment with his attempts to be all things to all people, rarely taking a strong position on issues. And finally, there is the money question. Packwood has been an extremely successful fundraiser in this campaign. He has already taken in over \$1.5 million, the most by a factor of three in Oregon's political history. This money, helpful to be sure in running a campaign,

has at the same time aroused resentment as an attempt to buy the election in a state known for low-key, low-budget retail politics.

If Kulongoski can go on to victory, it would be a strong pick-up for arms control in the Senate. Kulongoski, born in Missouri, is a labor lawyer elected as an Oregon state representative and then state senator. He is a strong supporter of the SALT II Treaty. "SALT II," says Kulongoski, "is needed even more today than last year, due to the heightened arms competition between the U.S. and the Soviet Union and due to the economic problems this country faces. It is in America's military and economic interest and America's hope for world peace to try to limit the arms competition rather than to engage to new arms escalation."

Kulongoski also opposes the MX missile. "To spend billions of dollars on the MX missile that all the military strategists say will be obsolete by the time it is to be deployed makes no military or economic sense."

Kulongoski has not hesitated to criticize the Carter Administration for its overreaction to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, accusing the Administration of trying to distract public attention from the equally serious problems of energy and the economy. He also opposes across-the-board increases in military spending whether in reaction to Middle East instability or to political pressures. Kulongoski told the Optimist Club in Roseburg, Oregon, that "I personally do not believe it is in the best interests of this country... to attempt to resolve the energy problems of America by larger and larger military budgets that direct more and more of this nation's natural resources to the military-industrial complex of our economy."

Packwood's record on arms control and military issues, on the other hand, has been dismal. He first won election in 1968 by knocking off the first and foremost opponent of the Vietnam war, the venerable Sen. Wayne Morse. Packwood won by fewer than 2,000 votes out of 784,000 cast. While being careful during the election campaign to avoid a label of hawk or dove on Vietnam and arms control issues, upon taking office Packwood quickly began establishing a generally hawkish posture on major issues that has continued to today.

In one of his earliest key votes, Packwood helped to save President Richard Nixon's ABM plan in the dramatic 1969 50-50 tie vote on an amendment by Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R-Me.). Today, Packwood is a staunch supporter of the MX missile program, and voted against an amendment in 1979 by his fellow Oregon Senator Mark Hatfield (R) that would have terminated the program.

Midway through his first term, Packwood voted for the SALT I Treaty, but at the same time supported the Jackson (D-Wash.) amendment to the treaty resolution that weakened the spirit of the treaty and set the stage for the hawks' assault on SALT II last year. During the Senate's 1979 consideration of the now-shelved SALT II Treaty, Packwood refused to commit himself for or against the treaty, and raised concerns over the Soviet Backfire bomber and treaty verification.

When faced with military spending questions, Packwood tends to support higher military budgets. In 1979, for example, he voted for a Hollings (D-S.C.) amendment to the budget resolution to increase the defense budget by 5% real growth. During the debate on the Hollings proposal, Packwood jumped into the discussion with a September 18, 1979 speech that included the following:

"At some stage, your level of military spending vis-a-vis that of your principal opponent goes below a threshold where not only your opponent, but others, do not regard you as credible; and I am afraid we have approached and gone below that point. All during the 1960's, we increased our military spending and Russia increased her military spending. All during the 1970's, we cut our military spending and Russia increased her military spending. Now, in relative terms, absolute terms, by every conceivable standard of comparison, they are spending more money than we are, and they will continue to do so

absent some enormous change of policy, whether or not the SALT II treaty is ratified."

Over the years, Packwood has voted again and again against amendments to reduce the level of military spending.

In other key arms control votes, Packwood in 1977 followed the Scoop Jackson line by voting against Paul Warnke as chief SALT negotiator while supporting him as head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. The same year, he again went against his Oregon colleague by voting against a Hatfield amendment to stop development of the neutron bomb. He also supported continued funding of the Clinch River breeder reactor, a system which has dangerous nuclear proliferation implications.

Packwood's record on other foreign policy issues has been mixed. While voting to support the Panama Canal treaties, he voted in the early 1970's to continue the bombing of Cambodia and Laos. In 1978 and 1979, he voted to discontinue sanctions against the white racist Smith regime in Rhodesia at a time when, if the legislative efforts had been successful, the opportunity for a peaceful settlement of the war might have been torpedoed.

Kulongoski, to be elected, needs substantial financial help. By mid-August he had raised only \$75,000 toward a goal of \$300,000 for the November election, an eventual total he feels sufficient for a solid Oregon campaign despite Packwood's overwhelming financial advantage. The state AFL-CIO's endorsement has begun to aid the fundraising effort, but he needs a lot of additional help to meet his minimum budget.

If you would like to contribute, please make your check out to KULONGOSKI FOR U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE and mail to:

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GAYLORD NELSON

**Endorsed by the Council for a Livable World
Democrat—Wisconsin**

On May 6, 1965, only three U.S. Senators voted against President Johnson's request for money to launch a ground war in Vietnam. They were Ernest Gruening of Alaska, Wayne Morse of Oregon and Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin. Nelson said before the vote: "The support in Congress for this measure is clearly overwhelming. Obviously you need my vote less than I need my conscience."

Senator Nelson's conscience is still guiding him in 1980. On key 1979 Senate votes on defense issues, he voted with the "arms control" position on four out of five amendments:

- For the McGovern amendment to reduce military spending by \$1.7 billion and to transfer \$1 billion of that to domestic programs (April 24, 1979)
- Against the Hollings amendment to increase FY 1980 military spending levels by 3% over inflation, in line with President Carter's request but more than the Budget Committee approved (September 18, 1979)
- Against the Hollings amendment to increase FY 1981 and FY 1982 military spending by 5% over inflation, above President Carter's request and way above the Budget Committee recommendation (September 18, 1979)
- For the Proxmire amendment to eliminate a fourth U.S. nuclear aircraft carrier (November 6, 1979)
- Against the Hatfield amendment to eliminate \$670 million for development of the MX missile (November 9, 1979)

Nelson voted against the Hatfield amendment because, while he opposed MX deployment, he did not oppose continued research on the system, which is all the authorizing legislation allowed.

Nelson's current views on the MX: "I continue to have grave reservations about the MX system. In particular, I am concerned about the feasibility, environmental impact, and the tremendous cost of a system that can be made obsolete if the Soviets choose to target enough warheads against it."

Earlier Senator Nelson voted *for* the nomination of Paul Warnke as Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and chief SALT

negotiator, *against* the neutron bomb, *against* arms for Egypt and Saudi Arabia, *for* the Panama Canal Treaty, and *against* the Clinch River Reactor.

Throughout his 18 years in the Senate, Nelson has been among the most dependable advocates of responsible arms control. It was Nelson's amendment which first established the right of Congress to veto arms sales abroad in excess of \$25 million. He never wavered in his outspoken support for the SALT II Treaty. As recently as May 7, 1980, Senator Nelson tried to cut \$2.4 billion from the 1981 defense outlays and transfer the funds to domestic programs. Unfortunately his amendment to this effect was tabled.

Gaylord Nelson is an institution in Wisconsin. He has held public office continuously since 1948, longer than any other statewide elected official. However, after the 1978 election when several of Nelson's liberal colleagues were defeated by unknowns, no incumbent enjoys an automatic advantage. The substantial vote for Ronald Reagan in the Presidential primary this year is significant and unsettling to Nelson particularly because of the large blue collar crossover to the Republican ballot.

Although Wisconsin has a liberal reputation, it is actually a state of political anomalies. It spawned Bob LaFollette and the Progressive movement as well as Joe McCarthy and his campaign against "Communism in high places." Richard Nixon carried Wisconsin twice, yet in the seventies the state became decidedly Democratic.

Although Nelson is unopposed on the Democratic ballot, four major conservative candidates, all associated with big money, are vying for his seat within Wisconsin's resurgent GOP. The primary date is September 9.

Three Republicans declared early for the race, including former Congressman Robert W. Kasten, Jr., an established political figure with broad-based support from a previous statewide race. The others are Terry Kohler of Sheboygan, son and grandson of Wisconsin governors, and G. Douglass Cofrin of Milwaukee, also well-known and also extraordinarily wealthy.

Shortly before the July 9 filing deadline the lieutenant governor jumped into the race. Russell Olson, a millionaire dairy farmer and an early Reagan supporter, is popular with the GOP estab-

lishment and immediately became, with Kasten, a favorite in the primary.

All four Republican candidates are concentrating their vast resources in attacks on Nelson. Kasten charges Nelson with "responsibility for U.S. military weakness," according to the Milwaukee Journal in February. Kohler has written: "If I were in the Senate I would oppose SALT II because I know you cannot trust the Russians to live up to their end of any bargain, but Nelson supports SALT II even though many experts have told him we have no way of making sure the Soviets are complying with it." The March 1st Madison Capital Times reports that Cofrin is a hawk, dead set against the SALT II Treaty, and a believer in "peace through military strength."

Nelson is threatened by a Republican money blitz. While Nelson had spent \$194,000 by August 4, Cofrin had already spent \$952,000 before July 1 and Kohler had spent \$505,000.

Nelson has not needed a lot of campaign money for a long time. He was reelected in 1974 having raised only \$270,000. This year, Nelson

budgeted \$525,000: he has \$405,000 so far. His opponent in the general election will have the further advantage of a check for \$216,000 from the Republican Senate Campaign Committee the day after the primary; Nelson can expect only \$17,500 from the comparable Democratic committee.

In his quiet, homespun and unassuming way, Gaylord Nelson is an effective senator. He is one of the most popular senators among his colleagues, and they seldom take offense when he opposes them. They know he acts solely out of conviction and without posturing. They also know that he is passionately committed to the cause of arms control.

If you would like to help Senator Gaylord Nelson win a fourth term, please make out your check to NELSON FOR SENATE COMMITTEE and mail to:

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Statement from the Council on the 30th Pugwash Conference
held in Breukelen near Utrecht, The Netherlands, August 20-25, 1980

"ARMS LIMITATIONS, SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT"

Preamble

The 30th Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs met in Breukelen in the Netherlands, August 20-25, 1980. The meeting was attended by 125 scientists and scholars from 38 countries and 4 international organizations. There were in addition 13 students from 5 countries.

In view of the world crisis, a special Statement on the danger of nuclear war, prepared by the Pugwash Council, was unanimously adopted by the Conference as a whole. The text of this statement is attached.

An ad hoc group of medical doctors and health scientists met during the Conference and issued a report on the medical consequences of nuclear war. This too is attached.

This year marks the 25th Anniversary of the Russell-Einstein Manifesto. A special plenary session was devoted to commemorate this anniversary. This session, as well as the opening and the closing sessions of the Conference, were open to the public. The rest of the Conference, as is the usual procedure of Pugwash meetings, was held in private, to facilitate the frank exchange of opinions and ideas.

The Conference discussed the following subjects in respective Working Groups:

1. Nuclear Disarmament
2. Conventional Weapons and Arms Trade
3. European Security and Arms Control
4. Changing Concepts of Security and Current Conflicts
5. Problems of Development

The reports of the Working Groups were presented and discussed at plenary sessions of the Conference. The following Statement has been prepared by the Pugwash Council on the basis of the Working Group reports.

1. Nuclear Disarmament

New developments - MIRVed launchers, increased accuracy, new strategic systems, are leading to enhanced suspicions and decreased stability. Nuclear war should remain unthinkable but it is evidently being seriously thought about. The increasing concern about a nuclear first strike is greatly aggravated by discussion and by the increased risk that the immediate retaliation could include a Launch on Warning. A related concern is the possibility of a launch of nuclear weapons in accord with "prior release orders" which could be in effect during a climate of high tension. It is especially ironic that these moves occur simultaneously with repeated warnings that the world cannot stand the impact of a modern nuclear war, such a stern warning having come from an eminent military leader, the late Lord Mountbatten. It is important to clarify issues and correct errors of understanding. The following are some misconceptions that need correcting:

1. It is a fallacy to believe that nuclear war can be limited in quantity or quality, or even that nuclear war can be won.
2. It is a fallacy to believe that, in nuclear war, Civil Defence can provide a chance of survival of the community.
3. It is a fallacy to believe that a counterforce strategy can destroy the retaliatory capacity of the other side. (Even if it were to become technically feasible to destroy all fixed land-based missiles of the adversary, this would leave submarine and aircraft-carried weapons.)
4. It is a fallacy to claim that parity in nuclear weapons is necessary for effective deterrence. (If each side has at least a "minimum deterrent", i.e. the capacity to inflict unacceptable damage, and neither side has the capacity for eliminating such retaliation, there is no rational reason for fearing superior numbers or power of the other's weapons. The factors at present responsible for insistence on parity are psychological, political, or just confusion,

but not technical.)

With regard to SALT, a rapid return to negotiations is essential. The following are basic needs:

1. Ratification of SALT II.
2. Rapid move to SALT III negotiations with a goal of substantive quantitative reductions and qualitative limitations on nuclear weapons.
3. Accelerated negotiations for conventional force reductions in Europe.
4. Prompt conclusion and ratification of a Treaty on a Comprehensive Ban on Nuclear Weapons Tests.

Other subjects suggested for negotiations include

- (a) completion of the agreement on chemical weapons;
- (b) restrictions on flight-testing of missiles; (c) a ban on the production of weapon-grade fissile material and/or an agreement to stop production of nuclear weapons with a view to their elimination; (d) a "no-first-use" policy for nuclear weapons (this received strong support);
- (e) reiteration of the commitment to a no-first-use of conventional weapons contained in the UN Charter; (f) the outlawing of nuclear weapons, perhaps by a Geneva-type protocol.

Unilateral initiatives to reduce tension and limit armaments could make a substantial contribution. The Canadian example in withdrawing nuclear weapons from their forces and their territory is a useful precedent.

Suggestions were made to speed up SALT and similar negotiations which otherwise are overtaken by technological innovation, and to widen participation, or extend consultation with other states. This, and a greater spread of information could generate wider support. The formation of independent analytical groups, e.g. from the Academies of the USA and USSR, and/or as international standing committees, was proposed, as was an "early warning" of new military technologies by non-governmental expert groups.

The proliferation of nuclear weapons was discussed. Pressure on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) arises from the danger of the diversion of plutonium from power stations to bombs. If it is possible to avoid this risk, it will require much care and effort. The ban on production of weapon-grade material referred to earlier can also play a part in reducing vertical proliferation.

The view was expressed that the NPT is discriminatory and not obeyed by the nuclear weapons powers; also that the large amount of fissile material unaccounted for in the nuclear-weapons countries could represent the possibility of clandestine diversion. Incentives to support the NPT were discussed, including a clear commitment by nuclear weapon states never to use nuclear weapons on non-nuclear weapon states which do not have such weapons on their territory, and measures to avoid discrimination against NPT members in the transfer of nuclear materials or technology, as well as the insistence on IAEA safeguards in all such transfers.

On the question of deterrence, it was pointed out that this concept was frequently misused as an excuse for escalation.

There was a discussion of the widely publicized allegations that the outbreak of human anthrax in the Sverdlovsk region of the Soviet Union might indicate a contravention of the 1972 Biological Weapons Convention. The publicly available information contains no evidence for this, and there is considerable reason not to believe it. To stop these rumours, it was suggested that more medical information is desirable.

As regards chemical weapons, progress is threatened by growing mistrust. Current moves in the US Congress towards a resumption of chemical-weapons production cause concern.

In the present situation the need for education on disarmament problems and for public awareness of the dangers of nuclear war is greater than ever.

The suggestion of the UN Secretary-General is welcomed that all nations devote one-tenth of one percent of their military expenditure to research, education and information on disarmament.

2. Conventional Weapons and Arms Trade

A. Conventional Weapons

Ever more fearsome non-nuclear weapons make it necessary to stress the importance of arms control and disarmament in the non-nuclear field. While there have been some agreements in the nuclear field, very few have been reached or even sought in the conventional arms field.

A further difficulty in arms control is the dangerous tendency for nuclear arms to enter into military thinking as conventional, provided their destructive power is relatively low.

It is important to guard against the ready assimilation of newly developed weapons by the military, and their consequent public acceptance as legitimate instruments of defence.

There is no purely technical route to arms control and disarmament; it is a political issue for industrialized countries and developing countries alike.

The establishment of regional security and disarmament commissions could, in this context, reduce the hindrance resulting from rivalry between the USA and USSR to resolution of regional conflicts. Such commissions could also contribute to the peaceful settlement of local conflicts and initiate negotiations on arms limitation measures. The machinery of the UN has largely fallen into disuse because of cumbersome mechanisms (e.g. delays in deploying peace-keeping forces), and frequent disagreements in the Security Council.

B. Consequences of Armament Expenditures and the Arms Trade, especially for the Third World

This subject goes beyond economic and financial consequences; it includes the consequences of armaments expenditure in relation to the other needs of developing countries; the brain drain that armaments may cause; the pressure of strategic alliances; threats to regional security; and the creation of political dependence via the delivery of military equipment.

Armaments in some cases are used to stabilize authoritarian and unpopular regimes, and in other cases to maintain a dominant regional position.

National and international studies have refuted three claims of the promoters of arms: that armaments production is essential to the health of the economy; it efficiently secures employment; and that military research can be justified because of beneficial spin-off in the civil sector.

There are definite positive effects of the release of resources under disarmament, provided the conversion to non-military production is adequately planned.

The arms race and trade in armaments are destructive and debilitating to both developed and developing countries, but particularly to the latter because of their very restricted resources.

The increasing number of developing countries which have entered into the production of sophisticated weapons has added a new dimension to the problems of arms control and arms trade.

Arguments put forward in favour of domestic arms production in developing countries are by far outweighed by counter-productive effects of inflation, waste of raw materials and intellectual resources, militarization of society, obstacles to meeting the basic needs of the population, and building up tension and distrust between neighbouring countries.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to preach abstention from arms production and trade to developing countries, as long as the developed countries continue the arms race and fierce competition in the arms trade. They use their arms exports as a means to maintain or gain political influence in developing countries and whole regions. As the history of proliferation of weapons technology (including nuclear weapons) shows, there cannot be one morality for developed and another for developing countries.

C. The Role of Scientists

The situation and, therefore, the role of scientists differs very much in various parts of the world in terms of freedom of speech and action, prestige, economic independence, and

impact on society and governments. Scientists are an international community; nevertheless they are not outsiders to conditions and mental attitudes prevailing in their respective cultures and countries. Moreover, the fact that they are experts in a given scientific discipline does not guarantee in itself a deeper insight in global or even national affairs.

Scientists can play a more important role in the control of the qualitative arms race by conducting on-going and systematic investigations of the directions of current weapons developments and by anticipating probable future trends. The most destabilizing and inhumane of these probable weapons developments should be prime targets for coordinated arms control efforts.

War, like individual murder, has to become unacceptable to the prevailing moralities. It will take considerable time till such a profound change in collective human behaviour is attained, but it is a responsibility of scientists, as those informed and trained to independent thinking, to act as pioneers in this direction.

3. European Security and Arms Control

Limited nuclear war is a dangerous concept tending to blow the threshold and make nuclear war itself more likely. A tendency to shift from deterrent to war-fighting concepts is making an already dangerous situation even more dangerous. In this connection, attention is called to announced plans for the development of neutron bombs. The highest priority must be given to starting negotiations on the problems arising from the deployment, actual and proposed, of medium range nuclear weapons in Europe, including forward-based systems; a freeze of such weapons at present levels and an agreement to abstain from new developments was suggested as an essential first step. Subsequently there should be reductions of such a kind as to preserve the security of all parties concerned.

Arms control negotiations are often less successful than they should be, because of attempts, during their progress, by the rival parties to improve their bargaining positions through new weapon development and procurement. Initial

freezes of force levels are, therefore, usually essential preliminaries. At the same time unilateral initiatives to develop and adopt demonstrably defensive systems in forward areas should be encouraged.

The proposed European Disarmament Conference is strongly supported and at the same time an increased role for European states in mediating between the USA and USSR, and for initiatives by small or non-aligned states, is envisaged.

It was suggested that the concept of confidence building measures might be extended to include such aspects as reporting naval movements in the seas around Europe and elsewhere, in areas directly affecting the interests of the European states. In this connection, also, strict respect by all states for the principles of non-intervention and non-use of force is imperative for the rebuilding of trust and confidence.

It was proposed that a European Security Commission on a permanent basis might be a useful channel for the pre-notification of intentions about weapons development and deployment, as well as for the discussion of future arms restraints and new confidence building measures.

Achievements in non-military cooperation, especially in the social, economic and cultural fields (which have increased even during the last year) need to be consolidated and extended. The forthcoming Madrid follow-up Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe should concern itself with all these issues, and especially with the implementation of the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act relating to the free movement of people, ideas and information. The future of détente in the world at large will probably depend on the success of this meeting.

The potential role of such UN agencies as the Economic Commission for Europe and the World Health Organization in bridge-building across ideological and other divisions should also be considered. Agencies concerned with environmental hazards clearly have responsibilities related to the threats posed by nuclear and chemical weapons and the operation of the biological weapons convention.

No efforts should be spared to achieve a relaxation of international tension by such means in order to create a climate conducive to effective disarmament.

4. Changing Concepts of Security and Current Conflicts

Some traditional concepts, such as the concept of security, are undergoing change. The interests of a state may be threatened in many ways, not only by military power, but also by economic power or the impact of ideologies; and the dependence of industrial nations on raw materials, wherein they may see threats to their economic security, can incite them to protect their "vital" interests by military means. It is necessary to condemn the idea that a nation is entitled to use force for defence of its economic or ideological interests.

Regional approaches to security problems, and disengagement of the greater powers from local and regional conflicts are strongly to be recommended. One of the ways of promoting this could be the establishment of Regional UN Commissions on Security and Disarmament, modelled to a large extent on the structure and membership of the existing UN Economic Commissions for Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa and the Middle East.

In this connection early negotiation of a European Disarmament Treaty is a prime necessity, covering theatre nuclear weapons, other weapons of mass destruction, "aggressive" conventional weapons, and manpower.

Another possibility for international action could be the establishment of a standing international body to assess continuously the psychopolitical international climate, focussing on interplays between nations which precipitate, contribute and perpetuate conflict.

It is recommended that the Secretary-General of the UN includes in his Annual Report a survey of local wars, making specific references to the number of casualties - people killed, injured, and displaced persons.

The peace of the world is disturbed by armed conflicts in a number of areas. With respect to the Middle East, while the parties to the disputes are still very far apart, the time seems to be ripe for new initiatives that will build confidence between the parties and might lead to solutions acceptable to them all.

Support for the demilitarization of the Indian Ocean, so that it can be turned into a zone of peace, is endorsed. It is noted that, on the contrary, there is now an alarming destabilization in the area, as a result of mounting armed forces involving build-up of naval forces and creation of military bases. The elimination of foreign military forces and firm exclusion of nuclear weapons from this area is urged. Military restraints should be accompanied by measures of collaboration in economic, scientific, cultural and other spheres.

In Indochina it is necessary to increase help - for both Kampuchea and Vietnam - and to ensure that this help reached the people in need of it as soon as possible. Due to the situation, it could be useful to put at the disposal of the Kampuchea authorities, whenever they request, under the auspices of the UN, temporary administrative help and highly qualified specialists, such as doctors, engineers, etc., to cooperate in the rehabilitation of the country.

There was an extensive discussion of the events in Afghanistan, resulting in a clarification of points of view. However, no agreement was achieved, either as to the causes or possible solution of the present situation. In view of the grave effects of this situation on world peace, all parties are urged to enter into negotiations aimed at a rapid political solution.

5. Problems of Development

A. Disarmament and Development

The negative impact upon development of the deterioration of détente is a cause of great concern. The instability of the third world nations and pressures upon them will increase, making the developing countries a likely region for the start of a major confrontation among the great powers.

Developing countries are devoting an unreasonable proportion of their resources to armaments, in many cases for internal purposes, diverting these resources from development. However, unless the great powers take the leadership and set the example for an effective and progressive reduction of their investment in armaments, it is unlikely that the developing countries will start to do so.

The vicious circle "poverty - weakness - armaments - poverty" must be broken by building strength on the basis of a sound economy and a stable society, rather than on weaponry.

B. Science and Technology for Development

A great number of useful suggestions are laid down in the Programme of Action adopted at the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development (Vienna 1979) (UNCSTD). These suggestions should be followed by appropriate action. In particular, it is hoped that at least the minimal contributions promised at UNCSTD will be paid soon to the newly established interim fund by those richer nations which have not done this so far. The oil-rich nations are urged to bear their part.

C. Obstacles to Development

Among the obstacles to development which are to be overcome and which require continued attention and investigation regarding their causes and consequences in developing countries are: lack of an effective science and technology policy; obstructions to self-reliant development; lack of research and development in the industrial sector; absence of linkages between research and development laboratories and industry; scarcity of technical staff at the intermediate level; inadequacies of the education system; absence of science and technology in economic sectors; lack of science and technology information systems; inappropriate administrative machinery in science and technology institutions; lack of the existence of a code of conduct for the operations of

transnational corporations; lack of cooperation between developing countries having problems of similar nature; failure of industrialized countries to set up appropriate mechanisms and positions for the assignment of scientific personnel of developing countries; and failure of developing and industrialized countries to counteract brain drain, both internal and external. To stop both types of brain drain, the highest social values and recognition should be accorded to professional people active in their respective fields. Minimum basic facilities for work and adequate salaries for a respectable living should be granted. Restrictions to the free mobility of scientists, other than those dictated by the availability of funds, cannot be considered an admissible method of reducing brain drain. Free mobility is essential for the progress of science.

Universities should not be isolated from the community within which they are located. They should devote considerable attention to the problems their communities are facing.

D. Science and Technology Infrastructure

Scientists from developing countries should avoid isolation by cooperating on equal terms on a regional or inter-regional basis.

The training of personnel from developing countries in processing information, and the establishment of libraries and Information Centres in universities and research organizations, should be facilitated. In particular, there must be no artificial barriers to the free flow of information. Special efforts have to be made to make information accessible to field workers. The supply of information for schools and the public in general is of equal importance, and must be considered the responsibility of universities where no other agencies solve this problem satisfactorily. The use of mass media including television, as is already practised in some countries, is recommended for purposes of education.

Medical services for furthering family planning programmes should be installed in a dignified and trustworthy manner, taking into account social, cultural and economic conditions.

More attention should be paid to the emancipatory potentials of science and to the social functions of scientific education. Science and technology not only contribute to literacy and material welfare but are also tools and ways to enable people to shape their own lives and become self-reliant.

STATEMENT FROM THE

30th PUGWASH CONFERENCE ON THE DANGER OF NUCLEAR WAR

Never before has mankind been in such grave peril. A major nuclear war would mean the end of civilization and could lead to the extinction of the human race. And yet, throughout the world, militarily powerful nations with obscenely large stock-piles of nuclear weapons seem unable to compose their differences by accommodation and negotiation. Instead, nuclear arms increase in numbers and capability, and threaten to proliferate to many additional states, while attempts are being made in a number of countries to lend respectability to the insidious doctrines of limited and even winnable nuclear war.

Meanwhile, military expenditures - which annually already exceed \$500 billion worldwide - continue to grow at a planned annual rate exceeding \$20 billion per year, wastefully consuming valuable material and human resources desperately needed for improvement of the conditions of human life, especially in the Third World. These economic, social and political inequities lead inevitably to local instabilities which tempt the involvement of powerful outside interests and provide dangerous foci for the outbreak of local wars. Such conflicts could too easily escalate into a major nuclear war.

Unless prompt and effective steps are taken to reduce and eliminate these tendencies, we foresee a major and catastrophic nuclear war before the end of this century. Such a nuclear war would spread death and destruction beyond the capacity of society to handle. It would threaten the survival of the species. In these circumstances, our duty as human beings and scientists is clear -- we must opt for survival.

This is the chief message from the 30th Pugwash Conference, held in Breukelen, The Netherlands, on August 20-25, 1980. The Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs have been meeting since 1957 in response to an appeal issued in 1955 by Bertrand Russell, Albert Einstein and 9 other of the world's most distinguished scientists to their colleagues "to assemble in conference to appraise the perils that have arisen as a result of the development of weapons of mass destruction". Now, 25 years later, after considerable effort and high hopes, we find ourselves more than ever impelled to

appeal to our governments and to our fellow human beings to heed the warning: "Shall we put an end to the human race; or shall mankind renounce war?"

The problems that confront us are not simple; we are living in a complex world. But until the world's nations recognize that force only leads to more force, that threats only beget threats, the peril will remain acute. There is absolutely no substitute for negotiation. East or West, North or South, survival depends on the recognition by all nations that war has no justifiable purpose, and that peaceful means can and must be found for the settlement of all matters of dispute between them.

We call upon all men and women of good will everywhere urgently to work towards -

- resumption of serious negotiations between the USA and the USSR;
- an end to the nuclear and conventional arms races in Europe and elsewhere;
- disengagement of outside nations from conflicts in the Third World.

Achievement of these objectives can reverse the present disastrous drift and prepare the way for total nuclear disarmament -- an indispensable condition for lasting peace.

We cannot refrain from ending with the conclusion of the Russell-Einstein Manifesto, which is as applicable today as on the day it was written: "There lies before us, if we choose, continued progress in happiness, knowledge and wisdom. Shall we, indeed, choose death, because we cannot forget our quarrels? We appeal, as human beings, to human beings: Remember your humanity, and forget the rest. If you can do so, the way lies open to a new Paradise; if you cannot, there lies before you the risk of universal death".

recently replaced Edmund Muskie as Budget Committee chairman.

UTAH: New-right leader **Jake Garn** (R), a member of Appropriations, is a substantial favorite over attorney Dan Berman (D) and Ogden Mayor Stephen Dirks (D). Garn has no primary opposition in September and has raised over \$400,000 to Berman's \$70,000.

OPEN SEATS

CONNECTICUT: A classic liberal vs. conservative clash is emerging between Rep. Chris Dodd (D) and former New York Senator James Buckley (R). Dodd is ahead in this race for the seat of retiring **Senator Abraham Ribicoff** (D) but the contest will be close. Buckley first has to win the Republican designation at a July convention and then a probable September 9 primary against state senate minority leader Richard Bozzutto. Buckley is far ahead in fundraising. Dodd is unopposed.

ILLINOIS: Moderate Secretary of State Alan Dixon (D) is a clear favorite over conservative Lieutenant Governor David O'Neal (R) in this contest for the seat of retiring **Adlai Stevenson** (D). In the March 19 primary Dixon won over 4 opponents with 67% and O'Neal defeated 2 rivals with 42%. Dixon has shown an extraordinary ability to raise campaign funds.

NORTH DAKOTA: Conservative Rep. Mark Andrews (R) is the heavy favorite to replace **Milton Young** (R). Andrews has no primary opposition on September 2 but Democrats have a contest with the likely nominee State Senator Kent Johanneson.

OKLAHOMA: The retirement of respected Senator **Henry Bellmon** (R) is opening the way to a scramble among contestants in both parties, none likely to be strong supporters of arms control. Primary date August 26.

PENNSYLVANIA: The race to replace dove-turned-hawk **Richard Schweiker** (R) pits a two-time loser conservative, former Mayor of Pittsburgh Peter Flaherty (D), against a four-time loser, moderate former Philadelphia DA Arlen Specter (R). It's a toss-up. Flaherty won his April 22 primary with 53% and Specter with 37%, both over big fields.

OTHER RACES (All the Senators in this group did not

commit themselves for or against the SALT II Treaty last year)

ALABAMA: **Donald Stewart** (D), the moderate who won the seat of the late James Allen two years ago, is up for re-election. He is a narrow favorite against Democrat-turned-Republican former U.S. Representative Armistead Selden, who has an opponent in the September 2 primary.

ALASKA: **Mike Gravel** (D) is facing a primary challenge on August 26 from the grandson of Ernest Gruening whom Gravel defeated 12 years ago. Despite a low popularity rating Gravel is a narrow favorite for both the primary and the general election. Republicans consider Gravel the most vulnerable Senator up in 1980 and the Republican primary is crowded.

GEORGIA: The long career of **Herman Talmadge** (D) is threatened by scandal and by a tough August 12 primary (challengers are Lieutenant Governor Zell Miller, Rep. Dawson Mathis and others). Whoever wins will have no problem in November. The likely Republican is former GOP state chairman Mac Mattingly.

KENTUCKY: No doubt about the re-election of **Wendell Ford** (D) over Mary Louise Foust (R) former state auditor. Ford won May 27 primary with 87% and Foust with 42%.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: Outspoken freshman **John Durkin** (D) is in deep trouble no matter which of the six Republicans wins the September 9 primary.

NORTH CAROLINA: Moderate freshman **Robert Morgan** (D)—an Armed Services Committee member—is favored, but not overwhelmingly, over Senator Jesse Helms' ally John East. Both were unopposed in May 6 primary. East is expected to receive large amounts of conservative money.

OHIO: **John Glenn** (D), a self-styled verification expert, voted against SALT II in the Foreign Relations Committee but was considered likely to switch his position on the Senate floor. He is heavily favored for re-election over State Representative James Betts. In June 3 primary, Glenn beat two opponents with 86%. Betts was unopposed.

WASHINGTON: Due to his advanced age, Senator **Warren Magnuson** (D), Appropriations Committee Chairman, is likely to have a difficult contest against Attorney General Slade Gordon (R). The primary is September 16.



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To combat the menace
of nuclear war

Council for a Livable World

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Boston, Mass. 02108
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Attorney

Abbreviations For Identification Only

NOTES TO THE BOARD FROM JEROME GROSSMAN

July 28, 1980

- (1) The summer meeting of the Boards of CLW and CLWEF will take place on Thursday August 7 at 12:30 p.m. at the office of Chairman George Kistiakowsky. Bring your own lunch.
- (2) CLW cash balance as of 7/25 \$57,378.52
- (3) CLWEF cash balance 4,341.55
- (4) CLW latest mailing #806 dated 7/11 has brought in \$8,605.00 (327 checks) in first 8 days.
- (5) CLWEF has been awarded a grant of \$10,000.00 to finance our participation in four symposia with Physicians for Social Responsibility on "The Medical Effects of Nuclear Weapons and Nuclear War." The first symposium will take place on Sept. 27 and 28 at Hunter College, New York City.
- (6) Funds transmitted to candidates as of 7/24:

Culver	\$12,422	Holtzman	\$10,627	Nelson	\$7,935
Hart	13,561	Leahy	8,585	Mathias	2,000
Bayh	11,828	McGovern	13,946	Cranston	1,000
Dodd	11,959	Simpson	8,768		
- (7) August mailing will request funds for Culver and Leahy for second time.
- (8) Labor Day mailing will request funds for Dodd and Nelson for second time.
- (9) Late September mailing will request funds for Culver (third time) and McNulty of Arizona if he wins the Democratic Primary.
- (10) CLW took an ad in the Democratic National Convention Journal supporting Carter delegate Joe Smith who is organizing for a platform plank against the deployment of the MX. Smith has a good chance of winning and will get extensive publicity for the issue.
- (11) CLW sponsored a luncheon for Senators on 7/23 hosted by Senator Richard Pryor of Arkansas on "Chemical Weapons and Chemical Warfare" led by Dr. Matthew Meselson. Senators Pryor, Bumpers, Cochran, Levin, Percy, Sasser, Thurmond, Williams, Metzenbaum, Kassenbaum, Boren, Boschwitz attended. Later that day Dr. Meselson led a seminar attended by about 50 members of senatorial staffs.
- (12) CLW is considering fall senatorial seminars on "Are the Soviets really outspending the U.S. on Defense?" led by Prof. Franklyn Holzman of Tufts and a seminar on the resurgent ABM (see enclosed clipping from Congressional Record).
- (13) Patton, Scoville, Adams, Frank, Price, Schoettle, Tarlow and Allen have graciously agreed to telephone large contributors to CLW in their areas. Would other members of the Board also volunteer?





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PAUL C. WARNKE
Attorney

Affiliations For Identification Only

July 10, 1980

Dear Council Supporter:

Enclosed please find an update of the 1980 Senate elections and arms control. Since January we have transmitted and given substantial campaign contributions to the campaigns for the U.S. Senate of:

John Culver of Iowa
Gary Hart of Colorado
Birch Bayh of Indiana
Chris Dodd of Connecticut
Elizabeth Holtzman of New York
Patrick Leahy of Vermont
George McGovern of South Dakota
Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin
John Simpson of Kansas
Charles Mathias of Maryland
Alan Cranston of California

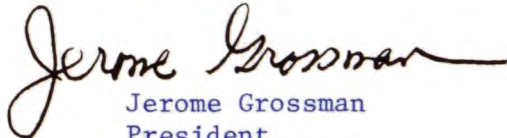
Our Washington legislative and lobbying staff have been especially active on the 1981 military budget, chemical warfare and chemical disarmament, and the MX missile. There seems to be no possibility of Senate consideration of the SALT II Treaty this year or of progress toward a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty.

But the political situation with regard to the MX missile is quite fluid. There is great unease in Congress about this weapons system. Both doves and hawks have advanced alternatives to the Administration's current plans. These are listed on the reverse side of this sheet without comment as to feasibility or danger, but if we had our druthers, #15 would be our strong preference.

During the next six months there will be many votes taken on the MX in both the Senate and the House. Now would be a good time to write to your representatives in Congress telling them what you think of the MX.

We also enclose a contribution card asking for another contribution to the Council for a Livable World, to finance our lobbying and educational and electoral efforts.

Sincerely,


Jerome Grossman
President

(OVER)



ALTERNATIVES TO THE PROPOSED MX

1. Build MX missiles and place them in Minuteman silos.
2. Build MX missiles and employ vertical shelters rather than horizontal shelters as planned.
3. Place Minuteman missiles on Shallow Underwater Mobile (SUM) submarines within 100-300 miles of East and West Coasts.
4. Build MX missiles and place them on Shallow Underwater Mobile (SUM) submarines within 100-300 miles of East and West Coasts.
5. Build more Trident submarines (or a smaller strategic submarine) and at a faster rate than now planned.
6. Cancel the ABM Treaty of 1972 and place an ABM system around the existing Minuteman sites.
7. Cancel the ABM Treaty of 1972 and place an ABM system around new MX missile silos.
8. Build a space-based laser ABM system.
9. As a quick fix, build and/or deploy additional Minuteman III missiles.
10. Build the MX missile and place it on merchant ships or other floating platforms at sea.
11. Terminate the MX missile program and develop and deploy the Trident II missile.
12. Develop a road mobile missile system with missiles driven around on trucks.
13. Develop an air mobile missile system with missiles flown around in cargo planes or helicopters.
14. Kill the MX program on the grounds that the threat to the U.S. deterrent force--sea, air as well as land--is vastly overdrawn.
15. Negotiate a new arms control treaty which brings about significant reductions in the number of U.S. and Soviet warheads so that the theoretical vulnerability of our land-based missiles is ended and there is no need for a mobile land-based system.

(OVER)



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1980 U.S. SENATE ELECTIONS AND ARMS CONTROL

Prospects for nuclear arms control may be determined by the 1980 U.S. Senate elections. Some of the staunchest arms control advocates in office, including many serving on key Senate committees—Foreign Relations, Armed Services and Appropriations—are up for election and face extremely close contests. Their fate may decide the revival of SALT II Treaty deliberations, approval of a possible Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, and modification or even elimination of the MX mobile missile supported by the Carter Administration.

While the Council for a Livable World takes no position on the presidential candidates, there is a relationship between that contest and the senatorial races. Of 34 seats up this November, 24 are Democratic and 10 Republican. A Carter-Reagan race would have meant a decline in voter turnout this November of about 5% from the 1976 election.

The presence of Anderson on the ballot, however, is expected to add at least 5% to the electorate. Polls indicate that these additional voters are likely to vote for the threatened arms control activists.

The 34 Senate races are divided into four categories for purposes of this analysis:

- Arms control activists and supporters
- Hawks running for re-election
- Open seats
- Races of incumbents uncommitted on SALT II

ARMS CONTROL ACTIVISTS AND SUPPORTERS

ARKANSAS: Moderate Senator **Dale Bumpers** (D), strong supporter of SALT II and member of the Appropriations Committee, has no re-election problems. Primary date was June 10. Securities salesman, William P. Clark, is Republican opponent.

CALIFORNIA: Key SALT II leader and long-term arms control advocate **Alan Cranston** (D) is favored over challenger Paul Gann (R) age 67, an ex-real estate salesman and a leader of Proposition 13 movement, but the state is unpredictable. In June 3 primary, Cranston received 79.5% of the Democratic vote, Gann 40.1% in a more crowded Republican field. As of 3/31/80 Cranston had raised \$1.4 million, Gann \$115,000. Cranston is targeted by national right wing conservative groups.

COLORADO: One of the leading SALT II proponents on the Armed Services Committee, **Gary Hart** (D), faces a tough fight in a state going increasingly conservative. He is favored, but not by much. Leading Republican candidates in the hotly contested September 9 primary include former Army Secretary "Bo" Callaway, Denver attorney John Cogswell, state sen. Sam Zakhem, and possibly Secretary of State Mary Buchanan. As of 3/31/80, Hart had raised \$240,000 and three of the Republicans a little over \$100,000 each.

HAWAII: **Daniel Inouye** (D), who generally supports arms control on Appropriations Committee and on the floor is overwhelmingly favored against any potential Republican opponent. Primary date September 20. Inouye has raised well over \$400,000.

IDAHO: Foreign Relations Committee Chairman **Frank Church** (D) faces a rough fight against arch-conservative Rep. Steven Symms (R). Church may be narrowly ahead but the race is a toss-up. Both candidates were unopposed in May 27 primary. As of 3/31/80 Church had raised \$961,000 and had \$617,000 on hand, while Symms had raised \$440,000 and had \$233,000 on hand. Church is targeted by national right wing conservative groups in spite of his role on the Russian Brigade in Cuba.



INDIANA: Long-term arms control advocate **Birch Bayh** (D) (a member of Appropriations) faces a tough challenge from conservative Rep. Dan Quayle (R) who swamped his opponent in the May primary. A survivor of several tight contests in the past, at best. Bayh is narrowly favored. He is targeted this year by national right wing conservatives. After the first quarter, Bayh had raised \$880,000 and had \$308,000 cash on hand.

IOWA: Eloquent arms control spokesman and hard fighter **John Culver** (D), a key member of Armed Services, is running about 8 points behind Rep. Charles Grassley (R), according to recent newspaper polls. Grassley won a surprisingly decisive victory 65-35 in the June 3 primary over a millionaire opponent who probably spent over \$1 million. Although Culver had raised \$635,000 as of 3/31/80, he had only \$145,000 on hand. Grassley will be well-financed; all conservative and hawkish groups are singling out the courageous Culver for attack. In a similar situation in the same state in 1978, arms control leader Senator Dick Clark failed to be re-elected.

MARYLAND: **Charles Mathias** (R), a member of Appropriations, won his May 13 primary with 55% over 5 opponents. His opponent will be State Senator Ed Conroy who led 11 opponents with 24%. Mathias job approval rating is high and he is heavily favored to win in November.

MISSOURI: **Thomas Eagleton** (D), a member of Appropriations, is favored to win against St. Louis county supervisor Gene McNary (R), his likely opponent. But the margin could narrow by the fall if an anti-incumbent movement emerges. As of 3/31/80 Eagleton had raised \$800,000 and had \$645,000 left. Primary date is August 5. Eagleton is unopposed and McNary has weak opposition.

NEW YORK: Long-time incumbent and arms control supporter **Jacob Javits** (R), the Senior Republican on Foreign Relations, faces a difficult contest in the Republican primary because of his age (76) and poor health as well as the determined opposition of conservatives and hawks whose candidate is Hempstead Supervisor Al D'Amato. Among the Democrats Rep. Elizabeth Holtzman and former NYC Mayor John Lindsay would also be firm advocates of arms control if elected. This is particularly true of Holtzman whose record on such issues is perfect. The third Democrat, Bess Myerson, has taken a much more hawkish line. Holtzman is leading in the polls, in organization, and in fundraising for the September 9 primary.

SOUTH DAKOTA: Long a strong voice on the Foreign Relations Committee for comprehensive arms control and a rational military budget. **George McGovern** (D) is in the race of his life against conservative Republican Rep. James Abdnor. Abdnor won his June 3 primary with 74%. McGovern had more trouble with his, winning with only 63% against a conservative, pro-life candidate. Furthermore, McGovern has been specially targeted by all known right wing organizations who are flooding the state with money. Abdnor currently leads in some polls. As of 3/31/80 McGovern has raised \$930,000 and had \$333,000 on hand.

VERMONT: A consistent supporter of arms control during his previous service on Armed Services and

now on Appropriations, **Patrick Leahy** (D) is favored, although not heavily, against whichever Republican conservative wins the September 9 primary. The leader appears to be businessman Jim Mullin who had actually raised twice as much as Senator Leahy as of 3/31/80.

WISCONSIN: **Gaylord Nelson** (D) is likely to face his first real election challenge in years from any of three strong Republican conservatives: former Congressman Bob Kasten, businessman Terry Kohler, and radio station owner Doug Cofrin. While Nelson is the favorite, the race is likely to be close. Each Republican is well on his way to raising a cool million while Nelson is budgeting for about half of that. Primary is September 9.

HAWKS RUNNING FOR RE-ELECTION

ARIZONA: SALT opponent **Barry Goldwater** (R), a member of Armed Services, is a strong favorite at this time against three lesser known Democratic challengers. Goldwater will have no problem raising funds. His age and physical stamina are the only question marks in the campaign. Primary date is September 9; Goldwater is unopposed.

FLORIDA: Conservative **Richard Stone** (D) who opposed SALT II in the Foreign Relations Committee, faces a serious challenge in the Democratic September 9 primary from three strong opponents, and is likely to be forced into a run-off. The best Democrat on arms control appears to be Richard Pettigrew but his campaign is lagging in the polls, in organization and in fundraising. Whichever Democrat wins the run-off should win in November.

KANSAS: Conservative **Robert Dole** (R) is the favorite against a strong challenge from wealthy Republican-turned-Democrat John Simpson. A former state senator John Simpson is a solid supporter of arms control and has broad political support. Dole won by a hair six years ago and was humiliated in his 1980 Republican presidential bid. In the August 5 primary Dole is unopposed and Simpson has weak opposition.

LOUISIANA: SALT opponent **Russell Long** (D) is the likely winner over state senator Woody Jenkins (R). As of 3/31/80 Long has raised \$609,000. Primary date is September 20.

NEVADA: SALT opponent and Reagan campaign chief **Paul Laxalt** (R) is the clear favorite against former state senator Mary Gojack, although Gojack is running hard. The ferment within Nevada over the proposed MX missile is a wildcard in the election. At the end of the first quarter Laxalt had raised \$542,000 and Gojack only \$20,000. Primary date is September 9.

OREGON: Republican **Bob Packwood** (R), a strong advocate of higher military budgets, is the heavy favorite against state senator Ted Kulongoski. In the May 20 primary Packwood defeated 4 opponents with 62% and Kulongoski won over 4 Democrats with 48%. Packwood had raised \$1,532,000 and Kulongoski \$24,000 by 4/30/80.

SOUTH CAROLINA: SALT opponent **Ernest Hollings** (D), who led the fight within the Budget Committee and the Senate for higher military spending, has no re-election problems against Republican Marshall Mays. Hollings, who also serves on Appropriations,

all nuclear w. tests
for 3 years

(>15 yrs - tests in air + water)

- moderating nucl. arms
- race - arms control

neg
verification

NHL. Fleck. Means -
satellites, historic
detectors' within USSR ~~etc.~~

territories

3. Rev. of non-prolif. treaty
signed but not ratified
limits weapons, self
peaceful use

Adequate verification

How prob. Moscow conf.
in August 100 mln

Substantial interest

Verifiable

Violations should not
be problem

Between Nuclear Suicide And Surrender

The Miami Herald

The Soviet Union has forced America to adopt a new nuclear strategy. That's because, according to a consensus of experts, the Soviet Union does not consider nuclear war to be "unthinkable." Indeed, there is much evidence that the Kremlin thinks nuclear war might be "winnable."

The new American strategy, like the old one, is intended to *deter* the Soviets from such insane fantasies.

In the past decade, the Soviets have relentlessly expanded their missiles in number, power, and targeting precision. Defense Secretary

Harold Brown says they can now eliminate America's land-based Minuteman missile system if they dare to launch a first strike.

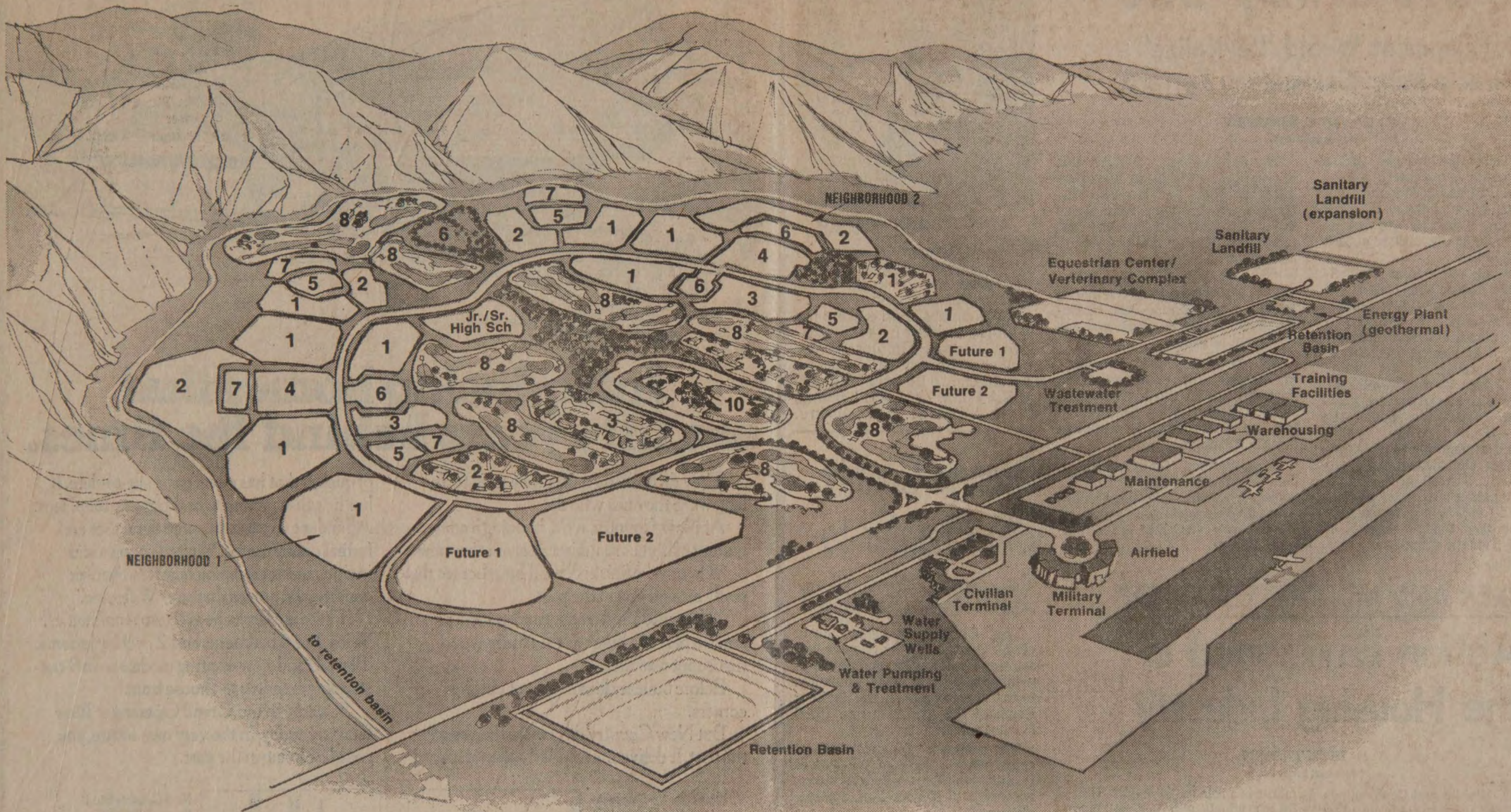
The new American strategy would give the United States a middle option between suicide and surrender. However, it could not be effective before the late 1980s, with deployment of the controversial mobile MX missile.

Equally important, the new strategy is necessary to block the Russians from exploiting the *perception* that they can dictate a "suicide or surrender" choice to America. If such a

perception were widespread, other nations could be bullied into appeasement out of fear that the United States would be frozen into inaction.

The nightmarish, unreal quality of nuclear-weapons strategy makes clear once again that the only real hope of ensuring civilization's survival is to renew immediately the drive to halt and roll back the nuclear-arms race. The SALT process must be revived. A meaningful, verifiable arms-limitation treaty must be ratified.

S. J.
Union



- | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Residential—Low Density | 3. Residential—High Density | 5. Elementary School | 7. Recreation Areas | 9. Town Center Park |
| 2. Residential—Medium Density | 4. Neighborhood Centers | 6. Neighborhood Parks | 8. Golf | 10. Town Center Complex |

Times drawing by Russell Arasmith

By DICK TURPIN
Times Real Estate Editor

A precisely planned new town, unlike any other in the world, is destined to occupy a remote and stark environment somewhere in the now-pristine span of the Nevada and Utah deserts.

It will be home for military personnel assigned to the nation's MX missile base, key component of the largest military authorization bill—\$52.9 billion—in American history.

Nearby will be 200 MX missiles, deployed in underground shelters, comprising the nation's principal bastion of defense.

Into this grim, highly sensitive

setting, planners, both military and civilian, are attempting to create a community which would assure "a high quality of life" for the 20,000 personnel concerned.

The site for this vast complex is to be announced early next year, according to Department of Defense officials. Although the feasibility of establishing a pair of missile bases

—one in the Nevada-Utah area, the other in the Texas-New Mexico sector—is currently under study, the Air Force's Strategic Air Command is known to favor the former location, because of lower costs and less impact on the environment.

Opposition to the establishment of the base in their areas is being expressed by ranchers, farmers and

townsfolk in the far reaches of Nevada and Utah but, as one citizen of Pioche, in southeastern Nevada put it resignedly:

"Eighty-seven percent of Nevada is federal land to start with. What the individual thinks isn't going to change their minds."

Field surveys are scheduled to start this month in the Dry Lake

Valley of Nevada and in the Pine and Wah Wah valleys in Utah next month. But the Air Force's environmental impact study will include potential Texas and New Mexico sites.

Gerry Simon, senior vice president of Orange-based PRC Toups Corp., one of three private consulting firms selected by the Air Force

to prepare conceptual plans for the MX weapons system base facilities, said 10,000 square miles is needed, of which about 3,000 acres would be required to accommodate the base—housing, town center, air strip and terminal, hangar and maintenance facilities (see diagram).

The remainder of the vast 10,000 square miles would be used for an elaborate system of missiles, to be stored in a "rotating" arsenal, dependent upon the outcome of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT II).

The concept of the MX missile site operating base as envisioned by

Please Turn to Page 34, Col. 1

PRECISELY PLANNED FOR HIGH QUALITY OF LIFE

Unique Town to House MX Missile Crews

UNIQUE TOWN FOR MX MISSILEMEN

Continued from First Page

Simon and his team has been received warmly by Defense Department planners and was described as one of the finest community plans ever prepared for a military community.

It is, virtually, a carefully designed planned community in search of a site, preferably near foothill terrain.

Simon, project director of the assignment for his firm, said the plan evolved from a multidisciplinary effort by his team, hewing closely to the Air Force's directive to be concerned fully with the "quality of life" at the base. The plan was presented recently to SAC headquarters at Omaha, Neb.

He indicated that elements of the PRC plan could be combined with elements of plan proposed by the two other consulting firms.

(Also presenting plans for the missile base are Benham and Blair in association with W.M.R.T. of Philadelphia and EDAW of San Francisco.)

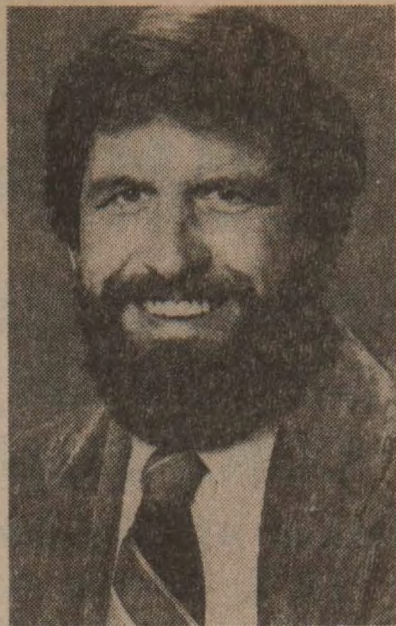
Lecture Planned

Simon will present an illustrated lecture, "The First Look at the MX Missile Community," at a dinner meeting Thursday of the San Diego Building Contractors Assn. at Vacation Village, San Diego. Of particular interest to builders, Simon's presentation will explain how they can participate in building turn-key housing projects for the community, once the site is determined and work commences.

Present Defense Department planning for the MX program entails an expenditure of \$33 billion for the complex. The 200 missiles authorized by SALT II are expected to be partially deployed by 1986, fully deployed by 1989.

But if the talks with Russia come to naught, the defense plan will be installed anyway and limits as to the number of missiles would become academic.

Last year, President Carter approved plans to place the missiles on mobile transporters using special



GERRY SIMON

"racetrack"-like roadways equipped with shelters.

In a deadly variance of the old "shell game," missiles would be placed in any one of the 4,600 "racetrack" horizontal shelters, making it virtually impossible for an enemy to know or guess which of the shelters contained the missiles. Mobility of the system, its proponents said, will greatly increase its chances of survival in a nuclear attack.

Theoretically, enough of the 200 MX missiles would escape the bombing and assure a capability for a massive counter-attack on the enemy.

Strategists contend that the United States must confront the enemy with a moving, rather than a stationary target—such as its present arsenal of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM), hidden in fixed silos.

The site most likely to be selected for the complex will be chosen from within an area—vaguely shaped like the state of Texas—known as the Great Basin of Nevada and Utah. Some sources indicate there is a shade or two less opposition to the plan in Utah than in Nevada.

The U.S. Army Corp of Engineers, South Pacific Division, construction agent for the Air Force, is managing the design and construction effort required to deploy the MX systems.

In a brochure prepared to alert architects, engineers and construction firms about the impending, unprecedented size of the construction effort, the corps says the Great Basin area is used as a "deployment model only." However, other sources closely connected to the overall planning said the area does have priority.

The brochure explains that the Nevada-Utah area contains "long, north-south trending alluvial valleys separated by mountain ranges rising about 3,400 feet above the valley floors. These valleys are geotechnically suitable for MX deployment.

"Most of the land area is public land managed by the Bureau of Land Management. The land is used for mining, ranching and some agriculture, with irrigation.

Completion in 1989

"About 35,000 people live within the area. Ely, Nev., with a population of about 4,000 is the largest community in the immediate area. Other communities are Tonopah (3,000) and Caliente (1,000), Nevada, and Delta (1,600), Utah, among others. Major urban centers in the region are Reno to the northwest, Las Vegas to the south and Salt Lake City to the northeast."

The corps' construction schedule shows that under the Air Force time-phased plan, completion will be in 1989. Design and construction planning was done at Vandenberg Air Force Base, it adds.

"The current Air Force schedule calls for a construction start in the deployment area beginning in 1982, with all work to be completed by 1989. A key milestone in this schedule calls for operational status of 10 clusters (10 operating missiles and 230 shelters) by mid-1986 and

Please Turn to Page 40, Col. 1

World Security, Human Rights Linked—Sakharov

By ANDREI SAKHAROV

The historic significance of the 1975 Helsinki Accords, the subject of a conference opening in Madrid today, lies in its affirmation of a crucial principle: International security and confidence are linked to respect for human rights.

The most complete statement of this idea is contained in Principle VII, Section 1 (a) of the accords' Final Act, committing participating states to fulfill all the provisions of the International Covenants on Human Rights and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. These provisions include guarantees for freedom of opinion and information, freedom to choose one's country of residence (and not just within the context of family reunification), freedom to choose one's domicile within each country, freedom of religion and freedom of association.

The Helsinki Accords also acknowledged the right of the participating states to monitor each other's record of compliance. Such monitoring is regarded not as intervention in internal affairs but rather as a contribution to international security and confidence. The Final Act marked a new stage in the formulation of an international ideology of human rights. Unfortunately, its principles have not been put into practice in a satisfactory fashion. I suppose that human-rights violations have occurred in many countries, including Western countries, but I shall speak about what I know best—the situation in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe.

The observance of fundamental civil and political rights in these countries has not just failed to improve over the past five years; the situation has in fact grown worse. Repressions against groups organized to

promote observance of the Final Act, including the Helsinki Watch groups in the Soviet Union and Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia, constitute the most brazen and challenging example of violations which demand from the participating states an unequivocal, uncompromising response—effective actions not limited to verbal protests.

More than 40 members of the Helsinki Watch groups are imprisoned. Many others also have been arrested—individuals who, although not formally members of the Watch groups, worked to promote the exchange of information and the defense of human rights as contributors to *samizdat* news magazines or journals of opinion, as participants in the movement for freedom of religion and freedom of emigration, or in other ways. The governments, nongovernmental organizations and concerned citizens of the participating states are under an obligation to defend all such victims of repression.

Peace in the world is indivisible. The consequences of any deviation from this principle only confirm its truth. Therefore, I cannot agree with those who consider the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan an event that is unrelated to security in Europe. I also cannot agree with those who suggest a boycott of the Madrid conference as a response to Soviet actions in Afghanistan or to the increased repression of dissenters. I believe that the participating states should use the opportunity offered by the Madrid conference to further a political settlement in Afghanistan, which must provide for the withdrawal of Soviet troops and international guarantees of peace, neutrality and free elections. The participating states should also promote the release of prisoners of conscience in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe, and in Western countries as well if persons are imprisoned there

who have not used or advocated violence.

The critical international situation requires that the Western participating states coordinate their tactics and pursue their goals with more determination and consistency than at Belgrade. The Helsinki Accords, like detente as a whole, have meaning only if they are observed fully and by all parties. No country should evade a discussion of its own domestic problems, whether the problems of Northern Ireland, the Crimean Tatars or Sakharov's exile (here I am speaking objectively). Nor should a country ignore violations in other participating states. The whole point of the Helsinki Accords is mutual monitoring, not mutual evasion of difficult problems.

I wish to mention a personal matter, although I foresee that some newspapers will drop this paragraph, as if they know better what is important for me. My illegal exile to Gorky last January attracted the attention of worldwide public opinion and government officials. I appeal to all who expressed concern at that time: Help our son's fiancée, Elizaveta Alexeyeva, receive permission to leave the Soviet Union. I appeal in particular to both government and private persons who may meet with Soviet leaders. Liza's fate, the lengthy separation of two people who love one another, has become a means of pressure on me. This is a strictly personal matter, with no connection whatsoever to interests of state. I do not know what the authorities have in mind for the future, but the affair has already become tragic. I am hoping for assistance in this very concrete problem which is so important to me. □

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Physicist Andrei Sakharov, who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1975, is in internal exile in Gorky, in the Soviet Union. His article was translated by the U.S. Helsinki Watch Committee.

U.S. Bid For Closer Libyan Ties Traced

By
BERNARD GWERTZMAN
New York Times News Service

WASHINGTON — In the spring of last year, President Tito of Yugoslavia informed President Carter secretly that Col. Moammar Khadafy, the Libyan leader, wanted to improve relations with the United States.

The message, in one of the frequent personal exchanges between Marshal Tito and Mr. Carter, evoked considerable interest in Washington where an effort to put Libyan relations on a sounder basis had just failed. In that effort, Billy Carter, the President's brother, had played an unwitting part the previous autumn.

Because of Billy Carter's reported connections with the Libyans there has been considerable interest in the recent course of Libyan-American relations. According to administration officials, in separate interviews, these ties in recent years have fluctuated between hope in 1978 and again in 1979 that, despite major political differences, Libya and the United States could ease their strains, to moments of frustration that it will ever be possible.

At the moment, following the government-sanctioned burning of the American Embassy last Dec. 2, political relations are at an all-time low. Although formal diplomatic relations exist, the United States withdrew its last diplomats from Libya in May when Libya refused to pay for the damages to the embassy or ensure the safety of Americans stationed in Tripoli.

But even though political ties are severely strained, a normalcy exists in the economic area. About 2,000 Americans live and work in Libya for some 50 American companies involved in Libya's lucrative oil business.

Eight percent of Ameri-

can oil imports come from Libya, which amounts to one-third of Libya's exports. Moreover, Exxon owns 49 percent of a liquefied natural gas plant in Libya that supplies substantial portions of Spanish and Italian energy needs.

And as the Billy Carter affair has indicated, the Libyans, who see themselves as leaders in the world revolutionary movement, practice international relations in the most unorthodox ways.

Khadafy, who seems to exult in baffling foreigners, has little interest in diplomats, rarely if ever sees them, and last year began substituting "People's Liaison Offices" for embassies in Washington and other capitals.

In 1978, the State Department had detected signs that Libya might be thinking of following a more moderate approach in world affairs. These signs came from a number of sources. The Libyans, long accused of aiding international terrorists, agreed to become parties to the Hague Convention against international piracy.

From Sept. 27 to Oct. 1, Billy Carter and a number of other Georgia business-

men made a trip at Libya's invitation to meet with leading figures in Libya.

They were told that Libya desired better relations with the United States. In part, the invitation to the Georgians was seen as an attempt to curry favor with the Georgian-dominated White House and to persuade the United States to allow the eight C-130 military transports to be sent to Libya that were paid for by the Libyans in 1973, but blocked since then by the State Department from leaving the Lockheed field at Marietta, Ga.

The Libyans also wanted the United States to approve the sale of two more Boeing 727s to add to the Libyan Airline fleet of nine other 727s. The State Department had recommended in March 1978 against the sale of the 727s and in July against the sale of \$60 million in Wisconsin-built heavy trucks that could conceivably transport tanks if war broke out between Libya and Egypt.

From Oct. 8 to 15, more than 100 American public figures including J. William Fulbright, the former chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, were flown to Libya for a "peo-

ple-to-people" conference, with better relations a major theme, even though Khadafy used the conference to attack the just-concluded Camp David agreements between Egypt and Israel.

That same month, David D. Newsom, the undersecretary of state for political affairs, who had been ambassador to Libya before Khadafy took power in 1969, met in Washington with Libyan Foreign Minister Ali Abdel Salam Turayki to discuss a thaw in relations.

Following that meeting, the United States announced that it had decided to allow the Libyans to buy the additional 727s and modified versions of the trucks.

In January 1979, the State Department also approved Libya's request to buy three Boeing 747s.

During this period of improving relations, Newsom met in Washington with Ahmed el-Shahati, who heads the Libyan "Liaison Office," during his five-week American tour, in which part of the time Billy Carter was his host in Georgia.

But from February to April 1979, the Libyans became involved in trying to

save the regime of Idi Amin in Uganda, and some Libyan troops were ferried to Uganda in 727s — not the ones just purchased the previous year — but older models. This led to an outcry on Capitol Hill that the American planes were being used illegally for military purposes. In May, the license for the three 747s was suspended by the State Department.

It was at this point that Tito's message was received in Washington. The Yugoslav leader was in close touch with Khadafy and it revived American hopes to soften Libyan opposition to Camp David.

Newsom was sent by the administration to Tripoli in June 1979 to meet with Khadafy, but because the leader's mother had just died, he had to meet instead with

Maj. Abdul Salaam Jalloud, the No. 2 man. Newsom said that the United States wanted to regularize relations by discussing questions arising from Libyan nationalization of some American firms, and Libya's image as the supporter of terrorism. Jalloud hammered away instead at Washington's "deceit" in holding up the export of the C-130s and the Boeing 747s.

It was decided that Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance would meet in New York in September with Turayki at the time of the U.N. General Assembly session.

Meanwhile, Billy Carter and others attended the tenth anniversary celebrations in Libya of the revolution from Aug. 28 to Oct. 5.

Vance and Turayki agreed that Newsom would begin talks with Libyan officials on specific issues between the two countries with an eye toward settling them. On Nov. 4, the American Embassy in Iran was

seized by militants and on Nov. 8, the initial Libyan comment about the takeover was critical of the action.

Even though Libya and Iran were not on the best of terms, the fact that the radical Libyans were critical of the embassy takeover was noted in Washington.

The State Department sent a routine message to William L. Eagleton Jr., the senior diplomat in Libya, asking his advice on how to seek Libyan help.

But without the knowl-

edge of the department, the White House took its own steps. Zbigniew Brzezinski, the national security adviser, at the urging of Rosalynn Carter, asked Billy Carter's help in getting the Libyans to pressure Iran on the hostages.

Brzezinski and Billy Carter met on Nov. 27 with Ali el-Houderi, the head of Libya's Liaison Office, but even though Libya did subsequently urge the hostage release, the U.S. Embassy in Tripoli was burned on Dec. 2.

Nuclear Arms Pact a Success—in Part

Many Nations Feel U.S. Is Hindering Peaceful Use of A-Power

By **DON COOK**
Times Staff Writer

GENEVA—By any standard of compliance with international agreements, the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, signed in 1968 and in force since 1970, has been one of the real diplomatic and political successes of the postwar world.

So far, 115 nations have signed the treaty, giving it the highest level of adherence in the history of arms-control agreements. Overwhelmingly, the nations of the world have pledged themselves not to manufacture or acquire nuclear weapons, or divert nuclear materials from peaceful purposes to possible weapons production, and overwhelmingly the pledges are being kept.

In 35 years only six countries have set off nuclear explosions. The United States tested the first atom bomb in 1945, followed by the So-

viet Union in 1947, Britain in 1952, France in 1960 and China in 1964—all before the non-proliferation treaty was negotiated.

Since then, India has joined the nuclear ranks by carrying out a successful above-ground test explosion in 1974. Presumably, a device of the sort India tested could be repackaged at short notice as a nuclear bomb. India is one of the handful of key states that have refused to sign the non-proliferation treaty.

Key Objectives Achieved

The treaty's fundamental objective, halting the spread of nuclear weapons, has been achieved almost totally, but the technological, political and emotional problems surrounding the nuclear question are so strong that despite the treaty's success, there is growing dissatisfaction between the nuclear haves and the nuclear have-nots. Everybody continues to feel that the

world is teetering on the brink of another illicit nuclear test somewhere.

About half of the treaty's 115 signers have representatives in Geneva for the second five-year review conference since the treaty came into force. They are reviewing the workings of the treaty and what can be done to improve and strengthen it.

But it is the non-signers of the treaty, the nations that are not represented in Geneva, who cast the longest shadow—Israel, India, Pakistan, South Africa, North Korea, Argentina, Brazil and Spain, to name the more significant of them. In varying degrees all these countries have a nuclear capability. Some of them may well have both the incentive and the determination to follow India's example of 1974. In the case of Israel, there is a general assumption that even though Israel has not tested a bomb, it has such a weapon.

There is, of course, not much that this conference can do about countries outside the treaty, except to voice suspicions and criticisms of those who refuse to join in making the world a little safer. But the fundamental problem, which surfaced as soon as the general debate began at the Palais des Nations, is the strong dissatisfaction among those who adhere to the treaty with the "nuclear bargain" they have made with the nuclear weapons states, the United States in particular.

Of the five original "weapons states," France and China have refused to sign the treaty. But the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union, the originators of the treaty, made some fairly important undertakings to get the non-nuclear nations of the world to sign and pledge that they would never develop nuclear weapons. They pledged first to pursue negotiations on nuclear disarmament, and, more importantly, they pledged "the fullest possible exchange of equipment, materials and scientific and technological information for peaceful uses of nuclear energy."

This is the "bargain" the United States is accused here of either forgetting or ignoring.

In the last three years, under the Carter Administration, American nuclear policy has tightened considerably, but in general this has hurt the signers of the treaty more than it has hurt the non-signers. Some examples:

—A long argument between the United States and Japan over a nuclear reprocessing plant the Japanese built, which the United States considered to be unnecessary and a potential factor in proliferation.

Controversy Over Sale

—A squabble with West Germany over the sale of a nuclear power complex to Brazil, including a reprocessing facility.

—Withholding of export licenses for components of a nuclear power plant that the Westinghouse company was building for Yugoslavia, holding up completion of the plant for months.

—Suspension of the exportation of nuclear fuel rods to the European Common Market pending institution of a new American licensing procedure.

—Suspension of economic and military assistance to Pakistan (hastily resumed after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan) because of

Pakistan's determination to push ahead with its nuclear program without adhering to the non-proliferation treaty.

—Sustained American efforts against the development of plutonium-fed fast-breeder reactors and the development of commercial reprocessing facilities in France, Britain, West Germany and Japan.

—Abrupt tightening of down-the-line controls over American fuel rods sold for export to prevent them from being reprocessed.

As a result of these moves over the last few years, the United States is no longer regarded as a reliable supplier of either nuclear plants or nuclear fuel. The United States once had a virtual monopoly on supplying fuel to Western Europe, but the Soviet Union today supplies more than half the enriched uranium rods used in West Germany and other European states.

"We are not satisfied with the workings of the non-proliferation treaty because it is only partially

ARTIFICIAL INSEMINATION PROJECT

Sperm Bank May Save Wild Animals

By RUDY ABRAMSON

Times Staff Writer

POOLESVILLE, Md.—Both of Stephen Seager's parents back in Ireland were physicians, and when he was a boy there was considerable pressure on him to become a physician, too.

But for as long as he can remember, he was always a "zoo nut." And that was why he went into veterinary medicine instead of pediatrics or gynecology or podiatry. That is also how he came to be on the cutting edge of research that could someday rescue some of the earth's most treasured wild animals from extinction.

Over the last several years, Seager and his associates have built a semen bank that now includes the frozen sperm of 120 species of wild animals, more than half of them on the endangered species list and

some of them already flirting with extinction.

The wolf is the only wild animal to have produced offspring from frozen sperm that had been put in suspended animation in a container of liquid nitrogen. Attempts with the jaguar and bengal tiger have failed.

But scientists hope that artificial insemination can have a major impact in saving endangered species because of its enormous success in domestic animal breeding, particularly with beef and dairy cattle. Healthy calves have been produced by sperm frozen for more than 30 years.

"We still don't know why we haven't been more successful," Seager said, "but I am confident that we are just scratching the surface. The work we are doing now will be commonplace 20 to 30 years from now."

Besides increasing the size of the sperm bank, Seager said he hopes to begin collecting semen from animals in the wild and to push for an international sperm bank that would include every species on earth.

The case of such endangered animals as gorillas, clouded leopards and Siberian tigers, Seager sees the possibility of expanding "gene pools" by using sperm from animals in the wild to impregnate females in zoos, helping to keep captive populations from being weakened by inbreeding.

Next year Seager hopes to have his first opportunity to preserve sperm from an animal in the wild when he takes part in a major giant panda research project being planned by China and the World Wildlife Fund International.

The giant panda has become the symbol of world wildlife conserva-

tion because of its dwindling numbers in the wild and its difficulty in breeding in captivity.

Chinese scientists estimate that only about 1,000 giant pandas survive in their mountainous 30,000-square-kilometer native habitat. About 30 more are in captivity in zoos around the world.

Although the first giant panda to be born in captivity in the Western Hemisphere died last week in Mexico City, another one may be on the way.

Hsing-Hsing and Ling-Ling, who were given to the United States by China in 1972 and now live at the National Zoo in Washington, D.C., have not been able to produce an offspring.

Last May, Seager went to Washington with a vial of frozen semen from his bank.

He joined with Dr. Theodore Reid and Dr. Mitchell Bush of the Washington National zoo in an effort that has gained national attention—to produce a newborn panda in captivity.

Within the next two months, officials at the National Zoo will find out whether Ling-Ling was made pregnant by a giant panda she never met.

Seager and an associate, Carroll Platz, began building their sperm bank in the early '70s while Seager was on the faculty of the University of Oregon Medical School. They made frequent trips to a farm in Washington State, owned by Walt Disney Productions, to collect and freeze sperm from big cats.

By the time the team moved to Texas in 1974, the techniques for collection and freezing had been much improved, though each species presented a new set of problems.

Earlier this year, Seager took a leave from his post at Texas A&M College of Veterinary Medicine to conduct a two-year research project at the National Institutes of Health's Animal Research Center near Poolesville.

When he has finished his work here, he hopes to find the financial support to send his team and its mobile laboratory into the wild to collect and freeze semen.

"I would like to do many things that we haven't so far," he said. "I would like to preserve the semen of hoof animals, snakes, birds' and sea mammals—dolphins, maybe even whales."

ARMS PACT

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being fulfilled," Yugoslavia's assistant foreign secretary, Ignac Golob, told the conference. "We find our peaceful nuclear programs impeded by lack of a free exchange of information, by unilaterally imposed restrictions on the flow of equipment and materials and by monopolistic policies of the supplier countries. There are serious complications in relations among the treaty partners and a loss of confidence which must be corrected."

The signers of the treaty, who have placed their nuclear installations under full safeguards and controls by the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna, clearly feel that their word and their pledge should be reciprocated and respected by a more positive and cooperative attitude on the part of the United States in matters of nuclear supply for peaceful purposes.

It has been another case of America damaging itself with its friends while scarcely denting the position of its foes in the cause of non-proliferation.

'Zbigniew Brzezinski Asked If I Could Arrange a Military Coup'

By WILLIAM H. SULLIVAN

In 1925, when Reza Khan founded the Pahlavi dynasty, Persia was a country in name only. The writ of the Qajar Shahs had run little beyond the limits of Tehran. Regional, local and tribal chieftains ran the rest of the country just as they had in most of the 19th Century, when they were manipulated by Russian and British agents, as the two contending empires played their "great game" across the entire sweep of Southwest Asia.

During the first 15 years of his regime, Reza Shah, often at the head of his own troops, enforced and established his authority through all the country, which he renamed Iran to stress its Aryan origins and to distinguish it from its Hittite and Semite neighbors. He acquired a number of enemies among his countrymen in the process but on the eve of World War II, he had restored his nation's integrity and independence in a form that it had not known for centuries.

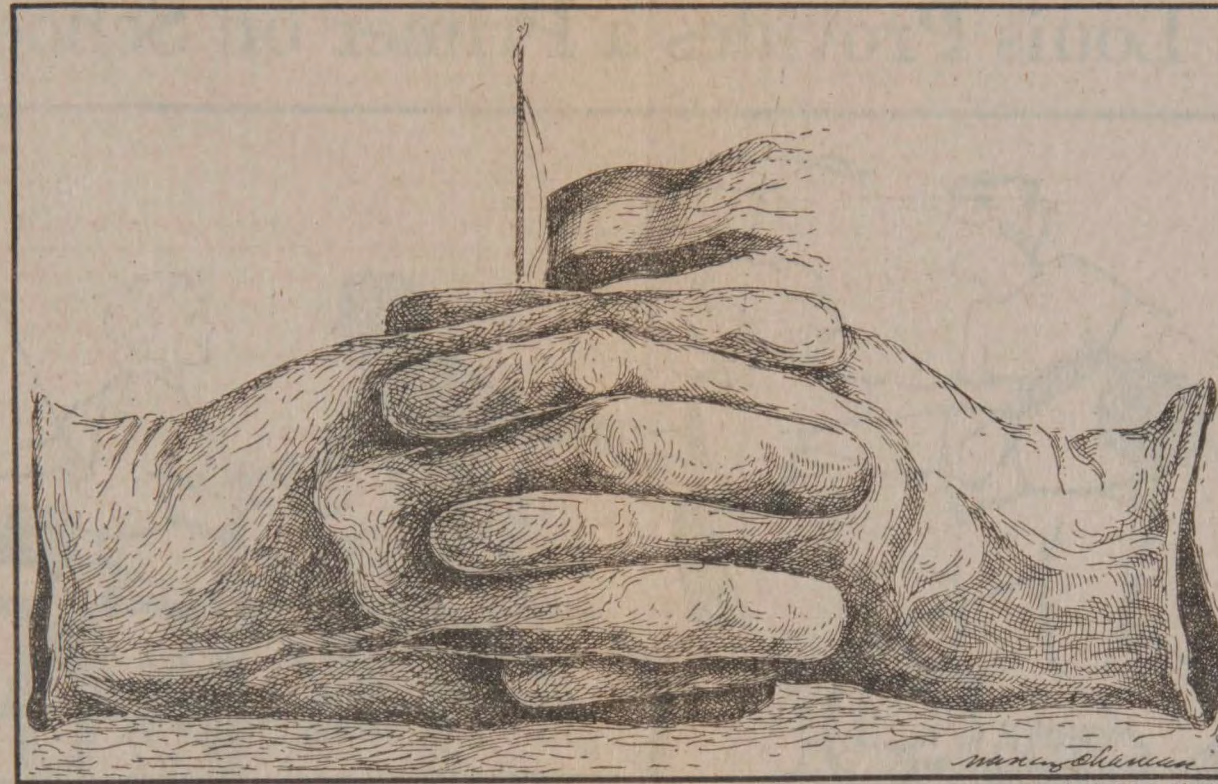
Then, just as this achievement took form, it was snatched away when British and Soviet forces invaded and occupied Iran, dividing it between them for the duration of the war and replacing the deposed Reza Shah with his 21-year-old son, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi. With this history, the young man matured into a ruler who was preoccupied with restoring and maintaining the integrity of Iran, and who shared the Iranian xenophobia with respect to all foreign states.

In recent years, the United States has come to depend upon the Persian Gulf for 30% of its oil imports. Western Europe's dependency is over 60% and Japan's is over 70%. Therefore, the integrity and independence of Iran have become of significant importance to the United States and to its allies. Conversely, in strategic terms the disintegration of Iran or its economic dependence upon the Soviet bloc would represent a major gain for the Soviet Union.

Consequently, the policy of the United States in an Iranian crisis should have been guided primarily by concern for the preservation of the territorial integrity of that nation and its independence from Soviet control or manipulation. Other concerns, such as the well-being and the political as well as the human rights of the Iranian people, should also have been of importance in view of America's long-standing association with Iran.

The crisis that came in 1978 developed rapidly, but not so suddenly as to have precluded a careful assessment of U.S. options and the formulation of a policy to enhance American interests. But to decide among those options required a mature understanding of the nature of the revolution that was sweeping Iran in 1978 and the factors that contributed to its rapid success. It was far more complex than the simplistic Islamic revolution label accorded it by much of the press.

Rather, the 1978 crisis was an uprising that was joined by all the enemies of the Pahlavis. These included the old aristocrats from the Qajar regime—the feudal landholders who had lost their villages in the land-reform programs; the social democrats who had been suppressed with Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh in 1953; the bazaaris—the traditional merchant class—who felt left out of the shah's industrialization program;



Drawing by Nancy Ohanian

the young, rootless industrial workers who had never been able to adjust to their vagrant life in the cities; the various radical Islamic groups such as the Mujahadeen and the Fedayeen; the separatists in Kurdistan, Azerbaijan and elsewhere; the old tribal chieftains who flocked back from exile; the pro-Soviet communists of the Tudeh party; and the other communist groups who eschewed Moscow's direction.

All of these opponents of the Pahlavi dynasty, for their own individual reasons, were willing to band together for the purpose of overthrowing the shah. All were under the ostensible leadership of the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, who, fired by his own personal animosity toward the Pahlavis, was able to give the movement the coloration of a religious crusade.

The American embassy in Tehran attempted in its reporting to convey the complex and negative nature of this revolution and to express the view that the direction Iran would take in a post-shah period was far from preordained. I believe the State Department, in general, understood and accepted those reports. There were, however, those at the State Department who were so strongly opposed to the shah because of the human-rights abuses of his regime that they wished to see him collapse no matter what the consequences for the United States or its allies.

Therefore, when the State Department advanced the view that the shah's regime would not survive, there were many others in the Washington bureaucracy, particularly on the National Security Council (where the

revolt was simplistically believed to be an Islamic revolution), who attributed the State Department's perception, and indirectly that of the embassy, to an expression of wishful thinking on the part of those whose vision was blurred by their zeal for human rights.

This division in perceptions within the Washington bureaucracy also extended to the nature of instructions that were sent to the embassy or, more often, to the absence of any instructions whatsoever because the bureaucracy could not agree upon their terms. Most significant in these divisions was the difference in perception about the shah's willingness to use force to suppress the revolution.

Time and again the shah told me that he would not use force because a "king cannot murder his own people." With what I regarded as more convincing logic, he told me that if he used force, he could suppress the spreading revolution only as long as he himself lived. Since he reckoned his mortality in a short time frame, he felt the suppressed forces would blow up in the face of his son, and the dynasty would, in any event, be blasted away.

In Washington, these embassy reports were apparently received with divided conclusions. The State Department—and eventually the Central Intelligence Agency—accepted them objectively and believed the shah would follow a policy of concession rather than force. Other elements of the bureaucracy, led by National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, apparently thought that I had abandoned 32 years of professional

objectivity and was subjectively tailoring my telegrams to fit what they conceived to be the mood of the State Department.

In this pernicious atmosphere, U.S. policy formulation broke down. By November 1978, Brzezinski began to make his own policy and established his own "embassy" in Iran. That embassy materialized in the person of Ardeshir Zahedi, the shah's ambassador in Washington, who returned to Tehran at Brzezinski's behest with the explicit mission of pulling the shah's resolve together so that he could suppress the revolution. Zahedi arrived on the scene full of zeal and confidence. He saw the shah frequently and reported daily (on the open international telephone monitored by the Soviets) to Brzezinski. He also began to telephone reports to me, but I soon preferred to see him at his home to better evaluate what he was saying and doing.

The shah continually told me to warn Washington not to pay attention to Zahedi because he did not understand the current situation. Naturally, my reports of this warning served only to deepen the divisions and heighten the suspicions that beset Washington at that time.

The confusion also contaminated the Iranians. Brzezinski reportedly encouraged Zahedi to urge the shah to use force. These messages were doubtless embroidered in being relayed to their high destination. When the shah turned to me for confirmation of these appeals, I could point only to platitudinous cables that leaned toward concession.

Matters came to a head in mid-November. A military government, headed by Gen. Gholam Azhari, had been installed on Nov. 5, 1978, after rioting and arson had left Tehran in a shambles. On Nov. 9 I sent a message to Washington saying that this was the last chance for the shah to control the revolutionary process. If this government failed, I stated that we should anticipate the collapse of the shah and look for alternate means to protect and preserve our interests. I defined those interests in terms of the territorial integrity and independence of Iran and said that, given the nature of the revolution, the only instrument that could advance those objectives was the armed forces.

We should act, therefore, to preclude the armed forces from being chewed up in the revolution. Because of our special relationship, we should determine whether we could broker an arrangement that would permit the armed forces to remain intact. They would have to be under the direction of a government that would enjoy the support of the groups that would prevail after the success of the revolution and that would have the blessing of Khomeini. I anticipated (correctly, as it turned out) that the first government to emerge from the shock of the revolution would be headed by Medhi Bazargan, a benevolent social democrat.

I never received a reply to this fundamental message. Instead, it soon became apparent that my views were no longer welcome at the White House. Emissaries of various types began to arrive from Washington to assess the situation *de novo* and to encourage the shah to use force.

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A Former U.S. Ambassador Gives His Version of 'Who Lost Iran'

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On Dec. 20 the leader of the military government suffered a heart attack, and the situation that I had anticipated on Nov. 9 came to pass. As if to underline this fact, Azhari summoned me to his sickbed to tell me that the regime was lost "due to the indecision of the king." I duly reported this to Washington and then went on to say that I intended to move along the lines I had recommended in my cable of Nov. 9. There were no instructions to the contrary, and so I began to steer the embassy through a series of actions that sought to establish the ground rules under which the Iranian armed forces, purged of some of their more controversial leaders, would be accepted by a Bazargan government.

At the same time, we sought to determine on what terms the armed forces would accept such an arrangement. Detailed understandings were reached between the armed forces and revolutionary leaders in Tehran: A number of senior officers would have been allowed to leave the country with the shah, and a transfer of allegiance of the remaining armed forces would have been made in a way that would have preserved their integrity. Because the United States controlled the logistics for all sophisticated elements of the armed forces, there were means to assure the implementation of these arrangements.

About this time, the internecine squabbling in Washington began to impinge upon my communications. I began to discover that any sensitive message I sent, no matter how highly classified, that digressed from the views of the National Security Council staff would appear, almost verbatim, in the New York Times. I therefore had to use the secure telephone exclusively to communicate with the State Department.

When plans for the peaceful transfer of military authority had sufficiently matured and when the shah had decided to leave the country and hand over a fig-leaf of authority to a government headed by a man he despised—Shahpour Bakhtiar—I felt it was important that the nature of the proposed transition be discussed with and understood by Khomeini, who was in Paris. This was especially important because Bakhtiar jauntily took the position that he, rather than Khomeini and the victorious revolution, would exercise governmental power despite the fact that he had no constituency and no popular support.

Accordingly, I proposed that an authoritative emissary be sent from Washington to consult with Khomeini. We already knew from contacts with his entourage that he was concerned about bloodshed between the revolutionaries and the armed forces when he returned to Tehran after the planned departure of the shah. We also assumed that he had given general sanction to the arrangements we had made with the revolutionary leaders in Tehran, but felt it was important that we have his first-hand acceptance of these understandings.

I discussed this suggestion on the secure telephone directly with Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance. He ap-

proved the general idea and then sent me, by a system called secure telecon, a talking paper for use by our emissary. When I had agreed to its terms, he then instructed me to discuss the entire enterprise with the shah, whose departure was less than two weeks away. After I received the shah's acquiescence, Vance informed me that he had selected as our emissary Theodore Eliot, the inspector general of the Foreign Service, former ambassador to Afghanistan, former economic counselor in Tehran, and a fluent Farsi linguist. I applauded the choice. Here was a man who understood Khomeini and the nuances of the Iranian situation. He could convey in a forceful manner the full dignity of American purpose as well as American sincerity.

I then turned my attention toward a refinement of plans for the evacuation of American officials and civilians. I believed the revolutionary transition could occur peacefully and therefore exercised considerable selectivity in choosing those Americans who should leave because of their association with Pahlavi-controlled enterprises, and those who might stay because their presence would be needed to help the new regime in its economic and security programs.

During the first week of January, I received an urgent nighttime message from Washington informing me that the Eliot mission had been canceled and that President Carter had directed that the shah be so informed. The President, who had stayed in Guadeloupe after the economic summit meeting with West European leaders to do some deep-sea fishing, was accompanied in his retreat only by Brzezinski. I sent an impassioned reply to the secretary of state imploring reconsideration and stating that cancellation of the Eliot mission would be an "irretrievable" mistake. I received a curt rejection that cited all the cabinet officers who agreed with the President. When I told the shah, he reacted with incredulity and asked how the United States expected to influence "these people," if it would not even deal with them.

As far as I could determine, the United States, on the eve of the shah's departure, was left with no policy. I immediately thought of all the American citizens who would be caught up in the confrontation that would result if no arrangements were worked out for a peaceful transition. We had to move immediately from a situation in which we foresaw a controlled transfer of power to one in which I could perceive nothing but chaos, for the shah had already fixed the date when he would swear in Bakhtiar as prime minister and then leave the country.

However, I overlooked the Brzezinski factor. It appears that he had a plan in mind. He had already sent to Tehran Gen. Robert Huyser, deputy commander of U.S. forces in Europe and deputy to Alexander Haig, supreme allied commander in Europe. I had used Huyser frequently in the past to help us guide the Iranians in the restructuring of their armed forces' command-and-control system so that they would be able to utilize

some of the sophisticated equipment we had sold them. When it was proposed that Huyser come to Iran at the time of the shah's departure, Haig telephoned me on the secure line to say that he was opposed to the mission and would resign if it were undertaken. It was undertaken, and he resigned.

Huyser, every inch a straightforward good soldier, arrived in Tehran somewhat flustered by the nature of his mission and by Haig's resignation. He moved in with me, and we shared all our message traffic and our common concerns. We did not always agree. But when we differed, we did so openly and with due respect.

Huyser's mission, as described in the brief official order he received, was to assist in maintaining the integrity of the armed forces and in transferring their loyalty from the departing shah to the Bakhtiar regime.

Parallel to this order, I received terse instructions telling me that the policy of the U.S. government was to support the Bakhtiar government without reservation and to assist its survival. I replied by pointing out that the Bakhtiar government was a chimera that the shah had created to permit a dignified departure, that Bakhtiar himself was quixotic and would be swept aside by the arrival of Khomeini and his supporters in Tehran. Moreover, I argued that it would be feckless to transfer the loyalty of the armed forces to Bakhtiar because this would cause the destructive confrontation between the armed forces and the revolutionaries that we hoped to avoid. It would result in the disintegration of the armed forces and eventually in the disintegration of Iran. It would be directly contrary to U.S. interests.

By this time, my exchanges with Washington had become increasingly acerbic. The reply I received to this message, in my judgment, contained an insulting aspersion upon my loyalty and instructed me, in no uncertain terms, to support Bakhtiar no matter what reservations I had. At this point I decided, like Haig, to resign. However, I still was responsible for protecting about 15,000 remaining Americans in the face of enveloping chaos. I therefore quenched my Irish temper, sent my wife out of the country, prepared for the worst, and delayed my resignation until after the anticipated holocaust.

As the confrontation between Bakhtiar and Khomeini quickened, Huyser received continuing instructions to prepare the armed forces for conflict in defense of the Bakhtiar regime. On the basis of his observations, he offered to Washington his opinion that in such a confrontation the armed forces would prevail. But he always tempered this observation by stating that I disagreed and that I believed the army would disintegrate when ordered to fire on revolutionaries, some of whom were relatives of the soldiers. As a result, their arms would be dispersed throughout the whole tangled and conflicting fabric of the revolutionary forces, making it impossible for the Bazargan government to assume quick and effective control when it inevitably took power.

The armed forces understood this also. When Gen.

Abbas Gharabaghi, their commander-in-chief, decided to resign, Bakhtiar, who had been assured by Washington that I was under instructions to support him, called me into the actual meeting during which Gharabaghi attempted to submit his resignation. Like two characters in a Greek tragedy in which both knew the futility of their actions, I remained true to my ambassadorial oath by urging the general to withdraw his resignation, and he agreed to do so. It was a sickening performance for both of us.

Within a matter of days, the confrontation we had feared took place. It began when the junior air force officers and enlisted men at the Doshen Toppeh Air Base mutinied and overwhelmed an imperial guard armored unit. The captured tanks were turned on the headquarters building of the armed forces where many U.S. military officers, including the general in charge of the Military Assistance Advisory Group, were stationed.

Well into that night, I worked with our contacts among the revolutionaries to arrange for the extraction of these Americans from the bunker in which they were trapped. Just as I was at the point of achieving their rescue, I received a telephone call in the clear over the international circuit from Washington relaying a message from Brzezinski who asked whether I thought I could arrange a military coup against the revolution. I regret that the reply I made is unprintable.

Thus, chaos descended on Iran. The armed forces disintegrated, their weapons fell into the hands of all those disparate elements in the revolution who in turn fell to fighting among themselves once the shah had gone. Bazargan and his government had no means to enforce order; and Khomeini, in his desire to remain the nominal leader of the revolution, would issue no directions that would be substantially disobeyed. This situation meant that the extremists would be able to set the pace, and in most matters, that has been the pattern ever since. The disintegration of the nation is well advanced and a growing economic dependence on the Soviet Union has begun.

I have no way of stating categorically that the road not taken would have averted what has happened in Iran. But perhaps I can end this article by quoting Bazargan from an interview that he gave to Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci: "Then think of the deplorable state in which the army, police and security forces find themselves, all of them indispensable bodies for establishing law and order. . . . The revolutionary committees and the revolutionary guards cannot perform their duties because they're not trained, they quarrel among themselves and they refuse to take orders from us. . . . I say that these are things that would paralyze any government." □

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William H. Sullivan is the former U.S. ambassador to Iran. His article will appear in the fall issue of Foreign Policy magazine #40.

MAD' to Worse?

Yes: The Revision of U.S. Strategy Implies a Belief in Limited War

By PAUL C. WARNKE

The doctrine of Mutual Assured Destruction—that nuclear war is best deterred by the certainty that the side starting it would suffer unacceptable damage—has been given a bad name. But Presidential Directive 59, the Administration's recently announced revision of our nuclear strategy, shows how hard it is to escape the logic of the "MAD" concept.

Secretary of Defense Harold Brown has been careful to state that Presidential Directive 59 "is not a new strategic doctrine" and that it is simply a policy "refinement." He notes that he himself does not take seriously the theoretical possibility of victory in a nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union. But nonetheless he describes the revision in strategy as putting "more stress on being able to employ strategic nuclear forces selectively." The justification asserted for this dichotomy is that the Soviet leadership may not accept the view that nuclear war is not winnable.

But Mutual Assured Destruction is not just another doctrine to be accepted or rejected. It is a fact of life—and death. Avoidance of this potential joint fate requires that nuclear war be prevented. The real issue in the emerging debate about strategic policy is whether Presidential Directive 59—with its implicit assumption that a nuclear war can be "controlled" and "prolonged" and end up with a result favorable to one or the other side—will improve or erode deterrence.

The current debate is not a new one. For more than two decades, some strategists have balked at the idea that strategic nuclear forces can serve only to neutralize those of the other side. They have struggled to find a theory under which such weapons could be employed to support U.S. foreign-policy objectives. In the past, as today, their main argument has been that our strategy must include the possibility of limited nuclear war because this possibility can be found in some Soviet literature. A review of American literature in the field, and perhaps Presidential Directive 59 itself, indicates that this aberration is not confined to the other side of the ocean.

The real issue is not, as some critics of Mutual Assured Destruction would have it, whether the President of the United States should be confined to the single option of an all-out attack on Soviet cities or whether the Soviet Union strikes the United States with one, 100 or several thousand nuclear missiles. With more than 10,000 strategic warheads at the President's disposal, his targeting options are many and varied. Instead, the question is whether we should accept the proposition that a nuclear war between the two superpowers can be limited, can be conducted in a rational fashion looking toward a successful conclusion, and that there will be a winner and a loser.

If, as Secretary Brown wrote the NATO defense ministers, Presidential Directive 59 means only that we should have the ability to respond by less than "a general U.S. retaliation on the full range of targets" if the Soviet leadership should choose some intermediate level of escalation, I can see no reason for alarm.

But if, instead, the underlying rationale is that we should prepare ourselves to fight and win a limited nuclear war—as some exponents of the new directive seem to be saying—then there is a cause for alarm indeed. After worrying for years whether the Soviets fully appreciate that a survivable retaliatory capability on both sides offers the greatest security in an age of nuclear weapons, we would now find ourselves espousing a counterforce strategy, under which the one who strikes first might so erode the other's strategic nuclear forces as to prevent effective retaliation. If this is the underlying rationale for the MX mobile missile system, there is all the more reason to reconsider the decision to proceed with the MX system on an accelerated basis.

Strategic stability—the minimization of the risk of nuclear war—requires survivable strategic forces adequate to discourage any thought of a successful preemptive attack. Our money and our technological genius ought to be put into those measures that improve the survivability of our deterrent. To this end, the longer-range Trident missiles will mean that our ballistic-missile submarines can operate farther away from Soviet shores and be even less vulnerable to any future Soviet anti-submarine warfare efforts. The long-range cruise missiles to be carried by our strategic bombers will similarly increase our survivable nuclear force and its ability to overwhelm any foreseeable Soviet air defenses. Work should continue on possible ways to lessen the vulnerability of the land-based component of our deterrent triad, the intercontinental ballistic missiles.

But a doctrine and the weapons to match it that do nothing to improve the survivability of our own deterrent, but instead threaten that of the Soviet Union, detract from our own security and enhance significantly the risks that nuclear war may start through panic, as it could never do through rational calculation. There is, I recognize, a strong temptation to find an alternative to the "balance of terror," or MAD. But, as Emily Dickinson recognized, there are times when "much madness is divinest sense."

Scenarios for limited strategic exchange between the two countries are inherently implausible. Any Soviet attack that would leave untouched the majority of our strategic nuclear delivery vehicles would be an act of insane provocation. To have even a theoretical chance of taking out our more than 1,000 land-based ICBMs, the Soviets would have to launch 2,000 to 3,000 accurate warheads of high yield. This could hardly be described as a limited nuclear war. It would deserve and would receive at least an equally massive response.

Speculation that the Soviet leadership may not understand these simple facts and that we should therefore adopt a nuclear-war-fighting strategy makes no more sense than a contention that we should adopt Soviet agricultural policy because it differs from our own. My own experience in dealing with Soviet officials on strategic issues persuades me that they entertain no doubt of the fact that a nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union would mean sheer destruction for both sides.

Regrettably, as the nuclear arms competition continues, the weapons on both sides inexorably require greater counterforce characteristics. For both sides deliberately to develop and optimize the capability to fight little nuclear wars can only impair deterrence and increase the likelihood that they will find themselves engaged in the final big nuclear war.

If Presidential Directive 59 is merely an evolution in the strategy of deterrence to make it clear that we have a less than all-out response to a less than all-out nuclear strike, however unlikely the latter may be, then it can be viewed with equanimity and even mild approbation. If it is intended to mean more, and to legitimize the possibility of limited nuclear war, then it is indeed a move from "MAD" to worse. □

Paul C. Warnke was director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency from 1977 to 1978, and was chief U.S. negotiator during the SALT talks.

Saudi Jetliner Fire Toll Rises to 301

From The San Diego Union's News Services

JIDDA, Saudi Arabia — A Moslem pilgrim who lit a gas stove to make tea started the fire that turned a Saudi jetliner into a flying inferno, killing all 301 people aboard in history's second worst single-plane disaster, officials said yesterday.

In the panic that ensued as flames swept down the aisle, passengers blocked the emergency exits and jammed the doors aboard the Lockheed L-1011 TriStar, the officials said.

As investigators searched the wreckage to answer the two most important questions — how the fire started and why the emergency doors jammed — the death toll from Tuesday's disaster was raised to 301.

Among the dead were two Americans and five Britons.

The Muskegon Bank and Trust Co. of Muskegon, Mich., said it was notified that William Willett, 53, formerly of Muskegon, was aboard the plane. The bank holds a trust for Willett. It said Willett was working for the Boston-based construction company Charles T. Main Ltd. at the time of his death.

The other American reported dead was an aircraft technician identified only as Curtiss.

The contributing factors in the disaster were revealed by the plane's "black box" voice recorder, which contained the Saudi pilot's last words.

Initially, all authorities knew was that a fire broke out aboard the Jidda-bound craft shortly after takeoff from Riyadh Tuesday night, when the pilot radioed that he was returning for an emergency landing.

With flames spurting from the fuselage, the green-and-white plane touched down and taxied to a far end of the runway, where rescuers tugged frantically at the jammed emergency doors but could not get them open.

The pilot's account of what happened, as recorded in the black box, said a Moslem pilgrim sitting in



—AP Wirephoto

This is the wreckage of the jetliner that was engulfed by flames after it

made an emergency return to the Riyadh airport.

the rear economy section ignited a gas stove to make a cup of tea. A fire started and it quickly spread from back to front while the plane was still in the air.

Panicking passengers rushed the emergency doors but, in the flames and smoke, succeeded only in blocking them, officials said.

A statement by the Saudi Civil Aviation Directorate said searchers found the gas stove that started the blaze in the rear of the plane, along with a fire extinguisher used in a vain attempt to put out the fire.

The directorate said it

found passengers jammed against the exit doors, apparently preventing them from opening.

"It was clear that the passengers were pushing each other and gathered at the main exit doors where most burned corpses were found — a fact which may have hindered the crew from carrying out their duties," the statement said.

The report appeared to rule out an earlier theory that a short circuit in the cockpit started the fire.

Travelers in the Middle East, particularly those on a pilgrimage to the Moslem shrine at Mecca, often

carry gas stoves to make tea in flight, and on several occasions they have touched off fires on airplanes.

"Regrettably," the directorate statement said, "some pilgrims traditionally carry with them — secretly — such flammable equipment."

About 75 percent of the victims were Saudis who boarded the plane in Karachi, Saudi airline officials in the Pakistani city said. Earlier, officials in Karachi said most of the passengers were Pakistanis returning to work in Saudi Arabia after visits home for the Eid festival at the end of the Moslem holy month of Ramadan.

Saudi officials initially put the death toll at 265. Then a day later, they raised it without explanation to 301, making it the second-worst disaster involving a single plane.

The worst such disaster was the crash of a Turkish Airlines DC-10 near Paris in March 1974, in which 346 people died.

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Anti-Airport Warhead Is Planned

LIVERMORE (UPI) — The Lawrence Livermore Laboratory said yesterday it has been assigned the task of designing a non-nuclear warhead that will scatter 60 bombs from a single missile along an aircraft runway and blow it up.

The new warhead, to be carried by the cruise missile now being developed, will be designed to scatter 60 mini-warheads along a runway. Each of the small shots will contain three stages. The first will punch a hole in the concrete, the second will drive the warhead beneath the concrete, and the third will "cause severe upheaval damage," the laboratory said.

"The combined effect of up to 60 of these upheavals will render the runway useless to the enemy," said John Kury, head of the laboratory's non-nuclear ordnance programs.

Kury said airports have always been difficult targets because, while one bomb can blow a hole in a landing strip, a single hit does not put the runway out of use.

Lawrence Livermore Laboratory is run by the University of California for the Department of Energy. It carries out major nuclear weapons programs as well as energy and other non-nuclear research.

The new warhead project, which is slated to have the weapon operational by 1982, will cost about \$10 million, the announcement said. It is part of the Department of Defense's joint cruise missile project, for which the laboratory is also designing nuclear warheads.

Brown Notes Vulnerability Of ICBMs

Defense Chief Outlines Reasons For Shift In N-Strategy

New York Times News Service

WASHINGTON — Secretary of Defense Harold R. Brown asserted yesterday that the nation's force of land-based intercontinental missiles may now be vulnerable to attack by the Soviet Union, somewhat sooner than had been anticipated by the Pentagon.

The question of vulnerability was discussed in a speech at the U.S. Naval War College in Newport, R.I. The speech provided the first authoritative description of the administration's "countervailing" nuclear strategy, a policy that says American war plans should give priority to threatening military and political targets in the Soviet Union rather than cities and industrial complexes.

Brown cast doubt on the likelihood of a Soviet "first strike" against American land-based missiles, noting that, at present, the United States would still have the means of retaliating with other nuclear forces. But he held out the possibility that, in the future, the country's entire nuclear arsenal would become vulnerable.

Outlining the rationale for the new strategy, Brown told an audience at the college that "in the future, Soviet military programs could, at least potentially, threaten the survivability of each component of our strategic forces," which includes the so-called "triad" of land-based missiles, submarine-launched rockets and long-range bombers.

"For our ICBMs (intercontinental ballistic missiles), that potential has been realized — or close to it," Brown said. "For planning purposes, therefore, we must assume that the ICBM leg of our triad could be destroyed within a very short time as one result of a Soviet surprise attack."

In previous statements, Brown and other defense officials said that American missiles would become vulnerable to attack sometime "in the early to the mid-1980s."

In Washington, a senior Pentagon aide said that new intelligence information had led officials to conclude that the Air Force's complement of Minuteman and Titan II missiles "are either now vulnerable or will soon be."

In his speech, Brown said the new policy was designed to enable the United States to respond to Moscow's growing ability to undertake pin-

(Continued on A-10, Col. 1)

Defense Chief Notes Vulnerability Of ICBMs

(Continued from A-1)

point attacks against American missile and other military targets.

He also said that in emphasizing the importance of being able to strike Soviet military installations, the "countervailing strategy" was "a natural evolution of the conceptual foundations" built by such former defense secretaries as James R. Schlesinger and Robert S. McNamara.

At the same time, Brown painted a gloomy picture of emerging Soviet nuclear capabilities and intentions. Describing the evolution of the nuclear balance between Moscow and Washington in the 1970s, he said that "our investment in strategic programs in that decade was less than one-third of what the Soviets spent on their strategic programs."

"If we had let that trend continue," he asserted, "we would have faced, by the mid-1980s, at best, a perception of inferiority; at worst, a real possibility of nuclear coercion."

He contended that the administration's revised nuclear policy, together with new strategic weapons programs, such as the Air Force's MX mobile missile, provided solutions to emerging gaps in the military balance.

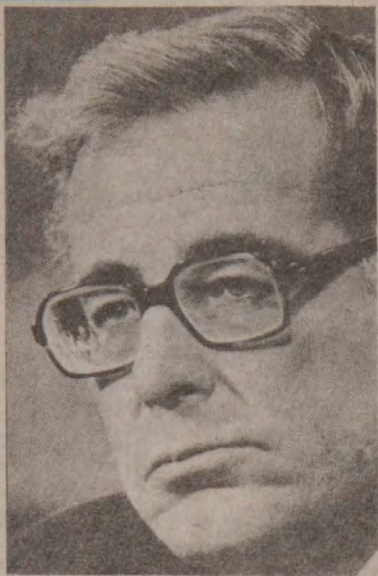
Outlining presidential Directive 59, Brown said that "the increase in Soviet strategic capability over the past decade, and our concern that the Soviets may not believe that nuclear war is unwinnable, dictate a U.S.

need for more — and more selective — retaliatory options."

"Deterrence remains our fundamental strategic objective," he said. But he added that in the light of the Soviet nuclear buildup, "deterrence must restrain a far wider range of threats than just massive attacks on United States cities." Accordingly, Brown said that "our strategic forces must deter nuclear attacks on smaller sets of targets in the United States or on United States military forces, and be a wall against nuclear coercion of, or attack on, our friends and allies."

To do this, Brown asserted that it was necessary to shape "Soviet views of what a war would mean — of what risks and losses any aggression would entail. We must have the forces, contingency plans and command control capabilities that will convince the Soviet leadership that no war and no course of aggression by them that led to the use of nuclear weapons could lead to victory, however they may define victory."

In practical terms, Brown said that more attention would thus have to be given to enabling American nuclear forces to be used "selectively" as well as in all-out retaliatory blows. "It is our policy," he said, "to insure that the Soviet leadership knows that if they choose some intermediate level of aggression, we could, by selective, large (but still



SECRETARY HAROLD BROWN
... describes new strategy

less than maximum) nuclear attacks, exact an unacceptably high price in the things the Soviet leaders appear to value most — political and military control, military forces both conventional and nuclear and the industrial capability to sustain a war."

While reporting that "we have increasingly the means and the detailed plans to carry out this policy," Brown also said that the country's most significant deficiency in the area of nuclear forces was "the vulnerability of our fixed-silo ICBMs."

He said the current capacity of American submarine-launched rockets and bombers to survive any nuclear strike made a Soviet "first strike" highly unlikely, but added that this "is not a situation we want to live with indefinitely."

Scientists Lash Carter Nuclear Plan

WASHINGTON (UPI) — The Federation of American Scientists said yesterday the Carter administration's new nuclear strategy will "make nuclear war itself more likely" and give impetus to the U.S.-Soviet arms race.

The federation, which includes 40 Nobel laureates, said in a statement the new strategy of targeting Soviet missile silos and command and control centers instead of cities and industries "violates elementary rules of strategic logic."

"This new directive is likely to undermine deterrence of limited nuclear war rather than, as is claimed, to strengthen it; make nuclear war itself more likely; make it more difficult to prevent nuclear wars once begun; and make the arms race more

difficult to stop," the group said.

The federation gave these reasons for its objections:

—Any nuclear attack could not be limited and would escalate into full-scale atomic warfare.

—The possibility of nuclear exchanges in the early stages of a war "make both sides trigger happy and put the forces of each side on a hair trigger."

—Attacks on command and control centers "can only make it impossible to terminate nuclear war should it occur." The opposite should be proposed: "That if nuclear war starts, neither side will attack command posts."

—"The new option of threatening Soviet land-based missiles will require that we build more and more

warheads as the Soviet Union builds more and more land-based missiles."

The federation called for formation of a high-level commission of experts, citizens and government officials — "endorsed by hawks and doves" — to restudy U.S. nuclear strategy.

Founded in 1946 as the Federation of Atomic Scientists, the Federation of American Scientists now has some 5,000 members, including half of America's Nobel laureates.

The group was reacting to Secretary of Defense Harold Brown's speech at Newport, R.I., yesterday detailing the new nuclear defense strategy, and to recent stories about the change in tactics.

Secret U.S. Fighter Plane Said To Foil Enemy Radar

New York Times News Service

WASHINGTON — The Defense Department has developed and flown an experimental aircraft that virtually is invisible to Soviet radar, government officials said yesterday.

The officials said the fighter plane, known in military circles as "the stealthy aircraft," has been tested in secret at Nellis Air Force Base in Nevada for two years. Constructed with special, radar-resistant material, the plane is said to hold out the possibility of penetrating Soviet airspace undetected.

Some officials, however, expressed skepticism over the potential of the new aircraft, developed by the Lockheed Aircraft Corp., reporting

that all three test planes have crashed due to their peculiar shape.

Officials said the aircraft was developed in great secrecy, as one of the few "black projects" now under way in the Defense Department.

They said that a few "selected" members of House and Senate Armed Services and Defense Appropriations Committees were told earlier about the program and that other members of the panels were briefed on the aircraft by Pentagon aides yesterday.

The prospect of deploying a radar-resistant aircraft has excited many military officials. The problem of penetrating Soviet air defenses has grown over the years and, in 1977,

President Carter canceled the proposed B-1 strategic bomber on the ground that it would be vulnerable to detection by radar and shot down by missiles.

Officials said that the Pentagon's success in developing a plane able to evade radar detection now made it likely that Mr. Carter would approve a proposal for developing a new, long-range bomber, perhaps early next year.

Officials were reluctant to provide details of the new aircraft, but they said it was roughly the size of the new F-18 fighter. The F-18 is about 56 feet long and weighs about 35,000 pounds.

U.S. Confirms Rumors Of 'Invisible' Plane

By L. EDGAR PRINA

Copley News Service

WASHINGTON — Defense Secretary Harold Brown yesterday confirmed reports that the Pentagon has successfully tested a new "stealth" technology that makes aircraft virtually "invisible" to detection by radar.

At a hastily called news conference in the Pentagon, Brown said:

"I am announcing today a major technological advance of great military significance. This so-called 'stealth' technology enables the United States to build manned and unmanned aircraft that cannot be successfully intercepted with existing air-defense systems.

"We have demonstrated to our satisfaction that the technology works."

Brown would not disclose details of how the new anti-detection system works, or estimate when the first combat-ready "invisible" bomber might be flying. Neither did Lt. Gen. Kelly H. Burke, deputy chief of staff for Air Force research and development, also present at the briefing.

Based on previous aircraft development programs, if the Pentagon started from scratch to build a new bomber, it probably would be 1990 or later before the first operational squadron could take to the air.

Dr. William J. Perry, the Pentagon's chief scientist, said the new technology does not really make a plane or other vehicle invisible, but does make it much more difficult to be detected by an air-defense system.

"'Invisible' is, of course, a figure of speech," he said. "It's not really invisible to radar. If the radar were powerful enough and close enough to the airplane, it could detect it."

He indicated that an enemy plane's radar would have to be very close indeed to detect a stealth aircraft. Presumably, the penetrating bomber would detect the enemy craft first and shoot it down.

In response to a number of pointed questions by reporters, Brown denied that the project was being announced to counter recent attacks on Presi-



DEFENSE SECRETARY BROWN
... denies political timing

dent Carter's defense record by Republican presidential nominee Ronald Reagan.

"That is not the purpose of our action," the secretary asserted. "We would have much preferred to keep this secret for a longer time, for as long as we could. It was only after the leaks occurred that we decided it would not be appropriate or credible for us to deny the existence of this program."

However, without mentioning Reagan by name, Brown directed this barb at the former California governor:

"It is a serious matter when an individual claims the United States is very weak, that the Soviets greatly surpass us in all categories. This emboldens our enemies, dispirits our allies and misleads the American people."

Brown said he knew of no evidence that the Soviet Union has a comparable stealth technology. He added he was sure the Russians have been hard at work trying to come up with countermeasures since the first rumors of the U.S. program were published a couple weeks ago.

The secretary asserted, in effect, that the Soviet's \$100 billion air-de-

fense system of thousands of interceptor aircraft, ground-based radars and 10,000 or more surface-to-air missile (SAM) launchers would be largely nullified by stealth technology applied to U.S. aircraft.

He said stealth also would overcome Soviet air-defense systems now known to be in development, but not yet deployed.

Brown said he was gratified that "none of the most sensitive and significant classified information" about the characteristics of the stealth program had been disclosed by the leaks.

"An important objective of the announcement today is to make clear the kinds of information we intend scrupulously to protect at the highest security level," he said.

Later, Perry listed the following areas to be held in tightest secrecy: specific techniques employed to reduce detectability; the degree of success of each of these techniques; characteristics of specific vehicles being developed; funds being applied to specific programs; and program schedules.

According to Brown, "no new fundamental law of science was involved in stealth — it's all technological."

Perry added that the new system does not involve a single technical approach, but "rather a complex synthesis of many." He said the Pentagon has been working for decades on the idea of making aircraft invisible.

"By the summer of 1977, it became clear that this technology ... could be applied to a wide class of vehicles, including manned aircraft," he said.

"We concluded that it was possible to build aircraft so difficult to detect that they could not be successfully engaged by any existing air-defense systems."

Perry said the technology could be applied — theoretically, at least — to any military vehicle that can be attacked by radar-directed fire, and the Pentagon was considering all such applications. "We have achieved excellent overall success on

the program, including flight tests of a number of different vehicles," he said.

Some of the leaked reports said three test aircraft had crashed, with at least part of the blame assigned to the radical design of the vehicles. Perry denied that three planes had crashed in stealth tests, but Brown strongly indicated that at least one had.

Besides raising political questions, the administration's announcement adds fuel to the growing debate over the future of a new manned bomber for the Air Force. The administration is coming under pressure from conservatives on Capitol Hill to approve production of an updated version of the B-1 bomber canceled by Mr. Carter three years ago.

Led by John G. Tower, R-Texas, the Senate Armed Services Committee has asked the President to report on his plans for a new bomber by March 15. Brown told reporters said that in designing another bomber,

the administration would probably want to exploit the new, radar-resistant technology.

However, Tower as well as some ranking Air Force officers are known to favor the production of a conventionally designed bomber, which they argue could be available much sooner than a stealth aircraft.

In a statement released yesterday, Tower accused the administration of compromising sensitive intelligence for political gain and called the stealth program "an uncertain scheme that cannot add to our defense until 1990."

A Policy for Doom

By Bernard T. Feld

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — The Carter Administration's decision to adopt, under pressure from the Reagan candidacy, a strategy of fighting a nuclear war based on a so-called limited counterforce exchange raises the serious question of whether our leaders have taken leave of their senses.

Stripped of its technical-sounding, defense-analyst jargon, what the decision means is that the United States is telling the Soviet Union, and the world, that not only are we prepared to use our nuclear weapons first in case of a conflict but also that we intend to use them in an entirely offensive mode in an attempt to destroy the Soviet nuclear forces before they can be used against us. Such a move on our part is supposed to be taken by the Russians as an invitation to surrender. If they are not prepared to do so — or if we succeed early on in destroying their leadership, one of our primary counterforce targets, so that there is no-

body around who could officially surrender — we are prepared to go on destroying target after target until we run out of targets or missiles.

One of the arguments for this new strategy is that the Russians, whose missile forces are allegedly even larger than ours, have already adopted the same nuclear-war-fighting or counterforce strategy against us. At some point in a counterforce exchange — this is assumed, but we are never told how this could be arranged in the midst of all the nuclear carnage — one of us will say "Uncle!" We'll both quit, lick our wounds, pick up the pieces and start rebuilding our societies and nuclear forces in anticipation of the next crisis.

If ever a doctrine was designed as a self-fulfilling prophecy, this is it. In the "monkey-see, monkey-do" tradition of the nuclear-arms race, the Russians are sure, eventually, to adopt our new strategy.

Union to carry it out would represent an irresponsible act of insanity; that any use of nuclear weapons is overwhelmingly likely to escalate into a full-scale exchange with overwhelmingly disastrous consequences on both sides; that the present state of huge nuclear deployments and of a vigorous technological race for their increase and improvement is unacceptable for any long-range perspective; that the major objective of both sides — irrespective of our other political and ideological differences — must be the mutual limitation and reduction of our present vast overkill capacities to wage nuclear war; that a stable world, avoiding the universal spread of nuclear weapons, demands United States-Soviet cooperation, at least in this realm.

That was what SALT was about. Unsatisfactory as the results of SALT I and II were, their continuance is infinitely preferable to the state of world-

With both sides poised to wipe out the other's forces, there is an immense premium on striking first in a time of crisis. Nevertheless, we are assured that this new strategy is more likely to deter the Soviet Union from military adventurism, even of a conventional variety, than the old mutually assured destruction (MAD) strategy of threatening retaliation against population centers in case of the outbreak of nuclear war.

Furthermore, we are reminded that this is not *really* a new strategy, since the policy of counterforce has been implicit in the nature of our nuclear deployments ever since Richard M. Nix-

on's Secretary of Defense, James R. Schlesinger, repudiated the mutually assured destruction strategy in the early 1970's.

All that is now being done is to recognize officially the inevitable consequences of technological advances that have made counterforce possible.

But if the mutually assured destruction system of civilian hostages is thought to be unacceptable on humanitarian grounds, to accept these arguments for the new limited-war strategy is the ultimate in barbarism.

The main point of the strategy was the universal recognition that for either the United States or the Soviet

wide nuclear anarchy into which we have rapidly been drifting since SALT's demise.

That is why the replacement of the mutually assured destruction strategy by the new strategy of limited nuclear war represents a frightening regression.

To believe and act otherwise is to play into the hands of madmen on both sides who profess to believe that a nuclear war can be fought and won, and that international problems can be solved on this basis.

The truth is that a nuclear war between the superpowers will be the last world war for centuries to come, with the only victors the radiation-resistant cockroaches. To play with doctrines of a fightable nuclear war is the ultimate folly.

Bernard T. Feld is professor of physics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.