



THE DEFENSE MONITOR

The Center for Defense Information believes that strong social, economic, political, and military components and a healthy environment contribute equally to the nation's security. CDI opposes excessive expenditures for weapons and policies that increase the danger of war.

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Defense Monitor in Brief

- **Since 1989 the number of active conflicts at the end of each calendar year has been decreasing. This downward trend in the number of active conflicts continued in 1997.**
- **Of the 21 active armed conflicts at the end of 1997, only two began after the end of the Cold War in November 1989.**
- **Despite this continuing downward trend, the Pentagon continues to insist that it must be ready to fight and win two major theater wars and retain 100,000 troops permanently deployed both in Asia and in Europe.**
- **None of the armed conflicts going on around the world today directly endangers U.S. military security.**
- **United Nations and regional multinational peacekeeping operations have been instrumental in resolving conflicts. There are now fewer UN operations than at anytime since the end of 1993.**
- **The United States should emphasize preventive diplomacy and carefully targeted economic aid to help preclude conflict from beginning and to induce warring factions and countries to come to terms.**

THE WORLD AT WAR

JANUARY 1, 1998

The World's Wars

At the end of 1997 the world had fewer active conflicts than at any time since World War II. There are only three places where conflict regularly crosses national borders: Turkish incursions into northern Iraq and, less frequently, similar Iranian incursions, and Israeli incursions into southern Lebanon.

Many long standing civil wars such as those in Angola, Bangladesh, and Northern Ireland have been halted by cease-fires. In some cases, events have moved to

peace negotiations and even agreements. Most notable in this regard, even though it is almost 45 years since fighting ended, is the four power talks among North and South Korea, the People's Republic of China, and the U.S. to formally end the 1950-1953 Korean War.

Year end snapshots do not, of course, address the tragedy of wars that arise and subside within a calendar year. While of short duration, some of these conflicts are terribly brutal, particularly if battle lines are based on ethnicity. Such was the case in Rwanda, where over 500,000

Question:

What is the largest number of United Nation peacekeeping missions that have run concurrently?

See Page 5

people were killed in just three months. In the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire), the U.N. is only now beginning its investigation into the "disappearance" of as many as 250,000 people, an investigation that was blocked for months by the government of Lawrence Kabila. And across the river in the Congo Republic, a bloody five month war ended when the elected president, Pascal Lissouba, was overthrown by the ex-president backed by Angolan troops.

Decline in Active Armed Conflicts

Figure 1 depicts the decline in active armed conflicts since 1989 by major region. Note that the decrease has been across every region although Africa had an upturn in 1997 over 1996.

Table 1 on page 3 presents more detailed information on each of the 21 conflicts still active at the beginning of 1998. (This table combines all of the Kurdish conflicts into one.)

Note that at most four of these conflicts might be categorized as "cross-border." Three of these involve one side seeking some level of independence: Israel-Palestine (anticipating an independent



Palestinian state), Indonesia-East Timor (reversing annexation at least to the extent of obtaining some autonomy for East Timor), and the Kurdish struggle (autonomy for the Kurdish ethnic group--assuming the factions could unite), although this occasionally involves cross-border actions among Turkey, Iran, and Iraq. The only clear case of cross-border conflict is in Lebanon where Syria still maintains occupation forces in the north and Israel conducts air raids (and occasional land and sea incursions) against suspected terrorist strongholds.

If the good news is that active conflicts have declined, there is nonetheless a cautionary note that must be sounded. There remain many sensitive areas where even a small miscalculation by one side or faction could reignite the killing and send streams of refugees fleeing

across borders. All too often these areas of potential renewed conflict are in regions least able to cope with the effects of violence without outside help either in the form of non-regional peacekeeping troops or humanitarian relief.

Table 2 on page 3 lists by region the areas where violence could resume or where there is sporadic violence.

"I came to the United Nations from commanding a mechanized brigade group of 5,000 soldiers. If I had had that brigade group in Rwanda, there would be hundreds of thousands of lives spared today."

MGEN Romeo Dallaire

former Commander, UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda
September 7, 1994

"Indonesia plays a key role in maintaining regional stability. It is a leader in ASEAN and is a fundamental force for peace and prosperity.... We did not have a discussion about East Timor."

Secretary of Defense William Cohen

Press Conference after meeting with President Soeharto
January 14, 1998

World at War -- Ongoing Conflicts

Table 1

| Conflict: Main Warring Parties | Year Began | Cause(s) | Other Foreign Involvement |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Middle East | | | |
| Israel/Palestinians | 1948 | Independence | U.N., U.S. |
| Iraq govt./Shi'a | 1991 | Religious | U.N. No fly zone in South |
| Kurdish factions/govts. of Iran, Iraq, and Turkey | 1961 | Independence | U.N. in northern Iraq |
| Lebanon/Israel and surrogates | 1975 | Ethnic & Religious | U.N., Iran, Syria, U.S. |
| Asia | | | |
| Afghanistan: Taliban/Other Factions | 1978 | Religious | Former Soviet Union 1978-89 |
| Bangladesh govt./Chittagong Hill Tracts | 1975 | Ethnic & Religious | None |
| Myanmar (Burma) govt./ various factions | 1942 | Ethnic & Drug Trade | None |
| Cambodia govt./Khmer Rouge & Royalists | 1979 | Political | U.N. |
| India govt./various factions & Kashmiris | 1947 | Ethnic & Religious | U.N. |
| India & Pakistan | 1948 | Ethnic & Religious | U.N. |
| Indonesia govt./ Revolutionary Front for East Timor | 1975 | Independence | None |
| Philippines govt./New People's Army, National Liberation Front | 1969 | Ideological & Religious | None |
| Sri Lanka govt./Tamil Eelam | 1978 | Ethnic & Religious | None |
| Africa | | | |
| Algeria govt./Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), Armed Islamic Group (GIA) | 1991 | Religious interpretation | None |
| Burundi: Tutsi vs. Hutu | 1988 | Ethnic | None |
| Rwanda: Tutsi vs. Hutu | 1990 | Ethnic | U.N. |
| Sierra Leone govt./ Revolutionary United Front, Natn'l Provis. Ruling Council | 1989 | Ethnic | Guinea, Nigeria |
| Somalia: factions | 1978 | Ethnic | None |
| Sudan govt./Sudanese People's Liberation Army | 1983 | Ethnic & Religious | Iran |
| Latin America | | | |
| Colombia govt./Natn'l Liberat. Army (ELN), Revol. Armed Forces of Colombia | 1978 | Drug Trade | None |
| Peru govt./Sendero Luminoso | 1981 | Drug Trade | None |

Political Violence or Conflicts In Suspension That May Restart

Table 2

| Parties to Conflict | Duration | Cause(s) | Foreign Mediation/Involvement |
|-----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| Asia | | | |
| Armenia & Azerbaijan | 1990-94 | Nagorno-Karabakh | Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) |
| Tajikistan/Popular Democratic Army | 1992-97 | Religious | U.N., CIS "Peacekeepers" from Russia & Uzbekistan |
| Africa | | | |
| Angola/UNITA | 1975-97 | Economic & Ethnic | U.N. and South Africa |
| Cameroon & Nigeria | 1994-96 | Bakassi Islands | None |
| Chad govt./Muslim separatists | 1965 | Religious | None |
| Democratic Republic of Congo | 1996-97 | Ethnic | U.N. |
| Congo Republic | 1997 | Ethnic | None |
| Eritrea & Yemen | 1995-96 | Hanish Islands | None |
| Liberia govt./National Patriotic Front | 1989 | Ethnic & Economic | U.N., ECOMOG (West African Peacekeepers) |
| Morocco & Polisario | 1975-96 | Western Sahara | U.N. |
| Uganda/Lord Resistance | 1980 - | Ethnic | None |
| Europe | | | |
| Serbs, Croats & Bosnian Muslims | 1990-96 | Division of Bosnia-Herzegovina | NATO SFOR (Stabilization Force) under UN mandate |
| Russia/Chechnya | 1994-96 | Independence | None |
| Republic of Georgia/Abkhazia & South Osset | 1992-93 | Independence | U.N., Russia |
| Moldova/Trans-Dneister Region | 1991 | Ethnic & Economic | None |
| United Kingdom/ IRA and other factions | 1969-97 | Ethnic & Religious | U.S. |
| Spain & ETA (Basque Separatists) | 1968-(Sporadic conflict) | Ethnic | None |
| Americas | | | |
| Guatemala govt./ Nat'l Revolutionary Unity (URNG) | 1968-96 | Ethnic | U.N. |
| Haiti | 1991-94 | Economic | U.N., U.S. |
| Peru-Ecuador | 1995-97 | Border | U.S. |
| Mexico govt./Zapatista & Popular Revolutionary Army | 1983 & 1993 | Ethnic & Religious | None |

Deaths Due to Violent Conflicts

Table 3

| OPPONENTS | DATE | CASUALTIES |
|------------------------------------------------------|---------|------------|
| Colombia-ELN, Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia | 1986-97 | > 45,000 |
| Guatemala-URNG | 1968-96 | > 140,000 |
| Haiti | 1991-94 | 3,000 |
| Mexico-Zapatistas | 1983-93 | > 150 |
| Peru/Ecuador | 1995-97 | < 100 |
| Peru-Sendero Luminoso | 1980-97 | 35,000 |
| Armenia-Azerbaijan | 1989-95 | 20,000 |
| Former Yugoslavia-Serbs, Croats, Bosnian Muslims | 1990-96 | 260,000 |
| Georgia-Abkhazia and South Osset | 1992-95 | 6,000 |
| Moldova-Trans Dneister Region | 1991-97 | 1,000 |
| Russia/Chechnya | 1994-96 | 50,000 |
| Spain-ETA | 1968-97 | > 750 |
| United Kingdom-IRA and other factions | 1969-97 | 3,200 |
| Iraq | 1994-95 | > 30,000 |
| Israel/Palestinians | 1948-97 | > 125,000 |
| Kurdish factions-Iran, Iraq, and Turkey govts. | 1961-97 | > 120,000 |

Sources: World Military and Social Expenditures 1996. Ruth Leger Sivard. 16th Edition. World Priorities. pp. 18-19
SIPRI Yearbook 1997
SIPRI Yearbook 1996
Center for Defense Information

Both the ongoing conflicts and those which have subsided have taken a huge toll over the years. A three year study by the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, published in December 1997, says that since 1989, when the Berlin Wall fell, over 4 million people world wide have been killed in violent conflicts. Today, one in every 200 people in the world is a refugee or is displaced.

The extent of the deaths due to violent conflicts is detailed in Table 3.

"Today, we often lose sight that the United States and our allies are much safer than we were in the dark days of the Cold War."

General John Shalikashvili, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff
The American University,
February 28, 1997

The Threat to the United States

Because almost all active armed conflicts are internal guerrilla or civil wars, they neither pose a threat to U.S. military security nor

"In Geneva, the four parties — the United States, the Republic of Korea, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and the People's Republic of China — will together discuss how we can secure a stable and permanent peace on the Korean Peninsula."

President Bill Clinton
November 21, 1997

constitute a significant military danger to the international community.

U.S. military authorities, however, continue to insist (as they have since the Bottom-Up Review in 1993) that the world is a "dangerous place" and the U.S. must be able to fight and win two major theater wars almost simultaneously and alone, if necessary. The Korean peninsula and the Persian Gulf are the two

UN Peacekeeping Operations

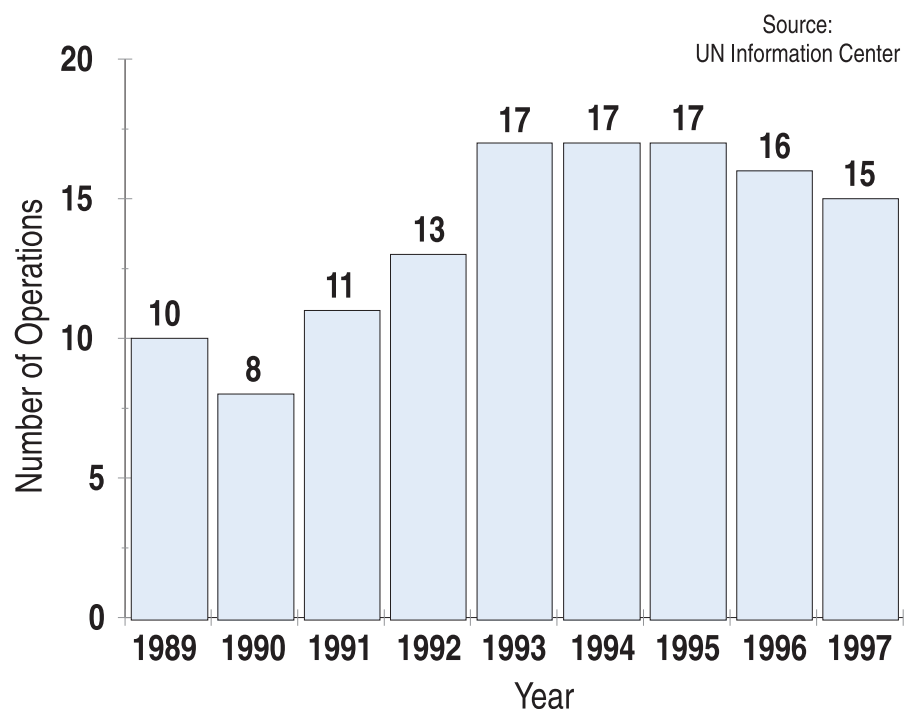


Figure 2

Current Peacekeeping Operations Table 4

| Mission Name and Nation(s) | Acronym | Starting Date |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|---------------|
| United Nations Observer Mission in Angola | MONUA | July 1997 |
| United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara | MINURSO | April 1991 |
| United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan | UNMOGIP | January 1949 |
| United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan | UNMOT | December 1994 |
| United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina | UNMIBH | December 1995 |
| United Nations Mission of Observers in Prevlaka--Croatia | UNMOP | January 1996 |
| United Nations Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium--Croatia | UNTAES | January 1996 |
| United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus | UNFICYP | March 1964 |
| United Nations Preventive Deployment Force-- Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia | UNPREDEP | March 1995 |
| United Nations Verification Mission in Guatemala | MINUGUA | January 1997 |
| United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia | UNOMIG | August 1993 |
| United Nations Disengagement Observer Force--Golan Heights | UNDOF | June 1974 |
| United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission | UNIKOM | April 1991 |
| United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon | UNIFIL | March 1978 |
| United Nations Truce Supervision Organization--Middle East | UNTSO | June 1948 |

scenarios cited to justify this policy despite the political-military-economic realities in each locale.

The continued threat of widespread famine in North Korea, the two million men "under arms" in the South (over 600,000 of whom are in the active forces), the unchallenged air and sea supremacy held by the United States, and the beginning of talks on a peace treaty to end the Korean War have produced a positive if still cautious change in relations between the two halves of the peninsula.

In the Gulf, while Iraq continues to defy the United Nations, Iran's new President, Mohammad Khatami, is signaling a desire to

end almost 20 years of hostility towards the West in general and the United States in particular. (At the December 1997 Islamic Conference in Tehran, attended by such close U.S. allies as Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Turkey, Khatami declared, "We should never be oblivious to the positive accomplishments of the Western civil society.") Obviously, any warming of relations with Iran would ease world concerns about access to Gulf (and even Caspian Sea) energy resources.

From the above, two conclusions are apparent. While the U.S. must remain vigilant through an active intelligence collection and analytic effort, we no longer require a large, active, fully ready military structure oriented on classic 20th century force-

on-force contingencies to protect U.S. territory and U.S. citizens. The stark lesson would-be hostile nations have drawn from the Persian Gulf War is not to confront the U.S. in the same manner as Iraq.

The second lesson, again drawn from the Persian Gulf War and reinforced by operations in Bosnia and Haiti, is that coalitions operating under international mandates can be successful if they follow fundamental principles of command and control and unity of purpose.

Furthermore, many nations contributing to such operations based on their strengths or unique capabilities means that

"In the past two decades an estimated 2 million children have been killed in armed conflicts around the globe."

1997 UNICEF Annual Report

Answer:

The U.N. has never exceeded 17 concurrent Peacekeeping missions. This number was reached on five separate occasions.

“In the 20th century some 110,000,000 people have been killed in armed conflicts. In some more recent wars, as many as 90 percent of those killed have been noncombatants compared to 15 percent earlier in the century.”

**Carnegie Commission
on Preventing Deadly
Conflict Final Report**
December 1997

no country is unduly burdened and none can be singled out for opprobrium.

Together, these two points suggest that U.S. military forces need to be transformed from their current reliance on heavy, large, concentrated formations to a smaller, more agile and flexible structure that exploits information technology to achieve psychological and, when required, physical dominance of potential adversaries. This course would allow the U.S. to make specialized contributions to multinational endeavors and to remain at the forefront of technological developments.

In fact, multinational involvement in resolving conflicts has been a significant feature of the international scene for more than a decade.

United Nations mandated peacekeeping, peacemaking, humanitarian support, and observer missions total 45 through the end of 1997.

Thirty-two of these were initiated during the last decade. As of December 31, 1997, 15 are still in existence manned by 14,879 troops, military observers, and police drawn from 71 countries (The U.S. contribution is 644 personnel.)

Figure 2 (page 4) portrays the number of UN missions at the end of each year since 1989. (Operations that began and ended within the calendar year are not included in the totals.)

Table 4 (page 5) provides key information on the 15 U.N. peacekeeping operations still active at the end of 1997.

Preventing Violence

Of course, the most effective way to decrease the number of armed conflicts in the world is to prevent violence from starting. To this end, the Final Report of the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, which was released in December 1997, sought to identify the causes of violence (both between and within states), structural (security, economic, and justice issues) and operational strategies to prevent violence, and the responsibilities of nations and international organizations in preventing and mitigating violence.

Of particular interest is the distinction made in the study between preventive defense and preventive diplomacy. The former, an approach articulated by the Clinton Administration, proposes that by engaging allies and former enemies on common problems the U.S. will be able to lead them away from the traditional cycle of antagonism that makes conflict

more likely. The Marshall Plan was an early example of such U.S. leadership, while the Partnership For Peace and NATO expansion are the Administration's modern versions of the same idea. (Of course, as currently conceived, NATO expansion will leave out the most significant former adversary--Russia.) In the Asian theater, the dialogue with and assistance to North Korea by South Korea and the first U.S.-People's Republic of China Consultative talks at the Pentagon fill the same role.

Preventive diplomacy is a much wider concept. As defined by the Carnegie Commission, preventive diplomacy consists of efforts--through bilateral, multilateral, and unofficial channels--to pressure, cajole, arbitrate, mediate, or lend "good offices" to encourage dialogue and facilitate a nonviolent resolution of a crisis. While preventive defense is generally an ad hoc response to evolving conditions, preventive diplomacy lends itself to the establishment of more regular channels between international organizations and skilled mediators who can respond to warning signs of impending breakdowns in collective security, economic, and political-legal structures.

“Deadly conflict is not inevitable...The need to prevent deadly conflict is increasingly urgent...Preventing deadly conflict is possible.”

**Carnegie Commission on
Preventing Deadly Conflict
Final Report**
December 1997



Regardless of the best foresight, the most effective structural machinery, and the best will, the world will never be able to eliminate all conflict. Like nuclear weapons, however, “zero” can be the goal toward which nations and international organizations devote

sufficient resources--human and monetary--in a bid to minimize the conditions which contribute to wars and to mitigate more quickly the effects of wars that do occur.

Never again should the world stand by and let 500,000 men, women, and children be

slaughtered in three months.

Never again should non-combatants be swept up in a war and 250,000 “disappear.”

Never again should anyone believe that deadly conflict is inevitable.



Letter from the Director (continued)

personal power, revenge for ancient wrongs, or for narrow ideologies. The cost of these conflicts in terms of lives lost, talents foreshortened, and socio-economic development stunted, is incalculable.

As much as we might lament the past, it is the past. We must act decisively while the world enjoys this rather unique period in which there are no major competing military nations or blocs to secure the future from war and the threat of war. We cannot know how long this period of relative and improving peace will last; what we do know is that without strong international mechanisms supported by the majority of nations, we risk returning to the past sometime in the new century.

The choice--to act or to foreswear our values and our heritage--is ours. As a wise if anonymous sage once observed, “On the Plains of Hesitation bleach the bones of countless millions who, at the Dawn of Victory, sat down to wait, and waiting--died.”

- VADM John J. Shanahan, USN (Ret)

Letter from the Director

For over 37 years I have prepared for war as a member of the United States Navy and now, as Director of the Center for Defense Information, fight for a sane, sensible, and strong military establishment to protect the peace won by the sacrifices of literally millions of American men and women. It seems quite appropriate, therefore, that this--the last Defense Monitor to be published during my watch as CDI's Director--addresses the state of conflict in the world as well as the peacekeeping efforts of the United Nations.

The world has gone through many cycles of war and peace since I first donned a uniform in 1942. Too often the hopes of millions for a lasting peace have been crushed by the brutality of wars unleashed for

Continued on Page 7



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