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<center><H1>May 28, 1999</H1></center>

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<!-- <H3>CATEGORY</H3>

Title

(Publication)....Author

Description

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Title

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<H3>TOP STORIES</H3>

Rethinking The Unthinkable: Waging A Kosovo Ground War

(Los Angeles Times)....Tyler Marshall

Fast-moving events far from Yugoslavia, culminating in Thursday's indictment of President Slobodan Milosevic on war crimes charges, point increasingly in the direction of a NATO ground invasion of Kosovo.

<p>

Charges Against Milosevic Detailed

(Washington Post)....Charles Trueheart

A U.N. war crimes tribunal today announced the indictment of Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic and four senior aides for crimes against humanity stemming from the conflict in Kosovo, a move welcomed by the United States and other NATO allies but condemned in Belgrade.

<p>

Officials Say Diplomacy Is Victim

(New York Times)....Jane Perlez

...In private, administration officials say that the indictment by the International Criminal Tribunal is likely to cripple their efforts to find a diplomatic solution through the Russian envoy, Viktor Chernomyrdin, and the Finnish president, Martti Ahtisaari.

<p>

North Korean Site Yields Only A System Of Empty Tunnels

(Washington Times)....Bill Gertz

An American team that inspected a North Korean site suspected of being part of a revived nuclear-weapons program found only empty tunnels, the State Department said Thursday, but intelligence officials said increased activity at the site recently raises suspicions that telltale equipment may have been removed.

<p>

Kashmir Duel Stirs Fears Of An Expanded Conflict

(Washington Post)....Pamela Constable

Pakistan's armed forces said today that they had shot down two Indian fighter jets over the Pakistani-controlled portion of Kashmir, the Himalayan region claimed by both countries, marking a sharp escalation of military tensions between the world's two newest nuclear powers.

<p>

Serb Forces Intensify Effort To Down Allied Warplanes

(Wall Street Journal)....Glenn Burkins

With North Atlantic Treaty Organization warplanes flying low in the skies over Yugoslavia, the Serb-led government has stepped up efforts to shoot down alliance craft.

<H3>CONGRESS</H3>

Two Dozen Democrats Seek Bombing Halt

(Washington Post)....Juliet Eilperin

More than two dozen House Democrats, most of whom have previously supported the NATO campaign against Yugoslavia, called upon President Clinton yesterday to halt airstrikes for 72 hours as an inducement to bring Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic to the bargaining table.

<p>

Military Spending Bill Clears Senate Hurdle

(New York Times)....Tim Weiner

The Senate on Thursday night easily passed a \$289 billion military authorization bill that tightens security at the nation's weapons laboratories.

<p>

Vote Delay Reflects Shaky House

(Washington Post)....Eric Pianin and Juliet Eilperin

Unable to pass a key defense spending bill, GOP leaders abruptly canceled House proceedings yesterday and sent members home for a recess, raising fresh questions about their ability to govern effectively with only a slim majority.

<p>

Senate Brushes Aside Cost Cap Proposal For F/A-18E/F

(Defense Daily)....Sheila Foote

The Senate voted 87 to 11 yesterday to table an amendment by Sen. Russ Feingold (D-Wisc.) that would have required the Navy to stay within a \$8.8 billion cost cap on Boeings [BA] F/A-18E/F Super Hornet program.

<p>

Lab Reforms Stall In House

(Washington Post)....Walter Pincus

Legislation to tighten security at the nation's nuclear weapons laboratories ran into a snag in the House yesterday after a separate measure breezed through the Senate by a voice vote.

<H3>BALKANS</H3>

Yugoslav Army Again Shells Villages In Northeast Albania

(New York Times)....Ian Fisher

For the second day, Yugoslav forces shelled villages in northeast Albania Thursday, heightening tensions along the main crossing point for refugees fleeing from Kosovo.

<p>

Yugoslav Missiles Targeting NATO Planes

(Washington Post)....William Drozdiak

As NATO warplanes step up the pace and number of their airstrikes on Yugoslavi
a, Belgrade's air defense forces are responding for the first time with ferocio
us volleys of anti-aircraft fire and surface-to-air missiles, alliance officials
said today.

<p>

KLA Improving Its Status, Pentagon Sa
ys

(Washington Post)....William Claiborne

The Pentagon reported yesterday that the Kosovo Liberation Army, although scat
tered into disarray by Yugoslav forces two months ago, has become better traine
d and more competently led and is beginning to reestablish itself in parts of t
he embattled Serbian province.

<p>

KLA Starts New Drive Toward Kosovo

(Washington Post)....John Ward Anderson

The chief rebel group fighting for independence in Kosovo apparently has launc
hed a new offensive in the northwest border area of Albania, possibly to open a
second supply corridor for its forces in Yugoslavia, military analysts and obs
ervers said today.

<p>

Rugova Supporters Are Purged

(London Daily Telegraph)....Philip Smucker

Officers in the Kosovo Liberation Army say they are purging Kosovar rebel rank
s of 700 remaining backers of the exiled "president" of Kosovo, Ibrahim Rugova.

<H3>BALKANS - NATO</H3>

Nato Toll 'Could Be One In 10 Troops'

(London Times)....Eve-Ann Prentice

About a tenth of Nato troops would be killed or injured in a ground assault on
Serbia, according to a former Yugoslav army officer.

<p>

NATO Getting Back To Basics In Air War

(Los Angeles Times)....Paul Richter

The air war over Yugoslavia, heralded since its outset for an unprecedented us
e of precision munitions, is suddenly turning back to old-fashioned "dumb" bomb
s in hopes of finishing off Serbian forces.

<p>

Pieces Fall Into Place For Assault By La
nd

(Boston Globe)....David Abel

With the pounding being taken by Yugoslav soldiers in Kosovo, NATO may need li
ttle more than the extra troops and arms the alliance approved this week to lau
nch a ground war, military analysts say.

<p>

Correction

(New York Times)....Unattributed

A front-page article on Wednesday about NATO's approval of a 50,000-member peacekeeping force for Kosovo and its approval of a plan to search ships that may be carrying fuel to Yugoslavia included an erroneous reference from NATO to Malta's intended role.

<H3>BALKANS - MILOSEVIC INDICTMENT</H3>

U.S. Classified Data Placed Milosevic In Chain Of Command

(Washington Post)....William Branigin

The day before an international war crimes tribunal in The Hague issued an arrest warrant for President Slobodan Milosevic, the U.S. government turned over long-sought classified information that implicated the Yugoslav leader personally in the chain of command responsible for crimes against the ethnic Albanian population of Kosovo, U.S. officials said yesterday.

<p>

Peace Talks Are Sideswiped

(Washington Post)....David Hoffman

Russia today vowed to continue to try and mediate between NATO and Yugoslavia's President Slobodan Milosevic but said Milosevic's indictment on war crimes charges had complicated the effort and that the talks were not moving in a positive direction.

<p>

Wanted: The Five Serbs Charged With War Crimes

(New York Times)....Carlotta Gall

Here are thumbnail sketches of the five Yugoslav officials charged Thursday by the International Criminal Tribunal in The Hague, Netherlands, with crimes against humanity.

<p>

Serbs Dismiss Indictment As Just Another Enemy Tactic

(New York Times)....Steven Erlanger

The Yugoslav government scornfully dismissed the indictment Thursday of President Slobodan Milosevic and four other top leaders on war crime charges and repeated its desire to solve the conflict in Kosovo through negotiation.

<p>

Despite Indictment, Politicians And Diplomats Control Milosevic's Future

(New York Times)....Raymond Bonner

In handing up an indictment of Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic, the prosecutors have spoken. But, as has been the case since the outbreak of the wars in the former Yugoslavia, Milosevic's fate is still in the hands of politicians and diplomats.

<H3>BUSINESS</H3>

The Pentagon Opposes One Bid By Litton , But Not Another

(New York Times)....Leslie Wayne

The Defense Department said Thursday night that it was recommending against Li

ttion Industries' unfriendly bid for Newport News Shipbuilding Inc. on the grounds that the proposed union would cause too much concentration in the military shipbuilding business.

<p>
Northrop To Buy Allegheny Unit

(Los Angeles Times)....Bloomberg News

Northrop Grumman Corp., the No. 5 U.S. defense contractor, agreed to buy Allegheny Teledyne Inc.'s Ryan Aeronautical unit for \$140 million in cash to expand its unmanned air vehicle business.

<p>
Boeing Raises Bid For Israeli Fighter Project

(Los Angeles Times)....Reuters

Boeing Co. on Thursday sweetened its bid to win a \$2.5 billion deal to supply Israel's air force with a new fighter plane in an effort to avoid losing another tender to competitor Lockheed Martin Corp.

<p>
Blame The Military

(Washington Times)....Bill Gertz and Rowan Scarborough

The Center for Defense Information, a left-leaning group that opposed the Ronald Reagan military buildup now being tapped to bomb Yugoslavia, has sent out its first fund-raising letter under signature of its new director.

<H3>ARMY</H3>

With Honors

(USA Today)....Steven Komarow

A soldier who pioneered roles for women in the Army was buried with an honors ceremony at Arlington National Cemetery.

<H3>NAVY</H3>

Navy Personnel Chief

(Washington Times)....Bill Gertz and Rowan Scarborough

Word inside the Navy is that Rear Adm. Norbert Ryan Jr. is in line to succeed Vice Adm. Dan T. Oliver as the next chief of the Bureau of Naval Personnel.

<H3>AIR FORCE</H3>

Air Force One: Training Jet

(Business Week)....Dennis Blank

The hunt is on for a host of airplane mechanics whose certifications may be bogus.

<H3>IRAQ</H3>

Overshadowed By Kosovo War, Action Against Iraq Escalating

(Los Angeles Times)....John Daniszewski

While NATO jets have been slamming targets in Yugoslavia for the past nine weeks, the United States' other--and far less visible--air war has intensified over Iraq.

<H3>ASIA</H3>

Philippine Senate Approves Pact With U.S.

(Washington Post)....Unattributed

The Philippine Senate ratified an accord on military exercises with the United States, which officials have said will boost the nation's security amid increasing differences with China.

<p>

North Korean Cover

(Washington Times)....Bill Gertz and Rowan Scarborough

U.S. national security officials are alarmed over China's decision to allow North Korea to open a consulate in Hong Kong, where authorities resisted the move but were overruled by Beijing.

<H3>EUROPE</H3>

Russian Recall

(Washington Times)....Bill Gertz and Rowan Scarborough

In another sign of worsening Russia-U.S. relations because of NATO's bombing of Yugoslavia, the Russian Ministry of Defense has ordered the recall of its five students attending U.S. military schools.

<p>

Terrorists Hold Greece Hostage

(London Guardian)....Helena Smith

Greece has become the most dangerous place in Europe for US diplomats, businessmen and tourists, according to Nato, because of the resurgence of the extreme leftwing terrorist group November 17.

<H3>OPINION</H3>

Weapons Spreading

(Washington Post)....William C. Potter and Jonathan B. Tucker

>

The fabric of treaties, informal agreements and export-control measures designed to halt the spread of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction is under siege.

<p>

Indictment Demands Invasion

(Wall Street Journal)....Christopher Bennett

By indicting Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic and four of his inner circle, The Hague Tribunal has raised the stakes in the eight-year-old Balkan conflict, but not necessarily brought it closer to a just and durable solution.

<p>

**Clinton's Fair-Weather War

(Wall Street Journal)....John Lehman
**

In an administration so famously incompetent in national security, it seems almost nitpicking to dwell on specific mistakes.

**<p>
In Your Faces

(New York Times)....Thomas L. Friedman
**

...It is times like these when you need a President who is ready to get right in the face of both his critics and the Chinese leadership and say the following.

**<p>
Let's Keep Chinese Spying In Perspective

(USA Today)....Jimmy Carter
**

Recent revelations about Chinese espionage are a justifiable cause for alarm among all those who are concerned about the protection of America's military secrets.

**<p>
Sharpening Our Military's Fighting Edge

(San Diego Union-Tribune)....Thomas G. McInerney
**

As we enter the third month of operations against Serbia, analogies to the Vietnam War are flying fast and furious.

**
<H3>EDITORIAL</H3>
**

**The Case Against Mr. Milosevic

(New York Times)....Editorial
**

Though it may complicate peace negotiations, the indictment of Slobodan Milosevic and four other Serbian leaders for crimes against humanity is just and consonant with the bedrock principles of a civilized international order.

**<p>
Case No. IT-99-37-1

(Washington Post)....Editorial
**

"The Prosecutor of the Tribunal Against Slobodan Milosevic," the indictment begins, and what follows is a powerful document.

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<P>Los Angeles Times

May 28, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Rethinking The Unthinkable: Waging A Kosovo Ground War </P>

<P>By Tyler Marshall, Times Staff Writer </P>

<P>WASHINGTON--Fast-moving events far from Yugoslavia, culminating in Thursday's indictment of President Slobodan Milosevic on war crimes charges, point increasingly in the direction of a NATO ground invasion of Kosovo.</P>

<P>There's only one catch: NATO is as determined as ever to avoid that route.</P>

<P>The new pressure for a ground war is unmistakable.</P>

<P>The indictment makes it immeasurably more difficult for President Clinton to resolve the crisis using a combination of continuing airstrikes and diplomacy.</P>

<P>It removes any incentive for Milosevic to seek peace. And even if he were willing to negotiate, North Atlantic Treaty Organization leaders would find him a distasteful figure to face across a bargaining table.</P>

<P>Milosevic's indictment by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia coincided with a broadside from Moscow at diplomatic efforts to end the conflict. Russia's special envoy for the Kosovo crisis, former Prime Minister Viktor S. Chernomyrdin, writing in the Washington Post, delivered an imitation of old-fashioned, Soviet-style saber-rattling.</P>

<P>If NATO does not promptly suspend its air war, Chernomyrdin said, "I shall advise Russia's president to suspend Russian participation in the negotiating process, put an end to all military technological cooperation with the United States and Western Europe, put off the ratification of START II [arms reduction treaty] and use Russia's veto as the United Nations debates a resolution on Yugoslavia."</P>

<P>The decision to air his views in the pages of a major U.S. newspaper was interpreted by some analysts as an attempt to play on NATO's public frustration that at more than two months of bombings have produced little political movement. It was also viewed as a sign of Chernomyrdin's own frustration at the lack of progress in the negotiating process, a sentiment intensified by Thursday's indictment.</P>

<P>"Obviously, the Russians are concerned that their engagement is going to get

harder as a result of the indictment," a senior White House official said.</P>

<P>Andrei V. Kortunov, president of the Russian Science Foundation think tank, said, "Moscow has been trying hard to find some compromise options, [but] what negotiations can the world conduct with a war criminal?"</P>

<P>NATO's hawks hope that the indictment will stiffen resolve among hesitant allies at a time that the Clinton administration's collective body language seems to be listing heavily toward seeking a deal that might shave at least some corners from the alliance's five agreed goals. These include the withdrawal of all Yugoslav security forces from Kosovo and a robust international security force with NATO troops at its core to keep the peace in the southern province of Serbia, Yugoslavia's dominant republic, once the fighting ends.</P>

<P>"It will reduce the temptation to do a shabby deal," one European diplomat noted.</P>

<P>"It's an international stamp of approval for NATO's actions," a White House official added. "If there were any doubts about what we are doing, this should remove them."</P>

<P>Even before Milosevic's indictment, observers were insisting stridently that it would take a ground invasion to end the war.</P>

<P>Such talk has been conspicuously absent, however, at NATO headquarters in Brussels and at the White House.</P>

<P>Not even Britain, easily the most assertive NATO member, favors a full-scale land war. But Britain's more modest proposal--that NATO prepare to send in ground troops, even without a diplomatic settlement, once the organized Yugoslav resistance in Kosovo is broken by airstrikes--generated some sharp words across the Atlantic.</P>

<P>The reasons for the obvious lack of enthusiasm for a ground force are threefold:</P>

<P>* A ground invasion of Kosovo would be extremely difficult militarily. The terrain is hostile and the region remote. Supply lines for any ground force would be long and tenuous. Macedonia has said it would not permit a NATO invasion from its territory. Albania, the alternative, has a total of three paved roads into Kosovo across a long, mountainous frontier.</P>

<P>* NATO's biggest member, the U.S., appears allergic even to planning for such a contingency. As political momentum seemed to be building within the alliance in favor of an invasion in advance of last month's NATO summit in Washington, the White House preempted a formal discussion.</P>

<P>* Domestic public opinion and other constraints in many alliance countries work against the logic of invasion. German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer reminded reporters in Washington this week that Germany is politically unable to have its 5,000 troops--which are in the region to enforce a possible peace agreement--used for combat.</P>

<P>In Greece, where opinion polls show that more than 90% of respondents oppose NATO's air campaign, the government would almost surely fall if it let the alliance use the most suitable port in the region, Thessaloniki, for an armed intervention. There is similar reluctance in Hungary, which is aware of the implications for the large Hungarian minority in northern Yugoslavia.</P>

<P>For all these reasons, even the weight of Thursday's events did not reshape the rhetoric of senior U.S. officials--at least initially.</P>

<P>Clinton, traveling in Florida, conferred by phone with British Prime Minister Tony Blair and French President Jacques Chirac after the indictment was announced.</P>

<P>Then White House Press Secretary Joe Lockhart reaffirmed Clinton's belief that "the air campaign will meet our military objectives."</P>

<I><P>Times staff writers Edwin Chen in Washington, Maura Reynolds in Moscow and John-Thor Dahlburg in The Hague and researcher Sergei Loiko in Moscow contributed to this report.</P></I>

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<P>Washington Post

May 28, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Charges Against Milosevic Detailed</P>

<I><P>Yugoslav, Top Aides Face Counts Rooted In Purges, Slayings</P>

</I><P>By Charles Trueheart, Washington Post Foreign Service</P>

<P> THE HAGUE, May 27A U.N. war crimes tribunal today announced the indictment of Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic and four senior aides for crimes a

against humanity stemming from the conflict in Kosovo, a move welcomed by the United States and other NATO allies but condemned in Belgrade.</P>

<P> Chief prosecutor Louise Arbour said a tribunal judge had granted her petition charging Milosevic and the others with crimes against humanity in the deportation of more than 700,000 ethnic Albanians from Serbia's Kosovo province and the murders of 340 people, mostly young men.</P>

<P> Also charged in the joint indictment, the first in history against a wartime chief of state, were Milan Milutinovic, the president of Serbia; Vlastimir Djindjic, the Serbian interior minister; Nikola Sainovic, the deputy prime minister of Yugoslavia and a close Milosevic aide, and Gen. Dragoljub Ojdanic, chief of staff of the Yugoslav army.</P>

<P> "Now the world is a much smaller place for them," Arbour said at a news conference here in The Hague, where the six-year-old International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia has headquarters. The indictment was accompanied by a judge's order that the assets of all five that are held in U.N.-member countries and Switzerland be frozen.</P>

<P> Russia sharply criticized the indictment and said it complicated its already difficult efforts to mediate a settlement of the conflict between NATO and Yugoslavia. Special envoy Viktor Chernomyrdin still planned to travel to Belgrade on Friday following a fresh round of talks today with U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott and Finnish President Martti Ahtisaari, the European Union envoy.</P>

<P> The indictment's number of 340 "identified" civilians known to have been murdered is much smaller than broader Western estimates. NATO has put the toll at 4,500, and U.S. Defense Secretary William S. Cohen has spoken of 100,000 deaths. Arbour said the tribunal's evidentiary standards were tougher to meet than those of politicians.</P>

<P> Milosevic and the others are charged in the indictment with personal responsibility for ordering, planning, instigating, executing, and aiding and abetting the persecutions, deportations and murders committed in Kosovo since Jan. 1. All but Sainovic are also charged with command responsibility for the war crimes -- knowing about the crimes of subordinates and failing to stop them.</P>

<P> Further charges against them, and against others, and for crimes they may have committed in Bosnia and Croatia from 1992 to 1995 are likely, Arbour indicated today.</P>

<P> Asked in an interview why she had not been able to muster prima facie evidence for genocide charges -- convincing proof that the suspects had sought deliberately to destroy or eliminate a specific population -- Arbour said, "I never overplay my hand. We're not there yet. We're not finished with our work against the accused."</P>

<P> The evidence that tribunal investigators have collected on the ground in and around Kosovo and from NATO countries is "voluminous, abundant," Arbour said, but she said she would reveal only its broad outlines until the prosecutor's office is required to disclose it to the defense in the event of a trial.</P>

>

<P> Arbour refused repeatedly to entertain questions about the negative impact the indictment could have on international diplomatic efforts to wrest a peace agreement from Milosevic. Officials involved in the diplomatic process worry that the tribunal's action might harden Milosevic's already stiff negotiating position, or make it even more difficult to find international support for an agreement signed by wanted men.</P>

<P> Arbour said, "The evidence upon which this indictment was confirmed raises serious questions about their suitability to be the guarantors of any deal, let alone a peace agreement. They have not been rendered less suitable by the indictment. The indictment has simply exposed their unsuitability."</P>

<P> Human rights and international justice groups applauded the indictment, for which they had been clamoring for months, and the United States and other governments did likewise.</P>

<P> "It will help to deter future war crimes by establishing that those who give orders will be held accountable," President Clinton said during a brief appearance at the gate to the sprawling, secluded compound outside of Jacksonville, Fla., where he and his wife are vacationing. "It speaks to the world in saying that the cause we are fighting for in Kosovo is just."</P>

<P> Clinton also spoke by phone for about 10 minutes each with French President Jacques Chirac and British Prime Minister Tony Blair about Kosovo and the war crimes indictment, said White House press secretary Joe Lockhart.</P>

<P> Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright said Milosevic must be taken to The Hague for trial on war crimes charges, adding that there should be no possibility of an immunity deal to achieve peace in Kosovo.</P>

<P> There were a few dissenting voices. French Interior Minister Jean-Pierre Chevenement said the indictment "does not serve peace," and said the tribunal had "a pseudo-moral vision instead of a political one."</P>

<P> Yugoslav officials repeated their customary refusal to recognize the jurisdiction of the tribunal, which it regards as an instrument of NATO war-making. Goran Matic, a minister without portfolio, called the war crimes tribunal "a private court" established by the United States and NATO "to destroy the sovereignty and judicial order of other states when they don't like someone."</P>

<P> In response to questions about the timing of the indictment, Arbour said "criminal charges are not usually good news, and they're never good news for the accused." But she said she had been motivated in part by "real-time" political considerations in pressing for indictment in the five months since January, when Yugoslav army and Serbian police units stepped up their crackdown against secessionist ethnic Albanian guerrillas in Kosovo, a province of Serbia, Yugoslavia's dominant republic.</P>

<P> The Canadian prosecutor said she was concerned that the potential indictments would be "factually put outside the reach of the law -- they could disappear" to flee arrest warrants. The indictment today cut off any immunity option, Arbour said -- "short of an extraordinary act by the Security Council interferi

ng with the constitution of this tribunal."</P>

<P> Arbour was asked if she thought any of today's indictees would ever face trial. "I may sound naive, but I would not be in this business if I didn't believe in the law," she said. </P>

<P> Arbour said she expected United Nations member countries to execute the arrest warrants against Milosevic and the others -- and three dozen other wanted men from the 1992-95 war in Bosnia and Croatia -- "at the next feasible opportunity" if the suspects do not surrender to the tribunal. The likelihood of either development is next to nonexistent.</P>

<P> The tribunal does not try suspected war criminals in absentia. A life sentence is the maximum the tribunal can impose.</P>

<P> The ad hoc tribunal, the first to prosecute war crimes since the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials after World War II, was established in 1993 to investigate charges of genocide, crimes against humanity, and other crimes committed during the war that raged in Bosnia until 1995. A year later, the United Nations merged into it a twin court to prosecute and try those responsible for the massacre of at least 500,000 people in Rwanda in 1994. Arbour and the nine judges in The Hague are responsible for both tribunals.</P>

<P> The tribunals have limited personnel and financial resources, so they have had to depend on United Nations budgets and the in-kind contributions of lawyers and investigators from sympathetic countries and nongovernmental organizations.</P>

<P> The tribunals lack police or enforcement powers, so they have had to rely on Western governments to carry out arrest warrants. In the most politically sensitive cases, notably those of former Bosnian Serb political leader Radovan Karadzic and former Bosnian Serb military chief Ratko Mladic, U.S. and European peacekeeping forces in Bosnia have taken a careful and selective -- critics say fearful and passive -- approach to apprehending suspects.</P>

<P> Karadzic and Mladic, among others, are at large and their daily whereabouts are reportedly no secret to those charged by the Security Council with arresting them.</P>

<P> The intense drive to deliver indictment also raised questions here about the chief prosecutor's plans, three years into a four-year term.</P>

<P> Arbour, a 52-year-old Quebec-born judge on leave from the Ontario Court of Appeal, is likely to be appointed to the Canadian Supreme Court in the weeks to come, sources say. If she accepted the job, she would have to be ready to hear cases in Ottawa by September.</P>

<P> Her departure would leave the tribunal, at its most visible moment yet, in search of a new chief prosecutor. The tribunal will also be getting a new presiding judge at year's end, as the incumbent president, former U.S. federal judge Gabrielle Kirk McDonald, has announced her plans to leave, also ahead of schedule.</P>

<P> Arbour sought the indictment of Milosevic and four others before tribunal judge David Hunt on May 23, and the next day he granted her request for arre

st warrants, the freezing of the accused's assets, and a lid on a formal announcement until today. She said she had wanted to wait for the safe exit from Yugoslavia of a U.N. humanitarian mission, and time enough to inform governments with personnel in Yugoslavia who might be subject to post-indictment reprisals. </P>

<I><P> Staff writer Charles Babington in Florida contributed to this report
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<P>New York Times

May 28, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<U><P>News Analysis</P>

</U><P>Officials Say Diplomacy Is Victim</P>

<P>By Jane Perlez</P>

<P> WASHINGTON -- Publicly, the Clinton administration has applauded the indictment of Slobodan Milosevic, a move that would appear to change the Yugoslav president's status from potential deal maker to an off-bounds pariah. </P>

<P> But in private, administration officials say that the indictment by the International Criminal Tribunal is likely to cripple their efforts to find a diplomatic solution through the Russian envoy, Viktor Chernomyrdin, and the Finnish president, Martti Ahtisaari. </P>

<P> The indictment on charges of crimes against humanity has significantly diminished the hopes of using Ahtisaari as a go-between who could win Milosevic's acquiescence in a settlement. Viewed in recent weeks as the most likely candidate to succeed in negotiations, Ahtisaari would now be extremely reluctant to go to Belgrade to deal with an indicted war criminal, one colleague said. </P>

<P> And one official described the track with Chernomyrdin as "pretty shaky," a sentiment that seemed to be reflected by others in the administration who believe the Russian efforts may have mostly run their course. </P>

<P> Perhaps more troubling for a White House that has been trying to avoid the use of troops, the indictment, by complicating the diplomatic prospects, will enhance the arguments of those in favor of ground forces. </P>

<P> British officials were quick to point out Thursday that the indictment forestalled the likelihood of cutting what they called a shabby deal with Milosevic. "We think it might be helpful in stiffening their spine," a British official said of the indictment's effect on the Clinton administration. </P>

<P> At home, Sen. Joseph Biden, D-Del., said that with news of the indictment, he called President Clinton in Florida and urged him that this was the time to send extra U.S. troops that have been pledged for the international security force. </P>

<P> But faced with the choice of sending ground troops into a "non-permissive" environment in Kosovo or of dealing with Milosevic on the fine points of a settlement, the administration was likely to go for the latter unsavory but practical choice. </P>

<P> The administration's initial reaction on Wednesday to word of the indictment was that it would not preclude direct negotiations with the Yugoslav leader, but officials acknowledged the awkwardness of negotiating with a man who has been indicted on war crimes charges. </P>

<P> Administration officials said Thursday that the White House was not ruling out the possibility that a diplomatic solution could be reached with an intermediary at a point much farther down the line. </P>

<P> The administration was notified on Tuesday of the indictment by Louise Arbour, the war crimes prosecutor at The Hague. </P>

<P> Given the lead time the administration was handed by Ms. Arbour, there was time for officials to figure out the landscape ahead. </P>

<P> But except for the consensus that the indictment made diplomacy more complicated, there was no cohesive judgment on what lay ahead. </P>

<P> One senior administration official, said it was conceivable that Milosevic would take his country down with him. </P>

<P> "The No. 1 question is Milosevic's reaction and whether this drives him into a fatalistic mode," the official said. </P>

<P> Another senior administration official, with less experience in the Balkans, said he believed that the indictment would weaken Milosevic among his people. </P>

<P> This could make Milosevic more susceptible to diplomatic pressure, as w

ell as military pressure, this official said. </P>

<P> The court's decision "deepens his isolation, weakens him, makes him very uncertain about his situation," this official said. "He has to shore up his strength, and he can't by taking an intransigent position. If he takes a crazed extremist view, he'll be all alone pretty soon," the official said. </P>

<P> With Milosevic increasingly isolated among his people, NATO's air campaign, plus the decision to begin to deploy troops for the international security force, would have far greater potential for forcing the Yugoslav leader to cave to NATO's demands, according to this reasoning. </P>

<P> Biden, who met with the national security adviser, Sandy Berger, on Thursday, also said it was possible that the indictment had the "potential of further isolating Milosevic within Serbia" and causing further discontent there. </P>

<P> But the senator, who met with Milosevic in Belgrade in 1993 and called him a "war criminal" to his face, said that he "wouldn't bet the farm" on his being so isolated among the Serbs that he would be forced to seek an end to the war. </P>

<P> Although the timing of the indictment was awkward, Biden said it carried the "good news of verifying what NATO is doing." </P>

<P> The British government, which since the beginning of the air campaign has been much stronger in painting Milosevic as a man not to be dealt with, seemed to take great pleasure in Ms. Arbour's decision. </P>

<P> The diplomatic track with Chernomyrdin was an uncertain bet, a senior British official said, because Chernomyrdin seemed uncertain in his approach. </P>

<P> "And Chernomyrdin was trying to do a deal with a man incapable of delivering," he said in reference to Milosevic. "This pushes the equation forward on troops." </P>

<P> The administration was taken somewhat by surprise that Milosevic's right-hand man, Milan Milutinovic, the president of Serbia, was also indicted. From a negotiating point of view, this vastly complicated the picture, diplomats said. </P>

<P> The indictment of Milutinovic meant that the administration and NATO had no real replacement with authority with whom to make a final settlement. </P>

<P> One possibility being considered by some senior administration officials was the effect the indictment would have on Milosevic's wealthy inner circle. </P>

<P> Among those who have criticized Milosevic publicly is Bogoljub Karic, who runs television stations and owns a bank. </P>

<P> There may be some ways to persuade pals of Milosevic, like Karic, that

it would not be helpful to their future to stick with the regime, one official said. "Mr. Karic could be reminded of the Nuremberg example -- where industrialists were considered class A war criminals," the official said. </P>

<P> But one thing appeared fairly clear. The indictment made it immensely difficult to do a diplomatic deal with Milosevic, for the simple reason that to do so would undermine the authority of the war crimes tribunal, the very body to which the Clinton administration and the British government provided intelligence information for use in formulating the indictments. </P>

<P> And from Milosevic's point of view, the most obvious maneuver would be to request immunity from prosecution before making any settlement arrangements, an impossible scenario for the West to consider. </P>

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<P>Washington Times

May 28, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>North Korean Site Yields Only A System Of Empty Tunnels</P>

<I><P>But spy photos indicate equipment might have been moved</P>

</I><P>By Bill Gertz, The Washington Times</P>

<P> An American team that inspected a North Korean site suspected of being part of a revived nuclear-weapons program found only empty tunnels, the State Department said Thursday, but intelligence officials said increased activity at the site recently raises suspicions that telltale equipment may have been removed.
</P>

<P> The State Department announced Thursday that the inspection team in North

h Korea found "an empty tunnel complex" after four days of looking at the site, although further analysis is under way.</P>

<P> A U.S. spy satellite photographed the Kumchangni complex continuously from May 6 through May 12, the intelligence officials said. The photos showed continued construction at the site, as well as increased vehicle and personnel activity, they said.</P>

<P> One intelligence official said the photographs are evidence that the North Koreans were deceiving the inspectors about the nature of the facility. This official said the increased activity probably involved the removal of equipment indicating the site's purpose.</P>

<P> A second official, however, said the spy photos did not show the removal of any large equipment and that the nature of the increased activity was not fully understood by intelligence analysts.</P>

<P> State Department spokesman James P. Rubin said in a statement that the U.S. inspection team visited the Kumchangni site from May 20 through May 24 and finished their work "sooner than expected."</P>

<P> The team "credited [North Korean] cooperation for its unhampered access and the rapid completion of the work plan," Mr. Rubin said.</P>

<P> "The team found an unfinished site, the underground portion of which was an extensive, empty tunnel complex," he said. "A careful technical analysis of the team's work will now take place before further judgments can be made and reported."</P>

<P> A second visit to the facility will take place in May 2000 as part of an agreement reached in March, Mr. Rubin said.</P>

<P> U.S. intelligence officials said they believe the facility at Kumchangni is a nuclear complex that violates Pyongyang's promise under a pact called the 1994 Agreed Framework to freeze its nuclear weapons program.</P>

<P> U.S. intelligence agencies discovered the Kumchangni site in 1997 and believe the facility is being built to house a plutonium-production reactor that will be used to fuel nuclear weapons.</P>

<P> CIA Director George J. Tenet told a Senate hearing earlier this year that the agency is "deeply concerned" about a "covert" nuclear weapons program in violation of the 1994 pledge.</P>

<P> The intelligence was unwelcome news to the Clinton administration, which has called the 1994 nuclear agreement with Pyongyang one of its most important diplomatic achievements.</P>

<P> Presidential envoy William Perry is now in North Korea to discuss the new nuclear program with North Korean officials, a State Department spokesman said. Mr. Perry delivered a letter from President Clinton to North Korean leader Kim Jong-il.</P>

<P> Mr. Perry, a former defense secretary, has drawn up a new U.S. policy on

North Korea that calls for offering concessions to the communist government.</P>

<P> Henry Sokolski, a former Pentagon weapons-proliferation specialist, said he believes it was foolish for the administration to expect anything to be seen during the Kumchangni inspection.</P>

<P> "It isn't so much that the North Koreans once again have deceived us," Mr. Sokolski said. "It's that we actively deceived ourselves that the results could be anything but an empty cave."</P>

<P> Mr. Sokolski said North Korea in the past has deceived international inspectors about its nuclear-weapons program, which was initially authorized by the International Atomic Energy Agency.</P>

<P> North Korea has many underground locations where components for the covert nuclear program could be hidden.</P>

<P> Of the latest inspection, Mr. Sokolski said: "One down, 12,000 to go. That's how many caves they have."</P>

<P> The Kumchangni facility is not the only sign that North Korea is continuing to build nuclear weapons in violation of the 1994 agreement with the United States.</P>

<P> In March, U.S. intelligence agencies reported that North Korea was working on uranium-enrichment techniques that will allow the reclusive communist government to produce fuel for nuclear weapons in six years or less.</P>

<P> The information was outlined in a classified intelligence report that said a North Korean trading company was trying to buy uranium-enrichment technology from a company in Japan.</P>

<P> The report said North Korea may be working secretly with Pakistan on developing a uranium-enrichment capability.</P>

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<P>Washington Post

May 28, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Kashmir Duel Stirs Fears Of An Expanded Conflict</P>

<P>By Pamela Constable, Washington Post Foreign Service</P>

<P> SKARDU, Pakistan, May 27Pakistan's armed forces said today that they had shot down two Indian fighter jets over the Pakistani-controlled portion of Kashmir, the Himalayan region claimed by both countries, marking a sharp escalation of military tensions between the world's two newest nuclear powers.</P>

<P> The incident aroused long-standing fears in foreign capitals that the two countries' competing claims to Kashmir could spark a larger conflict -- fear that heightened considerably when both tested nuclear weapons last May. India and Pakistan -- rivals since their countries were carved out of British colonial India in 1947 -- have fought two brief wars over Kashmir and frequently traded artillery and small-arms fire across the so-called line of control that divides the Indian- and Pakistan-controlled portions of the province.</P>

<P> On Wednesday, India began launching airstrikes against hundreds of Muslim guerrillas who New Delhi said had infiltrated its portion of Kashmir from Pakistan -- its first use of air power in the regional hot spot since Indian and Pakistani forces clashed there in 1971. And despite assurances from officials on both sides that the airstrikes would not spark cross-border conflict, Pakistani officials said today that they had shot down two Indian MiGs that had strayed four to five miles across the line of control.</P>

<P> Military authorities in Islamabad, Pakistan's capital, said surface-to-air missiles downed the two planes about 45 miles south of this village in the Himalayan foothills. One pilot was in custody and the second was killed, they said. India confirmed the loss of two aircraft but insisted the planes had been flying on its side of the Kashmir line and that only one was shot down by a surface-to-air missile, news services reported from New Delhi. The other was disabled by mechanical failure, and the pilot had to eject over hostile terrain, said Air Vice Marshal S.K. Malik, a defense spokesman.</P>

<P> In Islamabad, Pakistani Information Minister Mushahid Hussain said: "This is a threat to peace and regional stability. Kashmir has been the natural flash point" between India and Pakistan, "and now it has the potential to become a nuclear flash point as well."</P>

<P> India's Foreign Ministry said in a statement that "the present situation has been created entirely because of Pakistan's provocative activities. Pakistan should realize that such foolhardy ventures against India will not succeed."
"</P>

<P> But India's national security adviser, Brajesh Mishra, tempered the strong remarks, saying in a television interview that "we don't think the situation will escalate into a general war. There's no need for any panic at all. When

we went in for airstrikes, we went in knowing that there could be damage to our aircraft."</P>

<P> Indian officials said they have no aggressive intentions against Pakistan and that their recent airstrikes and ground operations in Indian-controlled Kashmir are aimed only at driving out what they describe as Pakistani-backed insurgents. But Pakistani officials said the position of the MiGs when they were shot down proves that India has wider ambitions. They said India may seek to push back Pakistani forces defending their side of the 450-mile line of control.</P>

<P> "We are still in a defensive mode, and we do not want the situation to escalate, but there is definitely a fear that this could start snowballing," said Brig. Rashid Qureshi, a spokesman for the Pakistani military. "When the Indians start overflying and bombing Pakistani territory, we are constrained to take appropriate action."</P>

<P> An Indian military official in New Delhi said today that its planes had dropped no bombs in the region and that thus there was "absolutely no chance" any could have fallen inside Pakistan.</P>

<P> In Washington, Michael Hammer, a spokesman for the National Security Council, said: "We are concerned about the rising escalation of violence in Kashmir. We have appealed to the governments in both India and Pakistan to abide by the terms of the Lahore accords." The prime ministers of the two nations met in Lahore, Pakistan, in February and agreed to work together to solve their 50-year dispute over Kashmir peacefully.</P>

<P> So far, the Clinton administration has yet to send a senior State Department envoy to either capital, the Reuters news agency reported. Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott, who spearheaded efforts to bring Indian and Pakistani officials together in Lahore, is busy leading the U.S. effort to get Russia to mediate a diplomatic solution between NATO and Yugoslavia.</P>

<P> The United States, Britain, Russia, China and U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan urged restraint by both nations, news services reported, with Moscow asserting that the situation demonstrates that NATO's bombing of Yugoslavia had set a dangerous precedent in international relations.</P>

<P> For much of the past decade, the longstanding tensions over Kashmir have been further strained by an uprising by separatist Muslim rebels in the Indian portion of Kashmir -- Jammu and Kashmir, India's only Muslim-majority state. India accuses predominantly Muslim Pakistan of backing the rebellion by infiltrating guerrillas into Jammu and Kashmir to support the rebels. Pakistan denies giving the rebellion anything but moral support.</P>

<P> India launched its airstrikes Wednesday in what Indian officials called a concerted attempt to dislodge between 400 and 600 Pakistani and Afghan guerrillas whom they said had taken up positions in high mountain ridges of the Kargil region of Indian-controlled Kashmir.</P>

<P> The air raids followed a nearly three-week counter-insurgency operation by thousands of Indian troops that failed to drive out the infiltrators and was met by artillery fire from Pakistan. At least 200 combatants on both sides are

e said to have been killed in the recent clashes.</P>

<P> "Under the guise of sorting out the [guerrillas], India has concentrate
d 10,000 to 15,000 troops and 60 to 70 planes in the region," Pakistan's Quresh
i said. "It seems like overkill just to sort out a few hundred [rebels]. We are
now alerted that they have some bigger design."</P>

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<P>Wall Street Journal

May 28, 1999</P>

<P>Serb Forces Intensify Effort To Down Allied Warplanes</P>

<P>By Glenn Burkins, Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal</P>

<P> WASHINGTON -- With North Atlantic Treaty Organization warplanes flying
low in the skies over Yugoslavia, the Serb-led government has stepped up effort
s to shoot down alliance craft.</P>

<P> After weeks of putting up little resistance, the Serbian military Wedne
sday fired more than 30 missiles at NATO planes, alliance officials said. Serbi
an antiaircraft fire was said to be heavy again Thursday.</P>

<P> The Serbs' strategy comes in response to a new phase in NATO bombing ra
ids: With Yugoslavia's air-defense system thought to be badly damaged after wee
ks of bombing, NATO pilots are flying a lot more missions, and at lower altitud
es. One senior Pentagon official said NATO's fleet of A-10 attack jets, designe
d to strike tanks, artillery and ground troops, could fly as low as 500 feet.</
P>

<P> NATO has been using the A-10 to attack Serbian ground forces in Kosovo,
but a NATO official declined to say at what altitude the planes are flying. Th
e Pentagon also has confirmed that NATO has begun flying low-circling AC-130 "S
pectre" gunships over Kosovo.</P>

<P> A Close Call</P>

<P> In Brussels, NATO spokesman Maj. Gen. Walter Jertz said a Serbian missile on Wednesday came so close to hitting an alliance plane that the pilot reportedly felt turbulence as the missile streaked past and exploded. In another attack, the general said, six Serbian missiles were fired at a group of NATO planes attacking a single target. All of the missiles reportedly missed and fell back to earth.</P>

<P> So far, NATO has lost only one manned warplane to Serbian fire, an F-117A stealth fighter that went down in March over Yugoslavia. It also has lost at least two unmanned surveillance planes.</P>

<P> U.S. officials said it is difficult to estimate how much damage NATO pilots have inflicted on Serbia's air-defense systems. But the Pentagon official called the damage so far "pretty significant."</P>

<P> The Pentagon believes Serbia's air defenses included about 2,200 surface-to-air missiles before NATO's bombing campaign began, and the Serbian military is thought to have fired at least 400 so far at NATO planes. Pentagon officials said many more were likely destroyed during allied bombing raids.</P>

<P> Growing Desperation</P>

<P> The Pentagon official said NATO believes the recent increase in Serbian anti-aircraft fire is probably a sign of Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic's growing desperation. He also said NATO believes Mr. Milosevic may be holding back some of his more sophisticated defense systems and using older equipment that he doesn't mind losing to NATO bombs. NATO pilots have been quick to target Serbia's radar-guided systems whenever they have been activated.</P>

<P> The Pentagon official said despite the hostile fire, NATO pilots face no increased risk. "What [the Serbs] are trying to do is score some kind of hit," he said. "They are hoping for a lucky hit."</P>

<P> Although NATO believes it has inflicted heavy damage to Serbia's air defenses, the U.S. has no immediate plans to deploy the AH-62A Apache helicopters stationed in Albania, the Pentagon official said. Unlike NATO's larger and faster warplanes, the Apache would be much more vulnerable to shoulder-fired rockets that could be carried by Serbian troops hiding in the hills. Besides, the Pentagon official said, U.S. officials are convinced NATO's current strategy is working.</P>

<P> 'Ineffective' Defenses</P>

<P> Indeed, the Pentagon's top intelligence officer, First Rear Adm. Thomas Wilson, called Serbia's air-defense system "ineffective against NATO aircraft." He also said Serbia's air-to-air threat had been "virtually eliminated," noting that only three of Serbia's front-line MiG-29s remain operational.</P>

<P> The Pentagon estimates Serbia has about 25,000 troops in Kosovo along with about 15,000 paramilitary police. Adm. Wilson said NATO had seen a small number of units or convoys leave the province, but he credited it to normal troop rotations and not part of a larger pullout.</P>

<P> As the air campaign entered its 65th day, NATO warplanes pounded targets in Belgrade and throughout the country. NATO said it flew 741 sorties in the 24 hours leading up to Thursday afternoon, including 308 strike sorties and 74 others designed to suppress Serbian air defenses.</P>

<P> As NATO bombing continued into the evening, Belgrade was plunged into darkness, the Associated Press reported. Witnesses said a power station in the northern part of the city was hit.</P>

<P> Pentagon officials said NATO airstrikes have resulted in rolling power outages in as much as 80% of Serbia. But in some parts of the country, officials said, blackouts could last for weeks. U.S. officials have said the NATO strikes are meant to further weaken Mr. Milosevic's air-defense systems and his command and control centers and aren't meant to create hardship for civilians.</P>

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<P>Washington Post

May 28, 1999

Pg. 32</P>

<P>Two Dozen Democrats Seek Bombing Halt </P>

<I><P>Members of Congress See 72-Hour Moratorium as Inducement to Get Milosevic to Talk</P>

</I><P>By Juliet Eilperin, Washington Post Staff Writer </P>

<P> More than two dozen House Democrats, most of whom have previously supported the NATO campaign against Yugoslavia, called upon President Clinton yesterday to halt airstrikes for 72 hours as an inducement to bring Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic to the bargaining table.</P>

<P> Though Clinton abruptly dismissed the request, the suggestion underscored how Democrats remain anxious about the administration's Kosovo policy, an issue that is likely to resurface when Congress reconvenes after its one-week Memorial Day recess. Thirty Democrats spanning the ideological spectrum signed the letter to Clinton, 25 of whom voted in favor of airstrikes.</P>

<P> Rep. Sam Farr (Calif.), one of the Democrats calling for a bombing pause, emphasized that lawmakers had relied on the Pentagon for guidance in the early stages of the conflict but had become more attuned to public opinion.</P>

<P> "Now we're hearing the voice of the people," Farr said. "Our constituents are saying, 'Why not try the peace card?'"</P>

<P> To a large extent, the request reflected nervousness among many Democrats over the possibility that Clinton might send ground troops to the region without exploring every other alternative. The president has not ruled out ground troops, though he says he does not plan to deploy them for now.</P>

<P> "If I have one constituent who comes back in a body bag, I want to be able to look their family in the eye and tell them we tried everything we could before their son or daughter gave their lives for our country," said Rep. Michael E. Capuano (D-Mass.).</P>

<P> Democratic Caucus Chairman Martin Frost (Tex.) said yesterday that Clinton may be able to convince Democrats ground troops are needed in the future, but he would have to make a concerted effort.</P>

<P> "A majority of the caucus is still uncomfortable with the concept of ground troops," Frost said. "A clear majority of the caucus wants to give the president every opportunity to be successful and let the bombing campaign continue. There is some sentiment for a bombing pause, but the majority wants to let the president, as commander in chief, handle that."</P>

<P> Clinton is vacationing in Florida, where White House press secretary Joe Lockhart told reporters that the bombing would continue. "There's been a small group of Democrats who have been consistent from the beginning of this conflict and have opposed military action," he said.</P>

<P> "I think it's certainly a legitimate position to take and to articulate," he added. "For our purposes, we believe that we need to continue, we need to continue to intensify until Milosevic changes his policy, allows the refugees back with security and autonomy."</P>

<P> Rep. Rod R. Blagojevich (D-Ill.), who met with Milosevic and helped obtain the release of three American soldiers earlier this month, said he and his colleagues support NATO's effort to end Milosevic's campaign. But he added, "We must have the courage to face reality and admit that our current strategy is failing to achieve our principal objective in the region: namely, ending the violence and returning the Kosovo Albanian refugees to their homes."</P>

<P> "It is time to open the door to a peace settlement in the Balkans -- and see if Milosevic is serious about withdrawing his troops from Kosovo. Let us challenge him to put up or shut up," Blagojevich added.</P>

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<P>New York Times

May 28, 1999</P>

<P>Military Spending Bill Clears Senate Hurdle</P>

<P>By Tim Weiner</P>

<P> WASHINGTON -- The Senate on Thursday night easily passed a \$289 billion military authorization bill that tightens security at the nation's weapons laboratories. But the House, faced with a nearly identical bill, collapsed into chaos and abruptly adjourned for the holiday weekend. </P>

<P> Faced with furious partisan bickering, Speaker J. Dennis Hastert of Illinois, realizing that the Republican majority did not have the necessary 218 votes to bring the bill to the floor, shut down the House and sent its members home. </P>

<P> House Republican leaders blamed Democrats for blocking the bill. The Democrats, in turn, said conservative Republicans had bolted from their leaders over a provision barring funds for ground troops in combat or peacekeeping in Kosovo. </P>

<P> That measure was deleted overnight by the Republicans at the insistence of the White House, which threatened late Wednesday to veto the entire military spending bill over the provision. That move, in turn, infuriated conservative Republicans who wanted to debate the issue of ground troops on the House floor. </P>

<P> Having lost part of their right wing, the Republicans needed votes from the Democrats to bring up the bill. But Democratic blocs also walked away after the Republicans refused to consider amendments to support steps by the Clinton Administration to step up security at the weapons laboratories, cut the number of American forces in Europe and set aside contracts for minorities. </P>

<P> "It used to be that partisanship stopped at the water's edge," sighed Representative Tillie Fowler, a Florida Republican on the House Armed Services Committee. But partisanship compounded by ideological divisions among the Republicans approached a high water mark this week. </P>

<P> The bill was halted "due to Democrat opposition," said Representative David Dreier, Republican of California. Dreier, chairman of the House Rules Committee, said the opposition surfaced today "despite the assurances provided last night by the Democrat leadership and the President's staff" that most Democrats would support the bill. </P>

<P> A White House spokesman, Jake Siewert, called Dreier's explanation "an excuse for ineptitude." The minority leader, Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri, said, "Every time the Republican leadership finds itself unable to beat back the extreme right wing within their own party, they blame the Democrats." </P>

<P> The military authorization bill was the fourth major spending bill Hastert had scheduled over the past three days that the House Republicans were unable to move, in large part because of disagreement between conservatives and moderates. </P>

<P> In the Senate, the military measure faced a far smoother path, winning passage by a 92 to 3 vote tonight. It would authorize \$288.8 billion in military spending for next year, \$8.3 billion more than the White House and the Pentagon sought. </P>

<P> The measure includes \$89 billion for new weapons, including \$3.7 billion for various missile defense programs. It also includes a 4.8 percent raise for military personnel and blocks the military from closing bases over the next two years. </P>

<P> Reacting to reports of Chinese espionage aimed at the nation's nuclear weapons laboratories, the Senate added provisions intended to plug any leaks from the labs. </P>

<P> The Senate approved, by a voice vote, measures inspired by this week's House report on China's acquisition of American military technology. They are intended to "change the mindset at the Department of Energy," which oversees the weapons labs said Senator Frank H. Murkowski, Republican of Alaska. </P>

<P> They would tighten export controls on high-tech items, require the Central Intelligence Agency to review applications for overseas launches of American satellites, monitor Chinese rocket launches and expand American launch capabilities. </P>

<P> "We're going to have to take a look at reorganizing the way the Department of Energy as a whole operates," Senator Trent Lott of Mississippi, the majority leader, said. "We need to look at some way to reimpose the export administration regime. There's got to be some balance between commercial desire, trade and national security." </P>

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<P>Washington Post

May 28, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Vote Delay Reflects Shaky House</P>

<I><P>GOP Leadership Can't Summon Backing for Defense Bill
After Concession to Clinton</P>

</I><P>By Eric Pianin and Juliet Eilperin, Washington Post Staff Wri
ters</P>

<P> Unable to pass a key defense spending bill, GOP leaders abruptly cancel
ed House proceedings yesterday and sent members home for a recess, raising fres
h questions about their ability to govern effectively with only a slim majority
.</P>

<P> The leadership canceled planned votes on the \$288.8 billion fiscal 2000
defense authorization bill after conservatives complained that a provision had
been dropped -- at the behest of the White House -- that would have cut off fu
nding for the Kosovo war beyond Sept. 30. The previous day, the leadership post
poned action on a \$60.8 billion agriculture appropriations bill after conservat
ives protested what they complained to be excessive spending.</P>

<P> The fumbling on the floor highlighted the immense difficulties facing t
he Republicans only five months after Rep. J. Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.) succeeded
Newt Gingrich as speaker, promising to create a more harmonious and efficient
environment. Deep divisions within his party and aggressive maneuvering by the
Democrats tripped up those efforts this week, and the GOP appeared to lack a st
rategy to regain the initiative.</P>

<P> Rather than ending the week with a burst of activity, the House was una
ble to complete work on three major bills scheduled for action, including the l
egislative branch spending bill. At the same time, the Republican majority was
badly divided over spending policy and worried that the Democratic minority has

gained the upper hand on gun control, campaign finance and other sensitive issues.</P>

<P> GOP leaders sought to pin blame for yesterday's debacle on the White House and House Democratic leaders, saying they broke a promise to deliver at least 50 Democratic votes to launch debate on the defense bill, in return for dropping the Kosovo provision.</P>

<P> "We gave the president this chance . . . because he said he had the strong support of the Democrat leadership and that he had support in the Democratic caucus," said House Rules Committee Chairman David Dreier (R-Calif.).</P>

<P> "The lesson we learned is don't trust White House vote counts," added Hastert spokesman John Feehery.</P>

<P> But congressional Democrats and the White House said that there was no such deal and that the Republicans alienated large numbers of Democrats by even raising the Kosovo provision, and then by severely limiting the number of their amendments that could be considered on the floor. Democrats were particularly incensed that the leadership would not permit Rep. Norman D. Dicks (Wash.), the ranking Democrat on the select committee that investigated China espionage, to offer an amendment on security changes. [Details, Page A3.]</P>

<P> "Every time the Republican leadership finds itself unable to beat back the extreme right wing within their own party, they blame the Democratic caucus," said House Minority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.).</P>

<P> "They screwed the Democrats, assuming they had the Republicans in their pocket," said Rep. Barney Frank (D-Mass.). "Then when they got rid of the Kosovo provision they cut a hole in their pocket. It was just a total misunderstanding and miscalculation on this bill."</P>

<P> While the House bogged down yesterday, the Senate voted 92 to 3 to pass its own version of a defense authorization bill, which includes a 4.8 percent pay increase for the military and other enhancements.</P>

<P> In the House, lawmakers and political analysts agreed that the Republicans' problems are complex and deep-seated and are likely only to worsen as pressure builds later this year. Moderates and conservatives are at odds over budget policy and how best to deal with tight spending restraints. The party is splitting over campaign finance reform, with a small group of moderates casting their lot with the Democrats. And sharp divisions over the NATO air war in Yugoslavia and U.S. relations with China are beginning to test GOP unity.</P>

<P> Because the Republicans hold a bare six-vote majority in the House and can rarely depend on the minority Democrats for support, even a small handful of dissidents can frustrate Hastert and his lieutenants. On Wednesday, Rep. Tom Coburn (R-Okla.) blocked what was thought to be a noncontroversial agriculture spending bill by offering more than 100 amendments seeking cuts.</P>

<P> "If six people decide to get off the reservation, you've got a problem," said Rep. Ray LaHood (R-Ill.). "Any time six people get up in the morning and decide they don't like what the leadership is doing, we've got a problem."</P>

<P> In the case of the defense authorization bill -- typically a tough bill to pass -- Hastert was whipsawed by conservative Republicans insisting on a strong stand against further funding and Democrats demanding votes on a broad array of amendments.</P>

<P> A provision added in the Armed Services Committee to cut off funding for the Kosovo war this fall reflected the growing unhappiness with the bombing in a chamber that rejected a resolution last month supporting the NATO air war. When the White House threatened a veto, GOP leaders said, they agreed to drop the provision in return for substantial Democratic support.</P>

<P> Conservatives were furious with the leadership for backing down. "There was a perception that striking the provision in the bill would give the president carte blanche in Kosovo, and a lot of people didn't like that," said Rep. Dan Burton (R-Ind.).</P>

<P> Hastert and other GOP leaders concluded they would need the support of at least 50 Democrats to bring the bill to the floor and pass it, and they said yesterday they believed they had received assurances of that support from the White House and House Democratic leaders.</P>

<P> But a White House spokesman and congressional Democrats disputed the Republicans' account, saying that while the administration agreed to drop its veto threat, there never was a promise that the Democrats would deliver a set number of votes.</P>

<P> And when the House began considering the issue yesterday, it soon became apparent there weren't enough votes even to pass a procedural rule as a prelude to debate on the bill. Hastert quickly halted the proceedings and sent members home for a one-week Memorial Day recess while he and other leaders sought to regroup.</P>

<P> After House leaders pulled the defense bill, Republicans closed ranks and met for more than an hour and a half to discuss, in the words of Rep. Asa Hutchinson (R-Ark.), "how do we avoid this in the future."</P>

<P> In contrast to a meeting Wednesday, when House Majority Leader Richard K. Armey (R-Tex.) alienated several lawmakers by directly attacking Coburn for undercutting the leadership, the top leaders were largely silent as rank-and-file members voiced their concern.</P>

<P> Rep. Dana Rohrabacher (R-Calif.), one of the members who protested the defense bill on the grounds that he wanted a vote on Kosovo, said rank-and-file members are willing to support their leaders as long as they "don't try to bulldoze and beat somebody over the head."</P>

<P> "The bottom line is there's a lot of goodwill among Republicans because we're such a small majority and we've got to work together," Rohrabacher said.</P>

<P> Some lawmakers suggested in the conference that dissenters should be punished, and according to several participants, House Majority Whip Tom DeLay (R-Tex.) warned lawmakers that "while punishment isn't necessary, you shouldn't g

et rewards" for challenging leadership.</P>

<P> But some lawmakers said punishment would be counterproductive. "It's when leadership becomes autocratic with a small majority that it loses," said Rep. Mark Edward Souder (R-Ind.), who nonetheless said he sympathized with their predicament. "If I were a leader today I would be frustrated," he added. "They're leaders and we don't have much order."</P>

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<P>Defense Daily

May 28, 1999

Pg. 2</P>

<P>Senate Brushes Aside Cost Cap Proposal For F/A-18E/F</P>

<P>By Sheila Foote</P>

<P> The Senate voted 87 to 11 yesterday to table an amendment by Sen. Russ Feingold (D-Wisc.) that would have required the Navy to stay within a \$8.8 billion cost cap on Boeings [BA] F/A-18E/F Super Hornet program.</P>

<P> Sen. Rick Santorum (R-Pa.) objected, saying that the cost cap could prevent future insertion of new technologies into the fighter. At press time, the Senate was close to voting on final passage of the \$288.8 billion FY 00 Defense Authorization Bill. The bill recommends an increase of \$8.3 billion in spending, more than half of which would be spent on weapons modernization programs. </P>

<P> The bill is the first of the annual defense authorization and spending bills. The House planned to begin considering its version of the FY 00 Defense Authorization Bill yesterday, but decided to put that off until after the Memorial Day recess following procedural objections from members.</P>

<P> The Senate Appropriations Committee earlier in the week approved a \$264

.7 billion FY 00 defense spending bill that contains nearly as much money for weapons as the authorization bill recommends.</P>

<P> The Senate version of the FY 00 Defense Authorization Bill recommends an increase of \$2.9 billion in procurement spending, or \$55.9 billion, and a hike of \$1.4 billion in research, development, test and evaluation funding, or \$35.8 billion. By comparison, the Appropriations Committees FY 00 spending bill provides \$54.7 billion for procurement and \$36.4 billion for research and development (R&D).</P>

<P> More than half of the authorized increase in procurement spending, or \$1.37 billion, goes for new aircraft buys and upgrades of existing aircraft with new sensors, engines, or communication links.</P>

<P> In the area of R&D, \$449 million of the increase goes for ballistic missile defense programs. Overall, the bill authorizes an addition of \$509 million to the DoD's \$3.3 billion request for ballistic missile defense. That includes a \$60 million addition in procurement spending to the Pentagon's \$300 million request for the Lockheed Martin [LMT]-Raytheon [RTNA/RTNB] Patriot PAC-3 missile. </P>

<P> In the report on the bill, the Senate Armed Services Committee expresses concern about inadequate defense spending on science and technology programs, which it says is at a 25-year low in DoD and has dropped by 50 percent in industry. The panel recommends an addition of \$155.4 million to science and technology, bringing the total authorized to \$4.2 billion.</P>

<P> To ensure that DoD focuses on identifying key technologies for future joint warfighting in 2010 and beyond, the SASC includes language requiring the Pentagon to continue preparing reports on emerging operational concepts and technologies. These R&D objectives likely "will serve as a benchmark for future science and technology investments," the SASC says.</P>

<P> The funding authorization also reflects the increased priority the SASC sees for non-traditional warfare and on programs run by the Special Operations Command (SOCOM). The bill authorizes an increase of \$164.5 million in SOCOM procurement programs, for a total of \$2.2 billion, and an increase of \$180 million in classified SOCOM R&D programs, for a total of \$1.2 billion. </P>

<P> Of the procurement increase, \$100 million would be spent on classified programs. An increase of \$42 million and total of \$83.4 million would go to replace a Boeing MH-47E helicopter that was destroyed in a crash in 1996.</P>

<P> The recommended funding increases in the bill reflect a continued effort on the part of Congress to increase defense spending. Both the administration and Congress agree that the DoD needs more funds to be adequately prepared to fight two major regional wars that occur within a few weeks of each other.</P>

<P> The Joint Chiefs of Staff estimated last fall that the military will need \$148 billion more than budgeted in the next six years. The administration responded to the Joint Chiefs plea by adding \$112 billion to the six-year budget, including an extra \$12 billion more than it had planned last year in its FY 00 budget request.</P>

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<P>Washington Post

May 28, 1999

Pg. 3</P>

<P>Lab Reforms Stall In House </P>

<I><P>Senate Approves Cox Committee Security Suggestions</P>
>

</I><P>By Walter Pincus, Washington Post Staff Writer </P>

<P> Legislation to tighten security at the nation's nuclear weapons laboratories ran into a snag in the House yesterday after a separate measure breezed through the Senate by a voice vote.</P>

<P> Members in both houses were to attach to the fiscal 2000 defense authorization bill reforms designed to correct problems described in a report published Tuesday by a House select committee that investigated technology transfers to China and allegations of Chinese espionage at the labs. But the GOP House leadership was forced to recess proceedings when it became clear that angry Democrats had enough votes to defeat the rule that was to govern which amendments could be brought up for debate.</P>

<P> Democrats were upset that the House Rules Committee refused late Wednesday night to allow consideration of a bipartisan measure, drafted primarily by Rep. Norman D. Dicks (D-Wash.), the ranking Democrat on the China panel. His proposal had the support of several Republicans and primarily codified security changes already being implemented by the Clinton administration.</P>

<P> Dicks, who learned late Wednesday that his measure had been ruled out of order, went to the House floor yesterday and described as "an insult" the Republican plan to allow votes only on GOP reform proposals. "I am very disap

pointed that the Republican leadership has chosen to take a partisan approach to implementing our report," he said.

Rep. Christopher Cox (R-Calif.), chairman of the select committee, said after the House recessed that he was prepared to support the Dicks amendment along with others proposed by his GOP colleagues. "I view this as an opportunity," Cox said after consideration of the bill was delayed.

Among the Republican amendments ruled in order for a vote, and expected to be reintroduced, was a highly controversial one by Rep. Floyd D. Spence (R-S.C.), chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, which would require the secretary of defense to prepare a plan for transferring nuclear weapons programs from the Energy Department to the Pentagon by January 2002. That proposal, which had not been subject to any study or hearings, was immediately opposed by the White House.

As a result of yesterday's action, a new rule governing amendments to the defense bill will be considered when the House returns June 7 after its Memorial Day recess.

In the Senate, bipartisan, noncontroversial reform proposals sponsored by Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-Miss.) passed easily. For the most part they also codify new security policies but also contain a provision that would require nuclear lab employees and contractors who visit China or other sensitive countries to be accompanied by an Energy Department employee with training in countering threats of espionage and intelligence-gathering by foreign nationals.

Meanwhile, a group of 80 GOP House members sent President Clinton a letter demanding that he fire national security adviser Samuel R. "Sandy" Berger for failing to inform the president "of the most serious espionage ever committed against the United States." However, it was Berger who, after first hearing allegations of spying in early 1996, sent his Energy Department intelligence briefer, Notra Trulock, to inform the ranking members of the House and Senate intelligence committees.

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<P>New York Times

May 28, 1999</P>

<P>Yugoslav Army Again Shells Villages In Northeast Albania</P>

<P>By Ian Fisher</P>

<P> KRUME, Albania -- For the second day, Yugoslav forces shelled villages in northeast Albania Thursday, heightening tensions along the main crossing point for refugees fleeing from Kosovo. </P>

<P> Rasim Sheta, 52, a relative of the two people killed in the attacks in Cahani on Wednesday, stood beside two fresh graves in a small cemetery here and said that Albanians would be forced to fight back if the shelling continues. </P>

<P> "We are all ready to fight," he said. "We won't allow the Serbs to attack our villages or get inside our land. We know that we must keep cool, but we have to defend our country." </P>

<P> Even as he spoke, gunfire rattled around the hills, and Sheta looked up to see a huge black explosion rise from an Albanian village on a nearby hilltop. </P>

<P> On Wednesday, two shells landed at the house of his cousin, Musa Cahani, 59, killing him and his daughter, Merita, 20. The family could find only the daughter's leg and hand but buried them all the same in a grave next to her father. </P>

<P> Throughout the morning Thursday, the sound of gunfire and shelling echoed around the border post of Morini, where 606 Albanian refugees from Kosovo nonetheless had crossed by late afternoon. </P>

<P> During one attack around 10 a.m., a sound engineer from Chile -- one in the pack of journalists who wait by the border for refugees to cross -- was shot in the head. </P>

<P> Military officials said the 30-year-old engineer, whose name was not released, was in a coma and being transported to Italy for medical treatment. Other reporters said he had arrived only the day before and was working on a documentary about war correspondents. </P>

<P> "All of a sudden there was this whistling and this guy hit the ground," said David Guttenfelder, a photographer with The Associated Press. </P>

<P> He had been standing on a rise in line with a Yugoslav army bunker several hundred yards away, and it was unclear if he had been hit by stray gunfire or was shot intentionally by snipers from the bunker. </P>

<P> The border area buzzed with military activity as Albanian tanks and trucks, some manned by soldiers in camouflage, moved between Morini and Kukes, the

main town where the refugees are staying, some 10 miles from the border. </P>

<P> The activity was in preparation for Albanian military exercises planned for Friday, in which tanks and artillery will fire live ammunition into the hills along the border. </P>

<P> First Capt. Albert Mullai, spokesman for the Albanian military, said the exercises had been planned before this recent spike in tension along the border. But he said the maneuvers would nonetheless demonstrate to the Yugoslav army across the border the capacity of Albanian troops. </P>

<P> "It's a kind of show of force," Mullai said. </P>

<P> Saying it would only complicate the job of NATO, Albanian officials say they do not intend to get involved militarily in the conflict in Kosovo despite almost daily incursions of Yugoslav forces into Albanian territory. </P>

<P> Most of the attacks have come in areas with a heavy presence of ethnic Albanian fighters from the Kosovo Liberation Army. </P>

<P> Over the last two days, the rebels and Yugoslav soldiers have been fighting just across from the Morini border post, in what rebel leaders say is a major offensive on their part to open a route from Albania into the heart of Kosovo. </P>

<P> But some of that fighting has spilled over the border. Thursday, Yugoslav forces shelled Cahani and Kishaj, said Andrea Angeli, a spokesman for the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. The two villages were among four shelled on Wednesday. </P>

<P> A nurse at the hospital here, Hate Kadriaj, 35, said the attacks in this area had increased since NATO began bombing Serbia and Serbian positions in Kosovo on March 24. </P>

<P> She was one of the people who treated Cahani, who had been hit while drinking coffee on his front porch and while his daughter tended to the family's cows. </P>

<P> "The war has now started in this region," she said. "It is a very tense situation." </P>

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<P>Washington Post

May 28, 1999

Pg. 32</P>

<P>Yugoslav Missiles Targeting NATO Planes</P>

<P>By William Drozdiak, Washington Post Foreign Service</P>

<P> BRUSSELS, May 27As NATO warplanes step up the pace and number of their airstrikes on Yugoslavia, Belgrade's air defense forces are responding for the first time with ferocious volleys of antiaircraft fire and surface-to-air missiles, alliance officials said today.</P>

<P> NATO authorities said the latest 24-hour phase of the air campaign drew 33 surface-to-air missile attacks on allied planes, more than at any time since the airstrikes began in late March. One pilot reported that a missile exploded so close to him that his plane shook.</P>

<P> "A sense of desperation is setting in as they make a last determined stand and to shoot down at least one of the NATO planes, because they want one last victory," said German Air Force Maj. Gen. Walter Jertz, a NATO military spokesman. In more than 27,000 NATO missions since the start of the air campaign, the Yugoslavs have downed only two planes, and no NATO pilots have been killed or captured.</P>

<P> During the first weeks of the air war, NATO strategists were puzzled by the absence of antiaircraft fire from Yugoslav defenses. They concluded that air defense operators were hunkered down in a "survival mode" to protect themselves from being attacked once they turned on their radar systems to track allied planes.</P>

<P> "That's when we realized that nobody wanted to eat a HARM missile for [Yugoslav President] Slobodan Milosevic," said Lt. Gen. Michael Short, NATO's top air war commander, in an interview last week at his headquarters in Vicenza, Italy. He was referring to the highly accurate anti-radiation missiles carried by many NATO aircraft to neutralize ground radar systems.</P>

<P> While recent clear weather has made it easier for NATO pilots to identify their targets, it also has helped Yugoslav antiaircraft operators track incoming planes without having to turn on radar that would betray their locations.</P>

<P> NATO officials said alliance aircraft flew a record number of sorties today -- 741, including 308 attack missions and 74 others designed to suppress air defense systems.</P>

<P> Airstrikes Wednesday night and early today hit a wide range of targets, the officials said, including 10 artillery positions in Kosovo province -- the focus of the nine-week-old conflict. At least five tanks, eight armored personnel carriers and four anti-aircraft artillery emplacements also were hit.</P>

<P> Other targets struck included ammunition storage sites, radio and television transmission and relay sites, oil storage tanks, airfields and army and police barracks buildings, the officials said.</P>

<P> Power facilities around Belgrade were also hit again. Two major power distribution stations in the capital were struck, and residents said much of the city remained without electricity for most of the night.</P>

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<P>Washington Post

May 28, 1999

Pg. 31</P>

<P>KLA Improving Its Status, Pentagon Says </P>

<I><P>Training, Leadership, Equipment, Number of Kosovo Guerrillas on the Upswing</P>

</I><P>By William Claiborne, Washington Post Staff Writer </P>

<P> The Pentagon reported yesterday that the Kosovo Liberation Army, although scattered into disarray by Yugoslav forces two months ago, has become better trained and more competently led and is beginning to reestablish itself in parts of the embattled Serbian province.</P>

<P> Rear Adm. Thomas Wilson, the top intelligence officer for the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, told reporters 15,000 to 17,000 KLA guerrillas are operating inside Kosovo, compared with only 5,000 when the NATO bombing campaign began.

gan March 24. An additional 5,000 KLA fighters are standing by or undergoing training in neighboring Albania, compared with 1,000 to 2,000 in March, he said.</P>

<P> "I don't think it's outside the realm of possibility that they could reestablish control in some areas," Wilson told a Pentagon briefing. "They clearly are achieving some successes in their manpower base, their training, their leadership and their ability to supply and equip themselves as they go more force-on-force infantry-wise."</P>

<P> The intelligence chief said the KLA's supply situation has improved dramatically, with more weapons coming in by way of Albania. He said recruitment both among fighting-age men who fled Kosovo and ethnic Albanian volunteers from Europe and the United States also has improved.</P>

<P> Wilson said NATO warplanes are targeting Yugoslav mechanized armor and heavy weapons on the ground in part to "level the playing field" between the secessionist militia and its adversaries. But he reiterated NATO's insistence that the KLA is not a partner in the war against Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic's security forces.</P>

<P> Wilson cautioned that the KLA guerrillas, although benefiting greatly from the pounding that Yugoslav Army and police forces are taking from nightly allied airstrikes, still face formidable opposition from 25,000 Yugoslav soldiers inside Kosovo, 15,000 police regulars and reservists and thousands of armed paramilitaries. The Yugoslav Army has the additional advantage of having tanks and armored personnel carriers at its disposal, although its mobility has been reduced by the airstrikes and declining fuel supplies, Wilson said.</P>

<P> "I'm not saying that the KLA is going to be victorious in the near term," Wilson stressed. "But with regard to the two militaries, the [KLA] has got a more motivated, and better trained and more numerous force" than it had two months ago. The guerrillas still cannot stand up against Serb tanks and APCs, but their numbers are getting closer to the numbers of Serb forces, Wilson said.</P>

<P> Wilson's comments were less noteworthy for their particulars than for the fact that a senior military intelligence officer chose at this time to recast the official U.S. portrayal of the KLA, which in March was characterized in Pentagon briefings as all but finished as a fighting force. Pentagon spokesman Kenneth Bacon said Wilson was not trying to imply a new relationship with the KLA, from which NATO has tried to maintain a public distance because of the guerrilla force's goal of independence from Serbia as opposed to the autonomy favored by the allies.</P>

<P> "He just stated the obvious, which is that after 64 days of pounding, the [Serb forces] have been diminished in their capability," Bacon said. "Our goal has never been to empower the KLA to create more fighting. Our goal has been to end fighting in Kosovo."</P>

<P> Calling the KLA a "resurgent group," Wilson said the guerrillas have recently become more aggressive in their patrols, particularly in western Kosovo, where a month ago they captured a Yugoslav Army barracks in Kosare, about a mile north of the Albanian border.</P>

<P> Last Friday, NATO warplanes, apparently unaware that the building had changed hands, bombed it, killing five sleeping rebels and injuring 25.</P>

<P> When asked what was the most successful KLA military operation in the past week, Wilson said he could provide no details, but that rebel fighters overran an Army unit and captured a large supply of ammunition and weapons, including what he said were some heavy weapons.</P>

<P> "It's those kinds of things that are successful -- cut off an artillery unit so they can't be effectively used in an operation," Wilson said. "We've had reports of some small number of Serb patrols or units which are retreating or running as opposed to fighting."</P>

<P> But the intelligence chief had no estimate of casualties among Serb security forces and no explanation -- other than the Serbs' reduced mobility -- of why, if there are as many as 17,000 KLA fighters standing against 25,000 Yugoslav Army troops in Kosovo, there have not been more engagements of the two forces than have been reported.</P>

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<P>Washington Post

May 28, 1999

Pg. 31</P>

<P>KLA Starts New Drive Toward Kosovo </P>

<I><P>Albanian Army Drills Begin in Border Zone</P>

</I><P>By John Ward Anderson, Washington Post Foreign Service </P>

<P> MORINA, Albania, May 27The chief rebel group fighting for independence in Kosovo apparently has launched a new offensive in the northwest border

area of Albania, possibly to open a second supply corridor for its forces in Yugoslavia, military analysts and observers said today.

The offensive began Wednesday night and continued this afternoon around this border crossing, with rebels from the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) exchanging intense gunfire and shelling across the Albania-Yugoslavia frontier with Yugoslav army troops, the officials said.

"The KLA has launched an operation to try to open up a new corridor," a military observer said, adding that he was baffled by the rebels' choice of location because much of the Morina area is exposed and heavily defended by Yugoslav forces.

"It's madness," said another observer, adding that it "displays the KLA's amateurism."

A KLA spokesman here denied that the group specifically was trying to open a new supply corridor, saying it wanted to liberate the Yugoslav border area. He said one KLA fighter was killed and five injured, while 18 Yugoslav soldiers were killed in the two-day-old offensive.

The KLA launched the operation as Albania, which is sheltering nearly 440,000 Kosovo refugees, began what NATO officials and other analysts said was a dangerously provocative military training exercise near the border using live ammunition. A NATO spokesman said that top officials were pleading with Albanian Prime Minister Majko Pandeli to cancel the exercise.

"We can't understand it," said a military observer here. "In this situation, doing this kind of an exercise is bound to provoke the Serbs." Officials who attended a meeting today with Albanian military officers said they explained the exercise was meant as a warning to Yugoslavia to stop its frequent rocketing of Albanian border areas.

Albanian officials said the training -- involving tanks, troops and heavy artillery -- would continue Friday. NATO officials said that they had been promised the drills had been delayed, only to discover that the exercises were in fact going forward when Albanian artillery fire echoed over Kukes, a border town that is sheltering about 100,000 refugees.

U.N. officials said they were told by the Albanians that they were firing only blanks. But a border observer said it appeared that the Albanian firing might have been to support the rebel offensive because it occurred this morning just when the KLA-Yugoslav battle was most intense.

Albania officially denies aiding the KLA, but the rebel group has training camps and cross-border supply operations here.

In a related incident, a sound technician for a Chilean television team was shot in the head, apparently by a Serb sniper, as he was sitting near the border with several other journalists during the morning battle. The man, identified by The Associated Press as Abner Machuca, 30, was flown to the Albanian capital, Tirana, where he reportedly was in a coma late today.

Two Albanian border guards reportedly were seriously injured when

one stepped on a land mine while patrolling the border south of Morina, in Albanian territory. Military analysts say that Serb forces have heavily mined the border to thwart KLA efforts to establish new supply lines.

The combined events prompted U.N. officials to upgrade to a "yellow" state of alert, restricting the organization's 400 employees here from moving beyond the Kukes vicinity and the seven refugee camps clustered around it.

"The live-ammo exercise, whether it's called off or not, has drawn a lot of military hardware here, and that creates a new situation," explained Stephen Green, head of operations for the U.N. World Food Program in Kukes and a member of a local security steering group.

The murky purpose of the military exercises contributed to a sense of alarm that, by design or accident, events could escalate and draw Albania, which has perhaps the weakest military in Europe, into the war. Relief workers were particularly concerned that Kukes -- which is just 15 miles from the border -- and its refugee camps could tempt Serb artillery. In fact, an Albanian artillery battery is located between three of the refugee camps.

"At the very least, the opportunity for misunderstanding has ripened," Green said. "We've lived a charmed life, and it's naive to think that's going to continue to be the case. There's no magic envelope around Kukes."

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<P>London Daily Telegraph

May 28, 1999</P>

<P>Rugova Supporters Are Purged</P>

<P>By Philip Smucker in Padesh </P>

OFFICERS in the Kosovo Liberation Army say they are purging Kosovar rebel ranks of 700 remaining backers of the exiled "president" of Kosovo, Ibrahim

Rugova.</P>

<P> Mr Rugova, who has the strong backing of major Western powers, said on Wednesday that he was ready to meet KLA officers to iron out differences. But he would not surrender his presidential powers in a post-war Kosovo government.</P>

<P> The newly-appointed commander of the KLA, Gen Agim Ceku, began flushing Rugova backers out of his ranks this month, arresting a key intelligence officer named Tomor and infuriating the backers of the would-be president. Rebel fighters claimed that Mr Rugova's government hoarded tens of millions of dollars and refused to back the struggle for independence from Serb rule.</P>

<P> The rebels and Mr Rugova, who pursued a policy of non-violence in the Serb-run police state in Kosovo for nearly a decade, appeared to be headed towards a showdown, although some observers believed that talk of a split was deliberately exaggerated by KLA hardliners.</P>

<P> The KLA's avowed "prime minister", Hasim Thaci, has invited Mr Rugova to Albania but it was not clear that he would accept because of fears for his safety. The Albania government in Tirana, under pressure from Nato countries, has offered to broker talks between the two rival factions.</P>

<P> Most of Mr Rugova's detractors believe that he dug his own political grave at the outset of Nato air strikes by meeting Slobodan Milosevic, albeit under apparent duress. Mr Rugova's claims last year that the burgeoning rebel army was an artificial creation of the Serb secret service still does not sit well with rebels. Now, with an all-out war for liberation going on inside Kosovo, few KLA fighters can be found who will speak highly of Mr Rugova.</P>

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<P>London Times

May 28, 1999</P>

<U><P>Balkans War</P>

</U><P>Nato Toll 'Could Be One In 10 Troops'</P>

<P>By Eve-Ann Prentice in Belgrade</P>

<P> About a tenth of Nato troops would be killed or injured in a ground assault on Serbia, according to a former Yugoslav army officer. </P>

<P> Colonel Milan Gorjanc, now a senior military strategist in the breakaway Former Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia, also says that the alliance will need 300,000 troops to stand a chance of success. </P>

<P> The colonel was responsible before the break-up of Yugoslavia for drawing up maps to help federal Yugoslavia to defend itself against any attack from the West, according to the Belgrade daily Vreme. Slovenia is debating introducing sanctions against Serbia. As a senior Slovene army officer, Colonel Gorjanc is therefore seen as an informed but independent analyst of Yugoslav capabilities. </P>

<P> "I estimate that, if Nato attacks on the ground, their casualties will be between 8 and 12 per cent of their forces, including about 30 dead a day," Colonel Gorjanc told the paper yesterday. </P>

<P> Yugoslav forces would be likely to have an advantage in face-to-face fighting in and around towns and cities, Colonel Gorjanc said. "Nato's strategy has always been to attack from a distance, in flat regions and deserts. Nato has no proper strategy for attacking built-up areas while the Serbs know well how to defend themselves in such a situation." </P>

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<P>Los Angeles Times

May 27, 1999

Pg. 9</P>

NATO Getting Back To Basics In Air War

Technology: As Yugoslav defenses pose less threat, gravity bombs see action.

By Paul Richter, Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON--The air war over Yugoslavia, heralded since its outset for an unprecedented use of precision munitions, is suddenly turning back to old-fashioned "dumb" bombs in hopes of finishing off Serbian forces.

With Yugoslav air defenses posing less and less of a threat, NATO has been dispatching B-52s, B-1s and other bombers to shower Yugoslavia with unguided gravity bombs much like those used during the Vietnam War. Also in greater use are the unguided cluster bombs that spray shrapnel over a wide area to wipe out troops and vehicles.

Through the beginning of this month, some Pentagon officials boasted that at nearly 100% of the ordnance used in the campaign against Yugoslavia were sophisticated guided munitions capable of striking targets while sparing nearby structures.

Now, officials say alliance forces have dropped more than 4,000 unguided bombs, or about 30% of the more than 14,000 that have been unloaded on Yugoslavia since the air war began March 24. The surge in the overall share of gravity bombs suggests that in recent days their use has been high.

"As the [Yugoslav] integrated air defense has been taken down to where we had local air superiority, and could fly with less danger . . . we've switched," Maj. Gen. Charles Wald, a senior planner with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said Wednesday.

Most incidents of "collateral damage"--the military term for unintended civilian casualties and property losses--that have occurred in the air war have been connected to the use of guided munitions, and North Atlantic Treaty Organization officials insist they use the unguided variety only where targets are large and distant from civilian sites.

Yet the use of more unguided ordnance has not pleased critics of cluster bombs. They contend that such airstrikes leave behind duds that later kill and maim civilians. About 5% of such so-called "bomblets"--the small projectiles within each cluster bomb--are unexploded, they say.

"We've noticed this trend," said Joost Hiltermann, executive director of the arms control unit of Human Rights Watch, which opposes the use of cluster bombs.

NATO officials say they have used two kinds of unguided bombs, the Mark 82 500-pound gravity bombs and the CBU-87 cluster bomb. Carrying them have been the 18 U.S. B-52s and five B-1 bombers based in Fairford, England, as well as French AMX aircraft and F-16s.

The bombs' optimal use is on targets that cover a lot of area, officials said. NATO officials have acknowledged using the 500-pounders on ammunition

torage areas, fuel depots, barracks and airfields; they have said cluster bombs have been used on airfields, ammunition dumps, supply centers and areas where military vehicles have been concentrated.</P>

<P> U.S. Air Force Col. Phil Meilinger, an air-power expert at the Naval War College, said that while some observers might conclude that use of unguided bombs suggests NATO is "taking off the gloves and getting nasty," the use of these weapons in such circumstances is customary.</P>

<P> At Pentagon briefings in recent weeks, officials have shown footage from warplanes depicting airfields covered with craters after B-52 bombing runs. On Wednesday, Wald presented video of a complex of buildings called the Sremska Mitrovica ammunition storage depot showing gaping holes after two B-52s flew over and dropped 88 gravity bombs.</P>

<P> "That area has been basically wiped out," he said.</P>

<P> One advantage of the unguided bombs is cost: Each Mark 82 costs about \$1,100, while the smart bombs can cost hundreds of thousands of dollars each and cruise missiles cost about \$1 million apiece.</P>

<P> And, at a time when NATO is hoping to frighten Yugoslav officials to the bargaining table, there is the psychological impact of thunderous B-52s. They typically fly in groups of three, and drop loads of as many as 51 of the 500-pound bombs each.</P>

<P> If not designed as a terror weapon, "it definitely had that effect on the Iraqi troops a decade ago," said John Pike, a defense analyst with the Federation of American Scientists, a Washington-based think tank.</P>

<P> NATO officials say B-52s, with their improved satellite-guidance systems, are significantly more accurate in dropping unguided bombs than they were during the Vietnam War, when they were less sure of their location.</P>

<P> "They've been a lot more accurate than anyone expected," Wald said.</P>

<P> The B-52s can hit a target within an area about 1,000 feet long and hundreds of feet wide. By comparison, pilots assume that with the more sophisticated laser-guided munitions, they can drop their bombs within a few yards of intended targets.</P>

<P> If NATO continues dropping unguided bombs at the current rate, the campaign will still be far more reliant on precision ordnance than was the Persian Gulf War, in which only 9% of the bombs were precision guided. And it will be about the same as the 1995 NATO campaign against the Serbian forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina. As in this war, about 70% of the ordnance in that effort had precision guidance, analyst Pike said.</P>

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<P>Boston Globe

May 27, 1999

Pg. 30</P>

<P>Pieces Fall Into Place For Assault By Land</P>

<P>By David Abel, Globe Correspondent</P>

<P> WASHINGTON - With the pounding being taken by Yugoslav soldiers in Kosovo, NATO may need little more than the extra troops and arms the alliance approved this week to launch a ground war, military analysts say.</P>

<P> Allied forces have agreed to increase the number of peacekeeping troops from 27,000 to about 50,000. Meanwhile, military planners have urged NATO to prepare for a ground invasion before the allies are forced to fight through the winter.</P>

<P> The troops and armament, which would be added to a force of about 25,000 NATO soldiers in Macedonia, Albania, and aboard amphibious ships in the Adriatic Sea, might itself constitute a viable invasion force, rounding out a formidable core of heavy tanks and attack helicopters in the region.</P>

<P> "This isn't just the first step or the camel's nose, it's the front half of the beast," said Dan Goure, a former Pentagon strategist and now a military analyst at Washington's Center for Strategic and International Studies. If Yugoslav leader Slobodan "Milosevic doesn't cave in by early June, NATO will have to prepare to force him out."</P>

<P> Although alliance officials emphasize that the buildup is meant to strengthen NATO's ultimate peacekeeping mission, Goure said the alliance's decision to bolster its forces was the beginning of an "immaculate deployment," which would bypass debate over a ground buildup among NATO's 19 members and keep the pressure on Milosevic.</P>

<P> He and other military analysts said such a strong base of troops could be easily enhanced shortly before the alliance made a decision to invade.</P>

<P> In an April study on NATO's ground war options, James Anderson, a defense

e policy analyst at The Heritage Foundation in Washington, estimated that the allies would need only 50,000 to 70,000 troops to drive Yugoslav forces from Kosovo.

"I think these numbers depend on how well the air war goes," Anderson said. "After two months more of air war, we may need even less troops."

In his study, Anderson analyzed land war scenarios ranging from merely arming the Kosovo Liberation Army to launching a massive ground assault to occupy all of Yugoslavia, including Serbia's democratic sister republic, Montenegro. The former option would require about 10,000 troops for training and would cost the United States about \$1 billion, he said; the latter could require up to 500,000 troops and leave US taxpayers with a bill of more than \$50 billion.

Pushing the Yugoslav forces from Kosovo, he said, would take about a month, cost between \$5 billion and \$10 billion, and allied casualties could surpass 2,000.

In another study on ground war options, Anthony Cordesman, a senior fellow for strategic assessment at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, said NATO has many options for building a heavily armored ground force in less than two months. In addition to the 25,000 already there, NATO could draw upon the 8,200 US Army forces from the First Cavalry Division it has stationed in Bosnia, 41,500 soldiers from France's Rapid Reaction Force, and a force of 165,000 troops from the Italian Army.

More likely, however, the force would be contain at least two main US divisions, probably the Army's 101st Airborne Division based at Fort Campbell, Ky., and the 10th Mountain Division based at Fort Drum, N.Y., Cordesman said.

Assuming the additional forces arrive in the region, the allies would have to reach a consensus to invade. Given recent statements against such action in Germany, Italy, and Greece, among other member nations, such a consensus could be difficult.

NATO officials said military planners will present a 'force generation' plan to the North Atlantic Council, the alliance's top policy-making body, before the end of the month.

A newspaper report indicated today that a much larger allied force may be in the offing.

The Times of London reported today that President Clinton is ready to consider sending up to 90,000 US combat troops if no peace deal emerges within three weeks.

The newspaper quoted unidentified NATO sources for its information, Reuters reported.

There was a growing feeling in Washington and London that NATO must prepare for an operation involving 150,000-160,000 troops, the Times said.

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<P>New York Times

May 28, 1999</P>

<P>Correction</P>

<P> A front-page article on Wednesday about NATO's approval of a 50,000-member peacekeeping force for Kosovo and its approval of a plan to search ships that may be carrying fuel to Yugoslavia included an erroneous reference from NATO to Malta's intended role. Malta has indeed agreed to take part in the embargo and has instructed Maltese-registered ships to stay clear of the area.</P>

<P>Editor's Note: The article referred to appeared in the <I>Current News Early Bird</I>, May 26, 1999.</P>

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<P>Washington Post

May 28, 1999

Pg. 30</P>

<P>U.S. Classified Data Placed Milosevic In Chain Of Command</P>
>

<P>By William Branigin, Washington Post Staff Writer </P>

<P> The day before an international war crimes tribunal in The Hague issued an arrest warrant for President Slobodan Milosevic, the U.S. government turned over long-sought classified information that implicated the Yugoslav leader personally in the chain of command responsible for crimes against the ethnic Albanian population of Kosovo, U.S. officials said yesterday.</P>

<P> The trove of secret information, delivered last Friday, included videotapes that neither the tribunal nor the U.S. government has yet disclosed, the officials said. The following day, Louise Arbour, chief prosecutor at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, signed arrest warrants for Milosevic and four top aides. The indictment on which they were based was confirmed by a tribunal judge two days later and made public yesterday.</P>

<P> The classified material helped buttress the indictment's charge that "beginning in 1999 . . . the accused planned, instigated, ordered, committed or otherwise aided and abetted in a campaign of terror and violence directed at Kosovo Albanian civilians," the officials said. Tribunal investigators were aware that the United States possessed the information and had specifically requested it.</P>

<P> "It was something they very much wanted," said an official familiar with the transaction.</P>

<P> The last-minute delivery was part of a persistent tug of war over classified evidence that has frequently put Washington at odds with the tribunal. It also highlighted a struggle by competing interests within the U.S. government. </P>

<P> Since last year, a secretive war crimes bureaucracy here has been compiling evidence of Serbian atrocities in Kosovo, poring over satellite imagery, studying the results of electronic eavesdropping and cross-checking everything with the accounts of refugees. That effort accelerated dramatically after NATO began a bombing campaign against Yugoslavia March 24.</P>

<P> Other governments, notably the British, have also given the tribunal classified information, and numerous private human rights and relief groups have flooded it with accounts from thousands of the 780,000 Kosovo refugees who have been driven into exile in neighboring states. Many of the groups now are recording the accounts on standardized forms that are then fed into a computerized database, allowing tribunal investigators to quickly identify and interview good potential witnesses.</P>

<P> In response to insistent requests by Arbour, and after overcoming

some reluctance in U.S. intelligence agencies, the government in recent weeks has provided classified material that has helped document massacres cited in the indictment, officials said. Among the material is overhead imagery from satellites or U.S. reconnaissance planes and other unspecified information from "national technical means," a rubric that includes electronic intercepts by intelligence-gathering equipment carried aboard satellites or planes such as the RC-135 "Rivet Joint" surveillance aircraft.

The U.S. material is collected by the Interagency Balkan Task Force, an intelligence unit housed at the CIA that also includes representatives of the Defense Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency and the State Department's intelligence and research bureau.

"What we provide is often never seen in a courtroom because it's the basis for further investigation," said David Scheffer, head of the State Department's war crimes office, in an interview before the indictments were announced.

This information is provided under a tribunal rule that promises governments that their classified material will be used only as "lead evidence" to guide investigators and will not be disclosed publicly without authorization.

Although the State Department has pressed for public disclosure of some evidence to help make its case about war crimes before world opinion, the tribunal itself has urged that much of the U.S. material it receives be kept secret for fear of alerting Serb authorities to "crime scenes" that they can then try to clean up. Examples include imagery of mass graves that the tribunal hopes eventually to have examined by forensic experts after the conflict ends.

"We have reports that Serb forces have burned bodies exhumed from mass graves in an attempt to destroy forensic evidence," Scheffer said at NATO headquarters last week. He said "mass executions" have been reported in at least 75 Kosovo towns and villages and that the United States estimates that 225,000 Kosovo men are "unaccounted for."

To help examine "the most significant crime scene on the European continent since World War II," the FBI has offered to send a large forensic team to Kosovo once it is safe to do so, Scheffer said.

Although the U.S. government and the tribunal for months have painstakingly sought to compile proof of Milosevic's role in the alleged war crimes, human rights groups have said his "command responsibility" has long been evident from the planning that went into the forced expulsion of hundreds of thousands of ethnic Albanians.

"The coherence and similarities of the witness accounts reveal the deportations from Kosovo as part of a systematic policy in which the modus operandi, participants and objectives can only have been pre-planned," the French group Doctors Without Borders said in a recent report.

Villages typically are shelled or targeted by sniper fire to pin residents indoors, then Serb forces go house to house to order people to evacuate

e, often throwing grenades inside if the occupants are reluctant to leave. Once the villagers are gathered together, men are often separated from their families. Empty villages are systematically burned, and the refugees are forced out a long predetermined routes.</P>

<P> The Yugoslav army, police from the Serbian Interior Ministry known as the MUP and masked paramilitary groups act in close concert in these operations, refugees have reported.</P>

<P> Some of the material transferred to the tribunal documents "the integrated nature of the operation," with the different forces "operating under a unified command structure" headed by Milosevic as chairman of the Yugoslav defense council, said Jon Western, a former government war crimes analyst.</P>

<P> "Milosevic was directly responsible for putting in place those commanders who subsequently engaged in the atrocities," he said. Among those installed since late last year were the Yugoslav armed forces chief of staff and the commander of the Third Army Corps that has been operating in Kosovo.</P>

<P> "Based on everything I've seen, it's pretty clear this entire ethnic cleansing campaign was planned six months to a year before," said Patrick Edgington, a former CIA analyst.</P>

<P> To date, however, U.S. authorities have had difficulty identifying the perpetrators inside Kosovo. Many of the attackers have worn ski masks, and there have been conflicting reports on the involvement of paramilitary groups under notorious Serb commanders who were active in Bosnia.</P>

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<P>Washington Post

May 28, 1999

Pg. 28</P>

<P>Peace Talks Are Sideswiped </P>

Milosevic Indictment and Russian Concerns Stall Efforts

By David Hoffman, Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, May 27—Russia today vowed to continue to try and mediate between NATO and Yugoslavia's President Slobodan Milosevic but said Milosevic's indictment on war crimes charges had complicated the effort and that the talks were not moving in a positive direction.

Viktor Chernomyrdin, the Russian special envoy for the Yugoslav crisis, denounced the indictment of Milosevic as a "political show" and postponed his planned departure to Belgrade by a day, until Friday.

He did so after a round of talks here with Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott and Finnish President Martti Ahtisaari, the European Union envoy -- the latest effort in prolonged negotiations that have yet to produce a postwar plan for Kosovo. Talbott and Ahtisaari immediately left for Bonn. Aides said Chernomyrdin still planned to fly to Belgrade Friday, and Ahtisaari said later he may join him.

While concrete information was scarce, Russian and Western sources emphasized the talks face difficulties. Russian officials said the three negotiators would meet in a few days to try again.

Today's talks, which included military experts, were the outgrowth of several weeks of slow-going diplomacy aimed at finding a political settlement to end the NATO air raids against Yugoslavia and the exodus of ethnic Albanians from Kosovo. A key focus has been on how to create a Kosovo peacekeeping force that would allow refugees to return. NATO insists it must be at the core of such a force, but Russia wants United Nations leadership.

There were signs that the West's discussions with Chernomyrdin were difficult, even before his next step of flying to see Milosevic. Chernomyrdin has insisted that he does not want to be just a mailman between NATO and Belgrade. But the West has shown no signs of compromise, putting him in a ticklish position at home.

"I have a nasty feeling about the talks," said a Russian source with close ties to the foreign policy establishment. "NATO is making it clear that [a settlement] has to be on their terms, and if we want to, we can join. Chernomyrdin is a bit heavy to go into retirement as a former mailman."

In Washington today, Greek Foreign Minister George Papandreou also expressed concern that the mediation was hampered by the gap between Moscow and NATO on key disputes such as over composition of the peacekeeping force.

"We have basically given the whole negotiation . . . to the Russians," Papandreou told Washington Post editors and reporters: "They're saying, 'We can only negotiate up to a point, we can't push NATO priorities because they aren't our priorities.'"

<P> There were signs that Yugoslavia was looking for mediators other than Moscow to convey its message to the United States. In Washington, Rev. Jesse Jackson said Yugoslav Foreign Minister Zivadin Jovanovic told him today that Yugoslavia was willing to reduce its forces in Kosovo "substantially and quickly" to 12,000 if NATO first suspended its bombing. NATO has signaled it will halt its air strikes only after Belgrade has withdrawn significant forces from Kosovo.</P>

<P> NATO estimates that Yugoslavia has about 40,000 troops, police and other forces in the province. It has demanded that all of them leave, while signaling some could return for purposes such as to help protect borders and holy sites.</P>

<P> Jackson said he'd remained in touch with senior Yugoslav officials since playing a key role in winning the release of three American POWs on May 2. Jackson, who said he briefed the White House on his talk with Jovanovic, said "12,000 is too many, but it's still substantial movement. There is some flexibility here."</P>

<P> In Moscow, Western sources said Chernomyrdin, accompanied by Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov at today's discussions, faces several obstacles. The first is that his personal relationship with Milosevic is not good; their prior meetings have been tense. Second, Russia's foreign policy and defense establishment is firmly against NATO's offensive and Chernomyrdin has few allies at home and many critics -- especially if he just appears to be doing the West's bidding. Still other roadblocks are today's indictment of Milosevic and NATO's continuing airstrikes, despite Russia's daily pleas for a pause.</P>

<P> "We cannot say the situation is developing positively," President Boris Yeltsin's spokesman, Dmitri Yakushkin, told reporters. "Everybody would want to see a quick breakthrough in the talks on Yugoslavia, but objectively the situation develops so that it is very difficult to reach that."</P>

<P> Chernomyrdin's spokesman, Valentin Sergeyev, said the negotiations "are proceeding in a rather complicated fashion . . . it is in no one's interest to accelerate the process."</P>

<P> The indictment of Milosevic on the eve of Chernomyrdin's visit was denounced by Russia, and viewed by some Russian officials as a sign that the West is taking an uncompromising approach. The newspaper Izvestia noted that "it is impossible to come to terms with a wanted military criminal" and claimed the indictment would cancel out Chernomyrdin's diplomacy.</P>

<P> Sergeyev said recent events "have somewhat complicated the negotiating process and the search for acceptable solutions."</P>

<P> The Foreign Ministry said of the war crimes indictment, "It will add to the obstacles to a Yugoslav settlement. The intention to start a criminal case against Milosevic under the current circumstances is a politically motivated step." The statement added that "such actions of the international tribunal, to which it had resorted before, severely undermine the authority of this agency of the U.N. Security Council."</P>

<P> Nonetheless, Russia said it would continue to try and mediate a po

litical settlement, "and with Milosevic's participation." </P>

<P> Yakushkin underlined that Russia would effectively ignore the indictment. "This is the legally elected President of Yugoslavia," he said of Milosevic. </P>

<P> In another development, the Itar-Tass news agency quoted military sources as saying Russia was ready to contribute up to 10,000 troops as part of a peacekeeping force. The sources said Russia was proposing a force that would be under the command of a neutral country.</P>

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<P>New York Times

May 28, 1999</P>

<P>Wanted: The Five Serbs Charged With War Crimes</P>

<P>By Carlotta Gall</P>

<P> BELGRADE, Yugoslavia -- Here are thumbnail sketches of the five Yugoslav officials charged Thursday by the International Criminal Tribunal in The Hague, Netherlands, with crimes against humanity: </P>

<P> SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC, 58, president of Yugoslavia since 1997, has effectively been the strongman of Belgrade since 1987. Then the Communist Party chief, he staged a coup over his former mentor in the party, Ivan Stambolic, and was subsequently elected Serbian president for two terms, 1989 to 1997. As president of rump Yugoslavia, elected by members of the federal Parliament, he is also supreme commander of the Yugoslav army. A Communist Party apparatchik all his life and a lawyer by training, he served as general manager of Tehnogas, a gas pipeline manufacturing company, and general manager of Yugoslavia's largest bank, Beobanka. A Serb nationalist, he rose to power over the issue of Kosovo, and has been largely blamed for the wars that have torn Yugoslavia apart since 1991. </P>

<P> MILAN MILUTINOVIC, 57, president of Serbia since December 1997. He is a trusted aide and longtime friend of Milosevic; the two were law students together at Belgrade University. Born in Belgrade, Milutinovic was proposed for the post of Serbian president by Milosevic, and ran as the candidate for his Socialist Party. He served as Yugoslav foreign minister from 1995 to 1997, and was for five years Yugoslav ambassador to Greece. He also served as a member of the federal Parliament and Serbian minister of education. He has emerged as Milosevic's main negotiator and interlocutor with the outside world, was present at Dayton to negotiate the end to the Bosnian war, and led the Serb delegation to peace talks on Kosovo in Rambouillet, France, last February. While indisputably loyal, he has some weight as a politician in his own right. </P>

<P> NIKOLA SAINOVIC, 51, Yugoslav deputy prime minister with special responsibility for Kosovo for the last year, and a close aide to Milosevic. Born in Bor, a large copper-mining center in southeastern Serbia, he is a technical engineer by training. He was a provincial Communist Party chief from 1978 to 1982, then minister for mining. Since 1991 he has filled top level posts in the Serbian government and the federal government, including president of the Serbian government in 1993. In 1994 he became vice president of the federal government. Since last year he has had special responsibility for Kosovo, and spent many weeks in the province, where he was the key liaison with the international observers. A trusted lieutenant of Milosevic's, he took part in the peace talks at Rambouillet, France. Reportedly, foreign intelligence intercepted a telephone call between Sainovic and the Serb chief of police in Kosovo, Gen. Sreten Lukic, allegedly discussing how to cover up the evidence of the killings of ethnic Albanian civilians at the village of Racak in January. </P>

<P> VLAJKO STOJILJKOVIC, 62, Serbia's minister of internal affairs, comes from Pozarevac, Milosevic's home town. A career policeman, he became police chief in Pozarevac, and later general manager of an agricultural complex of factories in Pozarevac. He headed Yugoslavia's Chamber of Commerce until April 1997, when he was appointed minister of internal affairs. A trusted aide to Milosevic, as minister of internal affairs he commands Yugoslavia's enormous police force, including the secret police and commando units, all of which have served extensively in Kosovo, often performing clean-up operations in the wake of the army. </P>

<P> COL. GEN. DRAGOLJUB OJDANIC, 57, chief of staff of the Yugoslav army, was born in the village of Ravni, near Serbia's border with Bosnia. He trained at the Military Academy for Ground Forces in Belgrade, and later taught as a professor there. He served as a commander of a battalion and an infantry brigade, and when the war broke out in Bosnia was commander of the Uzice Corps, which had reservists in particular around Mostar. He commanded the corps throughout the war. At the end of the war, he was appointed chief of staff and then commander of the first army, based in Belgrade. Much decorated, he is said to be close to the Yugoslav Left, the party of Mirjana Markovic, the wife of Milosevic. </P>

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New York Times

May 28, 1999

Serbs Dismiss Indictment As Just Another Enemy Tactic

By Steven Erlanger

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia -- The Yugoslav government scornfully dismissed the indictment Thursday of President Slobodan Milosevic and four other top leaders on war crime charges and repeated its desire to solve the conflict in Kosovo through negotiation.

Goran Matic, a Yugoslav minister without portfolio, called the indictment a political event directed by Washington and designed to step up pressure on the Belgrade government to agree to a less favorable deal over Kosovo. He said the tribunal had no standing to indict the officials because his country was not engaged in war, but in an internal police action.

He also said that Belgrade was concentrating on the visit planned for Friday by the Russian peace envoy, Viktor Chernomyrdin, who will be bringing a more detailed draft of a possible settlement to end the war. In an interview, Matic said he hoped that NATO remained serious about negotiating a deal.

Matic accused Washington officials of using the international war crimes tribunal in The Hague to go after those who disagreed with them. "The Hague tribunal belongs to the sort of inquisition used by the U.S. to annul sovereignty and legal order in other countries which they dislike," he said at an earlier news conference.

"If they cannot kill them when they hit their residences, they can ask for their exclusion from the international community in the countries which they control via NATO," he said. He was referring to a NATO missile that hit Milosevic's bedroom last month, two nights after he had last slept there.

Milosevic himself made no comment on the indictment, nor would he, said senior Yugoslav officials. He met the former Greek prime minister, Constantine Mitsotakis, who said Milosevic seemed unruffled by the indictment.

"It appeared that he did not care," Mitsotakis said. "I believe that this decision will strengthen his position in the same way that the NATO bombings

did." </P>

<P> In an official statement issued by the state news agency, Tanjug, the indictment was called "just another way of stopping diplomatic attempts to solve the crisis through peaceful political negotiations." </P>

<P> Describing the tribunal's chief prosecutor, Louise Arbour, as "a puppet in the hands of the masters of war," the statement called the indictment "another attempt to mislead the world community in order to conceal who is really responsible for the genocide against the Yugoslav people." </P>

<P> Milosevic told Tanjug that Yugoslavia wanted peace, "which means an early solution of problems should be transferred from the military to the political sphere." </P>

<P> And Mitsotakis insisted that "the Yugoslav leadership is ready to take a constructive approach to the proposals of NATO and the international community that are going to be presented" by Chernomyrdin. </P>

<P> "There are still problems, but the Yugoslav leadership is ready to contribute for their solution," he said. "NATO must contribute as well." </P>

<P> There were few details available here of what proposals Chernomyrdin might be bringing as a result of his discussions in Russia with the deputy secretary of state, Strobe Talbott, who flew on to Bonn, Germany, with the Finnish president, Martti Ahtisaari. </P>

<P> But the makeup of an international force to police a Kosovo settlement is a key issue, and Chernomyrdin is said to be concentrating on non-American troops, like German and Italian ones, as the core of a NATO contingent. </P>

<P> The official state radio and television led their broadcasts with the Mitsotakis visit, showing Milosevic appearing confident and healthy. </P>

<P> The indictment was given broad coverage, though the concentration was on Russian, Greek, Chinese and other criticism of its validity and timing. There was also a series of interviews with ordinary, unnamed Serbs on the street, who generally said that the indictment would backfire against NATO, that Milosevic represented the country and that he should pay no attention to what the "aggressors" did. </P>

<P> Later Thursday evening, NATO strikes again took out electricity in Belgrade, another attack on essentially civilian services that most people here regard as a cruel and inhumane form of collective punishment. </P>

<P> Even Serbia's democratic opposition parties were critical Thursday of the timing of the indictment, suggesting that it put Milosevic into a corner and would reduce his willingness to make a serious compromise for peace. </P>

<P> The spokesman for the Democratic Party, Slobodan Vuksanovic, called the indictment "a disaster for democrats and for the nation in general." </P>

<P> "It seems to be a signal sent by the international community and NATO that they don't want to stop the attacks," he said. </P>

<P> Vuksanovic said: "There was hope yesterday. Today there is not. We think the accusation from The Hague comes at the wrong moment." </P>

<P> His party is led by Zoran Djindjic, who has fled to Serbia's sister republic, Montenegro, where he said the most important priority was to end the war. </P>

<P> Asked Thursday if any Serb believed that Ms. Arbour and the international tribunal were acting independently of NATO and Washington, Matic, the Yugoslav minister, said: "Maybe Zoran Djindjic. Maybe." </P>

<P> The president of the Serbian Civic Alliance of opposition parties, Goran Svilanovic, accurately predicted that the state-run media would portray the indictment as an attack on the Serbian people, not on Milosevic and the government, and said it would further strengthen the president's hold on power. </P>

<P> Aleksa Djilas, a historian, said it would be better for all concerned if Milosevic "dies a peaceful death in his bed." </P>

<P> If NATO kills him "or puts him on trial in The Hague, he will be a martyr and a hero to most Serbs," Djilas said. "And he will then in this way rule Serbia from his grave or from his prison cell." </P>

<P> One Serbian analyst who requested anonymity saw the indictment as an invitation to a coup against Milosevic, but then pointed out that anyone in a position to mount such a coup had also been indicted Thursday. </P>

<P> In general, ordinary Serbs regard the actions of their security forces in Kosovo as a war against the insurgent Kosovo Liberation Army, which is fighting to separate the Serbian province and make it independent. They consider the expulsion or flight of ethnic Albanians to be a regrettable aspect of that war against a popular, village-based insurgency. And they consider a large part of the charges by NATO and the tribunal to be unproved or propaganda. </P>

<P> Ivica Dacic, the spokesman for Milosevic's Socialist Party, said that Yugoslavs and Milosevic were simply defending their country against outside aggression. </P>

<P> "This is a precedent in world history," he said, "when someone defending his country is accused of war crimes." </P>

<P> Dacic called the indictments "just a show directed by NATO criminals who are trying to throw dust into the eyes of their publics and the world in order to hide their own crimes." </P>

<P> But Belgrade's position on a settlement remains the same, he said. </P>

<P> "We support the continuation of the political process, with the aim to find a peaceful solution through diplomatic means on the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity of Serbia and Yugoslavia, and equal status for all national communities in Kosovo." </P>

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<P>New York Times

May 28, 1999</P>

<P>Despite Indictment, Politicians And Diplomats Control Milosevic's Future</P>

<P>By Raymond Bonner</P>

<P> WASHINGTON -- In handing up an indictment of Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic, the prosecutors have spoken. But, as has been the case since the outbreak of the wars in the former Yugoslavia, Milosevic's fate is still in the hands of politicians and diplomats.</P>

<P> "If he asked me what to do, I'd say just ignore the whole thing, at least the legal aspects of it," said Alexandros Lykourazos, a Greek lawyer who has advised Gen. Ratko Mladic, the Bosnian Serb military commander who was indicted by the war crimes tribunal in 1995. </P>

<P> "It's a pure political problem now," Lykourazos added in a telephone interview from Athens. </P>

<P> His assessment is shared by several international human rights lawyers, who can easily list the political problems of trying to enforce an indictment against someone like Milosevic. </P>

<P> "It is legally important, that the head of state responsible for massive human rights violations can be held personally responsible by a criminal court, but it is going to require the political will of the major states in the world to make it meaningful," said Michael Posner, director of the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights in New York. </P>

<P> Like the U.S. Supreme Court, the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia has no marshals to enforce its rulings. So NATO, or some international police force, will have to muster the political will to arrest Milo

sevic, and the four other Yugoslav leaders whose indictment was announced Thursday. </P>

<P> It is the political will that has been lacking with respect to others indicted on charges of war crimes, such as Mladic and Radovan Karadzic, political leader of the Bosnian Serbs, who remain at large. </P>

<P> Arrest warrants have been issued for the five, and they will severely circumscribe the defendants' ability to travel. But if a country like Iraq decided to give Milosevic asylum, he would be relatively safe, because there is no body to enforce the order. </P>

<P> The war crimes tribunal Thursday also issued an order to the member countries of the United Nations to freeze assets belonging to Milosevic and the other men. But its effectiveness will also depend on whether countries want to cooperate. </P>

<P> American and European officials have said that Milosevic has hidden assets in Greece, Switzerland, Russia, Lebanon and Cyprus, which asserted this month that it had looked unsuccessfully for any assets that belonged to Milosevic. </P>

<P> One thing the indictment does not do is present any legal bar to negotiating with Milosevic, legal experts said. But the United States and NATO would not be able, as part of any negotiated settlement of the Kosovo conflict, to grant Milosevic immunity from prosecution, experts said. Such an agreement would not be binding on the tribunal, because it is an independent body created by the Security Council of the United Nations. </P>

<P> Lykourazos, the Athens lawyer, said that the only possible way for Milosevic and the other defendants to obtain valid immunity agreements would be for the Security Council to pass a resolution granting the protections. </P>

<P> Other international law experts questioned whether the Security Council could do this, and Lykourazos acknowledged that there was no legal precedent. </P>

<P> The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia was established in 1993 to prosecute war crimes in the Balkans. All U.N. countries are obligated to comply with tribunal orders, which means that member countries would be required to arrest Milosevic if he traveled inside their borders. </P>

<P> But the Security Council has not taken action against countries that decided to look the other way. For a long time, for instance, Croatia refused to turn over several people who had been indicted by the tribunal, and the Security Council did nothing. </P>

<P> As recently as last week, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe reported that "there has been no notable progress in Croatia's cooperation" with the war crimes tribunal, and that Croatia was still refusing to extradite two people who have been indicted by the tribunal. </P>

<P> Still, it is unlikely that Milosevic would travel to another country where he might risk arrest. </P>

<P> Which leaves Milosevic secure in Belgrade, however uncomfortable that might be, unless NATO or some international force goes after him. </P>

<P> That seems highly unlikely considering that the Clinton administration and other NATO governments have been unwilling to use their forces in Bosnia to arrest Karadzic, who was indicted in 1995 on charges of genocide and other war crimes. </P>

<P> Karadzic has been living in Pale, a mountain village in the Serb region of Bosnia, near Sarajevo. The area is under the control of French forces, and American officials often blame the French for not arresting him. </P>

<P> But, unwilling to risk any casualties, the Pentagon and White House were long opposed to a military operation to seize him. </P>

<P> In her visit to Washington last month, the tribunal's chief prosecutor, Louise Arbour, urged that Karadzic be arrested, a plea that she made in European capitals as well. </P>

<P> If Milosevic and the others are eventually brought before the tribunal, the case against them will be fairly easy to establish, said Aryeh Neier, an expert on international war crimes. </P>

<P> It will not be necessary to show that Milosevic participated in the atrocities, or even ordered them. </P>

<P> "If you have the power, and if you know the crimes are being committed, and you do not do everything that is feasible to prevent and suppress the commission of those crimes, then you are culpable," Neier said. </P>

<P> And Milosevic would certainly not be able to claim that he was not aware of what was happening in Kosovo, Neier said, given widespread public knowledge of the events.</P>

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<P>New York Times

May 28, 1999</P>

<P>The Pentagon Opposes One Bid By Litton, But Not Another</P>

<P>By Leslie Wayne</P>

<P> The Defense Department said Thursday night that it was recommending against Litton Industries' unfriendly bid for Newport News Shipbuilding Inc. on the grounds that the proposed union would cause too much concentration in the military shipbuilding business. </P>

<P> Based on the findings of the Navy, the Pentagon has told the companies involved in the deal that it would oppose the takeover, which Litton announced earlier this month. </P>

<P> At the same time, the Pentagon will not oppose a separate bid by Litton, which already makes Navy destroyers, to acquire Avondale Industries, a New Orleans-based maker of auxiliary naval vessels. </P>

<P> "The Navy has indicated to all interested parties that the Navy, in principle, has no objection to Litton's acquisition of Avondale Industries," said a top Pentagon official. "The Litton-Newport News transaction is more complex and presents numerous challenges for the Navy" that the official said "could not be overcome." </P>

<P> Litton, which is based in Woodland Hills, Calif., had proposed earlier this month to acquire Newport News for \$1.3 billion, plus the assumption of \$600 million in debt, and to buy Avondale for about \$500 million. </P>

<P> Specifically, the Navy was concerned that there would be two competitors, not three, for most classes of Navy ships and it was not convinced that possible cost savings from a Litton-Newport News merger would be sufficient to justify the reduction in competition. </P>

<P> In addition, the Navy was concerned that the bulk of its research and development dollars would largely be directed to one shipyard if the Litton-Newport News deal were approved. </P>

<P> Capt. Michael Doubleday, a Defense Department spokesman, said that the Pentagon was not asked to make a formal evaluation of the proposed deal but, "when we learned of the merger plan, we made this preliminary assessment and this is how we came out." </P>

<P> "We have informally conveyed these preliminary views to these three companies and to interested parties on the Hill," he said. </P>

<P> Doubleday said that with the Litton-Avondale merger, "there were no significant anticompetitive effects and there was substantial potential for savings." </P>

<P> In the case of a Litton-Newport News merger, he added, "the effects on

competition were in no way offset by the savings." </P>

<P> The Pentagon's decision comes at a time of musical chairs in the military shipbuilding business. First, Newport News made a bid for Avondale. Then, General Dynamics made a bid for Newport News -- and found that bid blocked earlier this year by the Pentagon on antitrust grounds. </P>

<P> Now, Litton is finding that the Pentagon will let part of its double bid for Newport News and Avondale to go through, while opposing the biggest part of it. </P>

<P> This turn of events leaves Avondale in the position of now having two suitors -- a \$500 million offer from Litton and a \$470 million offer from Newport News. </P>

<P> It would also leave the nation with, potentially, three large shipbuilders: General Dynamics, best known as a maker of nuclear submarines; Newport News, the sole maker of nuclear-powered aircraft carriers, and Litton, one of two makers of Navy destroyers and the eighth largest military contractor before this round of bidding began.</P>

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<P>Los Angeles Times

May 28, 1999

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<P>Northrop To Buy Allegheny Unit</P>

<P>By Bloomberg News</P>

<P>Northrop Grumman Corp., the No. 5 U.S. defense contractor, agreed to buy Allegheny Teledyne Inc.'s Ryan Aeronautical unit for \$140 million in cash to expand its unmanned air vehicle business.</P>

<P>Ryan Aeronautical designs and makes unmanned airborne vehicles and systems for the Defense Department and international military customers. In an earlier incarnation, when it was known as Ryan Aircraft more than 70 years ago, the company built the Spirit of St. Louis for Charles Lindbergh.</P>

<P>Today, the San Diego-based unit has about 300 employees. Last year it posted sales of about \$100 million in its unmanned air vehicle business.</P>

<P>The purchase strengthens Los Angeles-based Northrop's surveillance business and positions them in an area that is expected to increase. Unmanned air vehicles, like closely held General Atomics' Predator UAV, are being used in the war in Kosovo and have been used for reconnaissance and surveillance in Bosnia and Iraq.</P>

<P>"This is one of the real futures of reconnaissance," said Keith Patriquin, an analyst at Loomis Sayles & Co. "It's a future growth area of defense spending."</P>

<P>Ryan Aeronautical's Global Hawk unmanned aircraft, which will provide reconnaissance and surveillance, is an advanced flight demonstration program managed by the Air Force. The unmanned aircraft will stay at altitudes of about 65,000 feet for long periods of time, several thousand miles from its base, and send images and other data by satellite to ground stations.</P>

<P>Northrop expects the unit to move from San Diego to another facility within a year.</P>

<P>The acquisition is expected to be completed in the third quarter.</P>

<P>Pittsburgh-based Allegheny Teledyne had been looking to sell Ryan Aeronautical since January as part of its consolidation program after its formation from the merger of Allegheny Ludlum Corp. and L.A.-based conglomerate Teledyne Inc. in 1996.</P>

<P>In New York Stock Exchange trading, Northrop shares fell \$2 to close at \$68.38, and Allegheny shares fell 75 cents to close at \$20.81 in a broad market sell-off.</P>

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<P>Los Angeles Times

May 28, 1999

Pg. C3</P>

<P>Boeing Raises Bid For Israeli Fighter Project</P>

<P>By Reuters</P>

<P>JERUSALEM--Boeing Co. on Thursday sweetened its bid to win a \$2.5 billion deal to supply Israel's air force with a new fighter plane in an effort to avoid losing another tender to competitor Lockheed Martin Corp.</P>

<P>Boeing's spokesman in Israel said the Seattle-based company would commit to an additional \$500 million in cooperation projects with Israeli industries if it wins the tender.</P>

<P>He declined to disclose the total cooperation figure now offered, but industry sources put it at \$1.25 billion.</P>

<P>Israel's air force has said in closed-door meetings that it prefers Lockheed's single-engine F-16 aircraft over Boeing's twin-engine F-15 because of Lockheed's lower price tag.</P>

<P>The Defense Ministry has been conducting last-minute negotiations with both companies in recent weeks to drive down prices.</P>

<P>Boeing lost a similar competition to Lockheed in Greece last month, after which the aerospace giant said it would dismiss thousands of employees.</P>

<P>On the New York Stock Exchange, Boeing shares closed unchanged at \$41.31, while Lockheed fell \$2.19 to close at \$39.63.</P>

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<P>Washington Times

May 28, 1999

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<U><P>Inside the Ring</P>

</U><P>Blame The Military</P>

<P>By Bill Gertz and Rowan Scarborough</P>

<P> The Center for Defense Information, a left-leaning group that opposed the Ronald Reagan military buildup now being tapped to bomb Yugoslavia, has sent out its first fund-raising letter under signature of its new director.</P>

<P> In the letter, former Sen. Dale Bumpers, Arkansas Democrat, blames the military budget for children having no health care and for underfunding of programs to combat global warming. Military spending is also tied to deterioration of national parks and not enough summer jobs for youths.</P>

<P> ``Kosovo makes our task more difficult, but Kosovo will end," Mr. Bumpers writes. ``Meanwhile, we must stay true to our long-range goals. If you and I make anything less than a maximum effort to bring sanity to military spending, we will be forsaking all those who have a much more compelling need. Help CDI to strengthen our nation's security."</P>

<P> Mr. Bumpers also criticizes fellow Arkansan Bill Clinton for agreeing to Republican demands to increase defense spending.</P>

<P> ``It is very important to remember that the supplemental appropriation for Kosovo will not reduce by one penny the massive increases in military spending being proposed by both the president and the Congress for the year 2000 and the next five years," he says.</P>

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<P>USA Today

May 28, 1999

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<P ALIGN="JUSTIFY">With Honors</P>

<P ALIGN="JUSTIFY"> A soldier who pioneered roles for women in the Army was buried with an honors ceremony at Arlington National Cemetery. Sgt. Maj . Dawn Kilpatrick, 39, was a master parachutist who served with the 82nd Airborne Division and the United Nations command in Somalia. Also an award-winning Army journalist, Kilpatrick was the first nonofficer to serve as spokesman for the secretary of the Army. "She would go where soldiers went, would do what soldiers do.... Kilpatrick was a star;" said Secretary of Veterans Affairs Togo West , who delivered the eulogy. Kilpatrick died of cancer on May 23. </P>

<P ALIGN="JUSTIFY">-<I>Steven Komarow</P></I>

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<P>Washington Times

May 28, 1999

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<U><P>Inside the Ring</P>

</U><P>Navy Personnel Chief</P>

<P>By Bill Gertz and Rowan Scarborough</P>

<P> Word inside the Navy is that Rear Adm. Norbert Ryan Jr. is in line to succeed Vice Adm. Dan T. Oliver as the next chief of the Bureau of Naval Personnel.

nnel. Adm. Oliver is due to step down in November.</P>

<P> Adm. Ryan, 53, a two-star ex-P-3 pilot who is now chief of Navy legislative affairs, would get a third star and one of the sea service's most prestigious posts. The admiral is a Naval Academy graduate who served in the bureau in the early 1990s.</P>

<P> Like Adm. Oliver, Adm. Ryan would face one of the service's most pressing challenges today: keeping sufficient officers to run the 300-plus ship Navy. Nearly every category of officer, from pilots to commandos to surface-ship commanders, are bailing out at an alarming rate. </P>

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<P>Business Week

June 7, 1999</P>

<U><P>Wild Blue Yonder</P>

</U><P>Air Force One: Training Jet</P>

<P>By Dennis Blank </P>

<P> The hunt is on for a host of airplane mechanics whose certifications may be bogus. Military investigators say they fear the suspects received Federal Aviation Administration certification from the discredited St. George Aviation school in Sanford, Fla., and went on to work on Air Force One and other military craft.</P>

<P> In a federal trial that ended May 20, school owner Anthony St. George was convicted of fraud and conspiracy. Prosecutors said he helped more than 1,800 mechanics, many of them in the military, achieve certification by giving them answers to the FAA test. That raised alarms for Richard Messersmith, supervisor of the Defense Dept. unit in Orlando now tracking down the mechanics. An undisclosed number working on the Presidential jet have already been pulled.</P>

<P> Messersmith insists safety isn't an issue because the military also provides specialized training for mechanics. But Kevin Whitmore, the U.S. attorney who prosecuted the case, disagrees. "All aspects of aviation were touched by this case," Whitmore says, adding that safety is exactly what is at stake. The FAA says it will have the St. George mechanics working on civilian planes retake the test.</P>

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<P>Los Angeles Times

May 28, 1999

Pg. 2</P>

<P>Overshadowed By Kosovo War, Action Against Iraq Escalating</P>

<P>By John Daniszewski, Times Staff Writer</P>

<P>CAIRO--While NATO jets have been slamming targets in Yugoslavia for the past nine weeks, the United States' other--and far less visible--air war has intensified over Iraq.</P>

<P>Virtually unnoticed, U.S. and British aircraft have responded to what the coalition partners describe as provocations by Baghdad. The allied jet fighters, flying from Turkey and the Persian Gulf, have been chipping away systematically at Iraqi radar posts, air defenses and other military and command facilities.</P>

<P>Despite the allies' use of laser-guided rockets and other precision munitions, Iraq claims that some of the strikes have gone astray, destroying private property, killing at least 20 civilians and leaving scores injured.</P>

<P>Although one might think that the enormous demands for air power in the Balkan conflict would diminish allied activity over Iraq, if anything, the pace of attacks has picked up slightly since the North Atlantic Treaty Organization act

ion in Yugoslavia began.</P>

<P>According to an unofficial tally of actions announced by the U.S. Central and European commands, there have been about 19 strikes against Iraq in April and May, roughly equal to the total for all of January, February and March. In other words, airstrikes have been taking place about every third day.</P>

<P>In a way, the Yugoslav conflict has worked to the advantage of U.S.-British forces in the Persian Gulf, Mideast analysts say, by distracting the attention of the Arab world away from Iraq--and deferring any action on the basic split in the U.N. Security Council over what to do about Iraq.</P>

<P>"The daily attacks are a war of attrition against Saddam [Hussein], and [yet] at the same time, they do not arouse mass anger among Arabs," observed Nabil Abdel Fattaj, a researcher at Cairo's Al Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies. "It is not making headlines anymore."</P>

<P>And it is not only the Kosovo war that has put Iraq on the back burner. In the Mideast, the top item on the diplomatic agenda for the year is likely to be Israel's new government under Ehud Barak and the peace process.</P>

<P>U.S. officials say the bombings have exacted a heavy toll on Hussein's regime.</P>

<P>"We have certainly degraded their ability to respond," said Air Force Maj. Joseph LaMarca Jr., spokesman for the U.S. Central Command, which oversees U.S. forces in the Gulf. He said Iraqi air defenses have been weakened and noted that the bombings may have fueled dissension in the Iraqi military.</P>

<P>Since Iraq announced in January that it would begin resisting the Western-imposed "no-fly" zones in northern and southern Iraq, the U.S. military said there have been about 180 Iraqi threats against allied forces, including 111 violations of the no-fly zones, nine cases of illuminating allied aircraft with radar, 16 firings of surface-to-air missiles and at least 50 engagements with anti-aircraft artillery, LaMarca said.</P>

<P>U.S. officials deny that the coalition airstrikes are anything but defensive and say they are an appropriate response to the Iraqi actions.</P>

<P>Among ordinary Iraqis, the mood is bleak, said journalist Subhy Haddad, speaking from Baghdad. "It seems that there is no end," he said with a sigh.</P>

<P>Three permanent Security Council members--Russia, China and France--have urged the lifting of economic sanctions against Iraq after nine years, arguing that they have caused intolerable suffering to the Iraqi people without effect on the regime.</P>

<P>The U.S. and Britain, however, insist that Hussein's regime still poses an extreme danger to Iraq's neighbors and must be contained. In the absence of any consensus for a new approach, the Security Council last week simply extended for six months the existing oil-for-food program that allows Iraq to sell limited amounts of petroleum to pay for food, medicine and other basic needs under U.N. auspices.</P>

<P>Looking ahead, the absence of meaningful focus on Iraq probably means a prolonging of the agony of that country's 20 million people, according to Gihad Khazen, editor of the London-based Arabic newspaper Al Hayat.</P>

<P>"It's a tragedy," Khazen said. "Saddam Hussein is such a hated figure that the administration is getting away with it."</P>

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<P>Washington Post

May 28, 1999

Pg. 26</P>

<P>Philippine Senate Approves Pact With U.S.</P>

<P> MANILA -- The Philippine Senate ratified an accord on military exercises with the United States, which officials have said will boost the nation's security amid increasing differences with China. The vote, which has attracted attention nationwide because of the opposition to the Visiting Forces Agreement by the powerful Roman Catholic Church and left-wing groups, was approved 18-5 in the 23-member house.</P>

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<P>Washington Times

May 28, 1999

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<U><P>Inside the Ring</P>

</U><P>North Korean Cover</P>

<P>By Bill Gertz and Rowan Scarborough</P>

<P> U.S. national security officials are alarmed over China's decision to allow North Korea to open a consulate in Hong Kong, where authorities resisted the move but were overruled by Beijing.</P>

<P> Officials fear that Pyongyang will use its foothold in Hong Kong to expand its covert efforts to buy missile and nuclear technology. The report released this week by the special House committee headed by Rep. Christopher Cox, California Republican, said Hong Kong is being used by China as a conduit for covert purchases of weapons of mass destruction.</P>

<P> The CIA recently uncovered efforts by North Korean agents in Japan to obtain nuclear weapons components, namely, gas centrifuges that enrich uranium for nuclear bombs.</P>

<P> There are also concerns that a North Korean consulate in Hong Kong will be used by Pyongyang to further its international drug trafficking and other organized crime activities. Hong Kong is close to the island of Macau, which in recent years has become a major organized crime base in Asia.</P>

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<P>Washington Times

May 28, 1999

Pg. 9</P>

<U><P>Inside the Ring</P>

</U><P>Russian Recall</P>

<P>By Bill Gertz and Rowan Scarborough</P>

<P> In another sign of worsening Russia-U.S. relations because of NATO's bombing of Yugoslavia, the Russian Ministry of Defense has ordered the recall of its five students attending U.S. military schools.</P>

<P> Sources tell Inside the Ring that cash-strapped Russia originally demanded that the Pentagon pay for the war college students' travel back home. Russia later relented and paid the air fare.</P>

<P> The five Russian officers were in the United States as part of the International Military Education and Training Program (IMET).</P>

<P> Russia strongly opposes the U.S.-led bombing in the Balkans and has made various threats to cut off military cooperation and arms-control negotiations if the attacks persist.</P>

<P> The Washington Times reported earlier this month that the Kremlin had ordered senior military officers to sever ties with Western military officials and embassy attaches in Moscow.</P>

<P> There were nine Russian officers attending U.S. military schools this year. Four had finished their studies and returned home. Of the five summoned home, four essentially had completed course work, according to Col. Dick Bridges, a Pentagon spokesman.</P>

<P> Schools involved were the Army War College, the Navy Command College, the Navy Staff College and the Navy postgraduate school.</P>

<P> ``It's consistent with what they've done and what they've tried to show us through their actions," Col. Bridges said. ``It was regrettable. It was a decision that was theirs to make."</P>

<P>Hot line bug</P>

<P> Pentagon officials say there are some real concerns about whether Russia's hot line nuclear weapons communications systems, which include telephone equipment and satellite relays, will survive the millennium bug.</P>
>

<P> Officials say the system designed to communicate with the United States in a crisis could malfunction on New Year's Day, 2000. The Pentagon is considering

ring setting up a year-2000 computer center for strategic stability in Colorado to avert any possible nuclear mishaps.</P>

<P> Officials doubt the two sites will cooperate on this problem due to the bombing of Yugoslavia.</P>

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<P>London Guardian

May 27, 1999

Pg. 17</P>

<P>Terrorists Hold Greece Hostage</P>

<I><P>As attacks escalate, Washington tells Athens it is running the most dangerous country in Europe</P>

</I><P>By Helena Smith in Athens </P>

<P> Greece has become the most dangerous place in Europe for US diplomats, businessmen and tourists, according to Nato, because of the resurgence of the extreme leftwing terrorist group November 17. </P>

<P> Yesterday the US secretary of state Madeleine Albright, the defence secretary William Cohen, and other US officials voiced their alarm about the violence in talks in Washington with the Greek foreign minister, George Papandreu. </P>

<P> Last month the Clinton administration issued a 'public announcement' warning tourists of the dangers of anti-US sentiment in Greece. </P>

<P> Nato officials fear that Greece - more than Italy, which last week saw the rebirth of the Red Brigades after 11 years of inactivity - is now the most dangerous country in Europe. </P>

<P> A spate of brazen attacks on diplomatic compounds, foreign banks and the Intercontinental Hotel has prompted normally phlegmatic Greek officials to tighten security at more than 500 British and other potential targets in Athens. </P>

<P> This week there was a glimmer of hope in the search for Europe's most-wanted underground militia with the discovery of a bloodstained car and cap close to the scene of the November 17 rocket attack 10 days ago on the German ambassador's residence. </P>

<P> The ambassador emerged unhurt but the police believe that one of the terrorists may have been injured. </P>

<P> Officials struggling to grapple with the resurgence of terrorism, apparently in retaliation for Nato's bombing of Yugoslavia, are afraid that it is only a matter of time before the organisation strikes again. </P>

<P> 'What we are seeing is a resurgence of worldwide terrorist activity by groups on both the left and right denouncing the new world order,' said Dr Mary Bossi, an expert in political violence. </P>

<P> 'Here, more than perhaps any other EU country, groups who may have no ideology at all are appearing more and more.' </P>

<P> Last year the majority of international terrorist incidents in Europe occurred in Athens, according to the US state department. November 17 claimed responsibility for six attacks on US businesses. </P>

<P> November 17 was formed 24 years ago and has claimed responsibility for 22 murders. Its attacks are often conducted in broad daylight, the assailants simply walking away. </P>

<P> 'We realise that this has become a huge problem, more serious than perhaps anything else we are currently dealing with,' Michalis Chrysohoidis, the Greek public order minister, said. </P>

<P> 'I don't think it's too much to say that these attacks are literally murdering Greece to the point that counter-terrorism has become the government's top priority.' </P>

<P> Mr Chrysohoidis said he was overhauling the 300-strong anti-terrorist squad. Its counter-terrorism experts are due to visit Britain and America to be retrained in surveillance techniques and bombing analysis. </P>

<P> Police ineptitude and tardiness have long been blamed for the lack of headway in combating terrorism. But, until now, so has political will. </P>

<P> November 17's very durability, western security officials based in Athens say, 'begs a whole bag of questions'. </P>

<P> Its impenetrability and inside knowledge have led many to suggest that it has connections with security forces, the army and even the state. </P>

<P> It has been keen to cultivate a Robin Hood image by targeting the wicked (junta torturers) and rich (industrialists and shipowners), and taking care never to kill innocents bystanders. </P>

<P> 'The sad truth is that after 25 years we know absolutely nothing about November 17. All we have are files filled with newspaper clippings,' Dr Bosni said.</P>

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<P>Washington Post

May 28, 1999

Pg. 35</P>

<P>Weapons Spreading</P>

<P>By William C. Potter and Jonathan B. Tucker</P>

<P> The fabric of treaties, informal agreements and export-control measures designed to halt the spread of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction is under siege. Recent assaults on the nonproliferation order come in many forms: the erosion of Russian-American cooperation on nonproliferation, the emerging Indo-Pakistani nuclear and missile arms races, Iraq's defiance of U.N. Security Council-mandated weapons inspections, North Korean nuclear and missile brinkmanship, the threat of a new U.S.-Russian tactical nuclear arms race, the prospect of a fractious year 2000 review conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), and increased risks of chemical and biological terrorism.</P>

<P> The United States is at least partly responsible for this dismal state of affairs. On several occasions, the Clinton administration has shown a disturbing tendency to emphasize short-term economic and political considerations over nonproliferation objectives -- an inclination only exacerbated by the lingering Cold War mind-set and partisan squabbling in the Republican-controlled C

ongress.</P>

<P> Recent U.S. decisions that have undermined the nuclear nonproliferation system include discounting the adverse effects of NATO enlargement on non proliferation cooperation with Russia, waiving tough economic sanctions against India and Pakistan after their nuclear tests, postponing a Senate vote on ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and ignoring the steps that must be taken immediately to prevent defections from a very fragile NPT.</P>

<P> The legal bulwarks against the spread of chemical and biological weapons also are at risk. Just over two years ago, on April 29, 1997, the Chemical Weapons Convention entered into force, and it has been ratified to date by more than 120 countries. Today, however, the United States remains in technical violation because of congressional foot-dragging in passing implementing legislation, followed by interagency conflicts that have delayed approval of the regulations needed for international inspections of chemical industry sites.</P>

<P> Close allies such as Germany and Japan, fearing that U.S. chemical firms will obtain an unfair competitive advantage by remaining free of inspections, are balking at further verification of their own industries. The growing dissension between the United States and its allies could provide cover for would-be cheaters and proliferators, seriously weakening the treaty.</P>

<P> Similarly, the 1972 Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) banning the development, production and stockpiling of disease agents and natural toxins as weapons of war is at a crossroads from which it could emerge either strengthened or reduced to an irrelevancy. Because the convention lacks provisions for verification, it has been unable to address corrosive allegations of noncompliance by countries such as Russia and Iraq. To rectify this situation, an ad hoc group of member countries in Geneva is currently negotiating a protocol to the BWC that will provide for on-site inspections of biodefense labs, vaccine plants and other dual-use facilities. Because of a lack of high-level political attention, however, the talks have languished in recent months.</P>

<P> Failure to reach agreement on the protocol before the start of the U.S. and Russian presidential election cycles in early 2000 could deal a severe setback to BWC, possibly accelerating the spread of biological weapons to states and terrorist organizations.</P>

<P> Finally, at a time when the global nonproliferation system needs coordinated leadership from the world's two leading nuclear powers, historically partners in combating the diffusion of nuclear weapons, Russian-American relations have deteriorated over Moscow's nuclear and missile sales to Iran, NATO enlargement, U.S. plans to accelerate the development of ballistic missile defenses and the bombing campaign in Yugoslavia. The August 1998 Russian economic meltdown also has seriously impaired Moscow's ability to safeguard its vast arsenal of nuclear and chemical weapons and related materials, technology and know-how. Current U.S. nonproliferation assistance to Russia does not adequately address this challenge.</P>

<P> The United States must reduce the gap between its pronouncements about the dangers of the spread of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and its investment of political capital in strengthening nonproliferation treaties, institutions and relationships. Washington should revive biannual nuclear nonp

roliferation consultations with Russia at the working level, ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, bring the U.S. chemical industry into compliance with the Chemical Weapons Convention and show constructive leadership in negotiating the compliance protocol for the Biological Weapons Convention. Such steps would be in the enlightened self-interest of the United States, which of all nations has the most to lose from a breakdown of the nonproliferation system.

William C. Potter is director of the Monterey Institute's Center for Nonproliferation Studies. Jonathan B. Tucker directs the center's chemical and biological weapons nonproliferation project.

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Wall Street Journal

May 28, 1999

Indictment Demands Invasion

By Christopher Bennett, author of "Yugoslavia's Bloody Collapse" (New York University Press, 1996) and former director of the International Crisis Group in the Balkans.

By indicting Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic and four of his inner circle, The Hague Tribunal has raised the stakes in the eight-year-old Balkan conflict, but not necessarily brought it closer to a just and durable solution. That depends on the will of Western leaders to take the necessary political risks to give this indictment teeth.

Mr. Milosevic is not going to turn himself in, and Serbs are not going to rise up against their leader simply because he's been indicted. Rather, with nothing to lose, Mr. Milosevic is likely to escalate the war, confident that his countrymen will see the indictment as the latest example of a world-wide, anti-Serb conspiracy.

Former Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic was indicted in 1995, yet boldly continued to run his parastate, which he had cast in his own image, for

almost two years. Today, despite a second indictment and the presence of more than 30,000 NATO-led troops in Bosnia, he remains at large.</P>

<P> An indictment means nothing unless accompanied by a serious threat of arrest. In Mr. Karadzic's case, this finally materialized in July 1997, when British troops within the NATO-led Stabilization Force moved to capture key individuals indicted by the tribunal. This marginalized Mr. Karadzic, who has been in hiding ever since.</P>

<P> Mr. Milosevic's indictment likewise must be backed by a concerted effort to bring him to justice. This may prove more than Western leaders are prepared to stomach, since it entails more political risks than does showering Yugoslavia with bombs from 15,000 feet. Given the track record of Western leaders' dealings with Mr. Milosevic, whom the U.S. State Department first called a war criminal in December 1992, most, probably even now, would prefer a negotiated settlement.</P>

<P> Nevertheless, the terms of the debate over NATO's current bombing campaign against Yugoslavia have already been transformed by the five indictments. Under statutes of The Hague Tribunal--a United Nations body created by a Security Council resolution--U.N. member states are obliged to bring to account all indictees. As a result, success or failure will no longer be measured in terms of creating the conditions under which refugees can return to their homes, but by whether the Serbian leadership is put on trial.</P>

<P> In these circumstances, a strategy based exclusively on the use of air power is ridiculous. Attempting to bring Mr. Milosevic and his inner circle to justice entails not only deployment of ground troops in Kosovo but full-scale invasion of Serbia. Given the U.N. basis of The Hague Tribunal's authority, the legal grounds for such an invasion are far stronger than those justifying NATO's current air campaign.</P>

<P> It would almost certainly work out easier militarily to invade all of Serbia rather than Kosovo alone. This is because the most difficult and best defended entry routes into Serbia are across the Macedonian and Albanian borders with Kosovo. A full-scale assault on Serbia could be launched across easy terrain through Hungary, a NATO member, or even through some of Serbia's other neighbors. This strategy would inevitably involve casualties on both sides, but, if successful, it would result in Mr. Milosevic's ouster and leave Serbia in a position akin to that of Germany in 1945. Despite the risks, it could both enable Kosovo's Albanians to return to their homes and, if Serbia and its leaders are treated in the same fashion as were Germany and its Nazi leaders, begin a process that restores stability throughout the Balkans.</P>

<P> Since coming to power in 1987 in a bloodless coup at the eighth plenum of the Serbian Communist Party, Mr. Milosevic has destroyed a once proud country. Most of his appointees were singularly unqualified for their new jobs, and thus all the more grateful to their benefactor. As Serbia fought and lost successive wars in Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia, watching each in succession drop off from the Yugoslav federation, Serbian society became progressively more diseased. More than seven years of economic sanctions, over a decade of media distortion and successive purges have all taken their toll. The elite of Serbian society has largely emigrated, and most of those who remain have lost touch with reality.</P>

<P> The only way to offer Serbia and ordinary Serbs a future is to exorcise the cancer in their society via a comprehensive campaign similar to the de-Nazification that took place in postwar Germany. The trials of Mr. Milosevic and his inner circle are by far the best way to begin. The trials would serve a double purpose, both offering redress to the victims and individualizing guilt, thus protecting Serbs from the crimes committed in their name.</P>

<P> The risks of launching a full-scale invasion are enormous. But anything less simply will not lead to a long-term and durable solution. Pulling it off will take politicians of incredible vision and courage. So far they have been conspicuous by their absence.</P>

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<P>Wall Street Journal

May 28, 1999</P>

<P>Clinton's Fair-Weather War</P>

<P>By John Lehman, secretary of the Navy in the Reagan administration.</P>

<P> In an administration so famously incompetent in national security, it seems almost nitpicking to dwell on specific mistakes. But one Clinton military blunder is worth noting.</P>

<P> Leave aside the questions of whether bombing alone can be effective and whether the NATO air campaign against Yugoslavia has made matters worse for the Kosovars. The bombing has been far less effective than it should be. More than half the missions flown have returned without attacking, or even finding, their targets, and it is President Clinton's fault. His decisions inadvertently have provided Serbian forces with sanctuary in the fog and rain common in the region, especially at night. So instead of bombing difficult targets that could help the Kosovars, much of the effort, as in Vietnam, goes against targets like bridges that are easy to hit but of no military effect.</P>

<P> Sen. John McCain recently remarked on his years in prison in Hanoi: "We always knew when the B-52s and alpha strikes were coming, because the air-raided sirens went off long before we heard the bombs, and we always knew when the A-6s and F-111s attacked because we heard the bombs first and the sirens afterwards." The Navy A-6 Intruders and the Air Force F-111s were the core of the all-weather precision strike capability of U.S. air power.</P>

<P> Steadily updated with the latest technology, they both had similar capabilities that are indispensable for bombing at night and in bad weather: long range, large payload, a pilot and a full-time bombardier sitting side-by-side, powerful ground-mapping radars, terrain-following systems permitting them to fly nap-of-the-earth at 500 knots, 200 feet altitude, solely on instruments and immune from surface-to-air missiles; laser gyroscope and Global Positioning System navigation accurate to a few feet; imaging infrared and laser targeting systems; Doppler moving target detectors to kill tanks moving under clouds and darkness; radar beacon systems to allow precision bombing from beacons held by inserted reconnaissance teams.</P>

<P> These were the two aircraft types used for the strike on Libya in 1986 and for the most difficult targets in Desert Storm. These are the aircraft now most needed for Kosovo, where it is dark or the weather is bad 80% of the time, and where imprecise bombing--accidentally hitting embassies, hospitals and similar facilities--has an even higher than normal political cost.</P>

<P> So where are these aircraft? At the bottom of the sea. The Clinton administration has scrapped them all. Some of the A-6s went straight from being rebuilt with new carbon wings and new avionics to become an artificial reef off Florida. Even worse than the loss of these airplanes is the loss of the invaluable community of combat-experienced professionals who flew them. At the sad retirement ceremony for the last A-6 at Naval Air Station Oceana in Virginia in March 1997, 1,700 pilots and bombardiers were present. Nearly all had flown Intruders in combat in Vietnam, Lebanon, Libya or Iraq, and had studied and practiced all-weather attacks their whole careers. It was doubtless the greatest assemblage of bombing experience, wisdom and talent ever in one hanger. Many had left the Navy in disgust after the Tailhook witch hunt, and those who remained in the Navy were dispersed to other jobs. The F-111 community was similarly dispersed.</P>

<P> The Air Force has some dual-role F-15Es that can operate effectively in bad weather, but the Navy carriers are now bereft of all-weather strike aircraft, greatly limiting their usefulness in Kosovo. The single-seat F-16s and F-18s flying most of the missions are fine versatile fighters, but neither can bomb reliably in foul weather. Nor do they have adequate jamming, eavesdropping or photo-reconnaissance support, absolutely critical for the type of mission assigned, because the Clinton team also scrapped the EF-111 jammers, the ES-3 electronic eavesdroppers and the RF-4E reconnaissance aircraft, all without replacement.</P>

<P> How could such things come to pass? In the Clinton effort to re-engineer the military into a kinder, gentler, "gender" conscious peacekeeping force, aggressive-sounding things like deep-strike attack aircraft were not in favor. And since Truman's day there have always been big-bomber zealots in the Air Force arguing that carrier strike aircraft were not needed. Thus did the administra

tion with its veteran-free cabinet quietly carry out a significant unilateral disarmament.


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<P>New York Times

May 28, 1999</P>

<U><P>Foreign Affairs / By Thomas L. Friedman</P>
</U><P>In Your Faces</P>

<I><P>There is a lunatic attempt by out-of-work cold warriors in Washington and retrograde Chinese nationalists in Beijing to use the latest Chinese spying scandal and bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade to put China and the United States on a collision course. It is times like these when you need a President who is ready to get right in the face of both his critics and the Chinese leadership and say the following: </P>

</I><P> To the China-bashers in Congress: </P>

<P> "Where exactly do you guys think you're going with this? Yes, the Chinese spied on us. Is it serious? You bet it is. Do we need to drastically improve security at our nuclear labs and stop our companies from selling everything that isn't nailed down? You bet we do. But you all seem to be pushing for something more. Let's cut to the bottom line here: Do you want to declare war on China? Is that what you want? Fine, let's do that. Let's take them all on -- all 1.3 billion of them. Hey, they're only one-fifth of humanity. </P>

<P> "Oh, that's not what you want? Well then, cut the war dance and get real. Yes, China is a rising power, and over time we may have no choice but to have a cold war with China. But it is not a confrontation we should be cultivating. China is not the Soviet Union. It's not committed to the universal spread of Communism. These are not people who build television sets that blow up when you turn them on. These are serious people. They've had nuclear weapons for 35 years. China is not the Soviet Union, which was surrounded by weak countries that

needed our military backing and welcomed us. China is largely surrounded by strong countries, which have decent relations with it, and they would not be eager to join us if we picked a fight with Beijing. </P>

<P> "And what if you win your cold war with China and produce a collapse of the regime there? What do you think happens the morning after? That China is going to become a replica of the U.S.? That the Dalai Lama will be embraced by Chinese democrats? If this regime collapses, the morning after will be utter chaos. You want chaos in China and Russia at the same time? You think that is going to make America safer? What is it you're trying to trigger here? </P>

<P> "It is possible to be an American patriot, be outraged at the lax security of our nuclear weapons labs, be outraged about China's pervasive spying and still want to foster better relations with Beijing to bring about a stable transition there and a more rule-based regime. You seem to have forgotten that we engaged in sweeping arms-control deals with the Soviet Union at a time when it was patrolling our coasts with nuclear submarines and trying to steal every secret we had. If you can't juggle multiple objectives at the same time, that's your problem. But I am not going to take this country down the lunatic path of destroying relations with China so that you can have a cheap political thrill." </P>

<P> President's message to China's leaders: </P>

<P> "O.K., boys, you've had your fun now. You've sucked up everything from our nuclear labs. I just want you to know a couple of things. First, we're going to step up our electronic spying on you. In fact, we're going to be bouncing so many microwaves off your Defense Ministry your generals are going to feel like rotisserie chickens. </P>

<P> "Second, I have heard enough about the bombing of your embassy in Belgrade. We both know it was an accident, and if you keep it up, I'm going to close the visa window at our embassy in China. After all, your people wouldn't want to visit a war-mongering country like ours. Could be dangerous. You want to play footsie with the Russians? Be my guest. Let's see how many of your young people want to go to Moscow University for an M.B.A. By the way, there's no Disney World in Vladivostok. </P>

<P> "My Chinese friends, you're not the only ones with power and weight in this relationship. I'm struggling to keep this thing on track. But if you're not ready to do the same, if it just isn't important enough for you to stand up to your lunatics, then we will end up in a cold war. And if you think China can develop without us, well, then the opium trade must have come back to your shores. </P>

<P> "Last time I checked you had a \$60 billion trade surplus with us. Oh, I'm sure the Russians would be happy to buy your exports and give you rubles. Rubles, yes, they make wonderful wallpaper. You get my drift? So let's cut the bluster and resume a sensible relationship."</P>

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<P>USA Today

May 28, 1999

Pg. 15</P>

<P>Let's Keep Chinese Spying In Perspective</P>

<P>By Jimmy Carter</P>

<P> Recent revelations about Chinese espionage are a justifiable cause for alarm among all those who are concerned about the protection of America's military secrets. But it is also important to keep this issue in perspective as it affects already strained U.S.-Sino relations and to remember how nations traditionally react to security breaches.</P>

<P> The bipartisan report of the House select committee, which seems to be thorough and accurate, warrants immediate corrective action and, as a secondary priority, an effort to affix blame on those who may have violated the law or been derelict in their duties. However, the revelations have also aroused reactions that are ill-advised, counterproductive and could subvert the potential benefits of the committee's good work. There are unfounded allegations by both Democrats and Republicans against each other, obviously designed for partisan advantage. Some other American leaders, who have habitually demonstrated animosity toward the People's Republic of China, have attempted to drive a deeper wedge between our two countries at what is already a troubled time.</P>

<P> A confused policy toward China</P>

<P> At best, U.S. policy toward China is very confusing, at least to the Chinese, both because of uncertainties within the administration and because of highly publicized differences between the White House and Congress on how to address the issues of Taiwan, human rights, trade and the sharing of political responsibilities in Asia. The bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, has further exacerbated the troubled relationship. This regrettable incident also has injected China, as a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council, into the potential role of negotiating a peaceful resolution of the Kosovo crisis.</P>

<P> It is clear that much is at stake - for both U.S.-China and global relations. So let's consider some facts about espionage. There are few, if any, nations that would not take advantage of opportunities to learn withheld secrets that could contribute to their military, political or economic advantage. In fact, although the select committee's attention was focused exclusively on China, it would be surprising if Russia and other nations have not also benefited from the lax policies at our nuclear research laboratories.</P>

<P> The United States certainly seeks to learn what other nations are doing, and we use surreptitious means, if necessary, to glean this information. Only recently, the celebrated case of Jonathan Pollard has proved this premise. Pollard was found guilty of delivering, over a period of years, some of our most valuable secrets to Israel, our strongest and most reliable ally in the Middle East.</P>

<P> The standard reaction to cases of this kind is to arrest and punish severely American citizens who have committed such treasonous acts, but not to impose penalties on the country that benefited from them. If a foreign spy is caught in our nation, the response is to expel the guilty person and perhaps to include others who are suspect or diplomatically sensitive. When I was president, we even swapped guilty Soviet spies for the freedom of some human-rights heroes who were incarcerated in Siberia.</P>

<P> In addition to spying among nations, a major field of espionage is in the commercial world, where France and other advanced nations avidly seek secret information from American business firms - and vice versa.</P>

<P> Handle guilty parties as in the past</P>

<P> In the current case, no one has been arrested for espionage, and there is no indication that such arrests are imminent. If guilty parties are revealed, they should be handled in the time-honored way.</P>

<P> This still leaves the question of China's improper use of the secret information, either to threaten us directly or to channel advanced weapons to others who might attack the United States. The House committee leaders make clear that the Chinese have not tested or deployed missiles or warheads that include the most advanced technology. In fact, the People's Republic of China has committed itself to complying with the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, and any testing of warheads would be considered a serious violation of international law.</P>

<P> Revelations of spying should lead to legal action against any convicted American spies and to the treatment of international relations in a customary and historical manner. The past 20 years of diplomatic relations have been extremely valuable to both our nations and to peace, stability and economic progress in Asia. These advantages must not be endangered as we correct the mistakes that have been made by both Democratic and Republican administrations.</P>

<P> My hope is that our government can exhibit as much wisdom, judgment, effectiveness and bipartisan cooperation as has been demonstrated by the select committee.</P>

<P> <I>Jimmy Carter was president of the United States from 1977 to 1981. He chairs The Carter Center in Atlanta, which promotes peace and health worldwide.</I></P>

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<P>San Diego Union-Tribune

May 27, 1999</P>

<P>Sharpening Our Military's Fighting Edge</P>

<P>By Thomas G. McInerney </P>

<P> As we enter the third month of operations against Serbia, analogies to the Vietnam War are flying fast and furious. For many Americans, Vietnam signals ground troops locked in an unwinnable war -- or visions of the president selecting bombing targets in the Oval Office.</P>

<P> But another less obvious analogy to Vietnam also makes sense. One of the major lessons of Vietnam was that young military officers said "never again" and redesigned the American military force that won the Persian Gulf War and that has been performing so impressively in the sky over Yugoslavia.</P>

<P> The NATO military performance has been top-notch. But beneath the surface, Operation Allied Force has revealed the creeping hollowness eating away at the heart of America's military.</P>

<P> These long-term and long-standing problems are far more consequential for U.S. security than the eventual termination of the Kosovo crisis. And when the Kosovo end-game emerges, our military must again say "never again."</P>

<P> Two strains in our military muscle have emerged in the operations against Serbia. First, it is becoming apparent that our military is not sufficiently armed to engage in the dual air wars encountered in Serbia and Iraq.</P>

<P> We forget that the entire U.S. inventory of stealth bombers and fighters number fewer than 75 and that the bulk of the air armada -- 40-year-old B-52s and 20-year-old F-15s and F-16s -- are becoming little more than museum pieces a

s we run short of cruise missiles and spare parts.</P>

<P> The Pentagon's holiday on procuring new systems and armaments during much of the 1990s has laid bare a gamble. Unfortunately, the bet has been called. Our last production line for the Air Launched Cruise Missile was shut down in 1986 and took 30 months to restart.</P>

<P> Its replacement, the Joint Air-to-Surface Standoff Missile, is still in development.</P>

<P> In the meantime, the satellite-guided Joint Direct Attack Munition so effectively used by the B-2 bomber is in low rate production.</P>

<P> The second scandal of Operation Allied Force is more complex and harder to fix: adjusting priorities within the defense budget. We are spending more than \$260 billion each year on defense, yet our forces are stretched too thin and their equipment is wearing out. The American taxpayer has the right to ask where the money is going? What are we doing wrong?</P>

<P> The main problem is that of the \$260 billion spent on defense, very little of it actually supports the troops and systems now on the front lines in Kosovo.</P>

<P> Indeed, only 30 percent of today's defense budget goes to what military leaders call "tooth" combat forces and weapons systems.</P>

<P> The other 70 percent supports "tail" -- the administrative and support side of the Pentagon. A good part of this spending is needed to support current military operations, but the vast bulk of spending is irrelevant to operations such as Kosovo.</P>

<P> Every dollar spent on defense tail is one less dollar devoted to critical military operations. The more damning budget story is that we currently waste tens of billions each year on various defense support activities.</P>

<P> The Pentagon operates one of the world's largest complexes of data processing centers, payroll-processing operations, warehouse facilities and other business activities.</P>

<P> Not surprisingly, it doesn't do this very well. Just look at defense warehouses, which now stock more than \$14 billion worth of products that the General Accounting Office claims will likely never be used.</P>

<P> That money instead could buy 7,000 advanced cruise missiles. Inventory problems are no secret. In fact, the GAO has completed 11 different studies that highlight similar cases of waste and mismanagement in defense inventory.</P>

<P> The military's skewed investment program has persisted for years, largely because Congress refuses to consider changing to the status quo. For example, when Secretary of Defense Bill Cohen and all of the Joint Chiefs of Staff have asked for permission to close unneeded military bases, Congress has responded that protecting local jobs takes priority. When the prospects for active military engagement seemed small, these decisions had limited costs.</P>

<P> Today, when our forces are engaged in operations around the globe, the risks of maintaining the status quo are profound. It was difficult to find a silver lining in the painful experience of Vietnam.</P>

<P> But a new and more effective U.S. military did ultimately emerge. We may find another silver lining in the Kosovo quagmire if Congress and other opponents of change are shaken by the reality of the challenges facing today's military. Business as usual is no longer an option.</P>

<P> <I>McInerney, a retired Air Force lieutenant general, is president and CEO of Business Executives for National Security, a national, nonpartisan, Washington, D.C.-based organization of business leaders working for a stronger, more secure America</I>. </P>

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<P>New York Times

May 28, 1999</P>

<P>The Case Against Mr. Milosevic</P>

<P> Though it may complicate peace negotiations, the indictment of Slobodan Milosevic and four other Serbian leaders for crimes against humanity is just and consonant with the bedrock principles of a civilized international order. Serbia's systematic killing, deportation and persecution of Kosovo's ethnic Albanians are surely such crimes, and those responsible should be held accountable. </P>

<P> Doing so will not be easy, but the difficulty is no reason to oppose the charges or their timing. The investigation and prosecution of crimes against humanity rarely mesh smoothly with political realities, in this instance the need for NATO to talk at least indirectly with Serbian leaders about terms for ending the war in Yugoslavia. However, if the world is committed to the humane principles the United Nations endorsed in establishing the war crimes tribunal six years ago, a way must be found to deal with the Kosovo conflict without disabling the prosecution of Mr. Milosevic. </P>

<P> In practical terms, that may mean negotiating with Mr. Milosevic's Government even while he is under indictment. The Clinton Administration has said it will do so, and that is the right decision. </P>

<P> Mr. Milosevic is the first sitting head of state in modern times to be indicted by an international criminal tribunal. Unlike the Allied prosecution of German and Japanese leaders after World War II, this is not so far a case in which victorious powers can dictate the terms of justice and compel defeated defendants to stand trial. The international tribunal in The Hague, created by the Security Council to deal with war crimes in the Balkans, is dependent on the member states of the U.N. to arrest indicted suspects and deliver them to the court. The tribunal has issued dozens of indictments, sparing no ethnic group in the Balkans, but only a handful of cases have come to trial. </P>

<P> Among those who have not been captured are Radovan Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb leader, and his senior military officer, Gen. Ratko Mladic, who were indicted in 1995. </P>

<P> With Mr. Milosevic the immediate issue is not arrest, but whether to deal with him now that he has been indicted. Louise Arbour, the chief prosecutor for the tribunal, warned yesterday that extensive evidence of crimes by Mr. Milosevic makes him an unsuitable guarantor of any peace agreement. </P>

<P> Over the long term, Ms. Arbour is right. But unless NATO is determined to conquer Yugoslavia and remove Mr. Milosevic, which the alliance has shown no inclination to do, he will remain in place until his countrymen tire of his dictatorship. </P>

<P> That does not mean the indictment should, in effect, be waived as part of a peace deal, or that Mr. Milosevic should feel secure from arrest in the future. The principles involved are too vital to sacrifice for political convenience. The indictment is not an American action, or a NATO decision, and it ought not to be seen as just another element in the propaganda claims and counterclaims flying between Belgrade and Brussels. The tribunal represents a noble effort to see that crimes against humanity do not go unpunished. If the court is to be more than an empty exercise, Mr. Milosevic and his colleagues must eventually be brought to justice.</P>

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<P>Washington Post

May 28, 1999

Pg. 34</P>

<P>Case No. IT-99-37-I</P>

<P> "The Prosecutor of the Tribunal Against Slobodan Milosevic," the indictment begins, and what follows is a powerful document. The international tribunal based in The Hague has accused the Yugoslav leader and four close associates of crimes against humanity: the murder of at least 340 Kosovo Albanians and the deportation of at least 740,000. The Serbian leaders stand accused not only of being in charge while war crimes took place but of personally planning, instigating and ordering the crimes. The investigation continues, chief prosecutor Louise Arbour said yesterday; more counts and many more victims may be added. But what has already been documented sufficiently to satisfy an international tribunal judge to approve the indictment is chilling enough.</P>

<I><P> On or about the morning of 26 March 1999, Serb police located the villagers in the forest. The police ordered the women and small children to leave the area and to go to Albania. The police then searched the men and boys and took their identity documents, after which they were made to walk to an uninhabited house between the forest and Mali Krusha. Once the men and boys were assembled inside the house, the Serb police opened fire on the group. After several minutes of gunfire, the police piled hay on the men and boys and set fire to it in order to burn the bodies.</P>

</I><P> The indictment will be, already has been, dismissed in Belgrade and Moscow as just another piece of NATO propaganda. But the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia is not a NATO arm. It is a creation of the United Nations, and its decisions carry a legitimacy beyond that of any warring party. There is good reason to think, in fact, that NATO governments would have preferred that this indictment be delayed. But as the chief prosecutor said, governments can influence the court only by withholding evidence. "There is no other means by which we can be given instructions, nor would we receive any instructions," she said.</P>

<I><P> On or about 2 April 1999, forces of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] and Serbia began forcing residents of the town of Dakovica to leave. Forces of the FRY and Serbia spread out through the town and went house to house ordering Kosovo Albanians from their homes. In some instances, people were killed, and most persons were threatened with death. Many of the houses and shops belonging to Kosovo Albanians were set on fire, while those belonging to Serbs were protected.</P>

</I><P> Some NATO officials expressed concern that the indictment will complicate negotiations. But the tribunal is not the cause of NATO's problem; the problem is NATO's decision to negotiate with a war criminal, or to send Russian or Finnish envoys to negotiate in its stead. This willingness to make Mr. Milos

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<P>New York Times

May 28, 1999

<P>Kosovo War Crimes Tribunal Statement On Milosevic Indictment

<P>By Reuters

<P> THE HAGUE -- Following is the full text of the statement by Louise Arbou, chief prosecutor at the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia, on the indictment of Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic and four others:

<P> On May 22, I presented an indictment for confirmation against Slobodan Milosevic and four others, charging them with crimes against humanity -- specifically murder, deportation and persecutions, and with violations of the laws and customs of war. The indictment was confirmed by a judge of this Tribunal on M

ay 24. The indictment was the subject of a non-disclosure order which expired at noon today. I sought this order on the basis of security considerations, in particular for the U.N. humanitarian mission which left the former Yugoslavia this morning.

<P> The following accused are jointly indicted:

<P> SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia,

<P> MILAN MILUTINOVIC, president of the Republic of Serbia,

<P> NIKOLA SAINOVIC, deputy prime minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia,

<P> DRAGOLJUB OJDANIC, chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and

<P> VLAJKO STOJILJKOVIC, minister of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Serbia.

<P> Arrest warrants have been issued against all five accused and are being served on all member states of the United Nations and Switzerland. The warrants are accompanied by a court order requesting all states to search for and freeze any and all assets of the accused under their jurisdiction. This order was sought to prevent foreign assets being used for the purpose of evading justice, and to permit effective restitution to be made upon conviction. These provisional measures are granted without prejudice to the rights of third parties.

<P> This indictment is the product of intense efforts by a large number of people in my office. It does not represent the totality of the charges that may result from our continuing investigations of these accused, nor does it represent our final determination of the responsibility of others in relation to the same events. The present indictment is based exclusively on crimes committed since the beginning of 1999 in Kosovo. We are continuing to develop an evidentiary base upon which I believe we will be able to expand upon the present charges. We are still actively investigating other incidents in Kosovo, as well as the role of the accused, or of some of them, in Croatia and Bosnia in earlier years. We are also still investigating the role and responsibility of others into the crimes contained in this indictment.

<P> Although this broad investigation is ongoing, we had reached a point, at the end of last week where, in my view, we had sufficient evidence of these very serious offenses committed by these accused to require us to bring these charges at this stage. As usual, this indictment was the subject of thorough scrutiny.

tiny within the Office of the Prosecutor before being submitted to a judge for confirmation. In order to have the indictment confirmed, the prosecutor must present a prima facie case. In his decision confirming the indictment, Judge David Hunt said: "A prima facie case on any particular charge exists in this situation where the material facts pleaded in the indictment constitute a credible case which would (if not contradicted by the accused) be a sufficient basis to convict him of that charge."

<P> We have received, and we are continuing to receive valuable information from governments, as well as from groups and individuals. We are still awaiting further evidence that I believe many States will be able to contribute to our larger investigation. I repeat my pressing call to them to come forward and be responsive to our outstanding and future requests for assistance in relation to evidence in their possession.

<P> I also call upon all states to comply with the execution of these, and all outstanding arrests warrants issued by the Tribunal. These warrants are issued under the authority of a Security Council resolution, which requires all States to comply with the orders of the Tribunal. I call in particular on the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and especially on the minister of justice, to stand up for the rule of law, and to request that all the accused voluntarily submit to the jurisdiction of the Tribunal, or, should they fail to do so, to provide for their arrest and transfer to The Hague.

<P> I have been stressing for several months now our commitment to functioning as a real time law enforcement operation. I believe that it is an extraordinary achievement, by any law enforcement standard, for us to have brought to successful confirmation, an indictment against the five accused, for crimes of this magnitude committed since the beginning of this year. This has been achieved in less than five months, under the demanding requirements of the Tribunal's Rules of Procedure and Evidence, which compel the production to a judge of detailed supporting materials to substantiate the charges. The supporting materials, which contain witness statements and relevant documents, which were filed with the Registry, will not be disclosed until the accused appear to answer the charges.

<P> Finally, I am mindful of the impact that this indictment may have on the peace process in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. I am confident, as was obviously the Security Council in creating this Tribunal and in calling upon it several times in the last year to address this issue, that the product of our work will make a major contribution to a lasting peace, not only in Kosovo, but in the whole region in which we have jurisdiction. No credible, lasting peace can be built upon impunity and injustice. The refusal to bring war criminals to account would be an affront to those who obey the law, and a betrayal of those who rely on it for their life and security.

<P> Although the accused are entitled to the benefit of the presumption of innocence until they are convicted, the evidence upon which this indictment was confirmed raises serious questions about their suitability to be the guarantor

s of any deal, let alone a peace agreement. They have not been rendered less suitable by the indictment. The indictment has simply exposed their unsuitability

<P> An independent review by a judge of this Tribunal has confirmed that there is a credible basis to believe that these accused are criminally responsible for the deportation of 740,000 Kosovo Albanians from Kosovo, and for the murder of over 340 identified Kosovo Albanians. The victims were entitled to expect protection from each one of these accused.

<P> This indictment is directed against the five named accused. It is not directed against the State of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, nor against its people. Whatever the differences amongst the citizens of the FRY, and the differences they may have with other nations, I believe that they will expect their leaders who have abused their trust, to come to The Hague to respond to these accusations.


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<P>London Times

May 28, 1999

<P>Clare Short Calls For Ground Force By September

<P>By Michael Evans, Defence Editor

<P> AN INTERNATIONAL military force will have to be in place in Kosovo by September to start returning refugees to their homes before the winter, Clare Short, the International Development Secretary, said yesterday.

<P> A "refugee-return operation" was being worked out, she said, but it was dependent on having a military force inside the Yugoslav province within four months.

<P> Russia is reported to be willing to send 10,000 troops to join the peace force. Last night the Itar-Tass news agency, quoting a military source, said that Moscow would agree to a Nato-dominated force, provided it was led by a general from a neutral country, and only after agreement with Belgrade.

<P> Earlier, Ms Short said that once the international force was deployed the focus had to be on helping the half million internally displaced Albanians in Kosovo.

<P> "The only real way to bring humanitarian relief to those inside [Kosovo] is to succeed militarily, reverse the aggression and get the refugees home," she said. Planning for the return of the refugees was "intensifying", "knowing that winter will begin in September".

<P> Ms Short admitted that it would take some time for all the refugees, inside and outside Kosovo, to return home. "So we are now looking at flexible planning for the winter."

<P> This would include providing assistance to the thousands of Albanian families in Albania and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia who had taken refugees into their homes. Of the 400,000 refugees in Albania, more than 250,000 were with families, 70,000 in communal centres and 80,000 in tented camps.

<P> Ms Short added: "It is poor families in a very poor country that are hosting most of the refugees. We, and all the international agencies, are now putting more focus on supporting local families and communities so that they are able to maintain their generosity for as long as is necessary."

<P> A Nato pilot had a narrow escape yesterday when two Serb surface-to-air missiles locked on to his American F16 aircraft. He said that they were so close that he "heard and felt the turbulence" of the missiles.

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St. Louis Post-Dispatch

May 27, 1999

No Invasion Yet, French Ambassador Says Here

By Harry Levins, Post-Dispatch Senior Writer

For now, at least, NATO still feels it can achieve its goals in Kosovo without a ground invasion, the French ambassador to the United States said here Wednesday.

The ambassador is Francois Bujon de l'Estang, who has held the post in Washington since December 1995. He arrived Wednesday for an overnight visit in St. Louis, his first trip here. His schedule called for private meetings with groups interested in French business, culture and education.

In an interview Wednesday at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel in Clayton, de l'Estang dissected a question on whether NATO could win in Kosovo without an invasion.

"First," he said, "you must define what you mean by win. What we want in Kosovo is what we wanted at Rambouillet," the locale in France where peace talks for Kosovo ran aground in February.

He listed NATO's terms at Rambouillet: an end to the fighting, a pullout of Serbian forces, the return of refugees, talks on autonomy for Kosovo and the

deployment of an international force to keep the peace.

<P> "A win would be compliance with those five points," de l'Estang said. "Can it be achieved by air alone? Possibly, although that has not yet been demonstrated, of course.

<P> "But for the moment, there is a consensus within the alliance that we can win without deploying ground forces into what the military people call 'a nonpermissive environment.'"

<P> He agreed that NATO's credibility was on the line in Kosovo and said, "It is necessary for NATO to prevail."

<P> When the bombing of Yugoslavia began on March 24, President Bill Clinton promised that no ground invasion was in the works.

<P> The reluctance to invade apparently stems from the misadventure of October 1993, when 18 GIs lost their lives in a firefight in Somalia. The casualties soured American public opinion on the mission. That reluctance to take casualties does not extend to America's two biggest partners in the Kosovo campaign, France and Britain. Both nations have a long record of small but bloody colonial clashes that killed packets of their soldiers.

<P> France's de l'Estang said, "We do accept the idea of incurring casualties, as do the British, a result, perhaps, of our respective histories. In Bosnia in the early 1990s, France lost 70 soldiers killed and 300 wounded. This was accepted by French public opinion."

<P> But de l'Estang said the American skittishness "may change in the future." He noted that despite the snatching of three American soldiers along Macedonia's border with Kosovo, the American public had held firm in its support of the bombing campaign.

<P> On other matters, de l'Estang:

<P> * Insisted that opposition to Monsanto's genetically modified seeds was European, not specifically French, and was a matter of consumer concern, not of economic protectionism. "It is not something that will go away overnight," he said.

<P> * Said he was pleased to be in St. Louis, which was named in 1763 by its French founders for King Louis IX of France, the saintly monarch and crusader.

<P> * Confessed that he had yet to sample Missouri's wine, and then added with a grin: "But I like to live dangerously."

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<P>Washington Times

May 27, 1999

Pg. 17

<P>Consensus Emerges On Need For Economic Aid To Balkans

<P>By Nicholas Kralev, The Washington Times

<P> NEW YORK - With diplomacy in search of a solution to the Kosovo crisis, just about the only certain component of a peace agreement is an economic stabilization plan to get the battered Balkans out of the woods.

<P> The European Union has emerged as the main player in what has been called a mini-Marshall Plan for southeastern Europe. The EU member states and the Balkan countries, along with the United States, Russia, Japan and Canada, convene in Bonn today for a conference on a stability pact.

<P> There is nothing more logical and efficient than a heavy EU presence, s

ay EU officials and diplomats. They insist the EU has to integrate the troubled region into its structures to ensure peace and order in Europe.

<P> Looking beyond the immediate humanitarian crisis, to which it has committed \$193 million, the 15-member EU has been serious about preparing an economic reconstruction strategy that can be implemented as soon as the Kosovo war is over.

<P> "The reconstruction will be a huge exercise, so it's important that all sides agree on a stability pact," said Ed Kronenburg, deputy chief of staff for Hans van den Broek, the EU commissioner in charge of Central and Eastern Europe.

<P> But integration of the Balkan countries into the EU will have to follow a path different from traditional membership, where applicants have had to align their economic and political systems with the EU's before they are admitted.

<P> It's unrealistic to think this could apply to southeast Europe, which, experts say, necessitates a new approach that would take into account the conditions in the Balkans.

<P> The best way to stabilize the region's economies with sound money is to establish euro-based currency boards, economists say.

<P> A 10-point plan for the economic recovery of southeast Europe, proposed by the Center for European Policy Studies (CEPS) in Brussels, suggests "a menu of monetary cooperation regimes, from euro-based currency boards now to full inclusion in the euro-zone by 2003." European Commission President-designate Romano Prodi backs it.

<P> Michael Emerson, a former EU official and the leading author of the CEPS project, said the plan "has clearly established itself as the reference and the template for a strong" postwar solution of the Balkans crisis.

<P> "The countries in the region like it, too," Mr. Emerson said in a telephone interview from Brussels. "We have been meeting with their ambassadors to the EU and business leaders. We have also started visiting those countries. Last week, we were in Bulgaria, then met the Albanian prime minister here on Tuesday and are going to Croatia on Thursday."

<P> Viewing the adoption of currency boards as vital for accession to the EU, the CEPS proposal cites Bulgaria and Bosnia-Herzegovina as examples of existing boards restoring the credibility of local currencies and achieving economic stability.

<P> But some economists say specific approaches should be applied to the different Balkan countries, especially to Yugoslavia.

<P> Predicting the "currency board model will come into play in any kind of a peace agreement" after the Kosovo war, Steve Hanke, an economics professor at Johns Hopkins University, recalled that Article 7 of the 1995 Dayton peace accords mandated that Bosnia would have a currency board.

<P> In Yugoslavia, however, the situation is very different, said Mr. Hanke, who helped put together the Bulgarian and Bosnian boards and is known as "Mr. Currency Board."

<P> "You cannot trust the Serbs with an indigenous currency board - it would be subject to Serb manipulation," he said.

<P> He outlined two options that would work best for Belgrade: "Not to have a national currency at all, or to have a bi-monetary system with the German mark."

<P> In the second scenario, which, in effect, is a currency board, "the board should be incorporated in Switzerland, and three out of five board members should not be from Yugoslavia or any other neighboring country."

<P> The German mark would be used until the EU starts printing euros, which is now being used only as paper money, in 2002.

<P> Yugoslavia has already used the German mark as a legal tender under President Slobodan Milosevic - from Jan. 6, 1994, through Jan. 24, 1994, when the dinar, Yugoslavia's currency, collapsed and was replaced by the "super" dinar.

<P> As for the other Balkan countries, Mr. Hanke said Albania would fall in the same category as Yugoslavia "because the rule of law is almost nonexistent there." A currency board in Macedonia "would be desirable to also be set up in Switzerland with outside directors." Romania, he said, could install something similar to the Bulgarian board.

<P> In addition to the EU, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank are viewed as being among the main architects of the Balkans' postwar economic recovery. But although the IMF generally thinks currency boards are a good idea, it is focusing on meeting the immediate needs of the conflict's victims, a senior IMF official said in an interview.

<P> "We are helping in two ways: with macroeconomic policy advice and financial aid. We are more concerned how the refugees can get through this year and to best deal with the shock," he said, citing \$300 million the IMF has provided to six countries for humanitarian needs so far.

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<P>Philadelphia Inquirer

May 27, 1999

Pg. 1

<P>Scoured Of People, Scarred By Hatred

<I><P>A U.N. team was finally allowed to visit Kosovo: "It is . . . worse than we feared."

</I><P>By Candice Hughes, Associated Press

<P> PRISTINA, Yugoslavia - Here are some of the things they left behind: A sturdy brick house with flowers in the yard, a child-size pair of slippers, a woolly brown dog and her puppies. A department store. A barbershop. Family snapshots. A baby's cradle.

<P> Four old men.

<P> Kosovo is a land scoured of people, scarred by signs of hatred and war, littered with the debris of shattered lives. The United Nations says about 830,000 ethnic Albanians have fled the Serbian province in the last two months.

<P> Kosovo has been closed to all but a handful of outsiders since the purge began, but refugees reaching neighboring Albania and Macedonia have told terrible tales of being driven from their homes by Serb police and paramilitaries.

<P> Over the weekend, members of a U.N. team became the first international observers to visit Kosovo. Their extraordinary journey, shared by an Associated Press reporter, provided chilling, firsthand confirmation.

<P> "It is a lot worse than we feared," said Sergio Vieira de Mello, the head of the U.N. team.

<P> You can drive for miles in Kosovo and not see anyone in the lush green land edged with mountains. Houses on the horizon look like a witch's snagged teeth; their blackened, burned walls jutting into the sky. Blasted by heat, red tile roofs have caved in on charred timbers. Some still smell of smoke and fire

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<P> Fields lie fallow. Untended cattle roam at will. Horses stray onto high ways. Dogs wander in confusion; the scrawny bodies of many lie on the roads, although there are so few cars about, it's hard to fathom by what awful luck they were run over.

<P> Streets echo with emptiness.

<P> Much of Djakovica is wrecked, a ghost town. The only sound is the cawing of crows under a gray, gusty sky.

<P> Djakovica's scars are many. There was heavy fighting there last year between Serb forces and the rebel Kosovo Liberation Army and another spasm of violence after NATO launched its air war.

<P> NATO bombs have ripped off the side of the regional police headquarters. Shops are shattered, looted, vandalized. Broken glass litters the floors.

<P> It is something you see almost everywhere now in Kosovo.

<P> Parts of Podujevo, north of Pristina, the provincial capital, are almost as silent and devastated. Police cleared out Albanian neighborhoods; some of the residents are in nearby villages, but they are barred from returning. The army has mined the banks of the river where it runs through town to keep out rebel fighters.

<P> Pristina is a shadow of what it was two months ago. Once a multiethnic city of cafes, shops and streets that hummed with life, it is now a gloomy place where few people venture out. Once-teeming Albanian neighborhoods such as Vranjevac are empty and silent.

<P> The center of Kosovska Mitrovica, an industrial town once home to 100,000 people, is deserted, its buildings looted and burned.

<P> The big Lux department store is an empty shell. In a nearby barbershop, water pours from a broken tap onto a floor covered with shattered window glass and debris.

<P> A month ago, people from Kosovska Mitrovica began streaming across the border into Albania. They described how Serb police and masked paramilitary forces cleared out the Albanian neighborhoods street by street.

<P> The Serb who heads the regional government, Zdravko Trajkovic, confirmed the purge - but he called it a "preventive" action by police. From the official point of view, he explained, any Albanian might be a KLA sympathizer.

<P> "The authorities prevented them from doing what they intended to do and saved the citizens from terror as much as possible," he said.

<P> In all, police cleared out 30,000 of the city's ethnic Albanians, once a majority there, as they are in the rest of Kosovo.

<P> Trajkovic insisted the goods from their shops were safely stored so the owners could someday reclaim them. After all, he said, standing amid the spooky ruins, Kosovska Mitrovica is a city "where people of mixed ethnicity lived in peace."

<P> The Yugoslav government's official line is that ethnic Albanians have fled Kosovo because of NATO bombs, not ethnic cleansing. It offers no explanation for why Serbs didn't flee, too.

<P> Serb turf is clearly marked. Serb homes and businesses are marked with the Serb cross to warn off looters and burners.

<P> Walls are scribbled with militant Serb graffiti. "Serbia - all the way to Tirana" (the capital of neighboring Albania) is the battle cry scrawled on the wall of a building in Kosovo Polje.

<P> An army truck parked next to that slogan was covered with a white-and-blue tarp for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees.

<P> Serb soldiers are trying to fade into the civilian landscape to avoid the NATO missiles and bombs that rain down daily.

<P> They travel in delivery vans, in passenger buses, in little red compact cars, in bread trucks - in just about everything but military vehicles.

<P> They bivouac in civilian apartments, roadside restaurants, abandoned farmhouses. They have dotted the landscape with decoys - plastic SAM missile launchers, tanks disguised as haystacks, haystacks disguised as tanks. There are even rumors of a vinyl bridge.

<P> Despite what NATO says, the soldiers have a confident air.

<P> They have pushed back and fragmented the outgunned KLA - and the purges have cleared Kosovo of potential sympathizers and recruits.

<P> The mathematics of Kosovo are a mystery. The Yugoslav government says 800,000 ethnic Albanians lived there before the war. The internationally accepted figure is about 1.8 million.

<P> If more than 830,000 have fled, as the United Nations says, by Serb math there's now actually a deficit of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo. But by U.N. math, hundreds of thousands are still somewhere in the province.

<P> Where? Some may be hiding in the hills, as U.N. officials suspect. Some are still visibly around, especially in the cities.

<P> But it turns out, there are also thousands in a camp not far from Podujevo that the U.N. team stumbled on.

<P> It is not clear how many people have been herded into the two villages, Sajkovac and Svetle, but the refugees themselves put the number at 20,000 to 30,000. It is also unclear how many other enclaves exist. Serb officials will not say.

<P> People in Sajkovac and Svetle tell the same stories as their refugee compatriots do in Albania and Macedonia. Police ran them out, burning their homes behind them.

<P> The puzzling part is why they were forced to stay in Kosovo when so many others were forced to leave.

<P> Traveling the lonely roads of Kosovo, you sometimes encounter a tractor pulling a wagon of people, or a file of ethnic Albanians trudging along. They are not heading for the borders, though. Police have turned them back at the frontiers and train stations.

<P> Like a perverse game of ping-pong, the police are bouncing people around inside Kosovo. Border crossings have opened and closed like spigots.

<P> Just 100 yards from Macedonia, at a gigantic cement plant at the town of Djeneral Jankovic, thousands of vehicles - car, tractors, wagons - stand abandoned, covered in white dust. They are crammed with belongings: bedding, cradles, clothes.

<P> Their owners were stopped at the border and held in the desolate spot for days. When they were allowed to cross, they had to leave behind everything they couldn't carry.

<P> A lot has been left behind in Kosovo.

<P> Visit the mosque in Kacanik and you will find four old men - the three Caca brothers and their neighbor.

<P> Two of the brothers are amputees; they couldn't run. The neighbor was left behind because there wasn't room in the family car. The third brother, Imer, could have left, but didn't. "I had to take care of my brothers," he said.

<P> Open the door of a vandalized Albanian apartment in Kacanik and you will find more that was left behind: a family photo album. Open the album and see how life once was. A bride on her father's arm, a vacation abroad, a plump new baby, a family outing, grandparents in tow.

<P> Ordinary times now lost.

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<P>Philadelphia Inquirer

May 27, 1999

<P>At Dix, Older Refugees Fret

<I><P>They worry of being a burden on their children, who face a daunting task themselves.

</I><P>By Leonard N. Fleming, Inquirer Staff Writer

<P> FORT DIX - Xhemal Sahitolli, 75 and frail, just finished praying with other Kosovar Albanian refugees, asking for safe passage back to Kosovo. The act brought relief to his weather-worn face.

<P> However, Sahitolli has other worries. He knows his 50-year-old son, who is disabled and has four children, will have a difficult time caring for him. With an unknown future awaiting them in America, the thought terrifies him.

<P> "It's going to be very difficult," Sahitolli, hardly able to keep himself upright with a cane, uttered softly through an interpreter.

<P> With a pained look, he added, "We're going to have to rely on the government to help us."

<P> It is woven into the cultural fabric of the refugees that children care for their parents no matter what. But here in the United States - where their lives are starting without jobs and without homes - it will be a difficult challenge as their children search mightily or work to provide for the whole family.

<P> As refugees are processed and slowly trickle out of Fort Dix for transition into a foreign land, the elderly among them are beginning to see that returning to Kosovo may be delayed indefinitely.

<P> That reality, some say, could create a sense of isolation as their younger relatives adapt more quickly to life and a new language here.

<P> "It is much easier to make a transition, to learn the language, to work and find a good job when you are younger than when you are older," said John Fredriksson, associate director of the Immigration and Refugee Services of America.

<P> Fredriksson, who is part of a nongovernmental agency helping more than 3,000 Kosovar refugees ease into American life, said elderly immigrants, particularly those who have been forcibly uprooted, can be susceptible to isolation and sadness.

<P> Many of the elderly also suffer from ailments such as diabetes and heart problems, leaving them in no shape to stand very long, let alone work. Years of stress involving the Serbs seem to have taken its toll.

<P> There are those like Tahir Berisha, 67, and his 64-year-old wife, Emine, who are fearful that they will become a burden to their children because they are too old to find work. Tahir was a factory worker in Kosovo.

<P> "It's going to be hard because my son has children," he said, looking haggard in his suit jacket.

<P> Life for the Berishas is much smoother now. They sleep easy and eat well at Fort Dix. They fear, however, that once their son becomes comfortable in America, he will not want to return with them to Kosovo and will forget about them.

<P> "Yeah, I'm scared about that," Tahir Berisha said. "But we will go back."

<P> For now, many of the elderly refugees spend their days puffing on cigar

ettes and watching children kick soccer balls around. It is easy to spot them in the shade. Many gather around picnic tables, talking mostly about their vision of returning to a free and liberated Kosovo.

<P> The men, even in the heat, wear dark suit jackets, vests and ties. The women stay close to their sides with scarves covering their heads.

<P> Although they say they are grateful to America, the Berishas and other older refugees say they will never be truly happy until they return to Kosovo.

<P> Gani Klokoqi, 61, said he did not think it would be hard to mesh with Americans. He will be depending on his children to help support him.

<P> "I'm an old-timer now," Klokoqi said. "Maybe I'm going to die here. My big scare is that I would never go back to Kosovo."

<P> Klokoqi, who is retired, foresees his son struggling to find a job to support the whole family. But Fredriksson and others say there are programs to help elderly refugees and their children make ends meet.

<P> The ethnic Albanians are eligible for social services such as welfare and Medicaid. Refugees were protected from the recent welfare cuts, Fredriksson said.

<P> For the first eight months, the government office in charge of refugee resettlement picks up the cost. If the refugees still need help, they could seek welfare assistance.

<P> Others, such as Sahitolli, are not so fortunate. Using his cane for balance on a hot day during which he wore a dark suit, a vest and a sweatshirt, he told how his son's hips deteriorated because of a disease. That will probably keep him from finding a good job, he surmised.

<P> As with many of the other refugees, Sahitolli and his family came here with barely the clothes on their backs. The long-retired farmer said he and his family were given two hours to leave or be killed by masked Serbs. The memory brought tears to his eyes.

<P> He said he believes America will come through for them. "Everybody has been so nice to us," he said. "I don't think it would be that hard to adjust to life here."