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<center><H1>July 13, 1999</H1></center>

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

Title

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Title

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<H3>TOP STORIES</H3>

Taiwan President Implies His Island I
s Sovereign State

(New York Times)....Seth Faison

Taiwan has abandoned the political formula that has long helped avert war with
China, declaring Monday that it will no longer adhere to the principle that th
e Chinese mainland and Taiwan are two parts of the same country.

<p>

S. Korea Tries Brandishing Stick At Intr
ansigent North

(Los Angeles Times)....Sonni Efron

In an interview published Monday, South Korea's foreign minister announced tha
t if North Korea goes ahead with its threatened launch of another ballistic mis
sile, Seoul will cut off trade, tourism and all but essential humanitarian aid.

<p>

Marines Get New Marching Orders From Co
mmandant

(Washington Times)....Rowan Scarborough

The new Marine commandant is out to make a quick imprint on the 173,000 "leath
erneck" he commands, telling his generals he wants less alcohol consumption by
the troops and more bonding at base officers' clubs.

<H3>PENTAGON</H3>

Military Adjusts To 'Don't Ask, Don't
Tell'

(Christian Science Monitor)....Dave Moniz

...Five years after the policy was enacted, there is growing evidence that sex
ual orientation is not the incendiary issue it once was for men and women in un
iform.

<p>

U.S. Cancels Jet-Fuel Order Meant For K
osovo Air War

(Wall Street Journal)....Dow Newswires

The U.S. military canceled tenders to buy 58.6 million gallons, or 1.4 million
barrels of jet fuel to support the air war against Serbia.

<H3>MARINE CORPS</H3>

**The Corps Of His Ambition

(Washington Post)....Bradley Graham

...Still, in laying out his agenda as commandant, Jones focused not on his politicking but on the high priority he said he intends to give the "operating forces"--those Marines who actually hit the beach and fight.**

<H3>NAVY</H3>

**U.S. Carrier Battle Group Shows The Flag In Korea

(Baltimore Sun)....Unattributed

The United States displayed its naval muscle in South Korea yesterday when a battle group sailed into a southwestern port amid rising tensions on the Korean peninsula.**

<H3>AIR FORCE</H3>

**Panel's Vote On Funds Imperils New Jet Fighter

(Washington Post)....Eric Pianin and Bradley Graham

A House subcommittee yesterday threw into jeopardy the Air Force's most desired new weapon, the F-22 jet fighter, voting to cut \$3 billion that had been requested to produce the first six planes.**

<H3>CONGRESS</H3>

**Holum On Hold

(Washington Times)....John McCaslin

...However, an unidentified senator or perhaps several have used their privilege to block Mr. Holum's nomination from reaching the floor.**

<H3>NATO</H3>

**I Balkan Command Eyed

(European Stars And Stripes)....Gregory Piatt

NATO's 19 ambassadors are considering whether to develop a single command in the Balkans that would be responsible for the peacekeeping missions in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo, an alliance spokesman said.**

<H3>BALKANS</H3>

**Cohen Outlines Kosovo Position

(Washington Times)....John Diamond, Associated Press

NATO peacekeepers will fight back when challenged in Kosovo, Defense Secretary William S. Cohen said yesterday, but will remain strictly neutral toward the ethnic Serbian and Albanian populations.**

**<p>
The Dangerous Choice To Dissent In Se**

rbia

(Christian Science Monitor)....Alex Todorovic

...Serbia's postwar opposition movement is pressing forward despite such obstacles at every turn. Police harassment, phone taps, intimidation, threats, arrests, "informative talks," and people being laid off are daily occurrences.

<p>

Montenegro May Become Next Balkan Flashpoint

(Wall Street Journal)....James M. Dorsey

This tiny mountain republic, Serbia's junior partner in the Yugoslav federation, could become the next Balkan flashpoint as it moves toward independence.

<p>

No Welcome Sign For Russian Forces

(Los Angeles Times)....John Daniszewski

If there is a single message that most people in this quiescent town of old Turkish-style homes in southern Kosovo wish to convey to the world, it is this: Russians, stay out.

<p>

Kosovo Damage Called Less Than First Related

(Philadelphia Inquirer)....Martin Crutsinger, Associated Press

The first World Bank team to assess reconstruction needs in Kosovo found significantly less damage to homes, power plants and roads than earlier thought.

<p>

Milosevic's Foes Storm Town Hall In Serbia

(Washington Post)....Unattributed

Anti-government protesters led by a maverick local artist stormed the town hall in Valjevo in western Serbia yesterday.

<p>

Bosnian Serb Pleads Not Guilty To War Crimes

(Washington Post)....Unattributed

A former Bosnian Serb cabinet minister pleaded not guilty to orchestrating an ethnic purge that drove 100,000 non-Serbs from northwestern Bosnia in 1992 and left hundreds of others dead.

<p>

Broker Of Kosovo Peace Sees Milosevic Ouster As Unlikely

(International Herald Tribune)....Alan Friedman and Nick Mackie

President Martti Ahtisaari of Finland, who helped broker the deal last month that ended the war in the Kosovo, said he did not believe a civil or military uprising against President Slobodan Milosevic was likely soon.

<p>

'Slobovision' Is Good News For Milosevic

(USA Today)....Jack Kelley

Yugoslavia's state-run RTS news service, nicknamed "Slobovision" by residents, is working overtime trying to quell public discontent with President Slobodan Milosevic.

<H3>BALKANS--REFUGEES</H3>

Stay Or Go -- An Agonizing Choice<

BR>

(Washington Post)....William Branigin

...It is a dilemma shared by many of the 9,700 other Kosovo refugees in the United States, who must now decide whether to accept permanent resettlement here or return to Kosovo to reconstruct their homes and businesses.

<p>

Kosovar Refugees Say Goodbye To Fort Dix

(New York Times)....Diana Jean Schemo

...By Friday, just 50 Kosovars will remain at Fort Dix, which turned itself virtually overnight into a reception center for refugees from the overcrowded camps in Macedonia.

<H3>ASIA</H3>

Pakistan Aims To 'Avoid Nuclear War'

(Washington Post)....Pamela Constable

A somber and visibly tense Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said tonight that he was "trying to avoid a nuclear war" by asking Islamic militant groups to withdraw from the mountains of Indian Kashmir, where they have been battling Indian troops for seven weeks.

<p>

India Holds Fire In Kashmir As Enemy Forces Pull Out

(New York Times)....Celia Dugger

India announced Monday that it has suspended a six-week military campaign against Pakistan-based fighters who had occupied Himalayan peaks in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir.

<p>

Kashmir Cools As Pakistani Pullout Causes India To Call Off Airstrikes

(Wall Street Journal)....Jonathan Karp

India silenced most of its guns and called off airstrikes in the Himalayan region of Kashmir after Pakistan accepted a Friday deadline for withdrawing all Pakistan-based forces from Indian territory.

<p>

Shelling Of New Delhi's Units In Kashmir Rents Cease-Fire

(Washington Times)....Neelesh Misra, Associated Press

Pakistan bombarded an Indian highway in Kashmir last night, unleashing a ferocious barrage of artillery and anti-aircraft fire a day after agreeing with India to stop shooting so Islamic fighters could withdraw.

<p>

PLA To Focus On Hi-Tech Training

>

(South China Morning Post)....Agence France-Presse

PLA officers are to get training courses which will enable the army to win any hi-tech regional conflict, official media reported yesterday.

<H3>TERRORISM</H3>

U.S. Says It Has Fingerprints Of Embassy Bombing Suspects

(New York Times)....David Rohde

Federal prosecutors said Monday that the fingerprints of two Egyptian associates of Osama bin Laden have been found on statements taking responsibility for bombings attacks against two U.S. embassies in Africa last August.

<H3>ESPIONAGE</H3>

Los Alamos Suspect Might Face Lesser Charge In Espionage Case

(Washington Times)....Bill Gertz

A Los Alamos computer scientist accused of leaking nuclear weapons secrets to China could avoid espionage charges and face prosecution under a computer crime statute, according to Clinton administration officials.

<H3>OPINION</H3>

Milosevic Is Still In Control

(Wall Street Journal Europe)....Branislav Milosevic

...Coming so close after Yugoslavia's defeat in Kosovo, and given the insistence of Western leaders that Milosevic must step down, the demonstrations have been interpreted world-wide as a sign that we've indeed started some sort of countdown.

<p>

Kosovo: Joint Chiefs Chairman Disagrees - (Letter)

(Christian Science Monitor)....Henry H. Shelton

...No knowledgeable Pentagon official would postulate that the considerable damage inflicted on Serb military and special police units in Kosovo compelled Milosevic to accept NATO's conditions to end the bombing.

<H3>EDITORIAL</H3>

A Line In The Sand?

(Asian Wall Street Journal)....Editorial

Was South Korean Foreign Minister Hong Soon-young drawing a line in the sand Monday when he said that if North Korea test-fires another ballistic missile, Seoul, Washington and Japan will cut off virtually all aid to the North?

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<P>New York Times

July 13, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Taiwan President Implies His Island Is Sovereign State</P>

<P>By Seth Faison</P>

<P> BEIJING -- Taiwan has abandoned the political formula that has long helped avert war with China, declaring Monday that it will no longer adhere to the principle that the Chinese mainland and Taiwan are two parts of the same country. Beijing's response was immediate, and furious. </P>

<P> The shift, surprising and sudden, risks badly souring Taiwan's relations with China and also could worsen the strains in the already troubled ties between China and the United States. </P>

<P> Led by President Lee Teng-hui, Taiwan's government is essentially taking a step away from the conceptual umbrella of inevitable reunification between China and Taiwan that has been a basic condition of all talks between them. </P>

<P> For decades, the deliberate ambiguity known as the "one China" policy allowed Beijing and Taipei to maintain the fiction that each was the legitimate ruler of the other. </P>

<P> Since President Nixon's visit to China in 1972, it has also been a cornerstone of U.S.-China relations, allowing Washington to support Taiwan but recognize Beijing as the capital of China. </P>

<P> In the last decade, Beijing has watched warily as the arrival of democracy on Taiwan led to more open debate, with an opposition party that put Taiwan independence in its platform. Beijing warned all along that it would use force if Taiwan's government declared independence. </P>

<P> Now, by dropping the one-China formula, Lee -- Taiwan's first native-born president -- is moving a critical step in the direction of asserting Taiwan's independent status, while stopping short of an actual declaration. </P>

<P> In an interview over the weekend on German radio, Lee, an unpredictable politician whose provocative steps in 1996 brought Taiwan close to armed conflict with China and then delivered him a resounding victory in a presidential election, said that from now on, Taiwan would treat contacts with China as "state-to-state" relations. </P>

<P> "Under such special nation-to-nation relations," he said, "there is no longer any need to declare Taiwanese independence." </P>

<P> Lee's sudden turnaround on this diplomatically critical terminology provoked muted response in Taiwan at first, as other politicians debated what he meant while Lee himself maintained a conspicuous silence. </P>

<P> But Monday another senior Taiwanese official came forward to clarify what Lee's remarks meant: that Taiwan would scrap the one-China formula that has been used as a base for all discussions with the mainland. </P>

<P> "This new definition reflects our disappointment over the Communists' 'one-China' principle," said the official, Su Chi, chairman of Taiwan's Mainland Affairs Council. "We think the current abnormal relationship across the strait is the result of the Chinese Communists refusing to face reality." </P>

<P> The shift outraged officials in Beijing, who accused Lee of taking "an extremely dangerous step." </P>

<P> "We sternly warn Lee Teng-hui and the Taiwan authorities not to underestimate the Chinese government's firm determination to uphold national sovereignty, dignity and territorial integrity," said Zhu Bangzao, a Foreign Ministry spokesman. "Don't underestimate the courage and force of the Chinese people to oppose separatism and Taiwan independence." </P>

<P> There was no public indication for what prompted Lee's sudden change, though the timing suggested an obvious possibility: local politics. A presidential campaign is getting underway in Taiwan, and the stance of Lee's Nationalist Party toward the mainland will be a hot topic. </P>

<P> On Saturday, Taiwan's main opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party, nominated former Taipei mayor Chen Shui-bian as its candidate to succeed Lee, whose term expires next year. Nationalist Party supporters are expected to be split between Vice President Lien Chan, supported by Lee, and a popular former official, James Soong, who may defect to another party. </P>

<P> Although polls in Taiwan reflect popular support for better ties with the mainland, the Nationalist Party is eager to woo away some supporters from the Democratic Progressive Party, which favors a formal declaration of independence from China. </P>

<P> That single word, independence, lies at the crux of the bickering between Taiwan and China. </P>

<P> Although Taiwan and China have acted separately and independently of each other for 50 years, governments on each side have until now accepted the premise that they are both parts of the same country -- that Taiwan is a province

of China. </P>

<P> Meanwhile, other countries, forced to choose whether to recognize Beijing or Taipei as the legitimate representative of China, have by now nearly all chosen Beijing, leaving Taiwan diplomatically isolated. </P>

<P> Washington switched recognition from Taipei to Beijing in 1979. State Department spokesman James Foley said Monday that the American policy of "one China" remained unchanged. </P>

<P> "The U.S. position on Taiwan's future is also clear," Foley said. "We believe that it is a matter for the Chinese people, on both sides of the Taiwan Strait, to resolve. The United States has an abiding interest and concern that any such resolution be a peaceful one." </P>

<P> Later, a State Department official said the administration was "not consulted in advance" on Lee's statement. The official said the administration was still trying to find out from Taiwan officials what Lee had said in his radio interview and "what it means." </P>

<P> Beijing's view is that Taiwan is temporarily under the administration of another, while it awaits the forces of history to push it to reunification with the mainland. As a result, Beijing often seems obsessed with any hint that Taiwan will declare itself independent in name, as well as in reality. </P>

<P> It may sound bizarre to an outsider, but one of the meanest insults a Chinese official can use against Lee is that he is a "splitist," or someone who aims to split Taiwan away from China. </P>

<P> In recent years, while official bickering between China and Taiwan has veered between a high pitch and low pitch, the flow of money, people and culture across the Taiwan straits has boomed. </P>

<P> Taiwanese television programs are now regularly broadcast in the mainland, since they are often of higher quality. Taiwanese businessmen have invested more than \$30 billion in mainland China, and hundreds of thousands of them now live here. </P>

<P> But popular indifference to the oratorical fighting between Beijing and Taipei has not diluted the criticism that Beijing continues to spew about Lee. Monday's excoriations in Beijing were the harshest since 1996, when China was infuriated by Lee's political maneuvering that led to a visit to the United States, the first by a Taiwan president since Washington dropped diplomatic recognition two decades ago. </P>

<P> China launched missiles into the ocean near Taiwan in an attempt to intimidate voters just before the presidential election in Taiwan. Instead, the panic gave Lee a decisive victory. </P>

<P> Yet Beijing has continued to denounce Lee, depicted in China's media as a dishonest man who proclaims his interest in reunification while he is really inching back toward an all-out declaration of independence. </P>

<P> "Lee's flagrant redefinition of cross-straits relations as 'state-to-st

ate' relations exposed his political malice," said a spokesman for the Communist Party's Taiwan Work Office, quoted in Beijing newspapers Monday. "Lee has been deceiving Taiwanese compatriots and misleading people internationally." </P>

<P> China's top negotiator with Taiwan, Wang Daohan, said he was shocked by Lee's remarks. Taiwan's new position, Wang suggested, could make it impossible to continue the series of meetings between representatives of Taipei and Beijing that have been underway off-and-on since 1993. </P>

<P> "This formulation means there is no basis for contact, exchange or communication," said Wang in a dispatch by the New China News Agency. </P>

<P> Wang is scheduled to visit Taiwan in October; he would be the most senior mainland official to do so since the Nationalist Party retreated to the island in 1949 after losing a civil war to the Communist Party. </P>

<P> Tang Shubei, executive vice-president of China's Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Strait chimed in, too. He called Lee's remarks "a crude sabotage of the cross-straits relations." </P>

<P> "Statesmen should keep their word, and their failure to keep their promise will only cause disaster to the people of Taiwan," Tang said, the New China News Agency reported. </P>

<P> Though officials in Beijing chose vitriol, they might have pointed to the fine print of Taiwan's own Unification Guidelines, adopted in 1991 to identify steps toward unification between Taiwan and China. It calls for defining Taiwan's relations with China as those between 'equal political entities,' rather than 'state-to-state.' </P>

<P> Yesterday's terminology, apparently. </P>

<P> The Taiwan official, Su, argued that the old formula was being exploited by Beijing to undermine the legitimacy of the Nationalist Party. </P>

<P> "We have shown our goodwill by calling ourselves a political entity under a one-China policy," Su said. "But the Chinese Communists have used this policy to squeeze us internationally. We feel there is no need to continue using the one-China term." </P>

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<P>Los Angeles Times

July 13, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>S. Korea Tries Brandishing Stick At Intransigent North </P>

<I><P>Asia: Seoul's foreign minister warns that a threatene
d missile launch would lead to a cutoff of trade and tourism</I>.</P>
>

<P>By Sonni Efron, Times Staff Writer </P>

<P> SEOUL--What do you do when you're courting someone who accepts your pre
sents but then throws crockery at you and vilifies you in public--and rubs it i
n by demanding more gifts as proof of your good faith?</P>

<P> Keep the door open, but post a guard, say the frustrated South Koreans,
who are struggling once again to figure out what their intransigent northern n
eighbor really wants.</P>

<P> In an interview published Monday, South Korea's foreign minister announ
ced that if North Korea goes ahead with its threatened launch of another ballis
tic missile, Seoul will cut off trade, tourism and all but essential humanitari
an aid.</P>

<P> Hong Soon Young's warning was the toughest talk heard from Seoul since
President Kim Dae Jung took office 17 months ago, waving an olive branch at Nor
th Korea. But in the Munhwa Ilbo newspaper, the foreign minister stressed that
Kim's "sunshine policy" of engagement will continue "in a broader sense" even i
f the North does fire a missile, as the door to negotiation will remain open.</
P>

<P> Even before the latest diplomatic tension, relations between the two Ko
reas had stalemated in the wake of several setbacks: last month's deadly shooto
ut between the two countries' navies in the Yellow Sea; the North's refusal to
negotiate on reuniting separated families; the detention of a South Korean tour
ist; and a report last week that North Korea is building a large new missile ba
se near the Chinese border.</P>

<P> "Although we never announced it officially, our policy toward North Kor
ea has become tougher after the Yellow Sea skirmishes," Hong said. "Public opin
ion demanded this."</P>

<P> The North's unwillingness to return Kim Dae Jung's overtures has put th
e president in an increasingly awkward position as his campaign of sending food

, fertilizer, tourists, businesspeople and cultural and religious delegations to the hermetic North has yielded no tangible results. Another missile test could doom hopes that the two Koreas could at least be reconciled, if not reunified, sometime soon.

South Korea's suspicion and frustration appear to be magnified north of the 38th parallel, which remains the most heavily armed border in the world.

The North Korean government views the sunshine policy as a Trojan horse with which the U.S. and South Korea hope to infiltrate and subvert North Korea. It considers the "carrot and stick" approach now being touted by many South Korean and U.S. hard-liners as a means to control North Korea to be as deeply demeaning as that animal-taming expression implies.

And the leadership in Pyongyang, the North Korean capital, views the humanitarian aid sent to the hungry North less as a symbol of foreign goodwill or humanitarianism than as booty that "Dear Leader" Kim Jong Il has wrested from the foreigners in a kind of "judo diplomacy," according to a U.S. aid worker.

The food, fertilizer and other aid "are prizes that Kim Jong Il has won from an opponent who is much bigger and stronger, but still dumb," the aid worker said.

Moreover, North Korea's official rhetoric, at least, does not appear to be drawing any closer to South Korea's world view.

Lately, North Korean propaganda has blared that South Korea and the U.S. are planning a Kosovo-style invasion of the North. Pyongyang viewed President Kim Dae Jung's visit to Washington earlier this month as evidence that its two enemies are conspiring to finalize their attack plans.

However paranoid that may sound to Westerners, the isolated leadership in Pyongyang is deeply worried by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's Yugoslavia precedent: legitimizing the use of force against a sovereign nation that is committing crimes against humanity. North Korea fears that the West could try to use human rights abuses by Kim Jong Il as an excuse to try to oust him, a U.S.-based North Korea expert said.

"Whatever we've said against [Yugoslav President Slobodan] Milosevic, they know that a case 10 times as strong can be made against Kim Jong Il," the source said. South Korean intelligence agencies have for years been compiling a dossier against the North Korean leadership that includes allegations of kidnapping, torture, murder, state-sponsored terrorism and drug-smuggling, not to mention a food policy that has allowed populations in certain areas of the country to starve to death.

"You could make a case against North Korea that would make Libya pale by comparison," the source said.

But in a sign of how far South Korea has already come since the Cold War, not even the hard-line conservatives who view Kim Dae Jung's engagement policy as naive and dangerous appeasement suggest trying to indict Kim Jong Il.

<P> The South Korean public is overwhelmingly in favor of dialogue, trade, some aid and nongovernmental exchanges, although there is growing sentiment that the Kim Dae Jung government has been hasty to give but gotten nothing back from the North.</P>

<P> There is no way to measure whether the visits of 7,400 South Koreans have done anything to bridge the chasm that opened up with partition of the peninsula in 1945. The impoverished Communist North remains ideologically committed to liberating its southern brethren from the domination of U.S. imperialists; and the ardently capitalist South is hard at work liberating itself from the economic stewardship of the International Monetary Fund.</P>

<P> Most foreign visitors to the North continue to get the blinker tour, yet some insist that there are changes.</P>

<P> "We already have evidence that in areas where foreigners have access, that the [prison] camps disappear," an expert said.</P>

<P> Kim came into office assuming that it would take a year or so to persuade the North of his good intentions, sources said. But as time passes and the key parliamentary elections scheduled for April 2000 draw closer, the South Korean president becomes more vulnerable to charges from critics that he is engaged in a naive and futile policy of appeasement.</P>

<P> "[Kim] was very confident to have a rapid response from the North, and that response has not yet come," said Kim Suk Woo, a former vice minister of unification. "Therefore, he is fighting time at the moment, and he is kind of nervous."</P>

<P> Others argue that while the sunshine policy is sound, Kim Dae Jung's government has blundered by seeming overeager to have progress in North-South relations.</P>

<P> "This gives them a great advantage because now they know that by sabotaging the sunshine policy they can blackmail us to obtain things they need," said a South Korean academic. Like most scholars, aid workers and government and former government officials who have direct knowledge of or contacts with the North, the source declined to be named.</P>

<P> The ideological rationale for Kim Jong Il's harsh regime is that North Korea is a siege state surrounded by hostile forces and requiring absolute loyalty and sacrifice from the population as a condition of survival. Thus, even while the hungry and cash-strapped state begged for South Korean fertilizer, it sent a rust-bucket armada into disputed waters of the Yellow Sea and allegedly fired first.</P>

<P> "They need an enemy," the academic said with a sigh. "We have to be good friends, supplying them with everything they need, and we have to be a good enemy to them at the same time."</P>

<P> Recent visitors to North Korea have been told that about 40 Northern sailors were killed and 50 injured in the shootout, a figure that, if true, is high.

gher than any previous estimates. The incident led to the collapse of talks over reuniting separated families--the issue that South Koreans care about most.</P>

<P> Even if the North Koreans do launch another missile, South Korea will urge the U.S. and Japan to not renege on a 1994 deal to build two light-water reactors for the North in exchange for Pyongyang's agreeing to shelve its nuclear weapons program. The South Koreans warn that the North could resume plutonium production within a few months if the deal falls through.</P>

<P> The three countries have been warning North Korea to desist--but that may only backfire, because the regime's very legitimacy derives from its willingness to stand up to the "big powers" that have pushed around and partitioned the "fatherland," a North Korea scholar said. The greater the foreign pressure, the more Kim Jong Il will be forced to launch another missile.</P>

<P> "If it comes to a direct threat--'You fire this missile, and we're going to do something bad to you'--they are almost obligated to do so," the scholar said.</P>

<P> Sen. Robert Torricelli (D-N.J.) told reporters in Beijing on Monday that he was "discouraged" after talks on missiles with North Korean Vice Foreign Minister Kim Gye Gwan.</P>

<P> "My impression is that beyond defending their right to engage in these tests, I believe they have the intention of doing so," he said.</P>

<P> Kim Dae Jung has said he believes there is a 50-50 chance that the North will go ahead with the launch.</P>

<P> How to respond? The experts are still scratching their heads.</P>

<P> "There are two ways to go with these guys," a U.S. official said. "Either you buy them off, or you're willing to play chicken with them. You have to pick one or the other, and unfortunately, we haven't been willing to pick. . . . That's been our problem."</P>

<P> Engagement is the only answer--the alternative being war, South Koreans argue. Foreign Minister Hong said that if war broke out, North Korea would collapse, but a quarter of Seoul's population--3 million of its 12 million people--would probably be killed. "What unification policy would be worth such a sacrifice?" he asked.</P>

<P> Thus engagement must be pursued, the South Korean academic said.</P>

<P> "What we need is good strategic thinking on how to make it work," he said, adding with another sigh: "There are 100 ways of influencing the North Koreans. We have all the cards we need, but we are not using them somehow."</P>

<I><P>Chi Jung Nam of The Times' Seoul Bureau contributed to this report.</P></I>

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<P>Washington Times

July 13, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Marines Get New Marching Orders From Commandant</P>

<P>By Rowan Scarborough, The Washington Times</P>

<P> The new Marine commandant is out to make a quick imprint on the 173,000 "leathernecks" he commands, telling his generals he wants less alcohol consumption by the troops and more bonding at base officers' clubs.</P>

<P> Gen. James Jones, who took command June 30, also wants to get rid of some programs, such as selection boards for military schools, and fix the reconnaissance community, which he views as "broken."</P>

<P> At the same time, he plans to create a newsletter for generals and seniors or civilians to keep them abreast of the Gen. Jones-led Marines.</P>

<P> The four-star general's initial "to do" list is contained in notes circulating at Marine headquarters from his first meeting with his generals, who were in town for his June 30 swearing-in.</P>

<P> The notes, a copy of which was obtained by The Washington Times, provide a snapshot of an activist commandant preparing to make changes in the prestigious service he inherited from Gen. Charles Krulak. Gen. Jones sees problems in officer retention, information flow and alcohol -- the latter a pet peeve of Gen. Krulak's.</P>

<P> "If you're going to be a commanding general anywhere in the military, you have to do things quickly, you have to put your mark on the outfit right away," said retired Lt. Gen. Charles Cooper, who commanded Gen. Jones in the early 1970s at the Marine Barracks in Washington.</P>

<P> "You've got to do it in the first year and spend the next three years i

implementing and consolidating," he said. "Every Marine wants to hear what you're going to do."

Marine commandants typically get a wide path in which to operate, in contrast with the chiefs of the Air Force, Army and Navy, who are more closely watched by civilian service secretaries. In addition, Gen. Jones just finished serving as Defense Secretary William S. Cohen's chief military assistant, a post that bonded even deeper a friendship dating back to Mr. Cohen's Senate days.

Taken together, the circumstances likely mean that what Gen. Jones is thinking today he will get done tomorrow.

Gen. Jones' early focus will be on pumping up the morale of junior officers.

"[The commandant] is concerned about junior officers' views and attitudes towards senior officers," the notes state. "He is concerned that junior officers do not aspire to senior positions because they see it as a burden that they don't want to assume. They see what their bosses are doing and have concluded that they are not doing rewarding work. He wants to ensure that junior officers aspire to senior leadership roles."

The notes say Gen. Jones also:

Dislikes use of the word "dependent" to describe the spouse of Marines. The Marines view spouses as "co-equals." Gen. Jones says they should be allowed to travel with their Marine husband or wife when sent away on temporary assignments.

"Wants more bonding between junior and senior officers. He wants the [officers' club] to serve as a focal point for this."

Will rid the Marines of a "zero defect mentality" that often results in shortened careers because of one mistake. "Be willing to accept mistakes and move on."

Will create a "war room" at Marine headquarters in the Pentagon to prepare for annual "battles" within the Pentagon on shares of a \$260 billion budget. "He wants it to handle issues so they don't bubble up to the [commandant]."

Believes too many infantrymen are dropping out. "We are dismissing two regiments of Marines per year before the end of their enlistments. Alcohol is the big problem."

Brig. Gen. Bill Whitlow, the Corps' chief spokesman, said Gen. Jones also plans a change in titles: His four, three-star deputy chiefs of staff will be known as deputy commandants.

Although the topic of mixed-sex training did not come up at the July 1 session, Gen. Whitlow said the commandant intends to keep the Corps as the only service that trains men and women recruits separately.

<P> "He doesn't seem to have any inclination at all to change," he said. "I have to tell you, it's working for us. . . . He has, in word and body language, endorsed the Marines the way it's going."</P>

<P> Gen. Cooper said that when then-Capt. Jones left the states in 1973 to join the Third Marine Division in Japan, he advised the officer to request command of the division's worst rifle company.</P>

<P> "He did that and he got it and it was the worst and he made it into the best," Gen. Cooper said.</P>

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<P>Christian Science Monitor

July 13, 1999

Pg. 2</P>

<P>Military Adjusts To 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell'</P>

<I><P>In six years, views have softened toward homosexuality, but some still report bias.</P>

</I><P>By Dave Moniz, Special to The Christian Science Monitor</P>

<P> COLUMBIA, S.C. -- Six years ago, a new commander-in-chief went toe to toe with his top generals, battling them over the Pentagon's long-standing ban on homosexuals.</P>

<P> What emerged from that tense boardroom battle was "don't ask, don't tell," a compromise designed to let gays serve in the armed forces if they kept quiet about their sexual orientation.</P>

<P> Five years after the policy was enacted, there is growing evidence that sexual orientation is not the incendiary issue it once was for men and women in uniform. Citing an end to "witch hunts" for homosexuals and a new era of tolerance.

rance, military services believe the policy works.</P>

<P> "We're more tolerant of folks and different beliefs," says Col. Robert Swann, chief legal officer at the Fort Jackson, S.C., military base. "All that the 'don't ask, don't tell' policy did was codify our beliefs."</P>

<P> Indeed, the softer attitude toward homosexuality extends into the rank and file at Fort Jackson. At a dining hall here, Sgt. 1st Class James Ruesch says it doesn't bother him if someone is homosexual "if they do their job. [But] if you start acting out, it's a problem," adds the infantry soldier, who has spent 14 years in the Army. Referring to private conduct, he shrugs his shoulders: "To each his own."</P>

<P> Polls show this more laid-back attitude is gaining ground in military barracks nationwide, suggesting that fewer troops than ever care about a comrade's sexual orientation.</P>

<P>Broader acceptance</P>

<P> Six years ago, as the "don't ask, don't tell" policy was being created, sociologists Laura Miller and Charles Moskos reported that 77 percent of Army men and 34 percent of Army women opposed or strongly opposed gays in the military. In August 1998, Mr. Moskos and Ms. Miller found the percentage had dropped to 52 percent among men and 25 percent among women.</P>

<P> The shift mirrors a broader acceptance of homosexuality in the US as a whole. A poll by Yankelovich Partners Inc. shows that the number of Americans who don't want homosexuals as friends dropped from 40 percent in 1994 to 37 percent in 1998. Young adults, who are much more likely to have gay friends, are more accepting of gay issues. It is this generation that is joining the military ranks.</P>

<P> But many inside and outside the military still see signs that all is not well between gay service members and their employer. They cite rising numbers of people being discharged under "don't ask, don't tell." According to Defense Department figures, 1,145 people left under the policy in 1998, up from 997 in 1997.</P>

<P> Military officials believe the overwhelming majority of discharge cases now involve those who volunteer their sexual orientation to commanders, often as a way to leave the service.</P>

<P> Moskos, one of the nation's foremost authorities on military sociology, suspects that in an era when all the services are suffering personnel woes, a substantial percentage of young military recruits may come forward because they decide a soldier's life is not for them. "I think it is an easy way to get out," he says. "People are outing themselves."</P>

<P> Gen. Lloyd Newton, who oversees Air Force training, agrees. His service has seen a skyrocketing number of discharges in basic training recently. "They learn, if I step up and say, 'I'm homosexual,' we don't ask anymore questions," he says.</P>

<P> At Fort Jackson, a sprawling base that trains nearly 40,000 recruits a

year, comparatively small numbers are discharged under "don't ask, don't tell."
In 1998, 36 soldiers - all but one a recruit - left the Army under the policy.

Colonel Swann says all 36 cases involved soldiers who voluntarily told commanders they were gay. Eighty percent of the discharges were recruits who revealed their sexual orientation within a week of arriving on base.

Discrimination persists

But gay-advocacy groups, including the Service members Legal Defense Network (SLDN), say discrimination is still a big problem, even though attitudes have softened. They speculate that a cloistered, secret life - added to the normal stresses of military service - could account for why more service people are being discharged under the "don't ask, don't tell" policy.

"Overwhelmingly, antigay harassment is driving people out," says Michel le Benecke, co-director of SLDN, highlighting points made in the group's recent report criticizing the Pentagon. "Having been a commander, [I've seen that] so much depends on unit climate. Unfortunately, in most units, bigots have a free hand."

One Army officer who didn't want to be identified characterizes the climate today as better, but not perfect.

Although open criticism of gay lifestyles has largely disappeared, he says, it's still common "to hear gay jokes at the mess hall all the time."

Battalion commander Lt. Col. Kelly Kruger, a West Point graduate who's been around the world in the Army, believes the military is changing from many of the old stereotypes and caricatures. He notices few gay jokes and no general disdain for gays or lesbians in the ranks.

Still, Lieutenant Colonel Kruger doesn't agree with the views of his young soldiers and is uncomfortable with the homosexual lifestyle. He espouses the traditional military view that homosexuality is incompatible with the barracks living and wartime pressures of military service: "We find it an unacceptable trait."

[e19990713jetfuel.htm](http://ebird.dtic.mil/Jul1999/e19990713jetfuel.htm)

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<P>Wall Street Journal

July 13, 1999

Pg. B9B</P>

<P>U.S. Cancels Jet-Fuel Order Meant For Kosovo Air War</P>

<P>By Dow Newswires</P>

<P>Washington--The U.S. military canceled tenders to buy 58.6 million gallons, or 1.4 million barrels of jet fuel to support the air war against Serbia.</P>

<P>"We found that, when things started to cool down in the Kosovo conflict, we had solicited more fuel than we needed," said the spokeswoman for the Defense Department's Defense Energy Support Center, which buys fuel for the military.</P>>

<P>The center canceled supplemental solicitations for 37.6 million gallons of JP8-grade jet fuel in a tender issued April 29 and 21 million gallons of JP8 jet fuel in a tender issued June 2. JP8 jet fuel is used by Air Force jets.</P>

<P>However, the center is proceeding with the purchase of about 10 million gallons, or 238,000 barrels, of F76-grade marine fuel for delivery to Italian ports solicited as part of the April 29 tender, the spokeswoman said.</P>

<P>The North Atlantic Treaty Organization's air campaign against Serbia added about 240,000 barrels a day, or 5%, to world jet-fuel demand from March 24 to June 10, according to the American Petroleum Institute.</P>

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<P>Washington Post

July 13, 1999

Pg. 17</P>

<P>The Corps Of His Ambition </P>

<I><P>New Marine Leader, Well Known on Hill, Lays Out Priorities</P>

</I><P>By Bradley Graham, Washington Post Staff Writer </P>

<P> It is not every general who gets asked by the secretary of defense what his final dream assignment would be.</P>

<P> But that's what happened to Gen. James L. Jones, who took over this month as commandant of the Marine Corps. The question was popped months ago, during Jones's 2 1/2-year stint as senior military aide to Defense Secretary William S. Cohen.</P>

<P> "When I was asked awhile back what I'd like to do at the end of my career--did I want to be a [regional commander] or a service chief, how did I look at things--my answer was that at the end of the day, if somebody would ask, I'd like to finish my days with the service I started with," Jones recalled during a recent lunch.</P>

<P> Cohen and Jones have known each other for 20 years. They met when Cohen was a Republican senator from Maine on the Senate Armed Services Committee, and Jones, a major, was just beginning a five-year stint representing Marine Corps interests on Capitol Hill. Jones was introduced to Cohen by John McCain, then a Navy captain, now a Republican senator from Arizona and a candidate for president.</P>

<P> Jones has many good friends on Capitol Hill. In fact, such longstanding political ties have given him a reputation as one of the best-connected officers in the Pentagon. It's a reputation that hasn't hurt in a Marine Corps so dependent on congressional support for keeping it from being stomped on by the Army, Navy or Air Force, all much larger services.</P>

<P> "We know that staying close with Congress is our traditional bread and butter," said Col. Gary Anderson, chief of staff of the Marine Corps Warfighting Lab. "One thing I think everybody likes about the general is that he has excellent relations on the Hill."</P>

<P> Still, in laying out his agenda as commandant, Jones focused not on his politicking but on the high priority he said he intends to give the "operating forces"--those Marines who actually hit the beach and fight. He is worried about budgeting trends that, he said, have bled these combat units to pay for expansion elsewhere--in larger headquarters structures, for instance.</P>

<P> "If people want to call me a political general, they can do that," Jones said. "But my heart is in the operating forces. I grew up there, I commanded there, I fought there, I've always believed that operating forces should not be the bill-payer for everyone else's good ideas."</P>

<P> This kind of let's-put-the-warfighter-first talk goes over well among Marines, even if no one can tell yet what non-operating units stand to lose.</P>

<P> "He's stuck his neck out on this one; this is not an idle comment," said Arnold Punaro, a two-star general in the Marine Corps reserves and a former Senate Armed Services Committee staff director. "Somebody is going to have to move from somewhere else."</P>

<P> Jones, 55, knows something about combat as well as politics. A Vietnam combat veteran with silver and bronze stars, he has held a string of command positions, from company up to division level.</P>

<P> Providing some glimpse of how he intends to lead, Jones has issued a 15-page "Commandant's Guidance," introducing his vision to the Corps. It is largely philosophical, with long passages on the importance of trust and cohesion and what it means to be a Marine. Missing is the kind of checklist of problems and specific timetable for taking action that his predecessor, Gen. Charles C. Krulak, drafted immediately after he took command four years ago.</P>

<P> But the tall, soft-spoken Jones is about as different from the diminutive, kinetic Krulak as two commandants could be. Krulak was rarely shy about speaking his mind, whether opposing mixed-gender training, blocking a loosening of rules against adultery prosecutions, or questioning NATO's air war against Yugoslavia. Jones is less likely to find himself publicly out of step with his fellow chiefs or at odds with the White House.</P>

<P> "He's not flamboyant; he's kind of almost a Gary Cooper type--strong, powerful, silent," said retired lieutenant general Bernard E. "Mick" Trainor. "Krulak tended to be hyperactive. This guy is much steadier, and I think he's going to be more cautious and more sensitive to the larger political and military environment outside the Marine Corps."</P>

<P> While he credits Krulak with strong leadership--including giving the Marine Corps a renewed sense of post-Cold War mission by stressing its role as a crisis-response force--Jones has quickly begun to signal a more flexible, participatory style of management. He wants to do away, for instance, with what he considers a tendency toward excessive rule-making, saying Marines can be trusted to do the right thing.</P>

<P> "Implicit in this philosophy is the conviction that we do not always need regulations that 'spell it out' for us in agonizing detail," he wrote in his new guidance.</P>

<P> He also invited greater initiative from the bottom up.</P>

<P> "In the past we relied excessively on top-to-bottom instruction, the old 'if the Marine Corps wanted you to. . . they would have. . . ' way of life," Jones wrote. "We cannot continue to operate with that mindset." Orders, he added, must "stop short of telling Marines exactly 'how' to accomplish the mission, step by excruciating step."</P>

<P> As a sign of how new approaches may be applied even to some of the older

st traditions, he declared an end to announced inspections.</P>

<P> "Instead," he asserted, "they should become no-notice operational readiness inspections that provide a candid--and thereby more accurate--assessment of a unit's performance, and also eliminate tedious inspection preparations that are costly in time and effort."</P>

<P> He also indicated changes are in store for the way Marines train.</P>

<P> "Regrettably, it appears that we often conduct training as we do because 'that is the way it has always been done,' " he wrote. "We cannot afford to continue in this manner."</P>

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<P>Baltimore Sun

July 12, 1999</P>

<P>U.S. Carrier Battle Group Shows The Flag In Korea </P>

<P> ABOARD USS CONSTELLATION, South Korea -- The United States displayed its naval muscle in South Korea yesterday when a battle group sailed into a southwestern port amid rising tensions on the Korean peninsula.</P>

<P> The battle group, led by the aircraft carrier USS Constellation, entered Pusan on a five-day visit, its first port of call since leaving San Diego last month on a routine six-month deployment.</P>

<P> The Constellation was already headed toward South Korea in mid-June when a clash broke out between North and South Korean navies in the Yellow Sea.</P>
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Washington Post

July 13, 1999

Pg. 4

Panel's Vote On Funds Imperils New Jet Fighter

By Eric Pianin and Bradley Graham, Washington Post Staff Writers

A House subcommittee yesterday threw into jeopardy the Air Force's most desired new weapon, the F-22 jet fighter, voting to cut \$3 billion that had been requested to produce the first six planes.

The action, which stunned Air Force generals, is likely to force a major debate in Congress over whether the United States can afford the F-22 -- in addition to two other new jet fighters in the works -- and still meet the challenge of enhancing defense readiness and training air crews.

Faced with tough spending choices, the defense appropriations subcommittee redirected \$1.8 billion in the fiscal 2000 spending bill to pay for more of the Air Force's current F-15 and F-16 fighters as well as tanker aircraft and incentives to keep pilots from leaving the military.

The remaining \$1.2 billion would go for research and development to keep the F-22 program alive while the Pentagon reassesses it. Rep. Jerry Lewis (R-Calif.), the subcommittee chairman, said the decision would merely ensure a "pause" in the F-22 program, but he left little doubt which way he was leaning.

"It's very likely the rethinking that this decision will pressure will cause the people within the [Defense] Department to say, 'Hey, this doesn't make sense, so what direction should we take?' " he said.

Rep. John P. Murtha (Pa.), the panel's ranking Democrat, supported the cut. "We think we have a package that's dramatic, that will change the direction of the Air Force, and we think we can sell this to the Senate," he said.

<P> The Senate version of the bill includes \$3 billion for F-22 production. But a senior staff member said there is enough ambivalence in the Senate to spell the fighter's demise if the full House moves to kill it.</P>

<P> The Air Force has promoted the plane as essential to maintain control of the skies. Eighteen years in the making, the aircraft is intended to succeed the F-15 and to serve as a technological test bed toward development of a less expensive, multi-service Joint Strike Fighter.</P>

<P> In a terse official reaction, the Air Force offered to work with the House members to address their concerns.</P>

<P> "It took us completely by surprise," said one senior officer. "It could have a huge impact."</P>

<P> The F-22 uses stealth technology to evade radar and can "supercruise" at Mach 1.5 -- one and a half times the speed of sound -- without fuel-guzzling afterburners. Its advanced cockpit displays would allow pilots to identify and attack enemy aircraft well beyond visual range.</P>

<P> But at an estimated \$187 million per plane, the F-22 also would be the most expensive fighter ever produced. Its price tag has more than doubled as a result of problems in developing its revolutionary airframe and advanced avionics.</P>

<P> In early 1997 the Pentagon decided to reduce the planned purchase of F-22s over the next two decades from 438 to 339 planes. Congress also moved to rein in the program, imposing caps of \$18.9 billion on development and \$43.4 billion on production. But costs have continued to grow.</P>

<P> Lewis said the F-22 made sense when the United States faced a Soviet superpower capable of developing ever more sophisticated aircraft. But, he said, other problems have become more pressing in the past decade, including difficulties retaining Air Force pilots and shortages in reconnaissance, refueling and transport aircraft.</P>

<P> The fiscal 2000 defense spending bill approved yesterday by the subcommittee totals \$266 billion. It provides for a 4.8 percent military pay raise. It allocates an additional \$453 million over the administration's request to boost stocks of spare parts. It also increases spending for equipment and weapons modernization programs by \$9 billion over the fiscal 1999 level.</P>

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<P>Washington Times

July 13, 1999</P>

<U><P>Inside the Beltway</P>

</U><P>Holum On Hold</P>

<P>By John McCaslin, The Washington Times</P>

<P> With all the attention given to Senate "holds" on Richard Holbrooke, the nominee for U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, another controversial nominee has been bottled up by Republicans.</P>

<P> John Holum, former director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and nominee to the new post of undersecretary of state for international security, was approved earlier this month by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.</P>

<P> However, an unidentified senator or perhaps several have used their privilege to block Mr. Holum's nomination from reaching the floor.</P>

<P> Mr. Holum is viewed by many as anti-missile defense. He told the Foreign Relations Committee on June 28 that missile defense should be based on threats, not its impact on arms treaties.</P>

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<P>European Stars And Stripes

July 13, 1999

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<P>1 Balkan Command Eyed</P>

<I><P>NATO idea would combine Bosnia and Kosovo forces</P>

</I><P>By Gregory Piatt, Staff writer</P>

<P> MONS, Belgium NATOs 19 ambassadors are considering whether to develop a single command in the Balkans that would be responsible for the peacekeeping missions in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo, an alliance spokesman said.</P>

<P> At a recent meeting the North Atlantic Council, the North Atlantic Treaty Organizations policy-making body of ambassadors, discussed doing just that, the spokesman said.</P>

<P> "This may be one of the lessons learned from Bosnia and Kosovo," the spokesman said.</P>

<P> Those lessons came in part after the Russians moved a contingent of 200 troops last month from Bosnias Stabilization Force peacekeeping mission to take part in the Kosovo Force peacekeeping mission.</P>

<P> "The NAC has been discussing the single command since the Russians took their troops from SFOR," the spokesman said. "Now other countries that are in SFOR, that want to be a part of KFOR, might want to move troops from one mission to the other. This is because they cant support both missions."
</P>

<P> British Maj. Gordon Welsh, an SFOR spokesman, said at a recent press briefing in Sarajevo that its up to the individual countries to contribute to SFOR or KFOR.</P>

<P> "If they wish to withdraw troops from SFOR and contribute them to KFOR, thats entirely a matter for them, its entirely a matter for the national government," Welsh said.</P>

<P> "Theres no command link between SFOR and KFOR."</P>

<P> A single command would make that easier, the NATO spokesman said. </P>

<P> But the NATO spokesman couldnt add details on the single command idea because it is in the early stages of discussion and no decisions have been made.
</P>

<P> NATOs consideration of a single command comes as it plans to reduce the size of the 31,000-troop peacekeeping force in Bosnia. The Bosnia force includes more than 6,000 U.S. troops.</P>

<P> "All we are talking about is resizing the troops to fit the mission," said a spokesman for the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe, NATO's military body based in Mons.</P>

<P> The SHAPE spokesman said U.S. Gen. Wesley K. Clark, the alliance's supreme allied commander Europe, told journalists in Sarajevo last week that SFOR troop strength could be reduced as the situation in Bosnia improves.</P>

<P> USA Today reported in its Monday edition that the Pentagon is considering cutting the U.S. contingent in Bosnia by one-third, to about 4,000 troops.</P>

<P> This is because troops are faced with the peacekeeping mission in Kosovo and its forward-deployed units in Europe are facing a decline in war-fighting skills, the article said.</P>

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<P>Washington Times

July 13, 1999

Pg. 15</P>

<P>Cohen Outlines Kosovo Position</P>

<I><P>Peacekeepers will be neutral, he says</P>

</I><P>By John Diamond, Associated Press</P>

<P> BUDAPEST -- NATO peacekeepers will fight back when challenged in Kosovo, Defense Secretary William S. Cohen said yesterday, but will remain strictly neutral toward the ethnic Serbian and Albanian populations.</P>

<P> Speaking two days after U.S. troops in Kosovo came under sniper fire in at least two separate incidents, Mr. Cohen predicted continuing unrest as Kosovo

var refugees return to their homes and uncover the details of atrocities committed by Serbian forces amid the NATO air campaign.</P>

<P> "The situation in Kosovo remains dangerous. It is likely to remain dangerous for some time to come by virtue of the tensions, the passions that are running very high," Mr. Cohen said in a joint news conference yesterday with Hungarian Defense Minister Janos Szabo.</P>

<P> Although the NATO air campaign was directed against the Serbian government in Yugoslavia and its harsh policies toward the Kosovo province, Mr. Cohen said that the allied peacekeepers must establish neutrality.</P>

<P> Allied leaders have become concerned by the wholesale flight of Serbs from Kosovo, a province in which they are in the minority. If the trend continues, the allied air campaign will have had the unintended consequence not of stopping ethnic cleansing but of reversing it as Kosovo refugees return and Serbs flee.</P>

<P> Referring to the Kosovo peacekeeping force, which stands at just under 30,000 and will reach nearly 60,000 sometime in early fall, Mr. Cohen said: "Kfor will remain neutral and balanced in its securing of the peace and maintaining good order throughout. But it's still a very dangerous environment and all of the forces there must be prepared to encounter that kind of danger."</P>

<P> Mr. Cohen was making his first visit to Budapest since Hungary joined NATO in March.</P>

<P> "I want to say how great it feels to be in an allied capital," Mr. Cohen said.</P>

<P> As he did in Denmark and Norway last week, two older NATO allies, Mr. Cohen emphasized the need for European alliance members to modernize and expand their defenses to avoid a repeat of the Kosovo air campaign in which U.S. planes flew a majority of the sorties.</P>

<P> "It's very important that Hungary continue in its efforts and its programs to reform its military, to revise its strategies, to modernize its forces in a way that will enhance interoperability with other NATO allies," Mr. Cohen said.</P>

<P> But Mr. Cohen's main message was to thank Hungary for its unequivocal support of the Yugoslav air campaign, which began only 12 days after Hungary formally joined the alliance. The presence of some 300,000 ethnic Hungarians in neighboring northern Yugoslavia meant that the policy question facing Budapest was much closer to home than in other NATO capitals.</P>

<P> Mr. Szabo described how the Hungarian government, beginning last fall, approved a series of measures opening Hungarian airspace to allied warplanes and, as the campaign began, to allow U.S. warplanes to fly out of Hungarian bases.</P>

<P> "Public opinion support of this campaign was quite good," Mr. Szabo said.</P>

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<P>Christian Science Monitor

July 13, 1999

Pg. 7</P>

<P>The Dangerous Choice To Dissent In Serbia</P>

<I><P>In their quest to unseat Milosevic, opposition member
s endure threats, harassment, phone taps.</P>

</I><P>By Alex Todorovic, Special to The Christian Science Monitor</
P>

<P> BELGRADE, YUGOSLAVIA -- Last week, a bus full of opposition organizers
from Belgrade was stopped at a police checkpoint, roughly halfway along the five-hour trip to a rally in the western Serbian town of Uzice.</P>

<P> Two police officers told the democratic activists to prepare their paperwork. A tense silence filled the bus. At the previous rally in Cacak, the "opposition bus" was stopped and turned back just outside of town, although the organizers walked the rest of the way. This time, the bus was still hours from its destination. Would it be allowed through?</P>

<P> The two police officers carefully examined everyone's paperwork, then let the bus pass. The relief was palpable and an occasion for a brief on-board celebration on the road to change the regime of Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic.</P>

<P> But only a half-hour before the Uzice rally was scheduled to begin, local police told organizers it was illegal. Electricity to the public-address system was turned off. The opposition ignored the police, brought in a generator, and spoke to several thousand people.</P>

<P> Serbia's postwar opposition movement is pressing forward despite such obstacles.

bstacles at every turn. Police harassment, phone taps, intimidation, threats, arrests, "informative talks," and people being laid off are daily occurrences.</P>

<P> "When people in the West say, 'Why don't you get rid of Milosevic?' they act like it's just that easy. We're faced with situations which are not imaginable to the average Western European or American," says an organizer of the Democratic Party. "And the bombing actually set us back, because the regime used it as an excuse to crack down."</P>

<P> Yugoslavia's opposition has taken various forms over the past decade to challenge Mr. Milosevic. Much of the time its efforts have been thwarted by fighting and Milosevic's authoritarian tactics. Yet one high point for the opposition was in 1996-97, when Zajedno ("Together"), a coalition of independent media, students, and opposition leaders, led three months of powerful demonstrations in Belgrade.</P>

<P> The conflict in Kosovo, however, effectively shut down most opposition, beginning as early as 1998. Milosevic took the opportunity to consolidate power and tighten his control of the media, thus muffling voices of dissent.</P>

<P> Now, in the wake of defeat in Kosovo, oppositionists are beginning to raise their voices again. Attention has centered around two groups: the Alliance for Change, a coalition of smaller opposition parties led by Vladan Batic that is organizing rallies outside of Belgrade, and the larger Serbian Renewal Movement, led by Vuk Draskovic, which has won the support of about 15 percent of Serbia's population.</P>

<P> Whatever group opposition members belong to, threats and intimidation go with the territory. "When we distributed petitions [at the Uzice rally] calling for the removal of Milosevic, they threatened to arrest us, but then backed down," says Nenad Simovic, a Christian Democrat representative in Uzice.</P>

<P> In Nis, Yugoslavia's third-largest city, activists from the Democratic Party collected 12,000 signatures in two days calling for Milosevic to resign.</P>

<P> "There were long lines to sign our petition," says a Democratic Party activist in Nis. "Then the police showed up to warn us. Later plainclothes men from state security told us to leave immediately."</P>

<P> The petitioners now operate discreetly in downtown Nis.</P>

<P> Yesterday in Belgrade, the Democratic Party held a petition drive in 24 locations asking for Milosevic to resign. "Officially we're allowed to collect signatures, but police showed up at every location to intimidate and harass our activists," says Ljiljana Lucic, vice president of the Democratic Party. Some of the people collecting signatures were called in to the police station for what is known here as "an informative talk."</P>

<P> But opposition organizers expect much worse, and recent events in the southern Serbian town of Leskovac serve as an example of what is yet to come. Leskovac became the fulcrum of antiregime activity on July 1, when Ivan Novkovic, an editor with TV Leskovac, aired a videotape of himself speaking to the camera

a during the halftime broadcast of the highly watched Yugoslavia-Germany basket ball game.</P>

<P> Mr. Novkovic politely invited the citizens of Leskovac to "a meeting" to call for the resignation of local Socialist strongman and district leader Zivojin Stepanovic - a Milosevic crony. </P>

<P> Novkovic's hands trembled as he asked Mr. Stepanovic a series of rhetorical questions: "How do you feel when you fire people because they think differently than you? Were you initiating positive changes when you sent 40,000 people to war? Do you believe in God?" Twenty thousand people showed up to Novkovic's "meeting," and he is now an opposition hero while he serves his 30 days in jail. His trial was swift and secret, and he'll have no job when he gets out. The other eight people who worked with him on that shift were placed on temporary leave.</P>

<P> In Belgrade, where offices of the Christian Democratic Party of Serbia serve as the headquarters of the Alliance for Change, mobile phones don't work, and other peculiarities have been noted.</P>

<P> "We really can't figure out why. There's some sort of interference," an employee says sarcastically.</P>

<P> "We know our offices are bugged," says Ms. Lucic. "That's just part of being the opposition."</P>

<P> Opposition leaders now speak of absolute sacrifices, thoughts born in extreme desperation. "If people in the opposition are scared of organizing, they're much more scared of the idea that Slobodan Milosevic will still be in power in the year 2000," says Slobodan Orlic, vice president of the Social Democrats.</P>

<P> "I lost my job because of politics. So what? We have to let go of fear. We expect to be intimidated and harassed, but they can't arrest all of Serbia," says Goran Svilanovic, president of the Citizen's Alliance, an opposition group.</P>

<P> "In Serbia, being involved in professional opposition politics entails enormous risks, but we have to press forward. We have no choice," says Zivojin Stjepic, of the Christian Democrats.</P>

<P> This week, opposition demonstrations are planned in Jagodina and Kraljevo.</P>

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<P>Wall Street Journal

July 13, 1999</P>

<P>Montenegro May Become Next Balkan Flashpoint</P>

<P>By James M. Dorsey, Special to The Wall Street Journal</P>

<P> PODGORICA, Montenegro -- This tiny mountain republic, Serbia's junior partner in the Yugoslav federation, could become the next Balkan flashpoint as it moves toward independence.</P>

<P> Senior Montenegrin officials warn that Montenegro's determination to break its ties with Serbia could spark a war in which Serbian troops would be supported by pro-Serbian forces in Montenegro itself. A civil war in Montenegro would "pit brother against brother," says government spokesman Miodrag Vukovic.</P>

<P> The officials say Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic is already preparing to use military force to thwart Montenegrin efforts to carve out a place for itself in the international community.</P>

<P> Montenegrin fears of an armed confrontation with Serbia -- despite Western pledges to defend the pro-Western republic and the presence of North Atlantic Treaty Organization forces in neighboring Kosovo -- come as officials in Podgorica are drafting plans to replace the current federal Yugoslav system with a loose confederation in which Montenegro and Serbia would be tied only by an informal union.</P>

<P> Considering Referendum</P>

<P> The government of President Milo Djukanovic has also said it may hold a referendum on independence later this year. Montenegrin independence would deprive Serbia of its sole access to the sea. Mr. Djukanovic walked a tightrope during much of the NATO bombing campaign, fearing that an open rupture with Serbia would split his country's tiny population of 630,000 down the middle between opponents and supporters of Mr. Milosevic.</P>

<P> Montenegrin officials contend that the war has created a majority in favor of a greater degree of autonomy, if not independence. "After the referendum, knowing the mood here, Montenegro will certainly become an independent state," Mr. Vukovic says.</P>

<P> Montenegro's economy has come to a virtual standstill as a result of Yugoslavia's war with NATO. During the war, the Yugoslav Second Army took effective control of the country's main port as well as its borders, blocking imports of most raw materials, industrial goods and relief aid. The army lifted its blockade after NATO troops entered Kosovo.</P>

<P> Nonetheless, the difficulties in rebuilding Montenegro's ties to the outside world, as long as it is closely linked to Serbia, are becoming evident. State-owned Montenegro Airlines, for example, is having trouble securing landing rights in various countries because of its membership in the Yugoslav federation. In the past two weeks, the airline has had to cancel its flights to Budapest, and on Friday was forced to schedule twice-weekly flights into Slovenia to the isolated airport of Maribor rather than to the capital Ljubljana. "This is a crazy part of the world," says a Montenegro Airlines ticket agent apologetically.</P>

<P> Montenegro has vowed to hand over suspected war criminals to the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague, and has said it would deliver Mr. Milosevic to the tribunal if he were to set foot on Montenegrin soil. Mr. Milosevic and four other senior Yugoslav officials were indicted by the tribunal in May on charges of war crimes. "The one who has committed crimes has to answer," Mr. Djukanovic says. "That is the minimum we can do for the victims."</P>

<P> Threats of Force</P>

<P> Supporters of Mr. Milosevic in Montenegro have threatened to respond with force if Mr. Djukanovic tries to arrest the Yugoslav leader or other indicted Serb officials. "That would mean that if Milosevic, the legitimate Yugoslav president, comes to Montenegro, he could be arrested," says Predrag Bulatovic, a leader of the pro-Milosevic Socialist Peoples Party. "That is irresponsible. It would trigger clashes for sure."</P>

<P> Relations between Mr. Djukanovic and Mr. Milosevic have gone from bad to worse as a result of the Montenegrin leader's refusal to join Serbia in declaring war on NATO and his willingness to grant refuge to tens of thousands of ethnic Albanians who fled Kosovo during the three-month NATO bombing campaign against Yugoslavia. The majority of these refugees have since returned to Kosovo, while Italian troops from KFOR, the international security force in Kosovo, regularly man a checkpoint on the Montenegrin side of the border with Kosovo.</P>

<P> Montenegrin officials say Serbian reservists withdrawn from Kosovo have been sent to reinforce the Yugoslav military's Second Army, based in Montenegro. There has been no independent confirmation of their assertion. The army, which has discharged many of the estimated 20,000 to 25,000 Montenegrin reservists called up during the NATO bombing campaign, has vanished from Montenegrin streets and border posts since Yugoslavia last month officially ended its state of war.</P>

<P> The Second Army, with a peacetime strength of 10,000 men, could nonetheless play a crucial role in any future confrontation between Serbia and Montenegro. Pro-Serbian forces could also be aided by a large number of Serbian paramilitary troops of Montenegrin origin who returned to Montenegro from Kosovo in the wake of NATO's entry into the province. Also worrisome, the Montenegrin poli

ce force is about to absorb some Serbian policemen who fled Kosovo as NATO troops entered.

Montenegro, in a further anti-Serbian move, last week officially said it wouldn't allow a federal police force being formed by Mr. Milosevic to operate on its territory. The government said in a statement that Montenegro's own 10,000-man police force was the only one authorized to maintain law and order in the republic.

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<P>Los Angeles Times

July 13, 1999

Pg. 4</P>

<P>No Welcome Sign For Russian Forces </P>

<I><P>Peacekeeping: Ethnic Albanians protest planned arrival. They equate Moscow's troops with Serbs.</P>

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

<P> ORAHOVAC, Yugoslavia--If there is a single message that most people in this quiescent town of old Turkish-style homes in southern Kosovo wish to convey to the world, it is this: Russians, stay out.</P>

<P> On Monday, for the fifth day running, about 5,000 ethnic Albanians in this town of 30,000 people marched peacefully but resolutely through the central square and down the main street to the headquarters of Dutch troops who are here as NATO peacekeepers.</P>

<P> They demanded that the peacekeeping mission drop plans to replace the Dutch, who have been on duty here for a month, with a battalion of Russians.</P>

<P> "We are ready to lie down in front of the tanks to stop them," said Sha ban Kruezi, one of the older men in the town.</P>

<P> "Not even if Gen. [Mike] Jackson asks it, we will never accept them," he said, referring to the British commander of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization troops in Kosovo, who is lionized as a hero by most ethnic Albanians.</P>

<P> The problem is that many townspeople equate the Russians with the Serbs, who so recently oppressed and killed them. Moreover, many people in Orahovac insist that Russian mercenary fighters took part in the reign of terror that began in Kosovo in March. Russians and Serbs are longtime allies.</P>

<P> The resistance of the townspeople to the Russian deployment is so intense that even the Dutch commander on the ground, Lt. Col. Tony Van Loon, says that he wishes it would be reconsidered.</P>

<P> He pointed out that Orahovac "was one of the biggest killing areas" in the recent conflict. Because of this, "the sensitivity of Albanians [to a Russian deployment] is much greater than in the other areas," Van Loon said.</P>

<P> The dilemma facing NATO, however, is that the Russians were promised a base in the Orahovac area in an agreement hammered out with great difficulty in Helsinki, Finland, last week. To satisfy the local complaints, the alliance would risk breaking a commitment.</P>

<P> Adding to the problem, Van Loon said, is the fact that maps used during the recent NATO-Russian talks were inexact. So it is uncertain whether the agreement means that the Russians are to deploy in Orahovac or in the village of Malisevo, 10 miles to the north, or in both places.</P>

<P> Russia was critical of the NATO air campaign and has insisted on being given significant peacekeeping duties--especially to protect Serbs from the wrathful ethnic Albanian majority now returning to Kosovo, a separatist southern province of Serbia, the main Yugoslav republic.</P>

<P> The Russians initially wanted a sector of their own to control, but NATO insisted that they be dispersed in the French, German, British and American sectors of Kosovo.</P>

<P> Over the weekend, the first of the planned total of 3,600 Russian peacekeeping troops began deploying outside their main base at the airport in Pristina, the provincial capital. About 80 of them are in the process of setting up camp in Kosovska Kamenica, a town in the southeast sector of Kosovo, which is administered by U.S. forces.</P>

<P> But they were not warmly welcomed. In a protest Monday mirroring the marches that have been taking place in Orahovac, about 1,500 ethnic Albanians shouted "Russians, go home!" at a group of Russians driving through.</P>

<P> In Orahovac, a group of men standing across the street from a Dutch tank explained why they so vehemently oppose any Russian deployment.</P>

<P> One of them, Bafia Shexu, a Muslim scholar whose house was burned down

at the end of March, said that, during the recent conflict, some of the soldiers were dressed as ordinary Serbian troops but could speak only Russian.

Townpeople also said they fear that the Russians will allow the escape of Serbian police and paramilitary fighters responsible for massacres. Some of these are believed to be finding shelter with 400 ethnic Serbs in one neighborhood.

The Dutch are preventing the Albanians from attacking the Serbs but are also investigating whether there are indeed war criminals in the Serbian enclave, Van Loon said.

He said the guerrilla Kosovo Liberation Army gave him a list of 64 suspected participants in recent killings allegedly still hiding out, and he agreed that it is "most likely" that there are war criminals there but said that he hasn't made any arrests because "the evidentiary situation must be very clear."

The Dutch have, however, cleared out two secret Serbian radio transmitting stations inside the enclave and arrested and expelled to Serbia proper a group of Serbian Interior Ministry police who had remained behind in violation of the June 20 deadline for all Serbian police officers and soldiers to leave Kosovo.

"The situation is very, very tense here, and that should be known by all," said Daim Nurrasa, an ethnic Albanian resident. "There is a risk that we will have fighting again between us and the Serbs if the Russians come. If the Russians come, we may have to fight them too."

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Philadelphia Inquirer

July 13, 1999</p>

<p>Kosovo Damage Called Less Than First Related </p>

<P>By Martin Crutsinger, Associated Press</P>

<P> WASHINGTON - The first World Bank team to assess reconstruction needs in Kosovo found significantly less damage to homes, power plants and roads than earlier thought. </P>

<P> Even in heavily damaged areas, many villages have quickly returned to near-normal operations, bank official Rory O'Sullivan said yesterday.</P>

<P> "Electricity is operating in most places. . . . Telephone systems are working, many water supply systems are working. Road access is pretty widespread throughout Kosovo," O'Sullivan said. "You see farmers at work. You see tractors on the streets." </P>

<P> He said that major damage - from looting and vandalism by Serbian forces before they withdrew and from the 78-day NATO bombing campaign - was confined to the province's western part. The eastern sections were relatively unscathed, O'Sullivan said. </P>

<P> He and other World Bank officials spoke to reporters on the eve of the first meeting in Brussels, Belgium, of a coordinating group of finance ministers from the world's seven largest economies, and representatives from the 15-nation European Union, the United Nations, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund. </P>

<P> The Clinton administration has said that Europe should bear the bulk of reconstruction costs. The United States shouldered a bigger share of the burden in NATO's campaign of air strikes to force Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic to withdraw his forces from Kosovo, a province of Serbia, the dominant republic in Yugoslavia. </P>

<P> In Brussels yesterday, German Finance Minister Hans Eichel said that aid coming from Europe should not threaten the continent's commitment to budget austerity. That is a key plank in its effort to defend the value of the euro, the joint currency launched this year by 11 European nations. </P>

<P> Asked about earlier estimates that Europe was willing to spend about \$493 million annually on reconstructing Kosovo, Eichel said that, pending a more formal assessment of needs, "there are no serious official numbers." </P>

<P> In Washington, O'Sullivan told reporters that, given his initial assessment of lesser damage to the region's roads and other infrastructure, he would put reconstruction needs at the "lower end of the spectrum of estimates."</P>

<P> Previous reports put a price of between \$3 billion and \$5 billion on reconstruction needs in Kosovo over a three-year period. </P>

<P> O'Sullivan said that a more specific assessment could not be made until completion of the World Bank's initial damage survey by the end of this month, in time for the first donors conference July 28 in Brussels. </P>

<P> Officials said that, in some ways, the job of reconstruction in Kosovo would be bigger than in Bosnia because Kosovo has nothing resembling a functioning government with a budget. </P>

<P> "The real crisis is, there is no budget in the country," O'Sullivan said. "There is no money to pay to keep the electricity operating, the coal mines operating, the water systems operating." He said that much of the international assistance that was raised would go to paying the salaries of doctors, teachers and municipal workers to keep essential services operating. </P>

<P> The World Bank has pledged about \$60 million for Kosovo relief over 18 months.</P>


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<P>Washington Post

July 13, 1999</P>

<P>Milosevic's Foes Storm Town Hall In Serbia</P>

<P> VALJEVO, Yugoslavia -- Anti-government protesters led by a maverick local artist stormed the town hall in Valjevo in western Serbia yesterday. About 20 policemen guarding the building beat people back with batons while demonstrators threw stones at the windows, and one smashed some glass with a baseball bat.</P>

<P> It was the second improvised demonstration in Serbia against Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic in the past two weeks amid a series of more orderly rallies called by opposition parties in towns across the republic. Serbia is the larger of Yugoslavia's two republics.</P>

<P> The artist, Bogoljub Arsenijevic, eventually broke in with a group of his followers by getting onto a balcony and smashing windows, but they were soon thrown out again by police.</P>

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Washington Post

July 13, 1999

Bosnian Serb Pleads Not Guilty To War Crimes

THE HAGUE -- A former Bosnian Serb cabinet minister pleaded not guilty to orchestrating an ethnic purge that drove 100,000 non-Serbs from northwestern Bosnia in 1992 and left hundreds of others dead.

Radislav Brdjanin, 49, spoke only to confirm his name, date and place of birth and to formally enter a plea at his 45-minute arraignment before the U.N. war crimes tribunal.

The most senior Bosnian Serb civilian official yet to be brought to the U.N. court for trial, Brdjanin faces a maximum sentence of life in prison if convicted of persecution, a crime against humanity.

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International Herald Tribune

July 13, 1999</P>

<P>Broker Of Kosovo Peace Sees Milosevic Ouster As Unlikely</P>

<P>By Alan Friedman and Nick Mackie, International Herald Tribune</P>

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<P> HELSINKI - President Martti Ahtisaari of Finland, who helped broker the deal last month that ended the war in the Kosovo, said he did not believe a civil or military uprising against President Slobodan Milosevic was likely soon. </P>

<P> "I don't see that, at least any military takeover," Mr. Ahtisaari said. "What we have witnessed so far is the beginning of civil activity in the form of demonstrations and rallies." </P>

<P> "Things are happening, but I don't think we should be so impatient that he should have disappeared the day before yesterday," Mr. Ahtisaari said in an interview to be broadcast Tuesday on International Herald Tribune Television in Italy. "We tend to be very impatient." </P>

<P> Mr. Ahtisaari said he was not surprised that President Milosevic is still in power, and that many in the West were too impatient for his ouster. </P>

<P> Mr. Ahtisaari, an experienced diplomat with close ties to both the West and Moscow, also warned that it was "short-sighted" for critics to be concerned only with Mr. Milosevic. </P>

<P> "If we simply ask people to remove the present leadership, the next one in line and those who have been indicted will come," Mr. Ahtisaari said. "We'll say get rid of him, and the third one will appear, and society won't change at all. I think it's short-sighted only to look at Mr. Milosevic." </P>

<P> Asked if the European Union should remove all sanctions against Belgrade, Mr. Ahtisaari said: "Well, perhaps not all. But I would like to see water systems that function, electricity to be available, otherwise we will have to give humanitarian aid in order to keep people alive, and I think we would be simply shooting ourselves in the foot. So I think some common sense should prevail and I think that will in the end be the case." </P>

<P> In the wide-ranging, hour-long interview at his summer residence, located 200 kilometers from Helsinki, Mr. Ahtisaari also urged Romano Prodi, the incoming president of the European Commission, to avoid any involvement in domestic Italian politics. </P>

<P> Earlier this year Mr. Prodi founded a political movement - the Democrats - which garnered 8 percent of the national vote in European elections last month. In Italy, Mr. Prodi has been criticized by opposition parties as well as some members of the center-left ruling coalition of Prime Minister Massimo D'Alema for allegedly being too involved in national politics. </P>

<P> Mr. Ahtisaari, when asked if Mr. Prodi should continue to have a role in Italian politics, was blunt: "No, I think it's impossible to combine the two

. I think one has to concentrate on the European presidency. It's a full-time job. Otherwise you have no chance whatsoever."

Mr. Prodi, reached by telephone Monday, said he had already followed the advice of Mr. Ahtisaari. "I do not have any role," he said. "I am already doing more than a full-time job in the European Commission. I may be considered at least some of the time by the Democrats to be half-way a wise man, just as Jacques Delors is with the French Socialists."

But Mr. Prodi insisted that he had deliberately not run as a candidate in the European elections "to avoid any misunderstanding." He added, "I only have institutional relationships with the world of Italian politics as I have with any other European country."

Asked why his name featured almost every day in the Italian press in connection with domestic politics, Mr. Prodi said: "I understand that many in Italy might be interested in describing me and my role in a different manner - that is part of politics. But I am fully committed to the European Commission and I have no other priority."

In the interview Mr. Ahtisaari, whose government took over the European Union presidency from Germany this month and will remain at the helm until January 2000, also made these other points:

*He said the European Central Bank could handle issues relating to the euro's value "better than us politicians can."

*He said the priorities of Finland during its six-month presidency of the European Union included the enhancement of EU cooperation on foreign and security areas. He said that Javier Solana of Spain, the NATO chief who has been named as the foreign policy chief of the EU, "will join as a foreign minister."

*He said Kosovo would remain an international protectorate "for a fairly long time" and that a long-term involvement concerned not just Kosovo, but the Balkans in general.

Asked whether President Boris Yeltsin was really in charge in Moscow, Mr. Ahtisaari said "within the limits of the constitution, yes." But he said that even though Mr. Yeltsin is commander in chief, he believed the Russian military was in charge of daily peacekeeping operations in the Balkans.

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<P>USA Today

July 13, 1999</P>

<P>'Slobovision' Is Good News For Milosevic</P>

<P>By Jack Kelley, USA Today </P>

<P> NOVI SAD, Yugoslavia -- At 3:30 p.m. during a recent rainstorm, Yugoslavia's state-run news service broke into its regular music programming with a live radio bulletin. </P>

<P> "Dear listeners," the broadcast said. "We want you to know that we are working day and night, even in the rain" to rebuild a bridge near the Beska village in Novi Sad. It had been destroyed by NATO airstrikes. "Have no fear, we are almost done." </P>

<P> But a quick trip to the site only minutes later found it to be deserted and the bridge still destroyed. </P>

<P> A day earlier, the state-run RTS TV announced that workers had constructed a "state-of-the-art" pontoon bridge over the Velika Morava River on the main highway from Belgrade to Nis. It was meant to replace a concrete bridge destroyed there by NATO airstrikes. But it wasn't there either. Nor had a hospital been rebuilt outside of Belgrade as reported. Nor a new apartment complex in Nis for elderly victims of the airstrikes. </P>

<P> "Hmmm. Maybe you didn't look hard enough," said Andras Perovic, 25, a state toll worker when asked where to find the pontoon bridge. He said it was the third time in an hour that someone had inquired. "Did you try your imagination?" </P>

<P> Yugoslavia's state-run RTS news service, nicknamed "Slobovision" by residents, is working overtime trying to quell public discontent with President Slobodan Milosevic. </P>

<P> News directors are pumping out fake stories about the country's infrastructure being rebuilt after NATO airstrikes, its economy being sound and that the world's governments are lining up behind Milosevic to show their support. </P>

<P> At the same time, they're ignoring or distorting news considered unfavorable to Milosevic and his family and calling their critics "traitors." </P>

<P> RTS has not reported on the tens of thousands of Serbs who have joined protests or signed petitions demanding Milosevic's ouster, the Serbian Orthodox

ox Church's call for his resignation, nor the West's refusal to help rebuild Yugoslavia as long as he remains in power. </P>

<P> RTS executives, nearly all of whom are members of Milosevic's ruling Socialist Party, refused repeated requests for interviews. They said they were too busy reporting the news. An RTS official who refused to be identified said the network was dedicated to reporting facts. When asked to explain some of the network's recent reporting, he hung up the phone. </P>

<P> Many Serbs - especially in big cities such as Belgrade, Novi Sad and Nis - openly make fun of the RTS reporting. They watch or listen to Western newscasts such as the BBC, CNN and Voice of America instead. </P>

<P> But for Serbs in small towns and villages, the state-run network is the main source of information; its reporting is taken as gospel truth. </P>

<P> "RTS along with police repression are the two most powerful tools used by the regime to control the people," Belgrade political analyst Predrag Simic says. </P>

<P> "And many people believe RTS. Every lie is taken as fact," Simic says. </P>

<P> For example, RTS has reported that Serb forces did not commit any wartime atrocities in Kosovo. Polls show that two-thirds of Serbs now believe it. </P>

<P> However, soldiers returning from Kosovo have said they witnessed Serb paramilitaries torch homes and force ethnic Albanians out of the province. </P>

<P> RTS employees, including an anchor and cameraman, privately are among some of the network's biggest critics. While they praise its documentaries as first-rate, they blast its newscasts as "yellow journalism." </P>

<P> Some say they feel guilty for misleading the public but stay in their jobs to feed their families. </P>

<P> "We're worse than the National Enquirer," says a cameraman named Miroslav, 29, referring to the U.S. tabloid newspaper. </P>

<P> He adds: "We're just waiting for the day we have to report that Milosevic is in the running for the Nobel Peace Prize or has had his image etched in Mount Rushmore." </P>

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Washington Post

July 13, 1999

Pg. 3

Stay Or Go -- An Agonizing Choice

Kosovo Family Is Torn Over Whether to Remain in the U.S. or Return Home

By William Branigin, Washington Post Staff Writer

ELGIN, Ill. In the months since war engulfed their native Kosovo, the Behluli family has faced a series of wrenching choices.

Torn between attachment to their homeland and the imperatives of survival, they hunkered in their houses for more than a month before making their way to neighboring Macedonia at the end of April. Then they had to choose between waiting out the war in a refugee camp and flying off to more distant exiles abroad.

Ultimately, they accepted an offer of resettlement in the United States, flying into New York's Kennedy Airport last month and surprising a U.S. relief agency that had expected to resettle five Behlulis but found 14 on the flight. The ethnic Albanian refugees then flew to the suburbs of Chicago, where they have relatives and an American family had agreed to sponsor them.

Now, the Behlulis may be headed home. Informed of a new U.S. government repatriation program that was announced yesterday, the family of Naser Behluli, a 40-year-old businessman, screamed and wept for joy in the crowded, one-bedroom dormitory apartment they share. They cannot wait to get back to Kosovo, he said.

But the U.S. offer to pay the refugees' way home--after weeks of insisting it was not yet safe for them to return--also presents the family with a new dilemma. Enver Behluli, Naser's younger brother and business partner, and his wife are not so sure they want to go back. They do not want to divide the family, but at the same time they are attracted to the prospect of a better life in the United States.

It is a dilemma shared by many of the 9,700 other Kosovo refugees in the United States, who must now decide whether to accept permanent resettlement here or return to Kosovo to reconstruct their homes and businesses. If they choose

se the former, they face the deracinating, humbling experience of starting over in a strange land near the bottom of the economic ladder and further splitting extended families that already have been scattered across the globe. If they opt to go home, they must accept the risk of further violence and the challenge of rebuilding in a place with an uncertain future.</P>

<P> Many desperately want to go home, but for several weeks the U.S. government and private relief agencies that specialize in resettlement had discouraged them from doing so. Washington said it would pay their way home only when it received assurances that Kosovo was secure--even though 640,000 refugees in neighboring countries had already gone back in the past month.</P>

<P> Faced with the flood of returnees to Kosovo and the insistence of many in the United States on joining them, the State Department yesterday changed course, announcing it would send the refugees home at U.S. expense through the International Organization for Migration, an agency that facilitates refugee movements worldwide. The first charter flight from the United States is tentatively scheduled for July 26, the IOM said.</P>

<P> For the Behluli family, the policy shift means an opportunity to return home. But as they begin their second month in the United States, the 14 Behlulis--brothers Naser and Enver; their wives and seven children; their mother, Hava; and their sister Mendulrije and her infant son--are being pulled in different directions by relatives and well-intentioned relief officials.</P>

<P> Enver's wife, Feride, has a brother in a nearby suburb who wants the two of them and their three children to start a new life here. Enver and Feride are wavering. The bother-in-law has offered Enver a permanent job with him in the apartment complex he maintains. But the hardware business Enver operated with his brother, Naser, in Kosovo also beckons him.</P>

<P> For Naser and the family matriarch, 84-year-old Hava, there is no such ambivalence.</P>

<P> "When can we go?" Hava asked after hearing news of the repatriation program. She said a relative had just informed them that their house was damaged and looted, but was not burned and is still habitable. "I don't care," the wizened grandmother said. "As long as people are going back, I'm going to go back, too."</P>

<P> She and Naser now wish they had never left the muddy, crowded Stenkovic II refugee camp in Macedonia that they had been so frantic to flee last month just days before Slobodan Milosevic agreed to pull his forces out of Kosovo.</P>

<P> "I can't stay here," Hava Behluli said recently, sitting on a sofa in the dormitory apartment at Judson College, where the family found temporary housing. She wiped tears from her face. "I just want to go home," she said. "I just want to go and die over there."</P>

<P> The Behlulis had a comfortable middle-class lifestyle in Kosovo--their own two-story homes, two cars and a truck in the town of Ferizaj, which the Serbs call Urosevac. The brothers' hardware business included a warehouse, two shops and eight employees. Naser still has the cell phone he used to conduct business

ess, a reminder of the relative prosperity his family enjoyed.</P>

<P> All that came to an end when NATO warplanes began attacking in late March and Serb forces started driving ethnic Albanians out of Kosovo en masse. Serb soldiers threatened to kill the Behlulis in retaliation for NATO attacks on nearby Yugoslav army barracks, but took out their wrath on other neighbors instead.</P>

<P> "We were afraid to leave and we were afraid to stay," said Naser's wife, Alije. "We kept hearing stories that instead of taking people to the border, the Serbs would take them to a ditch and shoot everyone. But eventually we couldn't take it anymore. We had to leave."</P>

<P> So the brothers gathered their families, along with their mother and sister, and left for Macedonia by bus. Mendulrije's husband, a soldier in the Kosovo Liberation Army, was left behind in the hills somewhere in the province. Just days ago, the family heard that he survived, increasing Mendulrije's desire to return home.</P>

<P> After six weeks in the Macedonian camp, the Behlulis were evacuated to the United States, finally landing in Elgin on June 8.</P>

<P> For five weeks, they have adjusted to American life with help from their sponsors, Vincent and MaryAnn Barlow and their four children. The family runs the Jeremiah Restoration Ministry, a Christian group that performs musical shows at church gatherings around the country. Vincent Barlow has arranged odd jobs, such as house-painting and window-washing, for the two Behluli brothers. He has taken Enver to a chiropractor for a back ailment and is writing songs to help the children learn English. MaryAnn Barlow is teaching the Behlulis to shop in American supermarkets with the food stamps they receive. The Barlow children, including three teenage girls, come over daily to play with the Behluli children, who range in age from 11 months to 13 years.</P>

<P> But the Behlulis have known that the longer they stay in America, the more difficult it will be for them to return home. The family has resisted the steps that World Relief, and by extension the U.S. government, have wanted them to take--steps that signify more of a commitment to remaining in the United States. Among these are moving into apartments and signing leases, taking regular jobs, enrolling the children in school and taking formal English classes themselves.</P>

<P> "There seems to be some pressure to get these guys settled, for them to get jobs and take up permanent residence," Vincent Barlow said. But having heard the family repeatedly express a longing for Kosovo, he wonders whether settling here is in the family's best interests. To survive in the U.S. economy, he notes, both parents would probably have to work and put the children in day care.</P>

<P> "For years they've been so close," Barlow said. "Is that really the best thing for the family? Sometimes we assume that what we have is better than everyone else."</P>

<P> Already, though, there have been signs that the Behluli children were adapting to life in the United States.</P>

<P> On a typical day, the daughters of Naser and Alije--Valerina, 13, and Alberina, 12--spend the morning studying English at a table in their third-floor dormitory. A balcony overlooks a pond with a fountain, and a stream runs through the campus. Ducks gather on the lawn below, and children blow soap bubbles to a cocker spaniel, which playfully tries to catch them.</P>

<P> "I think the longer we stay, the chances are they won't want to go back," Hava Behluli said of the children, a tone of worry in her voice. "So far they haven't been bored. It's possible they might even like it here."</P>

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<P>New York Times

July 13, 1999</P>

<P>Kosovar Refugees Say Goodbye To Fort Dix</P>

<P>By Diana Jean Schemo</P>

<P> FORT DIX, N.J. -- Jane Checkan opened her arms to 8-year-old Shqiponje Dushica, whose fingernails were painted purple and red, and whose ears were somehow covered with stars in green ink from a recent bingo game. </P>

<P> In less than 24 hours, the girl and her family, refugees from Slobodan Milosevic's murderous campaign in Kosovo, would leave the refugee resettlement center here for Phoenix, Arizona. </P>

<P> "I'll come tomorrow to say goodbye," Ms. Checkan promised, her voice cracking. "Give you one last hug." </P>

<P> No sooner had she spoken than Shqiponje threw her arms around the retired federal worker, who was one of scores of volunteers in May when plane loads of refugees began arriving in Fort Dix. </P>

<P> Now, the last of those refugees are leaving. By Friday, just 50 Kosovar

s will remain at Fort Dix, which turned itself virtually overnight into a reception center for refugees from the overcrowded camps in Macedonia. The massive resettlement operation here will close down altogether by the end of this month, with 4,000 Kosovars from Fort Dix sent to communities scattered across 40 states. Another 5,000 Kosovars bypassed Fort Dix, and went directly to relatives and sponsoring families upon their arrival in the United States. </P>

<P> The departures will also end the second incarnation as a refugee reception center for Fort Dix, which took in refugees from the Hungarian uprising of 1956. Traditionally the main boot camp for soldiers from the Northeast, Fort Dix became a training camp for reservists two years ago. Along with McGuire Air Force Base next door, which can accommodate any size aircraft in the Pentagon's arsenal, Fort Dix also serves as a staging area for U.S. forces mobilizing for operations overseas. </P>

<P> This time, however, the movement of people through Fort Dix was in rather than out, as the camp became what one military official called "a modern-day Ellis Island." While the refugees have been here, regular reservists slept in tents. Their barracks had been turned into dormitories for the arriving families, who were at one time expected to swell to 6,000. The effort involved making steep stairwells safe for toddlers, stocking playrooms with teddy bears and toy carriages and finding plastic flowers that helped turn mess halls into dining rooms. </P>

<P> But if Fort Dix represented an unaccustomed flash of grace to the Kosovars -- made homeless by their former countrymen and barely tolerated in Macedonia -- it also appeared to transform not just the buildings, but the people who worked here. </P>

<P> The official, government-endorsed encouragement to be kind to the victims seemed to have warmed the officials, soldiers and volunteers who took part in the relief operation. </P>

<P> Gen. James R. Helmley, commander of the task force here, began his military career in Vietnam 22 years ago, on an operation code-named Ruthless Combat. This one was called Provide Refuge. "This is a different planet we're on now," he said Monday. "This is feel good time." </P>

<P> Almost to an individual, those working here describe a specific moment when their presence at Fort Dix became something more than an assignment. Helmley went out nightly to visit the children, and said one night soon after he arrived, a 6-year-old girl asked him to bend down. He thought she wanted to tell him something, but instead, she hugged him and said, "God Bless You," he recalled. </P>

<P> "I had to go sit under a tree, go through a handkerchief and come back here for a moment," he said, looking around his office. "I'm just really blessed to be a part of this operation." </P>

<P> For Laura Serna, a Red Cross worker who used her computer to search for information about families separated by the war, that moment came with her first "hit," she said, for a woman who was seeking word on the whereabouts of her family, and whether they had survived. They had. "I think everybody in the room broke down when that happened," Ms. Serna said, holding out her arm. "I still

get goosebumps," she added. </P>

<P> After checking with each family for any last requests to trace relatives, the American Red Cross was packing up its computers and planning to close its office this week. Ms. Serna knew she would think about the Kosovars after she returned home to Mount Vernon, Wash. "I'll wonder where the people ended up," Ms. Serna said. </P>

<P> With the refugees leaving fast, the chatty clusters of families and friends of weeks past have largely disappeared from picnic benches, with the fields mostly empty as the clouds hung low. A few children rolled down a hill on plastic bicycles. Nearby, a hobby horse and a soccer ball, prized possessions not so long ago, sat undisturbed. </P>

<P> At a picnic table, Kleopatra Gikokas, 18, and her friends scanned departure schedules for the next few days, searching for their names. She arrived on the last plane here May 29, after Milosevic had said he would withdraw Serb forces from Kosovo. "We didn't trust Milosevic's word," she said. </P>

<P> "We didn't even consider his word," added her friend, Aida Sopi, 19, who knows she will go to Brooklyn, N.Y., but not when. "We had a very warm welcome here," she said, "and we're expecting it will be the same wherever we go." </P>

<P> Bedri Raci, 21, who used to run an import-export business in Kosovo, arrived on the last flight to Fort Dix, after he witnessed neighbors and relatives being murdered by Serb forces. Now he wanted to return home to Kosovo, but was told he would have to go to a sponsoring family, in Charlottesville, Va., first. </P>

<P> The U.S. government has not yet declared Kosovo safe for the refugees to return and so all the refugees leaving Fort Dix have been sent to sponsoring agencies in the United States. Once Washington deems Kosovo safe, it will pay for the return flight of any refugees who go home, said Ms. Checkan, who has been handling public information for the Department of Health and Human Services. </P>

<P> The women who used to sit under a tree, knitting blankets, sweaters and scarves from donated wool and needles cut from coat hangers, have gathered their yarn and moved on. There are few listeners left for the nightly radio broadcast in Albanian, played over the loudspeakers. In the evenings, there are no more card games or chats until 3 a.m., just the anxious countdown to a fresh start. </P>

<P> Though the U.S. had promised NATO it would take in 20,000 Kosovar refugees, the swift close of the war is bringing about an end to the resettlement operations with less than half the promised number of refugees coming to the United States. With Kosovars massively abandoning the refugee camps in Macedonia to return home, easing the pressure on the United States to relieve overcrowding at the Macedonian camps, the U.S. is halting resettlement of the Kosovars with the remaining cases here, Ms. Checkan said. </P>

<P> In the meantime, Raci wonders when his turn will come. </P>

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<P>Washington Post

July 13, 1999

Pg. 14</P>

<P>Pakistan Aims To 'Avoid Nuclear War' </P>

<I><P>Sharif Says 'Troop Pullback a Step Toward Kashmir Solu
tion</P>

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

<P> ISLAMABAD, Pakistan, July 12A somber and visibly tense Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said tonight that he was "trying to avoid a nuclear war" by asking Islamic militant groups to withdraw from the mountains of Indian Kashmir, where they have been battling Indian troops for seven weeks.</P>

<P> In a televised speech to the nation, Sharif invited Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee to meet with him, saying it was "very sad we have not resolved the Kashmir issue," even after India and Pakistan have fought two wars over the disputed territory.</P>

<P> Because weapons tests last year established Pakistan and India as the world's newest nuclear powers, Kashmir has become a "nuclear flash point," Sharif added. "I am trying to avoid nuclear war," he said. "It is suicide. I don't believe in suicide, and I don't believe Prime Minister Vajpayee does either."</P>
>

<P> Sharif, who has been widely criticized at home for meeting with President Clinton this month and then pledging to ask the guerrillas fighting inside Indian Kashmir to back off, pointedly praised the insurgents for bringing international attention to the 50-year-old dispute. Warning that Kashmir is a "volcano" that can erupt again, Sharif sought to place the onus on the international community to press for a solution of the dispute and said he had told U.S. officials

ials that ending the current phase of fighting was not enough.</P>

<P> Pakistani officials said today that the gradual "disengagement" of Pakistani-backed fighters was proceeding along the Line of Control that divides the Indian- and Pakistani-controlled parts of Kashmir. Indian and Pakistani military forces were observing an unofficial cease-fire in those areas, they said.</P>

<P> However, Pakistan unleashed a ferocious barrage of artillery fire tonight on a highway inside India's portion of Kashmir, the Associated Press reported. For at least half an hour, shells smashed into the road and a mountainside every 30 seconds.</P>

<P> Several major Islamic militant groups here continued to assert today they would not withdraw from the conflict along the Line of Control, and Pakistani officials continued to disavow any direct knowledge of their actions, insisting the groups are operating independently of Pakistani control.</P>

<P> In New Delhi, Indian officials acknowledged that the withdrawal of Pakistani-backed fighters--whom the Indian government says include Pakistani troops--had begun, but they insisted it was "a mere formality" because Indian forces had succeeded in recapturing most of the terrain the militant groups occupied in April. Since his July 4 trip to Washington to meet with Clinton, Sharif has been accused here of caving in to American pressure to withdraw the Islamic fighters, whose cause of freeing southern Kashmir from Indian control has long been championed by Pakistan. Indian and American officials say most of the fighters are actually Pakistani army troops and that the cross-border operation was controlled and sustained by Pakistan.</P>

<P> Some informed sources have said Clinton privately confronted Sharif with this charge and Pakistani officials then agreed that they would threaten to cut off virtually all support for the Islamic fighters unless they backed off. In return, Clinton publicly promised to take a "personal interest" in the Kashmir problem.</P>

<P> "These so-called meetings with the mujaheddin [guerrillas] asking them to withdraw was nothing but a show," said Khalid Mahmud, a specialist on Indo-Pakistani relations at the Institute for Regional Studies. Pakistani officials, he said, "had already decided what to do and had informed the Indians" the forces would retreat.</P>

<P> Despite Sharif's efforts to portray himself as pursuing peace and security for the region, critics across the Pakistani political spectrum suggested his credibility and image have been tarnished and that resuming dialogue with India soon may be virtually impossible.</P>

<P> "No Indian prime minister will be able to muster any enthusiasm for talking with Nawaz," said Abida Hussain, a legislator from Sharif's party, the Pakistani Muslim League. "The prime minister has survived crises before, but this is the first one with external dimensions. He will face a very difficult situation now."</P>

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<P>New York Times

July 13, 1999</P>

<P>India Holds Fire In Kashmir As Enemy Forces Pull Out</P>

<P>By Celia Dugger</P>

<P> NEW DELHI, India -- India announced Monday that it has suspended a six-week military campaign against Pakistan-based fighters who had occupied Himalayan peaks in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir. It said it would withhold firing on them as long as they complete their withdrawal from Indian territory by Friday. </P>

<P> Officials from both India and Pakistan said military commanders met Sunday and agreed to the terms and timetable for the pullout of the fighters, who Pakistan insists are Islamic militants and who India just as steadfastly maintains are mostly Pakistani soldiers. </P>

<P> Brig. Rashid Qureshi, spokesman for Pakistan's military, said the disengagement would be finished in 4 or 5 days -- Friday or Saturday. </P>

<P> The withdrawal began at first light on Saturday and is now in full swing, Indian officials said. "The Indian army is not impeding by fire the retreat of Pakistani forces," said Raminder Singh Jassal, a spokesman for India's External Affairs Ministry. </P>

<P> The reduction of hostilities between the world's two newest declared nuclear powers -- a conflict that has left hundreds of soldiers and civilians dead -- follows a hastily called July 4 meeting in Washington between President Clinton and Pakistan's prime minister, Nawaz Sharif. After the meeting, Sharif pledged that he would seek the withdrawal of forces fighting in the mountains -- forces Pakistan has consistently said it does not control. </P>

<P> The incursion into Indian territory, which American diplomats say was backed by Pakistan, has raised questions about why Pakistan embarked on such a mission only months after making a peace overture to India, and about the future

of relations between them now that Pakistan has pulled back from a conflict that had threatened to turn into a wider war. </P>

<P> Kashmir, which has a Muslim majority, lies between predominantly Hindu India and overwhelmingly-Muslim Pakistan and has caused two of the three wars that India and Pakistan have fought since they were created from the British Indian empire in 1947. Both countries want Kashmir for their own. </P>

<P> Indian officials -- who had taken a great deal of political heat when the idea of safe passage for the infiltrators was floated early in the conflict -- insisted that they have not agreed to a cease-fire. Over the last 24 hours, intermittent artillery shelling across the so-called Line of Control that separates Indian- and Pakistan-held portions of Kashmir killed 7 Indians and 12 Pakistani soldiers, they said. </P>

<P> But while insisting that Indian forces will not withdraw from the Kargil sector of Kashmir, they also said Indian soldiers would not fire on retreating soldiers. "As long as the enemy behaves, we behave," said Col. Bikram Singh, a spokesman for the Indian army. </P>

<P> The Indians portrayed the Pakistani decision to support a withdrawal as a concession to their inevitable military defeat since the Indian army was on a steady march to evict all the intruders -- an assertion Pakistani military officials say is false. </P>

<P> Indian army officials say that they had already almost completely cleared the Dras and Batalik areas in the Kargil sector of Kashmir. They said that it appeared Pakistani forces had completed their withdrawal from the Kaskar area Monday, and would finish their pullout from the Mushkoe Valley by Friday. </P>

<P> But the Pakistanis say India was actually losing the battle for control of the peaks and agreed to a diplomatic solution to bring the conflict to an early end. </P>

<P> "What they are depicting as military victories are actually military defeats," Qureshi said. </P>

<P> The two months of fighting have been costly in lives. India says that 398 of its men have been killed, and 691 Pakistanis. </P>

<P> The Pakistanis, of course, have a different set of numbers. They say 187 of their men have died in the shelling across the cease-fire line. And while they estimated Sunday that 700 Indian soldiers had been killed, Monday that tally rose to 1,700. </P>

<P> The battle has left a great reservoir of bitterness in India. At Pakistan's invitation, Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee went to Lahore, Pakistan, in February to meet with Sharif and in a much-heralded agreement the two men had promised to try to settle their nations' differences peacefully. </P>

<P> But Indian officials said Monday that they are willing to resume negotiations with Pakistan so long as the sanctity of the Line of Control is restored. President Clinton has stressed his keen wish that the nations go back to the

bargaining table as soon as the hostilities are over.</P>

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<P>Wall Street Journal

July 13, 1999</P>

<P>Kashmir Cools As Pakistani Pullout Causes India To Call Off
Airstrikes</P>

<P>By Jonathan Karp, Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal</P>

<P> NEW DELHI -- India silenced most of its guns and called off airstrike
s in the Himalayan region of Kashmir after Pakistan accepted a Friday deadline
for withdrawing all Pakistan-based forces from Indian territory.</P>

<P> Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, in his first national address
since promising U.S. President Clinton he would end the crisis, portrayed the p
ullout as a victory. He said in a televised speech that a two-month military ca
mpaign by Islamic guerrillas -- Islamabad denies its own troops are involved --
had focused world attention on the 52-year-old Kashmir dispute with India, and
now it was time for diplomacy.</P>

<P> Although Mr. Sharif called Kashmir a "volcano" that could erupt again
, he stressed the need for economic development rather than war between the imp
overished South Asian rivals, also the world's newest nuclear states.</P>

<P> "For how long we will snatch food from our people and buy guns?" Mr.
Sharif asked. "For how long we will sell the future of our children to make bom
bs?"</P>

<P> Shares Rise as Bombing Abates</P>

<P> Although it will take time for political wounds from the recent c
risis to heal, Indian and Pakistani stock markets cheered the truce. Bombay's b
enchmark stock index jumped 5.1%, while Karachi's gained 5% on Monday.</P>

<P> India said that in a meeting between top Indian and Pakistani military commanders Sunday, Pakistan agreed to comply with a July 16 deadline for the withdrawal of all Pakistani and allied Islamic guerrilla forces. Hundreds of fighters crossed a 1972 ceasefire line in Kashmir earlier this year, capturing strategic mountaintop positions overlooking a vital Indian military-supply route.</P>

<P> India said it will refrain from air and artillery attacks in areas where enemy forces are retreating. But intermittent shelling punctured the fragile peace in some parts of Kashmir on Monday.</P>

<P> While the most serious fighting between India and Pakistan in nearly 30 years is winding down, the deeper dispute over Kashmir remains. New Delhi and Islamabad claim all of region, which has been divided since 1947, when the neighbors fought the first of their two wars over the former princely state.</P>

<P> New Opportunity</P>

<P> In his speech, Mr. Sharif sought to deflect criticism from Pakistan's Islamist parties that the withdrawal betrayed the Kashmir cause. He said the Islamic mujahideen, or holy warriors, had achieved their aim and had responded to an appeal by Pakistan -- which was under tremendous international pressure -- to pull back.</P>

<P> "Our decision to give diplomacy another chance is not based on a hasty decision, nervousness or pressure," said Mr. Sharif, adding, "More courage is required to avoid war than to start one." Belying recent diplomatic isolation over Kashmir, he added that there is a new opportunity to settle the Kashmir dispute through talks with India and the "full attention, interest and pressure of world powers for the success of these efforts."</P>

<P> The Pakistani leader called for a meeting with Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, who traveled to Mr. Sharif's hometown of Lahore in February for a landmark summit. But as the two leaders pledged to work toward peace, the Pakistani army was preparing for the incursion into Kashmir, said Western defense experts.</P>

<P> In his speech, Mr. Sharif revived a central theme of the Lahore summit: economic development. "Because of its adamant attitude, India lags behind in progress and development, and Pakistan is also lagging behind," he said.</P>

<P> The latest United Nations report on human development, released Monday, illustrates how far behind. Based on health care, life expectancy, education and income standards, India ranked 132nd and Pakistan 138th out of 174 countries surveyed.</P>

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Washington Times

July 13, 1999

Shelling Of New Delhi's Units In Kashmir Rents Cease-Fire

By Neelesh Misra, Associated Press

KARGIL, India -- Pakistan bombarded an Indian highway in Kashmir last night, unleashing a ferocious barrage of artillery and anti-aircraft fire a day after agreeing with India to stop shooting so Islamic fighters could withdraw.

There was also steady Pakistani shelling in two regions where intruders had been seen retreating toward the 1972 cease-fire line that divides Kashmir between the two nuclear-armed neighbors.

More than 1,200 combatants have been reported killed in fighting since India discovered in early May that its positions on Himalayan peaks had been taken over.

The announcement of the withdrawal accord came a week after Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif promised President Clinton to take "concrete steps" to end the fighting.

In a televised speech last night, Mr. Sharif tried to portray the withdrawal of the militants as a victory, saying world attention had been drawn to the dispute. He also appealed for a meeting with Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee to settle the dispute over Kashmir.

"Today we have calmed down the volcano of Kargil, but tomorrow the volcano can erupt somewhere else until Kashmiris are given their just right of self-determination," Mr. Sharif said. "Nobody can suppress the Kashmiris' struggle for freedom. . . ."

"Our decision to give diplomacy another chance is not based on a hasty decision, nervousness or pressure," he said. "More courage is required to avoid war than to start one. Only people who believe in collective suicide can start nuclear war."

<P> India has said it would consider resuming a peace dialogue with Pakistan that began in February only after the last intruder has left Indian territory .</P>

<P> On the front lines, Indian officers and artillery men who had covered their guns with tarpaulins were caught by surprise when Pakistan opened fire late yesterday. The Pakistani barrage followed hours of relative calm fostered by the withdrawal agreement struck Sunday by the two countries' military chiefs.</P>

<P> Indian officials said yesterday that they had given Pakistan until Friday to ensure that the infiltrators were gone, and the Pakistani army officer at the meeting had agreed to that schedule.</P>

<P> The intense firing began shortly after 10 p.m. along a 6-mile stretch of winding road where Pakistani guns sit on rocky crags a few hundred yards away .</P>

<P> For at least 30 minutes, shells smashed into the road and the mountainside every 30 seconds. Four jeeps carrying journalists and a convoy of at least 20 fuel tanker trucks sped out of range with their headlights off.</P>

<P> Ten shells struck the small village of Kako Shilitse outside the front-line town of Kargil, severely injuring a boy and wounding a young woman.</P>

<P> Indian Bofors guns could be heard firing back as the Pakistani artillery lit up the mountainside and the anti-aircraft projectiles pounded holes in a stone wall built to shield highway traffic.</P>

<P> Although Indian officials denied Pakistan's claim that a formal cease-fire was in effect, the Indian army said it was under orders not to fire at retreating forces, but to retaliate if fired upon.</P>

<P> By yesterday, Muslim forces had withdrawn from the Kaksar region and had begun to pull back in the Mushkoh Valley, Indian officials said. The other two sectors of the 110-mile front had been largely cleared in military operations .</P>


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<P>South China Morning Post

July 12, 1999</P>

<P>PLA To Focus On Hi-Tech Training</P>

<P>By Agence France-Presse </P>

<P> PLA officers are to get training courses which will enable the army to win any hi-tech regional conflict, official media reported yesterday. </P>

<P> The PLA's Headquarters of the General Staff, General Political Department, General Logistics Department and General Armament Department had jointly issued a circular calling for the training, Xinhua reported. </P>

<P> The move follows a recent order by President Jiang Zemin - who is also chairman of the Central Military Commission - to set up four new colleges to train the military in modern warfare. </P>

<P> Under the general staff order, PLA officers would be required to "learn and master new military theories, new techniques and new arms skills, taking into account scientific developments". </P>

<P> The document orders further education, focusing on improving the army's combat effectiveness and turning the PLA into a scientific and technologically advanced army, instead of basing its strength on troop numbers. </P>

<P> The 1991 Gulf War brought a major doctrinal change within the ranks of China's military, with the hi-tech wizardry of the West making it clear that the PLA was falling behind the times. </P>

<P> The result has been a drive to develop and acquire more hi-tech weaponry, and to train a modern fighting force</P>

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<P>New York Times

July 13, 199</P>

<P>U.S. Says It Has Fingerprints Of Embassy Bombing Suspects</P>
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<P>By David Rohde</P>

<P> Federal prosecutors said Monday that the fingerprints of two Egyptian associates of Osama bin Laden have been found on statements taking responsibility for bomb attacks against two U.S. embassies in Africa last August. </P>

<P> The two men, Ibrahim Hussein Abdel Hadi Eidarous, 42, and Adel Abdel-Meguid Abdel-Bary, 39, were arrested in London on Sunday and ordered held by a British magistrate Monday. Prosecutors in New York said fingerprints of both men were found on a statement faxed to three news organizations that took responsibility for the bombings of the embassies in Kenya and Tanzania on Aug. 7 that killed 224 people and injured more than 4,500. </P>

<P> In court documents made public Monday in New York, prosecutors also accused the two men of maintaining contact with Muhammad Atef, who has been described as bin Laden's military commander. Their fingerprints were found on a declaration of war against U.S. citizens issued in February 1998 by bin Laden, the court documents said. The U.S. government also accused Eidarous of organizing a terrorist cell for bin Laden in Azerbaijan in 1995 and providing "fugitive terrorists" with passports. </P>

<P> The statements were found during a raid by the police last September of an office in London rented by Abdel-Bary. They matched the copies of faxes taking responsibility for the bombings that were received by news organizations after the bombings. </P>

<P> Lawyers for the two men strongly denied Monday that they had any ties to terrorism and vowed to fight efforts to extradite them to New York. </P>

<P> The lawyers described Eidarous as a former army officer and Abdel-Bary as a lawyer who now helps fellow Egyptian dissidents. They said each man has five children and lives in London with his family. </P>

<P> Gareth Pierce, Eidarous' lawyer, said that her client was the subject of "Kafkaesque" U.S. abuse of power. </P>

<P> The charges bring to 17 the number of people charged with participating in the African bombings or in what prosecutors describe as a global conspiracy by bin Laden to kill Americans. Five are being held in New York for trial, three are in custody in Britain and nine, including bin Laden, remain at large. </P>

<P> The court documents appear to suggest that Eidarous and Abdel-Bary worked with a third man, Khalid Al Fawwaz, a Saudi national who was arrested in London in September for distributing bin Laden's private and public instructions f

rom London around the world. Fawwaz has denied any wrongdoing and is fighting extradition. Those instructions included the February 1998 decree signed by bin Laden authorizing attacks on Americans worldwide that had both men's fingerprints. </P>

<P> The court documents cited evidence found in searches of both men's homes and offices in London as well as telephone records. The lists of alleged links to bin Laden include records showing that a satellite phone used by Atef, bin Laden's alleged military commander, called Eidarus' cellular telephone 84 times between January and August 1998. </P>

<P> Prosecutors said the three statements taking responsibility for the bombings were faxed to news organizations from a public fax in a British post office the day after the bombings. At the hearing held Monday in the Bow Street Magistrates Court in London, Arvinder Sambi, appearing for the Crown Prosecution Service on behalf of U.S. prosecutors, said both men's fingerprints covered the documents. </P>

<P> "Mr. Eidarus' fingerprints were found on the claims of responsibility," Miss Sambi said. "Mr. Bary's fingerprints were on the fax that was sent." </P>

<P> Outside the court, Abdel-Bary's lawyer, Iqbal Ahmed, said his client "absolutely denies the allegations," which he said were the result of a "belated and unsupported" extradition application from the United States. Calling his client a "respected lawyer," Ahmed said, "He is opposed to violence, and he has publicly condemned the bombings." </P>

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<P>Washington Times

July 13, 1999</P>

<P>Los Alamos Suspect Might Face Lesser Charge In Espionage Case</P>

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

<P> A Los Alamos computer scientist accused of leaking nuclear weapons secrets to China could avoid espionage charges and face prosecution under a computer crime statute, according to Clinton administration officials.</P>

<P> Scientist Wen Ho Lee was fired from his job at Los Alamos National Laboratory in April and has been under investigation for months on suspicion he passed secrets to China about the W-88 nuclear warhead. The warhead is the most advanced strategic weapon in the U.S. arsenal.</P>

<P> However, Clinton administration officials close to the case said that the FBI mishandled the investigation early on, making a successful espionage prosecution unlikely.</P>

<P> Instead, Justice Department attorneys are looking at charging Mr. Lee, who was born in Taiwan, with violations of federal laws that make it a crime to mishandle national security or atomic energy information contained in federal computers.</P>

<P> "There is consideration of prosecuting him for computer crime," said a senior administration familiar with the case.</P>

<P> The case is being examined by the Criminal Division's Computer Crime and Intellectual Property Section, headed by Scott Charney. The high-technology crime unit was set up several years ago to focus on activities by computer hackers and criminals.</P>

<P> Mr. Lee is suspected of transferring large amounts of classified nuclear weapons information from restricted computers to unclassified ones in 1994 and 1995. </P>

<P> Mr. Lee was dismissed at the direction of Energy Secretary Bill Richardson on March 8 for failure to notify lab security officials about contacts with Chinese officials, failing to properly safeguard classified information, and attempting to deceive security officials.</P>

<P> FBI investigators found evidence supporting the computer crime charges during a search of Mr. Lee's computer at Los Alamos after he was dismissed.</P>

<P> The computer search showed he had downloaded millions of lines of classified computer codes related to nuclear weapons to an unclassified computer system at Los Alamos.</P>

<P> Prosecutors have not been able to determine whether the codes, which would be useful to China in improving its nuclear weapons, were actually transferred to Beijing agents.</P>

<P> However, the information from Mr. Lee's computer is enough to establish that data was improperly handled, said officials who spoke on condition of anonymity.</P>

<P> The computer crime charges would carry a lesser penalty for conviction

than espionage ones, which can carry a life term in prison.</P>

<P> Mark Holscher, a lawyer representing Mr. Lee, could not be reached for comment. But Mr. Holscher said in a statement issued May 7 that Mr. Lee has never "given any classified information to any unauthorized persons."</P>

<P> Mr. Lee traveled to China in 1986 and 1988 to present technical papers at two conferences, he said, noting that the trips have been investigated by government agencies for more than three years.</P>

<P> "To date, these investigatory agencies have not found any evidence that Dr. Lee ever disclosed any classified information to anyone in mainland China," Mr. Holscher said.</P>

<P> Mr. Lee also helped the FBI investigate suspected espionage activity at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, he said.</P>

<P> The consideration of lesser charges against Mr. Lee was first reported in the July 12 edition of Newsweek magazine. The weekly publication stated that the U.S. attorney in New Mexico argued in a memorandum to Justice Department headquarters that Mr. Lee should be charged with mishandling nuclear information.</P>

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<P>Wall Street Journal Europe

July 13, 1999</P>

<P>Milosevic Is Still In Control</P>

<P>By Branislav Milosevic</P>

<P> BELGRADE, Yugoslavia--"Milosevic's days are numbered," said State Department spokesman James Foley. Others seem to agree. "This time around we must go all the way so that Serbia can have a new beginning," said Serbian Democratic Party leader Zoran Djindjic.</P>

<P> Both were talking about the recent wave of protests in cities across Serbia against the regime of Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic. Coming so close after Yugoslavia's defeat in Kosovo, and given the insistence of Western leaders that Milosevic must step down, the demonstrations have been interpreted worldwide as a sign that we've indeed started some sort of countdown.</P>

<P> There is no denying the scale of the discontent among the Serbian people. At a recent demonstration I saw a student from the city of Leskovac named Predrag Pesic who moved his audience by brandishing a list of residents of the Serbian town of Leskovac who were killed in Kosovo and asking, referring to Serbian Radical Party, Vojislav Seselj, "How much longer will Milosevic and Seselj dig graves in Serbian lands?" The response was a chorus of shouts: "Leave, Slobodan, leave"; "Slobodan is Saddam"; and "We want change." But do the opposition leaders know how to do this?</P>

<P> The question then arises: Will these demonstrators succeed where others have failed? Unfortunately, from my Belgrade vantage-point, the outlook doesn't look good.</P>

<P> The motto of the demonstration in Uzice at which Mr. Djindjic spoke was "It's Now or Never." His proposal to the nation for a strategy to topple Milosevic was clear: "This is how we see the next couple of months: the free cities disavow their allegiance to the government, the whole of Serbia engages in civil disobedience and starts a general strike, and Milosevic leaves." Mr. Djindjic continued to explain the short-term program of the Alliance for Change, adding, "after that, with the agreement of the Patriarch and the Holy Synod, we'll elect a government of experts . . . and our second major task is to enable Serbs to return to Kosovo."</P>

<P> Many of them are academics and, not surprisingly, are attempting to conduct a public academic debate with Milosevic. But what ordinary Serbs desire are solutions to the pressing issues affecting their lives. Under the heading, Alliance for Change, opposition leaders are rallying civil discontent by creating a judgment-day atmosphere. Problem is, the large opposition parties outside the Alliance, but represented in Parliament, appear to prefer to oust Milosevic by parliamentary means.</P>

<P> Milosevic is skilled at exploiting such divisions. In the winter of 1996-1997, he rode out 88 days of protests, eventually staring down hundreds of thousands of discontented Serbian citizens. Although he was forced by both protesters and the international community to recognize the results of local elections that had gone against him, he managed to break up the victorious Zajedno coalition. It then transformed into several rival factions that proved more willing to cooperate with his regime, and less intent on limiting his power through joint political action.</P>

<P> During the 1996-'97 protests, Milosevic was confronted by an opposition that was united and had just won local elections by a landslide. Today his biggest problems are the penury that his own colossal blunders have caused in the lives of average Serbs and Orthodox Church dignitaries, who have become the first to speak out about the crimes committed by Serbian police and paramilitaries in Kosovo. As for the opposition parties, however, Milosevic has been so successful at keeping them divided that they're now either politically sidelined or

greatly incorporated into his corrupt system of government.</P>

<P> As he has in the past, Milosevic will certainly seek to co-opt those he can by inviting them to participate in the government. Vuk Draskovic, the opposition figure with the biggest following, fell for this in the wake of the opposition's 1997 failure. (Mr. Draskovic only resigned from the government when it became apparent that Milosevic would lose the war over Kosovo.)</P>

<P> Those who cannot be bought, Milosevic seeks to discredit by branding them as traitors or foreign lackeys. His task is made easy by his control of the propaganda organs.</P>

<P> Against the Serbian Orthodox Church, Milosevic will only be able to pursue one of these strategies. The usual political and disciplinary measures would be highly unpopular if taken against Serbia's priests, but Milosevic can try to create rifts in the Church leadership by setting the more liberal dignitaries--the first to publicly accuse Milosevic's regime and Milosevic personally for the crimes committed against Albanians in Kosovo--against more conservative elements. While one should not overrate the influence the Church has on the Serbs, its opposition to Milosevic can hardly strengthen the regime.</P>

<P> The demonstrations themselves show that Serbians are undoubtedly bitter. It is also true that Milosevic's political capital has sustained serious damage. But there is still no reliable evidence that the popularity and credibility of the opposition leaders themselves have increased significantly. The question, really, is whether a mass movement to depose Milosevic can succeed without effective, and united leadership.</P>

<P> Of course, it is very possible that if Milosevic's policies continue to threaten the very survival of the people--through persistent shortages, runaway inflation and unemployment--the citizens may take matters into their own hands.</P>

<P> The regime is also aware of this possibility. Though the regime scornfully refers to the political parties that make up the Alliance for Change as "political Lilliputians," it is aware that there is no need for a political Gulliver to start the fire of enormous popular discontent. In a bid to stem this rise in discontent, Milosevic has also launched a "reconstruction campaign," even though it is not clear where the money for funding this campaign will come from.</P>

<P> There is also an attempt to build on the Milosevic cult. A representative of a World War II veterans association unexpectedly bellowed at a recent ceremony: "Slobodan Milosevic has grown into a global historic figure at the end of the 20th century. Through his courage and mature decision-making he has won the trust of the masses, the respect of the international public and the hate of his opponents." The ceremony marked an all-but-forgotten holiday celebrating Tito's partisan war; Milosevic's propaganda machine has revived it, however, and made the most of it this year.</P>

<P> Milosevic's inner circle is desperately trying to shift the responsibility for the disastrous policies of its leader to the international community and Yugoslavia's "fifth column," which now, apparently, also includes the Church. This tactic, too, may buy Serbia's leader time.</P>

<P> If Serbia's demonstrators are to achieve a change in the country's leadership, the nature of the opposition itself will have to change. Small opposition parties and their ambitious leaders are probably not enough to deal a coup de grace to the Milosevic regime. Most likely, Milosevic's rule will not end until his Socialist Party begins to break apart--which will set off a chain reaction, leading to rifts in the army and the police force. The opposition must be ready and united to take advantage of the situation.</P>

<P> <I>Milosevic (no relation to the subject of this article) is a political analyst with South-East News Service Europe in Belgrade.</P>

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<P>Christian Science Monitor

July 12, 1999</P>

<P>Kosovo: Joint Chiefs Chairman Disagrees</P>

<P> Your editorial on "lessons learned" from NATO military operations in Kosovo begins with a flawed premise from which it never recovers ("Rolling Blunder in Kosovo," July 9).</P>

<P> No knowledgeable Pentagon official would postulate that the considerable damage inflicted on Serb military and special police units in Kosovo compelled Milosevic to accept NATO's conditions to end the bombing. There is ample evidence that Milosevic has never cared about the fate of his army, the suffering of his people, or anything except holding on to power. We always said it would take time to grind down Serb forces in Kosovo, and we knew we still had a long way to go before the KLA would be in a position to challenge them on the ground.</P>

<P> You are also incorrect when you say the critical element was NATO attacks on Serbia's "civilian assets." Every target struck was a military-related ta

rget, directly linked to achieving NATO's military objectives. There were strategic objectives that were a part of the military campaign plan from the start. This meant hitting infrastructure, industry, and other targets to reduce Milosevic's ability to sustain his brutal campaign. We fully understood that hitting only Serb forces in Kosovo would never be the answer. That was not the center of gravity for Milosevic.

We may never know what ultimately caused Milosevic to quit. I find it difficult to get inside the mind of someone who is willing to take his nation to war four times in 10 years and sanction "ethnic cleansing" and other atrocities.

Finally, we have already begun to capture and assess the lessons to be learned from our conduct of this operation. It is unlikely our inquiry will prevent others from drawing their own conclusions. We intend to get the facts first.

Henry H. Shelton, Washington, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff

Editor's Note: The editorial referred to appeared in the Current News Early Bird, July 9, 1999.

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Asian Wall Street Journal

July 13, 1999

<A Line In The Sand?>

Was South Korean Foreign Minister Hong Soon-young drawing a line in the sand Monday when he said that if North Korea test-fires another ballistic missile, Seoul, Washington and Japan will cut off virtually all aid to the North? Mr. Hong's talk of aid cutoffs and other sanctions sure sounded tough. He also sounded confident that Pyongyang will weigh its options and back down. "If this aid is cut off," the Seoul newspaper Munhwa Ilbo quoted him as saying, "North Korea's survival can be threatened, and its diplomacy of brinkmanship

will no longer work."</P>

<P> We wish we were so sure. While Mr. Hong's interview may have seemed like a scorching departure from Seoul's generally touchy-feely "sunshine policy" of engagement with the North, you have to wonder whether Pyongyang will feel the heat. Given all the forgiveness and the bowing to blackmail that has gone before, North Korea may very well conclude that whatever Seoul and Washington might say today, they have too much invested in engagement to let one little missile test get in the way for long.</P>

<P> There's always a first time, as the saying goes; but let's see how many arrows the U.S., South Korea and Japan have in their quiver. They have already ruled out cutting off any aspects of the 1994 deal in which Pyongyang was promised a couple of nuclear power reactors and other help in return for promising to freeze its nuclear weapons program. In the first half of this year, North Korea received an estimated \$600 million worth of food, fertilizer and other aid. But much of that was for famine relief and nobody is talking about stopping basic humanitarian aid to the North.</P>

<P> The missile North Korea is believed to be readying for a test is a new, multi-stage Taepodong-2 with enough umph to reach the United States. Presumably, that is one reason the Clinton administration in Washington finally is showing alarm, and issuing warnings of "grave consequences" if the test goes ahead. Yet the chief threat seems to be that if a missile test takes place, the U.S. will withdraw its offer to extend diplomatic recognition and drop economic sanctions in return for the North not developing ballistic missiles. Some threat. And didn't Pyongyang turn up its nose at that offer weeks ago anyway?</P>

<P> You have to feel sorry for Seoul, which has got its back up against the wall on this one. And for President Kim Dae Jung. One day he's telling the Washington Post that his sunshine policy is not "naive" and asserting that just as Nixon and Brezhnev ended the Cold War with their policy of detente, he plans to bring Pyongyang around without pointless efforts at "containment." Then the next day, June 25, the president is heard apologizing to the nervous Korean people for not seeming tough enough and promising to show more resolve in dealing with the North.</P>

<P> It gets more confusing. Not so long ago, Seoul was in the news confidently announcing that South Korea is not interested in participating with the U.S. and Japan in a theater missile defense system. Not necessary, potentially regionally destabilizing, etc. Now we learn that South Korea doesn't have short-range missiles capable of targeting major North Korean military bases and wants the U.S. to help it get effective, 500km-range ones. But Washington doesn't think Seoul should be allowed the option of a defensive or pre-emptive strike. Not necessary, potentially regionally destabilizing, etc.</P>

<P> We don't pretend to know what goes on behind the scenes. Maybe Pyongyang senses that this time the others mean business, and it will call off its missile test in the face of U.S. and South Korean threats. On the other hand, the North could just as easily decide to call the bluff. Then what? It is not enough to go to the brink for a minute or two. Unless Seoul and Washington are willing to stand their ground indefinitely, it would be better not to draw a line in the sand at all. The North Koreans are not the only ones who are watching.</P>

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<P>European Stars And Stripes

July 13, 1999

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<P>Munitions Harvest Year-Round</P>

<I><P>Bosnian pilot program an astounding success</P>

</I><P>By Chuck Roberts, Bosnia bureau</P>

<P> EAGLE BASE, Bosnia and Herzegovina The harvest of illegal weapons and munitions belonging to Bosnian citizens has proven so fruitful that Operation Harvest 99 has been extended indefinitely.</P>

<P> The 60-day program was scheduled to end May 15, but people have been eager to turn in weapons and munitions they harbored after the war for fear of an uncertain future, said U.S. Army Maj. David Hill, executive officer for the joint military commission overseeing the program.</P>

<P> As citizens gain confidence in their security, Hill said, they are realizing that keeping the weapons and munitions is unnecessary, and they have been turning them in at local collection points such as libraries and police stations.</P>

<P> Under terms of the Dayton peace accords, it is illegal for citizens to possess military weapons and munitions.</P>

<P> Since this year's turn-in program began March 15, Bosnians in the American-controlled sector alone have handed over 1,324 assault rifles, 5,930 hand grenades and just over 1 million pounds of TNT. Similar results have been reported by Stabilization Force military commands in the other two sectors of Bosnia patrolled by international peacekeeping troops.</P>

<P> This is the second year citizens have been offered the opportunity to turn in illegal weapons and munitions.</P>

<P> Last year, SFOR took the lead running the program that enjoyed similar success, but this years program was conducted through a cooperative effort among police, military and government leaders from both sides of the former warring factions. </P>

<P> "That was a big step, in my mind that the entities can work together on a common goal that benefits all citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina," Hill said. </P>

<P> He said he heard that same optimism among Bosnians he talked to recently about Operation Harvest 99.</P>

<P> "They were tired of war and thought everyone should turn in their weapons," Hill said. Also, he said he believes people want to prevent tragic accidents caused by potential threats such as hand grenades and mortar rounds.</P>

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<P>Philadelphia Inquirer

July 11, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>In Kosovo, Troops Tread Delicate Path </P>

<P>By Jeffrey Fleishman, Inquirer Staff Writer</P>

<P> ZITINJE, Yugoslavia - The patrol halts and Sgt. Mitchell Call scans the cornfields with night-vision goggles as Cpl. Daniel Woodrum rests atop a Bradley fighting vehicle, smoking a cigarette, gazing up at a star-filled sky and singing "You Are My Sunshine." </P>

<P> A NATO helicopter thuds overhead. Pfc. Michael McLeskey checks his M-16. A radio squawks inside the Bradley, then falls quiet, and the only sounds are

the scruff of boots and voices of infantrymen turned peacekeepers in a mean slice of the world

Staff Sgt. Perry Flowers tells his guys "Let's go," and two Bradleys whisk over tight, winding roads, their rubber cleats rattling the asphalt. The men return to Warrior Base, a schoolhouse in this tense village where scared Serbs brandish Kalashnikovs to stop ethnic Albanians from setting their homes ablaze.

This night is quiet, but most are not.

The 3,000 American soldiers stationed in southeast Kosovo are finding, as those in Bosnia still do, that peacekeeping is tedious duty. Kosovo has no government and no police force, so instead of fighting conventional battles, soldiers such as Call and Flowers spend their time checking cars for grenades, chasing arsonists, disarming rebels, calming drunks, investigating rape, returning stolen property, and acting as negotiators between ethnic enemies.

And sometimes a grunt trained for battle gets a little miffed directing traffic.

But danger breaks out unannounced. Gunfire coming from forests or behind barns often erupts in sectors controlled by NATO troops. There have been no American casualties, but two weeks ago, Marines based in Zegra killed one sniper and injured two others when the men fired on them from a building.

Peacekeeping operations by the American military have long been debated in Washington. Some military experts and members of Congress criticize U.S. involvement in Kosovo as another misguided quest to turn expensive, highly trained fighting forces into local policemen.

A report this month by a private group that researches foreign-policy issues came to a different conclusion. The report, which polled senior U.S. military commanders, including retired Gens. Colin L. Powell and H. Norman Schwarzkopf, concluded that peacekeeping operations provide valuable field experience and are central to the military's future.

"The First Armored Division was a much better division when we came back [from Bosnia] than when we went," retired Army Maj. Gen. William Nash, who led the U.S. peacekeepers in Bosnia, said in the report by the Peace Through Law Education Fund, a Washington-based nonprofit group.

In the post-Cold War world, conflicts are more regional and more protracted, forcing the United States to constantly tinker with its military to handle wars arising from ethnic hatreds.

"Peacekeeping deters our combat training," said William Johnson, a sergeant with the 1st Battalion 6th Infantry Regiment stationed in Zitinje. "But as the world is now, with all these regional wars, we'll have to change our doctrine. We'll have to walk the line between peacekeeper and warrior."

Capt. Dave Taylor and his regiment, bunkered on a Zitinje hillside, try daily to forge a calm between 1,300 ethnic Albanians and 800 Serbs. Taylor's patrols weave through the village's tight alleys, confiscating grenades, searching

ng houses, stopping speeders, and sometimes playing basketball with children.</P>

<P> "It's a nebulous situation," said Taylor, who served two years ago as a liaison officer in Bosnia between Muslims and Croats. "We're trying to stymie the violence and hatred, which I don't think we'll put a lid on anytime soon. Peacekeeping is the hardest task. You never know who the enemy is." </P>

<P> Taylor often finds himself acting as a Balkan version of Judge Wapner on The People's Court. He mediates between Serb and Albanian village leaders every Saturday, and sometimes both sides accuse him of being too friendly to the other.</P>

<P> "The Serbs and Albanians fought over food distribution once. Who should get how much," said Taylor. "So we said, 'Listen, no one gets any food until you guys go back and figure it out.' They took 30 to 40 minutes, but they eventually worked it out. . . . I don't know if anyone can handle this place. The Germans had 44 divisions here during World War II, and they couldn't control it."</P>

<P> Standing with a bayonet dangling next to a canteen around his waist and an M-16 in his hands, Spec. Adam Stewart, the son of a farmer from Carmen, Ill., said he was perplexed by the landscape before him.</P>

<P> "This is all new to me," he said. "Hell, I was in Kuwait twice, so when I reenlisted I said, 'Man I'm going to Europe. Nothing's been going on there for a while.' Then I turned on the news and said, 'Oh man, I'm going to Kosovo.' The Serbs don't want us here. They start phony fires to keep us running back and forth. But we can't find them. There's so many courtyards and high walls."</P>

<P> "Like a maze," said his buddy, Cpl. Gavin Holmes of Dallas.</P>

<P> "We should have been here to protect them [the Albanians] while the killing was happening," said Stewart, referring to the 78 days of NATO bombing and ethnic cleansing that ravaged Kosovo. "And now we're here for peacekeeping. We're not trained for this."</P>

<P> But American troops will be here a long time. Tractor-trailers loaded with lumber and iron rolled last week to the American headquarters at Camp Bondsteel. Atop a dusty hill, generators hummed, camouflage netting rustled in the breeze, soldiers shaved one another's heads, armored personnel carriers zipped over barren fields, satellite TV sets were adjusted, and tents stood in neat rows like a sprawling green-canvas suburb.</P>

<P> Nearly 3,000 soldiers from the Army's 82d Airborne, the Engineering Corps, the Second Brigade, the Marines, military police and other divisions are spread from the Macedonian border to the ethnically divided city of Urosevac.</P>

<P> The U.S. troop contingent is expected to grow to between 6,000 and 7,000 and will handle everything from public relations to disarming rebels of the Kosovo Liberation Army.</P>

<P> Back at Camp Warrior in Zitinje, Sgt. Johnson led his unit to a hilltop , where several Serb houses had been burned. His men set a perimeter near a hay stack and a lone sniper covered them from a vacant house. Sgt. Flowers led two Bradley fighting vehicles over country roads as children ran from homes shouting "NATO! NATO!" Sgt. Call scanned the fields. </P>

<P> The Bradleys stopped for a break at a general store. Ethnic Albanians patted the soldiers on the back. With no common language, they shared a few sodas and candy bars. Pvt. McLeskey spoke of his high school days in Cullman, Ala. Cpl. Woodrum sang his songs, and Sgt. Call slipped a heavy radio off his back.</P>

<P> The village was quiet, and they returned to Camp Warrior.</P>

<P> A few miles away, in another sector, U.S. troops latched handcuffs on two ethnic Albanian men who had hidden a hand grenade in a car. Around the bend, another Serb house was in flames.</P>

<I><P>Inquirer staff writer Fawn Vrazo contributed to this article.</P></I>

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<P>Boston Globe

July 12, 1999

Pg. 8</P>

<P>For A Missing Kosovo Leader, Luster Is Lost</P>

<P>By Susan Milligan, Globe Staff</P>

<P> PRISTINA, Yugoslavia - The Serbs are gone, NATO is here and hundreds of thousands of traumatized and homeless refugees have returned to their native cities and villages. So where, Kosovars wonder, is their spiritual and political leader, Ibrahim Rugova?</P>

<P> The short answer is that Rugova, long the unofficial president of what Albanians call "Kosova," and a professed Mahatma Gandhi character fighting for Kosovar independence, is in Rome.</P>

<P> The longer answer contains its own, serious questions for the bespectacled, diminutive leader: Why did he not attend funerals for dead soldiers in the Kosovo Liberation Army? Why did he meet with, and even share a handshake with, the hated Yugoslav president, Slobodan Milosevic, during the bombing?</P>

<P> And most critically, ethnic Albanians want to know why Rugova isn't here, sharing misery with his fellow Kosovars, giving them leadership at a time when Kosovo is struggling to recover from three months of NATO bombing and the Serbs' rampage.</P>

<P> "I supported Rugova, but not any more. I'm not thinking about Rugova now," Naser Gjuka, a 40-year-old textiles worker said from Pec, in western Kosovo. "He didn't visit us in Albania" at the refugee camps there, "and he even went to Macedonia. Everybody visited us, and Rugova didn't come," Gjuka complained.</P>

<P> That Rugova did not visit Albania, which bore the heaviest refugee burden, astonished refugees and officials. Macedonia, meanwhile, was criticized by aid workers and refugees for its poor treatment of refugees, including keeping them penned within a barbed-wire fence.</P>

<P> Rugova reportedly is planning on coming back to Kosovo this week, but locals aren't holding their breath.</P>

<P> "He's not up to his duties as a leader," said Visar Reka, a spokesman for the Kosovo Liberation Army. "He lost his credibility a long time ago."</P>
>

<P> The Kosovo Liberation Army has a vested interest in undermining Rugova's credibility. Now that the Serb military forces are gone, the battle for power in Kosovo will be mainly between Rugova's camp, the political party called the Democratic League of Kosovo, and the Kosovo Liberation Army, the guerrilla group that sprung up precisely because the Democratic League of Kosovo was making no progress toward independence for Kosovo.</P>

<P> Kosovo is supposed to remain part of Serbia and Yugoslavia for at least three years, when a referendum will determine Kosovo's future. However, there will be earlier elections to form an interim government for Kosovo.</P>

<P> Either camp faces a huge challenge in running Kosovo, whose people have little experience of democratic self-rule. The villages are very clannish societies, with the male head of household making all decisions for the extended family.</P>

<P> Rugova, an intellectual who has been the point man for sympathetic foreign diplomats and interest groups, has a nostalgic, emotional appeal to some Kosovars, who believe he met with Milosevic only under duress, and stays away now because he fears a personal attack, perhaps even from the Kosovo Liberation Army.</P>

<P> But the force, headed by 29-year-old Hashim Thaqi, got a jump on filling the power vacuum created when Serb-installed mayors fled Kosovo after the war ended.</P>

<P> The Kosovo Liberation Army acted quickly and efficiently, taking over such civil functions as aid delivery to refugees and traffic control.</P>

<P> Much of its heavy presence has been curbed by international forces who are trying to hold the force to its agreement to disarm and shed their uniforms.</P>

<P> But in reality, the Kosovo Liberation Army runs much of Kosovo now. In Pec, the former Democratic League mayor, whom Albanians chose in elections not approved by the Serbs, was shocked to find out, after he returned to his home, that an official installed by the Kosovo Liberation Army had replaced him as mayor.</P>

<P> "I returned with the people," and then "I heard on TV and radio" that a new mayor had been named, said Aver Husaj, 40. "They can't select a mayor without a vote. The people chose me."</P>

<P> Rugova, meanwhile, hasn't returned to battle for his position in Kosovo politics. Thaqi threatened to cut Rugova out of the Kosovo interim government if Rugova had not returned by last week, but "I don't think Mr. Thaqi will insist," Reka said. "The door is open."</P>

<P> The public's welcome of Rugova as a leader is in greater question. Rugova, with his quiet manner and ubiquitous ascot scarf, is still supported here by many Albanians, who are disappointed with his recent behavior but love the man himself.</P>

<P> "We think Rugova wanted to end the struggle with peace, without fighting. He is just like Gandhi," said Arif Basha, 55, of Pec.</P>

<P> "We love him no matter where he is in the world," added Fuat Gjuka, 36. "But we didn't like it when he went to Belgrade."</P>

<P> But for others, Rugova may be too late. "It's not good that's he's not with us," said Agim Nashi, 32, of Djakovica. "He needs to lead us. In the future, I don't know what will happen with him." </P>


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<P>Long Island Newsday

July 12, 1999

Pg. 14</P>

<P>Understated Epidemic In Kosovo </P>

<P>By Roy Gutman, Washington Bureau </P>

<P> Prizren, Kosovo, Yugoslavia - When Yugoslav troops and state agencies pulled out of Kosovo last month, they left behind two alarming health hazards that can put NATO troops, humanitarian workers and residents at risk - an epidemic of brucellosis, which spreads from sheep and cows to humans, and also the risk of tuberculosis due to an outbreak in cattle.</P>

<P> Some 500 people have contracted brucellosis in the past year in southwest Kosovo, and the real number may be higher due to under-reporting, according to local doctors in the Prizren veterinary station. Arsim Himbeqa, a veterinarian, said the government of Yugoslavia was aware of the risk of brucellosis because blood tests were conducted in laboratories in Kraljevo, Serbia, and Pristina, Kosovo.</P>

<P> He said Yugoslavia had an obligation under international agreement to report the epidemic but had not. According to a World Health Organization report in April, the Yugoslav government did inform authorities the disease existed but vastly understated the danger.</P>

<P> Brucellosis, also called Malta fever and undulant fever, requires a massive regime of antibiotics to be cured; otherwise it can cause severe liver and heart problems, sterility and in rare instances, death. It is spread from sheep or cattle to humans chiefly through undercooked meat and unpasteurized cheese or milk. For the past two years, there has been no testing for the disease in sheep or cattle.</P>

<P> The risks are heightened because veterinary inspections of food for human consumption have practically ceased except at a local packing house. "No butcher can guarantee his product," Himbeqa said.</P>

<P> Meanwhile, Prizren's chief meat inspector, Galip Ilujavovic, said he had found at least four cows in the last two months at the state slaughterhouse in advanced and visible states of tuberculosis. </P>

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<P>Boston Globe

July 12, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Role Of Rights Debated In US Kosovo Action</P>

<P>By Charles A. Radin, Globe Staff</P>

<P> It was a crowning moment in President Clinton's campaign to convince Americans that it was right for NATO to bomb Yugoslavia to stop ethnic persecution in that country's Kosovo province.</P>

<P> Elie Wiesel, a winner of the Nobel Peace Prize and a premier chronicler of the Holocaust, stood with the president in the East Room of the White House, praising the decision to go to war.</P>

<P> "This time the world was not silent," Wiesel said as he put the air at tacks launched three weeks earlier on the top shelf of good things that have happened in the 20th century, alongside the defeat of Nazism, the collapse of communism, and the rebirth of Israel. "This time we respond. This time we intervene."</P>

<P> How different from the time in 1993, at his speech at the opening of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, when Wiesel challenged Clinton to do something about the flames of ethnic hatred then consuming Bosnia.</P>

<P> It was a year before NATO began bombing and helped put an end to the war; tens of thousands of Bosnians died in the interim.</P>

<P> Many more people were killed in Bosnia and Rwanda than in Kosovo. More were driven from their homes as part of Turkey's efforts to suppress its Kurdish minority. So why did Clinton go to war over Kosovo, claiming that the abuses of human rights occurring there could not be ignored or allowed to continue?</P>

<P> For Wiesel, the answer is simple: Guilty conscience.</P>

<P> But others argue the real motivation had little to do with human rights,

and much to do with the geopolitical interests of the United States and NATO.</P>

<P> "We acted because we did not act in Bosnia, or in Rwanda, for that matter," Wiesel said in a telephone interview last week. "Our leaders ... know they could have saved so many lives. When I speak to them, I can feel that they feel they should have done this earlier."</P>

<P> But at the other end of the spectrum of analysis, there's Noam Chomsky, an MIT linguistics professor widely known for his critiques of US policy. Chomsky said assertions by Clinton and Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain that they were motivated by moral outrage at ethnic persecutions were "absolutely absurd," but the leaders' declarations that they had to protect the credibility of NATO were believable.</P>

<P> "Ask your neighborhood Mafia don what credibility means," Chomsky said. "It means if a shopkeeper doesn't pay off, you don't just collect, you beat him to pulp as a lesson to others. Serbia was a good target because it is kind of independent, like Cuba. It's cantankerous, doesn't do what it's told."</P>

<P> Between those extremes, a wide variety of former government officials, diplomats, and academic specialists suggest factors such as the election of new British and French leaders, and the appointment of a new secretary of state, shifted the balance in the United States from tepid disapproval of intervention to lukewarm approval.</P>

<P> "People weren't going to understand the details of the conflict," said Swanee Hunt, who as US ambassador to Austria helped persuade Clinton to intervene in Bosnia. Clinton "had to come in and say it's the right thing to do, the moral thing to do."</P>

<P> "All the reasons why we should not intervene and bomb may be true," she said, "but there's this other list, slightly longer, why we should. So you put on a spin, a hype, to motivate the system, to get past the paralysis, to move."</P>

<P> When Bosnia was the issue, officials played down or withheld information from the public because "to say 'these mass murders are occurring but we don't think we should intervene' was just impossible," Hunt said. It would have stimulated public opinion against the policy line.</P>

<P> In Kosovo, the need to boost public support for intervention gave the NATO allies an incentive to overestimate or exaggerate what they told the public, and sometimes to pass along unconfirmed rumors.</P>

<P> At the height of the conflict, the United States and NATO suggested that hundreds of thousands of Kosovar Albanians were dead or dying. They promoted the idea that the number of refugees and displaced persons created by the fighting was unprecedented since World War II.</P>

<P> None of it was true.</P>

<P> According to current estimates, fewer than 10,000 people were killed in

Kosovo. In Bosnia, ethnic warfare and persecutions claimed 250,000 lives, in Rwanda, the toll topped 800,000.

At peak, some estimates of refugees and displaced persons in and around Kosovo exceeded the ethnic Albanian population of the province, but that still fell short of the numbers driven from their homes by ethnic conflict and persecutions in Bosnia and Turkey.

And once spin mechanisms are activated, they tend to keep going.

Estimates of damage done by NATO's attacks have been steadily revised downward from the descriptions of decimation given by Western spokesmen during the war.

According to journalists and military sources in the region, only about 12 percent of Yugoslavia's tanks were destroyed, about a quarter of its armored personnel carriers, about 12 percent of its artillery, and no significant number of helicopters.

The Serbs did lose about half their combat aircraft, according to these estimates, marking a significant shift in the regional balance of power.

Uri Ra'anan, director of Boston University's Institute for the Study of Conflict, Ideology and Policy, said the posturing about motive and distortion of fact has created "a very murky situation ... for friends and adversaries for whom it's terribly important to have a high degree of clarity about when we would act."

"To say it was about human rights is to not explain anything," Ra'anan said. "There are 60,000 to 100,000 dead in Chechnya," a Muslim region of the Caucasus that tried to secede from Russia, "and no one thought of intervening there. Clinton said Yeltsin was acting like Abraham Lincoln."

Likewise, Chomsky said, the long campaign to suppress Turkey's Kurdish minority "illustrates that whatever else the bombing of Kosovo was about, it was not about humanitarian concerns. In Turkey, within NATO, under the authority of the Council of Europe, there are atrocities which are comparable in type to those committed in Kosovo, and worse in total numbers."

And Western governments do not "have to bomb to stop it," he said. "All they had to do was stop supporting and supplying the Turks. It is a major atrocity, a major example of ethnic cleansing, and the US is actively involved in supporting it."

This is a discomfiting point for Wiesel, who said he believes "our leaders are moral people," but who also believes that the repression of the Kurdish culture and language "is a scandal."

"I don't know enough about American policy," he said, "but it seems that because Turkey is a member of NATO, Turkey is being treated a bit with kid gloves."

Mustafa Cerić, the Muslim religious leader in Sarajevo, said he has no illusions that humanitarian motives drove the policies of the Western powers in

the region, for "all such illusions have been killed here. ... I believe the leaders could not tolerate Milosevic being so arrogant" toward NATO. "They took it personal."

"But sometimes, things should be measured by results, not motives," Cerić said. "If the intervention had been in 1991 or 1992, we would have saved many lives. But this we cannot change."

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Marine Corps Times

July 19, 1999

Pg. 22

Managed Care Drives Doctors Into Military, Recruiters Say

Red Tape Helps Top Recruiters Sign Up More Physicians

By William Matthews

Managed health care's penny-pinching, diagnosis-doubting medical bureaucrats are making doctors crazy, which suits the Navy just fine.

"Managed care is driving doctors into the Navy," said Lt. David Nieves, a Navy medical recruiter.

Compared to the newly managed civilian sector, the Navy offers its medical personnel the luxury of professional independence, Nieves said. "They can practice the way they want to."

No one questions it when doctors order more tests or ask for X-rays.

<P> No one monitors the extra minutes they might spend with a patient. </P>

<P> They aren't saddled with huge malpractice insurance bills.</P>

<P> "There is more flexibility for doctors" in the Navy than in many civilian practices, Nieves said, and it is making his job easier. </P>

<P> With the help of managed care, Nieves has been able to exceed his recruiting goals. He has signed three times as many doctors and 50 percent more dentists than his goals, beat his "black minority goal" by a factor of two and equaled his "Hispanic minority goal." </P>

<P> The Nashville-based recruiter was named the Navy's officer recruiter of the year.</P>

<P> Nieves and 16 other active-duty and reserve recruiters gathered in Defense Secretary William S. Cohen's Pentagon office July 1 to receive letters of commendation and to offer recruiting advice to their boss.</P>

<P> Some said the signs are encouraging.</P>

<P> Planned improvements in pay and benefits, including a 4.8-percent pay raise, additional raises targeting midlevel enlisted and officers, and a return to the 50-percent-of-basic-pay retirement formula are positive steps that should help recruiting, said Army National Guard Sgt. 1st Class Wesley Peterson of Cedar City, Utah.</P>

<P> But other recruiters worry the military has not found a sure-fire way to compete with the civilian sector.</P>

<P> It is tough for the military to compete when General Motors hires high-school graduates at \$15 to \$16 an hour, said Sgt. 1st Class Jerrell Wright, an Army National Guard recruiter from Anderson, Ind.</P>

<P> "It's extra hard," said Sgt. 1st Class Thomas Krech. "We're not making quotas. [Los Angeles] is a tough market. There's no magic answer to recruiting."</P>

<P> Some of the hardest competition comes not from civilian employers, but from college loan and grant programs, he said. </P>

<P> Government programs that make it easier for students to go to college are shrinking the pool of young people likely to join the military, he said.</P>

<P> Still, Krech exceeded his recruiting goal by 30 percent last year and brought the Army a high proportion of recruits scoring in the top half of the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery.</P>

<P> Recruiters face "an enormous challenge," Cohen said as he presented the 17 with letters of commendation. </P>

<P> The nation's economy is the best it has been in two decades, and the co

mpetition for talented personnel is fierce.</P>

<P> The "afterglow" of U.S. success in the Kosovo air war might help recruiting, Cohen said. After all, the military has demonstrated again that it is the best in the world. But it will still take good recruiters to attract quality personnel, he said. </P>

<P> So far this year, the Navy and Marine Corps are meeting their recruiting goals, but the Army and Air Force are falling short.</P>

<P> In addition to Nieves, Peterson, Wright and Krech, these recruiters received commendations from Cohen: </P>

<P> Navy Aviation Administrationman 1st Class Larrion Cassidy, Lawton, Okla.; Gunnery Sgt. Forrester L. Goodrich Jr., New Orleans; and Gunnery Sgt. Shawn L. Young, Fort Smith, Ark.</P>

<P> Also honored: Air Force Tech. Sgt. Scott L. Brooke of Sacramento, Calif.; Air Force Tech. Sgt. James L. Cadwell of Aiea, Hawaii; Army Reserve Sgt. 1st Class Brian Adams of Spring Lake, N.C.; Naval Reserve Counselor 1st Class Thomas G. Hahn Jr. of the Naval and Marine Corps Reserve Center, Bossier City, La.; Naval Reserve Lt. Julie A. Hammond of Great Lakes, Ill.; Reserve Gunnery Sgt. James D. Boykin of Orlando, Fla.; and Air Force Reserve Senior Master Sgt. Patrick G. Dreer Sr. of Dobbins Air Reserve Base, Ga.</P>

<P> Also, Air Force Reserve Tech. Sgt. Duren T. Harmon of Dobbins Air Reserve Base; Air National Guard Master Sgt. Kelly R. Smith of Brunswick, Ga.; and Air National Guard Tech. Sgt. Virgil L. Walker of Oklahoma City, Okla.</P>


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<P>Space News

July 19, 1999

Pg. 3</P>

<P>Troops Get Target Data From Satellite Images</P>

<P>By Warren Ferster, Space News Staff Writer</P>

<P>WASHINGTON - A computer software tool that saw its first major action in NATO's Kosovo air campaign allows deployed military forces to derive accurate targeting coordinates from satellite images on short notice.</P>

<P>Using the Joint Targeting Workstation, forces in the field can pull a satellite image up on a computer screen and determine the geographical coordinates of any spot on that image, said Keith Hall, director of the U.S. National Reconnaissance Office (NRO), which buys and operates the nation's spy satellites. He said that same software also lets the user know the margin of error of those coordinates.</P>

<P>Previously, satellite-based targeting coordinates had to be produced in the United States, Hall said. Now soldiers can get that information in the field and send it directly to the cockpits of attack aircraft, he said.</P>

<P>The Joint Targeting Workstation reduces the time it takes to get targeting information into the hands of forces from hours to minutes, NRO spokesman Art Haubold said.</P>

<P>The portable system, built by Marconi Integrated Systems, San Diego, can merge satellite images with those taken by aircraft, Hall told reporters here. That gives soldiers the accuracy of satellite imagery plus the timeliness of airborne imagery, he said.</P>

<P>Unpiloted aircraft were used extensively in Yugoslavia for reconnaissance, but Hall said that these aerial probes, while they offer some advantages, cannot replace satellites.</P>

<P>The NRO is developing a new imaging architecture featuring more satellites for more frequent coverage across the globe. Hall said the Future Imagery Architecture is still needed, even though aircraft can be launched on a moment's notice and provide near-continuous surveillance of key areas.</P>

<P>Aircraft are good for locating mobile targets like tanks, but their photographs are not accurate enough to provide reliable targeting coordinates, Hall said. That is best done by over-laying aerial photographs on top of more accurate satellite imagery, he said.</P>

<P>Aerial images typically cover small areas, which in many cases do not have features with known locations, Haubold explained. Satellite images often contain rivers and other landmarks whose location is fixed and known, he said.</P>

<P>In addition, it often takes time to deploy aircraft to distant theaters of operation and under certain weather conditions aerial probes are grounded entirely, Hall said.</P>

<P>Satellites, on the other hand, always are within a few hours of passing over the world's hot spots, he said.</P>

<P>The Joint Targeting Workstation is one example of how information collected

by classified spy satellites is becoming increasingly utilized on the battlefield, Hall said. It is one of several new satellite-related capabilities brought to bear in the Kosovo conflict, he said.

In an interview with Space News in early April, shortly after the Kosovo operation began, U.S. Air Force Gen. Richard Myers, commander in chief of U.S. Space Command, said the military has made tremendous strides in the utilization of space systems since the 1991 Persian Gulf War. "I think if you could ask the folks that are conducting the operations in Kosovo, you'd find that they are very satisfied with the support they're getting from space," he said.

But Myers also said more needed to be done, and specifically mentioned deriving precise targeting coordinates in-theater using satellite imagery as a capability that was not being exploited in the Kosovo operation.

According to Haubold, the Pentagon did not request use of the Joint Targeting Workstation until April 5. Prior to that time, the capability was not critical because NATO was focusing its air attacks on fixed targets, such as known military installations. As the campaign expanded to include smaller and mobile tactical targets, such as individual aircraft and armored personnel carriers, the need for the workstation increased, he said.

Despite the success of the Joint Targeting Workstation, the Pentagon must do more to make space-based data available on the battlefield, Hall said. Potential adversaries learn more about U.S. satellite exploitation capabilities with each conflict and adjust accordingly, Hall said. That requires continuously updating techniques and technologies in what Hall called an ongoing "cat and mouse game."

Hall also said the U.S. military services are not prepared to take advantage of the NRO's capabilities in satellite reconnaissance. The training and equipment in these areas within the U.S. armed forces is inadequate, he said.

"We agree wholeheartedly," said Maj. Perry Nousis, a spokesman for U.S. Space Command. At a time when the Air Force is becoming increasingly reliant on high-technology systems, the service is having difficulty retaining personnel with the skills needed to utilize those systems, he said.

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<P>Aerospace Daily

July 13, 1999</P>

<P>Pentagon Appeals Authorizers' Actions On SBIRS, THAAD</P>

<P> The Pentagon has sent a package to congressional defense authorizers appealing a number of actions in the fiscal year 2000 defense bill, including the addition of unrequested funds for a flight demonstration for the Space Based Infrared System Low (SBIRS Low), Patriot Anti-Cruise Missile development and Theater High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) missile.</P>

<P> The Pentagon sends its appeals requests to the defense committees each year as they go to conference to resolve differences in their respective versions of the defense spending bill. It's the Dept. of Defense's last shot at swaying lawmakers before final passage of the annual bills. House and Senate defense authorizers kick off their conference meetings today.</P>

<P> The Pentagon urged the authorizers to remove the funding previously designated for SBIRS Low flight demonstrations.</P>

<P> "Neither House nor Senate consolidated SBIRS Low funding into the EMD (engineering and manufacturing development) budget line item to reflect the decision to terminate the SBIRS Low flight demonstration and to apply all FY 2000 funds to the program definition and risk reduction contracts," DOD said.</P>

<P> DOD asks the conferees to transfer the flight demonstration funds to the EMD line. Such a move, however, could be met with some tough resistance because a number of lawmakers are insisting on flight demos (DAILY, July 9).</P>

<P>SBIRS Low flight demo still an issue</P>

<P> "The termination of the flight demonstration means that the \$151.4 million budgeted for SBIRS Low demonstration/validation is no longer required for that purpose, but that the new Program Definition and Risk Reduction contracts will require \$229 million in FY 2000 in lieu of the \$77.7 million budgeted," DOD said.</P>

<P> On the Patriot efforts, DOD asks the conferees to reconsider a move by the Senate to add \$60 million to the \$30.8 million request for the Patriot Anti-Cruise Missile (PACM). DOD asks support of a Senate move to beef up funding of the Patriot Advanced Capability-3 (PAC-3) to \$542 million.</P>

<P> "DOD did not request funding for and does not support the Senate's \$60 million additional authorization for the PACM because it does not fully meet our operational requirement to provide theater missile defense against tactical ballistic missiles and air breathing threats, to include those carrying weapons of mass destruction," DOD said.</P>

<P> On THAAD, the Pentagon opposes the House's \$90 million transfer from THAAD to an Upper Tier theater missile defense account. The Pentagon wants to move

either THAAD or Navy Theater Wide into a faster track as its premier Upper Tier program after both programs are assessed for maturity and cost after 2000.

DOD said shifting funds now will jeopardize the THAAD first unit equipped date of 2007.

"The transfer of funds to the Upper Tier program is also premature," it said. "The Upper Tier strategy will not be implemented until 2002."

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Federal Computer Week

July 12, 1999

DOD: Encryption Export Troubling

By Daniel Verton

To the dismay of various national security and industry experts, senior Defense and intelligence officials have drawn a line in the sand regarding the export of powerful encryption technology.

Testifying this month before the House Armed Services Committee, John Hamre, deputy secretary of Defense, and Barbara McNamara, deputy director of the National Security Agency, said the Security and Freedom through Encryption (SAFE) Act could make it easier for terrorists to obtain the tools they need to evade detection and could disrupt the government's move to electronic commerce.

The SAFE Act would remove most of the restrictions placed on exports of strong encryption technology, making it easier for anyone, including terrorists and criminal organizations that might plan acts of violence, to conceal electronic communications. The House Armed Services Committee plans to mark up the SAFE Act next week.

<P> If passed into law, the SAFE Act would "undermine the government's ability to provide timely, critical intelligence data to our national leaders and warfighters," Hamre said. In addition, the SAFE Act's mandatory prohibition on key escrow - a concept describing the ability of federal law enforcement agencies to recover and view encrypted data - could have a negative impact on the government's planned use of encryption products for programs ranging from electronic commerce to internal messaging, Hamre said.</P>

<P> "For example, some of our Defense finance centers process over \$40 million [worth] of transactions an hour," he said. "There is no way that I am going to allow such activities to proceed without a way to recover the data. To the extent that we wish to make further use of...commercial products, commercial certificate managers and other elements of the private sector, this bill will inhibit progress that could benefit business, government and citizens alike."</P>

<P> McNamara added that the SAFE Act would "ultimately result in the loss of essential intelligence reporting." She holds the No. 2 position at NSA, the Defense Department's intelligence arm that is responsible for the interception and analysis of electronic communications around the world.</P>

<P> However, a recent survey conducted by the Cyberspace Policy Institute at George Washington University, Washington, D.C., found that encryption technology is widely available. The survey identified 805 hardware and software products that use cryptography. Those products were developed in 35 countries, with the majority of new products aimed at communications encryption. In addition, the survey found that the available products overseas ran the gamut of capabilities, including up to and above 128-bit encryption key length.</P>

<P> "On average, the quality of foreign and U.S. products is comparable," the survey said. In fact, "in the face of continuing U.S. export controls on encryption products, technology and services, some American companies have financed the creation or growth of foreign cryptographic firms," it said. Other U.S. firms have purchased foreign companies and have left their cryptography experts in place rather than bringing the talent back to the United States, according to the report. </P>

<P> "With the expertise offshore, the relatively stringent U.S. export controls for cryptographic products can be avoided since products can be shipped from countries with less stringent controls," the survey said.</P>

<P> One such company identified in the survey is Entrust Technologies Inc., which is a U.S. company that develops cryptographic products in Canada and exports them from there. Entrust also is a major supplier of digital certificates services and public-key infrastructure products to U.S. government financial organizations. </P>

<P> Brian O'Higgins, executive vice president and chief technology officer with Entrust, said e-commerce is the driving force behind the easing of export controls - a force that cannot be stopped. "The commercial market needs [strong encryption]; therefore, the need will be filled," O'Higgins said. "The rule of the Internet is that if something can happen, it will. The controls will disappear at some point; we just don't know when. You can't stop electronic commerce." </P>

<P> Likewise, Jari Puhakka, a spokesman for Data Fellows Corp. - another company listed in the survey, with main offices in San Jose, Calif., and Espoo, Finland - said strong encryption products already are widely available. "Our position has been from the outset that if strong encryption is outlawed, then only outlaws will have strong encryption," Puhakka said. "Far from hampering crime and terrorism, expansive restrictions on cryptography will serve only to create an environment in which crime and terrorism can flourish with impunity."</P>

<P> In a response to FCW's request for official clarification of DOD's policy, a spokesman said that although foreign availability of strong encryption products may have an impact on the sales of U.S. encryption products abroad, "basing U.S. policy on foreign availability would be reactionary and would decrease the [Clinton] administration's ability to address its national security needs."
</P>

<P> Steven Aftergood, an intelligence specialist working on the Project on Government Secrecy at the Federation of American Scientists, said the global market in encryption is "converging on a situation where strong encryption is going to be in widespread use by the bad guys as well as the good guys - if we are not already there." However, the logic behind DOD's argument remains "elusive," he said. </P>

<P> "Many officials evidently believe that there is a net advantage to be gained from delaying the widespread availability of strong encryption," Aftergood said. "But even these officials must realize that, for better or for worse, current controls are not sustainable for long."</P>

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<P>Dayton Daily News

July 10, 1999

Pg. 4B</P>

<P>Kosovo Not As Bad As Hobson Expected</P>

<I><P>The Springfield representative returns today after a tour of the troubled region.</P>

</I><P>By Scott Montgomery, Washington Bureau</P>

<P> WASHINGTON - Houses are still on fire in Kosovo, U.S. Rep. David L. Hobson said by telephone Friday, though most of the recent blazes have been set by Albanians torching the homes of retreating Serbs.</P>

<P> Hobson, R-Springfield, returns today after a week with a group of six other lawmakers, including Rep. John Boehner of West Chester, visiting the troubled Balkan region and surrounding U.S. military bases.</P>

<P> As chairman of the Military Construction Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, Hobson took the group to several military bases to investigate the condition of U.S. installations overseas. Since Hobson planned to be in Italy, House Speaker Denny Hastert asked him to take the group to Kosovo and Macedonia.</P>

<P> Generally, Hobson said the condition of things is better than he expected, which mirrored recent reports by the United Nations that physical destruction is not as widespread as previously thought.</P>

<P> The U.S.-controlled area in the southern part of the Kosovo province has electricity and serviceable roads, and most buildings are intact, he said. But the horrors of what happened during the two-month occupation of the land by Serbian military forces are not hard to spot.</P>

<P> Hobson visited a hospital where they performed several emergency operations the day the group was there. Mostly, to help people hurt by land mines.</P>

<P> 'Apparently, they're finding more and more mine fields,' he said.</P>

<P> And mass graves. Hobson said DNA soon will be employed to help identify victims, since dental records aren't routinely kept. In the meantime, much of the work is done by taking samples of clothing found on the bodies and asking families if they recognize the fabric.</P>

<P> Hobson also said Kosovo is a land with absolutely no government. From the most mundane jobs to the most important, there's no civilian structure in place to handle police or fire or garbage pickup or anything.</P>

<P> 'The only order is being kept by the American military,' Hobson said.</P>

<P> The group traveled by helicopter and armored Humvee during its five-hour swing through Kosovo. Later, members went to Macedonia, a border state whose fragile economy was overwhelmed by the tide of refugees during the crisis.</P>

<P> 'There's going to be a need to help Macedonia,' Hobson said. 'They've

suffered in this in a different way.' </P>

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<P>Defense Week

July 12, 1999

Pg. 16</P>

<P>Opposition Flags To Southcoms Home In Miami</P>

<P>By David Abel </P>

<P> Before U.S. Southern Command moved from the trip le-canopy jungles of Panama to the urban jungle of Miami in 1997, politicians from Colorado to Puerto Rico lobbied for the thousands of jobs and millions of dollars the military headquarters would generate.</P>

<P> Since then, Congress has stymied Southcoms growth and held a question mark over its future in Miami by refusing to provide money to purchase instead of lease the 28 acres its newly built headquarters is now set on. Now, after a report from Secretary of Defense William Cohen called Miami "the best location" and Southcom chief Marine Corps Gen. Charles Wilhelm recently echoed those sentiments before Congress, the leading critics of keeping Southcom in Miami are tempering their opposition.</P>

<P> But they still want to keep their options open. So they continue to oppose providing the money to buy, rather than lease the land, even though they concede leasing costs more. Southcom oversees U.S. military interests in the Caribbean and Latin America.</P>

<P> "I think we should give the site in Miami time to develop," said Rep. Joel Hefley, (R-Colo.) the chairman of the House Armed Services Military Installations Subcommittee whose district was under consideration for Southcom. "I want it to settle in; they may discover a lot of other things But Im not in a position to second-guess the service."</P>

<P> Hefley was one of a coterie of critical lawmakers who helped block the \$26.7 million the Clinton administration requested for fiscal 1999 to purchase the land and building in Miami that's now home to Southcom.</P>

<P> Though the Office of Management and Budget recommended forgoing the 10-year lease in favor of purchasing the property, the president did not seek the money for fiscal 2000, as the Pentagon report had not yet been submitted.</P>

<P> The administration is expected to make such a request for fiscal 2001. But Congress is unlikely to approve the money. According to Hefley and House and Senate staffers, the lease, which is considered less economical than buying fast-appreciating land in South Florida, allows Congress to keep its options open.</P>

<P> Fait accompli</P>

<P> "It's pretty much a fait accompli," said an aide to Sen. Charles Robb (D-Va.), a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee who previously supported attaching Southcom to U.S. Atlantic Command in Norfolk, Va. "There have been a lot of grumblings about putting it in Miami. I think we're stuck with the decision now. But if there was enough support for moving it to an existing base, I think the senator would support that."</P>

<P> Aside from pork-barrel politics, the main reasons cited for not purchasing the property in Miami are security and costs.</P>

<P> In the report accompanying its version of the fiscal 1999 defense authorization bill, the House Armed Services Committee stated it opposed buying the property because it was located in the flight path of a planned runway of Miami International Airport and didn't provide for nonmilitary support facilities such as housing and child care available on existing military bases.</P>

<P> One obvious location that was in contention for Southcom was MacDill AFB in Tampa, Fla., only a few hours northwest of Miami. It's already home to the Special Operations Command and Central Command, which is responsible for the Persian Gulf region.</P>

<P> "My boss has always been a proponent that Southcom be based at MacDill," said an aide to the powerful House Appropriations Committee chairman, Bill Young (R-Fla.), whose district borders Tampa. "It has all the necessary infrastructure. You don't have to go out and pay for things like housing or schools."</P>

<P> Becoming a base</P>

<P> That's a persisting complaint heard on the House Armed Services Committee: The Miami headquarters requires continual and expensive add-ons for the more than 1,000 military personnel assigned there.</P>

<P> "It's becoming a base," Hefley said. "Part of the reason for the opposition is Southcom's requirements keep changing. It appears to us in

flux. That's why it's best to continue the lease."

The House committee said in its fiscal 1999 report that once Cohen explained how Miami was chosen and whether it was the best location, it would reconsider the proposal to purchase the land.

Cohen's answer came in late April. In a previously unpublished report, Cohen said Miami rose above more than 100 potential sites because of its emerging role as the first city of Latin America.

"When mission was given primary consideration, Miami was the best location, and under any circumstances Miami never ranked less than second," Cohen wrote. "... As the gateway to Latin America and the Caribbean, [Miami] is the preeminent location from which to support regional security cooperation in the Americas into the 21st century."

And that opinion was followed up by the testimony of Wilhelm, the Southcom commander, in June before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He said the two-year-old lease should be scrapped for a purchase plan to ensure Southcom's future in Miami.

"With its economic, cultural, academic, transportation and consular ties to our area of responsibility, Miami has proven to be the most credible location in the continental United States," Wilhelm said. "I believe the government will be best served by purchasing our headquarters."

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<P>Army Times

July 19, 1999

Pg. 10 </P>

<P>Apaches Are Eyes And Ears Of Kosovo Mission</P>

<P>By Matthew Cox </P>

<P> CAMP BONDSTEEL, Kosovo -- Cutting through the black of night, two AH-64 Apache gunships fly at 300 feet, scanning the rooftops near Vitina until they spot something hot. </P>

<P> They move in closer to investigate the suspicious heat source, seen through the Apache's thermal gun camera.</P>

<P> "I think I see a fire," one pilot says, watching as flames escape from a house in the village of Pozarnje. "It looks like it's just starting. And I've got a vehicle driving away from there."</P>

<P> The Apache team tracks the vehicle but is careful to remain undetected.</P>

<P> A quick radio call alerts an American checkpoint up the road. Soldiers stop the vehicle and order its three passengers out and on the ground.</P>

<P> "It would feel real nice to know that we got one person that did something screwed up," one pilot remarks. </P>

<P> His wish is soon granted. A thorough search reveals several large cans of gasoline, giving peace-keepers enough evidence to detain the three for suspected arson in addition to violating curfew.</P>

<P> The scene -- captured on videotape through the Apache's Forward Looking Infrared Radar -- shows one of the tools these heavily armed attack helicopters are employing to assist the American peace-keeping mission in Kosovo. </P>

<P> It's a welcome change for the pilots and aircrews of these venerated weapons of war. </P>

<P> While leaders at Task Force Falcon view the 12-Apache force as an irreplaceable asset in the peacekeeping mission, the Apaches have come under criticism in recent weeks. </P>

<P> Brig. Gen. Richard Cody, commander of the 24 Apaches that deployed to Albania at the start of the air war with Yugoslavia, recently told Army leaders and Congress that Task Force Hawk aviators were under-trained and unprepared in the early weeks of the war. Though Apache pilots saw no action against Serb forces, two Apaches crashed during night training exercises, killing both pilots. While issues of Apache combat readiness are still being debated, their role in Operation Joint Guardian has proven vital, providing ground patrols with airborne reconnaissance and an unmatched threat deterrent.</P>

<P> "The Apache is truly the symbol of American power, it's the symbol of American might and it's the symbol of control," said Col. Jeffrey Schloesser, commander of the 12th Aviation Brigade based at Camp Able Sentry in Macedonia. While not denying that Apaches were plagued with difficulties in Albania, Schloesser said that part of the problem was adapting to adverse flying conditions such as mountainous terrain, high altitudes and unpredictable weather.</P>

<P> "I've been in this business a long time and I would say Albania is a pretty difficult arena to take aircraft into," he said.</P>

<P> Since deploying to Kosovo, the 12 Apaches have become a permanent part of the aerial landscape. Beginning at 4 p.m. every day, teams of two Apaches scour the American sector well into the early morning hours. Besides providing aerial reconnaissance, the Apache's formidable weapon system provides a huge psychological impact that has been successful in preventing trouble before it starts.</P>

<P> The Apache sports a wide range of weapon systems, from laser-guided, Hellfire anti-tank missiles to 2.75-inch Hydra rockets to a 30 mm chain gun capable of firing 625 rounds per minute.</P>

<P> While the Apaches were never used against Serb forces in Albania, Hicks said that their threatening presence worked to keep Yugoslavian forces off balance.</P>

<P> "Just being there provided psychological war against the Serbs," said Col. Stephen Hicks, deputy commander of Task Force Falcon. "They didn't know what [the Apaches] were going to do."</P>

<P> Capt. John Jacobs, an Apache co-pilot and weapons operator, said the toughest challenge was making the shift to peacekeeper after months of training for war.</P>

<P> But while the flying conditions in Albania took their toll on many of the pilots, he also said it helped give them the edge they needed to be successful in Kosovo.</P>

<P> "This is much, much easier than what we were doing in Albania," Jacobs said. "And we are much better trained because of it."</P>


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<P>European Stars And Stripes

July 13, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Life In A Powder Keg</P>

<I><P>Weekend shootings show tenuous peace</P>

</I><P>By Kevin Dougherty, Staff writer</P>

<P> GNJILANE, Kosovo U.S. forces in Gnjilane were apparently not the target of rabble-rousers this weekend, at least not at first.</P>

<P> But events Saturday deteriorated to the point where shots were fired at soldiers after two Albanian men were shot one fatally by a young Serb who was trying to protect his father and the rest of the family, said the commander of the Army's 1st Battalion, 26th Infantry Regiment.</P>

<P> No soldiers were injured in the series of incidents that followed the shootings. The spasmodic responses ranged from grenade blasts to potshots at American snipers perched at a lookout point in the center of town.</P>

<P> Army Lt. Col. Bob Scurlock Jr. said Monday that three Albanian men apparently harassed a Serbian family Friday night, banging on their front door while the occupants hunkered down inside. Four men returned to the scene late Saturday afternoon and began intimidating the father and son again, but this time the son, whom Scurlock estimated to be in his 20s, raised a rifle and started shooting through the door.</P>

<P> For more than three hours after the shootings, the scene in Gnjilane grew tense. There were several grenade blasts, dozens of gunshots and a speeding car from which occupants opened fire on an elevated American lookout. When it was over, 11 people were detained and a dozen weapons were seized, as well as an abandoned car with bloodstains on the seats.</P>

<P> "We believe there were only two people in the car," Scurlock said from his headquarters at Camp Monteith.</P>

<P> Other than the bloodstains, Scurlock said there was no trace of the two.</P>

<P> Army investigators Monday were still sorting out the whole Saturday affair.</P>

<P> "There were some lulls, but we had some firefights," said Maj. Luke Fox, Scurlock's executive officer. "It does appear that we were not the initial targets.</P>

<P> Scurlock and his staff prefer to accentuate the positives, which include some degree of cooperation between Albanians and Serbs and a willingness among most locals to concentrate on rebuilding their lives after months of armed conflict.</P>

<P> "Most of the acts of violence have been against the Serbs," s

aid Maj. Steve Russell, the battalions operations officer. "Were trying to make it all stop."

But Russell said even when folks behave, frustrations often mount.

For example, he recounted how someone recently set ablaze some Serbian shops adjacent to a mosque. Firefighters arrived on the scene and started passing out pails of water to extinguish the blaze. However, Albanian Muslims seated at a nearby cafe refused to help the bucket brigade because Serbs owned the shops even though a stiff wind could have spread the flames to the mosque.

And yet for every tale such as that, there are success stories, Scurlock said.

One of his favorites so far is the Serbian man who manages the water-treatment facility northeast of Gnjilane. Hes got 25 years invested in his job, and he thinks nothing of working side by side with Albanians.

Russell nodded in agreement as Scurlock spoke of the man. The plant manager told the soldiers that everyone Serb, Albanian, Turk or Gypsy needs water.

"If all of Kosovo could work like the water-treatment plant," Russell said, "weve have this (mission) licked."

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<P>St. Louis Post-Dispatch

July 10, 1999 </P>

<P>E-Mail Shows The Discontent Among Some In Armed Forces </P>

<P>By Harry Levins </P>

<P> Back in World War II, the GI paper known as the Stars & Stripes ran a feature in which soldiers could air their gripes. Wise officers read the column closely to measure the mood of their men.</P>

<P> Today's equivalent gauge has to be e-mail. Military people have a wonderful communications network for spreading messages. Naturally, the system is pressed into use for spreading gripes as well.</P>

<P> For the Army's sake, I hope that some of this stuff creeps into the computers of high-ranking officers - and that they read it and learn from it.</P>

<P> Some officers like to repeat a cliché to that effect that the time to worry about morale is when the soldiers are not griping.</P>

<P> I'm not sure the cliché was ever true; it always rang a bit too pat for me.</P>

<P> Today's griping is sardonic, ironic and delivered (via e-mail) with the frustration of people who feel that their affection for the institution is unrequited.</P>

<P> Here (slightly edited) is a typical example. It arrived in my e-mail from New Hampshire, from a retired lieutenant colonel who served with me way back when we were both second lieutenants of infantry:</P>

<P> "U.S. Army Official Voice Mail Message:</P>

<P> "Thank you for calling the United States Army. I'm sorry, but all of our units are out at the moment, or are otherwise engaged. Please leave a message with your country, name of organization, the region, the specific crisis and a number at which we can call you. As soon as we have sorted out the Balkans, Iraq, Korea, China, the Y2K Bug and compulsory Consideration-Of-Others training, we will return your call.</P>

<P> "Please speak after the tone, or, if you require more options, please listen to the following menu.</P>

<P> "If your crisis is small and close to the sea, press One for the United States Marine Corps.</P>

<P> "If your crisis is distant, with a temperate climate and good hotels and can be solved by one or two low-risk, high-altitude bombing runs, please press Two for the United States Air Force. Please note that this service is not available after 4:30 p.m. or on weekends.</P>

<P> "If your inquiry concerns a situation that can be resolved by a bit of gray funnel, bunting, flags and a really good marching band, please write - well in advance - to the United States Navy. Please note that Tomahawk missile service is extremely limited and will be provided on a first-come, first-served basis.</P>

<P> "If your inquiry is not urgent, please press Three for the Rapid Deployment Force.</P>

<P> "If you are in really hot trouble, please press Four, and your call will be routed to the United States Army Special Operations Command. Please note that a compulsory credit check will be required to ensure that you can afford the inherent TDY (temporary duty, or per diem) costs. Also be aware the Special Operations Command may bill your account at any time and is not required to tell you why, as it will be classified.</P>

<P> "If you are interested in joining the Army and wish to be shouted at, paid little, have premature arthritis, put your wife and family in a condemned hut miles from civilization and are prepared to work your a-- off daily, risking your life in all types of weather and terrain, both day and night, while watching Congress erode your original benefits program, please stay on the line.</P>

<P> "Your call will shortly be transferred to a bitter, passed-over Army recruiter in an old strip mall down by the Post Office.</P>

<P> "Have a pleasant day, and thank you again for trying to call the United States Army." </P>

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<P>Federal Computer Week

July 12, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Navy Outlines \$2B Intranet Program</P>

<I><P>Fast-track schedule calls for Naval/Marine Corps Intranet to be completed in 2001</P>

</I><P>By Bob Brewin</P>

<P> Last week the Navy kicked off its plans to develop, acquire and deploy by the end of 2001 a high-speed intranet to serve 700,000 users at 300 onshore sites at a cost estimated as high as \$2 billion.</P>

<P> Joe Cipriano, the Navy's new program executive officer for information technology, said the Navy/Marine Corps Intranet should provide an "end-to-end solution for voice, video and data." At a packed briefing last week in Quantico, Va., Cipriano challenged industry to come up with a "knowledge-based solution" that is "a service, not a commodity." </P>

<P> The N/MCI is designed to serve Navy and Marine Corps users at bases in the continental United States and Hawaii. It will connect to deployed vessels and units through what Cipriano called the "fully funded" Information Technology for the 21st Century project, which will connect bases with ships using commercial networks. Naval and Marine bases overseas also will hook into the intranet, with installation and upgrades covered by other -- and in most cases existing -- contracts. </P>

<P> The Navy wants to acquire the 450,000-seat network at a "fixed price per seat," according to Ruth Ann Zambolis, the deputy program manager for the project at the Space and Naval Warfare Systems Command (Spawar). Navy and Marine officials at the briefing declined to estimate the total cost of the network, which will be designed to provide end-to-end service, including regional and long-haul communications service, network hardware, desktop PCs and software. Cipriano said it "was in the billions of dollars." </P>

<P> Controlling costs is one of the driving forces behind the new intranet, and the Navy wants to acquire a world-class network at "equal or less costs than we are paying today," Cipriano said. Rear Adm. John Gauss, Spawar commander, last week said that within his command "I spend \$6,550 per capita...and if it comes in less than that, I'll save money." </P>

<P> The Navy asked industry to come up with the most creative solutions it could for the intranet. For example, Gauss suggested that bidders could consider wireless local-area networks to serve bases, which would save the cost of stringing cable. Cipriano said the Navy will entertain solutions that include using existing Navy and Marine computers and software. </P>

<P> A requirement industry cannot ignore is building a mechanism to handle the "sea/shore rotation" for uniformed technical personnel, Cipriano said. Bidders must develop a solution that includes billets for sailors on shore duty as well as provides training for these personnel that will "keep their skills current," he said. Cipriano said the new contract "will not eliminate government jobs, except for local help desks. This is a new requirement." </P>

<P> Security and operational considerations have equal ranking with cost savings, according to Vice Adm. Robert Natter, the Navy's director of space, information warfare, command and control. </P>

<P> Brig. Gen. Robert Shea, the Marine Corps' assistant chief of staff for command, control, communications, computers and intelligence, said security needs to be built into the network up front because of continuing attacks against Defense Department networks. "We're at war already," he said. </P>

<P> If a multilayered security system is not built into the network, "we'll always be playing catch-up," Shea said. </P>

<P> The Navy plans to release a request for proposals this November and award the project to a vendor by May 2000.</P>

<P> Navy managers and some industry executives said protests could delay the intranet even before the Navy manages to issue the RFP, with small businesses the most likely leaders of the protest pack. Representatives of small businesses attending the briefing pointed out that the plan did not include any small-business component. Eric DeGraff, Spawar program manager for base-level infrastructure, said the Navy has "not finalized a strategy in regard to small business... . It will be in compliance with all statutes and policies."</P>

<P> GTE Government Systems and Lucent Technologies Inc., both of which hold the Navy's Voice, Video and Data (Vivid) contract, also could derail the procurement, one industry source said. "They could argue that the Navy should just write them a task order for the intranet," the source said. "Those companies both spent a riot of money bidding Vivid, and now a lot of the business they anticipated will go away."</P>

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<P>Defense News

July 19, 1999

Pg. 22</P>

<U><P>One On One</P>

</U><P>Adm. Archie Clemins</P>

<I><P>Commander, U.S. Pacific Fleet</P>

</I><P>At 5 a.m. on a recent Monday, sailors commuting via ferry to the naval base at Bremerton, Wash., were startled to see the commander of the entire U.S. Pacific Fleet riding along with them. This was Adm. Archie Clemins' method for gauging firsthand the life of sailors under his command.</P>

<P>Never mind that he flew from Monterey, Calif., the night before to catch the ferry. He would be back there later that day to engage in a debate with Larry Ellison, chief executive of Oracle Corp., on ways to change the Navy to function more like a commercial entity.</P>

<P>That is vintage Clemins, according to his aides. He is equally at ease discussing naval operations or arcane information systems with senior leaders as he is at waxing nostalgic about the music of old-time country singer Red Sovine with sailors and junior officers. </P>

<P>Clemins literally has dragged the Navy into the information revolution by virtue of his unstinting championing of networking technology and the power it can bring to naval operations.</P>

<P>A submariner by trade, Clemins has commanded several submarines and served in responsible staff positions in Washington, and with both the Atlantic and Pacific fleets.</P>

<P>Soon to retire, Clemins has yet to reveal his post-military plans, but many on his staff are placing bets that he will end up in a lucrative position somewhere in the vast information systems world.</P>

<P>Recently he spoke about the challenges facing his broad command with Defense News Staff Writer <I>Robert Holzer</I>.</P>

<P>Q. You have been instrumental in getting the Navy's leadership to embrace the Information Technology for the 21st Century (IT-21) initiative. Will the funding be added to the service's budget to see this to fruition?</P>

<P>A. IT-21 is paying for itself every day. Target planning [for naval forces] in Kosovo, the imagery, is all moved over the IT-21 network. If you don't have it you are left out [of the action]. The increase in defense spending will provide us with enough money to do the battle groups that were left out.</P>

<P>Q. How does this compare to plans to develop a Navy-wide intranet to improve operations ashore?</P>

<P>A. We will do that by the end of 2001. Everybody is working on that. There is an extra \$280 million that went into the budget, all for the intranet.</P>

<P>Q. Does the U.S. Navy's headlong embrace of new technologies risk leaving behind many U.S. allies?</P>

<P>A. There are great challenges to capitalize on technology, but at the same time we must remain interoperable. We don't intend to slow down. When those countries decide to spend money to stay even, it will be much cheaper for them this way. The Royal Navy is buying Tomahawk now; Japan the Aegis system. You look at what we are sharing with Australia, and even Singapore. So those countries that want to buy into our capability have the opportunity to do that.</P>

<P>Q. Navy leaders are talking about creating a network-centric force for

the future, where different platforms and capabilities are linked together. How far off is such a force?

A. I think it will be the end of 2001 until we have the information backbone in place.

Q. Can the Navy compete for this type of skill in the information economy?

A. We are just starting to understand this. If you go to work for an information company, they build you a campus to work on. Have you ever been to a Navy base? Does it look like a campus? We fundamentally have to come to a different mindset. We might have to pay people for their intellectual capital instead of how many people they lead.

Q. More Navy leaders are saying 50 attack submarines is not enough. What is the right number?

A. The number is 72.

Q. How long can the Navy continue to deploy forces and meet missions with a smaller and overworked force?

A. I think everybody knows we cut too much. If you go back to 1989 when the Berlin Wall came down, was there some reason we should have expected a peace dividend? Was there something in history that told us that? The 2000 budget is the first step in adding more money and launching a national debate on defense.

VITAL STATISTICS

Area of Responsibility: Pacific, Indian and Arctic oceans from the West Coast of the United States to the east coast of Africa, covering 100 million square miles, and about two-thirds of the world's population.

Mission: Promote U.S. Pacific Command's strategy of theater engagement by encouraging regional peace, security and stability through exercises, port visits and forward deployments.

History: The U.S. Navy's presence in the region dates to 1821 when the Pacific Squadron was established to protect the burgeoning trade of American merchant ships. Pacific Fleet located at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, since 1940.

Fleet: Today the Pacific Fleet has 190 ships, including six aircraft carrier battle groups, six amphibious-ready groups; 1,400 aircraft; and 220,000 sailors and Marines.

Personal: Clemens said he plans to go camping with his wife and family after retirement. He is devoted to helping disadvantaged youngsters in his hometown of Mount Vernon, Ill.

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<P>Honolulu Star-Bulletin

July 12, 1999</P>

<U><P>The Military vs. The Millennium</P>

</U><P>Pacific Fleet Winning Battle Against Time</P>

<I><P>A carrier and other ships perform key systems tests a
t sea in advance of Y2K</P>

</I><P>By Gregg K. Kakesako, Star-Bulletin</P>

<P> ABOARD THE USS CONSTELLATION -- The Navy is confident its warplanes wil
l fly, its missiles will fire and that its radar will be able to detect the ene
my after New Year's Day 2000.</P>

<P> In at-sea tests off the San Diego coast using the aircraft carrier Cons
tellation and 15 other Navy, Coast Guard and Canadian ships, the Pacific Fleet
tested more than 100 systems and reported only minor glitches.</P>

<P> Cmdr. Ann Westerfield, Constellation's combat systems officer, said the
se tests involved critical communications, engineering and weapons systems.</P>

<P> During the Navy's first at-sea evaluations of potential Y2K impact, the
carrier's clocks were reset to New Year's Eve, Dec. 31, 1999.</P>

<P> As the date rolled over into the new year, "it was uneventful," said We
sterfield.</P>

<P> "Everything worked that was supposed to work; everything happened as it
was supposed to happen. The bottom line was that the tests were very successfu
l," said Westerfield.</P>

<P> While Westerfield watched from the Constellation's combat information c
enter on the 03 level directly under the flight deck, the nation's second-oldest

t warship underwent flight operations.</P>

<P> Four huge steam-powered catapults continued to launch F-18 Hornet and F-14 Tomcat jet fighters, two at a time. Other weapon systems also were unaffected by the date change.</P>

<P> The Constellation, one of 192 vessels in the Pacific Fleet, was chosen because of the remote possibility it will be at sea when the new year rolls over. The Constellation battle group, which stopped briefly here last month on its way to Korea, is supposed to return to San Diego by mid-December.</P>

<P> The trials followed several other tests dockside at San Diego and Pearl Harbor on the guided-missile cruiser USS Chosin and the destroyer USS Kinkaid, a frigate and two submarines. Less than 5 percent of Chosin's system is date sensitive and vulnerable to failing when 1999 becomes 2000, said Capt. Tim Traverso, Pacific Fleet Y2K team leader and director for command, control, communications, computers and intelligence.</P>

<P> Similar Y2K tests were conducted aboard the assault ship USS Bataan off the North Carolina coast on June 28. Another Y2K test is planned for August on the nuclear carrier USS Stennis off the East Coast.</P>

<P> Capt. David Taylor, skipper of the assault ship USS Bataan, said there was little excitement as the clocks were turned ahead.</P>

<P> "It was like watching grass grow," Taylor said.</P>

<P> Like the Navy, other military commands in Hawaii report that they are more than 95 percent toward reaching Y2K compliance by the end of September and the start of the federal fiscal year, which begins Oct. 1.</P>

<P> In May, the Navy's Y2K readiness tests included its "weapon of choice" -- the long-range Tomahawk cruise missile used extensively in the war against Iraq and most recently in the Balkans.</P>

<P> A submerged Los Angeles-class submarine successfully launched a Tomahawk at a target site on the China Lake naval land range in Southern California.</P>

<P> The Hawaii Air National Guard, which maintains a squadron of 15 F-15 combat jets, reports that "the vast majority" of its mission-critical systems are Y2K compliant.</P>

<P> Capt. Charles Anthony, National Guard spokesman, said one F-15's mission-planning computer software is being worked on by the Air Force and should be fixed before the end of the year.</P>

<P> All of the Hawaii Air National Guard's vital voice and data links "were ready to go in March," Anthony said.</P>

<P> At Hickam Air Force Base, Maj. Mark Lorenz, deputy commander of the 15th Communications Squadron, said all of its vital satellite communications have been checked and are nearly Y2K compliant.</P>

<P> The military has been spending millions of dollars to check, replace and repair computers, weapons and electronic equipment.</P>

<P> The Y2K problem refers to a past computer industry practice of writing years with just two digits; thus 1999 would be "99."</P>

<P> Because of this digital shorthand, on Jan. 1, 2000, some computer systems and equipment that use microchips might read "00" as "1900."</P>

<P> One of the problems facing island military bases, like Hickam, is that they are dependent on civilian and other military communities for water, sewage and electrical needs.</P>

<P> With a population of 8,000 residents and an additional 5,000 civilian workers, Hickam can be considered a tiny community, which has problems that would match those of Honolulu should the millennium bug become a problem.</P>

<P> But Lorenz, chairman of Hickam's Y2K compliance efforts, said the Air Force recently ran tests to determine if it had enough generators and if they were strategically located to provide adequate power if Hawaiian Electric failed on Dec. 31.</P>

<P> "Regardless if Hawaiian Electric doesn't work then," Lorenz said, "we should have enough backup generators."</P>

<P> But guns, jets, missiles, tanks, submarines and aircraft carriers aren't the only concerns of the military, which has nearly 120,000 personnel and dependents stationed here.</P>

<P> At a recent Y2K video town meeting at Pearl Harbor, which involved sailors and top Navy personnel from around the world tied into one satellite phone call, questions were raised about pay, financial institutions, logistics and integrated systems.</P>

<P> All of the military's payroll here and worldwide is handled by one federal agency -- the Defense Finance and Accounting System. Its head, Gary Amlin, said all payroll computer software was Y2K compliant in March.</P>

<P> He doesn't expect any problems for the nation's 5 million military personnel, civilian workers and retirees come Jan. 1.</P>

<P> But he did recommend that any changes in allotments, addresses, or setting up of new accounts should be done early and not put off until December.</P>

<P> The agency computes the pay of military, civilians and retirees and sends that information to the Federal Reserve Bank, which distributes payments electronically to thousands of financial institutions.</P>

<P> Contingency plans are in place if there are problems, Amlin said.</P>

<P> Military commissaries or grocery stores also are telling its patrons not to hoard.</P>

<P> "We'll be selling groceries, no matter what the year 2000 brings," said Herb Greene, spokesman for the military's 294 commissaries.</P>

<P> "Hawaii will be one of the last places on the planet to see the rollover," says Lorenz. "We'll get to watch Guam go first and then Japan and Europe. " It's a huge advantage to see what, if any, systems will fail.</P>

<P> "Hawaii needs to realize that they get to see the rest of the globe turn over first and whether this is a major problem."</P>

<P> Lorenz also noted that under Greenwich Mean Time or "Zulu" time, which the military sets its clocks by, the new year will begin at 2 p.m. Dec. 31.</P>

<P> "Regardless, we have a contingency plan to back up all our systems (at Hickam) if they fail, whether it'll be Y2K-related or other reasons," he said.</P>

<P> Also working on contingency plans is the Hawaii National Guard. "The Guard will have everything it needs to carry out its state mission if the need arises. Everything we need is ready to go," Anthony said.</P>

<P> The National Guard has been tasked as the state agency to provide emergency services, such as medical, power, water and traffic direction if a Y2K problem occurs.</P>

<P> Jennifer Buck, Department of Defense reserve affairs expert on Y2K, said the National Guard has extensive experience with mobilizing during periods when communications are difficult, such as hurricanes.</P>

<P> "We're confident that in the event of problems due to Y2K, the Guard and the Reserve still could be mobilized."</P>

<P> Weapons check</P>

<P> None of the military services in Hawaii reports any problems getting equipment that may depend on date-sensitive computer chips to computer software ready for the year 2000.</P>

<P> Most weapons, like rifles, missiles and artillery, aren't date sensitive. Bombs dropped by Air Force and Navy jets generally don't need to know what year it is to explode.</P>

<P> Army: The island's major war-fighters -- the 25th Infantry Division and its reserve elements composed of the Hawaii Army National Guard's 29th Infantry Brigade and the Army Reserve's 100th Battalion/442nd -- say Y2K "will have no effect on its ability to deploy and conduct operations in any contingency."
"</P>

<P> Air Force: Hickam Air Force Base and the Hawaii Air National Guard report they are more than 95 percent toward the goal of full compliance.</P>

<P> Navy: The Pacific Fleet says, "More than 98 percent of its systems and all of its mission-critical systems are ready for Y2K."</P>

<P> Marine Corps: Marine Forces Pacific reports that 100 percent of its weapons systems and 98 percent of its aviation systems are Y2K compliant.</P>

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Fort Worth Star-Telegram

July 12, 1999</P>

<P>Peacekeepers Come Home</P>

<I><P>Naval Air Station squadron had hot time on assignment in Kuwait </P>

</I><P>By Paul Bourgeois, Star-Telegram Staff Writer </P>

<P> FORT WORTH -- Coming home to the Texas summer was actually a relief for the 610th Security Forces Squadron after four months in Kuwait. </P>

<P> "Hot" was the way several of the 53 servicemen and women summed up their just-ended assignment. They said the living conditions were "adequate," which is important when daytime temperatures can surpass 120 degrees.</P>

<P> All were formally welcomed home yesterday at a family celebration at Naval Air Station Fort Worth.</P>

<P> Maj. Jim Hurley, who led the detachment to Kuwait, said the assignment was to augment American and Kuwaiti security forces at Al Jaber, a Kuwaiti air force base where the U.S. Air Force has a peacekeeping role.</P>

<P> Hurley said duty was primarily security patrol and providing security at entry points.</P>

<P> The group from the Fort Worth base included four squads of 13 reserve and full-time members. Three of the squads returned in June. The fourth returned

d July 6.</P>

<P> "It was a lot of work. We hit the ground running," said Tech Sgt. Julio Santiago. He said that some of the younger troops had a difficult transition. Some had never before been away from home, but all adapted well.</P>

<P> "They learned fast and did well," Santiago said.</P>

<P> For Master Sgt. John Givner, who has who has more than 20 years of service, the duty was not hard. He was more concerned about his wife, Susan, and daughters Tiffany, 5, Caitlin, 6, and Jennifer, 15.</P>

<P> "The most difficult thing was the separation from my family," he said yesterday.</P>

<P> He said it was the second year in a row that he missed Tiffany's birthday.</P>

<P> Susan Givner said younger children sometimes don't understand such absences. Also, some marriages suffer, she said.</P>

<P> "This will make or break a marriage," Susan Givner said. She said it also strengthened the bonds between the families as they supported each other.</P>

<P> "This is a very tightly knit squadron and that's why it wasn't so hard," she said.</P>

<P> Maj. Hurley said that there are no firm dates but that within a year his squadron will probably go back for another 60- to 120-day assignment.</P>

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<P>Boston Globe

July 12, 1999

Sailor From Maine Faces Court-Martial

By Associated Press

CHINA, Maine - A Navy electronics technician from China has refused to take the anthrax vaccine and will be tried in military court in August.

Zachary A. Johnson, 22, is expected to be the first person in the Navy to be tried for refusing to take the vaccine, according to his military lawyer, Lieutenant Commander Todd A. Wynkoop. His court-martial is scheduled for Aug. 16.

"He is not the first man in the Navy to refuse to take it," Wynkoop said. "He is the first one I'm aware of to be tried for it."

Johnson is charged with disobeying a direct order to take the vaccine, on June 6, Wynkoop said.

"His personal position is that he should not have to take the vaccine because he is not clear that it is not lawful, and that it serves a purpose," Wynkoop said.

Defense Secretary William S. Cohen last year ordered all 2.4 million active duty and reserve troops to get the anthrax vaccine as protection against biological warfare. Nearly 300,000 service members have been immunized so far, though there have been scattered cases of some troops refusing the inoculations out of safety concerns.

The Pentagon says more than 40 have reported adverse effects, but all have recovered.

In an e-mail to the Morning Sentinel, Johnson said there have been no long-term studies on the vaccine, and that studies that have been done reveal little about its effectiveness against airborne anthrax.

Wynkoop said the Navy offered to allow Johnson to face a nonjudicial punishment in the case, but he refused.

"This was a matter of principle," Wynkoop said.

A handful of US Marines who refused to take part in the six-shot immunization procedure have been convicted of disobeying orders and received sentences that included confinement in military prisons and bad-conduct discharges.

Johnson, a member of a helicopter antisubmarine squadron, is stationed at the US Naval Air Station in Jacksonville, Fla. The aviation electronics technician is currently doing training exercises on the USS John F. Kennedy in the Caribbean.

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<P>Air Force Times

July 19, 1999

Pg. 14</P>

<P>Cashing In On Kosovo</P>

<I><P>Will Victory Bring The Air Force More People, Planes
And Parts?</P>

</I><P>By Bruce Rolfsen </P>

<P> In front of a dozen mostly sympathetic congressmen, the two Air Force g
enerals bragged about the B-2 Spirit bomber's performance in the skies over Yug
oslavia. </P>

<P> As the hearing neared its close, the subcommittee chairman, Rep. Duncan
Hunter, R-Calif., made an offer he thought the Air Force couldn't refuse:</P>

<P> Would the Air Force be interested in more B-2s or other new heavy bombe
rs?</P>

<P> Some lawmakers smiled, knowing the Air Force had already taken a stance
against buying more heavy bombers -- even though its leaders originally had as
ked for 132 instead of the 21 finally approved. But maybe someone's mind had ch
anged. Maybe the Air Force would cash in its victory for new aircraft, better b
ombs and more people.</P>

<P> But Lt. Gen. Marvin R. Esmond, deputy chief of staff for air and space
operations, found a perfect noncommittal reply.</P>

<P> "We would take B-2s if we are issued those," Esmond said.</P>

<P> Now, a month after the end of the 11-week air war over Yugoslavia and i
n the midst of lavish praise for a job well done, Air Force leaders are talking

about how hard airmen labored during the war and the wear on aircraft, but they have yet to ask for more dollars or people.</P>

<P> In fact, while it will take Air Force units up to nine months to recover from the air war, Air Force officials have yet to decide what help they'll be seeking from Congress and the White House.</P>

<P> "We're still generating what numbers would bring us back to where we were before [Operation Allied Force]," a senior Air Force official said July 8.</P>

<P> The official estimated that up to 45 percent of the service's aircraft were involved in Operation Allied Force, a higher percentage of aircraft than had seen action in Desert Storm or the Vietnam War.</P>

<P> Meanwhile, the Navy has begun its campaign for more sailors and enlarging its fleet of 305 ships and submarines, and the Army and Marine Corps are making it clear they want more personnel.</P>

<P> The Navy already has \$361 million from the emergency Kosovo spending bill to spend on improvements to the overtaxed EA-6B Prowler, including taking the first steps toward a long-term replacement aircraft.</P>

<P> But the Air Force has remained silent.</P>

<P> After the war's end in June, Rep. Floyd Spence, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee worried, aloud about the Air Force's problems.</P>

<P> "Clearly ... commitments around the world have stretched the Air Force too far," Spence wrote.</P>

<P> And the just-retired head of the Air Combat Command, Gen. Richard E. Hawley, said in an interview that the United States must reduce its overseas military commitments for the Air Force to cut substantially the time airmen spend overseas. </P>

<P> Gen. Michael Ryan, the chief of staff, apparently is doing just that -- if only for a few months. He's calling for a temporary break in some of those missions while the service "reconstitutes."</P>

<P> Despite admissions that its units were stretched thin by Operation Allied Force, Northern Watch, Southern Watch and Korea, though the Air Force isn't yet asking to grow beyond its current size of about 365,000.</P>

<P> The Air Force intends its expeditionary aerospace force organization to make future deployments more predictable, but how the service will organize its units into expeditionary wings remains to be seen.</P>

<P> The Air Force still is trying to figure out how it will manage its expeditionary wings.</P>

<P> For example, in order to meet its EAF requirements, the Air Force will need to reassign 3,000 airmen, but no one is certain where those airmen will come from, according to a senior Air Force official.</P>

<P> Meanwhile, outside the Pentagon there is no shortage of think-tank analysts and retired Air Force commanders with ideas about what the Air Force should be asking for.</P>

<P> What will the future hold?</P>

<P> David Ochmanek, a defense analyst with Rand, said the Air Force needs time and money to recuperate from the strenuous air campaign.</P>

<P> "The Air Force that began the war wasn't totally healthy. After the war the Air Force has more problems than before," Ochmanek said.</P>

<P> Those problems include overworked airmen and aircraft, he said, as well as long-term concerns about how the Air Force will protect its aircraft from enemy anti-aircraft missiles.</P>

<P> Ochmanek said service officials need to look at how it will counter ever-improving enemy missiles.</P>

<P> The Air Force's radar-seeking HARM missiles need upgrades to deal with SAM-10 missiles, he said.</P>

<P> And the service needs to decide if they will get back in the electronic countermeasure business, civilian analysts said.</P>

<P> Under pressure from Congress to eliminate duplicative aircraft capabilities, the Air Force quit flying its EF-111 Ravens and F-4 Wild Weasels after the Persian Gulf War. It now depends on Navy and Marine Corps EA-6B Prowlers for protection.</P>

<P> One possible long-term option: a new generation of flying electronic jammers that are based in large passenger-sized jets and can fly far from a battlefield.</P>

<P> A senior Air Force official said that while the service is looking at electronic jamming, it hasn't committed to a new plane. </P>

<P> The only plane the Air Force has acknowledged it wants more of is the F-16CJ, a jet designed to search out and destroy enemy anti-aircraft guns and missile sites. The service hasn't settled on a number to ask for.</P>

<P> More than half of the Air Force's F-16CJ were committed this spring in operations over Yugoslavia or Iraq.</P>

<P> Despite Hunter's intriguing suggestion at the recent hearing, the Air Force is showing little interest in adding to its fleet of heavy bombers.</P>

<P> The war started at the same time the Air Force was mapping out plans to keep flying the B-52 Stratofortress for another 40 years.</P>

<P> Making a case</P>

<P> Hunter, chairman of the procurement committee of the House Armed Se

services Committee, said he believes the war made a strong case for the Air Force to either buy more than the 21 B-2 Spirit bombers now budgeted for or to start development of another large bomber.</P>

<P> "The American people are going to have a choice to make ... to continue with the status quo or continue building stealth aircraft," Hunter said during the hearing.</P>

<P> Ernest Blazar, a senior fellow following defense issues with the Lexington Institute, agreed Allied Force was a showcase for heavy bombers.</P>

<P> "From Day One the B-2 could fly from the U.S," Blazar said. "The need for that ability is as important as ever."</P>

<P> Air Force officials aren't so quick to ask for more bombers. The air war used just 10 percent of the heavy bomber fleet.</P>

<P> They would rather continue with plans to upgrade bombers, converting them from planes designed to carry nuclear weapons to planes able to release conventional weapons and missiles, a senior official said.</P>

<P> But lessons from the air war may prompt support for the purchase of more E-8 Joint STARS, an Air Force officer with the aircraft program said.</P>

<P> The Air Force had asked for 19 of the jets used to track ground movements, but Congress approved buying no more than 15.</P>

<P> The Air Force is expected to continue to buy and develop more satellite-guided bombs and ensure the weapons can be released by all the service's bombers, an Air Force official said.</P>

<P> Ochmanek agreed. "While it is too early to say the era of the dumb bomb is over, increasingly more leverage will be associated with guided weapons," the Rand analyst said.</P>

<P> For example, the Joint Direct Attack Munition -- used by B-2 Spirit bombers during the Kosovo campaign -- was first designed to guide 1,000- and 2,000-pound bombs. Now the Air Force is expanding the JDAM program to include smaller 500-pound warheads.</P>

<P> With a smaller, lighter bomb available, planes can carry more GPS-guided bombs and use the 500-pound bombs on targets where a 1,000-pound bomb might cause too much damage to surrounding buildings</P>

<P> JDAM uses signals from Global Positioning System satellites to control a bomb's flight. Its guidance system is not affected by clouds and other weather conditions that can render laser-guided bombs useless. In 30 minutes, a JDAM kit can be bolted onto unguided "dumb" bombs that the Air Force already has.</P>

<P> Overall, the Pentagon wants to buy 80,000 JDAM kits, having the first 2,500 on hand by January 2001.</P>

<P> The Air Force already is upgrading F-15E Strike Eagles and B-1B Lancer

bombers to employ JDAMs.</P>

<P> The Air Force also is continuing a speeded-up plan to equip its 2,000-pound GBU-15 bombs with a GPS system. The first of the GPS-enhanced GBU-15s were delivered to the Air Force in June.</P>

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<P>Air Force Times

July 19, 1999

Pg. 15</P>

<P>Gearing Up -- Again?</P>

<I><P>Some Airmen From Allied Force May Now Be Headed For An Aerospace Expeditionary Force</P>

</I><P>By Bruce Rolfsen </P>

<P> Some airmen just home from Allied Force deployments could find themselves gearing up soon for a new assignment -- being part of an aerospace expeditionary force. </P>

<P> The Air Force is sticking with October as the starting date for its AEF units.</P>

<P> While the Air Force has announced which 17 wings will form the core of each AEF, it hasn't disclosed which fighter, bomber, airlift and tanker squadrons will be affiliated with each.</P>

<P> The Air Force also is still trying to figure out where the AEFs' support personnel -- from backshop technicians to security forces -- will come from.</P>

<P> This will result in at least 3,000 jobs being reassigned, but no one is sure if the jobs will come from cutbacks to other units or from asking for an

additional 3,000 airmen.</P>

<P> A senior Air Force official said July 8 that when the Yugoslavia buildup started in March, the idea was to not send squadrons that would be in the first AEF.</P>

<P> But as the war continued and required up to 45 percent of the Air Force fleet, that restriction was set aside.</P>

<P> Among the core AEF units that deployed aircraft because of Allied Force were the 3rd Wing at Elmendorf Air Force Base, Alaska, the 48th Fighter Wing at RAF Lakenheath, England, and the 20th Fighter Wing at Shaw Air Force Base, S. C.</P>

<P> While some squadrons sent to Allied Force will be back to their pre-war readiness levels in a few weeks, others will need as much as nine months to recover, the senior official said.</P>

<P> "There is a toll taken on our people that is pretty significant," he said. </P>

<P> "We have to rest and recuperate the force."</P>

<P> The recuperation time has been dubbed "reconstitution." Gen. Michael Ryan, who has made reconstitution one of his top priorities, has declined to discuss details.</P>

<P> Getting help</P>

<P> According to sources, though, Ryan may ask the Navy, Marine Corps and Army to fill in for them in some missions, just as the Air Force diverted troops to South Korea when a Navy carrier was sent to the Persian Gulf.</P>

<P> So far no formal request for help has been made to the Joint Chiefs, the senior official said.</P>

<P> The reason the Air Force needs to reconstitute now when it didn't after the Persian Gulf War is simple, said retired Gen. Chuck Horner, who commanded coalition air forces during the war.</P>

<P> "We're not the same Air Force we were in Desert Storm," Horner said in an interview.</P>

<P> The service has fewer airmen, aircraft and European bases than it had during the 1991 Gulf War, Horner pointed out.</P>

<P> In 1991 the Air Force numbered 500,000 people. Today, there are about 365,000 in uniform.</P>

<P> Similar cutbacks were made to aircraft. A fighter wing that had three squadrons of 24 fighters each today may have two squadrons of 18 aircraft each.</P>

<P> "The downsizing started in 1986 but it didn't hit until after Desert St

orm. In the early '90s we were still living off the Reagan budgets," Horner said. "The budget crow has come home to roost."

The problems caused by the cutbacks are aggravated by America's "aggressive foreign policy" that depends on military intervention, the retired general added.

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<P>New York Times

July 13, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Trapped At South Pole, Doctor Becomes A Patient</P>

<P>By Denise Grady</P>

People who sign on to work at the Amundsen-Scott research station at the South Pole understand that they will not see home for a long time: from February to October, planes cannot even land.

But an Air Force jet came close early Sunday morning, dipping low over the base to drop medical supplies for a woman, trapped there for the winter, who had discovered a lump in her breast and needed treatment.

Her plight turns out to be even more complex than initial reports suggested. The woman herself is the only medical doctor at the station, said a cancer expert who was consulted in her case and who spoke on the condition of anonymity.

Therefore, the patient must act as her own doctor, taking care of every aspect of diagnosis and treatment, which may include chemotherapy.

If she was to become incapacitated, that would leave the 40 other members of the research team without a doctor at the remote Antarctic outpost.

<P> Dr. Karl Erb, director of the Office of Polar Programs at the National Science Foundation, which runs the base, declined to identify the woman or say whether she was the station's doctor. Dr. Erb said cancer experts in the United States had made a "working diagnosis," but he declined to reveal whether a biopsy had been performed. He said she would begin taking medication as soon as it was retrieved. </P>

<P> The foundation said it was honoring the woman's request for confidentiality and would not reveal whether or not she had cancer. </P>

<P> Mary Hanson, a spokeswoman for the foundation, said that despite the need to protect the patient's privacy, officials did not think the Air Force medical-drop mission itself could or should be kept secret from the public. </P>

<P> "We knew it was going to get out sooner or later, so it seemed appropriate to explain as much as we could as soon as we could," Ms. Hanson said. </P>

<P> Dr. Erb said it was adequate to have one doctor at an Antarctic station, backed up by people who had trained as paramedics, along with computer, video and telephone links to medical centers. In addition, he said, people who sign up for extended stays at the South Pole are carefully screened for medical problems. </P>

<P> "Everyone there is sufficiently fit that he or she is carrying out assigned duties without any problem," he said. </P>

<P> Ms. Hanson said the woman, who is 47, had been working at the station since December and had discovered the lump in her breast in June. The foundation sought advice on her behalf from doctors at the National Cancer Institute and other centers. </P>

<P> The foundation said in a news release that "the patient and her physicians decided on a course of drug treatment that they consider appropriate to maintain her health and safety." But the release did not specify what the treatment would be. Dr. Erb said the drugs sent in included different treatment options. </P>

<P> The jet dropped the equipment from an altitude of about 700 feet. </P>

<P> "We have never landed a plane at the South Pole in midwinter," Ms. Hanson said. </P>

<P> Winter temperatures at the base average 80 degrees below zero. </P>

<P> Dr. Erb said that the equipment included a digital microscope and an ultrasound machine, which can be used to measure the size of tumors and to guide a doctor doing a biopsy. But, he said, "The preliminary report is that the ultrasound machine did not survive the drop." </P>

<P> He also said that it took time to retrieve and open the packages that had

ad been dropped and that because satellite communication with the base was possible for only a few hours a day he did not know about the condition of the other equipment. </P>

<P> The consultant on the case said he thought the woman would be performing her own biopsy, or perhaps already had. Despite the difficulty of driving a needle into one's own breast, he said: "I would assume that somebody who chooses to go to the South Pole is a tough person, a strong character. It wouldn't shock me that somebody could do this." </P>

<P> Even without ultrasound, video conferencing with an ordinary camera, he said, might allow a radiologist to "walk her through" the procedure. She would then have to make microscope slides out of the cells from the biopsy and stain them so that the slides could be examined for cancer cells. </P>

<P> The digital microscope would allow the images to be transmitted for diagnosis to a pathologist anywhere in the world. </P>

<P> If cancer was found, chemotherapy could be started, and the woman could have surgery later, after leaving the South Pole. Although most women who need chemotherapy for breast cancer have surgery first, studies have shown that giving chemotherapy first and surgery later can work just as well, said Dr. Larry Norton, head of the division of solid tumor oncology at the Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center in Manhattan, who was not a consultant on the South Pole case. </P>

<P> But the woman would need other drugs to treat chemotherapy's side effects. </P>

<P> Another option, the consultant said, is that if the cells were malignant, and if proper staining materials had been sent to the base, it might be possible for the doctor to test her own cancer cells for sensitivity to the naturally occurring hormone estrogen. And if their growth was stimulated by estrogen, the doctor could be given hormonal therapy instead of chemotherapy. </P>

<P> The consultant said the hormonal approach would have milder side effects than chemotherapy and could slow the growth of the tumor until the doctor could be flown out of the South Pole in October or November.</P>


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<P>Charleston (SC) Post & Courier

July 11, 1999</P>

<P>A C-17 Serves As Air Force One Again</P>

<P>By Terry Joyce</P>

<P> For the third time in 3 1/2 years, a C-17 from Charleston has pulled duty as Air Force One by flying President Clinton and his family in and out of the Balkans.</P>

<P> Air Force One is the call sign for any Air Force plane that happens to be carrying the president. Lt. Col. Fred Cianciolo of Charleston's 437th Airlift Wing was the pilot in charge on all three occasions that a C-17 assumed this role.</P>

<P> I spoke briefly with Cianciolo after he returned last month and gleaned more information from base spokesman Lt. Col. Ed Memi.</P>

<P> Here are some details:</P>

<P> Preparations: The Air Force flew the Clintons into Macedonia on June 22. But first, Cianciolo and his crew flew to Washington, D.C., for talks with the president's pilots' office, the White House communications agency and the flight stewards who are assigned to Air Force One. Despite the passengers' high rank, the aircraft carried the usual 102 plastic troop seats found on any C-17 rigged for passengers.</P>

<P> The only items that might seem out-of-the-ordinary were a comfort pallet (a large portable container that becomes a kitchen and two bathrooms) and four large suitcases containing White House communications gear.</P>

<P> Routing: Cianciolo and his crew flew to Ramstein Air Base, Germany, then to Ljubljana, Slovenia, where the Clintons and about 90 other VIPs climbed on board. The C-17's first leg under the call sign of Air Force One was to Skopje, Macedonia.</P>

<P> The flight: Clinton watched takeoff while sitting in an additional crew member seat in the cockpit. Later, he took a nap in the crew bunk. "Chelsea woke him up when we arrived," Cianciolo said.</P>

<P> The visit to Macedonia: The Clintons visited the Stenkovic refugee camp, then traveled to Skopje where Clinton spoke to U.S. troops preparing to enter Kosovo as peacekeepers.</P>

<P> The final leg: From Skopje, Cianciolo and his crew flew the Clintons to Aviano Air Base, Italy. Chelsea napped in the crew bunk during this leg.</P>

<P> Aviano was the primary base for U.S. and allied fighters during the war

over Yugoslavia. While there, Clinton thanked the aircrews and maintainers, saying "you repeatedly put your lives on the line to save innocent civilians and turn back the tide of ethnic cleansing."

Problems? Weather was the main problem, Cianciolo said.

"It was a little bumpy and there was some turbulence and a little icing - but nothing we couldn't handle," he said.

The C-17 was chosen in part because it's a tough, sturdy airplane that can operate on austere airfields. But one also has to figure the plane was chosen because of experienced crewmembers like Cianciolo and those who flew with him.

Other crewmembers were Maj. Jack Burns and Mark Cerrow, pilots, and Senior Master Sgt. William Couture and Tech. Sgt. Paul DeGroot, loadmasters.

Cianciolo noted that a large number of people helped from behind the scenes, including aircraft crew chiefs from Charleston's 637th Aircraft Maintenance Squadron and others from the 437th Aircraft Generation Squadron and the 437th Aerial Port Squadron.

"He (Clinton) seems to love to fly in the C-17," Cianciolo said. "He seems to be a big supporter of the plane."

Terry Joyce reports on the military.

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Defense Week

July 12, 1999

Pg. 8

Transports, Info Superiority Top Air Force Appetites

<P> <I>The Air Force will see an "almost insatiable" demand for transport aircraft and information-superiority systems in upcoming years, the services top acquisition officer says.</P>

<P> Lt. Gen. Gregory Martins job is to see the future and, using today's budget, help fund Air Force weapons that will be used to guard U.S. interests 10 or more years from now.</P>

<P> As the principal deputy to Lawrence Delaney, the Air Force acquisition chief, Martin frequently finds himself testifying before Congress to defend, explain or define a vast and complex array of Air Force weapons programs. He says he gets "a little frustrated" by what he calls "potshots or drive-by shootings" aimed at individual programs "without regard for a greater and larger context."</P>

<P> That larger context includes an acquisition budget stretched near the breaking point as the Air Force tries to balance a cycle of costly programs: C-17 transport planes are in full-rate production while aging C-130 and C-5 transports need upgrades. The next-generation F-22 Raptor fighter is nearing low-rate initial production, and</P>

<P> Martins office shares responsibility for the multiservice Joint Strike Fighter, a cheaper single-engine aircraft scheduled to fly for the first time next year.</P>

<P> In an interview last week with Defense Week reporter Vince Crawley in his Pentagon office, Martin noted that many people overlook the huge budget contribution the Air Force makes toward U.S. defense programs in space.</P>

<P> Defense Week</I>: What are some of your main concerns about the Air Force budget?</P>

<P> Martin: ... One area that I get a little bit frustrated about is the space area. We take a lot of hits, not doing as much as we need to in space. Not many people have really thought about what they're asking of their United States Air Force when we start talking about space. We provide the integrated tactical warning and tactical assessment from our overhead platforms. We provide the majority of the military satellite communications. We provide the entire Global Positioning System. We provide the defense meteorological satellite program. And we provide quite a bit of support to the NRO [National Reconnaissance Office, which oversees intelligence satellites] and other services in terms of launch capabilities and all that</P>

<P> Not many people realize that today, as we speak, we are in the process of modernizing and changing out every single one of those constellations at the same time.</P>

<P> Having said that, we then have the air missions. And of course we really do work very hard at continuing to keep the pressure on the fact that the ability for air and space forces to operate and provide enabling capability to the rest of our forces</P>

<P> As we begin to go through the next several budget cycles, I think you'll find that [with] the mobility assets and our information-superiority requirements

ts ... the appetites will be almost insatiable. The appetite for getting more people forward faster and for getting more information processed and to the decision-maker for rapid decisions and execution on the spotdynamic taskingI think that those demands are going to become insatiable.</P>

<P> And those are areas were going to be turning our attention to ... the C-17, C-130X and C-130J and, as you know, perhaps a few more C-17s than what weve currently planned. We wanted 120. Were now up to needing about 135. And there may be more requirements depending on how the Mobility Requirements Study 05 sorts out and how the Air Mobility Commands Analysis of Alternatives sorts out with respect to the load that our current force-structure plans is tasked.</P>

<P> <I>DW: </I>When do you expect a more concrete idea of what those studies will show?</P>

<P> Martin: The Air Mobility Command Analysis of Alternatives should finish up later this summer. I tell you, though ... I dont think that youll see an awful lot of hoopla about releasing that until weve had a chance to balance it against the Mobility Requirements Study That Analysis of Alternatives is really for outsized, oversized aircraft, C-5-type of aircraft, and how many of those do you need versus C-17s, and whats the smartest way to modernize the C-5, and the number of them, for the future, versus the number of C-17s.</P>

<P> <I>DW: </I>What is the status of Boeings unsolicited offer to sell the Air Force an additional 60 C-17 aircraft?</P>

<P> Martin: Thats a very attractive offer that theyve made. But we have to balance that against what will be the cost to maintain, upgrade and keep the C-5s going and what the total number of that type of aircraft is. No question about it: C-17 is a magnificent airplane. Its a little like the B-2 [stealth bomber]. You hardly get enough of them, when you want them all.</P>

<P> But how many can you keep when you dont have a war and are looking to ask the taxpayer to fund, day-in and day-out, just-in-case, versus working with a lower number and phasing and looking for imagination and innovation</P>

<P> <I>DW: </I>The Air Force is going to have to do something it hasn't done in a long timereconstitute itself after a war. How does that factor into the budget?</P>

<P> Martin: The Air Force has done a terrific job of trying to capture the costs and the impact implications of this contingency, which isnt over. You still have many airmen there flying. And of course ... were just now trying to stabilize on the ground a nation that is in tremendous conflict. And so our ground forces have their work cut out for them. And that wont come cheap I mean, the real costs and sacrifices for those folks are just beginning</P>
>

<P> Were looking very hard at some of the ISR [Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance] and fusion devices such as a device we know as Joint Target Working Station, which really allows us to take our huge database and knowledge about the earth ... and match things up much more quickly for precision targeting</P>

<P> Were looking at datalinks for our long-range systems that will fly a long way and need updates on weather, targeting, mission routes, those sorts of things, and when they get in theater, theyll be able to tie into the picture that is already being provided by the assets that are on-station, so they will have immediate access to information about the threat environment theyre going into even though they may have been flying 12 or 14 hours already.</P>

<P> Were looking at, as many know, how to do some deployable shelters for the B-2 Thats not a simple problem, by the way. You take an airplane thats got a wingspan of 170 feet or so and have a deployable shelter, environmentally contained, that allows you to work on some of the most complicated stealth technology in an environment that makes them cure and complete much faster.</P>

<P> Those are the kinds of things that were pursuing as kind of a post-Kosovo effort. There are some studies going on ... to gather up the lessons learned from Kosovo. Thatll take us a little while to get through to do a not only credible but accurate portrayal of how we exercised that campaign, what we could have done better and what kinds of modernization issues will have the greatest effect on improving our ability to perform.</P>

<P> <I>DW: </I>The F-22 gets a lot of criticism for its extraordinary cost. What do we gain from this aircraft that we dont already have?</P>

<P> Martin: When youve been able to have your way for as long as we have, pretty soon you will begin to believe that you will always have your way</P>

<P> In the air superiority role, if you dont push the envelope in every technology you can, you will find yourself falling behind someone whos pushing one specific thing to the max. As an example, if I work on supercruise and radar integration and missiles, this is great until someone develops a missile that can nail me at 80 miles. Ill never get into where I can deploy my weapons before I am out of the sky If you dont push the envelope in the air superiority area to the best in each area, the best in the speed, the best in the radar observability, the best in the information, if youre not pushing the envelope, youre going to fall behind</P>

<P> <I>DW: </I>The Joint Strike Fighter has recently fallen back under Air Force oversight. Do you see any changes?</P>

<P> Martin: [T]he program office moves on and does things regardless of who the service acquisition executive is. But the service acquisition executive obviously gives them guidance and direction, and were beginning to do that now. I dont see any major changes in the JSF, but there are some fairly significant things getting ready to happen.</P>

<P> First of all, were narrowing down and zeroing in on the Joint Operational Requirements Document [JORD]. We have heretofore been working on the Joint Interim Requirements Documents [JIRDs]</P>

<P> We sort of wanted it to be like an F-16, aerodynamic-wise, or an F-18. So [we] began to set some ground rules in terms of G-loading and range and all of that, and they came up with some basic characteristics, the speed that it could take off and land on carriers, wind over deck, vertical take-off and landing

, a range issue, they want to go further than the F-16 and the F-18. There were some changes, but the basic aerodynamics were to be F-16/F-18-like. And that started the ball rolling and off we went. And then we've been through three JIRDs now, and we're now finalizing the JORD.

[S]o, major changes there? The Air Force has reviewed the G capability of the aircraft, and that's going through the process now. Range, the Air Force has looked very hard at what its range requirements should be. The other services have also looked very hard at what weapons they want, which ones they really want to pick and which ones can be ejected, and what the bring-back weight will be and still do vertical landings, and what the bring-back weight will be and still be able to land on a carrier. Those numbers are in somewhat of a flux.

You'll also find an awful lot of focus and work right now on the cost. Is the cost going to be a KPP [Key Performance Parameter] or not? [We] don't know. We've got some work to do yet. Will the Air Force stand fast at \$28 million [per aircraft], or is there some flex there? [We] don't know. Let's see what the trades are and determine that.

Those are all questions that are being asked. I would tell you, though, ... we're not going to put together a program based on numbers that are not achievable, that we'll not hold ourselves accountable to some things that will not serve the warfighter well. So where we need to make adjustments, we're going to in order to get the product out there that will serve the warfighter in a way that will be better than the current system that they have. That's very important to do. Better than what they currently have, otherwise why are we building this thing?

DW: In a hearing earlier this year, the House Armed Services Committee asked the Joint Strike Fighter program manager to study how much built-in bureaucracy could be removed to speed up the program. Is there any possibility of speeding up the current timetable?

Martin: I don't know that no matter how hard we try we could speed up. Nor would the contractor accept trying to speed up the demonstration. I think they find building the demonstrator to achieve the basic objectives and results ... [of] this competition is enough of a challenge with the timelines we've got [and so] they're not interested at all in speeding this thing up.

I'll tell you, [the past four JSF program managers] have looked at this problem every which way from Sunday, and they have been very reluctant to come off of the plan that has been built, that they thought was already very aggressive when you compare it to other weapons systems that we've developed over the years

I do think you'll find that the F-22 is providing terrific pathfinder help. The engine that the F-22 uses is the engine the JSF will use early on. The integration that we're doing right now on avionics, comnav [communications and navigation] and weapons control, situational awareness, all of that integration is going to pay big dividends in JSF. So there will be some learning-curve enhancements there, but they were taken into account when they built the schedule. They were already counted on and banked away when they built that JSF schedule, so accelerating it is very difficult.

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<P>Long Island Newsday

July 12, 1999

Pg. 7</P>

<P>An About-Face </P>

<I><P>Marines' lives forever changed at the Corps </P>

</I><P>By Arnold Abrams, Staff Writer </P>

<P> When he is on duty these days, Lance Cpl. Keith Seebode keeps his boots shined and his combat fatigues pressed, carries a loaded weapon he is prepared to use, and stays on full alert for four-hour stretches during a 16-hour workday.</P>

<P> Along with 299 other heavily armed Marines, the Riverhead teen is part of an elite security force that protects nuclear weapons stored at a key submarine base in King's Bay, Ga.</P>

<P> The Marines serve five-day duty stints watching over nuclear-tipped missiles carried by a fleet of 10 Georgia-based Trident submarines that constitute a critical part of the nation's defense system.</P>

<P> "It's not glamorous work," he said. "But it's very important, and I take it seriously because people's lives are at stake."</P>

<P> It's a much changed perspective for Seebode, 19, who took few things seriously while attending Riverhead High School, from which he graduated in June, 1998, with mediocre grades, no special skills and few fond memories.</P>

<P> In fact, Seebode said, he had an unwritten agreement with most of his teachers: They didn't call on him in class and he, in turn, caused them no trouble

.

"I just wanted to pass, and I didn't work very hard to do it," he said. "School was something I went through because I had to. I didn't care much about anything - it, me or the outside world."

Although their duties are less weighty, Stephanie Francois and Jason Kropp, who also joined the Marines last year after graduating from high schools in this area, have experienced similar changes on their journey from childhood to maturity.

Differing widely in interests, outlook and plans, all three willingly relinquished a relatively soft civilian existence for a four-year commitment to military service. It was a decision that, in some instances, was accepted reluctantly by dubious parents who would have preferred their children become college students, not Marines.

Now lance corporals with a year's service behind them, including boot camp at legendary Parris Island, S.C., the three insist they have no regrets and have benefited greatly from their experience.

"I've grown a lot," said Francois, 19, who until last summer had never left her family home in Rosedale, not even for a one-night stayover with a friend.

Stationed since Feb. 2 on Okinawa, Japan, where she operates a computer that tracks supplies for more than 25,000 military personnel and their families, Francois added: "I've learned to deal with not getting everything I want."

So has Kropp.

He graduated in June, 1998, from Central Islip High School with high grades, solid college test scores and special distinction as a musician who made the All-County Band and gave a solo performance at commencement. After getting through boot camp, where school merits mean little and quality music - the core of his life - is not abundant, he spent several months at the Armed Forces School of Music in Norfolk, Va.

"That was enjoyable," he said of his schooling. "I was drilled in the basics of music, and I think I became a better player for it."

Kropp arrived last month at the Marines' Miramar Base in San Diego, where, for the next three years, he will play the French horn in a 50-member marching band, one of 13 maintained by the corps.

"I'm right where I want to be," said Kropp, 18, whose plans involve playing and possibly composing music. "And I think that has had a major impact on me. I'm more relaxed, more outgoing, more willing and able to talk to people."

Maj. Dave Lapan, a Marine Corps spokesman, is not surprised by the changes reported by Seebode, Francois and Kropp, who do not know each other.

<P> "This happens regularly to Marines completing their first year of service," said Lapan, 39, an 18-year veteran. "We're talking about a transformation in personality, and it is no accident."</P>

<P> That transformation, Lapan said, is largely produced by the corps' emphasis is on the core character values of honor, courage, commitment and integrity.</P>

<P> A good illustration, he said, involves field problems presented to trainees during the Crucible, a weeklong test of mental and physical endurance at the end of boot camp.</P>

<P> "We give them a series of tough situations, and instead of barking out a bunch of orders, which is how such things were done in the past, drill instructors adopt more of a mentoring mode," he explained. "We show them how to face the problem, work together and hang tough until it's resolved. This involves those values while providing a powerful lesson about the way Marines work and what we stand for."</P>

<P> Not all the Marines absorb the lesson, said Lapan, who noted that of about 40,000 recruits who enlist annually, about 18 percent drop out after 12 months. But those who survive, he said, are better for it.</P>

<P> "We don't want to create automatons," he explained. "But we do try to train people to share these values, think on their own and take responsibility for themselves. When we succeed, the result usually is maturation of the individual."</P>

<P> The changes in Seebode illustrate his point.</P>

<P> "I act older and I'm more responsible, more reliable," said the 6-foot-tall, 200-pound Marine, who spends about 20 days a month guarding and patrolling a fenced-off, four-square-mile area of missile bunkers that nobody can enter without special permission. "And to be honest, I like myself a lot more this way."</P>

<P> Such duty, in which lethal force is authorized at all times against hostile efforts, can be as dreary and dull as it is necessary. But Seebode, who is considering joining the U.S. Marshals Service or the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms after his Marine service, has no complaints.</P>

<P> "The job must be done," said Seebode, who arrived at King's Bay in March after training at the Marines Corps Security School in Chesapeake, Va. "And I have no problems doing it. This is what I want to do."</P>

<P> That attitude has earned the admiration of Sgt. Larry Simmons, who commands Seebode's 100-member platoon (one of three Marine platoons entrusted with missile-guarding duties at the naval base).</P>

<P> "I don't know what he was like as a civilian," said Simmons, 24, "but he's fine in this outfit. I have complete trust in him. He's fully aware of the significance of his duties, and he takes them seriously. If he didn't, I wouldn't want him."</P>

<P> Seebode's changes during the past year also include a new relationship with his parents.</P>

<P> "He's grown up a lot," Douglas Seebode, 38, said of his son. "He's learned what it means to be an adult. He knows that you've got to work at life, and that everything isn't handed to you on a silver platter."</P>

<P> The father, an Army veteran who manages a gardening center, is particularly pleased with his son's new attitude.</P>

<P> "I think he appreciates his parents more," he explained. "It comes out in something as simple as saying he loves us. He now can say that without feeling embarrassed. He even says it in the presence of his friends. I think that's a sign of growth."</P>

<P> Stephanie Francois' greatest difficulty in service has been learning to get along without her parents and everything else, like close friends and familiar things, she had at home.</P>

<P> After spending six weeks at supply school in North Carolina's Camp Lejeune, she was sent to Okinawa, Japan, which for Francois might well have been the other side of the moon.</P>

<P> Assigned to a Pacific island more than 7,000 miles from home, Francois said she initially felt stranded, surrounded by a strange culture with nothing familiar to soothe her.</P>

<P> Although she had gone through Parris Island without undue difficulty, the sudden immersion in such an unfamiliar environment proved traumatic.</P>

<P> "I had never been in such a situation, and I was very unhappy," said Francois, who enlisted to get a college education (which the Marines will subsidize) and training in business administration (which they will provide). "I felt lost. I wanted to go home."</P>

<P> That was impossible, so she did the next best thing: She spent the first two weeks either in her barracks or within the confines of Camp Foster, one of 12 American military bases on the island.</P>

<P> The only good thing about the first weeks, she said, was the daily phone call to her mom.</P>

<P> "It was the same thing every time," Francois recalled. "I would cry. I would say I don't like this place. I would complain that I don't have any friends."</P>

<P> Finally, Francois said, her mom tired of such complaints. "She didn't yell, but I could tell she was angry," the Marine said. "She said, 'You made the decision to enlist and you've got to make a life. It's time to stop crying and to start growing up.' "</P>

<P> Her mother's response was like a cold shower: painfully jarring but highly energizing. It triggered basic lessons about problem-solving and being resourceful learned in boot camp.</P>

<P> "That was a turning point," Francois said. "It made me realize that I was no longer a kid, and that I had to do something to change the situation."</P>

<P> She began by going on island tours and learning, little by little, about the Okinawan culture.</P>

<P> She befriended military colleagues, male and female, and gradually became an integral part of the 50-member operations staff that monitors all transactions on the island's Direct Support Stock Control unit.</P>

<P> She began enjoying the running and physical-training sessions required several times each week of every Marine on the island (there are more than 16,000).</P>

<P> She began taking college courses for credit at an extension of the University of Maryland.</P>

<P> "I really like this place now," she said recently. "It sure isn't home, but I've learned to understand and appreciate the differences."</P>

<P> She also became a computer whiz, which pleased her immediate superior, Master Sgt. Michael Heidbreder.</P>

<P> "Stephanie has become a valuable asset in our office," said Heidbreder, 35, who heads the supply operation. "She learns real fast, has a wonderful personality and is a pleasure to work with."</P>

<P> Francois' initial unhappiness, and her personal growth, did not surprise Staff Sgt. Andre Young, who recruited the Haitian-born Marine.</P>

<P> "I know what she went through," said Young, 28, who, like Francois, was born in the West Indies, raised in Queens and joined the Marines to gain an education and jump-start a career. "Her journey has not been painless, but she has managed to rise above the bad and make the most of the good."</P>

<P> So has Jason Kropp, who, unwilling to burden his parents with college costs, joined the military in hopes of getting a degree and honing his musical skills while also meeting the Marines' physical and psychological challenges.</P>

<P> "So far, so good," said Kropp, who, in addition to making the band, plans to get most of his college education in San Diego while in service. "I've gone through everything without any serious problems."</P>

<P> He added: "I've been watching my friends struggling to get through college while trying to pay their tuition bills. The Marines will foot most of those bills while paying me, and they'll provide room and board as part of the deal. I have no complaints."</P>

<P> Nor do his parents, Richard and Belinda Kropp, who initially wanted their son to enroll in college, not the Marines, and were willing to incur heavy debt in the process. But they yielded to his wishes and now are glad they did.</P>

<P> "We're genuinely delighted to see how things seem to be working out for him," said his father, 47, an electronics worker with degrees in engineering and business management. "He did it his way, and all the pieces seem to be falling into place." </P>

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<P>Army Times

July 19, 1999

Pg. 8</P>

<P>Schultz: Shorter Deployments For Guard </P>

<P>By Diane Tsimekles </P>

<P> National Guard deployments soon should be shortened to six months or less because nine months is "just too long," said Maj. Gen. Roger C. Schultz, director of the Army National Guard. </P>

<P> "We ought to have shorter rotations, shorter duration rotations and spread that mission load across our units," Schultz said during a July 6 meeting with Army Times. Soldiers in the Guard love to serve their country, but most answer to a civilian employer, Schultz said. A 270-day rotation, however -- the duration allowed by Presidential Selected Reserve call-ups -- can put a wrinkle in that relationship.</P>

<P> Right now, employer support is "outstanding," Schultz said, but "We're alert to the issue, though, of asking too much."</P>

<P> Guard 'untapped resource'</P>

<P> At the same time, Schultz described the Guard as a yet "untapped resource." For example, only about 6,000 guardsmen have been sent to Bosnia, less

than 2 percent of the Guard's total strength.</P>

<P> "So, I think we have a fair amount of room, providing we balance the mission load across all of our states and territories," he said. In an hour-long interview, Schultz rolled out other initiatives sure to raise a few eyebrows in the ranks, including: </P>

<P> * Assigning "hundreds" of Guard officers to exchange duty with active forces. Such assignments, he said, will help foster trust and respect of active-duty forces and ensure the Guard is viewed and trained as a combat-ready force. </P>

<P> * Considering radical force structure changes to coincide with the active Army's efforts to become lighter and more deployable. </P>

<P> * Modernizing the force. Guard units must have equipment compatible with active-duty units, such as SINCGARS radios, he said.</P>

<P> The underlying theme behind all of Schultz's ideas is force integration. </P>

<P> "I'm really excited about the new theme from our chief which essentially is, 'We're going to talk about the Army, not the Total Army,' " said Schultz, referring to a letter of intent written by new Army Chief of Staff Gen. Eric Shinseki.</P>

<P> In order to be prepared for the next century, such integration is essential, he noted. ... But that can't come at the expense of the Guard's unique state missions, either.</P>

<P> A matter of trust, training</P>

<P> A battalion commander exchange program will be fully under way next year as the reserve components send officers to lead active-duty units.</P>

<P> Two Army National Guard officers are scheduled to take command of active-duty armored and artillery units. The Army Reserve also will participate in this program by sending two officers to active-duty units. </P>

<P> The active Army will reciprocate. Three active-duty officers already have had a chance to lead National Guard units. </P>

<P> The program will expand over time, and could grow to the point where "hundreds" of exchange officers are taking part, Schultz said. That exchange will put significant demands on under-trained Guard officers. It might also mean significant changes to current personnel management programs. </P>

<P> "Part of the issue is, we're not preparing our soldiers in the Guard today for all these opportunities," Schultz said.</P>

<P> "By that I mean we have soldiers today in the Guard staff that have not had all the critical assignments -- operations officers, executive officers, etc. And if we don't fill those critical billets, then they're not branch-qualified. So we need to change our career management inside of the Army National Guard."

rd to align with the Army's, and we don't do that today."

<P> There are other areas where the Guard can increase its relevance to the active component, he said. </P>

<P> "When you talk about relevance today, we have units that are not modern ized, and so I'm immediately saying we're not as relevant as we should be becau se some of our systems won't talk to systems that are on active deployments tod ay," Schultz said.</P>

<P> One example is the SINCGARS radio -- the high-speed, frequency-hopping, single channel radio -- which is used by active-duty forces. Many units, inclu ding the 49th Armored Division that is heading to Bosnia next year, do not have the SINCGARS system and must be outfitted with it before troops deploy, he sai d.</P>

<P> Over the next year, Schultz said he plans to focus on preparing the Gua rd for the next century.</P>

<P> That requires frank discussion and bold ideas on all aspects of Guard s tructure, training and capabilities, he said. </P>

<P> One example: making the Guard the heavy hammer of Army force structure. "I'm going to 'What if' here for a second," he said. "Maybe some of the heavie r forces stay in the Guard and we lighten up the active units who need to, perh aps, deploy on a more frequent basis or perhaps in different theaters. </P>

<P> "We need to keep some heavy forces, read that, Bradley and tank units. ... How many is the right number? So we talk about heavy, too heavy. What does that begin to mean?"</P>

<P> Regardless, Schultz said the Guard stands ready to contribute to overal l Army success whatever the outcome.</P>

<P> "What we want to do with the design of the Guard in terms of type of un its and force structure is satisfy the Army's requirements, plain and simple," he said.</P>

<P> "And if we don't need as many armored units, Bradley units, whatever, t hen we need to have that discussion," he said.</P>

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<P>Buffalo News

July 10, 1999

Pg. 5C</P>

<P>WNY Units Activated For Bosnia</P>

<P> About 170 members of the New York Army National Guard's 105th Military Police Co., based in Buffalo and Rochester, were activated by Gov. Pataki on Friday for duty with a peacekeeping mission in Bosnia.</P>

<P> The unit begins 15 days of annual training today at Fort Drum near Watertown before federal activation takes place at the end of the month.</P>

<P> Before deploying to Bosnia, the unit will have an additional two weeks of preparatory training at the Army's Joint Readiness Training Center, Fort Polk, La.</P>

<P> The Bosnia assignment could be for up to 270 days, according to the New York State Division of Military and Naval Affairs. </P>>

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<P>Philadelphia Inquirer

July 13, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Striving To Keep A Final Promise</P>

<I><P>As World II and Korean War veterans grow old, space is becoming dear in the nation's veterans cemeteries. </P>

</I><P>By Bob Fernandez, Inquirer Staff Writer</P>

<P> Millions of veterans are of an age when they will qualify for their last service-provided benefit package.</P>

<P> A concrete vault and a solemn burial. Many will take up the offer. That is, if there's a grassy plot at the government-run cemetery.</P>

<P> "I called them up to see if I could make a reservation," said Earl Maksin, 56, a Navy veteran and resident of Coram, N.Y., who was visiting Calverton National Cemetery, the nation's busiest, last week.</P>

<P> "I wanted to make sure I got a spot," he said, noting that the grass in the cemetery was always cut and that he liked the idea of government-funded perpetual care. "But they said it was just first-come, first-serve."</P>

<P> Last year, Calverton buried 7,200 veterans or their spouses in what can be, on busy days, a frenzy of grave-digging, casket-wheeling and Scripture-reading on 1,000 acres on eastern Long Island, in Riverhead. That number is expected to swell to 8,500 in a few years, because of aging World War II and Korean War veterans.</P>

<P> More and more veterans, worried about saddling their families with burial bills, are reasoning like Maksin and making the call.</P>

<P> In the next decade, veteran burials will increase sharply - by about 50 percent - to 100,000 a year. At the same time, 15 veterans cemeteries - or one in four - may run out of space if they are not expanded with land purchases for new casket grave sites, according to a General Accounting Office report in late 1997. Most of them won't be expanded.</P>

<P> The National Cemetery Administration operates 115 cemeteries in 39 states, but 57 of them have exhausted their supply of sites for new interments. About 10 percent of veterans use their burial benefit, a number that the Department of Veterans Affairs expects to increase to about 15 percent over the next decade, putting further strain on the system.</P>

<P> Already, several regions with sizable veteran populations - Atlanta, Miami, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Oklahoma City and northern California - have no federal veterans cemeteries within reasonable driving distance, the government says.</P>

<P> Reasonable, according to the government, is within 75 miles of a veteran's home.</P>

<P> In a pointed criticism, the GAO said the National Cemetery System had not adequately planned how it would handle the burial volume in its peak years, after 2008. The system recently changed its name to the National Cemetery Administration.</P>

<P> Rick Arndt, chief of the management outreach department at the National Cemetery Administration, said this month that the agency was doing its best to develop cemetery space, and that it had made progress.</P>

<P> The cemetery administration has 365,000 grave sites available, a four- or five-year supply, Arndt said. The agency says that across the United States it owns enough acreage for an additional 1.6 million grave sites, though it does not have the money to develop the land for graves.</P>

<P> The three pillars of the system's plan to meet demand are to open new high-volume cemeteries to provide services to large metropolitan areas; to expand existing cemeteries with land purchases; and to encourage states to open cemeteries.</P>

<P> The federal government has a grant program to help pay for construction of state-run cemeteries.</P>

<P> "Our sense is that we're moving forward to meet our burial needs," Arndt said. Friday, the National Cemetery Administration opened a 373-acre cemetery 25 miles north of Albany, N.Y.</P>

<P> The Albany-area cemetery had been eagerly awaited. Some veterans or their families have stored urns and bodies, waiting for the cemetery to open, one federal official said. New national cemeteries also are planned for Dallas-Fort Worth, Chicago and Cleveland, Arndt said.</P>

<P> "Once the four new cemeteries are open, about 70 percent of the veteran population will be covered for a burial, and we think that is important," he said.</P>

<P> The cemetery administration, part of the Department of Veterans Affairs, is under pressure to control its budget and is attempting to replace its older, smaller cemeteries with fewer but larger, cost-efficient cemeteries. New veteran cemeteries must have at least 200 acres for grave sites. Smaller parcels are too expensive to operate efficiently, Arndt said.</P>

<P> But while big new cemeteries reduce operating expenses, they can be far from the population centers where veterans and their families live.</P>

<P> Calverton is 75 miles from Manhattan - typically a two-hour trip over the crowded Long Island Expressway.</P>

<P> Philadelphians find themselves in a similar situation. The nearest national cemetery is 70 to 80 miles to the west, Indiantown Gap National Cemetery in Annville, near Lebanon and Harrisburg. The cemetery, which opened in September 1982, has buried 16,000 veterans, spouses and dependents. If several hundred acres of undeveloped land are eventually used for grave sites, the cemetery does not envision running out of space until 2030. It buries about 1,400 veterans a year.</P>

<P> "Indiantown Gap is entirely too far. Everybody agrees with that," said Jim McGrath, 71, a Korean War veteran and Mount Airy resident. "It's a two-hour ride up and a two-hour ride back. My wife, she wouldn't drive out there."</P>

/P>

<P> South Jersey veterans have a place closer to home. The state-run Brig. Gen. William C. Doyle Veterans Cemetery in Arnetown, Monmouth County, accepts veterans who lived in New Jersey when they died or spent at least half their lives in the state.</P>

<P> Other veterans cemeteries in the region have not accepted new interments in decades.</P>

<P> The Philadelphia National Cemetery, on 13 acres in Germantown, closed to new interments in 1962; Beverly National in South Jersey, 65 acres, closed in 1966; and Finn's Point, 5 acres in Salem, closed in 1963.</P>

<P> The three still take reburials of spouses or veterans and cremated remains. Beverly is the busiest, handling 400 reburials or cremated-remain burials a year.</P>

<P> Jon Fox, a former Republican congressman from Montgomery County, proposed last year to designate 100 acres of Valley Forge National Park for veteran burials.</P>

<P> "We have no place to bury our veterans," Fox said recently. "With 100 acres, you can bury at least 76,000 veterans. That's a start." Fox was defeated in a reelection bid last fall, but his proposal is being supported by his successor, Joe Hoeffel, and Sen. Arlen Specter (R., Pa.).</P>

<P> Calverton, opened in the late 1970s, is the future of veterans cemeteries.</P>

<P> Run on a \$5.5 million budget, it cost the government \$765 per burial last year - including a government-issued vault. Calverton functions like a well-oiled machine.</P>

<P> The cemetery employs five grave-diggers among its 102 workers to constantly work the levers at backhoes so that on any given day there are 150 new graves available.</P>

<P> Morning and afternoon, seven "cemetery representatives" - several of them ex-police officers - make sure that the tightly scripted burial services move at the proper pace, about 30 minutes for each service.</P>

<P> On a recent Thursday, an unseasonably breezy and cool day on Long Island, Calverton National had scheduled 16 burials. That was a light day. On busy days, such as those after holidays, or in the heat of summer, the burial count rises to 35, 40 or even 50. Hearses line up at the front gate waiting for one of five chapels.</P>

<P> Chapels are arranged in a circle so that caskets can be wheeled to a centrally located shed. There, caskets - tagged with the deceased's name and grave location - can stack up on conveyorlike devices as they await a trip to a final resting place.</P>

<P> The cemetery does not close on account of bad weather. In the winter

r, when the frost line can reach four feet, Calverton employees must break up frozen earth with jackhammers.</P>

<P> In life, some veterans may have been frustrated with a slow-moving federal bureaucracy. But with their last benefit, they are promised a fast response, said Roseann Miller, the cemetery's office manager.</P>

<P> "If someone dies at one o'clock and for religious reasons they have to be buried right away, we can have them in the ground at 2:30," Miller said. "We won't wait."</P>

<P> But they still don't take reservations. </P>


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<P>Boston Globe

July 9, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>US Nuclear Scientists Fear Curbs</P>

<P>By Aaron Zitner, Globe Staff</P>

<P> WASHINGTON - When India set off a nuclear test last year, the State Department responded by blocking certain US physicists from attending a conference in Bombay. Indian scientists were removed from a project at Fermilab, the national physics lab near Chicago. The Department of Energy even asked the lab to remove the Indian flag from a multinational display at its main building.</P>

<P> For the scientists involved, those were inconveniences. But now, researchers are worried that international cooperation will suffer even greater setbacks as Congress reacts to reports of alleged nuclear spying by China.</P>

<P> The National Academy of Sciences recently issued a statement of "deep concern" over the prospect of new legal restrictions on US nuclear scientists w

orking with their researchers overseas. The academy plans a conference in August to highlight the benefits of allowing certain types of joint research.

When the board of the American Physical Society met last month at Tanglewood, the discussion focused on whether Congress, in trying to make US weapons labs more secure, would also hamper the work of US scientists. "We're busy worrying about it," said Bob Park of the physicists' group, who urged Congress not "to interfere with the very culture of openness that has given the US the lead" in sciences.

And from the classrooms of Boston to universities on the West Coast, scientists report a pervasive fear that Congress will limit their contact with foreigners or otherwise damage the climate for international projects. At Northeastern University, for example, physicists worry that the frosty US-China relations will undermine support for a multimillion-dollar particle accelerator that China had shown tentative interest in building.

"It would be a massive contribution to world science, and it worries me that it would die because of some political problem," said Stephen Reucroft, a physics professor at Northeastern.

The fears underscore the way science is changing in the era of the Internet and big-money projects. Increasingly, cutting-edge research brings together top scientists from several nations - partly because foreign science programs have improved and partly because large projects, such as studying a global environmental trend or building a large telescope, involve great cost and complexity.

The global cooperation shows up in the large increase in scientific papers with authors from different nations. The number of internationally co-authored articles jumped 200 percent between 1981 and 1995, the National Science Foundation reports, while the total number of papers rose only 20 percent. Nearly one-third of all US scientific papers included foreign co-authors in 1995, up from 18 percent in 1981.

Longtime debate

In Washington, debate has ebbed and flowed over the past 20 years on how much access foreigners should have to US universities and labs. But the nation has generally supported the idea of building "high fences around narrow areas" of sensitive research, and of allowing broad access to the rest.

Now, however, Congress is considering new restrictions as it sorts out how to respond to two reports on security problems at US weapons and physics labs that are supervised by the Department of Energy.

The first report, from a panel led by Representative Christopher Cox, Republican of California, alleged that the Chinese government had stolen nuclear secrets from US weapons labs. The Cox report also pointed to a problem in corporate work overseas, saying that US satellite companies gave the Chinese information that allowed them to improve their ballistic missiles.

The second panel, created by President Clinton and led by former US senator Warren Rudman, charged that the Energy Department is so "dysfunctional" t

hat it cannot be trusted to improve security at national labs. It urged Congress to restructure the agency.</P>

<P> The Chinese government reacted angrily to the Cox report and denied any espionage. Relations deteriorated further after NATO bombed the Chinese Embassy in Yugoslavia, and China allowed unruly protests at the US Embassy in Beijing. In Congress, some lawmakers called for new restrictions on scientists not only from China, but from Russia and other "sensitive" nations.</P>

<P> Little impact yet</P>

<P> So far, the actual impact on scientists from the dust-up with China seems to be little more than fear and injured morale. Some foreign-born graduate students offered positions at Department of Energy research labs have turned them down out of fear that their ability to work will soon be restricted, said E. William Colglazier, executive officer of the National Academy of Sciences.</P><P>

<P> But as long as lawmakers continue to debate new restrictions, scientists say they are uneasy. So are some foreign scientists working on projects with US researchers.</P>

<P> "I have received e-mails from three Chinese organizations in high-energy physics or other fields of physics, where the Chinese are questioning whether the collaboration is still on," said Wolfgang Panofsky, former director of the Stanford Linear Accelerator Center in California.</P>

<P> The scientists' fears turn on several developments in Congress:</P>

<P> Lawmakers in both the House and Senate have proposed a moratorium on visits to the American nuclear research labs, or to parts of those labs, by scientists from "sensitive" countries such as China or Russia. One version of the idea has passed a House committee and is attached to a major bill that will soon reach the House floor.</P>

<P> Scientists fear that this and similar restrictions would limit scientific exchanges, which even some intelligence experts say is a crucial element of cutting-edge science. "In high-stakes research, like nuclear weaponry, you have to have your guys not only develop new concepts but get out and see what the top 100 or so people in the world in the same area are doing," said Paul Moore, former chief China counterintelligence analyst at the FBI. "If you don't, you are guaranteeing yourself a second-rate development program."</P>

<P> Moreover, some security specialists say that China and Russia would retaliate if the United States put its nuclear labs off-limits to their researchers. And that, they say, would hamper US efforts to counsel foreign scientists on converting weapons labs to civilian research and on protecting weapons-grade material so that it cannot be stolen and sold on the black market.</P>

<P> "I think it's inevitable that there will be damage to these forms of cooperation, and it's too bad, because they are very much in the US's security interests," said John Holdren, a Harvard University professor who leads the National Academy of Sciences panel on international security and arms control.</P>

<P> The Rudman report recommended that Congress bring new security oversight to nuclear research labs, either by creating a new, independent security agency or a unit within the Energy Department.</P>

<P> Some scientists fear that an independent weapons agency would make it harder for weapons scientists to cross back and forth to the world of civilian research. "You're not going to get top weapons scientists to work in a pure weapons environment," said Park of the American Physical Society. Scientists who work on classified research cannot publish their work and advance their reputations, he said, so they would leave the weapons labs.</P>

<P> Among its 38 recommendations, the Cox report called for the inspectors general at five agencies, including the departments of State, Defense, and Energy, to study scientific exchange programs at the US national laboratories for their risk to national security.</P>

<P> "I find that absolutely outrageous recommendation," said Panofsky. "First, inspectors general are not particularly qualified to review scientific exchange programs. And second, whenever you want to find the correct course of action, you have to look at benefits as well as risks."</P>

<P> For Boston, the ultimate fear is that lawmakers will revive an effort, last considered during the Reagan administration, to limit the type of scientific training that US universities may provide to students from certain foreign nations. US universities award 40 percent of their doctorates in science and engineering fields to foreign nationals. They included 16,500 from China between 1988 and 1996.</P>

<P> "I think it's a valid concern, and I think it's something people should be thinking about and worrying about as they spin out the possibilities of the direction in which this could escalate," said Holdren.</P>

<P> "I think it's not an unrealistic fear to have, and I'm worried about it," Colglazier said.</P>

<P> But others say the fears are overblown. To begin with, China has sent signals that it wants to repair relations with the United States.</P>

<P> Moreover, the Rudman report said it is possible to allow an open exchange of most information while protecting the most sensitive secrets. And Congress, after careful consideration, will come to the same conclusion, said Michael Lubell, chairman of the physics department at City College of New York.</P>

<P> "Cooler heads will prevail," said Lubell, who is also public affairs chief for the American Physical Society. "The issue won't be as much the isolation of scientists as it will be whether the Department of Energy can take action [to protect nuclear secrets] when the need arises." </P>

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<P>Aviation Week & Space Technology

July 5, 1999

Pg. 55</P>

<P>Urban War Requires New Technologies</P>

<P>By Paul Mann, Washington </P>

<P> Urban warfare has become a post-Cold War trend that is likely to de
epen in the 21st century, requiring new forms of combat technology, defense exp
erts say. </P>

<P> From Pristina and Port-au-Prince to Panama City and Mogadishu, urba
n warfare and urban peacekeeping are becoming the norm, despite the fact that t
raditional U.S. military doctrine has called for avoiding urban operations, wit
h their high casualty rates in wartime and their rabbit-warren risks to occupat
ion forces in peacetime. </P>

<P> In the last 10 years, however, the U.S. has committed military forc
es to far-flung urban operations in Panama, Somalia, Liberia, Bosnia and now Ko
sovo. The Marine Corps alone has been involved in urban operations in 237 of it
s last 250 deployments. </P>

<P> The trend is likely to continue, a Rand study predicts, because "a
n enemy seeking asymmetric advantages will be hard pressed to find an alternati
ve more likely to neutralize U.S. superiority than urban operations." </P>

<P> This is seen as setting up a new technological agenda. If futuris
ts are right, the defense industry will be asked to come up with an array of ur
ban-styled weapons: highly miniaturized missiles, much more versatile unmanned
aerial vehicles (UAVs), variable effect "dial-a-yield" munitions and multipur
pose robots, large and small. Also in demand will be low-yield, offensive air s
upport weapons that could be used by fixed-wing aircraft in urban environments.
</P>

<P> In other words, specialized technologies would be tailored to permi
t precision engagement of the enemy, despite the extremely short firing ranges
imposed by a city's long canyons of high-rise buildings and dense thickets of t

rackless housing and teeming alleys. Low-speed, extraordinarily agile fiber-optic missiles, capable of sustaining high-g turns, could serve as gunner-controlled surgical weapons. UAVs, which saw increased action in NATO's air war to liberate Kosovo, are likely platforms to deliver munitions, as well as gather intelligence and serve as signal relays. A need for both micro- and macro-UAVs is anticipated. </P>

<P> Macro- and mini-robots are candidates to provide forward reconnaissance -- entering buildings for example -- or to neutralize booby-traps and mines and deploy nonlethal acoustic cannons and microwave devices. Counter-sniper technologies include acoustic and infrared detectors able to trace muzzle blast shock waves. </P>

<P> Of particular urgency in the aviation field is the need for a detailed analytical literature on the use of offensive air support weapons, which Rand found have received superficial consideration in the past. Despite armor and stealth advances, the vulnerability of helicopters to urban-deployed small-arms fire and shoulder-deployed weapons is likely to persist. Consequently, war planners assume that fixed-wing aircraft will be needed to provide close-air support in urban combat. </P>

<P> Only with the emergence of new technologies like these, Rand says, can dramatic increases in urban warfighting capabilities be realized. </P>

<P> TO BE SURE, THERE ARE skeptics who contend that urban warfare will remain largely the province of small-unit action because the size of modern cities virtually rules out the traditional mission of seizing and controlling a big urban enclave. The population density and geographic expanse of many world metropolises dwarf the largest cities in which U.S. forces conducted large-scale, high-intensity combat in the past: Manila in 1945, Seoul in 1950 and Hue during the Vietnam conflict. </P>

<P> Today's urban "agglomerations" completely overrun administrative boundaries and defy municipal management. The population of Sao Paulo, Brazil, has reached 26 million; Mumbai (Bombay), India, 14.5 million; Seoul, South Korea, 11 million. In many instances, combat forces would be burdened not only with the logistical nightmare of countless non-combatants, but also with the effects of endemic urban decay that leeches street networks, communications and utilities. </P>

<P> Close-quarter street combat imposes special command and control problems as well as steep casualty rates. The high density of buildings, for example, interferes with GPS and FM communications, notes Rand analyst Russell W. Glenn. Yet such problems, inherent to urban polyglot, may be surmounted with future advances in C4ISR -- command, control, communications, computers, intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance. </P>

<P> IF THE EXPERTS ARE RIGHT, city combat eventually will encompass the complete spectrum of military action, from small unit operations and large-scale warfare to catastrophic terrorism with biological, chemical and nuclear weapons of mass destruction (WMD). </P>

<P> The broadening scope of urban warfare is being fed as much by demographic trends as by the asymmetric advantages that cities provide to small power

rs or stateless adversaries, who cannot hope to match U.S. technological might. Military projections show that by 2015, 85% of world population will be located in urban areas. </P>

<P> As the 21st century wears on, about 300 cities will each have populations of one million or more. Some 80% of them will be national capitals, constituting a large series of ideal political targets. At the same time, the gap between North and South probably will continue to grow as wealth becomes ever more concentrated and poverty ever more widespread. High population density also makes cities lucrative targets for the mass casualties predicted to be the objective of future "macro-terrorists." The hypothesis is that the WMD assailant will zero in on urban targets because he is bent on mass death, rather than the small-scale hijacking, hostage-taking and assassination of yesteryear. </P>

<P> Whatever mix of warfare evolves, conventional or terrorist, "the battlefield of the future is likely to be urban landscapes and the tarmac of airports," agrees Neil C. Livingstone, CEO of GlobalOptions, a crisis management company that deals with terrorist and paramilitary threats. Warfare will break out in "very confusing places like Mogadishu, where there are no street numbers or street names, where it is easy to get lost en route, where it is very hard to develop effective fields of fire and where you're fighting in highly promiscuous fire zones." </P>

<P> Conventional warfare in a city overseas is not the only scenario in which massive U.S. military intervention might be required, Livingstone added. "In the event of a biological attack on a major U.S. city, only the military would have the resources to throw up a quarantine. Imagine our troops put in the position of having to fire on fellow Americans who would be trying to escape the city and the quarantine, or firing on family and loved ones desperately determined to get into the city to find their relatives and friends. Appropriately prepared and shielded for the [WMD] environment, a small number of terrorist soldiers could probably seize any one of a number of principal U.S. cities, using the advantage of surprise and the chaos they could sow." </P>

<P> Jessica Stern, once a member of the Clinton Administration's National Security Council staff, makes similar arguments in her recent WMD study, *The Ultimate Terrorist*. Mass urban populations are pervaded by anonymity and the isolation of individuals from one another. "This creates fertile ground for the breeding of extremists and makes it possible for extremist groups to operate unnoticed." </P>

<P> Urban infrastructure, not just urban population, lends itself to catastrophic terrorism, other U.S. security experts note. Former CIA director John Deutch, former Assistant Secretary of Defense Ashton Carter and former National Security Council staffer Philip Zelikov wrote late last year in *Foreign Affairs* magazine, "Elaborate international networks have developed among organized criminals, drug traffickers, arms dealers and money launderers, creating an infrastructure for catastrophic terrorism around the world." </P>

<P> Recalling the bombings of U.S. embassies last summer in East Africa that killed hundreds, Deutch and his colleagues predicted that a successful WMD attack would certainly claim thousands, or tens of thousands, of lives. "If the device that exploded in 1993 under the World Trade Center [in New York] had been nuclear, or had effectively dispersed a deadly pathogen, the resulting ho

rror and chaos would have exceeded our ability to describe it. Such an act of catastrophic terrorism would be a watershed event in American history. . . . Like Pearl Harbor, this event would divide our past and future into a before and after." </P>

<P> TERRORISTS COULD CHOOSE a number of approaches, Stern says. They could force the government to evacuate an entire city -- and finance an extremely expensive clean-up afterward -- with the use of radiological agents or anthrax spores. "Anthrax would kill the city's residents, but the terrorists could warn authorities in advance if evacuation, not killing, were their goal. Unlike conventional weapons, anthrax and radiological agents could persist in the soil or structures for many years," leaving a city uninhabitable indefinitely. </P>
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<P>New York Times

July 13, 1999</P>

<P>Madagascar: U.S. Embassy Reopens</P>

<P> The U.S. Embassy has reopened after being closed for more than two weeks for "security upgrades," the State Department said. The embassy was one of six in Africa closed on June 24 after they came under surveillance by people thought to be linked to Osama bin Laden, who has been accused by Washington of planning the explosions at the embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam last year. The five other embassies were reopened within days.</P>

<I><P>(Reuters) </P></I>

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Washington Post

July 13, 1999

Pg. 15

Analysis

In Congo, A Peace Deal Whose Time Hasn't Come

By Jon Jeter, Washington Post Foreign Service

JOHANNESBURG, July 12 Of the many scenarios that could follow from this weekend's chaotic signing of a cease-fire plan to end the war in Congo, the most unlikely is peace.

Hardly anyone knows what to make of the peace accord-that-wasn't -- which was signed by all foreign powers involved in the 11-month conflict but not by the rebels who started it. The rebels have made it plain that they will continue trying to oust Congolese President Laurent Kabila, and that presents a dilemma for the rebels' chief backers, Rwanda and Uganda, which did sign the deal.

While Uganda apparently is eager to end its involvement in the Congo war, Rwanda's leaders still believe they have a score to settle with Kabila, who has relied on thousands of Rwandan Hutu militiamen -- who took part in the 1994 mass slaughter of Tutsi tribesmen in their own country -- to assist his troops against the Congo rebels. Rwanda may refuse to stand idly by while the rebels continue to fight their avowed foe, and that in turn might convince the treaty's other signatories -- Angola, Zimbabwe and Angola -- that the time is not yet ripe to end their support of Kabila.

"This cease-fire could get us back to square one very quickly," said an African government minister who asked not to be identified. "It asks more questions than it answers, and that's not a formula for peace."

The accord signed Saturday calls for a military cease-fire, the integration of Kabila's military and rebel forces into a single Congolese army and an "open national dialogue" on Congo's future -- which has been unclear since Kabila toppled dictator Mobutu Sese Seko in 1997 and declared himself president.

<P> The pact also calls for deployment of international peacekeepers in Congo who would be required to disarm rebels still engaged in combat. But the uncertainty surrounding the rebels' stance prompted the United Nations to put off a report that Secretary General Kofi Annan was to deliver this week from a U.N. observer mission in Congo and a subsequent U.N. peacekeeping operation there, news services reported today. South African President Thabo Mbeki said today that he will not send peacekeepers, as he had pledged earlier, until it is clear that the peace agreement is in fact in place.</P>

<P> At the annual summit of the Organization of African Unity in Algiers today, Kabila said the rebels' refusal to sign was irrelevant. "The rebels' bosses have signed," he said. "The rebels are nothing but militiamen created by the invaders of the Congo, who of course are Rwanda and Uganda." Rwandan officials disagreed, saying that the rebels must be involved if any cease-fire or dialogue on Congo's future is to work.</P>

<P> Ultimately, the peace accord is as complicated and unpredictable as the conflict itself, which has been driven as often by big egos as big issues. Kabila's refusal to brook dissent after taking power gradually fostered unrest in Congo. And his failure to deal with the threat that the Rwandan Hutu militiamen based in Congo posed to Rwanda's ethnic Tutsi leaders earned him the bitter hatred of his former backer, Rwanda's vice president and de facto leader, Maj. Gen. Paul Kagame, who deployed nearly 20,000 Rwandan troops to the Congo jungle to back the rebels against Kabila.</P>

<P> Likewise, egos and ambitions inside the rebel movement have driven recent events. Rebel leaders and African government officials negotiated for weeks before reaching a peace deal acceptable to all parties, only to have it unravel Saturday over the rebels' internecine squabbling. After delaying the signing for nearly 13 hours, the rebels could not agree who would sign the cease-fire plan on their behalf: Ernest Wamba dia Wamba, who founded the resistance movement but was later ousted as its leader, or his replacement, Emile Ilunga. Thus, a deal to bring peace to a resource-rich nation that is of prime importance to its struggling neighbors collapsed.</P>

<P> "I'm not optimistic that there will be peace in the Congo any time soon," a Western diplomat said. "There are issues on top of issues, more motives than you can count, and egos as big as the continent."</P>

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<P>Time

July 19, 1999

Pg. 36</P>

<P>A Sinister Force</P>

<I><P>Once they embodied Soviet power, now the Spetsnaz elite troops reflect Russia's dangerous chaos</P>

</I><P>By Paul Quinn-Judge, Moscow</P>

<P> When Alexei reads about a sensational contract killing--for example, the opposition Deputy Galina Starovoitova gunned down on the stairs of her apartment building last fall, or the St. Petersburg politician Mikhail Manevich hit five times at long range as his car sped down a busy street in August 1997, or the mafia leader felled by a sniper's single bullet as he left a steam bath--he has an eerie feeling. He wonders whether he trained the hit man. At times, he says, he imagines himself sitting next to the killer, checking his technique as he carries out the hit. Alexei--a pseudonym--is still in his 30s and was until a few years ago a senior officer in the Spetsnaz, the secret Russian special-forces units modeled on the U.S. Delta Force. When it comes to killing, Alexei knows of what he speaks: he was a specialist in the "physical elimination" of adversaries. </P>

<P> Highly classified and highly trained, the Spetsnaz once epitomized the menace and power of the Soviet state. But these days, the Russian military is in such deep decline that the dash last month by 200 of its airborne troops to Pristina airport--traveling over roads not much more dangerous than a Middle-American highway--was hailed as a major feat of arms. Morale is low throughout the Russian army, and the special forces are no exception. But unlike most Russian soldiers, the Spetsnaz have salable skills. They are snipers, explosives and communications specialists, experts in close combat and surveillance, trained to be cool under extreme pressure and to think for themselves. In the Russian marketplace today, that makes them perfect bodyguards and perfect killers. While most Spetsnaz veterans are law-abiding citizens, a small minority have crept into the nation's underworld, with devastating effect. </P>

<P> The decline of the Spetsnaz--and the way the public's perception of these special forces has swung from adulation to cynicism--symbolizes the way Russia has lost its bearings, its hopes for the future and its ideals. An elite group like the Spetsnaz was held together by a belief in the system, as more than half a dozen soldiers interviewed by TIME recall. No longer. "I swore allegiance to Russia," says Alexei. "I don't identify the present regime with Russia." Many feel equally alienated from their corrupt commanders. A conversation with Sergei, a Spetsnaz noncommissioned officer, frequently drifts off into descriptions of how senior officers are stealing the funds for the upkeep of soldiers or even the barracks provided for them. Ivan, a former senior officer who suff

ered multiple concussions from artillery in Chechnya, explains that he could not obtain a disability pension because he did not have the several thousand dollars for the bribe that a military medical commission demanded to process his application. </P>

<P> Equally striking is the way the public's view of the Spetsnaz has changed. Ten years ago, the special forces were regarded as the country's secret weapon, the men who had overthrown the President of Afghanistan in his own palace and would strike deep inside Western Europe if a new world war broke out. That has changed. The most popular video in Russia last year was Schizophrenia. An unrelentingly bleak portrayal of modern Russia, it tells the story of a Spetsnaz-type officer who is framed by the security police and then forced to assassinate a banker planning a run against the incumbent President. The officer carries out the murder and is later eliminated by state-security thugs. Many Russians find the film plausible. Over the past year, for example, a number of current and former Spetsnaz officers from the Russian airborne forces have been arrested in connection with the 1994 murder of Dmitri Kholodov, an investigative journalist killed by a booby-trapped briefcase while he was working on a story about high-level military corruption. </P>

<P> Spetsnaz soldiers also hire themselves out to the underworld in less dramatic ways, Alexei says. "Say a crime boss is planning a confrontation with a rival," he explains. "He phones his Spetsnaz contact and asks for four or five guys. They take time off from their units and stand behind the boss, fully armed, while he talks to his rival. The other side sees they are serious kids and is impressed." For a couple of hours' work, they make \$200 each, Alexei says. If there is any shooting, their fee goes up to \$500. This is more than a year's salary for an experienced noncommissioned officer, who officially makes about \$30 a month. </P>

<P> Wretched salaries are not the only source of demoralization. Living conditions would provoke a mutiny in many countries. Sergei, the Spetsnaz noncommissioned officer, lives in a slum. Officially called noncommissioned officers' married quarters, his single room measures 5 ft. by 8 ft., and he lives there with his wife and daughter. Ten families share a rat-infested kitchen and a single toilet whose walls are rotting from dampness. Sergei does not wear his uniform when he goes into the city--civilians view soldiers as losers, he says. </P>

<P> Yet when he first joined the Spetsnaz, he felt great pride of accomplishment. In those days, it was rare to be recruited for the Spetsnaz, and even harder to qualify. Spetsnaz veterans across the country acted as informal talent scouts, identifying promising soldiers for their old units. The recruits were fit and tough, and sometimes edging dangerously close to trouble with the law. "The saying used to be," Ivan recalls, "that you went either into the Spetsnaz or into prison." They had something else in common, veterans say: though often unsophisticated, they were usually very bright. Volodya, a well-educated officer who commanded a Spetsnaz unit, remembers his men as "some of the most intelligent people I have ever known." </P>

<P> The training was and is brutal; it still culminates in a session of unarmed combat that would be forbidden by any Western army. The recruit must hold out for 12 minutes against three or four successive assailants, all qualified Spetsnaz soldiers. "Basically, they try to kill you," says Alexei. Occasional

ly they nearly succeed, and soldiers frequently end up hospitalized after the sessions. These days, when the battered but exhilarated survivors receive their maroon berets, they sometimes get something extra. Shady-looking civilians, who are there with the blessing of senior officers and are eager to meet the graduates, have been seen handing out envelopes containing money. For many Spetsnaz veterans, such scenes point to the heart of the matter. In their view, the Spetsnaz turned mafia hit man is less to blame than the corrupt state that has left its special forces to rot.

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<P>Washington Post

July 12, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Food Aid: Too Much, Too Late? </P>

<I><P>U.S. Shipments to Russia Unneeded, Ill-Conceived, Critics Say</P>

</I><P>By Sharon LaFraniere, Washington Post Foreign Service</P>

<P> MOSCOWOver the past two months, workers at the Sokolniki flour mill in northeastern Moscow have unloaded 184 rail cars full of wheat, shipped courtesy of a U.S. food aid program aimed at needy Russians. No complaints, said Viktor Drozdov, the mill's director, but for one thing: The Sokolniki flour mill does n't really need the wheat.</P>

<P> Drozdov said the mill was able to supply seven of the city's bread factories just fine before the food aid arrived. Indeed, in all of Moscow, it would be difficult to find a market whose shelves are not laden with bread or bags of flour.</P>

<P> Supplying the well-stocked Sokolniki mill through a sweltering summer was surely not in the plan when the White House mounted a massive food aid program

m last November to save Russia from what looked like a bitter, hungry winter ahead. But critics say bad timing and a skewed list of recipients are only the most obvious problems with the \$1 billion effort. They say the aid was unnecessary and benefited American farmers and shippers more than the Russian people.

Armed with Russian reports of a disastrous harvest the previous summer and a drastic drop in imported food supplies caused by the financial crisis here, the U.S. Agriculture Department declared it would give Russia about \$600 million worth of wheat. It also provided a 20-year loan at 2 percent interest so Russia could buy an estimated \$400 million worth of corn, soybeans, poultry, meat, seeds and rice.

"It is in our interest to make sure that Russians are fed through the winter," said Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman on Oct. 28.

Eight months later, it may be the program itself that needs help. Among the problems: The winter came and went before cranes hoisted the first shipment -- 2,000 tons of pea seeds -- onto a St. Petersburg wharf in March. The bulk of the commodities are coming only this summer just as Russian farmers begin gathering in their own new harvest.

"If I was waiting for this corn, I would have killed all my birds by now," said Nikolai Bandurin, who runs a poultry farm in the Rostov region on Russia's western border.

Of the deliveries so far, 40 percent of the wheat and about one-fourth of the corn have gone to the regions around Moscow and St. Petersburg, the richest, best supplied cities in the country. Program documents listed on the Internet show that the Moscow and St. Petersburg regions are slated to receive as much food as the Far East and Arctic regions, the only areas that reported food shortages this winter.

The American foodstuffs, plus another \$400 million worth of aid from European countries, are the equivalent of 10 percent of Russia's annual agricultural output, according to minutes of a meeting of foreign agricultural attaches convened at the World Bank. To keep from undercutting Russian producers, the food aid was to be sold at current market prices.

But a dozen Russian buyers of the food aid said they are paying well under the Russian market price -- less than half of it, in some cases.

Otherwise, "why is it called humanitarian aid?" demanded Alexei Yakovlev, a regional agricultural official who is helping to manage sales of U.S. corn to poultry farms in the Rostov region.

Beyond the problems of pricing and timing, it is not clear that Russia needed food aid to begin with. The World Bank argued from the start that the problem was not lack of food, but the cost of food. Even the bleakest regions got through the winter without mass hunger.

Instead of the 5 million ton grain deficit that officials in Moscow had predicted, government statistics compiled by the World Bank indicate that the country wound up with a surplus in June of about 2 million tons, not counting the

e foreign food aid.</P>

<P> To the program's critics, the conclusion is hard to miss: The real beneficiaries of the food aid are not Russians, but American farmers, who were able to unload some of their own record surpluses at taxpayer expense. Food aid also helps American shipping companies because U.S. law mandates that they deliver it.</P>

<P> But for Russians, said Yevgeny Serova, an agricultural economist in Moscow, the aid is not only unnecessary, it is dangerous. In her view, it threatens Russia's fledgling market system and agricultural producers and revives the old Soviet-style food chain that capitalism was supposed to dismantle.</P>

<P> "Eight years we have been waiting for this market system to emerge," said Serova. "Now we try to destroy it."</P>

<P> Not surprisingly, U.S. officials see it differently. Asif J. Chaudhry, the U.S. agricultural official in charge of the program in Moscow, pointed out that the Russian government itself asked for help last October. He said the amounts of food aid provided are simply too small to disrupt the market system and that prices were carefully negotiated to match existing market standards.</P>

<P> Although food seems abundant in Moscow and St. Petersburg, Chaudhry said the cities needed aid because they were the most heavily dependent on imported food. And as for timing, he said, "The aid has come in at a point when previous stocks and supplies have run out, and these supplies have come in and filled the gap." He disputed the estimates distributed by the World Bank, saying that Russia is facing another bad harvest with no grain left in stock, not even donated goods.</P>

<P> "All over the country, we have seen factory after factory and mill after mill are processing U.S. wheat, and they are all indicating that if they had not received U.S. wheat, they would be shut down," Chaudhry said.</P>

<P> The United States and the European Union, which mounted its own support program, decided to come to Russia's aid last fall at a time of real uncertainty about what lay ahead. Russia's devaluation of the ruble and default on its domestic debt in August meant the country faced skyrocketing prices and dwindling deliveries of imported food, which made up as much as half of Russia's food supply. On top of that, the coming harvest was said to be the smallest in 40 years.</P>

<P> But noted economists and some government officials argued that predictions of famine were vastly overblown and that the crisis might be a blessing in disguise for Russian producers because they could sell more at home. While the harvest was bad, economists noted, the previous year had produced a bumper crop. They said it was a given that Russian farmers had under-reported production, so official figures of stocks could be off by as much as 20 percent or more.</P>

<P> When the government queried Russia's 89 regions in early October, only one -- Magadan, on Russia's Far East border -- reported food shortages.</P>

<P> A number of Russian government officials opposed the foreign aid, includ

ing the minister and deputy minister of agriculture and the minister of finance . But the decision rested with Gennady Kulik, a deputy prime minister who had spent 20 years managing state-controlled agriculture under the Communist government. Accepting the food aid not only alleviated fear, it increased Kulik's power, because it gave him goods to hand out -- or not -- and state contracts to award. Against government rules, one of four firms chosen in a closed auction to distribute the food is headed by a well-known friend of Kulik's.</P>

<P> Calculating prices for different goods to be sold in different regions at different times proved a daunting task. Officials finally set minimum prices and left the Russian sales agents to figure out and collect the additional funds if the regional market price were higher.</P>

<P> The proceeds from the food aid are to go to Russia's chronically underfunded pension fund, theoretically enabling it to pay off \$500 million in arrears and sock some away. As of mid-June, only \$3.4 million had trickled in, but state agents have months to transfer proceeds from the sales to government coffers.</P>

<P> Mindful of reports of fraud that tarnished a previous food aid program, European governments dispatched hundreds of inspectors throughout Europe and Russia at a cost of about \$12 million to monitor the shipment and distribution of the aid. The United States is making do with just 14 inspectors in Russia, although embassy personnel also are supposed to check deliveries during their travels.</P>

<P> How much misappropriation or illegal diversion they can intercept is anyone's guess. On Tuesday, officials seized 10 rail cars stuffed with European rye. The grain was headed across the border to Estonia, despite a strict ban on the exporting of food aid.</P>

<P> Unlike the Americans, the EU refused to ship food to Moscow, St. Petersburg and the "black earth" provinces, which produce much of Russia's basic crops . The Europeans also insisted that certain commodities be sold at higher prices than the Americans demanded.</P>

<P> While officials labored over logistics, the winter passed, with only a few sparsely settled areas in the Far East and north reporting food shortages. Now that the food aid is pouring in, some regions do not want it. The Agriculture Ministry informed the World Bank last week that it is diverting some corn seed shipments to regions for which they were not originally intended to protect Russian seed plants financed by the World Bank.</P>

<P> The Siberian region of Krasnoyarski Krai refused offerings of meat, and the neighboring region of Kemerovo also is apparently not too desperate. Kemerovo dealers are working the Krasnoyarski processing plants, trying to resell food aid sent to their region, according to Russian media reports.</P>

<P> In Rostov, poultry farmer Nikolai Bandurin said he will buy U.S. corn rather than local fodder when it finally arrives. "If they wave it in front of us, of course we'll take it," he said. "But the policy is wrong. This help will be damaging to Russia."</P>

<P> Drozdov, whose Sokolniki flour mill is slated to receive 75,000 tons of

grain, said the U.S. wheat is simply replacing what he would have bought in Russia, the other former Soviet republics or European countries, such as Hungary. "We would have managed without it," he said. "The price of bread would have gone up, but not by much."

Although most Russian farmers do not seem to have been hurt by the influx of food aid thus far, Vladimir Kasyanenko, who runs a wheat collective farm in Rostov, is making contingency plans. He said he will simply store his wheat and sell it abroad later when the food aid programs end and export restrictions are lifted.

He might have a bit of a wait. The Russian government is again predicting a poor harvest, this time because of drought and locusts. Said Agriculture Secretary Glickman two weeks ago: "My guess is they're going to want additional assistance."

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Defense News

July 19, 1999

Pg. 3

Barak Assembles Security Team

Israeli Defense Agenda Accents High-Tech Deterrence, Regional Calm

By Barbara Opall-Rome, Defense News Staff Writer

WASHINGTON - High-technology deterrence and a renewed, proactive push for regional calm is expected to lead the security agenda of Israel's new prime minister and defense minister, Ehud Barak.

Barak, the former Israel Defense Forces (IDF) chief of staff who took command of a broad-based coalition government in early July, will present highlights

of his new security agenda to U.S. President Bill Clinton and senior U.S. officials during a planned July 15-19 visit to Washington.

U.S. and Israeli officials said the visit will focus on reinvigorating Mideast peace negotiations and re-establishing intimate ties between the White House and the prime minister's office, ties that have been cool during the three-year tenure of Barak predecessor Binyamin Netanyahu.

Nevertheless, Israeli officials said meetings with Clinton, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, Defense Secretary William Cohen and congressional leaders also will highlight Barak's desire to steer U.S.-Israel strategic cooperation more in the direction of an equitable partnership rather than the patron-client dynamic that often characterizes the relationship.

Unlike most visits by Israeli prime ministers and defense ministers, Barak will come to Washington without a shopping list, Israeli officials say. Instead, Barak intends to introduce his security team, many of whom are familiar faces in Washington, highlight defense modernization priorities, and pledge a greater accounting for how Israel uses the approximately \$2 billion in annual U.S. grant military aid.

Key defense and security officials in the new Barak government include Ephraim Sneh, deputy defense minister; Dani Yatom, chief of staff for the prime minister; and Zvi Stauber, foreign policy adviser.

Sneh, a medical doctor by training who served alongside Barak during Israel's daring 1976 Entebbe rescue operation, commanded elite IDF units and Israel's security zone in southern Lebanon before joining the Labor Party and serving in Israel's parliament in 1992.

Since then, Sneh has served in several key political positions, including minister of health, and as a member of the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee in the Israeli parliament.

Yatom, a former head of Israel's Mossad intelligence agency, served as military secretary to former prime ministers Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres. He retired as major general from the IDF, where he headed the service's planning bureau.

Like Yatom, Stauber earned his pedigree in intelligence and has participated in numerous Mideast peace negotiations and bilateral U.S.-Israel programs.

The new security team will be assisted by the IDF General Staff, led by Lt. Gen. Shaul Mofaz; the heads of Israel's various intelligence agencies; David Ivry, national security adviser; and Ilan Biran, director-general of Israel's Ministry of Defense.

"We're confident that this new government can realize its potential. ... There are a lot of new ideas and new approaches, but we need to proceed carefully and after much consideration," Sneh told Defense News.

A new security agenda presented to the Barak government by Shai Feldman, head of the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies in Tel Aviv, includes a number of

new U.S.-Israel initiatives intended to "rehabilitate the special relationship with Washington ... necessary for creating comprehensive strategic understanding between [the two allies]."

Defense-specific items on the security agenda, to be published later this month in English by the Jaffee Center, include:

* Demonstration of maximum consideration for U.S. goals in sensitive areas, especially governing technology transfer to other countries. According to the agenda, "A credible and ongoing effort must be made to address the suspicions expressed by some in the U.S. government that Israel is... transferring devices based on American technologies to various countries, particularly China."

The center calls for establishing a joint coordinating body to deal with technology transfer.

* Reinforce the reciprocity of Israel-U.S. relations by supporting U.S. efforts around the world, "even if they have no direct bearing on the Middle East." For example, Israel could send a military unit to participate in peacekeeping operations in Kosovo.

* Improve Israel's relations with major countries of the Far East, especially India, China and Japan. The center urges the new government to "demonstrate sensitivity to issues each [nation] finds important." As examples, it cited Beijing's sensitivity to the status of Taiwan, and Japan's concern about "irresponsible and non-coordinated initiatives vis-a-vis North Korea."

* Reach immediate understanding with Washington to strengthen Israel's ability to deter against nonconventional weaponry. The center urged Washington not to force Israel to sign arms control initiatives that could erode Israeli security. "This is particularly important at this time, as Israel is preparing to take upon itself serious security risks in the framework of the peace process, especially vis-a-vis Syria."

* Request that Clinton publicly renew commitments to compensate Israel for risks assumed in connection with peace agreements.

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<P>New York Times

July 13, 1999</P>

<P>Colombia: Lull In Fighting</P>

<P> After a weekend of fighting that led President Andrés Pastrana to declare a partial curfew in nearly a third of the country, Government troops and rebel forces kept their distance from each other. The military claims to have killed more than 200 rebels and turned back an offensive that began Thursday, but leaders of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia say they have merely ordered a break in attacks.</P>

<I><P>Larry Rohter (NYT)</P></I>

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<P>Singapore Straits Times

July 13, 1999</P>

<P>Navies Hone Fighting Skills </P>

<P> THE killer is out there somewhere, lurking deep in the South China Sea, posing a deadly threat to civilian shipping and warships alike. </P>
>

<P> On the surface, ships from the navies of Singapore and the United States scramble to locate this enemy submarine, while helicopters dip listening devices into the water to pinpoint the target. </P>

<P> But this is only a drill. </P>

<P> The US Navy (USN) is here for the fifth Carat naval exercise to train with the Republic of Singapore Navy. </P>

<P> The annual bilateral exercise, started in 1995, allows both navies to practice common operating procedures in maritime and air warfare. It also lets both armed forces sharpen their combat skills and strengthen ties. </P>

<P> This year's Carat, which stands for Cooperation Afloat Readiness and Training, was launched yesterday and will go on until July 23. </P>

<P> Vessels and aircraft from the US taking part include two missile guided frigates, a Los Angeles-class attack submarine, three support ships, maritime patrol aircraft, anti-submarine helicopters and F-15 Eagles. </P>

<P> The 1,700 or so USN personnel here include the elite Navy Seal's team one, and an explosives team. </P>

<P> Representing Singapore are three missile corvettes, two missile gunboats, two anti-submarine vessels, two mine countermeasure vessels and two support ships. Aircraft from the Republic of Singapore Air Force will also be taking part.</P>


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<P>Christian Science Monitor

July 13, 1999

Pg. 6</P>

<P>Kashmiris, Forgotten In Conflict</P>

<I><P>Fighting winds down, but Kashmir's 700-year tradition of tolerant society remains a casualty.</P>

</I><P>By Robert Marquand, Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor</P>

<P> SRINAGAR, INDIA -- Nine weeks of a war between India and Pakistan over

the mountain valley of Kashmir has embittered relations, preoccupied 1.5 billion South Asians, and pushed the two new nuclear states into a military mindset neither can afford.

Now it appears the conflict will end by a July 16 deadline negotiated by the two countries. Pakistan-backed mujahideen fighters will withdraw behind the "line of control" that operates as a disputed border in Kashmir. Indian jets have ceased their airstrikes on mountain bunkers and caves. Attention is shifting to the troubles of Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, who, having pledged since a July 4 meeting with President Clinton to call off the fighters, is caught in a vise between his military, the mujahideen, and international pressure.

Yet in this capital city of lakes, floating gardens, and abundant birdlife - a tragedy on a very different scale is under way, itself a long-term consequence of five decades of struggle for custody of Kashmir between India and Pakistan.

For Kashmiris, the tragedy is nothing less than the destruction and cultural eradication of a distinct 700-year-old identity based on multireligious tolerance and just plain friendliness.

So legendary was the Kashmiri spirit of amity and nonviolence, in fact, that when Mohandas Gandhi despaired about Hindu-Muslim relations in pre-partition India in the 1930s, he said, "If I see a ray of hope, it is only from Kashmir."

Yet like some epic custody battle between two selfish and unyielding parents, little concern has been paid by Pakistan and India to the stability and integrity of the Kashmiri "child," residents and experts here say. Pakistan tacitly backs a foreign-based insurgency; India keeps 450,000 troops in Kashmir.

Today, rooftops are being rebuilt on a row of burned-out houses in the swanky Hindu part of old town Srinagar. This neighborhood was torched in 1992 during a Muslim insurgency that drove 250,000 Hindus out of Kashmir, about 98 percent of them.

But the new sound of pounding hammers does not tell a sweet story of return and renewal. The Hindus, a crucial part of this paradisiacal Himalayan valley for 700 years, are not coming back. At least not now.

Moderate Kashmiris say what has been destroyed is something called "kashmiriat" - an invisible but palpable understanding that Buddhists, Muslims, Hindus, and others would live together peaceably. The bedrock of this Kashmiri identity was a Sufi Islam that dates back centuries, and that stressed a need for gentleness and the treatment of other human beings in a dignified and equal manner.

But Sufism, nonviolence, secularism, and the broad-minded ideals of Kashmiriat have been erased in Kashmir. Insurgency, occupation, and a new and harder-edged Islamic proselytizing has done more than drive away Hindus and bring massacres and grief. It has ended an invisible structure of trust, solidarity, friendliness, and faith in reason rather than force.

<P>Caught in the middle</P>

<P> Young Kashmiris now have a choice between a vague Muslim utopia articulated by Pakistan-leaning politicians - or de facto second- or third-class status under occupation by Indian security forces. The irony, say longtime Kashmiris, is that their valley has never been allied or aligned with either India or Pakistan.</P>

<P> "For now, the old natural civil society in Kashmir is nonexistent," says Amitabh Mattoo, a professor at Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi who grew up in Kashmir, and still vacations there. "The real tragedy is that the music, dance, literary tradition, the rich syncretic culture of Kashmir, have been destroyed or forgotten."</P>

<P> Not that human tragedy has ended. In just the last two weeks three mass acres of Hindus and Muslims - some 42 people, including women and children - have taken place in Kashmir. </P>

<P> Last year, after India and Pakistan tested nuclear weapons, Kashmir was seen as the most likely flashpoint for an atomic confrontation. Kashmir has been a contested land between the two countries since 1947 - when a Hindu ruler decided to give Muslim-majority Kashmir, an independent "princely state" under British rule, to India. </P>

<P> This year, Pakistani-based rebels crossed the disputed border in northern Kashmir, seemingly a world away from Srinagar - largely with the idea of creating international pressure to force India to negotiate some new political arrangement for Kashmir.</P>

<P> Yet a trembling and fragile middle class here asks: What kind of Kashmir?</P>

<P> The Kashmiri tradition for 700 years blended Sufi Islam's egalitarian spirit with the liberal inquisitiveness of the Hindu Brahmins. In Kashmir, however, Brahmins are called Pandits - and they are more relaxed about Hindu codes. Pandits, for example, are hearty meat-eaters, unlike their high-caste Brahmin vegetarian counterparts. Jawaharlal Nehru, the architect of modern India and a freedom fighter in 1947, was himself a Pandit from Kashmir - and a man deeply divided over whether to allow Kashmir the right to vote for its independence.</P>

<P> The loss of the Pandit has harmed Kashmir's civic, artistic, and academic life. For example, the Pandits made up 60 percent of schoolteachers here. They were famous for a secular approach to learning, and for diligence in the teaching of music, math, and science. Today, Pandits make up less than 1 percent of the teachers, and, they live in an increasingly impossible world of sandbag bunkers and bodyguards.</P>

<P> "The exodus of Hindus is not good for Kashmir. We Muslims are the losers," says Qudsia Shah, former president of the women's college in Srinagar. "The Pandit dedication to schools is something we have to recoup. Academic standards have dropped, to say the least."</P>

<P> "If there is a new generation of Hindus emerging here, I don't see it," says one elderly Pandit here.</P>

<P> What has largely replaced Kashmiri is an aggressive Islam that is turning the valley into a fundamentalist Islamic state inside India. In the late 1980s, residents tell of clerics coming from outside Kashmir, who pushed strict Islamic schools for children, the wearing of veils for girls and women, and undermined the liberal Sufi ethos. In part, it was a result of the Islamic backlash against modernity and the increasing hold that the superpowers had over small states that fueled revolutions in Iran and elsewhere.</P>

<P> "Our friends would go to the mosque and a new mullah would be speaking," says one Kashmiri official. "He would be telling them, 'You are unIslamic. You are wimps. You'd better change.'" Today, in village after village outside Srinagar, the charming three-tiered, pagoda-like Sufi worship houses, known as "Ziarat," where Muslims and Hindus prayed together since the 14th century, are no longer used. According to Vijay Kumar, head of the Border Security Forces in Kashmir, new mosques financed by money from Pakistan and Saudi Arabia are being built, and that is where the locals are praying. "The Sufi mosques are becoming a thing of the past, something for show," Mr. Kumar says.</P>

<P> Nor are the age-old multireligious festivals still being held - important celebrations that brought everyone out on the street, and to the same table. One Hindu feast, called Shivrati, which featured a special local fish dish, has not been held since the late 1980s. Most children do not know what Shivrati is.</P>

<P>A culture of more violence</P>

<P> Instead, what they know about is a violent gun culture. "Ten years ago I didn't have a clue about what militants did or what a bullet looked like," says a prominent businessman here. "What was a land mine? An AK-47? We were happy and peaceful. Now a 10-year-old can tell you everything."</P>

<P> As in the tragedy of the Balkans, notably Bosnia, the destruction of a "good" or "healthy" society raises some significant long-term questions: Is the violence and the elimination of different peoples and traditions in favor of "pure" or homogenous states, control of free expression, and the erasing of cultural memory and the creation of false histories - a permanent condition? Is there something more toxic and less reversible about the way in which these operations are conducted in the modern- or postmodern world that makes them ineradicable?</P>

<P> Or, as in the case of Kashmir, will this land's 700-year-old tradition of liberal harmony reassert itself? Can the "truth" of Kashmir spring back through thousands of small channels and means that the current political factions involved have not counted on?</P>

<P> Dr. Mattoo opts for the latter scenario. "You can't forever silence a centuries-old tradition in 10 years," he says. "Kashmiri will come back, though it might take some time."</P>

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<P>Time

July 12, 1999</P>

<P>How I Started A War</P>

<I><P>A Pakistani soldier's account of the Kashmir battle</P>

<P> He spent 77 days in Indian territory, fighting and suffering at elevations of up to 18,000 ft. He is a Pakistani soldier, and this is his account of the combat now under way in Kashmir. India and Pakistan have fought over the region since 1947, when Pakistan became a separate nation. This spring the conflict flamed again. Pakistani officials insist it was started by India, but this soldier's story suggests Pakistan was first to move. The 30-year-old soldier returned to Pakistan in mid-June for reasons he wouldn't specify. Badly sunburned from exposure, he spoke to TIME on condition of anonymity.</P>

</I><P> In February I was ordered to cross the Line of Control and climb some mountains that the Indians controlled. My commanding officers would not allow me to take my rifle. I was against going to an Indian hill without a weapon, but I saw everybody who was being sent across the Loc was going there empty-handed. We were told it was for the sake of secrecy. It took us three days of walking and climbing to reach the Indian posts. We found they were empty. Our job was to prepare makeshift bunkers.</P>

<P> The first five days were hell. The M-17 military helicopter did not come with our supplies. We just had Energile [a protein-enriched food pack used in high-altitude warfare] and ice. Sometimes we ate ice with sugar.</P>

<P> The skirmishes with the Indians started in May. [By then, weapons had been delivered to the men.] In the early days we mowed down many of them. Those Indians came like ants. First you see four, and you kill them. Then there are 10, then 50, then 100 and then 400. Our fingers got tired of shooting at them. Sometimes they came in such large numbers we were afraid of using up all our amm

unit. There is no instant resupply, so you have to be careful. You could see lots of bodies strewn down below or in the gorges. We also suffered a lot of casualties, many more than what officials in Pakistan are claiming. During my stay up there, 17 of my friends died while fighting the Indians.

There is so much exchange of fire that you cannot eat the ice now or drink the water, which is laced with cordite. Soldiers are facing stomach problems because of this. We had no proper bunkers, so we dug a 16-ft. tunnel into the snow. When the Indian shells started landing on us, we would crawl into this tunnel for safety. You don't get enough space to spread your legs in the tents. You always sleep sitting up. Sometimes there is so much firing, you cannot relieve yourself even if you want to.

On the ridges now we have disposable rocket launchers, surface-to-air missiles and machine guns, including anti-aircraft guns. On one occasion I was positioned on a mountain facing the Drass-Kargil highway. It's fun to target the Indian convoys.

Our officers are very strict. I saw a young soldier die in front of me because of altitude sickness. This soldier came from the plains. He fell sick soon after coming up. He offered our commanding officer 200,000 rupees [about \$4,000] to let him go down, but the offer was refused. He died four days later. We didn't know his name.

If you die up in the mountains, there is no way to lift your body and take it down. The men who are fighting on those ridges know that they are in a hole from which they cannot come out alive. There are a rare few like me who somehow by fate got the chance to leave the mountains.

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<p>Army Times

July 19, 1999

Pg. 54</p>

<P>We're Sending Warriors When Cops Could Keep The Peace</P>

<P>By George C. Wilson </P>

<P> This column jumps around a bit, from a Coast Guard cutter in the Caribbean to the Balkans to a senator's press breakfast. But all illustrate a point: the contradictory roles of the armed services today. </P>

<P> First, the cutter.</P>

<P> I was on it as a reporter to watch her crew try to intercept smugglers crossing the Caribbean to land drugs in the United States. The crew had been trained how to carry -- and use, if necessary -- M-16s while boarding and searching suspicious vessels.</P>

<P> Would this bellicose mission turn off the idealistic young men and women who joined the Coast Guard to do good, not act as in-your-face cops who handcuffed and maybe shot people at sea?</P>

<P> The officers did not know the answer to the question then, but saw their fears realized soon afterward when the cutter's armed boarding party arrested smugglers on a sailboat stuffed with marijuana. Crewmen chained the smugglers to the cutter's deck. Some of the Coast Guardsmen told me they felt queasy about the whole episode. The officers had been right to worry about the psychological impact of ordering their seamen to save people one minute and arrest them the next.</P>

<P> The wardroom concerns about contradictory roles came back to me in 1997 when I bounced around Bosnia with Army troops in Humvees. I saw that the Humvees had machine guns on top and riot shields, clubs and tear gas in the trunk. Were these troops Rambos or cops?</P>

<P> Now we have Kosovo. After a confusing bombing campaign, Gen. Wesley K. Clark, NATO supreme commander, has no choice but to ask soldiers trained as warriors to serve as cops. He and his predecessors have argued for an effective international police force to free warriors of such peacekeeping missions, but a varsity team has yet to materialize.</P>

<P> Yugoslavia, though punished, is likely to be less stable in the wake of the NATO bombing campaign than it was before it.</P>

<P> I agree with the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff who told me that bombing much of Yugoslavia's infrastructure -- bridges, factories and power plants -- may have driven Slobodan Milosevic to the peace table, but it will make the Balkans more unstable for years to come. If so, there are almost certain to be calls for more peacekeepers.</P>

<P> This prospect impelled Sen. Ted Stevens, R-Alaska, chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee and a former pilot in the Army Air Corps, to call for a two-track system within the U.S. military: one for warriors and another for peacekeepers. Peacekeeping "is part of our national ethic now. You ought to train peacekeepers" for their jobs from Day One rather than continue to deploy warriors, Stevens told us recently over breakfast.</P>

<P> "We end up putting them at intersections in Haiti, the Balkans, Kuwait and now Kosovo," Stevens said of America's warriors. "Let's train some people to be peacekeepers. We really don't need the guys who are Rambos walking around the streets of Bosnia and Kosovo."</P>

<P> If the Army is going to be the service carrying most of the peacekeeping burden, argued the senator, who has a lot to say about where defense dollars go, it should grow beyond its projected 480,000 active-duty strength. "I think you have to have more people," Stevens said of the Army.</P>

<P> His talk of raising end strengths may cause already stressed recruiters to go into full cardiac arrest. They are struggling just to reach current end strengths. But I see a silver lining in Stevens' proposal. If American teenagers were promised they could join the all-volunteer force to learn how to be highly skilled cops or village administrators in some exotic foreign land rather than be trained to kill, thousands who would otherwise spurn the military might would sign up.</P>

<P> I mean, what a deal this would be! Earn college money, acquire skills saleable in the civilian world and do good. Letting them stay in the rear if America got into a war sounds unfair. But let's face it. Many military specialists right now stay in the rear.</P>

<P> Stevens is right. Peacekeeping, like it or not, is big and getting bigger for the armed services. It's time for everyone from the commander in chief on down to recognize this reality and break old molds of thinking, doing and funding so military people aren't required to turn themselves inside out every time there is a Kosovo. </P>

<P> <I>George C. Wilson is a veteran defense correspondent and author of several books on military affairs.</P></I>

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<P>Omaha World-Herald

July 12, 1999</P>

<P>What's Fair In Love And Cyberwar?</P>

<P>By Andrew J. Glass, Cox Newspapers Washington Bureau</P>

<P> Washington - When colorful fireworks rose into the night sky on July 4, Bill Clinton and his guests watched from the Truman balcony. It's but one of many presidential perks.</P>

<P> While the U.S. Treasury underwrites the Clintons' comforts, the taxpayers' largess doesn't extend to their bank account. Actually, the first family is "under water," as Wall Street bean counters would put it. The \$1.6 million that Clinton stands to earn in eight rent-free years at 1600 Pennsylvania Ave. won't cover his huge scandal-fed legal bills, despite generous help from wealthy donors.</P>

<P> Clinton's nemesis, President Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia, portrays the same scene in reverse. In the course of a 78-day air offensive, NATO bombs smashed the Serbian leader's home. Meantime, the CIA has traced his considerable liquid holdings to accounts in Switzerland, Hong Kong, Russia, Cyprus and the Cayman Islands.</P>

<P> Led by Washington, the NATO partners have mounted a quiet effort to seize, or at least freeze, as many of these hidden assets as possible, on the reasonable grounds that they reflect the ill-gotten gains of an indicted war criminal.</P>

<P> Should that goal fail, Clinton is building another kind of bridge to the 21st century. Under a secret presidential directive signed in May, the president ordered the CIA to wage cyberwar against Milosevic, using the spy agency's hackers to tap into the foreign banks and, if possible, drain his estate.</P>

<P> One need not shed tears for the Butcher of Kosovo to question the wisdom of employing what CIA Director George Tenet describes as "dual-use" technology to deliver a digital blow. The reciprocal use, which Tenet fears, would be an attack by the nation's adversaries on mission-critical U.S. computer systems, employing technology that he observes "can be quite inexpensive and easily concealable."</P>

<P> Poison gas, a major battlefield weapon in World War I, was shelved in World War II. Those decisions were not driven by humane concerns: 10 times as many people died in the later conflict as in the earlier one, including a larger share of innocent civilians.</P>

<P> Gas wasn't deployed because it's hard to protect fighting troops from a retaliatory attack. For similar reasons, perhaps the time has come to declare a moratorium on cyberwarfare.</P>

<P> For their part, U.S. officials privately scoff at the notion of yielding the opportunity of landing a "soft kill" on Milosevic's fortune, after 11 weeks of hard warfare failed to unseat him from power.</P>

<P> Besides, they note, he started it. They cite a little-known bid by the Serbians in December 1990 to shatter neighboring Croatia's information systems

as the two former Yugoslav republics pulled apart. Ironically, the Serbian scheme to overload Croatia's relatively primitive phone and data networks was routed through the United States.

In war, unlike in football, an offensive force can unexpectedly and quickly be thrown on the defensive. Infowar advocates should bear that in mind, even as they argue that computer sabotage is a more compassionate way to do battle than launching fireworks of the lethal variety.

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Defense News

July 19, 1999

Pg. 15

20 Years Later, Commanders Still Seek Lighter U.S. Army

By Dov Zakheim

In the late 1970s, U.S. Army Gen. Edwin Meyer, chief of staff, designated the Army's Second Division as an experimental unit, designed to test concepts of fast-paced operations outside Europe that would demand a lighter, more flexible, more deployable Army.

Two decades later, in the aftermath of the Kosovo air war, Gen. Dennis Reimer, the Army's outgoing chief of staff, spoke of the need for a lighter, more flexible, more deployable Army. Other than accommodating a one-third decline in end strength, nothing much else seems to have happened to the Army's table of organization and equipment during the intervening years.

The Army continues to be a cumbersome overly bureaucratized organization that, despite its force reduction, is too large and unwieldy for the military challenges it is likely to face in the early years of the next century.

<P>As the fiasco of the Apache helicopter deployment to Albania amply demonstrated, the Army simply has neither the orientation nor the facility to deploy its units rapidly in an evolving environment that does not match its traditional concept of operations. </P>

<P>The Apaches that deployed to Tirana, Albania, were piloted by crews incapable of providing the close fire support that NATO required because they could not operate in an environment that was bereft of friendly ground maneuver units. The crews had to undergo two additional weeks of training in Albania, and still were not called into action. </P>

<P>Their commanders did not trust the self-defense equipment available to them, and they feared being shot down by Serb antiaircraft fire. Ultimately, the Apaches never saw combat. </P>

<P>Twenty years ago, critics of the tank-heavy Army were calling for the introduction of new lighter armored vehicles, 20-ton tanks that could fire depleted uranium rounds. These tanks would be rapidly transportable by C-130 cargo aircraft, which number in the hundreds, as well as by the far smaller fleet of C-17s and C-5s. </P>

<P>Moreover, the lighter tanks could be deployed in tandem aboard the larger cargo lifters. Yet the light tank remains an idea, at best a design, rather than an actual program. </P>

<P>Twenty years ago the Army cautiously began to experiment with designs for what were then termed Remotely Piloted Vehicles. Beginning with the ill-fated Aquilla, Army unmanned aerial vehicle programs have not been a resounding success. It was the Air Force's Predator that earned kudos in Kosovo. </P>

<P>The Army's record in fielding ground-to-air systems likewise is mixed at best. After much resistance, in the mid-1980s the Army accepted the notion that Patriot, an air defense system, should also serve as an antimissile system. It was only after the Patriot's limitations were seen during the Persian Gulf war that the Army began seriously to upgrade its theater missile defense capabilities. </P>

<P>Even so, the Army's Medium Extended Air Defense System has foundered (it is currently being revamped), in the tradition of earlier Army air defense flops such as the Sergeant York gun and the U.S. version of the Roland missile. </P>

<P>The Army's highest priority procurement is the Comanche helicopter, which is essentially a modification of a Cold War design that called for a scout helicopter to accompany the Apache. There is no real thrust toward a smaller, lighter Army. </P>

<P>Even force structure reductions have not changed the essential nature of the Army's division-based system, which itself is a modernized throwback to Napoleon's Grande Armée. </P>

<P>It is not at all clear that the United States continues to require a large, heavy Army whose 10 divisions are not significantly fewer than the 13 that constituted the Army of the 1970s, when the Cold War's end seemed a distant dream. </P>

<P>Nor is it clear that the Army of the next decade needs as many heavy tanks as it did when Meyer established his experimental division. Nor should the Army remain wedded to the concepts of ground operations that were the stuff of its field manuals a decade or more ago.</P>

<P>There is little doubt that the Army of the future will be needed to do more than just conduct peacekeeping operations in the aftermath of Air Force victories. But that Army needs to be smaller, faster and more flexible, able to meet the demands of contingencies whose nature as well as locale cannot easily be foretold.</P>

<P>In other words, it must be an Army that can be called upon not only to deploy its forces to a combat theater, but also to employ them in novel ways for which the Cold War, and even the Gulf War, will afford neither precedent nor example.</P>

<I><P>Dov Zakheim, U.S. deputy under-secretary of defense under President Ronald Reagan, is chief executive officer of SPC International Corp., Arlington, Va.</P></I>

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<P>Houston Chronicle

July 11, 1999

Pg. 4 Outlook</P>

<P>NATO's Kind Of 'New World Order' Just Cannot Stand</P>

<P>By Mikhail Gorbachev</P>

<P> MOSCOW - I was talking recently to Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf and, not surprisingly, we discussed the dramatic ramifications of the Kosovo crisis. The general spoke with the insight of an Army officer. "When the dust settles," he said, "everything will have to be reassessed and re-examined."</P>

<P> Now that the dust is settling, the need to come to grips with all the implications of recent developments is growing more acute.</P>

<P> I do not share the widespread view that NATO has scored a victory for justice and a safer world. Very soon, even those who succumbed to the euphoria of "a little victorious war" will realize that it was a pyrrhic victory with many destructive consequences.</P>

<P> But even more is at stake here. Events that, compared to this century's two world wars, were relatively minor in scale, have now assumed a symbolic dimension. They should be seen as a warning of things to come, a reminder of the profound crisis of world politics.</P>

<P> As I see it, much of what we have witnessed recently is rooted in the way U.S. leaders interpreted the end of the Cold War. They saw the breakup of the Soviet Union - a product of complex internal processes - as their victory. No longer having to deal with a serious partner in world affairs, the United States decided it could act at will.</P>

<P> It had little use for the United Nations. Having lined up other Western countries under the pretext of fighting ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, it has now tested a new doctrine that openly contradicts the principles of international law. A precedent has been set - of intervening in violation of any international norms, anywhere.</P>

<P> The new "strategy" was formally unveiled in April at the Washington summit convened to celebrate NATO's 50th anniversary. Now, after Kosovo, the shape of the world order as seen from Washington and some European capitals is coming into focus.</P>

<P> The prospect is stark: Instead of the principles of international law, it is armed intervention by the United States (or, "at best," by a group of countries) in any internal conflict; instead of organizations such as the United Nations, Organization for Security in Central Europe and the Council of Europe, it is NATO and its will. Its leaders are clearly not asking anyone's permission to rule the destinies of the world. They are "just doing it."</P>

<P> Such is the bitter truth. Yet, all the West's talk to the contrary notwithstanding, the United States and NATO have suffered a political and moral fiasco. The tragedy of Yugoslavia has shown that this kind of a "new world order" cannot work. It is being rejected, as each day passes, by popular opinion of other nations and even by many people in NATO countries.</P>

<P> I believe that a special session of the U.N. General Assembly should be convened in 2000 to take stock of the 20th century and discuss new ideas for the future. No forum today has more credibility or universality. No organization is a better place for discussing our future. It is the only place where global security can be properly addressed. Taking these issues elsewhere would lead us into a dangerous direction.</P>

<P> The leading nations of the West, however powerful they are, are unable to replace the United Nations. I am convinced that any such attempts will not work. It is a good sign that the architects of the Kosovo "blitzkrieg" were co

mpelled - by the logic of events and by the force of world opinion - to turn to the United Nations. All one can say is better late than never.</P>

<P> NATO's actions in Yugoslavia were clearly contrary to the U.N. Charter, a fact that the special session of the U.N. General Assembly will have to address, as well as other tough issues including the reform of the organization itself. It is clear that, having been created more than 50 years ago in a totally different international environment, the United Nations is in need of profound changes and new tools to enable it to meet new challenges such as economic and environmental security and combating terrorism.</P>

<P> A review of international norms will have to be undertaken, to see which ones are outdated and which ones need to be added, while reaffirming the validity of certain fundamental principles. The United Nations will have to be given a special role both in the settlement of interethnic conflicts and in protecting the sovereignty of nations at a time of accelerating globalization.</P>

<P> A fair hearing will have to be given to the reform ideas contained in proposals of Boutros Boutros-Ghali and of the commission chaired by former Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson. The special session will also have to focus on arms control.</P>

<P> I am afraid that we have been yielding to the pressure from the military-industrial complexes. It may well be that this is behind the enlargement of NATO's membership and sphere of activity. The world is again being pushed to the path of the arms race, while the problems of backwardness, poverty, environment and education cry out for our attention.</P>

<P> A joint effort of thinking and planning the future could be useful not only for the weak and vulnerable but also for the strong - if they are wise.
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<P>Maine Sunday Telegram

July 11, 1999</P>

Guardsmen, Women And Reservists Make Tremendous Sacrifice

I write to congratulate the Maine Sunday Telegram for its informative article ("Staffer gets involved as global citizen," June 27) which details the selfless service of Mark Bragdon, who will temporarily leave his job at the Telegram and join other members of the Maine Army National Guards 112th Medical Co. for six months peacekeeping duty in Bosnia.

His experiences as a "citizen soldier" help underscore the profound changes that have taken place in our reserve forces since the Cold War ended. The men and women who serve in today's Guard and Reserve number 1.4 million, and they make up half our total military force. In recent years, they have served in the Persian Gulf, Somalia, Haiti and Bosnia, and some 5,000 were called for duty in the skies over Kosovo, including members of the Maine Air National Guards 101st Air Refueling Wing, based in Bangor.

Around the world and around the clock, guardsmen and reservists are making tremendous sacrifices in the national interest, defending our values in an uncertain world. We owe those who serve our nation in reserve a great debt of gratitude. As your article so clearly demonstrates, they are our neighbors and our workmates and each of them has a civilian job and a civilian employer.

On behalf of all those who serve in the Guard and Reserve, let me express my deepest appreciation to the Maine Sunday Telegram and all other employers of reservists for your continued support.

Charles L. Cragin, Acting Assistant Secretary of Defense, Washington, D.C.

Editor's Note: The article referred to appeared in the *Current News Supplement*, June 29, 1999.

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July 12, 1999

Pg. 70</P>

<P>Cologne: Nuclear Cuts, Limited Missile Defenses </P>

<P>By Thomas Graham, Jr., John B. Rhinelander, and Alexander S. Yerkovsky</P>

<P> The statement that the U.S. and Russia issued June 20 in Cologne, Germany, regarding the discussions they pledged to have later this summer on strategic arms signals a crucial opportunity to make real progress toward a more secure and stable world in the 21st century. Of overriding importance to this security is a reduction in the number of nuclear weapons while accommodating strong pressures to address the threat to both the U.S. and Russia of ballistic missile attacks by rogue states. Linking strictly limited Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty modifications to steep reductions below the currently agreed START III levels of 2,000-2,500 warheads would enhance the security of both nations. </P>

<P> We would suggest the U.S. and Russia pursue a three-stage effort to limit their nuclear arsenals. The first and immediate stage would consist of steps to reduce the size of each nation's strategic nuclear arsenal to 1,000 warheads. Specifically, this stage would include the following steps: </P>

<P> *Agreement this summer to a START III level of 1,000 deployed strategic warheads. </P>

<P> *Agreement in principle to carefully designed amendments to the ABM Treaty to permit a limited missile defense against a small attack by a rogue state. </P>

<P> *Duma approval of the START II/III package. </P>

<P> *A pledge by the Clinton Administration to submit to the U.S. Senate for ratification the START II/III package, including the earlier agreements on ABM demarcation, immediately after Duma approval.</P>

<P> In this first stage, the U.S. would, in effect, agree to an immediate lower START III level, which would lead to less pressure on Russia for force modernization, in exchange for Russian agreement to amendments to the ABM Treaty that would allow some protection against potential rogue state threats. While we believe the extent of the rogue state threat and the demonstrated effectiveness of the national missile defense (NMD) response are exaggerated, we think the political realities are such that the U.S. will make a missile defense deployment decision next summer and seek agreement on ABM Treaty amendments by then. </P>

<P> The key issue is how to manage NMD deployments so as not to abrogate the ABM Treaty or interfere with the arms reduction process. A return to the original concept of the ABM Treaty--two sites with 100 fixed, land-based interceptors

rs at each site--should be acceptable and would not affect the viability of either side's strategic deterrent. Moreover, Article I, which prohibits the deployment of a nationwide defense as well as the base for it, could be revised appropriately. More difficult issues are limitations on land-based battle-management radars and space-based tracking sensors because information from these sources can be used to upgrade the capabilities of theater missile defenses. The solution will rest in part in a specific number of fixed land-based ABM radars unlimited by geography, and space-based tracking and engagement sensors for strategic but not theater defense purposes. With a combination of the "three Cs"--explicit constraints, expanded confidence-building measures and greater technological cooperation--agreement should be achievable. </P>

<P> The second stage would include development of an extensive and intrusive transparency and inspection regime on warheads, fissile material and ballistic missiles that could start as early as next year. This regime would have value in itself and could be opened to include the other Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) nuclear powers as a preliminary to involving them in actual reduction discussions in the third stage. This would help to lay the groundwork for limits on tactical nuclear weapons, including sea-launched cruise missiles, at as low a level as possible--perhaps 500 weapons for each party. Such a limit could pave the way for a gradual move to a single, combined level for each party, say 1,000 for all nuclear weapons, including reserves. We understand these steps could only be taken if both sides remain comfortable with the deterrent value of their retaliatory forces in the face of whatever missile defense deployments are permitted by an amended ABM Treaty. Moreover, Russia will agree to limit its tactical nuclear forces only if Western and Chinese policies are not perceived as degrading its security situation. </P>

<P> The third stage, to begin early in the next century, would involve five-power negotiations aimed at reaching residual levels of nuclear weapons in the low hundreds for the U.S. and Russia and even lower levels for China, France and the U.K. (taking into account the programs of India, Pakistan and Israel). If successful, this five-power process would represent the most dramatic and important development regarding implementation of Article VI of the NPT and would enormously strengthen the NPT regime. Reducing drastically the number of nuclear weapons in the world is the only path toward security and stability in the next century. </P>

<I><P>Ambassador Thomas Graham, Jr., was a special representative of President Clinton for arms control, nonproliferation and disarmament from 1994-97. He is president of the Lawyers Alliance for World Security (LAWS). John B. Rhinelander, legal adviser to the U.S. SALT I delegation that negotiated the ABM Treaty, is a vice chairman of LAWS. Minister-Counselor Alexander S. Yereskovsky, a former senior Soviet/Russian diplomat, is a post-doctoral fellow at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University and an associate at the International Center in Washington. </P></I>

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Navy Times

July 19, 1999

Pg. 54

Digital Information Network Could Provide Big Boost To Military

By Joseph J. Eash III

It may be defense's biggest secret. It's not classified or hidden. In fact, it's been openly demonstrated. It is a tactical-level, wireless, Internet-like network, the result of an Advanced Concept Technology Demonstration called Extending the Littoral Battlespace.

It's a secret only because few realize its war-fighting potential. But, it could be the biggest boost to the revolution in military affairs yet.

However, the problem is sufficient information flow at the tactical level. Digital information, the currency of the information age, has difficulty getting to tactical war fighters; this precludes timely use of national and theater intelligence. Also, information flow at the tactical level is impeded by communications separated along service lines.

Future warfare demands a tactical-level, digital information network. That's how the Marines see it. They realize the need for "information networks" that provide timely intelligence and the means to coordinate a fast-moving Operational Maneuver From The Sea.

Moreover, a network that ties together all tactical information means - command, control, communications, computers, intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance -- would enable 21st century tactics.

This need became the basis for the Defense Department to initiate the Extending the Littoral Battlespace Advanced Concept Technology Demonstration -- processes for speeding technology to war fighters. The Office of Naval Research and Marine Corps Combat Development Command oversaw the effort. It solicited ideas from commercial industry, where rapid progress is being made in information technology. The result is a wireless digital network that was built and put to work in an operational exercise within 14 months.

<P> The Wide Area Relay Network, or WARNET, links all computers in the battle space. Inserting commercial, off-the-shelf technology into computers enables wireless transmission of digital text, images and voice communications. Marines are equipped with a lightweight computer on a wireless network. An airborne router relays messages to the intended receivers.</P>

<P> The WARNET is a conduit that provides greater and more timely situational awareness. It allows fusing of information into a common tactical picture and disseminates it to WARNET users. It also enables collaborative planning. Marines can draw maneuver tracks and indicate targets as overlays on the common tactical picture or even photos of the objective. Adjacent units can observe these plans and do near-instant coordination. Also, video teleconferencing capabilities aboard ship and ashore in designated command and control vehicles allow collaborative planning.</P>

<P> The WARNET speeds fire support. It can pass target information from sensors to firing platforms, allowing the automatic assignment of firing platforms to targets, as well as preventing fratricide. </P>

<P> Moreover, the WARNET works. It was proven in principle in Exercise Kernel Blitz, conducted April 12-16 in Southern California. Ships 40 to 60 nautical miles at sea could digitally communicate with ground units 180 miles inland, near Yuma, Ariz. Its biggest supporters were the users. As Marine Cpl. J. D. Tolchin stated, " ... the ability of what this can do is far superior to our current communications capabilities." </P>

<P> The WARNET has got industry's attention. Bill Gates, in his new book, "Business @ The Speed of Thought," best describes what it can do: "The Marines ... are operating what is essentially a battlefield Internet. It ties together the key players -- Marines in the field, command and control, and friendly aircraft overhead -- with up-to-the-second information and real-time messaging. Battlefield commanders can see precise images of troop deployment, and individual Marine unit leaders can see exactly where they and their buddies are."</P>

<P> The WARNET's relevance goes beyond the Navy and Marines, though. It's applicable to any fast-moving organization that needs information. It's even applicable for police and fire departments conducting disaster relief operations.</P>

<P> An adequate wireless digital network is in many ways the critical link that so many have been looking for. For the first time, it links all tactical players together much the same as digital networks have connected key business operations today. </P>

<P> Ultimately, this network links tactical warfare to the information age -- and that's a lot of what today's revolution in military affairs is all about. </P>

<I><P> Joseph J. Eash III is the deputy undersecretary of defense for advanced concepts and systems.</P></I>

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<P>Washington Times

July 12, 1999

Pg. 13</P>

<P>No Space Weapons Vacuum</P>

<P>By James T. Hackett, The Washington Times</P>

<P> On June 18, The Washington Times ran an item in its "Inside the Ring" section quoting Pentagon intelligence sources as saying that Russia had tested in April a high-altitude weapon that fires an electromagnetic pulse, or EMP. It added that the Pentagon is concerned about this Russian EMP weapon, which may be part of Moscow's anti-satellite (ASAT) development program.</P>

<P> Electromagnetic pulses are high-intensity energy generated by nuclear explosions or special EMP generators. An EMP is similar to a bolt of lightning - a brief but intense surge of electric energy that can cause damaging overloads in solid-state electronics. An EMP burst caused by a nuclear explosion in space could instantly disable all satellites in sight, and ground stations as well. A generated EMP pulse would have less power and shorter range, but still could burn out the electronics of a satellite or anything else at which it is directed.</P>

<P> It is interesting that Russia, despite severe economic distress, still can find money to develop such exotic weaponry. It shows the high priority Moscow puts on weapons for the control of space. Even as Russia demands more economic aid, its defense spending is rising rapidly. Prime Minister Sergei Stepashin said in June that his government plans to increase defense spending from 17.7 percent of the national budget in 1999 to more than 28 percent in 2000, nearly double the 14.8 percent the United States will spend on defense in 2000.</P>

<P> Missiles and space are high priorities for Moscow. Russia's military leaders have made their top priority the production and deployment of the new Topol-M intercontinental ballistic missile. In space, the military has asked the Duma to deorbit the Mir space station and use the money to help pay for a new fleet

et of military satellites. Even with 130 satellites still in orbit, most performing military missions, Russia's generals want new and improved spacecraft, especially spy satellites.

A similar emphasis on missiles and space is apparent in China, where preparations are now under way to flight test a new long-range ballistic missile, the DF-31, and then to test a submarine-launched version known as Julang II later this year.

China also is developing anti-satellite weapons. In a July 1998 report to Congress on the military modernization in China, the Department of Defense wrote that Beijing is acquiring foreign technologies that could be used to develop ASAT systems. The report refers to frequency jammers, radar satellite trackers and high-energy lasers, and notes that China already may possess the ability to damage optical sensors on satellites. More recent reports say that China also is working on a microwave warhead to produce a burst of EMP energy to disable a satellite's electronics, and that China last September conducted a laser test against a satellite's sensors.

The Pentagon is well aware of these emerging threats to U.S. satellites. Recent war games and operations in Iraq and Kosovo have shown that control of space is essential to successful military operations. U.S. soldiers and sailors expect to have control of both air and space above the battlefield. Friendly satellites must be protected, while unfriendly ones must be subject to attack to deter them from spying on or targeting U.S. and allied forces. For the past decade, the U.S. Space Command, the Army Space and Missile Defense Command and key members of Congress have tried to prepare the nation for war in and from space.

An Army-led joint program to develop a ground-based kinetic energy anti-satellite interceptor began in 1990 during the Bush administration. Over the past 10 years this KE ASAT has been designed, developed, ground-tested, and hover-tested with complete success. Yet for seven years, the administration has requested no funds for a U.S. ASAT. Congress added funds for that purpose in 1996, 1997 and 1998. At present, three new test models are being produced and will be ground-tested extensively next year. They will be available, if needed, on a standby basis.

But once again, despite the Russian and Chinese ASAT tests, the administration asked for no ASAT funds in the defense budget for next year. Nevertheless, the Senate authorized \$41 million and the House \$10 million to keep alive the KE ASAT - the only weapon that will be available anytime soon to deter attacks on U.S. satellites, and to keep others from spying on and targeting U.S. forces.

As we move into the uncharted waters of the Space Age, Congress should heed the recommendations of its armed services committees and provide at least some funds for a U.S. ASAT.

James T. Hackett is a contributing writer to The Washington Times based in San Diego.

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<P>Washington Times

July 12, 1999

Pg. 15</P>

<P>Nuke The ABM Treaty</P>

<P>By William Lee</P>

<P> The Clinton administration has promised to submit to the Senate the 1997 protocols to the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, which was signed by the United States and the four major successor states to the former Soviet Union. Should the Senate ratify those protocols, it would legalize modernization of Russia's national ABM defenses.</P>

<P> Russia has begun flight-testing the S-400, a new dual-purpose anti-aircraft/anti-missile (SAM/ ABM) system designed not only to end the "absolute superiority" of air assault demonstrated in the 1992 Gulf War, but also to improve its illegal ABM defenses. The S-400 is the fourth SAM/ABM to be developed since the mid-1950s and testifies to Russia's commitment to maintaining the national SAM/ ABM defenses inherited from the Soviet Union. Deployment is scheduled to begin next year.</P>

<P> Modernizing Russian national ABM defenses with the S-400 will challenge the credibility of the U.S. nuclear deterrent, especially if our arsenal is reduced from the 6,000-warhead level permitted by SALT I to 3,500 under the SALT II Treaty, which the Senate already has ratified. Existing Russian ABM defenses probably nullify the small British and French nuclear deterrents.</P>

<P> Despite the fact that conclusive evidence of Soviet deployment of national missile defense in violation of the 1972 ABM Treaty has been accumulating since 1991, in May 1997 senior U.S. intelligence officers concluded that nothing of the sort had happened. Two years later, our \$28 billion (per year) intelligence community still has not reported this continuing violation, to say nothing of Russia's program to upgrade its illegal national ABM defenses with the new S-400 system.</P>

<P> Both the S-400 SAM/ABM and its predecessor, the SA-10, can operate with the same interceptor missiles. Initial S-400 tests used SA-10 missiles. The new long-range S-400 missile can engage ballistic missiles with ranges of (at least) 3,500 kilometers, as compared with about 2,000 kilometers for the latest model SA-10 missile, even without target-tracking data from Russia's huge ABM battle management radars.</P>

<P> The new "super-maneuverable" short-range S-400 missile provides two layers of ABM and air defense instead of one layer for previous SAM/ABMs (SA-5 and SA-10). The maneuver capabilities of this new S-400 missile go well beyond what is required to engage any existing aircraft or cruise missile and its design accuracy is extremely high. Clearly, the short-range S-400 missile is designed for nonnuclear kill of ballistic missiles (and aircraft).</P>

<P> Most importantly, given long-range target-tracking data from Russia's battle-management radars (Krasnoyarsk and other types) and nuclear warheads, the S-400 should be highly effective against all types of strategic ballistic missiles - medium-range through ICBMs. The S-400 is a far more technically sophisticated and effective SAM/ ABM than any of the previous models.</P>

<P> Russia's national ABM defenses against all classes of aircraft, cruise and ballistic missiles also will be enhanced by at least three new radars with various ranges, including a short-range, over-the-horizon (OTH) model. Production of two of the new radars began in 1997-98, and the OTH model is to be fielded in 2003-04.</P>

<P> Because engineering development of a system such as the S-400 and these new radars takes at least 10 years, Russia clearly has funded these systems since the collapse of the former Soviet Union. Given the non-accountability of billions of dollars in grants, loans and "aid" bestowed on Russia, with little or no positive benefits for ordinary Russian citizens, it would be surprising indeed if some of our dollars were not used to support S-400 development, and probably will be used to fund deployment as well. No doubt, development of the S-400 and the new radars also benefited from the virtual end of technology transfer controls under the Clinton administration. The Russians claim that the export version of the S-400 is superior to its U.S. counterparts.</P>

<P> Inasmuch as S-400 missile characteristics correspond to the limits set in the 1997 protocols to the ABM Treaty, Russia obviously negotiated those protocols to legalize modernization of its illegal national ABM defenses. Nevertheless, the Clinton administration persists in the illusion that the protocols only defined the technical boundaries between "theater" and "strategic" ABM systems. The U.S. goose was plucked again. Never the "cornerstone of strategic stability," the ABM Treaty amended by these protocols would be a monument to strategic instability by sanctioning major improvements in Russia's ABM defenses while the United States and its allies remain totally vulnerable.</P>

<P> Meanwhile, the congressionally appointed blue-ribbon Rumsfeld Commission, ably assisted by Iran, North Korea and China, exposed the fallacious 1995 National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) alleging that there would be no ballistic missile threat (except from Russia and China) to the United States until 2010 or beyond. In effect, the Clinton administration has accepted the Rumsfeld Commission's report on the threat but has not made a firm commitment to protect the

country from even small attacks by the Chinese or rogue states, or accidental Russian launches.

There is good reason to believe that the administration is not serious about protecting the United States from hostile missiles. Instead of choosing the quickest and least expensive path by first upgrading the Navy's Aegis air defense system and then adding space-based elements, the administration is proposing a much more expensive land-based ABM system that will take at least a decade to install. Critical decisions and funding are conveniently delayed until the next president takes office.

Most ludicrously, in its zeal to observe the phony ABM Treaty, the administration must go hat in hand to Moscow for permission to defend the United States. Russian President Boris Yeltsin has generously agreed to talk about permitting the United States to defend itself from Chinese missiles, which defenses will provide virtually no protection from Russia's arsenal. Meanwhile the Russians modernize their illegal national ABM defenses, which are legalized by the 1997 Treaty Protocols, designed to nullify our nuclear deterrent.

William Lee is a retired senior official of the Defense Intelligence Agency.

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American Legion Magazine

July 1999

Preserving The War Powers Act

The War Powers Act requires consultation with Congress before sending troops into harms way. In recent years, presidents have redefined, patronized or ignored the act altogether.

By Lee H. Hamilton

THE BASIC TEST for judging any foreign policy decision is easy to state

but hard to apply: Does it serve the American national interest?

During the Cold War, the guiding principle of U.S. foreign policy was clear: the containment of communism. There was a broad agreement that the Soviet Union represented a dire threat to American security and values. Most Americans were willing to confront communism. Every foreign policy decision was viewed through this prism, and defining the national interest was not difficult.

Today, defining the national interest in places such as Haiti, Bosnia, Kosovo, Iraq or Somalia is much harder and determining how we should respond to such challenges is much more difficult. Nearly every government in the world wants to involve the United States in solving its problems. Yet not even the world's only superpower can solve every problem or address every tragedy. The American people will never support such a role. The president and Congress must decide which issues are vital enough to the U.S. national interest to invest time and resources and to risk the lives of young Americans.

War Powers. Congress and the president constantly debate these key issues of national interest and of when, where and how the United States should get involved overseas. Many international problems demand American leadership. Other problems require American partnership with friends and allies. But in almost all issues of war and peace, war powers and our Constitution come onto center stage.

Since Vietnam, deploying troops overseas has been a subject of hot debate between Congress and the executive branch. Congress set the stage for this battle when it enacted the War Powers Act in the mid-1970s.

The act simply sought to require consultation with Congress and to require congressional action when sending troops into harms way. The act did not limit the role of the president as commander-in-chief, nor did it upset the delicate constitutional balance between the two political branches of government.

War-making powers are clearly divided under the Constitution. Congress has the power to declare war and to raise and support armed forces. The commander in chief leads armed forces. The Constitution provides Congress may circumscribe the president's authority to commit the armed forces to hostilities. The president's authority to protect the nation in an emergency may be an exception, but no clause of the Constitution generally empowers the president to make war without congressional approval. This legislation is consistent with the spirit of the Constitution despite the controversy it has engendered.

Experience suggests that the War Powers Act has led to reassessment of particular military operations and has placed restraints on military planners. It helped to force a reconsideration of U.S. policy toward Somalia. Congressional support strengthens public confidence in American foreign policy.

The extreme complexity of the modern world demands that Congress and the president pool their judgment and wisdom, now more than ever, before American armed forces are committed to combat. Lebanon is not Pearl Harbor. We may have a vital interest in preventing Iraqi control of Persian Gulf oil, but our interests in Bosnia, Haiti and Somalia are not vital. While there may be a good reason to send troops to Haiti, such a decision should not be left to one man.

>

<P> Specific questions have been raised about section three of the act, which requires executive consultation with Congress before American armed forces are deployed. Whether it was President Carter at the time of the rescue mission in Iran, President Reagan at the time of the invasion of Grenada or President Clinton at the time of air strikes against Iraq, consultation with Congress has often been too little and too late.</P>

<P> Unfortunately, this section of the War Powers Act is not clear. What is consultation? When is it required? These questions, and others, are hard to answer. In the end if the will to consult is present in the executive branch, workable answers to them will be found. Few members of Congress would complain if the leadership of both parties in both houses were briefed in detail sometime before the date of an anticipated military action.</P>

<P> In many respects, the act has not worked well. As a practical matter, however, legislation has a strong impact on the decision-making process of the president. A decision to send troops to Haiti, Iraq, Bosnia, Kosovo or Somalia would provoke an intense debate. In that process, hearings have to be held. Editorials will be written. TV shows will air interviews. Constituents will write or e-mail. All this can be a healthy constraint in our system.</P>

<P> Explanation Needed. The president conducts foreign policy. He has as the principal burden, however, of persuading Congress and the people about the threat to the national interest. There is no substitute for a president who can take his case to the people. The mission in Somalia was never well explained. While the reasons for bombing Iraq have been better articulated, the mission in Kosovo has not been well defined nor is there a clear exit strategy. These missions need to be defined and articulated again and again.</P>

<P> The War Powers Act remains a force for restraint on the gravest decision made by government whether or not to go to war. It imposes on the president the necessity to stop, look and take prudent counsel before initiating a military operation. That is not asking too much in our system of checks and balances.</P>

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<P>Federal Computer Week

July 12, 1999</P>

<U><P>A Legal View</P>

</U><P>How Are Vendors Used In Military Conflicts?</P>

<P>By Carl Peckinpugh</P>

<P> The following topic is raised periodically by contracting professionals : Are there any restrictions on the use of contractors during war? Are there any rules on the employment of contractor personnel in military theaters? How are contractors used in military conflicts?</P>

<P> Interest in this issue picks up when the United States is involved in a military operation, and the topic has become increasingly important as the military relies more heavily on contractors. Until recently, there was little explicit guidance in this area. However, some clear instructions have been promulgated during the past few years.</P>

<P> In 1990, the Defense Department published DOD Instruction 3020.37, "Continuation of Essential DOD Contractor Services During Crises," to establish policy in this area. According to the instruction, military components will rely on the "most effective mix" of active and reserve duty uniformed forces, civilian employees and contract resources necessary to fulfill assigned peacetime and wartime missions, with "cost and other factors considered."</P>

<P> Contractors providing services that are designated as essential by a DOD component are to "use all means at their disposal to continue to provide such services, in accordance with the terms and conditions of the contract during periods of crisis, until appropriately released or evacuated by military authority," according to the instruction.</P>

<P> Additionally, the instruction requires the promulgation of specific "theater admission procedures" before contractor employees can be allowed into a possible theater of military operations. According to the instruction, these procedures must address such things as training, protective gear, immunizations, cultural awareness, identification cards, security requirements, casualty notification, and medical and dental care.</P>

<P> Other guidelines have been established by the military departments and by some of their components. For example, the Army published its first official policy statement on the use of contractors on the battlefield in a Dec. 12, 1997, policy memorandum, which was included as Appendix F to Army Field Manual No. 100-10-2, "Contracting Support on the Battlefield." Although short, the memorandum contributes significantly to the available information by drawing a clear distinction between war and "military operations other than war" (MOOTW). "Contractor employees accompanying U.S. armed forces may be subject to hostile action. If captured, a contractor's status will depend upon the type of conflict, the applicability of any relevant international agreements and the nature of the hostile force. The full protections granted to prisoners of war under the Geneva (

1949) and Hague (1907) conventions apply only during international armed conflicts between signatories to those conventions. Accordingly, these conventions are generally not applicable during MOOTW. Therefore, contractor employee protection during MOOTW will depend on the specific circumstances of an operation."

Last year, the Army published the "Contractor Deployment Guide," Pamphlet No. 715-16, to provide additional guidance. The pamphlet differentiates between DOD civilian employees, who operate within the same military command and control structure as uniformed personnel while in theater, and contractor employees, who may be directed only through normal contracting channels.

The pamphlet also notes that the government "may issue sidearms to contractor employees for self-defense" in certain circumstances. Although it is not mentioned in the pamphlet, it should be noted that government agencies may not contract with organizations that offer quasi-military armed forces for hire. This restriction is found in the Anti-Pinkerton Act (5 U.S.C. 3108), which prohibits contracts with "Pinkerton detective agencies or similar organizations." The issuance of sidearms to contractor employees would not appear to violate this law as long as it was clear that the weapons were for self-defense only.

In January, the Army promulgated the regulation "Army Contractors on the Battlefield," Army Regulation No. 715-XX, to address logistical issues related to the presence of contractor employees in theater. The regulation states that all Army-sponsored contractor employees in an area of operation will be designated to a military unit to maintain administrative oversight and accountability. Among other things, the regulation also provides for an Army chaplain to support contractor employees and for mortuary services.

The Army also published "Contingency Contracting," Army Federal Acquisition Regulation Supplement Manual No. 2, to guide government contracting professionals in executing their responsibilities on and near the battlefield. AFARS Manual No. 2 emphasizes the advantages of advance planning to the maintenance of normal procedures in exigent circumstances.

The other military services do not seem to have made as much progress as the Army in establishing standing rules on the use of contractor employees in conflicts. Instead, it would appear that commanders have to promulgate guidelines on a more ad hoc basis. The other services should consider following the Army's lead in this important area.

Peckinpugh is a member of the government contracts section of the law firm Winston & Strawn, Washington, D.C.

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<P>Philadelphia Inquirer

July 11, 1999</P>

<P>Much Of World Sees Kosovo War As A Show Of Raw American Power</P>

<P>By Trudy Rubin</P>

<P> TETOVO, MACEDONIA - Americans were told the war in Kosovo was a humanitarian struggle to prevent the murder and expulsion of ethnic Albanians from Kosovo.</P>

<P> But ask the leading ethnic Albanian politician in neighboring Macedonia, where hundreds of thousands of Kosovar refugees took shelter, and he sees things very differently. Arben Jaffari, ally of Kosovo leaders and spokesman for the large number of ethnic Albanians in Macedonia, believes the war was about power, pure and simple. "It proves there is a new relationship between global forces and that NATO is on top," he tells me.</P>

<P> "The war tested weapons, it tested political loyalties, it showed that the Russians have nothing to offer," he says with relish, sitting in his political office in this all-Albanian town. Jaffari is busy writing an article entitled "The Kosovo war: leading the world towards a new century."</P>

<P> Welcome to the real world. We think we bombed to save Albanians' lives, but they think we bombed to show who really runs the world. And they are not the only ones.</P>

<P> Much of the world is busy trying to assess the meaning of NATO's bombing campaign to the 21st century world. They care little for the irony that NATO bumbled into the war, believing that Yugoslavia would give in within days. They see the war as a victory for raw American power. After all, three-quarters of the missions were flown by Americans.</P>

<P> Only European leaders endorse the argument that NATO intervention was humanitarian. Other parts of the world are more likely to assume some deeper geopolitical motive. The Chinese think we bombed their embassy to show who was boss.</P>

<P> Russian resentment of a perceived NATO dictate is plain in Pristina. Commanders of the 700 Russian troops who dashed to take the airport ahead of NATO have sulked to themselves, refusing to send a liaison to the media center in downtown Pristina run by KFOR (the predominantly NATO force in Kosovo). </P>

<P> Russian generals in Moscow are said to believe that NATO is redefining Europe's power balance, outflanking Russia to the south by basing 50,000 troops in the Balkans and contemplating the accession of several new Balkan members to NATO. So it will be instructive to see how the 3,600 Russians scheduled to deploy in Kosovo relate to U.S., French, and German commanders within whose sectors they will be based.</P>

<P> Two thousand Russians will soon arrive inside the American sector. Will they play by NATO's rules? Gen. John Craddock, U.S. commander within Kosovo, says he believes the terms governing the Russian presence are clear: "I'll tell them what they can and cannot do. I have tactical control."</P>

<P> But will Russian commanders on the ground obey Craddock or follow their own interests? Already, Russian commanders say they won't arrest suspected Serbian war criminals in Kosovo. NATO-Russian military relationships in Kosovo will reveal whether Moscow still wants to cooperate with the western alliance.</P>
>

<P> The Europeans, too, have had strong reactions to the U.S.-led bombing campaign. Dismayed at the technology gap between European and U.S. forces, they are determined to prove that their militaries are ready for prime time.</P>

<P> The British have taken the lead, led by the tough Gen. Mike Jackson, who is the commander of KFOR. They have the biggest force, at 13,000, and play tough. They are happy to run the show if U.S. politics dictate that U.S. forces should take a backseat, running the quietest of the five Kosovar zones, in the southeast.</P>

<P> But pacifying Kosovo, after the war's end, doesn't prove European troops can match the Americans. That will take bigger defense budgets, which European publics don't support. Moreover, the Europeans have taken on other huge challenges in Kosovo, in an effort to demonstrate political strength.</P>

<P> Along with the United Nations, they've pledged to set up civilian government in Kosovo, and to reconstruct Balkan economies. In effect, they have pledged to do for the Balkans what the United States did for them with the post-World War II Marshall Plan.</P>

<P> This is a tall order. It's not clear that European governments have the will or the wallet. If they don't, it may dash British and French hopes that the European Union can become more of a political and military force. So consider Kosovo a power testing ground, where challengers jockey to narrow the U.S. lead.</P>

<I><P>Trudy Rubin's column appears on Wednesdays and Fridays.</P></I>

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<P>Washington Post

July 13, 1999

Pg. 18</P>

<P>Caught In The Middle</P>

<P> THROUGHOUT THE 1990s, it's been widely recognized that Ukraine's success is key to a stable, peaceful post-Soviet world. And throughout the decade, such success has proved elusive, as Ukraine's economy has declined year by year. Now Ukraine is heading toward a fall presidential election that will go a long way toward determining the country's future course -- even, possibly, whether it survives as an independent nation. The United States has a strong interest in Ukraine's sovereignty and may even have a favorite in the election. But U.S. officials should make clear that they have an even stronger interest in the fairness and honesty of the election itself.</P>

<P> The nations that have done best in overcoming their Communist heritage are those that opted for quick and complete economic reform. Those that managed only partial reforms now find themselves in a dangerous way station. The old central command economies are gone, but a rule of law has not been established to make a real market economy work. This half-reform has given birth to powerful, corrupt elites that in turn have an interest in blocking completion of the reform process.</P>

<P> Ukraine and Russia both find themselves in this hard-to-escape netherworld. Ukraine is caught in the middle in other ways, too: geographically, between Russia and Central Europe; demographically, with large populations of ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians; politically, with a Communist-leaning parliament that can stymie reforms proposed by President Leonid Kuchma.</P>

<P> Several presidential candidates have emerged from that left wing. They resent NATO, despite the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, and might even favor some kind of reunion with Russia and Belarus. Mr. Kuchma, running for reelection, presents himself as the candidate of reform and integration with the West, and he has skillfully managed both friendship with Russia and closer ties with the West. He has been a faithful partner in arms control.</P>

<P> There are worrying early signs, though, that Mr. Kuchma's team may overreach in its use of his incumbency, manipulating media, election machinery and other institutions to promote his reelection. Such behavior would only hurt Ukraine.

aine and its ties with the West, no matter who won the election. U.S. officials should make clear that no individual candidate matters more to them than seeing Ukraine stay on its democratic path. Unlike Russia and many other post-Soviet republics, Ukraine already has managed one peaceful transition; Mr. Kuchma is the second democratically elected president of the independence era. His backers should not sully that legacy.</P>

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<P>San Francisco Chronicle

July 12, 1999

Pg. 18 </P>

<P>If Milosevic Loses Power, Who Will Run Serbia Next?</P>

<P> FOR SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC, the fighting is far from over. His country bombed by NATO and his troops forced out of Kosovo, he now faces a formidable mix of foes on his home turf in Serbia.</P>

<P> His predicament is the worst it's ever been. It's not far-fetched to predict his downfall, possibly in months if the pressure continues to build.</P>

<P> Army reservists who endured the 11-week air war are back home, unpaid and jobless. The normally apolitical clergy have denounced Milosevic, the bloody conduct of the Kosovo war, and demanded his ouster. Protest rallies in Belgrade and cities once loyal to the leader are drawing sizable crowds. The battered country is seething.</P>

<P> Milosevic has been on the losing end of four wars. The U.N. war crimes tribunal has indicted him, effectively barring him from leaving Serbia. Inside his country, the economy remains in a shambles with no hope of outside aid.</P>

<P> Yet Milosevic is nothing if not a survivor. He may still have the loyal

ty of a large national police force. And state-run media remain a dominant force at his disposal. Patronage and corruption will reward allies in industry and government.

Adding to his advantage is a continually divided opposition that cannot get along or agree on common tactics despite the grassroots unhappiness with Milosevic's misrule. He is skilled at dividing his foes when they aren't already quarreling among themselves.

There are considerations in rooting for his well-deserved downfall. A replacement must avoid the super-nationalism that Milosevic fanned in order to hold onto power.

The expansionist impulse for a "Greater Serbia" led Milosevic into Bosnia and Kosovo, both failures. A new leader must accept negotiation, not warfare, in dealing with neighboring Balkan countries. This approach would be a major change for most Serbs, who regard their country as the historic center of the region.

A new Serbian leader must be committed to democracy and pluralism. Milosevic won popular election, but his cynical use of government-run media and police intimidation assured the outcome. Independent voices, media and leadership must be safeguarded. Replacing one strongman with another won't work.

The outside world stands waiting for these changes. Aid to rebuild the devastated country could materialize if Milosevic leaves the scene. But finding his replacement will be a challenge worth watching.


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<P>Long Island Newsday

July 12, 1999

Pg. 22</P>

Kashmir Powder Keg

Washington and Beijing are working to defuse a conflict that could turn nuclear.

Wars steeped in a volatile mix of ethnicity, religion and territorial claims have a way of spinning out of control, igniting wider conflicts. That's why the United States, quite actively, and China, more passively, have chosen to use their considerable influence to bring an end to the burgeoning conflict between India and Pakistan over the Indian mountain province of Kashmir.

The concern in Washington and Beijing is justified. This is a contest that pits two fledgling nuclear powers against each other. The potential for the Muslim-majority province's rebellion to escalate into a regional disaster for the Indian subcontinent should not be underestimated.

President Bill Clinton properly dealt with the most immediate concern by pressuring Pakistan's prime minister, Nawaz Sharif, into agreeing to persuade Islamic militants fighting against Indian forces in the Indian-held section of Kashmir to withdraw. The war, after all, was precipitated by the infiltration across the so-called line of control, which divides Kashmir into Indian and Pakistani zones, of Muslim rebels demanding Kashmir's independence from India.

Many of the rebels are suspected to be regular Pakistani army troops fighting alongside Kashmir irredentists.

Sharif struck his agreement with Clinton only after it became clear that China, Pakistan's major Asian ally, would not back up Pakistan on Kashmir. Clinton had the thinly veiled threat of the suspension of an international \$100-million loan to Pakistan as the clincher.

The idea is that a Pakistani pullout would cool tempers and set the stage for both sides to negotiate a political solution to a conflict that's been simmering since India's partition in 1947, erupting into two previous wars.

India has indicated a willingness to negotiate once Pakistan effects a withdrawal.

But it may not be that simple. Nearly a week after Sharif's deal with Clinton, no pullout has occurred, and Muslim militants in Kashmir have vowed to ignore the agreement and keep fighting. There's bad blood on both sides of this seemingly irreconcilable conflict - a toxic mix of mutual betrayals, enduring mistrust, massacres and retributions on a scale that makes the recent Balkan troubles seem almost minor in comparison.

Pakistan miscalculated badly in trying to win international support for Kashmir's independence by backing the rebels' offensive. But India triggered the conflict, indirectly, with its decision to test nuclear weapons last year - a dangerously provocative act to the Pakistanis.

India and Pakistan must find a face-saving way to back down from what could turn into one of the most dangerous confrontations in the subcontinent. But

there can't be a lasting peace until Kashmir's fate is finally decided by its own people. </P>

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<P>Orlando Sentinel

July 11, 1999</P>

<P>Balance In Vieques</P>

<P> The Navy should work to become a better neighbor in Puerto Rico. The base's economic contribution to the area cannot be taken lightly.</P>

<P> The tragic death of a civilian guard at the United States Navy training area in Vieques, Puerto Rico, kicked off an intense debate: Should the military use live ammunition at the base, just a few miles from civilian homes?</P>

<P> The correct answer to that question requires no debate: Absolutely not.</P>

<P> Navy officials suspended the use of live ammunition after the accident that killed the guard. The government of Puerto Rico, supported by people of all political leanings, pushed for that ban to become permanent.</P>

<P> That should happen.</P>

<P> Now, though, the debate has expanded. It focuses on a contentious issue -- whether the Navy should vacate Vieques.</P>

<P> Grasping the intensity of feelings surrounding that issue requires a close look at the concerns of both sides.</P>

<P> Some Puerto Ricans -- notably those who support independence for their commonwealth -- have clamored for the U.S. military to vacate Vieques since the U.S. government bought land there in the early 1940s. Vieques briefly housed a

U.S. Army base before the Navy claimed the island as its turf.</P>

<P> As the operations at Vieques grew, other Puerto Ricans joined the critics -- mostly because of safety concerns. Few serious accidents have occurred during the U.S. military's stay on the island, but even a single death is one too many.</P>

<P> That shouldn't obscure the benefits the Navy delivers, though. It helps Vieques and the rest of Puerto Rico by pumping more than \$300 million a year into the economy.</P>

<P> The Navy contributes by employing 125 full-time civilians on Vieques, plus additional people on contracts. Another 2,500 civilians hold jobs at the parent naval station nearby.</P>

<P> The Navy's stand on the issue emphasizes national security. Vieques forms part of a larger, integrated training area used not only by the Navy but all the military services. The Navy describes it as the only place where all types of maritime forces can train simultaneously.</P>

<P> In every conflict from World War II to Kosovo, Americans -- including Puerto Ricans -- have honed their battle skills at Vieques. The area also provides a unique combination of accessibility from the mainland, open skies, open seas and fine year-round weather.</P>

<P> Could the Navy and other services not train elsewhere?</P>

<P> Probably, but at what cost?</P>

<P> Military installations must exist somewhere. Most American communities readily accept -- even welcome -- their part in accommodating that responsibility.</P>

<P> Resolving this crisis will require balancing the concerns of both sides.</P>

<P> Greater attention to safety by the Navy should become a top priority. Nonexplosive bombs should become the rule during training on Vieques. The Navy could use uninhabited islands to test real bombs.</P>

<P> That would show Puerto Ricans that the Navy, although not compromising its essential functions, wants to become a better neighbor.</P>

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<P>Omaha World-Herald

July 11, 1999</P>

<P>Black Cloud Hangs Over Milosevic </P>

<P> It is impossible to say when or whether Slobodan Milosevic will be ousted from power in Yugoslavia, but the prospects for such a development have never looked brighter.</P>

<P> Events at the ruling party's headquarters on Thursday were notable for what didn't happen. Four thousand people showed up to demand Milosevic's departure. When a party official fired shots in the air to disrupt them, the demonstrators stoned the building. In the bad old days, they probably would have been gunned down en masse, or perhaps attacked by goons with sharpened shovels. This time, there was no such response. They were allowed to disperse after they had vented their anger. An announced counterprotest by pro-government shills never took place.</P>

<P> Milosevic's loss would be Yugoslavia's gain - a plus, in fact, for the whole unstable Balkans region. He has made a mess of an already tottery economy, engaged in a land grab in an attempt to expand his native Serbia, censored the news media to keep his own people in the dark and initiated or countenanced unnumbered acts of violence and repression against his critics.</P>

<P> And all of that was before the tragedy of Kosovo. Close observers believe that the bitter divisiveness there which led to atrocities by neighbor against neighbor was largely a Milosevic creation, born of his chest-thumping rhetoric about a greater Serbia and ethnic and religious purity.</P>

<P> In Kosovo, ethnic Albanians and Serbs had managed to live side by side, albeit with mutual suspicion and no small amount of grumbling, for a century. It was only after Milosevic began to stir the situation, in large part to divert attention from his own shortcomings of leadership, that matters got out of hand. The events that followed are too well known to need repeating here. Then, when the Serbs were compelled to retreat, Milosevic told his followers it was a victory. Perhaps that insult to their intelligence was the last straw.</P>

<P> Milosevic's prospects began to worsen in earnest when the Serbian Orthodox church, which at one time had supported him, called for him to resign for the good of the nation. The power of the church among Serbs is not to be underestimated. Emboldened by this stand, Yugoslavians who until now had settled for quiet grumbling against Milosevic began to think bigger thoughts. Protests that would have been unthinkable six months ago now occur almost daily.</P>

<P> Yugoslavians, as we said, would do well to dump Milosevic merely for th

eir own internal benefit. Add to that the condition of their country's infrastr
ucture, especially in their beloved Belgrade, after 78 days of NATO bombing. An
d NATO has since presented a solid front: As long as Milosevic remains in power
, there will be no aid except the most humanitarian kind. That gives added impe
tus to a direction that Yugoslavians might well have taken in any case.</P>

<P> Milosevic's adversaries have divisions of their own that must be resolv
ed before they can be completely effective against him. But there is nothing li
ke a common foe to unite people with similar interests, and they now have growi
ng evidence that the general populace is on their side. Also, the lack of actio
n against protesters suggests that even the dictator's support among the army a
nd police may have begun to erode. And the opposition says that in the space of
just one week, it collected more than 100,000 signatures on a petition urging
federal lawmakers to start proceedings on removing Milosevic.</P>

<P> There are not enough pieces of this puzzle in place yet to offer a clea
r picture of Yugoslavia's future. But it is hard to look at such developments w
ithout feeling that some sort of collective line has been crossed. If this all
leads to early retirement for Slobodan Milosevic, it will be the most positive
development in that region since the end of the Cold War.</P>

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<P>Chicago Tribune

July 11, 1999</P>

<P>The Long Arm Of International Law </P>

<P> Despite noble visions of a "new world order" at the end of t
his century, the 1990s have been blighted by regional conflicts, civil wars and
genocidal ethnic cleansing. The decade has often seemed more unpredictable and
unstable than the global balance of nuclear terror that maintained a fearsome
stability during the Cold War.</P>

<P> But rising from the ashes of Bosnia and Kosovo, the killing fields of R
wanda, apartheid in South Africa and military dictatorship in Latin America are

the beginnings of a new orthodoxy in international law. The centuries-old principle of sovereignty--that a nation state is free to act within its own borders without outside interference--is eroding. Sovereignty may protect fewer tyrants who condone genocide.

<P> This is at once an encouraging and unsettling trend, one that the U.S. has been leading, most recently in Yugoslavia, and one that could leave the U.S. in a precarious position.

<P> This is international law created not just by treaty, but by example. Spain seeks to try former Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet for his past crimes. Ad hoc tribunals have been impaneled by the United Nations to try genocidal war criminals from Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia. Some 120 nations--notably not including the United States--signed a 1998 treaty to establish an International Criminal Court. There are, as well, promising paths to justice developing within states. Some, like South Africa, have established truth commissions that foster closure and national reconciliation but forgo punishing the guilty.

<P> In almost every instance, there is promise and peril. Should the U.S. contribute peacekeepers to missions that might one day see them hauled before a standing court on charges that can't be predicted? There is ample room for mischief from those, such as Russia or China, who condemned NATO bombing in Yugoslavia and accused the U.S. of seeking world domination.

<P> When Britain held Augusto Pinochet, human rights activists cheered. But Britain also threatened a delicate political arrangement in Chile that led to Pinochet's agreement to surrender power, and might discourage future despots from retiring. It had another chilling effect: After Pinochet was detained, former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher considered curtailing her foreign trips out of fear she might be seized abroad and indicted for war crimes.

<P> Would some rogue state try to put Henry Kissinger on trial for American actions in Vietnam, or some other U.S. leader for NATO's air war against Serbia, including the accidental bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade?

<P> The ascendancy of human rights over sovereignty goes back to the Nuremberg trials after World War II, and it gained with the formation of the United Nations and its 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as the Geneva Conventions. It is now gathering even more momentum.

<P> That is, of course, to be applauded, but it won't always be predictable. Inevitably, the view towards international law will be shaped by national cultures, interests and politics, all of which change and evolve. It would be welcome for global organizations, led by the U.S., to develop a stronger code of international law. But history is written by the winners. Sometimes, they are the wrong ones.

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