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

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<H3>TOP STORIES</H3>

Feeling The Pinch Of A Marine Salary

(Washington Post)....Steve Vogel

...Their efforts reflect a cold reality for thousands of low-ranking men and women in uniform assigned to high-priced Washington and elsewhere: military salaries, never substantial, often fall far short of what they need.

<p>

F-22 Has Already Doubled In Price And Costs Are Going Up

(Baltimore Sun)....Greg Schneider

...Left unsaid was that the Pentagon decided in December to buy the F-22 even though no one knows whether the radar or the plane's other complex electronics will work as planned.

<p>

Serbs Repair Bridge

(Washington Post)....William Booth

...Milosevic, who is facing popular calls for his removal from office, will clearly get a political boost from reopening the bridge, but Serbia -- Yugoslavia's dominant republic -- has barely begun its long road back to economic recovery.

<p>

Clinton To Press Syrian To Reopen Talks With Israel

(New York Times)....Jane Perlez

President Clinton pledged Monday that he would get in touch with President Hafez Assad of Syria to stress that a "golden opportunity" lay before him to complete a peace deal with Israel.

<p>

Chinese Companies Sent Missile Parts To N. Korea

(Washington Times)....Bill Gertz

Chinese companies transferred missile components to North Korea last month in a sign Beijing is stepping up arms sales in response to the NATO bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade, The Washington Times has learned.

<H3>DEFENSE DEPARTMENT</H3>

Ensuring Honors For Fallen Veterans

(Sacramento Bee)....Steve Gibson

In response to growing demand, there's a movement under way to make sure virtually all U.S. military veterans can receive military honors at their funerals.

Extending Thrift Savings Plan To Some May Increase Fees For Others

(Washington Post)....Mike Causey

Senate-House conferees on the defense authorization bill have been warned that opening up the federal thrift savings plan to military reservists could increase fees for full-time active-duty personnel who take part in the giant 401(k) plan.

ARMY

Apaches Would Have Been Used In A Few More Days, Official Says

(Defense Daily)....Neil Baumgardner

The Boeing [BA] AH-64 Apache attack helicopters deployed as part of Task Force Hawk during Operation Allied Force would have been used in combat operations had the campaign lasted a few days more, an Army official told Defense Daily yesterday.

2 U.S. Soldiers Die In Kosovo After Vehicle Flips

(Philadelphia Inquirer)....Associated Press

In the first deaths of American peacekeepers in Kosovo, two U.S. soldiers were killed and three suffered minor injuries when their armored personnel carrier overturned.

NATIONAL GUARD/RESERVE

American Medic Killed In Honduras

(Washington Post)....Unattributed

An American military medic participating in a relief program has been killed in northern Honduras, a U.S. Embassy spokeswoman said.

CONGRESS

House Votes To Hold Nuclear Energy Aid

(Washington Post)....Unattributed

The House voted to withhold U.S. contributions to International Atomic Energy Agency programs helping Iran build a nuclear power plant.

House Measure Lauds End Of Cold War, Communism's Fall

(Washington Times)....Dave Boyer

...The House passed a resolution 381-0 calling on America's leaders to celebrate the U.S. victory over communism and the 10th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall by promoting education on the Cold War and honoring U.S. veterans

f the conflict.

<H3>NATO</H3>

Politics Hampered Warfare, Clark Says

(Washington Post)....William Drozdiak

In his first detailed assessment of the Kosovo war, NATO's supreme commander, Gen. Wesley K. Clark, said today the alliance was hamstrung by competing political and military interests that may have prolonged the conflict.

<H3>BALKANS</H3>

Russian Troops Get Cool Welcome

(Washington Post)....Dan Eggen

...The arrival of several hundred fresh Russian troops as peacekeepers in Kosovo last week added a dicey new problem to the challenges facing NATO forces here.

<p>

Clinton To Attend Summit In Bosnia

(Philadelphia Inquirer)....Associated Press

President Clinton will travel to Sarajevo, Bosnia, on July 30 for a summit focusing on investing in the Balkan region, the White House said yesterday.

<p>

Mass Rally Against Milosevic Delayed

(London Daily Telegraph)....David Graves

A MAJOR rally in Belgrade against President Slobodan Milosevic has been postponed until late August or early September by the opposition Alliance for Change movement in Serbia because it needs more time to mobilise popular support.

<p>

Milosevic May Have Been Spooked Into Leaving Kosovo

(Washington Times)....Ben Barber

U.S. officials said yesterday that the fear of a ground invasion of Kosovo by U.S., British and other NATO troops might have led Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic to capitulate to NATO's bombing campaign in June.

<p>

Bitter Refugees Reclaim Their Ruined Homes

(London Daily Telegraph)....W F Deedes

IN the village of Sofalija, just outside Pristina, the newly-returned refugees are driving up in their cars to stare with stony faces at their ruined homes.

<p>

War Leaves Poison Legacy

(USA Today)....Jack Kelley

...NATO airstrikes destroyed the city's petrochemical plant, fertilizer factory and oil refinery in mid-April, spewing thousands of tons of noxious chemicals into the air, water and soil. A white cloud engulfed the city for days, causing

g many of the 120,000 residents here to become ill.

<H3>ASIA</H3>

Permanent Indian Guard For Border In Kashmir

(London Daily Telegraph)....Rahul Bedi

INDIA is preparing to man previously ungarded mountainous frontiers in northern Kashmir permanently after driving out hundreds of Pakistan-backed intruders during almost two months of fighting that claimed more than 1,200 lives.

<p>

India, Pakistan Take A Breather

(Christian Science Monitor)....Robert Marquand

...Analysts say it suggests that the Pakistani withdrawal is not yet any kind of peace. Rather, it's an inconclusive pause in a complex 50-year crisis over the Kashmir valley, a 97 percent Muslim region that Pakistanis at the highest levels are not likely to abandon militarily.

<p>

Kashmir: Fighting Reported And Denied

(New York Times)....Reuters

Pakistan said it had repulsed two Indian attacks on its forward posts in the north of the disputed Kashmir region, killing 18 soldiers in the first major clash after a pullout by Muslim guerrillas from the strategic mountains in the Kar Gil area over the weekend.

<p>

China Plans To Rebuild Belgrade Mission

(Washington Post)....Unattributed

China plans to rebuild its embassy in Belgrade and help repair the Serbian Television building, both badly damaged during NATO's 11-week bombing campaign against Yugoslavia, Serbian media said.

<p>

Taipei's Stress With Beijing May Last Until Lee Retires

(Wall Street Journal)....Matt Forney and Ian Johnson

...That's when Taiwan will hold its next presidential election and when President Lee Teng-hui -- who set off the current friction with a decision to redefine the island's political relationship with China -- is due to step down. Analysts say it is likely to take at least until Mr. Lee's retirement in March for Beijing to cool its fiery rhetoric.

<H3>MIDEAST</H3>

Turkey Denies Bombing Attack On Iran

(Washington Post)....Unattributed

Turkey's defense minister denied Iranian reports that Turkish warplanes had bombed targets in Iran, killing five people and injuring 10.

<p>

Iraq Claims 17 Civilians Killed In US Stri

ke

(London Daily Telegraph)....Christopher Lockwood

AMERICAN pilots "acted appropriately" in a raid which Iraq claimed yesterday killed 17 civilians, the US military said.

<p>

Hussein Puts Bounty On U.S., British Aircraftcraft

(Baltimore Sun)....Unattributed

Iraqi President Saddam Hussein has offered his military a bounty for shooting down any U.S. or British planes patrolling no-fly zones in northern and southern Iraq, British Defense Secretary George Robertson said yesterday.

<H3>ENERGY DEPARTMENT</H3>

Report Warns Of Lab Reform Roadblocks

(Washington Post)....Walter Pincus

The Department of Energy has taken initial steps to tighten security in the wake of alleged Chinese spying, but it faces substantial stumbling blocks that almost certainly will delay counterespionage measures, according to an internal report made available to The Washington Post.

<H3>STATE DEPARTMENT</H3>

Another Mission Closed

(Washington Times)....James Morrison

The State Department yesterday closed the U.S. Embassy in Mozambique because of security concerns. Spokesman James P. Rubin would not discuss any further details.

<H3>BUSINESS</H3>

British Aerospace's GEC-Marconi Bid Faces Tough Antitrust Scrutiny In U.S.

(Wall Street Journal)....John R. Wilke and Anne Marie Squeo

British Aerospace PLC's \$12 billion bid for GEC-Marconi Ltd. is getting a tough review from U.S. antitrust enforcers, who may demand changes in the deal as a condition for its approval in the U.S., people close to the investigation said.

<p>

50-Jet Order Bucks Up Lockheed

(Baltimore Sun)....Greg Schneider

Delivering some much-needed good news to Lockheed Martin Corp., the government of Israel agreed yesterday to buy 50 F-16 fighter planes in a package worth about \$2.5 billion.

<H3>OPINION</H3>

**Can F-22 Survive Misguided Flack?
>
**

**(Washington Times)....Frank Gaffney Jr.
**
...Unless the Republican-led Congress comes to grips with the central reality of the defense budget -- namely, that its present and projected funding levels are woefully inadequate to meet America's future security needs -- the GOP will become fully implicated in the Clinton administration's hollowing out of the U.S. military.

<p>
Bureaucracy: Another Useless Layer-
**-(Letter)
**

**(Washington Post)....Robert W. Tiller
**
...The proposed Agency for Nuclear Stewardship would do nothing to address and reform the "culture of arrogance" that former senator Warren Rudman's report found in DOE's nuclear complex. It would, however, create new layers of nuclear bureaucracy, while reducing scrutiny and oversight.

<H3>EDITORIAL</H3>

**One Hand Whitewashes The Other
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**(Wall Street Journal Europe)....Editorial
**
...The most dramatic example of how overrated America's supposedly invincible superpower status is can be seen today around Taiwan.

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**<P>Washington Post
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**July 20, 1999
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Pg. 1</P>

<P>Feeling The Pinch Of A Marine Salary </P>

<I><P>For Some Families, Pay Doesn't Cover the Basics</P>

</I><P>By Steve Vogel, Washington Post Staff Writer </P>

<P> On a muggy Saturday at Quantico Marine Corps Base, about two dozen Marines and family members quietly poked through piles of discarded furniture, clothing and household goods in what has become a weekly ritual at the big Northern Virginia installation.</P>

<P> Those who defend the nation were trying to make ends meet.</P>

<P> At 8 a.m., the patch of lawn was covered with beds, tables, dressers and desks. Within 45 minutes, almost all the furniture was gone. The price was right -- everything was free.</P>

<P> The items had been gathered by volunteers who go "trashing" every Tuesday, scouring garbage left at curbs on the base. Every Saturday, they give away what they collect to needy, eager Marine families.</P>

<P> Their efforts reflect a cold reality for thousands of low-ranking men and women in uniform assigned to high-priced Washington and elsewhere: military salaries, never substantial, often fall far short of what they need.</P>

<P> "We're talking about the basics of life here, and they don't have it," said Lisa Joles, a Marine wife who created the volunteer network two years ago. "Sometimes, they don't have a thing. I didn't know how large the problem was until I got to Quantico."</P>

<P> Of the 40,000 enlisted soldiers, Marines, sailors and airmen based in the area, many feel compelled to work part-time or even full-time civilian jobs to supplement what their country pays them, according to military families and officials. Hundreds more, especially low-ranking troops with families, rely on food stamps or other forms of federal assistance. Many depend on the charity of their fellow troops.</P>

<P> "How can we send members of the military to Kosovo and expect them to do their job if they're concerned about the family being able to afford new school shoes?" said Sydney Hickey, a spokeswoman for the National Military Family Association in Alexandria.</P>

<P> Since 1982, military salaries have fallen nearly 14 percent behind civilian pay, according to federal figures. After pleas from military supporters, Congress has tentatively approved a 4.8 percent pay raise, scheduled to take effect Jan. 1, and many service members will receive a second raise six months later.</P>

<P> But the raises still will leave a military-civilian gap of more than 11 percent, according to studies. The situation is particularly hard on families -- and 53 percent of the enlisted force nationally is married.</P>

<P> "A single Marine, with due diligence, can get by," said Thomas Loughlin, who heads the Marine Corps Community Services at Quantico. "The real problem is people with families. It's a sad indictment of society that somebody who's willing to give his life for his country gets paid close to minimum wage."</P>

<P> Pentagon officials acknowledge that some service members face severe hardships, not only in the Washington area but also in other parts of the country. But they insist that such cases do not reflect conditions for the vast majority of troops, and they point to statistics showing that junior enlisted service members earn more than the general population of high school-educated 18- to 23-year-olds.</P>

<P> At the same time, the officials said that improving pay is critical to Pentagon efforts to solve problems in retaining people in the armed forces. "A lot of our troops are waiting to see what happens with the pay package," said Rudy de Leon, undersecretary of defense for personnel and readiness.</P>

<P> Military pay varies considerably by rank, length of service and other factors. A single Marine private first class, for example, would earn a base pay of \$1,075 a month, plus a subsistence allowance of \$225 a month for food. Those who live off base also receive a housing allowance that varies by jurisdiction and would be \$612 for someone living near Quantico.</P>

<P> In addition, members of the armed forces receive some benefits, such as medical care, at a fraction of the cost for most civilians. Commissaries offer items that are 30 percent cheaper than at civilian stores, according to Pentagon figures. Service members also do not pay federal taxes on their food and housing allowances.</P>

<P> A recent Pentagon study found that, overall, only 450 of the 1.4 million members of the armed forces were living at or below the national poverty level, which is \$13,332 for a family of three.</P>

<P> But advocates for military families said that the statistics and benefits do not reflect how difficult it is for many men and women to both serve their country and live comfortably in peacetime.</P>

<P> "We believe there are an awful lot of families who are living at the wire, and frequently fall over it," Hickey said.</P>

<P> Several evenings each week, as soon as he finishes duty at Quantico, Lance Cpl. Harry Schein darts off base, picks up his 14-month-old son from day care and drops him off with the boy's mother.</P>

<P> Then he drives up I-95 to Arlington and joins a group of Marines who moonlight by moving office furniture until about 11 p.m. On Saturdays and Sundays, he works from 4 p.m. until midnight as a security guard in Alexandria.</P>

<P> "Most of the Marines I know are living check to check and barely making it by and have to get some kind of supplement," said Schein, whose pretax paycheck is \$2,168 a month, including housing and food allowances. That, he said, is not enough to pay for his \$595-a-month apartment in Dale City, buy gas and car insurance, pay for day care and get clothes and food for his son, Devantre.</P>

<P> On top of his part-time work, Schein has had to turn to the government's Women, Infants and Children nutrition program, which provides federal vouchers so he can buy formula, juice and baby cereal. The Navy-Marine Corps Relief So

ciety also gave him several hundred dollars in commissary vouchers to buy food.

"All the pride in the world, all the awe people have when they see a Marine, all that isn't going to pay the bills," said Schein, 22.

The Queens, N.Y., native said that he joined the Marines to make his parents proud but that he is likely to leave when his enlistment runs out next year. "As much as I love being a Marine, monetarily, I can't," he said.

Military installations do not generally track how many troops receive public assistance. But many officials who work with low-income service members in the Washington area said that the problem is significant and has grown worse in recent years.

Many soldiers "can only afford food, clothing and shelter and getting to work," said Brenda Robbins, an Army Community Services worker at Walter Reed Army Medical Center. "Saving is almost obsolete."

A recent survey of 165 soldiers at Walter Reed found that 41 percent were using some form of public or private charity, according to Bill Swisher, a spokesman.

Commissaries at Fort Belvoir, Fort Meade, Fort Myer, Andrews Air Force Base, Quantico and Patuxent River Naval Air Station collected more than \$800,000 worth of food stamps and WIC vouchers last year, according to the Defense Commissary Agency.

More than \$21 million worth of WIC vouchers were redeemed at military commissaries last year, according to Pentagon figures. Nearly 12,000 service members -- less than 1 percent of the force -- received food stamps in 1995, the last year a study was conducted.

"I think it stinks, really, that a member of the armed forces has to go to food stamps," said Lance Cpl. Damon Durre, 25. But that's what the Quantico Marine did after finding he could not support his wife and two children on his take-home pay.

Service members in this area do not receive cost of living adjustments in their pay, unlike those in New York, San Francisco and Boston. Washington does not qualify as a high-cost area under a formula used by the military.

Housing allowances are adjusted according to jurisdiction, but many service members say it is not enough to cope with area rents, and many end up living 40 or 50 miles from their duty stations.

"The cost of living will eat you alive," said Sgt. Edna Jackson-Jones, a Marine at Quantico who tried to find affordable housing near the base but instead lives with her three children in an apartment in Fredricksburg. "I had to go further south because it's cheaper down there."

Quantico offers classes in budgeting and buying cars and directs needy Marines to emergency aid, but officials say it is difficult to assist all those facing difficulties.

<P> "We have a lot of problems reaching out to them, because many times, they don't want you to know they have a problem," said Maj. Kim Hunter, deputy director of Marine Community Services. "It's not their nature."</P>

<P> One result is that members of the military routinely work second jobs, often without seeking permission from superiors, as required, military officials acknowledged. Enlisted men and women sell goods at Potomac Mills, flip hamburgers at fast food restaurants, do construction work, deliver packages for UPS, stock lumber at Home Depot.</P>

<P> "Seems like everybody who's been here awhile has a part-time job," said Marine Lance Cpl. Robert Hayes, who has a second job as a mover. "You really don't have enough money to make it to the next pay check otherwise."</P>

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<P>Baltimore Sun

July 20, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<U><P>Part 3 of 3-part series</P>

</U><P>F-22 Has Already Doubled In Price And Costs Are Going Up</P>

<P>By Greg Schneider, Sun Staff</P>

<P> William T. Qualler sat in a mock F-22 cockpit aboard a Boeing 757 cruising high over the Maryland coast.</P>

<P> The flying laboratory was testing the radar system for the new F-22 Raptor fighter jet, and acting Secretary of the Air Force F. Whitten Peters was watching intently over Qualler's shoulder.</P>

<P> But there was nothing to see.</P>

<P> "OK, I just lost 'em," Qualler said, searching in vain for two blips on the F-22 radar screen. "The radar went down. Doggone it. We're not giving you guys a very good show here."</P>

<P> Qualler and other Boeing Co. technicians finally got the radar working that April morning, and Peters assured them he was not troubled by the slip. In fact, the secretary said, the glitch showed the wisdom of testing electronics on the flying laboratory before putting them on an actual F-22.</P>

<P> Left unsaid was that the Pentagon decided in December to buy the F-22 even though no one knows whether the radar or the plane's other complex electronics will work as planned.</P>

<P> It amounts to a leap of faith with \$62.7 billion in taxpayer money, the total projected cost of the program -- faith that the plane will work, faith that Lockheed Martin Corp. can keep costs in check, faith that the nation needs it enough to spend that much.</P>

<P> Unfortunately, the cost record on the F-22 offers nothing to justify such faith. Despite Air Force insistence that the F-22 is a model program that is setting a standard for efficiency, the overall public investment of \$184 million per plane is twice the amount originally promised. And Air Force leaders recently acknowledged a potential overrun of nearly \$1 billion.</P>

<P> No one has accused Lockheed Martin of mismanaging the F-22. The cost problem is more complex than that and reaches back to the roots of the program:</P>

<P> *The Pentagon tried to have it both ways by promising Ferrari technology at a Hyundai price. That simply cannot be done, so the bills have been higher than predicted.</P>

<P> *The Air Force has continued to make unrealistic claims and downplay pr

problems over the years because backpedaling would put the program at political risk.

*The end of the Cold War eliminated the threat that the F-22 was designed to fight and shrank the amount of money available for defense, increasing the pressure to make the program look affordable and necessary at a time when it might be neither.

Now the program has put the Pentagon in a predicament. Even if the Air Force can overcome the past and keep the F-22 program perfect from here on out, affording it is going to be a major challenge for a military swamped with other needs -- including two other types of fighters, a new generation of ships and costly missile defense systems.

"Looking at current defense budgets, the money will not be there around 2006 or 2008 when you have the cost," said Rep. Saxby Chambliss, a Georgia Republican who won an award last year from the aerospace industry for advocating the F-22 and other warplanes in Congress.

The looming defense budget problem is a "train wreck" waiting to happen, Chambliss said. "There's no answer yet. One answer is to put more money in it. ... I don't know where it's going to come from, but we've simply got to put more money into defense."

Even President Clinton's plan to add \$112 billion to defense spending over the next six years would not crack the problem of affording all the weapons the Pentagon has on order. And despite the promised "peace dividend" of the post-Cold War era, the nation already spends as much each year on the military as it did throughout the Cold War -- adjusted for inflation -- except for the peaks of Vietnam and the Reagan buildup.

New plan to trim waste

One reason the F-22 is expensive is that it is complicated to build. Defense companies vying to win the fighter contract in the early 1980s used to paint idealized pictures of futuristic robot assembly lines, but the reality is far more mundane.

At one end of Lockheed Martin's mile-long fighter factory in Fort Worth, Texas, the midsection of an F-22 test plane hangs vertically in a blue metal frame. Snaking down either side of the section are the plane's intake ducts, openings that guide air into the jet's two engines.

To apply radar-resistant skins to the twisting ducts, a worker has to climb down into the openings and insert hundreds of fasteners while hanging from

a sling, turning at tight angles.</P>

<P> Then workers use a tool to measure precisely how deep each fastener is sunk into the skin. If a single locking bolt is more than 0.009 inch deep, enemy radar could snag on the hole and expose the plane to a deadly missile.</P>

<P> Such work is just a small part of the overall assembly process. It takes about 60,000 hours of hands-on labor to build a midsection in Fort Worth -- more than the 45,000 hours it takes to build an entire F-16 fighter.</P>

<P> Lockheed Martin -- along with its one-third partner, Boeing, and engine-maker Pratt & Whitney Corp. -- is struggling to offset the cost of so much raw labor. Innovative computer design techniques, new tools that perform several tasks at once and production lines using the latest theories of efficient flow make the plane "one great deal for the taxpayer," said James A. "Micky" Blackwell, Lockheed Martin's aeronautics president.</P>

<P> But despite promises that the F-22 would break the mold of Pentagon excess, the bottom line is climbing at a rate higher than historical trends.</P>

<P> Since at least 1950, each new generation of fighter or attack jet has cost more than the previous generation. The Congressional Budget Office plotted those increasing prices to predict what the F-22 should cost -- and found that not only has the jet failed to break the cycle of increasing cost, it is actually 28 percent higher than the historical trend predicted.</P>

<P> Using best-case Pentagon cost projections, the CBO said, the F-22 is likely to wind up overshooting the historical trend by almost 60 percent.</P>

<P> Some in Congress have begun to believe that those best-case projections are fantasy and that the cost might climb even more steeply. The House Appropriations Committee gave vent to its fears Friday by passing a defense spending bill that would cut \$1.8 billion from the \$3 billion the Pentagon had requested for next year for the F-22.</P>

<P> That money was intended for buying the next six planes, but California Republican Rep. Jerry Lewis, who heads the defense appropriations subcommittee, said he thinks the cost has become a burden on the rest of the military.</P>

<P> Despite the usual outward bravado about faith in the program, even Pentagon officials worry whether F-22 expenses are under control. Their concern dates at least to 1996, when the Department of Defense appointed an independent review board -- called a Joint Estimating Team -- to look at the health of the pr

ogram.</P>

<P> Earlier that year, the Pentagon had assured Congress in a report that "the F-22 program from its inception has led the way in implementing [efficiency] initiatives. ... The goal is to reduce costs, reduce delivery timelines and improve quality in all areas."</P>

<P> So it caught Congress off guard when the estimating team, led by retired Lt. Gen. Richard M. Scofield, projected a huge increase in overall F-22 costs. Based on today's figures, the increase would amount to \$13 billion on top of the \$62.7 billion already being spent.</P>

<P> Then the team made another surprising announcement: It said it had worked out a plan with the contractors to eliminate the price increases simply by trimming waste and making the program -- already supposed to be exemplary -- even more efficient.</P>

<P> At the time, Lockheed Martin scoffed at the team's predictions that assembling the plane would require far more manual labor than planned. Today, the company has set the team's labor levels as a goal that it hopes not to exceed.</P>

<P> Scofield, the team's leader, said recently that he had not followed up on the report to assess how the company is doing. But he is now a part of the equation: Within days of the report's release, Scofield went to work for Aerojet, a major F-22 subcontractor.</P>

<P> Links to C-130 cargo plane</P>

<P> Congress acted on the Joint Estimating Team report by imposing cost limits that would hold the program to its promises of greater efficiency.</P>

<P> The ceilings stand at slightly more than \$18.88 billion for the development and testing phase of the program and \$39.76 billion for producing the planes. Another \$3.8 billion was spent on an earlier phase of development, when contractors also invested about \$1.4 billion.</P>

<P> The Pentagon fought the ceilings, warning that restrictions on spending would "increase program risk" or even "cause the termination of the program prior to completion." Since then, trying to live within the limits "hasn't been easy. It's been a change in culture, quite honestly," said John Sommerlot, a top F-22 executive at Lockheed Martin's plant in Marietta, Ga.</P>

<P> But the ceilings are not absolute. If cost problems arise, the Air Force could ask Congress for more money, buy fewer planes or include less technology.

y for the same total amount. Already, \$350 million has been transferred to development from production to cover components that have become obsolete.</P>

<P> While the spending limits have made life more complicated for program officials, the limits also allow them to be vague when questioned about cost.</P>
>

<P> Last summer, sources close to the F-22 program said the \$18.88 billion development effort was headed for \$1 billion in additional expenses. Lockheed Martin denied it.</P>

<P> Several executives and Air Force officials then brushed aside the cost issue by pointing to the congressional spending limits.</P>

<P> "All our data is showing we're making it," Blackwell said.</P>

<P> Noted Charla Wise, who until a recent promotion managed the F-22 for Lockheed Martin's Texas plant, "We will perform within those caps."</P>

<P> Sommerlot, the Lockheed executive in Georgia, said, "We're managing to the ... cost cap."</P>

<P> And Maj. Gen. Claude M. Bolton Jr., head of fighter acquisitions for the Air Force, said, "My job is to stay within that cost cap."</P>

<P> Finally, Lockheed Martin executive Tom Burbage conceded that engineers had indeed found extra expenses because of kinks in two new manufacturing processes, but he put the total far below the rumored amount, at \$240 million.</P>

<P> Early in March, after advance reports of a critical study by the General Accounting Office, company and Air Force officials at last acknowledged a much higher potential cost-growth figure: nearly \$1 billion.</P>

<P> That amount, Virginia Democrat Norman Sisisky pointed out during a House of Representatives defense hearing, is almost equal to the Army's entire annual aviation budget.</P>

<P> Once again, F-22 officials maintain that they can make most of the overrun disappear by finding more "efficiencies" within the program. The GAO and the Congressional Budget Office disbelieve those claims and predict that the program will not be able to stay within the cost limits.</P>

<P> The CBO estimates that building combat-ready planes will cost \$8 billion more than the current \$39.76 billion ceiling for production.</P>

<P> In its March report, the GAO offered a glimpse of how Lockheed Martin's cost problem has been worsening. Through January 1998, the report said, the company's F-22 costs exceeded budgets by \$14.4 million. Five months later, that figure had swelled to \$93.3 million in excess costs. Program delays were also worsening.</P>

<P> What's more, the vaunted effort to make cost growth disappear by being more efficient is smaller than some of the rhetoric suggested. Cost-reduction plans will address only \$80 million of the potential overruns, the GAO reported, and Lockheed Martin had validated only a quarter of that figure by the end of last year.</P>

<P> The company's plan for offsetting the rest of the cost growth is simple : cut back on testing.</P>

<P> Lockheed Martin itself has demonstrated how fragile the cost situation is. Late last year, the company warned that slow international sales could all but halt production of the only product besides the F-22 that it builds in Georgia -- the C-130J military transport plane.</P>

<P> If the Air Force does not hurry and place orders for the C-130J, the company said, all the overhead of running the 3-million-square-foot Georgia plant would descend on the F-22, breaking its cost ceilings.</P>

<P> "So [the two programs] are linked. The Air Force didn't like us talking about that for a number of years ... but from the business aspect of it, that's the reality. It's not strong arm, it's not leverage. It's economics," said Bob Lange, vice president of business development at Lockheed Martin's Georgia plant.</P>

<P> The Air Force has said it is not ready to buy the transport planes. But Lockheed Martin's threat is not taken lightly. One military official told Congress in March that if the F-22 program has "reasonable" overhead problems, the Air Force is willing to pay.</P>

<P> The key now is how much more money it will take to make the F-22 perform as the generals envision. Testing is under way at Edwards Air Force Base, Calif., to help answer that question.</P>

<P> Shrinking tests in the air</P>

<P> The first F-22 test plane -- a stripped-down model that is not fit for combat -- flew for the first time in September 1997. An identical test plane took flight early last year.</P>

<P> The planes are intended only to test the F-22's ability to take off, land and execute flying maneuvers. They do not have the radar-evading stealth qualities planned for the final version, and they have none of the electronics.</P>
>

<P> In fact, the plane's system of sensors, computers and software -- which represents at least a quarter of its cost -- has not even been fully assembled in the flying laboratory operated by Boeing. That won't take place until next year, along with the first flight tests of the gear on the F-22.</P>

<P> All told, the Air Force has planned more flight testing for F-22 electronics than it conducted on the electronics of the F-15 Eagle and F-16 Fighting Falcon combined, but none of it begins until next year.</P>

<P> Nonetheless, Pentagon purchasing chief Jacques S. Gansler approved Dec. 17 of buying the first two production-model F-22s based on less than 200 hours of general flight testing -- about 4 percent of the planned hours.</P>

<P> Turning the corner from development to production funding is a major step for a weapons program, akin to a professor getting tenure. The military seldom pulls back from such a commitment.</P>

<P> "Once you cross that, the program gets a life all its own. Whether it works or not is almost irrelevant. You're going to build it," said Louis J. Rodrigues, director of defense acquisition issues for the federal General Accounting Office.</P>

<P> It was not supposed to work out this way. As recently as 1994, plans called for F-22 test planes to log 1,400 hours of flying time before the Department of Defense decided whether to begin production. A study in 1993 by the Defense Science Board praised the program for planning so much testing before purchase.</P>

<P> But as funding cuts and technical problems delayed the F-22 program, the date for making the production decision actually was made earlier -- partly to reward Lockheed Martin for trying to be more efficient.</P>

<P> By 1997, the plan was down to 601 hours of testing before production, and last year it sank to 183 hours before Congress stepped in and froze that amount.</P>

<P> As it was, the program had to race to achieve even that last year. When a test plane passed the 183rd hour just after 2 p.m. Nov. 23, it celebrated by sounding a sonic boom over Edwards AFB.</P>

<P> "This is a great day for the F-22 program ... and the nation!" Brig. Gen. Michael C. Mushala e-mailed his superiors in the Pentagon that afternoon. "I think one senior Air Force officer said it best with the following: 'Just incredible. Brings tears to the eyes to see a group of Americans so focused on a goal.' "</P>

<P> Since then, the planes have been virtually grounded as contractors catch up on routine modification work. Bad weather and a problem with the planes' brakes have left the flight test program about two weeks behind schedule, but test pilots rave about the F-22's performance.</P>

<P> "I did things ... that I never would have dreamed of doing with any previous fighter," said Air Force Lt. Col. C. D. Moore, who runs the F-22 test team at Edwards.</P>

<P> Only a week after that interview in April, though, a Pentagon memo surfaced that said flight testing has been restricted because Boeing had discovered a design flaw in the rear section of the plane.</P>

<P> Engineers are still determining whether they have to redesign the section or whether they can use stiffeners to keep two panels from collapsing under the stresses of flight. "This design flaw has the potential to throw the already tight flight test schedule further behind," the memo said.</P>

<P> The Air Force and contractors have tried to allay fears about the adequacy of testing by claiming that with advances in computer simulation, such flights are less important. Instead of flying a plane to see what it will do, engineers can run everything through simulation; airborne tests then just show that the plane can perform as predicted.</P>

<P> But that claim -- along with recent plans to save money by canceling tests -- contradicts the Air Force's philosophy.</P>

<P> "As weapon system acquisition continues towards extended development schedules with fewer production units, the importance and length of testing increases," the service reported to Congress in 1994.</P>

<P> The F-22 would seem to be exactly the type of program the Air Force had in mind with that statement: Not only has the original plan to buy 750 planes

shrunk to 339, but development is extending almost 10 years beyond what was originally envisioned.</P>

<P> In fact, it is only when funding is at stake that supporters downplay the number of flying hours. Otherwise, contractors boast in briefing materials that the F-22's total 4,337 hours of testing will be more than was conducted for the F-15, which had about 2,700 hours, or the F-16, which had about 2,500 hours.</P>

<P> The Air Force also claims that the F-22 will offset its high cost by being from 30 percent to 60 percent cheaper to maintain than the F-15. But by the time real-world experience shows whether those projections come true, it will be too late to turn back.</P>

<P> Historically, more complex equipment has always cost more to maintain, and the F-22 -- with its radar-absorbent coatings and unproved electronics -- is billed as the most complex fighter ever built.</P>

<P> 'A huge double standard'</P>

<P> The complexity adds another large unknown to the program: how much it will really cost to build 339 jets on assembly lines.</P>

<P> Weapons programs have a terrible track record when it comes to following production cost estimates. The Pentagon's three most recent fighter planes are prime examples.</P>

<P> The Navy's F/A-18 Hornet wound up costing nearly twice as much to build as preproduction estimates promised. The Air Force F-15 and F-16 also cost more once assembly lines started running, though by smaller percentages.</P>

<P> Lockheed Martin says it is so confident it can stick to cost goals on the F-22 that it has agreed to produce the first two production batches on a fixed-price contract. That is an unusual step; most such contracts are "cost-plus" arrangements in which the government pays expenses plus incentive fees to the contractors. Going fixed-price means that if cost problems appear, the company absorbs them.</P>

<P> In addition, the company has agreed to shoot for a target price on the next four batches of production planes. All together, that means the company will have a fixed price or a targeted price on the first 94 planes, which are the most expensive because Lockheed Martin will still be ironing out kinks in the assembly process.</P>

<P> There is no price commitment on the remaining 245 planes, but for future budgets to work they have to be dramatically cheaper than the first batches. With no guarantees, Lockheed Martin concedes that this is another leap of faith for the taxpayer.</P>

<P> The situation is akin to a homeowner taking out an adjustable-rate mortgage with a ceiling on only the first few years -- without the option to refinance. If those uncapped years turn out to have higher rates, the red ink starts to flow.</P>

<P> "We do have history of how those [price] curves should look," said Blackwell. "If you can get the first five [batches] to head down that curve, then history shows the rest of the curve is going to pretty well fall in place."</P>

<P> If the F-22 does veer into the red, the Air Force can prune technologies or capabilities to keep the overall cost from rising. Then the function that was cut can be developed later and added to the plane.</P>

<P> Such nibbling away is common and has occurred often on the F-22 program. In March, the Air Force said it would consider saving money by not preparing the F-22 for attaching extra fuel and weapons bays under the wings. That capability is essential, so the cut simply will postpone the inevitable for the sake of appearing to stay under the cost ceiling.</P>

<P> Other features stripped away over the years include two developmental planes; all four planned "preproduction verification" planes; 85 two-seat models that were intended for training pilots, which will be single-seaters instead; thrust reversers to let the plane land on short runways; infrared tracking devices; an enhanced ejection seat that would let the pilot escape while making harsh combat maneuvers; bulletproof lining for the cockpit; and a fly-off test against the F-15. Even the warranty was canceled to save money.</P>

<P> A number of live-fire tests -- in which components are blown up on a test range -- were scrapped to cut costs. That included testing to see how well the pilot would be protected in the cockpit and to determine the effect of missiles catching fire in the weapons bay.</P>

<P> The Pentagon will shoot at one of the test F-22s on the live-fire range but not before production of combat planes is well under way. That means any flaws disclosed by the testing would be included on combat-ready F-22s.</P>

<P> In addition, no full-system live-fire testing of the F-22's Pratt & Whitney jet engines will take place. The same engines are destined for the forthcoming Joint Strike Fighter, so testing their vulnerability would have been doubly important.</P>

<P> "That's a pretty serious mistake, and for that I probably should have been fired," said Roy Hempley, who retired last year from the Pentagon's testing office and negotiated the live-fire testing program for the F-22.</P>

<P> Company officials dislike having to tiptoe around the F-22's cost pressures -- which, they point out, have been routine on other programs and could have been much worse if not for the efforts to streamline and innovate.</P>

<P> "In fact, we were told by a high official in the Air Force -- and I won't use his name -- he said, 'In ordinary times, you would get gold stars for this. But these are not ordinary times, and we cannot afford a dollar increase.' That's been the real problem: The Air Force doesn't have any more money," said Blackwell, the Lockheed Martin aeronautics president.</P>

<P> He and the Air Force are quick to blame Congress for some of the cost increases. They say that efforts to trim spending on the program have caused the F-22 to cost more -- a whopping \$3 more for every \$1 cut.</P>

<P> Congress has trimmed F-22 funding on three occasions, which program officials say forced the contractors to reorganize and renegotiate subcontracts each time. After Congress shaved a total of \$263 million from the program in 1994 and 1995, the Air Force said it cost nearly \$1 billion to absorb the cuts because of delays and having to renegotiate deals with subcontractors.</P>

<P> As costs have risen, the number of warplanes to be purchased has fallen -- causing the cost of each plane to rise still more.</P>

<P> Why, then, does Congress cut? The GAO found in a 1992 study of a variety of weapons systems that such cutting is actually a method of keeping big job-producing programs alive, because it allows Congress to claim short-term savings but avoid politically dangerous cancellations.</P>

<P> Former Navy Secretary John F. Lehman Jr. said the Air Force thrives in that environment because it is "more politically savvy" than other branches of the military.</P>

<P> The Ronald Reagan appointee held office during the Navy's ill-fated A-12 attack plane program, which began at about the same time as the F-22 but was canceled in 1991 in the face of a cost overrun.</P>

<P> "So here we have the F-22 spending over \$20 billion for development, and the Navy's got canceled because it was going to reach \$4.5 billion. There's a huge double standard there," Lehman said.</P>

<P> A bogus target price</P>

<P> Now that the F-22 program has reached this point, Congress and the military have to find a way to continue paying for it.</P>

<P> With the end of the Cold War, military size and spending have shrunk. The Pentagon has gone on what is called a "procurement holiday," buying no new weapons to replace old ones. Maintenance costs for the aging equipment has skyrocketed.</P>

<P> So all the branches of the military find themselves desperate to modernize their forces. The Navy needs new ships and submarines, the Army needs new helicopters. The Air Force needs not only a new air-to-air fighter such as the F-22, it also needs a Joint Strike Fighter to replace vast numbers of aging F-16s as the versatile backbone of the fleet.</P>

<P> The defense spending bill the House Appropriations Committee approved Friday gives a stark sense of the scale of the resources being concentrated on the F-22. Instead of spending \$1.8 billion on six more F-22s, the committee voted to use the same amount of money to buy eight F-15s, five F-16s, eight KC-130J tanker planes and one Joint STARS surveillance plane, and to put the remaining \$500 million into bonuses and training for Air Force pilots.</P>

<P> Plans to buy both the F-22 and the Joint Strike Fighter would cost almost twice as much each year as the Air Force has historically spent on fighters, according to the Congressional Budget Office and the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, a nonpartisan think tank in Washington.</P>

<P> From 1983 to 1992, for instance, the Air Force spent more on fighters than in any other decade of the Cold War, buying 1,800 of them for \$52 billion, in today's dollars.</P>

<P> From 2003 to 2012, by contrast, the Air Force plans to spend slightly less -- about \$45 billion -- for just 627 planes.</P>

<P> The extra \$112 billion Clinton has proposed spending on defense over the next six years would boost military budgets to a level not seen since the late 1980s but would not address the even bigger bills on the horizon.</P>

<P> Early in March, the CBO estimated that the president's plan falls short by \$28 billion a year just to preserve the current size of the military.</P>

<P> To make matters worse, even if all the new programs have no cost growth and the Pentagon finds a way to afford them, the remaining Air Force fleet would reach an unprecedented age because the small number of new planes will leave so many old ones in service. The average age of a fighter will reach 20 years even after the F-22 comes on line, meaning some F-15s will retire after serving 40 or more years.</P>

<P> The new fighters are so expensive that the Air Force cannot afford to address other needs at the same time. Generals recently told Congress that they will be unable to buy new bombers for the next 40 years. Some B-52s will reach the eye-popping age of 80 years or more.</P>

<P> That implies continually climbing maintenance costs. But the Joint Chiefs of Staff complained to Congress in September that the military is already drowning in maintenance costs and needs an extra \$25 billion a year.</P>

<P> The testimony angered some Republicans, who for years had been led to believe that they were helping the Pentagon achieve an affordable plan for modernization.</P>

<P> "Every year we quiz the services about future needs," said Chambliss, the Georgia Republican. "They've always contended they had enough money to maintain readiness and buy new equipment. Now all of a sudden the Joint Chiefs have come forward and said, 'Well, that's not quite right.' "</P>

<P> Whether the F-22 program can stick to its ambitious goals is a big part of affording a strong military into the future. But to some degree, the program has already carved its path. It started with a promise of unprecedented technology for a bargain price that the Air Force knew it could not reach -- \$35 million per plane -- and has become so politically entrenched and absorbed so much money that its survival in some form seems certain.</P>

<P> The real pressure is shifting to the Joint Strike Fighter program, which is at an earlier stage and remains a bigger unknown. The plane itself will be less powerful than the F-22, but it will be the real workhorse of three branches of the military. The Air Force, Navy and Marines plan to buy nearly 3,000 Joint Strike Fighters beginning in the next 12 years.</P>

<P> To afford that many planes, the Joint Strike Fighter has to do what the F-22 has not done: stick to unprecedented cost restrictions.</P>

<P> To help ensure that, the Pentagon has put a price target, much as it did on the F-22. Hundreds of billions of dollars are riding on whether the basic Strike Fighter can be delivered at close to \$28 million a copy.</P>

<P> No one ever intended to meet the target on the F-22. "The fact is, they never, ever planned to buy a \$35 million airplane," said Lockheed Martin's Blackwell, who is leading his company in competition with Boeing to build the Joint Strike Fighter.</P>

<P> "That was the goal. We were given a target," he said. "It's not too much different from the \$28 million goal that's been given for the Joint Strike Fighter."</P>

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<P>Washington Post

July 20, 1999

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<P>Serbs Repair Bridge </P>

<I><P>Only 46 More to Go; Humbled Nation Casts About for Help</P>

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

<P> BESKA, YugoslaviaAt the end of the Kosovo War last month, Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic stood beneath a banner proclaiming "New Bridges for a New Century" and vowed that a crucial highway bridge over the Danube River damaged by NATO airstrikes would be mended within 40 days.</P>

<P> At a ribbon-cutting ceremony here scheduled for this morning, Milosevic will make good on his promise -- four days ahead of schedule.</P>

<P> But the repair of the Beska Bridge southeast of the city of Novi Sad was a rushed job in a country that is dead broke and cutting corners as it confronts

nts the task of fixing at least 46 other bridges, railroad trestles and overpasses downed and damaged by NATO airstrikes -- as well as dozens of factories, power plants, heating stations, radio and television transmitters, water and sewage facilities, and government buildings.</P>

<P> The engineer who oversaw the hurried Beska Bridge repair, Milovan Krstajic, acknowledges he has no idea how long the span will hold up. "Sometime in the future, there is the possibility of the soil beneath the new section sinking," he said. For now, he added, "it is safe."</P>

<P> Milosevic, who is facing popular calls for his removal from office, will clearly get a political boost from reopening the bridge, but Serbia -- Yugoslavia's dominant republic -- has barely begun its long road back to economic recovery. The total price tag from 78 days of NATO airstrikes is about \$10 billion in property damage alone, according to preliminary estimates, and the United States and its Western allies have vowed that Serbia will not receive a penny of aid as long as Milosevic remains in power. Kosovo, a province of Serbia, and Montenegro, its smaller, disaffected partner in the Yugoslav republic, will benefit from Western assistance.</P>

<P> No country, with the exception of cash-starved Russia, a centuries old patron of the Serbs, is promising money for reconstruction here, and Belgrade government officials acknowledge that they are not counting on the Russians for much help.</P>

<P> For now, the government, and almost everybody else here, is in arrears. People stopped paying their taxes and utility bills months ago. The reality is that Serbia does not have the materials or the money -- or the ability to borrow the money -- to rebuild itself.</P>

<P> Independent economists are not sure how Serbia or Yugoslavia continue to function. But of this they are certain: "We're broke," said Goran Pitic, a research director at the Economics Institute in Belgrade. "How broke is a matter of some speculation."</P>

<P> This is a land worn down by four lost wars since 1991, punishing international economic sanctions and, earlier this decade, some of the most staggering hyperinflation ever recorded, when the treasury began to print notes in denominations of 5,000,000,000 dinars. Now those bills can be found in the gutter. They are worthless.</P>

<P> Salaries -- when workers are paid, that is, and even a Belgrade surgeon complains that his wages are three months overdue -- are plummeting. The average monthly income is now \$48 a month. Unemployment is nearing 50 percent. And some days it seems that everyone with a diploma is looking for a visa to join a national exodus of highly-trained and educated Serbs.</P>

<P> More than a third of the gross national product is assumed to be conducted on the black and gray markets, and large segments of the population make do mostly by bartering goods and services. Nobody keeps money in banks. When account holders try to withdraw the equivalent of \$20, they are routinely told to come back later; the banks don't have that much money in their drawers.</P>

<P> The size of the federal reserve is one of the most closely guarded secrets

ets in the country -- and there is widespread speculation that sometime soon the national bank will start to print more bank notes, a move that could touch off another round of hyperinflation. The black-market exchange rate for dollars or German marks is about double the official rate.</P>

<P> In one of his few efforts to boost national morale since the war ended, Milosevic traveled to Beska on June 14 to promise that the bridge, which links the country's main north-south highway, would be repaired.</P>

<P> "Let me tell you a secret," he told the crowd. "Of course it is not possible to complete this work in 40 days, but it is possible because even while the bombs were falling, the builders were secretly preparing elements that will be built into this bridge. They prepared to start traffic as soon as possible once peace comes, and I congratulate them on that."</P>

<P> Krstajic, the general director of the company that built the bridge in the late 1970s and rebuilt the damaged section this summer, pulled up onto the middle of the bridge on Sunday in a big Mercedes Benz and described the project.</P>

<P> "There was big pressure to finish in a shorter time," he said. "But we could not do that. I am convinced that no one could have done it faster." He said that work actually began four days after Milosevic announced the reconstruction, not in secret weeks earlier.</P>

<P> NATO bombers severed the bridge where it joins the north bank of the Danube in a precise strike that appeared designed to cut off access to the bridge, not destroy it.</P>

<P> Krstajic and his workers simply pushed dirt into the bomb crater, erected a pylon on a foundation they dug into the marshy underlying soil then laid in a new span section. The bridge, with freshly painted orange and gray railings, is now officially 40 meters shorter.</P>

<P> On Sunday, repair crews were still feverishly working to complete it in time for this morning's official opening. With a compressor and spray gun, Dusan Borojevic painted away in a high wind. His entire body was covered in orange paint, from his toeless sandals to his stubbled beard, mustache and hair. He worked without a mask and answered a few questions as he drank a beer and smoked a cigarette.</P>

<P> "This is important to all of us," he said. "That is why we work. That, and the money."</P>

<P> Jasna Matic, a civil engineer who helped compile a report by Group 17, an economic study group, stressed that the downed bridges were a humanitarian as well as economic disaster. She spoke of all the school children, for example, who will soon have to commute to their classes on a barge across the Danube at Novi Said, herded together like cattle, because of the three downed bridges in the city, Yugoslavia's second-largest.</P>

<P> Matic and other engineers guessed that without help from the West it would take the three or four Yugoslav construction companies three years to rebuild the bridges -- if they had the money and materials, which they do not. Milos

evic has announced new taxes and surcharges to pay for reconstruction, although it's unclear how much revenue the levies will generate.

"I'm depressed," Matic said. "I'll be honest with you. Nothing is going to happen. One bridge. Two bridges. And that is it. We're dying."

The one hopeful expectation here is that some European nations -- such as Germany and Austria, which normally ship a combined 60 million tons of goods down the Danube through Serbia -- will find a way to negotiate a deal with the Milosevic government whereby they will be permitted to clear the Danube of war time debris blocking shipping in exchange for rebuilding some bridges.

Several senior Milosevic officials confirm that such a scenario is possible -- that the government will hold off on clearing the Danube until the West helps rebuild some bridges.

In fact, the same engineering firm that patched up the Beska Bridge has been contracted to erect a pontoon bridge across the Danube at Novi Sad. That bridge, scheduled to be in place by September, will allow city residents to move back and forth across the river but will block the Danube to freight traffic moving between Western Europe and the Black Sea.

The message is clear: If the West wants to move its products again down one of the longest and most important rivers in Europe, they must help the Serbs rebuild some proper bridges.

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New York Times

July 20, 1999

Pg. 1

Clinton To Press Syrian To Reopen Talks With Israel

By Jane Perlez

<P> WASHINGTON -- President Clinton pledged Monday that he would get in touch with President Hafez Assad of Syria to stress that a "golden opportunity" lay before him to complete a peace deal with Israel. </P>

<P> Clinton spoke as he and Prime Minister Ehud Barak of Israel completed a series of meetings. </P>

<P> From their joint announcement at a news conference of plans to increase military assistance to Israel, to a plan to include Israeli astronauts on a NASA shuttle journey next year, Clinton and Barak appeared eager to show that the United States' relationship with Israel has been reinvigorated. </P>

<P> The two leaders also announced that financing would be provided for Israel's acquisition of additional Arrow anti-missile systems, which could defend Israel against Iran and Iraq. This is one of several measures that had been planned several years ago but delayed during the tenure of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. </P>

<P> The Arrow system was delayed for American budget reasons, other measures because of deterioration in relations over the lack of progress in peace talks. </P>

<P> Clinton said he would ask Congress to expedite approval of economic assistance to Israel, the Palestinian Authority and Jordan that had been promised last fall on condition that the land-for-security deal completed at Wye, Md., moved ahead. That money has also been stalled because of the stalemate in carrying out the Wye agreement. </P>

<P> Clinton will probably contact Assad by telephone in the coming days, a senior administration official said. By reaching out to Assad, Clinton will be taking the first step in the process that Barak has said he hopes will result in a basis for a comprehensive Middle East settlement within 15 months. </P>

<P> Referring to his telephone and other contacts over the years with Assad, Clinton said at the news conference, "He knows very well that I am committed to the peace process between Israel and Syria and that I believe that he has a golden opportunity now to resume that process." </P>

<P> Clinton, who met with Assad in Geneva in 1994, said the United States "would like more normal relations with Syria." Syria is one of the last Arab states officially at war with Israel and is critical to achieving the overall Middle East settlement that Barak says he envisions. </P>

<P> Administration officials said Clinton would tell Assad of Barak's determination to move forward and will try to find out what Syria wants or expects in negotiations. </P>

<P> But the officials also said Clinton hopes to reduce the traditional role of intermediary that the United States has played between Syria and Israel. During this process, there has been no direct contact between the two countries. </P>

<P> "If we proceed that way, nothing will get done in 15 months," a senior

administration official said. "We hope to see more direct contact." </P>

<P> In his meetings with Clinton, Barak said Israel would never agree to return to the borders that existed before the 1967 war, an Israeli official reported last week. But he added that Israel is willing to pull back partly from the Golan Heights, on the border with Syria, if the two countries can agree on other issues, like the status of Lebanon and ending terrorism. </P>

<P> Syria remains on the State Department's list of nations that it says support terrorism. But a report from the Middle East on Monday said that Syria had called on guerrillas that it supports in Lebanon to "call off the armed struggle" and to transform themselves into political groups. </P>

<P> An official in Barak's delegation said that the report was almost "too good to be true" but could be an encouraging sign about the purposefulness of Assad's recent statements that he wanted to resume negotiations with Israel. Clinton and Barak both welcomed the reports, while cautioning that they were uncertain whether the accounts were accurate. </P>

<P> In announcing increased military assistance, which needs congressional approval, the administration was also outlining a plan under discussion for some time to restructure aid to Israel. </P>

<P> Under this new formula, the United States would phase out economic assistance, now \$1.2 billion a year, while increasing military assistance. Israel now receives \$1.8 billion a year in military assistance, and in \$60 million increments over the next 10 years, this would be increased to \$2.4 billion. </P>

<P> The phaseout of economic assistance comes as the Israeli economy has grown more robust and more integrated into the global market. </P>

<P> In another indication of their new confidence, the two leaders announced they would establish a strategic policy planning group composed of senior U.S. and Israeli security officials that would report to them every four months. </P>

<P> "The two leaders agreed to meet in joint session at regular intervals," the joint communique they released said in reference to the planning group. </P>

<P> A group like this was proposed during the negotiations at Wye, but, administration officials said, it would have lacked the authority to make meaningful recommendations or decisions on Israel's security needs. "It was a good idea that never got off the ground," a senior administration official said. "The new committee will do more, more frequently and meet with the prime minister and the president." </P>

<P> Under the new formulation, the officials would consider ways to enhance Israel's security in the face of a comprehensive peace settlement, he said. </P>

<P> In their communique, the two leaders said they would sign a new agreement allowing for "broad cooperation" between various agencies of both governments on responding to the threat of terrorism by means of weapons of mass destruction.

ion. </P>

<P> On the sensitive issue of Jonathan Jay Pollard, a former U.S. Navy intelligence analyst who is serving a life sentence in the United States for spying for Israel, Barak declined to comment at the news conference, beyond saying he would like to see him released. </P>

<P> Pollard was arrested in 1985, pleaded guilty and was given a life sentence in 1987. Clinton has twice denied clemency to Pollard. But on the last day of the talks at Wye last year, Clinton pledged to Netanyahu that he would review the Pollard case after Netanyahu made it an issue and the director of Central Intelligence, George Tenet, threatened to resign if he were released, senior American officials said at the time. Clinton asked Charles Ruff, the White House counsel, to compile an interagency report on whether Pollard should be released. </P>

<P> After the news conference, the national security adviser, Sandy Berger, said that Barak, like all other Israeli prime ministers who had met with Clinton, had raised the issue of Pollard's status with the president. </P>

<P> Berger said Clinton had not yet received the report from Ruff. </P>

<P> According to Berger's account of the conversation between Clinton and Barak on the Pollard case, the prime minister said that the Pollard case should not be part of the peace negotiations. At Wye, Netanyahu had threatened to walk out unless Pollard was released. </P>

<P> By accounts from American and Israeli officials, Barak and Clinton, who did not know each other well before the prime minister arrived last Wednesday, developed a good rapport during two, lengthy one-on-one sessions and then over meals and at other meetings during the visit. </P>

<P> But both leaders were short on details at their news conference Monday on what the unfolding peace efforts might look like. Barak said it was "too early" to talk about the results of permanent status talks between the Palestinians and Israel on difficult questions like borders, refugees and the disposition of Jerusalem. </P>

<P> Asked whether he saw a Palestinian state emerging from the talks by the end of the year, Barak said, "I am confident that the nature of the Palestinian entity will emerge quite naturally out of these permanent status negotiations." </P>

<P> Barak had his last scheduled meeting with Clinton at the White House on Monday afternoon. Earlier, the prime minister met with officials of the American Israel Political Action Committee, a national organization that lobbies Congress on behalf of Israeli issues, and Monday evening met with Tenet and attended a dinner at the home of the Israeli ambassador, Zalman Shoval. </P>

<P> On Tuesday, his last day in the United States, Barak will hold a series of meetings on Capitol Hill and attend a lunch to be held by Vice President Al Gore in his residence. </P>

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<P>Washington Times

July 20, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Chinese Companies Sent Missile Parts To N. Korea</P>

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

<P> Chinese companies transferred missile components to North Korea last month in a sign Beijing is stepping up arms sales in response to the NATO bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade, The Washington Times has learned.</P>

<P> "We are concerned about Chinese entities providing material for North Korea's missile program," a senior administration official told The Times. "In our judgment, the Chinese government has no interest in seeing North Korea develop its missile capability."</P>

<P> The Pentagon believes that some of the missile technology contains material of U.S.-origin, and that the transfers violate Chinese promises not to ignore international missile export controls barring such sales to rogue states, said U.S. intelligence officials.</P>

<P> The transfers were uncovered several weeks ago by U.S. intelligence agencies, including the CIA, the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) and National Security Agency, and outlined in sensitive reports sent to senior Clinton administration officials late last month.</P>

<P> The missile technology transfers to North Korea are viewed by administration national security officials as a troubling sign that China may be breaking out of restraints on its foreign weapons sales sought by the United States in discussions over the past several years.</P>

<P> According to the officials, the arms sales also are a response to the new anti-American mood in Beijing. China has refused to accept U.S. explanations

for the mistaken bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, and is demanding compensation.</P>

<P> According to Pentagon intelligence officials, a DIA report said the Chinese technology sold to the North Korean missile program includes accelerometers, gyroscopes and special high-technology machinery.</P>

<P> Accelerometers and gyroscopes are key missile-guidance components; the machinery was described by the officials as precision grinding equipment useful for building missiles, said officials who spoke on the condition of anonymity.</P>

<P> U.S. intelligence knows the identities of the Chinese government-owned firms involved in the missile technology sales, but the names could not be learned.</P>

<P> The senior officials said the transfers do not appear to have the approval of the Chinese government, and the general topic of destabilizing arms sales has been raised in the past with Beijing officials. The current transfers, however, have not yet been discussed.</P>

<P> The missile sales followed recent visits between Chinese and North Korean officials that have improved ties between the two countries.</P>

<P> North Korea builds several types of missiles, including short-range Scuds, medium-range No Dong and two long-range systems known as Taepo Dong-1 and Taepo Dong-2.</P>

<P> The first Taepo Dong-1 was test fired Aug. 31, and the longer-range Taepo Dong-2 could be launched sometime this month, the officials said.</P>

<P> North Korea's official news agency stated on Thursday that U.S., Japanese and South Korean government opposition to what they believe will be a new missile launch would not stop the North's space launches. The launch could take place "any time," the Korean Central News Agency said.</P>

<P> One official said the DIA report also identified the origin of the missile technology as coming from China, Russia and the United States.</P>

<P> "This could be guidance technology obtained from U.S. companies," the official said.</P>

<P> Under U.S. export restrictions, American high-technology with weapons applications cannot be re-exported without U.S. government approval.</P>

<P> Richard Speier, a specialist on the 29-nation Missile Technology Control Regime, known as the MTCR, said the China-North Korea missile trade could violate the accord and related U.S. laws.</P>

<P> "A long-standing problem has been the peculiar formulation of the Chinese government's statement of support for the MTCR," he said. "It is left in doubt whether they are controlling component and technologies as required by the regime. Accelerometers and gyroscopes, depending on their specific characteristics, might well be covered by the regime."</P>

<P> The transfer by the Chinese "could trigger sanctions" on the Chinese and North Koreans if the equipment is covered by the MTCR, Mr. Speier said in an interview.</P>

<P> U.S. anti-proliferation laws mandate the imposition of economic sanctions for MTCR violations.</P>

<P> Sanctions were imposed on Chinese missile manufacturers in 1993 after two Chinese companies transferred M-11 missile components to Pakistan. The sanctions were lifted a year later after Beijing agreed to abide by MTCR guidelines.</P>

<P> China's government said last year it will study joining the MTCR but so far has not become part of the international export agreement. Senior administration officials have said coaxing China to join the regime is a key arms-control objective.</P>

<P> Asked recently if China will increase its weapons proliferation as a result of the downturn in U.S.-China ties, Kurt Campbell, deputy assistant defense secretary for Asia, said "it's certainly an issue that we worry about."</P>

<P> "I think there is a concern that we'll see some backsliding on proliferation with not only a potential cutoff of dialogue, but perhaps questioning at the highest levels in China by some about the relationship with the United States," Mr. Campbell told defense reporters June 30.</P>

<P> Asked if there are signs China is exporting weapons to rogue states, Mr. Campbell said, "I do not want to go any further."</P>

<P> The public version of a CIA report to Congress released Friday also said China supplied missile technology to North Korea last year. The report said North Korea during the last six months of 1998 "obtained raw materials for its ballistic missile programs, especially from firms in China."</P>

<P> According to a well-informed U.S. official, one recent Chinese sale to North Korea involved the transfer of specialty steel with applications for North Korea's missile program.</P>

<P> Pentagon and White House officials said earlier this year that other intelligence reports showed that China was sharing space technology with North Korea that could boost Pyongyang's missile programs.</P>

<P> The space cooperation is believed to be a "cover" for North Korea's long-range missile program. The cooperation included travel to North Korea by scientists from the Chinese Academy of Launch Technology, which in the past has worked with U.S. satellite manufacturers.</P>

<P> A CIA spokesman declined to comment. A spokesman for the Chinese Embassy had no immediate comment.</P>

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<P>Sacramento Bee

July 18, 1999</P>

<P>Ensuring Honors For Fallen Veterans</P>

<I><P>Plan guarantees military funeral for all who ask</P>

</I><P>By Steve Gibson, Bee Staff Writer</P>

<P> In response to growing demand, there's a movement under way to make sur
e virtually all U.S. military veterans can receive military honors at their fun
erals.</P>

<P> Currently, military personnel take part in only some veterans' funerals
.</P>

<P> But if a proposal by the Department of Defense is accepted by Congress
this year, families of honorably discharged veterans who die would be guarantee
d that uniformed military personnel will be present for the funeral.</P>

<P> "It guarantees certain things will happen and has improvements over the
way things are now," spokesman Lt. Col. Tom Begines said from the Pentagon on
Friday.</P>

<P> The nation's military is now caught between the proverbial rock and a h
ard place when it comes to providing honors at veterans' funerals, Begines said
, with volunteer honor guards from veterans' organizations taking up the slack.
</P>

<P> Veterans' deaths are reaching all-time highs at a time when the nation'
s active-duty military force has shrunk to its lowest level in decades, he expl
ained.</P>

<P> For example, an estimated 561,000 veterans -- up 23 percent from a deca
de ago -- are projected to die this year, while the active-duty forces total 1.
4 million, down from 2.1 million a decade ago, Begines said.</P>

<P> On top of that, 77 of the nation's 495 major military bases have closed since 1989 -- and 20 more will close by 2001.</P>

<P> "What we have primarily is a manpower challenge," Begines said.</P>

<P> Under the Pentagon proposal now before Congress, uniformed personnel would be made available to at least fold and present the flag to the deceased veteran's family at virtually every funeral. Taps would be played, either by a bugler or a recording.</P>

<P> Funeral details would consist of personnel from National Guard, selected reserve units or detachments at active military bases, Begines said. If it becomes law, the Pentagon proposal would be effective Jan. 1, 2000.</P>

<P> But because of personnel constraints, virtually all honor guards that provide traditional 21-gun salutes likely would continue to come from volunteer groups, such as those currently performing military honors at funerals in Sacramento County.</P>

<P> "I think it's important that the families of veterans know they're entitled to a flag and a ceremony with a 21-gun salute, and it's free," said Phil Rios, commander of VFW Post 9869 in Granite Bay.</P>

<P> The Veterans Affiliated Council, which consists of nearly 50 groups in Sacramento, fields an honor squad that attends four or more funerals each week.</P>

<P> "I believe every veteran paid his dues, and I think we owe them this much," said Frank Dobek, a retired Navy chief petty officer who serves on the Veteran Affiliated Council's honor squad.</P>

<P> With two of Sacramento's military bases closed and a third -- McClellan Air Force Base -- getting ready to close, the number of active-duty military personnel available for funeral duties has substantially dwindled.</P>

<P> And McClellan's honor guard -- which often attends funerals of active-duty and retired Air Force personnel -- is going out of business Sept. 30, base spokeswoman Dawn Young said.</P>

<P> Demand for veterans' honor guards in Sacramento has grown so much that a third volunteer unit -- this one from Veterans of Foreign Wars Post No. 85 -- was formed several months ago.</P>

<P> The commander of that honor guard, Lawson Moss Jr., sent a letter to area churches advising pastors that Post No. 85 is available to conduct military funerals.</P>

<P> In Roseville, at VFW Post No. 1487, volunteers for yet another honor guard have been organized. "The only thing we need now are the rifles," said Jim Murphy, commander of the group.</P>

<P> In North Highlands, at VFW Post 4647, Grant Lundergreen heads the 17th District VFW honor guard, which he said provides 21-gun salutes at about five f

unerals a week.</P>

<P> "I'm afraid if we get too much publicity, we'll get more requests than we can handle," Lundergreen said.</P>

<P> Willie McCray Jr., commander of the Veterans Affiliated Council's honor squad, urged families of deceased veterans to make arrangements with funeral homes for military ceremonies.</P>

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<P>Washington Post

July 20, 1999

Pg. B7</P>

<U><P>Federal Diary</P>

</U><P>Extending Thrift Savings Plan To Some May Increase Fees For Others</P>

<P>By Mike Causey</P>

<P> Senate-House conferees on the defense authorization bill have been warned that opening up the federal thrift savings plan to military reservists could increase fees for full-time active-duty personnel who take part in the giant 401(k) plan.</P>

<P> Participation in the plan is now limited to civilian federal workers. This year, Congress proposed including full-time active-duty military personnel. They would be allowed to contribute 5 percent of military pay to the plan on a tax-deferred basis. The Federal Retirement Thrift Investment Board, which runs the savings plan, endorsed the inclusion of active-duty military personnel in the program but has now sent up a warning flag.</P>

<P> The Senate-passed version of the authorization bill contains language t

hat would also open up the plan to 840,000 part-time military reservists, as well as the 1.5 million active-duty military personnel. Allowing reservists in, according to Roger W. Mehle, executive director of the Federal Retirement Thrift Investment Board, would be a mistake. He said it would impose greater costs on active-duty military personnel who invest in the federal 401(k) plan. In a letter last week to Senate-House conferees, Mehle warned that the small contributions of reservists would produce account balances that wouldn't cover the cost of creating and administering a record-keeping system for them. He said that active-duty personnel who could amass much larger accounts would therefore have to subsidize reservists with much smaller accounts. Generally speaking, reservists make only about 62 days of military pay each year. That includes being paid for two weeks of summer training, plus double pay (equal to four days) for attending monthly weekend drills. By contrast, civilians can (and active-duty military personnel could if the law was changed) contribute on a much larger base salary.

In his letter to Congress, Mehle wrote that "the board would be pleased to provide thrift savings plan benefits to the 1.5 million full-time uniformed military personnel, but strongly opposes the "unsound" idea of including reservists "because of the tiny benefit" to them vs. the cost of administration. Under the plan, investors pay administrative fees of about 60 cents per \$1,000 of account balance each year. The average plan account of workers under the Federal Employees Retirement System is worth about \$40,000. Investors under the old Civil Service Retirement System have an average account balance of a little more than \$25,000.

The board estimates that because of their low military earnings, the typical reservist who joins the plan--and makes the maximum 5 percent contribution--would be able to contribute only about \$200 a year to the savings plan. The board said that building a system that would administer accounts for reservists would not be cost effective and the expenses of the system would have to be shared with full-time active duty military account holders. That would mean all military investors would pay much more for their accounts than civilians, the board warned.

Military personnel have been eager to get into the savings plan, which has been available to civilians for more than a decade. Some high-income, longtime federal civilian investors who put their money exclusively in the C-fund (stock index) now have account balances worth nearly \$400,000.

Folks who know Mehle say that his objections are strictly fiscal. He spent 25 years in the Navy. That includes 10 years on active duty and an additional 15 in the reserves.

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<P>Defense Daily

July 20, 1999

Pg. 9</P>

<P>Apaches Would Have Been Used In A Few More Days, Official Says</P>

<P>By Neil Baumgardner</P>

<P> The Boeing [BA] AH-64 Apache attack helicopters deployed as part of Task Force Hawk during Operation Allied Force would have been used in combat operations had the campaign lasted a few days more, an Army official told Defense Daily yesterday. </P>

<P> "I think you would have seen the Apaches committed," said Col. Michael Hackerson, the deputy director for planning in the Army's office of the deputy chief of staff for operations and planning.</P>

<P> He said that the Apaches would have been committed for two reasons: one, Serbian air defenses had assumed that the Apache threat had passed; and two, Serbian units were massing to fight the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA).</P>

<P> Hackerson said that the timing was right because a few weeks had passed since leaflets were dropped in Kosovo, threatening Apache attacks. Then the Serbian air defense units were at their highest readiness waiting for the Apaches to come over. Since several weeks had passed without the Apaches attacking, those units assumed the attacks were not coming and relaxed their readiness.</P>

<P> He also said that increased KLA attacks in the last days of the campaign were drawing more Serbian units out into the open, providing ample targets for the Apaches. </P>

<P> The allied air campaign accelerated in the last few days of the conflict, but the claims of targets destroyed have been called into question with the large flow of Serbian forces and vehicles out of Kosovo after the campaign.</P>

<P> Prior to the last days of the campaign, there were simply not enough targets for the Apaches to engage, rather than any reluctance to employ them, Hackerson said.</P>

<P> He also said that some of the problems seen in the Albania were in part

"the effects of a declining defense budget" and its impact on training and readiness.</P>

<P> Concurrent with a steady drop in the budget, the Army has become more heavily involved in peace enforcement operations, first in Bosnia and now in Kosovo, than ever before, as opposed to the two major regional war scenarios in Southwest Asia or Korea that it trains for.</P>

<P> Additionally, it is becoming hard to justify the expense of putting new systems on older airframes, especially when they are due to be replaced or upgraded, as in the case of the Apache to the AH-64D Apache Longbow, he said.</P>

<P> With regard to the mix and match of the units and personnel deployed as part of Task Force Hawk, Hackerson said that it was due to the nature of the operation and would likely be replicated in other contingency operations.</P>

<P> He said that personnel and helicopters were put together from different units so as to minimize the effect on the remaining personnel, who may have other upcoming demands, such as departure from service, schools and training, or other deployments.</P>

<P> In a full up major regional war scenario, however, those concerns would go away and units would be deployed in whole, he said.</P>

<P> He added that in particular the Apache crews taken from the 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault) were easily fitted into the Task Force Hawk structure since all Apache pilots train from the same standard.</P>

<P> As for the implications of Task Force Hawk on the Army's new Strike Force concept, Hackerson said "basically, that [Strike Force] is what we did," echoing comments by other Army officials (Defense Daily, May 4).</P>

<P> He said that the only differences would be that Strike Force would have used more digitization and even more of a mix and match of appropriate units tailored to meet contingencies.</P>

<P> However, Hackerson also said that he anticipated that the force protection for such Apache-based task forces would become smaller. </P>

<P> The deployment of such force protection units, in this case M1A1 Abrams tanks and M2A2 Bradley infantry fighting vehicles, was a major reason for the lengthy time in the deployment of the overall task force. At the same time, he cautioned that the task force needs enough force protection as an insurance against threats, in the Albania case cross-border attacks by Serbian forces.</P>

<P> As for threats against the Apaches, Hackerson said that man-portable air defense systems, such as the Soviet SA-7 used by Serbian forces, were not the biggest concern.</P>

<P> He said that the Apaches Lockheed Martin [LMT] ALQ-144 infrared dispenser should be able to defeat those infrared-guided weapons. </P>

<P> A greater concern was rocket-propelled grenades and small-arms, although

h the Apaches weaponry often made for a sufficient deterrent against such threats. </P>

<P> Additionally, with the Apaches operating at night, such forces have only a limited time at which they can see and shoot at the Apaches, he said.</P>

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<P>Philadelphia Inquirer

July 20, 1999</P>

<P>2 U.S. Soldiers Die In Kosovo After Vehicle Flips </P>

<P>By Associated Press</P>

<P> PRISTINA, Yugoslavia - In the first deaths of American peacekeepers in Kosovo, two U.S. soldiers were killed and three suffered minor injuries when their armored personnel carrier overturned. </P>

<P> Maj. Mark J. Ballesteros, a spokesman at the Americans' headquarters, said yesterday that the accident occurred Sunday while the U.S. soldiers were on patrol near Domorovce, 10 miles northeast of Gnjilane, the Kosovo town where U.S. forces are based. </P>

<P> The soldiers were identified as Spec. Sherwood B. Brim, 30, of Dallas, and Sgt. William W. Wright, 27, of Clearlake, Calif. </P>

<P> Officials said the two soldiers had died of their injuries after the accident, in which their armored vehicle overturned after losing a track. </P>

<P> "This is a tragic accident, and KFOR extends its sincerest condolences to the families of the lost servicemen," said Lt. Cmdr. Louis Garneau, a spokesman for KFOR, the international peacekeeping force. </P>

<P> A U.S. soldier died July 4 in a traffic accident in neighboring Macedonia, and two died in a helicopter crash in Albania while training in the NATO air campaign against Yugoslavia. </P>

<P> U.S. officials said the soldiers killed Sunday were assigned to Bravo Company in the Ninth Engineer Battalion, part of the First Infantry Division based in Schweinfurt, Germany. </P>

<P> The two bodies were flown late yesterday out of Skopje, Macedonia, to the U.S. air base in Ramstein, Germany. From there, they were to be flown to sites chosen by family members. </P>

<P> The accident came five weeks after U.S. forces, now totaling about 5,000, entered the province along with other NATO troops under a peace accord. </P>

<P> Meanwhile, more evidence emerged of the mass killings that claimed thousands of lives in Kosovo earlier this year. </P>

<P> At the edge of a cemetery in the town of Podujevo, local authorities exhumed 19 bodies from a mass grave - including an 80-year-old man reported missing months ago. Survivors say the 19 were massacred by Serbs. </P>

<P> Although his face had been badly mutilated, relatives recognized Fariz Fazliu immediately when authorities exhumed him. His embroidered black and white belt was still cinched around his body. </P>

<P> "Even the grave is full of blood," said Nimon Fazliu, the man's nephew, believing he had seen dark stains on the dank walls of the grave. </P>

<P> Hours after war-crimes investigators and British soldiers had left the site in Podujevo to mourners, the old man's two sons and three nephews had a proper grave dug for him, yards from the crude row of graves hastily dug by the Serbs for their victims. </P>

<P> Fariz Fazliu disappeared after going to pray at the town mosque on March 28, the Muslim holy day of Bajram. On that day, his nephew Nimon said Serbs had rounded up people and had taken them to the Bugujevci family home, where they massacred them in the garden. </P>

<P> The bodies exhumed yesterday included six members of the Bugujevci family and seven from the Duriqi family. Four of them were children. </P>

<P> "Of course I'm sorry. He was my uncle," said Nimon Fazliu. "But children were killed. I saw with my own eyes how they stabbed a 15-year-old boy with a knife." </P>

<P> The investigators from the international war-crimes tribunal for Yugoslavia, based in the Hague, Netherlands, added the site to the evidence they are collecting on the killings of thousands of ethnic Albanians during months of Serbian terror in Kosovo. </P>

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<P>Washington Post

July 20, 1999

Pg. 15</P>

<P>American Medic Killed In Honduras</P>

<P> TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras -- An American military medic participating in a relief program has been killed in northern Honduras, a U.S. Embassy spokeswoman said.</P>

<P> Sgt. Francisco J. Morales, 36, was found shot Saturday morning in Trujillo, 155 miles north of the capital, embassy spokeswoman Marti Stell said. The embassy had no further information on the killing of Morales, who served in the Louisiana National Guard as a medic and lab technician. "The case is being investigated by Honduran police and U.S. military officials," Stell said.</P>

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<P>Washington Post

July 20, 1999

Pg. 4</P>

<U><P>Washington In Brief</P>

</U><P>House Votes To Hold Nuclear Energy Aid</P>

<P> The House voted to withhold U.S. contributions to International Atomic Energy Agency programs helping Iran build a nuclear power plant.</P>

<P> The measure, passed 383-1, states that contributions to the IAEA can be released only if the secretary of state certifies that Iran is not using the money to gain expertise in nuclear weapons or acquire sensitive nuclear technology.</P>

<P> "Clearly, when we suspect that Iran has the requisite technology to enrich uranium to weapons-grade level, it is not a wise idea to help them in their efforts to locate more of it," said Rep. Robert Menendez (D-N.J.), the chief sponsor.</P>

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<P>Washington Times

July 20, 1999</P>

<P>House Measure Lauds End Of Cold War, Communism's Fall</P>

<P>By Dave Boyer, The Washington Times</P>

<P> Congress took a symbolic step last night toward making sure future generations never forget events like President Ronald Reagan's defiance in the shadow of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of Soviet communism.</P>

<P> The House passed a resolution 381-0 calling on America's leaders to celebrate the U.S. victory over communism and the 10th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall by promoting education on the Cold War and honoring U.S. veterans of the conflict.</P>

<P> The resolution states that 24 million members of the U.S. Armed Forces served in the Cold War and 400 million people "were freed from the bondage of communism" in Eastern and Central Europe.</P>

<P> "Unless you grew up in the '40s, '50s or '60s, the younger generations have tended to forget there ever was a Cold War," said Rep. Frank D. Lucas, Oklahoma Republican and a sponsor of the resolution. "They have tended to forget that there ever was a huge number of warheads pointed at us because other people envied us."</P>

<P> Mr. Lucas said the measure is intended in part to "raise general awareness out there in the academic community that they need to pay attention to it."</P>

<P> In a poll released last week, the Pew Research Center found that only 1 percent of respondents cited ending the Cold War as America's greatest achievement of the 20th Century.</P>

<P> "The Cold War is a fading memory," said Rep. Dana Rohrabacher, California Republican who has proposed a privately funded memorial to the victims of communism. "Most young people have no idea that people were being shot while trying to escape communist countries."</P>

<P> Mr. Rohrabacher said the nation should pay homage to the veterans who enabled the United States to enjoy its current security.</P>

<P> "We are right now basking in the warm and healthy environment of the post-Cold War world," Mr. Rohrabacher said. "That didn't just happen. A lot of people were fighting the Cold War whose names we'll never know. They're the ones who provided this wonderful world we live in today."</P>

<P> The Berlin Wall, which divided communist East Berlin from the democratic western side of the city, came down on Nov. 9, 1989. It was less than two years after Mr. Reagan stood before the most infamous symbol of communism and challenged the Soviet Union's president: "Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall." An international movement has declared Nov. 9 as World Freedom Day.</P>

<P> "This is a very significant anniversary," said James Anderson, national security analyst at the Heritage Foundation. "Enough time has passed to put the events of this titanic struggle into perspective. As we draw this century to a close, the Cold War is certainly worthy of our attention and study."</P>

<P> Mr. Anderson said he's heard "disturbing reports that primary school textbooks are giving short shrift" to the Cold War.</P>

<P> "To the extent it's being crowded out by the academic fad of the moment is unfair," he said.</P>

<P> If academia is neglecting the Cold War, veterans' groups are not. The Defense Department this year began taking applications from those who served during the Cold War for a "Cold War Recognition Certificate."</P>

<P> The Pentagon specifies the dates of the Cold War: From Sept. 2, 1945, when Japan surrendered after World War II, to Dec. 26, 1991, when Mikhail Gorbachev resigned as Soviet president and the Soviet Union was disbanded.</P>

<P> The certificates were created following an effort by Rep. Rick A. Lazio, New York Republican, who is also sponsoring a bill to establish a military decoration called the "Reagan-Truman Victory in the Cold War Medal." President Harry Truman was the first chief executive during the Cold War.</P>

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<P>Washington Post

July 20, 1999

Pg. 14</P>

<P>Politics Hampered Warfare, Clark Says </P>

<I><P>Review Points to NATO Shortcomings</P>

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

<P> BRUSSELS, July 19 In his first detailed assessment of the Kosovo war, NATO's supreme commander, Gen. Wesley K. Clark, said today the alliance was hamstrung by competing political and military interests that may have prolonged the conflict.</P>

<P> During an interview following a three-hour presentation to NATO ambassa

dors on the lessons to be learned from the intervention in Kosovo, Clark acknowledged that he was compelled to sacrifice basic logic of warfare to maintain the political cohesion of the alliance.</P>

<P> "Once the barrier to using military force is crossed, the natural desire among military commanders is to succeed by rapid intensification of warfare in order to achieve the stated objectives," the U.S. Army general said. "The lesson is we should do as much as we possibly can, as rapidly as we can do it. But to the extent that an incremental campaign was essential to maintain alliance cohesion, it was the right thing to do."</P>

<P> While the 78-day bombing campaign was deemed successful because it ultimately forced Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic to pull his troops out of Kosovo province and accept the deployment of NATO peacekeepers there, the conflict raised doubts about the alliance's capacity for crisis management, its ability to reach consensus on how to wage war and the incompatibility of U.S. and European forces.</P>

<P> The air war was conducted under constraints that frustrated military planners, including the desire to avoid Serbian civilian casualties and allied pilot losses as well as NATO governments' refusal to consider a ground invasion until a few days before Milosevic capitulated.</P>

<P> While those demands complicated NATO's military mission, Clark said they were probably necessary to ensure the alliance stayed together given the anti-war pressures felt by coalition governments in Germany and Italy.</P>

<P> During today's session, NATO diplomats scrutinized other weaknesses in alliance strategy, including failure to anticipate that NATO bombing would provoke Serbian forces to escalate the brutal expulsion of ethnic Albanians and thus worsen a humanitarian catastrophe that the alliance was seeking to prevent.</P>

<P> NATO officials said they were caught off-guard by the extent of the crackdown by Serbian forces even though "Operation Horseshoe"--as the Yugoslav army called the offensive--was known to have been conceived by Milosevic and his advisers last October.</P>

<P> "It's clear we should have put down more markers in the sand to warn Milosevic that any expansion of the violence would bring devastating damage to his own people," a senior NATO diplomat said. On the other hand, he noted the shocking degree of Serbian violence was a propaganda boon for NATO, securing public support for the bombing raids.</P>

<P> The NATO review showed that a military response should have been taken in the wake of the Serbian massacre of 45 ethnic Albanians near the town of Racak in mid-January. But diplomats said the need to "go the extra mile" in exploring a diplomatic solution outweighed Clark's recommendation of airstrikes at that time.</P>

<P> The delay gave Milosevic time to bolster his forces inside Kosovo, disperse aircraft, prepare for an eventual bombing campaign and choose the most opportune moment to launch his offensive. As a result, the alliance lost any element of surprise.</P>

<P> "We realize now we were in a reactive mode nearly all the time," a European ambassador to NATO said. "We were more worried about how our actions were playing to public opinion in our own capitals rather than analyzing the impact on Milosevic and his regime."</P>

<P> NATO leaders were clearly surprised when Milosevic did not fold after the first wave of cruise missile strikes in late March. There also was widespread disappointment that NATO aircraft were so ineffective in the bad weather that hampered the early phase of the campaign.</P>

<P> But NATO officials said the decision in April to triple the number of allied aircraft in the operation was a success. NATO also proved effective at moving swiftly to set up refugee camps to cope with Milosevic's efforts to destabilize Albania and Macedonia by flooding them with ethnic Albanians. And while disavowing any tactical links with the Kosovo Liberation Army, NATO officials said key targeting information was passed through Albania's Second Army from KLA operatives in the field.</P>

<P> "We always said NATO would never serve as the KLA's air force, but they ended up serving as our surrogate army," an allied military official said.</P>

<P> Clark and other NATO officials say they still cannot pinpoint any single indicator as to why Milosevic decided to withdraw. "It was the last option to save his regime," Clark said. "Early on, there were many ways out of the box. But the doors closed one by one until there was no other way out."</P>

<P> Clark said "a multiplicity of factors" forced Milosevic to accept NATO's conditions: He failed to break the alliance's unity or shatter morale by capturing its pilots, he saw strategic airstrikes raise the hardship level for his people, he saw the likelihood of a ground invasion become serious and he saw Russia abandon him by endorsing NATO demands to retreat from Kosovo.</P>

<P> The Moscow card, NATO officials say, may have been crucial because Milosevic always thought Russia would never side with its Cold War enemy. After breaking off relations with NATO at the start of the air war, Russia has agreed to resume contacts Tuesday at a meeting of the Permanent Joint Council that was set up in 1997 to improve ties between the two sides.</P>


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<P>Washington Post

July 20, 1999

Pg. 14</P>

<P>Russian Troops Get Cool Welcome </P>

<I><P>Albanian Hatred of Serb Allies Could Raise Ethnic Tensions</P>

</I><P>By Dan Eggen, Washington Post Foreign Service </P>

<P> MALISEVO, Yugoslavia When Russian tanks started rolling through this dusty crossroads in western Kosovo last week, the villagers roared with boos, jeers and high-pitched whistles--a sure sign of derision among ethnic Albanians.</P>

<P> A few miles south in the larger town of Orahovac, crowds of up to 10,000 have gathered daily in the shadow of a bullet-scarred mosque to chant anti-Russian slogans. Thousands more have hectoring and thrown rocks at Russian paratroopers in Kosovska Kamenica, a village more than 50 miles to the east.</P>

<P> The arrival of several hundred fresh Russian troops as peacekeepers in Kosovo last week added a dicey new problem to the challenges facing NATO forces here.</P>

<P> Ethnic Albanians widely distrust Russians for their close ethnic ties with Serbs and because of Moscow's support of the Belgrade government during NATO's 78-day bombing campaign. Many now fear that Russian troops will seek to protect Serbs who committed war crimes. "We have suffered a lot from the Serbs here, and they have always been under the Russian umbrella," said Auni Mazreku, 23, a market owner in Malisevo. "We hate them the same as we hate the Serbs. There will be trouble here."</P>

<P> Many of Kosovo's remaining minority Serbs, on the other hand, view the arrival of Russians as a godsend--hoping they will do a better job than Western peacekeepers in protecting them from vengeful attacks by ethnic Albanians. At the fledgling Russian encampment in the U.S. sector in eastern Kosovo last week, for example, dozens of Serbs milled around the gate pleading for favors or protection.</P>

<P> "We cannot go to [Slobodan] Milosevic or anyone else," said Borislav Cvetkovic, 45, a farmer, referring to the Yugoslav president. "Only the Russians can help us now."</P>

<P> As part of an agreement with NATO that helped forge last month's peace settlement with Belgrade, 3,600 Russian troops are to deploy alongside NATO forces in three allied-controlled sectors in Kosovo. About 32,000 NATO troops have

arrived, and the allied contingent is ultimately to exceed 50,000.</P>

<P> Many NATO and U.N. officials say the Russian presence could mollify the concerns of Serbs that they are not safe. At the same time, some worry that local hostility toward the Russians could undermine NATO's good relations with local Albanians and heighten ethnic tensions.</P>

<P> "I don't think we will lose any credit because of this issue," said Dutch Maj. Jan Joosten, a NATO spokesman. "The Albanian people here in Kosovo should not forget that the Russians played a major role in ending the war here. . . . They are expected to be evenhanded toward ethnic Albanians as well as Serbs, and we have no reason to believe they won't be."</P>

<P> At the Russian compound in Malisevo, where several dozen Russian army troops set up camp last week a couple miles out of town, Lt. Col. Aleksandar Sizikh said he and his troops are aware of the ethnic Albanians' suspicions. His troops are roundly booed whenever they go through town, but Sizikh said he hopes to change peoples' minds.</P>

<P> "They may be against us, but we are providing the same mission as" NATO, said Sizikh, who said he previously commanded peacekeeping troops in Croatia. "We will provide help to all of the population, no matter who they are. The opinion of the population will change with time."</P>

<P> New Russian troops, mainly paratroopers, began arriving in Kosovo earlier this month, and the full contingent is expected to be here by mid-August. Several hundred Russian troops had been stationed at the airport outside the provincial capital, Pristina, since June 12, when Moscow rushed its soldiers into Kosovo ahead of the first NATO forces.</P>

<P> Western officials stress that the Russians will serve under NATO command, with Dutch and German soldiers around Orahovac, U.S. troops in Kosovska Kamenica, and French forces in the Srbica-Lausa area. "It's not like they'll be back there on the back forty by themselves," said Brig. Gen. John Craddock, commander of the U.S. peacekeeping force. "They will be under my tactical control. That will mean I will tell them what they do and what they don't do."</P>

<P> Such assurances haven't calmed the fears of many ethnic Albanians. In Orahovac, mathematics teacher Lirie Kasadi has shown up for anti-Russian protests every day. </P>

<P> Kasadi and others point to evidence that some Russian mercenaries fought along with Yugoslav troops as they plundered Kosovo.</P>

<P> "We are most afraid that the ones who committed the atrocities here will be let go," said Kasadi, holding his three-year-old daughter on his shoulders as he marched with protesters last week. "We don't have anything against the other peacekeepers, but the Russians must go."</P>

<P> Up a steep hill from the cobblestone streets where Kasadi and others were protesting, Serbian residents huddled in their doorways and complained that Dutch troops have done little to protect them, whether from kidnappings or from bottle-throwing kids. </P>

<P> "The situation needs to be improved," said Grkovic Nebojsa, 47, a metal worker. "The way things are now, they can't protect us enough. . . . There are no such things as war criminals here, and the Albanians know it, but they still attack us."</P>

<P> Here in Malisevo, the Russian army troops have begun conducting patrols and manning checkpoints with Dutch and German peacekeepers.</P>

<P> Capt. Henig Klement, a German army officer, said there have been "little conflicts" between Russians and civilians, but nothing serious. "I tell my soldiers to be careful," he said. "You don't always know what the reactions will be with the Russian presence here now."</P>

<P> <I>Correspondent Karl Vick in Pristina contributed to this report.</P></I>

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<P>Philadelphia Inquirer

July 20, 1999</P>

<P>Clinton To Attend Summit In Bosnia</P>

<P>By Associated Press</P>

<P> WASHINGTON - President Clinton will travel to Sarajevo, Bosnia, on July 30 for a summit focusing on investing in the Balkan region, the White House said yesterday.</P>

<P> Thirty heads of state will attend the summit sponsored by the European Union as a follow-up to NATO's air campaign over Yugoslavia. On the table will be ways to increase trade and investment in the Balkans to promote democratic reforms, peace and stability in the region. </P>

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<P>London Daily Telegraph

July 30, 1999</P>

<P>Mass Rally Against Milosevic Delayed</P>

<P>By David Graves in Belgrade</P>

<P> A MAJOR rally in Belgrade against President Slobodan Milosevic has been postponed until late August or early September by the opposition Alliance for Change movement in Serbia because it needs more time to mobilise popular support. </P>

<P> The mass demonstration was to have been the climax to a series of protests held over recent weeks in Serbian towns and cities. Its postponement is a tacit admission that there will be no immediate uprising. </P>

<P> It followed an earlier admission by aides of another Serbian opposition leader, Vuk Draskovic, that Milosevic would not be overthrown until cracks appeared in the armed forces and police. The anti-Milosevic rallies organised by the alliance have been attended by only between 5,000 and 10,000 people. </P>

<P> It had hoped to mobilise support for a march on Belgrade at the end of July, culminating in a rally of one million Serbs in the capital. But the lack of appetite among Serbs for a fresh, and potentially violent, confrontation with the government was confirmed on Saturday when only 20,000 people at most attended a carefully-choreographed rally called by Mr Draskovic in the central Serbian town of Kragujevac. </P>

<P> This was well below the 50,000 expected to attend. Mr Draskovic has refused to join the alliance and is running a separate opposition campaign against Milosevic. Aides to leaders of the alliance, a coalition of 30 opposition groups, admitted privately yesterday that the campaign to end Milosevic's 12-year rule could take several months to attract mass popular support. </P>

<P> "It has been easy to forget that the people of Serbia were bombed by Nato for 78 days and many of them are just relieved that they are still alive. Th

ey are not yet prepared to come out on to the streets in the numbers required,"
said one aide.</P>

<P> Two American soldiers were killed and three were slightly hurt when the
ir armoured personnel carrier overturned near Pristina at the weekend.</P>

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<P>Washington Times

July 20, 1999</P>

<P>Milosevic May Have Been Spooked Into Leaving Kosovo</P>

<P>By Ben Barber, The Washington Times</P>

<P> U.S. officials said yesterday that the fear of a ground invasion of Kos
ovo by U.S., British and other NATO troops might have led Serbian strongman Slo
bodan Milosevic to capitulate to NATO's bombing campaign in June.</P>

<P> "On the same day Sloba called it quits, there was a White House meeting
on the use of ground forces," said a State Department official.</P>

<P> "There may have been a perception among the Russians [who had access to
some NATO plans] and the Yugoslavs that planning was father along the road tha
n it was."</P>

<P> The White House and State Department, however, challenged remarks by se
nior British military officials that the United States and Britain had finalize
d plans for up to 170,000 NATO troops to invade Kosovo early enough in summer t
o win a victory before snows fall this winter.</P>

<P> The British remarks, reported by the London Observer newspaper and publ
ished in The Washington Times yesterday, as well as comments by U.S. and Russia
n officials in Newsweek magazine, indicated that U.S. and British officials had
met to finalize invasion plans and leaked this fact to the Russians who in tur
n told Mr. Milosevic.</P>

<P> Fearing that a ground invasion would lead to losses that would topple him from power, Mr. Milosevic's military signed an agreement on June 9 to withdraw their army and police from Kosovo.</P>

<P> Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov told Newsweek that "by late May, we had reliable information that preparation for a ground operation was in full swing."</P>

<P> Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott, who had launched an intensive diplomatic push to bring Russia into NATO efforts to pressure Mr. Milosevic, did not discourage the Russian belief that a ground attack was being prepared, Newsweek said in yesterday's edition.</P>

<P> In fact, it appears to have been a ruse perpetrated on both Russia and the Yugoslavs.</P>

<P> No invasion was ever approved, said White House spokesman Col. P.J. Crowley of the National Security Council.</P>

<P> "NATO never got to the stage of doing any formal planning for a ground force option," Col. Crowley said yesterday.</P>

<P> Various options for a ground invasion of Kosovo had been sketched out a year earlier, including one known as "B-minus," but "NATO never undertook the formal planning process" to use any of the plans, said Col. Crowley.</P>

<P> Had NATO been serious about a ground attack, NATO would have consulted with its 19 member nations on what troops, armor, planes and other assets they were prepared to contribute, he said.</P>

<P> This process did not take place, he said. </P>

<P> Nevertheless, Russian and Yugoslav officials were led to believe a ground attack was being planned. They also saw the placement of U.S., British and other NATO ground forces in Macedonia and Albania as a preparation for a ground attack.</P>

<P> However U.S. officials said those troops were meant either to join Kfor -- the U.N. Kosovo force -- or to prepare roads for Kfor to enter Kosovo once Mr. Milosevic withdrew his forces.</P>

<P> The State Department official, speaking on the condition of anonymity, said the United States never intended to mislead the Russians and Yugoslavians.</P>

<P> "Public deliberations [on U.S. reluctance to use ground troops] were quite open," said the official.</P>

<P> NATO supreme commander Gen. Wesley Clark "spoke on the size of the force that would be needed [for any ground invasion]. No one pushed one plan to the allies and leaked another to the Yugoslavs and Russians."</P>

<P> Col. Crowley went further, stating: "To the extent that the Observer st

ory says the U.S. and British were days away from agreeing to a ground force invasion of Kosovo, that story is wrong."

However he admitted that Mr. Milosevic might have seen things differently.

"Just how [the possibility of a ground attack] figured into Milosevic's calculations is a matter for history to determine."

In a statement prepared by the State Department yesterday in response to the Observer story, the administration recalled that "the president made clear in NATO's air campaign that no option had been taken off the table."

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<P>London Daily Telegraph

July 20, 1999</P>

****Bitter Refugees Reclaim Their Ruined Homes****

****By W F Deedes in Pristina**</P>**

IN the village of Sofalija, just outside Pristina, the newly-returned refugees are driving up in their cars to stare with stony faces at their ruined homes. Comprehensively ruined, mind you. No half measures. There are plans here to make one room habitable before winter in some houses, but what can anyone make out of rubble?

"I lived for 50 years in this house," says Handi Gash. He is beyond further words as he walks slowly round, taking in the horror for the first time. He is 68. "He has no time to do it again," says our driver sadly as we leave him.

What made the scene so poignant in this village, where all but 10 of the 200 houses have been smashed, was the profusion of wild flowers in the gardens. In the sunshine the butterflies were busy. Such beauty amid such squalor.

>

<P> A glance at these stony faces drives home the depths of their bitterness. Some 670,000 of the 800,000 refugees who fled have returned at a pace which has astonished the humanitarian agencies. A lot of them who drove out of the country have driven back.</P>

<P> Now many of them are coming face to face with their homelessness. It is generating a hatred that will last a generation or more. No wonder most of the Serbs have fled. Those who remain need all the protection they can get from KFOR. They have no future here.</P>

<P> Pristina itself superficially presents a totally different picture. There seems surprisingly little damage, apart from that caused by Nato. On Saturday night we sat outside a cafe watching the young revel in what few joys the city has to offer.</P>

<P> They showed not a care in the world. Their faces were eager, cheerful, intent. Their walk was resolute. The speed with which the younger citizens, in particular, have brought life back into Pristina only five weeks after its occupation has astonished many experienced hands among the aid agencies.</P>

<P> Perhaps the speed of events since March 24 has something to do with it. I think back to Germany just after the last war ended. Many cities were in ruins, yet there was none of the fury you encounter here. </P>

<P> They can hardly bring themselves to speak about it. "Bandits, bandits. . ." - meaning Serb police - cried an old man outside his ruined home. "They didn't fight like soldiers. . . attack only women and children." What the Serb police did has made life in Kosovo impossible for the rest of their countrymen.</P>

<P> At least in Germany in 1945 we had some idea of how the country was to be run. But in Kosovo, everything from schools to taxation is non-existent. The man in charge of Kosovo's civil administration, which includes education, health, all the utilities and the police, has a total staff of 13.</P>

<P> Unicef is working round the clock to get 1,000 primary schools ready to open in September. Who is going to pay the school teachers? The Serbs ran most of the official service. They have gone. The Albanians who did a lot of this work were sacked by the Serbs 10 years ago.</P>

<P> The frontier between Macedonia and Kosovo at Blace has become a nightmare. We were lucky to get through in two hours. "Who on earth is in charge here?" I wondered as KFOR vehicles, heavy lorries and trailers, the motor cars of refugees, UN Land Cruisers and even hay carts piled up in a fashion that made the M25 on a bad day look benign. Was it the angry American sergeant on a motorcycle, or the Macedonian police, or some soldiers from Eastern Europe who spoke no word of any language save their own?</P>

<P> This was Kosovo in microcosm. And what was happening on the border is what may very well be repeated in Kosovo itself. Confronted by two lines of traffic facing each other either side of the frontier and therefore motionless, the cowboys took the law into their own hands. They formed a third line of traf

fic in order to force their way through, converting confusion into chaos.</P>

<P> The Albanian Mafia is active and likely to flourish. Unless the international community decides soon how Kosovo is ultimately to be governed, the ungovernable will take over. Ostensibly, Bernard Kouchner, a former French minister of health, is to be chief civil administrator. As a caretaker, he will do. But who is to be landlord? No one is ready to say whether Kosovo will be independent.</P>

<P> Meanwhile, the country is receiving a huge amount of aid. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, which has visited between 400 and 500 villages, says up to 55,000 homes have been destroyed. In 15,000 of these it will be impossible to fix even one room before winter, now 12 weeks away.</P>

<P> So 30,000 tents are on their way. Returning refugees are being encouraged to bring one of them back on their car. On top of this, UNHCR's shopping list includes 33 million candles, seven million galvanised nails, 4,000 carpenter's pencils and 2,000 chisels.</P>

<P> These people are not looking for charity, but are saying: "Give us the tools and we will finish the job". Total cost to UNHCR? Just under 250 million of which only 106 million is in the kitty. This programme is costing 7 million a week.</P>

<P> At least there is no lack of help on hand. As Randolph Kent of UNHCR, who is coordinating some of this work, said: "It's like trying to herd a thousand cats!"</P>


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<P>USA Today

July 20, 1999

Pg. 13</P>

<P>War Leaves Poison Legacy</P>

<I><P>Yugoslav city suffers toxic aftereffects of airstrike damage</P>

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

<P> PANCEVO, Yugoslavia -- For the first time in memory, there are no mosquitoes, flies or gnats here; they've mysteriously disappeared.</P>

<P> Something's also wrong with the soil and water; townspeople who drink the water often develop a rash, fever or diarrhea. Doctors warn local residents of the likelihood a pregnancy will end in a miscarriage.</P>

<P> "Suddenly, it's become dangerous to live, even breathe, here," said Simon Bancov, the government's regional health inspector. "NATO has poisoned us all."</P>

<P> U.N. environmental experts arrive here today to begin investigating what local officials call the most toxic city in the Balkans.</P>

<P> NATO airstrikes destroyed the city's petrochemical plant, fertilizer factory and oil refinery in mid-April, spewing thousands of tons of noxious chemicals into the air, water and soil. A white cloud engulfed the city for days, causing many of the 120,000 residents here to become ill.</P>

<P> Monday, NATO officials in Brussels defended the attack, saying the industrial complex also produced fuel to power Yugoslav army vehicles used to attack ethnic Albanians in Kosovo.</P>

<P> Officials said they were aware of the environmental dangers associated with hitting the site but felt its military risk outweighed the environmental concerns.</P>

<P> Now the city's clinic is packed with people vomiting in the waiting room, fighting to breathe and covered in full body rashes.</P>

<P> The number of miscarriages has doubled within the last month, doctors said, but they refused to release figures. Many physicians advise women to have an abortion. The clinic, which normally performs five abortions a month, had three scheduled Monday.</P>

<P> Doctors fear the city's health problems have just begun. They're warning of everything from birth defects to outbreaks of cancer.</P>

<P> "Until we have scientific proof, we cannot blame the miscarriages and other health problems, some of which we don't even know about yet, on the NATO attacks," said a physician who gave her name as Snezana, 42. "But everything seems to point in that direction."</P>

<P> According to records kept by Mayor Srdjan Mikovic, NATO bombs struck a factory here on April 15. The factory produced a highly toxic compound used to make plastic bags. At least 1,400 tons of ethylene dichloride burned into the air or seeped into the water and soil.</P>

<P> Three days later, NATO bombed storage tanks that held 15,000 tons of ammonia used to make fertilizer; 800 tons of hydrochloric acid and 250 tons of liquid chlorine used to make several industrial products; 100 tons of mercury and large quantities of dioxin used to make Agent Orange and other chemicals.</P>

<P> "Now you can smell the chemicals in the air as soon as you arrive," said Pekka Haavisto, Finland's former environmental minister, who is directing the 17-person investigative team. Most of the team members are from Scandinavia; none is from the United States. "The potential danger is alarming."</P>

<P> U.N. investigators also plan to study nearly a dozen other sites, including some in neighboring Romania and Bulgaria, which also use the Danube River as a water source. The team's findings will be delivered by September to U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan who will then decide what action to take.</P>

<P> But NATO can't take all the blame for the environmental problems. Officials of this town, located 12 miles northeast of Belgrade, dumped 9,500 tons of ammonia into the nearby Danube River for fear the tanks holding it also would be bombed by NATO.</P>

<P> "Scientific experts told us that the ammonia (if released into the air) would kill off all the life in the city," Mikovic said. "We had to do it. We were trying to minimize our risks."</P>

<P> Regardless, nearly everyone in this town blames the United States, which took the lead in the NATO attacks, and many of them want revenge. Local lawyer Curcin Dusan is considering filing a damage suit against the United States on behalf of Pancevo's citizens.</P>

<P> But until that happens, residents, who cover their mouths with rags in a futile attempt to protect themselves from invisible toxins, said they have no choice but to drink and cook in the water from the Danube and Tamiš rivers. "What the United States and NATO have done here is a real war crime," Dusan said. "I will make them pay for it."</P>

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<P>London Daily Telegraph

July 20, 1999</P>

<P>Permanent Indian Guard For Border In Kashmir</P>

<P>By Rahul Bedi in Kargil, northern Kashmir</P>

<P> INDIA is preparing to man previously unguarded mountainous frontiers in northern Kashmir permanently after driving out hundreds of Pakistan-backed intruders during almost two months of fighting that claimed more than 1,200 lives. </P>

<P> It will cost India around 1.8 million a day to maintain about 8,000 to 10,000 soldiers along the 87-mile Line of Control or LoC in the remote Kargil, Batalik, Drass and Mushkoh Valley areas bordering Pakistan.</P>

<P> Temperatures in the region average 25C, and in winter, which sets in about mid-September, drop to 60C with a wind-chill factor of deadly intensity. "The perennial troop deployment in the region will bleed India financially besides tying down a large number of soldiers in inhospitable conditions," one senior military officer said. He added that, having fought so hard, the army had no choice but to man the area heavily. "India may have won the battle against the intruders but it has lost the war," he said.</P>

<P> After 53 days of fighting that ended at the weekend, Indian losses totalled 410 dead, including 25 officers, and 593 injured. An army spokesman claimed that 698 Pakistani soldiers and 135 Islamic guerrillas died in the conflict. The army, meanwhile, is coming to terms with the logistics of building outposts every couple of miles along this 16,000ft icy wasteland which is traversed by steep ridges and glacial valleys. Each is to house a complement of around 25 soldiers by mid-September.</P>

<P> Military engineers are carving out dirt tracks along sheer rock faces for porters and mules to ferry material to build insulated shacks before bringing up supplies, especially fuel for the eight months a year that the area is cut off, buried under 40 feet of snow. "The task is formidable and the costs astronomical," said an officer in Drass, charged with manning the frontier. "It will stretch the organisational skills of the army to the maximum."</P>

<P> Several battalions of 8 Mountain Division, which evicted the intruders from several points, have been asked to stay behind, moving to take up positions along the LoC. They are likely to be stationed there through the winter and be relieved next summer.</P>

<P> Since 1972, when the ceasefire line between India and Pakistan became the LoC after their third war, the army manned observation posts in the area for about four months after the snows melted in June, before retiring to lower ground. It infrequently sent out patrols at heights of up to 16,000 feet, confident that the pact between the two nuclear enemies and the terrain were a guarantee against any intrusions. This was exactly what attracted Pakistan, which sent in hundreds of its soldiers and Islamic mercenaries earlier this year to capture the high mountain ridges in Indian-administered Kashmir. </P>

<P> Speaking to BBC television earlier this week Pakistan's army chief, Gen Parvez Musharraf, admitted that soldiers from his army were fighting in Indian-administered Kashmir. By occupying vital hills, the intruders dominated the military highway that services India's northern army bases on the Pakistani and Chinese frontiers. They bombarded it with artillery fire, paralysing all traffic for several weeks during May and June. </P>

<P> Military officials estimate that the daily cost of maintaining posts along the frontier would be three to five times more than the 434,782 it costs to keep about 1,000 troops on the nearby disputed Siachen glacier, which is serviced exclusively by helicopters. Once winter sets in, helicopters of the Army Aviation Corps will be the only lifeline for the soldiers along the LoC, flying in essential supplies and ferrying out casualties, mostly from the weather.</P>

<P> India accuses Pakistan, which occupies a third of Kashmir and lays claim to the rest, of "sponsoring" the decade-long insurgency in the state. This is denied by Pakistan.</P>

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<P>Christian Science Monitor

July 20, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<U><P>Kashmir Embers</P>

</U><P>India, Pakistan Take A Breather</P>

<I><P>Diplomacy takes hold and insurgents withdraw, but troops in Kashmir remain on high alert.</P>

</I><P>By Robert Marquand, Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor</P>

<P> NEW DELHI -- As the last Pakistani fighters left Indian-controlled Kashmir by foot and mule in recent days, the head of the Pakistani armed forces made a startling admission. Contrary to months of official denials, he said Pakistani regular forces had fought in the Kashmir mountains alongside Islamic mujahideen - and that Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was part of the plan to send troops to challenge India.</P>

<P> As one of the most powerful men in Pakistan, Gen. Pervez Musharraf may have closed a chapter on a fight launched this spring when forces from Pakistan took up positions across a long-disputed border.</P>

<P> But it also opens another. Analysts say it suggests that the Pakistani withdrawal is not yet any kind of peace. Rather, it's an inconclusive pause in a complex 50-year crisis over the Kashmir valley, a 97 percent Muslim region that at Pakistanis at the highest levels are not likely to abandon militarily.</P>

<P> As hostilities ceased, both Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee and Mr. Sharif agreed to return to the "Lahore process," the peace accord signed last February when the two men met for the first time since their countries tested nuclear weapons last year. US and European diplomats, while acceding to India's desire not to mediate, strongly back Lahore as a way to begin a new dialogue.</P>

<P> Yet despite bravely optimistic statements, the fact is that both India and Pakistan are much further apart than they were in February. The best scenario in the coming months is likely to be "talks about talks," as a Delhi-based diplomat says. </P>

<P> The "Kargil war," as Indians refer to the conflict, profoundly embittered New Delhi - not least because Pakistan surprised Indian troops in May near the town of Kargil, in spite of the Lahore accord. Kargil became a cause célèbre; schoolchildren wrote to "jawans," the Indian troops. </P>

<P>A cooling off</P>

<P> Now there must be a "cooling off" period, as strategic analyst C. Raja Mohan puts it, that could last past September's national elections in India. India is likely to demand then that the disputed border, or "line of control" (LOC), become a permanent international border.</P>

<P> Pakistan is in a more difficult position, having put all its eggs in the Kashmir basket. While it succeeded in "internationalizing" the Kashmir conflict, Pakistan may have done so at the expense of its credibility as a reliable negotiating partner. Pakistani officials believe the historical weight of their claim will win the day if India ever allows it to be taken up by a third party, whether in Camp David fashion, or by the United Nations. They say India used the Lahore process as a smoke screen for permanently removing Kashmir from the negotiating table. A top Pakistan Embassy official in New Delhi says, "Will there be other Kargils? You might as well ask if there are stars in the sky. We will continue to put Kashmir on the map until this problem is solved."</P>

<P> That position is a long way from the outcome being formulated by New Delhi. To freeze the borders created in 1971 during the last war between India and

d Pakistan is not an outcome that Sharif could easily sell at home. Moreover, the prerequisite for such a plan involves cessation of all support by Pakistan for militants crossing the border into Kashmir - an agreement that would put Sharif at odds with Islamic groups.

Kashmir has long been described by top diplomats and Nobel laureates as one of the most difficult and intractable of the world's trouble spots. Since the partition of India in 1947, a host of superstar statesmen have dipped their toes in the dispute - and then quietly withdrawn them.

Yet when India and Pakistan "went nuclear" in May and June of 1998, the international community could no longer as easily turn a blind eye to the beautiful Himalayan valley. It has been a flash point for a decade because of a militant insurgency among Muslims there that drove out most Hindus in 1992 and brought 450,000 Indian troops to police the region.

What irritated Washington this spring is the manner in which Pakistan used the nuclear crisis to embark on a military bid to solve Kashmir. US diplomats may agree that Kashmir is inherently "international" due to the new nuclear equation. But ironically, in the Kargil bid, Pakistan appears to have found an international consensus including both the US and China, blocking the movement of its case to the Security Council.

Beginning of the dispute

The Kashmir dispute dates to the 1947 partition when the Hindu maharajah of Muslim-majority Kashmir agreed, in a moment of panic or duress, to essentially turn Kashmir over to India. The understanding was that Kashmiris would vote on whether to join India or Pakistan. Yet that vote has never taken place - one reason India prefers facts on the ground to international mediation - resulting in two UN Security Council resolutions stating that the territory of Kashmir was disputed, and calling for a plebiscite.

After the 1971 war, the two sides signed the "Simla accords." Simla suggested that future problems be solved bilaterally. Since then, India has held that Simla means Kashmir is not a topic that can be legally raised in international forums. During most of the Kargil war, Indian officials called for a return to the Simla accords.

Pakistan hotly disputes India's claim that Simla trumps the UN resolutions as legally binding. Indeed, the language of Simla is ambiguous. After stating that "the principles and purposes" of the UN charter will guide the two parties, it reads that the two states will "settle their differences through bilateral negotiations or by any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon."

In the next few months, the "talks about the talks" between India and Pakistan are likely to focus on that clause.

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<P>New York Times

July 20, 1999</P>

<P>Kashmir: Fighting Reported And Denied </P>

<P> Pakistan said it had repulsed two Indian attacks on its forward posts in the north of the disputed Kashmir region, killing 18 soldiers in the first major clash after a pullout by Muslim guerrillas from the strategic mountains in the Kargil area over the weekend. The Indian troops attacked the posts on Sunday night in the Siachen and Qamar sectors after heavy shelling, a Pakistan Army spokesman said. India denied the Pakistani report. </P>

<P>--(Reuters) </P>

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<P>Washington Post

July 20, 1999

Pg. 15</P>

<P>China Plans To Rebuild Belgrade Mission</P>

<P> BELGRADE -- China plans to rebuild its embassy in Belgrade and help repair the Serbian Television building, both badly damaged during NATO's 11-week bombing campaign against Yugoslavia, Serbian media said. The Tanjug news agency quoted the charge d'affaires of the Chinese Embassy as saying he had discussed the rebuilding of the mission at a new site with Belgrade municipal officials.</P>

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**<P>Wall Street Journal
**

July 20, 1999</P>

<P>Taipei's Stress With Beijing May Last Until Lee Retires</P>

<P>By Matt Forney and Ian Johnson, Staff Reporters of The Wall Street Journal</P>

<P> As nervous markets and worried Asian policy makers try to gauge the day-to-day fallout of the latest spat between Taiwan and China, many are predicting that the scrap could go on for months. Eight months, to be precise.</P>

<P> That's when Taiwan will hold its next presidential election and when President Lee Teng-hui -- who set off the current friction with a decision to redefine the island's political relationship with China -- is due to step down. Analysts say it is likely to take at least until Mr. Lee's retirement in March for Beijing to cool its fiery rhetoric.</P>

<P> Mr. Lee sparked the latest fight by describing Taiwan's relations with China as being that of between two states. This is taboo language in China, which has viewed Taiwan as a renegade province since Mao Tse-tung's Communists swept

pt to power in Beijing in 1949 and the previous government fled to Taiwan.</P>

<P>Force Isn't Ruled Out</P>

<P> On Monday, Taiwan newspapers reported that Chinese military aircraft had crossed over into Taiwan airspace, though Taiwan's military subsequently denied this. Separately, Chinese President Jiang Zemin told U.S. President Bill Clinton that Beijing wouldn't rule out using force to prevent Taiwan from seeking independence, state media reported.</P>

<P> For the moment, though, China has been concentrating on identifying Mr. Lee as being solely responsible for the latest problem. Monday, for example, an editorial by the state-run Xinhua news agency, which was widely reprinted in newspapers across China, said Mr. Lee had driven Taiwan "into a dead alley" and was fighting the "historical tide" of reunification.</P>

<P> The isolation of the Taiwan president gives some analysts reason to believe China will simply wait Mr. Lee out. </P>

<P> "Most people think the tension will last at least until the presidential election next March," says Wu Yu-shan, a political scientist at National Taiwan University.</P>

<P> China's other choices -- large-scale military exercises, or threats to Taiwan's economy -- also are fraught with hazards. But even a rhetorical barrage can have consequences. Last week, Taiwan's stock market dropped 14%. It calmed Monday, climbing 0.28%, mainly because of large-scale buying by Taiwan-government funds. China's stock markets closed sharply lower Monday. Shanghai's Class B-share market, reserved for foreign investors, fell 8.8%, while the local Class A-share market dropped 2.6%.</P>

<P>Explanations Demanded</P>

<P> So far, Beijing has steered toward demanding that Taiwan explain its new policy. Taipei hasn't replied, though its position has shifted somewhat since Mr. Lee's unexpected remarks on July 10. Senior officials have said Taiwan is ready to engage in talks on any subject, including unification, if Beijing accepts the state-to-state formulation.</P>

<P> One thing Beijing will want to hear is whether Taiwan plans to back up its new policy with legal changes. Taiwan's constitution still claims sovereignty over all of China, as it has since Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist, or Kuomintang, army fled to Taiwan in 1949 after losing the Chinese civil war. The next logical step toward real statehood would be to amend those articles and renounce this last vestige of Taiwan's claim to govern all of China. Such a move could be considered a true declaration of independence, and the mainland hasn't ruled out using force to block such a move.</P>

<P> "The most fundamental issue now is the legal and constitutional change," notes Mr. Wu. "Everything is reversible, as long as it doesn't reach that stage."</P>

<P> If Beijing doesn't like what it hears, it could call off a planned visit

t to Taipei of Wang Daohan, secretary-general of the Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Strait. That trip, planned for October, would be the highest-level delegation from China to Taiwan in a half-century. Canceling it could severely limit China's options, since little short of Taiwan retracting the new state-to-state policy would make similar trips possible in the future.

Missile Threats

Another choice is large-scale military exercises. The last time Mr. Lee irked Beijing's leaders was in 1995, when he became Taiwan's first president to visit the U.S. China responded with two rounds of intense military drills, the second one timed to coincide with the island's first direct presidential elections in 1996. In an effort to intimidate voters, China fired a series of missiles into waters as little as 56 kilometers away from Taiwan's busiest ports.

The results couldn't have satisfied Beijing. Mr. Lee won 54% of the ballots in a three-way race, earning a huge victory margin and the mandate to stand up to China again.

There's little reason to think more military exercises would cause average Taiwanese to turn away from their leader this time, either. Mr. Lee's decision to scrap the one-China policy enjoys roughly 70% support, according to the latest polls, so at least in principle most voters are behind him. Another round of provocative missile tests risks making China look like it has only bluster. Tests also could either cause Taiwanese to rally around Mr. Lee's party in the March presidential elections or play into the hands of the Democratic Progressive Party, the island's leading opposition group, which advocates independence from China.

"If we enjoyed good and peaceful relations, by consent, then Taiwan could follow in China's footsteps," says Lin I-hsiung, chairman of the DPP. Instead, he says, "they fire these missiles, but don't explain the benefits of unifying to the Taiwanese people. If the U.S. or Japan wanted to make Taiwan part of their countries, I don't think the Taiwanese people would be so afraid" as they are of joining with China.

--Jesse Wong in Taipei contributed to this article.

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<P>Washington Post

July 20, 1999

Pg. 15</P>

<P>Turkey Denies Bombing Attack On Iran</P>

<P> ANKARA, Turkey -- Turkey's defense minister denied Iranian reports that Turkish warplanes had bombed targets in Iran, killing five people and injuring 10.</P>

<P> "The claims have nothing to do with the truth," Defense Minister Sabahattin Cakmakoglu said in a statement. "It is out of the question for Turkish planes to cross the Iranian border and hit some targets."</P>

<P> Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit said Turkey is willing to conduct a joint inquiry at the scene of the reported airstrike.</P>

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<P>London Daily Telegraph

July 20, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Iraq Claims 17 Civilians Killed In US Strike</P>

<P>By Christopher Lockwood</P>

<P> AMERICAN pilots "acted appropriately" in a raid which Iraq claimed yesterday killed 17 civilians, the US military said.</P>

<P> "The strike was in response to Iraqi anti-aircraft artillery fire directed at coalition aircraft patrolling the southern no-fly zone," it said, and the pilots were acting in self-defence. The US Central Command said the targets included a surface-to-air missile site near Abu Siukhayr, 200 miles south of Baghdad, and a military communication site near Al Khidr, 150 miles south-east of the capital.</P>

<P> "Our pilots acted appropriately to carry out their mission," a spokesman said, adding that President Saddam Hussein "continues to pose a threat to the interests of the international community and we will continue to patrol the no-fly zones".</P>

<P> Iraq denounced the raids, in Najaf, the home to one of Shia Islam's holiest shrines, which it said were aimed at civilians, not military installations. It said that most of the 17 "martyrs" were "women, children and the elderly".</P>

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<P>Baltimore Sun

July 20, 1999</P>

<P>Hussein Puts Bounty On U.S., British Aircraft </P>

<P> LONDON -- Iraqi President Saddam Hussein has offered his military a bounty for shooting down any U.S. or British planes patrolling no-fly zones in northern and southern Iraq, British Defense Secretary George Robertson said yesterday.</P>

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<P>Washington Post

July 20, 1999

Pg. 5</P>

<P>Report Warns Of Lab Reform Roadblocks</P>

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

<P> The Department of Energy has taken initial steps to tighten security in the wake of alleged Chinese spying, but it faces substantial stumbling blocks that almost certainly will delay counterespionage measures, according to an internal report made available to The Washington Post.</P>

<P> The sobering report by DOE Inspector General Gregory H. Friedman comes as Congress is pushing for a rapid reorganization of the Energy Department to shore up security. The Senate may vote as early as today on a plan to create a semiautonomous agency inside the DOE to run the nation's huge complex of nuclear weapons laboratories, assembly plants and storage facilities.</P>

<P> One of the major counterintelligence efforts announced this year by Energy Secretary Bill Richardson is a plan to require polygraph tests for approximately 5,000 employees in jobs with access to classified information. The report says, however, that some administrators at the nation's three main nuclear weapons laboratories believe that "it will be necessary to change current contract language" before the department can require the so-called lie detector tests at the national labs, which are operated under contract with the University of California and Lockheed Martin Corp.</P>

<P> Other Energy Department officials say that the polygraph tests can be imposed under the current contracts. But even those officials expect a delay of several months, until new departmental regulations on the examinations are approved.</P>

<P> "Most of those people have already agreed to polygraphs and are just waiting for the regulation," one senior Energy official said yesterday. He added: "We want to do it right and not have to change it a couple months from now."</P>

<P> While the inspector general's report confirms Richardson's claim that 85 percent of the major counterintelligence reforms proposed last year are already being carried out, it also says that many lower-priority programs have yet to begin.</P>

<P> For instance, the report says, the FBI has not yet taken over the job of conducting background investigations of laboratory personnel who require security clearances. Energy Department officials consider the current investigations, performed by the Office of Personnel Management, to be unsatisfactory. The FBI has said that it does not have enough agents to take on the entire backlog of some 10,000 clearance updates, but discussions are underway to have the FBI do the "most sensitive" inquiries, according to one DOE official.</P>

<P> The report also calls for speeding up the establishment of a new system to keep track of foreign visitors to the labs and foreign scientists working in the labs on assignment. </P>

<P> Richardson's new policy also calls for lab employees to report to counterintelligence officials all instances "of close and continuing contact, including e-mail, with foreign visitors and assignees from sensitive countries."</P>

<P> The inspector general's report says that no uniform system to keep track of such contacts now exists and that a centralized system is being developed. It also noted that a pilot program to monitor electronic mail sent by lab personnel to sensitive countries has yet to be put in place, although \$2 million has been allocated to start such a program in five labs.</P>

<P> One major reform that has been implemented, according to the report, is the transfer of control over the department's entire counterintelligence budget to Edward J. Curran, the DOE's new director of counterintelligence. </P>

<P> That approach has yet to be approved by Congress and appears contrary to a bipartisan proposal to establish the nuclear weapons complex as a semiautonomous agency inside the Energy Department, which may be voted on in the Senate today.</P>

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<P>Washington Times

July 20, 1999</P>

<U><P>Embassy Row</P>

</U><P>Another Mission Closed</P>

<P>By James Morrison, The Washington Times</P>

<P> The State Department yesterday closed the U.S. Embassy in Mozambique because of security concerns. Spokesman James P. Rubin would not discuss any further details.</P>

<P> The mission is the seventh U.S. embassy in Africa to be closed temporarily since June 24, when Washington shut the embassy in Madagascar. That one remains closed.</P>

<P> The United States has reopened the embassies in Gambia, Liberia, Namibia, Togo and Senegal.</P>

<P> Mr. Rubin has cited threats by terrorists loyal to Osama bin Laden, the suspected mastermind behind the 1998 bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.</P>

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<P>Wall Street Journal

July 20, 1999</P>

<P>British Aerospace's GEC-Marconi Bid Faces Tough Antitrust Sc

rutiny In U.S.</P>

<P>By John R. Wilke and Anne Marie Squeo, Staff Reporters of The Wall Street Journal</P>

<P> WASHINGTON -- British Aerospace PLC's \$12 billion bid for GEC-Marconi Ltd. is getting a tough review from U.S. antitrust enforcers, who may demand changes in the deal as a condition for its approval in the U.S., people close to the investigation said.</P>

<P> The merger, which would create one of the world's largest military contractors, is under review by the Pentagon and the U.S. Justice Department, which recently demanded more information from the companies.</P>

<P> The Justice Department and Pentagon consult closely when reviewing defense mergers, even those involving foreign contractors. While they cannot stop a deal outright, they can seek changes as a condition for doing business in the U.S.</P>

<P> The Justice Department zeroed in on two important contracts for the companies, people close to the review said. Among the department's concerns is that each of the firms is a subcontractor for at least one of the competing bids for the Joint Strike Fighter, which will be the Pentagon's largest aircraft program for decades. A second problem is a joint U.S.-United Kingdom contract for an armored-reconnaissance vehicle.</P>

<P> "They've raised concerns and we have to answer those concerns," a Washington-based spokesman for British Aerospace said. "They've asked for some clarifying information from us on some projects and we're providing the answers."</P>

<P> A spokesman for GEC-Marconi declined comment.</P>

<P> The pending transaction underscores problems that could arise as defense companies on both sides of the Atlantic step up mergers, joint ventures and other cross-border investments. Though the Pentagon recently endorsed such transactions, antitrust problems could arise if these pairings end up diminishing competition not just among U.S. rivals, but among potential European ones.</P>

<P> GEC-Marconi, the weapons unit of Britain's General Electric Co. PLC, has a major presence in defense electronics, while British Aerospace makes aircraft. The combined companies could favor each other in bidding for future contracts, squeezing out competition, rivals fear. </P>

<P> "There's a lot of entanglement in these existing business relationships," said William Kovacic, an antitrust professor at George Washington University who specializes in defense deals. "These interlocking interests could pose antitrust problems," he noted.</P>

<P> British Aerospace is part of the Lockheed Martin Corp. team competing against a Boeing Co. team for the big fighter contract. GEC-Marconi is supplying avionics to both teams.</P>

<P> Pentagon officials said they feared the two British companies would cre

ate a vertically integrated giant that could freeze out foreign companies. John Hamre, deputy defense secretary, has compared the deal with the Lockheed Martin-Northrop Grumman deal, which was challenged by the Justice Department and eventually abandoned. "I must confess to be genuinely worried about it," Mr. Hamre warned.

A British government official said U.K. and U.S. officials have discussed the issue and "understand each other." He said that Pentagon officials "are well aware of the Ministry of Defense open-competition policy, and they recognize that we are fair and open."

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Baltimore Sun

July 20, 1999

50-Jet Order Bucks Up Lockheed

Israel lightens gloom with \$2.5 billion deal for F-16 fighters

By Greg Schneider, Sun Staff

Delivering some much-needed good news to Lockheed Martin Corp., the government of Israel agreed yesterday to buy 50 F-16 fighter planes in a package worth about \$2.5 billion.

Israel chose the versatile jets over the more powerful and more expensive F-15, which is built by Boeing Co.

The deal had been expected for several months, but the announcement was delayed by the change of government in Israel caused by the election of Prime Minister Ehud Barak.

"This was another hard-fought competition that reaffirms the F-16 as the multi-role fighter of choice for the world's most discriminating air forces,"

said Dain Hancock, president of the Lockheed Martin Tactical Aircraft Systems plant in Fort Worth, Texas, where the planes are built.</P>

<P> Coupled with the announcement earlier this year that Greece will buy 58 F-16s, the Israel sale amounts to a "definite psychological boost" for the Bethesda aerospace giant, said defense industry analyst Paul Nisbet of JSA Research Inc. "It looks like the F-16 will be in production for many more years."</P>

<P> Lockheed Martin, which is expected to announce second-quarter earnings today, has suffered an unusual series of stumbles in the past year -- including failed Titan rocket launches, cost problems on the C-130J transport plane program and several warnings to investors of worse-than-expected financial performance.</P>

<P> Even with yesterday's announcement, Lockheed Martin stock closed down 12.5 cents at \$38.75.</P>

<P> "Boy, the F-16 has been by far the brightest spot in the company," said Byron K. Callan, who follows Lockheed Martin for Merrill Lynch </P>

<P> Global Securities. Callan was guarded, though, about whether the Israel sale could serve as a major confidence-builder for shareholders.</P>

<P> "The areas that probably need to have confidence inspired in them are really space and strategic missiles and Lockheed Martin Global Telecommunications, and the C-130J program.</P>

<P> "This is nice, but it's also something that really doesn't have that much fundamental impact on the company until you get out to 2002 or 2003," Callan said.</P>

<P> Of the \$2.5 billion order, about \$1.8 billion will eventually flow to Lockheed Martin, the company said. The sale includes mission equipment and a support package.</P>

<P> Israeli companies will handle about one-quarter of the work, including airframe components that will be manufactured by Israel Aircraft Industries.</P>
>

<P> The type of plane being sold is called the F-16I, and will include updated avionics, cockpit displays and electronic warfare systems.</P>

<P> The basic F-16 is proving to be one of the most popular warplanes in history. More than 3,900 have been delivered to air forces in 19 countries.</P>

<P> Boeing's F-15, by contrast, faces a potential production line shutdown in coming years if it cannot build a backlog of orders.</P>

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Washington Times

July 20, 1999

Pg. 19

Can F-22 Survive Misguided Flack?

By Frank Gaffney Jr.

When the House Appropriations Committee voted last week to defer production of the Air Force's next generation fighter plane, the F-22, the image that came to mind was that of the cartoon character Pogo who once famously declared, "We have met the enemy and it is us." Unless the Republican-led Congress comes to grips with the central reality of the defense budget -- namely, that its present and projected funding levels are woefully inadequate to meet America's future security needs -- the GOP will become fully implicated in the Clinton administration's hollowing out of the U.S. military.

To be sure, critics of the F-22 cast this fight in narrower terms. They claim an aircraft with its characteristics -- low-observability ("stealth"), supersonic cruise capability (that is, the ability to fly at supersonic speeds without having to utilize afterburners that consume huge quantities of fuel) and sophisticated avionics and weapon systems -- is no longer needed to dominate the skies. They contend that, with the decline in the technical skills and productivity of the former Soviet military-industrial complex, the United States can safely make do with far less sophisticated and expensive warplanes.

Unfortunately, as the war in Kosovo reminds us, threats to U.S. pilots can come from the ground as well as the air. We owe it to those asked to fight the nation's future wars to ensure they are given platforms for doing so that are as immune as possible to the continuing improvements being made by potential adversaries in both air-to-air and terrestrial anti-aircraft weapons. As one retired Air Force general recently put it: "We don't want a fair fight. We want to win decisively."

Another source of the flak the F-22 is taking arises from the perennial temptation to forgo a near-term defense expenditure in favor of an outlay that is farther off. In recent years, Democratic critics of the Pentagon have made an art form of this gambit, promising to support the next program as long as the pre

sent one is terminated, only to oppose its successor when its turn comes. Even normally responsible Republicans are susceptible to this siren's song when, as has been the case with the F-22, the estimated production costs have inexorably grown as the various technical challenges associated with this extraordinary plane's development have been overcome.

The alternative some prefer is to skip the F-22 and procure instead another promising aircraft called the Joint Strike Fighter (JSF), now in the early stages of development. Estimates of the JSF's ultimate price tag and performance characteristics, however, are currently as soft as the F-22's used to be. If anything, the JSF may cost more than the F-22 when the former reaches the latter's level of programmatic maturity.

Others favor a two-step procurement strategy, involving the purchase first of up-to-date versions of the F-15 and F-16 as a stop-gap awaiting the maturing of the JSF, which would then be purchased in quantity when it becomes available. Producing modernized F-15s and -16s is probably a good idea under all circumstances, but it would be a mistake to kill the F-22 to pay for it.

The painful truth is that the problem is far larger than the fate of the F-22, or even that of the Pentagon's aviation account more generally. This reality is evident in the fact that House appropriators found lots of areas into which to reallocate the roughly \$1.5 billion sought by the Clinton administration for the purpose of producing the first six F-22s.

An impressive analysis conducted by Dr. Dan Goure of the Center for Strategic and International Studies and Jeffrey Ranney, a strategic planner at the defense consulting firm MSTI, quantifies this problem. According to these highly respected experts, there is a \$376 billion deficit in the funding needed over the next five years to meet the Clinton Pentagon's own modernization goals as defined in its latest blueprint, the 1997 Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR). In fact, the Goure-Ranney study, titled "Averting the Coming Department of Defense Train Wreck," suggests the procurement shortfall in fiscal 2000 alone is \$71 billion.

If the QDR projections prove unduly optimistic, moreover, even that staggering amount would actually be understated.

The good news is that the procurement "gap" -- and similar, although less acute, shortfalls in the research and development, operations and maintenance and personnel pay accounts -- would essentially disappear if the United States were willing for the foreseeable future to allocate 4 percent of its gross domestic product to defense, rather than today's less than 3 percent.

Such a proportion of GDP is well below the more than 5 percent to 6.7 percent that President Reagan dedicated during the 1980s to rebuilding our military after its last hollowing-out. And this percentage is a small fraction of the allocations the nation made to national security earlier on, notably during John F. Kennedy's administration.

The bad news is that, despite the surging U.S. economy and the attendant increase in tax revenues, Republicans in Congress find themselves opposing the sorts of defense spending increases that are clearly required if the American military is to be able to preserve its decisive qualitative edge via modernization

of its inventory, without further reducing an already overstretched force structure and/or the global commitments it is being asked to fulfill. It is not that most Republicans are averse to additional funding for the armed forces. Rather, they fear that -- were they to rupture the "caps" on Pentagon accounts agreed to in the 1997 budget deal with President Clinton -- it would be impossible to maintain the constraints that deal imposed on the growth of spending on popular domestic programs.

As the F-22 episode makes clear, however, unless there is relief from the Pentagon caps, there is a defense "train wreck" coming. Military leaders know this to be true, as do their more responsible civilian counterparts.

The so-called "bow-wave" of deferred procurement, like compounded interest, is intensifying daily. The attendant risks of an inadequate defense posture are increasing concomitantly.

If the present Congress does not come to grips with this reality -- not by cutting needed defense programs but by adding the funds necessary to buy them and to cover other Pentagon shortfalls -- the next president will face an even more dangerous deficit in our national security capabilities, and an even more daunting price tag for correcting it. And the Republicans will lose one of their most important planks in their campaign for renewed control of the legislative branch, namely their ability to understand our vital interests and their willingness to provide the resources needed to safeguard them.

Frank J. Gaffney Jr. is the president of the Center for Security Policy and a columnist for The Washington Times.

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Washington Post

July 20, 1999

Pg. 18

Bureaucracy: Another Useless Layer

<P> The Senate should take a closer look at the Kyl-Domenici plan for reorganizing nuclear weapons work within the Department of Energy ["Richardson Accepts Nuclear Agency Plan," news story, July 8]. The proposed Agency for Nuclear Stewardship would do nothing to address and reform the "culture of arrogance" that former senator Warren Rudman's report found in DOE's nuclear complex. It would, however, create new layers of nuclear bureaucracy, while reducing scrutiny and oversight.</P>

<P> The legislation would grant the new agency unique authority to bypass the standard budget process and send its spending wish list straight to Congress, unedited by the secretary of energy or the Office of Management and Budget -- something every agency head in government would love to do. This means that the nuclear agency's power and authority would grow dramatically as it evaded the usual procedures and controls of government.</P>

<P> The legislation would also reduce the ability of DOE's Office of Environment, Safety and Health to protect the health of nuclear workers and ensure compliance with fundamental health and safety standards. It also would split up DOE's program of cleaning up nuclear wastes at weapons complex sites, resulting in organizational tangles and thus in slower and more expensive cleanup.</P>

<P> The best way to address mismanagement and disarray at the nuclear weapons labs is through more oversight, not less. The Senate should not rush to embrace this deeply flawed plan.</P>

<P>Robert W. Tiller, Director of Security Programs, Physicians for Social Responsibility, Washington</P>

<P>Editor's Note: The article referred to appeared in the <I>Current News Early Bird</I>, July 8, 1999.</P>

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<P>Wall Street Journal Europe

July 20, 1999</P>

<P>One Hand Whitewashes The Other</P>

<P> Hardly a day passes anymore without a headline somewhere trumpeting a story of how the United States, as the world's sole superpower, keeps throwing its weight around to the detriment of all those nations on the receiving end of American bullying. Nothing could be further from the truth. U.S. allies are indeed suffering from neglect. But everywhere else you look, some dictator or second-tier power is pulling Bill Clinton's chain. The situation is somewhat different with China. There, despite strains in the U.S.-Sino relationship, Washington and Beijing are operating very much in sync these days. Yet the overall picture is one of endemic U.S. weakness.</P>

<P> Nowhere has the picture of superpower impotence been sharper than in Kosovo, when the NATO allies stood by helplessly as Russian soldiers muscled their way into the province. America of old may have won the Cold War, but a few weeks ago it didn't even have the courage to confront a ragtag remnant of the Soviet army or the enfeebled government that sent them. U.S. officials only made a bad situation worse by pretending that the Russian invaders had a right to be there. In Asia, meanwhile, North Korea has rightly interpreted six years of kid-glove handling by the Clinton administration as a green light for ballistic missile tests without much fear of punishment.</P>

<P> The most dramatic example of how overrated America's supposedly invincible superpower status is can be seen today around Taiwan. By law at least, the United States is obliged to defend Taiwan and in a uni-hegemony world you'd think that would be ample deterrence. Instead, we have China openly threatening to "use force" against the island if it sees fit, and accompanying that threat with what Beijing wants us to believe are ominously serious military exercises. In case anyone doesn't get the message, China chose last week to announce to the world that it has neutron bombs--the ideal weapon for obliterating the pesky people on Taiwan with radioactive fallout that won't knock down any valuable real estate.</P>

<P> What does the Clinton administration have to say about all this? Well, it is saying almost the same things Beijing is; and even when U.S. officials aren't echoing Beijing's line they are in effect reinforcing it. You might call it a case of one hand whitewashing the other.</P>

<P> Take Taiwan. Whose fault is it that China is saber rattling at Taiwan, and shaking markets across Asia? Not China, it would seem, which is merely reacting to provocative remarks by Taiwan's President Lee Teng-hui to the effect that the island can't negotiate successfully with Beijing unless the two sides meet each other on a equal, state-like level. While Washington has not exonerated China, it has had no unkind words for Beijing either. In a gesture that almost certainly was meant to underline official sentiment, President Clinton rang Chinese President Jiang Zemin this weekend to assure him that the U.S. fully backs Beijing's One-China policy.</P>

<P> It is becoming increasingly clear that President Lee spoke when and how he did because Taipei has been under heavy-duty pressure from the U.S.--applied chiefly by Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia Stanley Roth--to begin discussing reunification with Beijing. The question of how Taipei can hope to negotiate anything from a position of diplomatic nothingness does not seem to co

ncern Mr. Roth or his masters. With hindsight, in fact, it would appear that Mr . Clinton's decision last year to get 100% behind China's assertion of absolute sovereignty over Taiwan was intended to construct just such a box around Taipei. President Lee may have knocked down a panel 11 days ago, but he's not out of the box.</P>

<P> Perhaps the most alarming example of mutual massaging can be found in Sino-U.S. reactions to the Cox report prepared by the U.S. Congress, which details China's theft or acquisition by other unsavory means of American nuclear and military technology over the years. Predictably, when Beijing released its evaluation of the Cox report last week, the line was that the whole thing is a pack of lies. What wasn't available on the Internet, China insists, Chinese scientists invented all on their own, including the neutron bomb.</P>

<P> As suspect as Beijing's version of the story may be, you won't find any one in the Clinton administration rushing to challenge China's account. In fact, China's whitewash is splashing over some things the U.S. administration also would prefer to obscure. The key unanswered question from the Cox report is why the Clinton administration ignored, or at least tried to hide, evidence of Chinese espionage when it came to light three years ago. So any sand Beijing can kick into the eyes of U.S. congressmen and others about the Cox report helps the Clintonites too.</P>

<P> But even that doesn't explain the mind-boggling comments of U.S. Defense Secretary William Cohen when he was asked about the implications of the Cox report and Chinese espionage for U.S. security. China's neutron bomb, a weapon so vile that the U.S. decided not to deploy it? Not news, said a blase Secretary Cohen, and what's the difference if they built it or stole it. China's increasingly sophisticated nuclear arsenal? Oh, we already know China has nuclear weapons, Mr. Cohen pooh-poohed. That's not the problem. What we should worry about is other countries that want to develop or get nuclear weapons.</P>

<P> Strange talk, coming from America's defense chief and about a nation known to be an energetic marketer of advanced weapons to rogue states. So strange, and yet so typical in a way, that a group of four American defense and foreign policy heavyweights--two Democrats and two Republicans--are proposing to help sort out the disarray. In a statement about to be issued by the Alexis de Tocqueville Institution, William Perry, Caspar Weinberger, Richard Perle and Sam Nunn call upon the U.S. Congress and President Clinton to establish a "B Team" to review Washington's policy options toward China. It is hard to disagree with the idea that the United States needs to do some serious thinking about China. Unfortunately, what looks like honest confusion to some observers is appearing more and more like something instead calculated to ignore honest advice.</P>

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Air Force Times

July 26, 1999

Pg. 18

Pentagon Opposes Proposal To Pay For Extra Deployments

By Rick Maze

The Pentagon does not want to pay troops an extra \$100 a day for deploying more than 220 days a year.

The allowance, proposed by the Senate Armed Services Committee, could end up hurting readiness instead of helping troops, defense officials said in a July 9 memorandum to Congress.

Rather than absorb the high cost of paying the allowance, the services may choose to deploy units that are not fully manned or assign less-qualified people to missions, rather than experienced troops, defense officials said.

This could result in trained teams being broken up to deploy separately, which would increase turbulence and reduce readiness not only of deployed units, but also of the standby forces left behind, officials said.

"The best-qualified military member may not be deployed as a cost-saving measure because commanders would select personnel to meet operation mission requirements with a focus on fiscal concerns," says the memo prepared by the Defense Department Comptroller's Office.

The memo, which states the Pentagon's position on pending legislation, arrived on Capitol Hill just as House and Senate negotiators began formal discussions to work out differences between their separate versions of the 2000 defense authorization bill. The Senate bill contains the proposed allowance. The House bill does not. It will be up to negotiators to determine if the special pay will be included in the final defense bill.

Negotiations began July 13 to work out hundreds of differences between the two bills. While there is no firm timetable, congressional aides said lawmakers are trying to complete work on the defense bill before the month-long August recess, which is scheduled to begin Aug. 6.

<P> Although defense officials fear the cost of paying troops extra to dep
loy more than 220 days in any 365-day period could be "extremely high," neither
the Pentagon nor the Senate Armed Services Committee knows how many people mig
ht be eligible. There are no records showing how many military people deploy mo
re than 220 days in any 365-day time frame. Senate aides said that alone is pro
of that steps need to be taken to monitor more closely the time service members
spend away from home and reduce it.</P>

<P> The Senate's aim is to force the services to reduce deployments, not t
o get more money for those frequently called upon to deploy, said Senate Armed
Services Committee aides.</P>

<P> "It is very clear that a large number of troops feel they are overwork
ed and underpaid, with frequent unscheduled deployments drawing the most compla
ints," one committee aide said. "If a \$100-a-day allowance causes military offi
cials to think about the financial cost of overworking troops, this provision m
ight succeed in doing what we intend."</P>

<P> House negotiators share the concern about overworked troops, but are l
ess tied to the Senate's proposed solution, said House Armed Services Committee
aides. </P>

<P> The Senate plan would require flag and general officers to assume grea
ter responsibility for monitoring the amount of time people in their command ar
e spending away from home. One-star admirals and generals would have to review
the planned deployment of anyone who had been deployed more than 180 days in a
year. Four-star admirals and generals in the chain of command would have to app
rove a deployment if it meant a service member would be away from home more tha
n 200 days in a year.</P>

<P> Defense officials oppose these management provisions, arguing they wou
ld place additional administrative burdens on senior officers.</P>

<P> The per diem would be a taxable payment in addition to any other milit
ary pay. In determining eligibility, the Senate bill would count any day in whi
ch members could not spend off-duty time at their permanent duty station. Guard
duty or other details at the member's permanent duty station would not count.<
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<P>Defense News

July 26, 1999

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<P>DoD May Avoid A-76 Contests</P>

<I><P>Plan Would Allow Military Branches To Cut Some Jobs</P>

</I><P>By George Cahlink, Special to Defense News</P>

<P> WASHINGTON -- The Pentagon is considering a major change in its privatization policy that could alter plans to open 230,000 U.S. Defense Department jobs to private-sector competition by 2005, says Randall Yim, the Pentagon's outsourcing and privatization chief.</P>

<P> The new plan is to allow the services and DoD agencies to forgo some of the planned competitions between federal workers and the private sector for so-called commercial jobs, or work not inherently governmental.</P>

<P> Instead, the Pentagon would allow the services and agencies to develop their own plans simply to eliminate some of the jobs.</P>

<P> Most of the jobs involve support tasks, such as maintenance work or technical support of computer systems.</P>

<P> If approved, the change in privatization policy would be a fundamental shift by the Defense Department. The Pentagon last spring announced that it would save more than \$10 billion during the next six years by competing about 230,000 commercial jobs. In such competitions, private companies typically win about half the jobs at stake.</P>

<P> A central element of the policy change under consideration, said Yim, is that the military services and agencies would have to generate the same savings from internal reorganizations and downsizing as they would from competition.</P>

<P> "We are considering whether we would accept some alternatives to traditional competition. The services have asked if they could investigate some of their own re-engineering to achieve [required] manpower and cost reductions," Yim, deputy undersecretary of defense for installations, told Defense News.</P>

<P> Yim said the Pentagon's Defense Resources Board is reviewing the policy change as part of its fiscal 2001 budget preparations. Chaired by John Hamre, deputy defense secretary, the board reviews key policy decisions and their impact on the budget.</P>

<P> Yim said the policy could be changed within the next six months.</P>

<P> According to Yim, the Navy believes about 40 percent of its 64,000 commercial jobs targeted for competition could be reorganized or eliminated in-house without competition and produce the desired savings.</P>

<P> Other military services and major Defense Department agencies have not provided estimates, he said.</P>

<P> The services still would have to meet their savings goals as part of efforts to save about \$3 billion annually during the next several years by reducing the size of the work force.</P>

<P> If the savings were not achieved, the Defense Department could resort to job competitions, Yim said.</P>

<P> Yim called the proposed change a logical alternative to the public-private competitions called for in Office of Management and Budget Circular A-76.</P>

<P> The Office of Management and Budget oversees all federal spending and hiring practices. The rules require A-76 competitions before any federal jobs are privatized. The competitions require firms from the private sector to compete against federal workers, with the contract awarded to whichever can perform the work for a better price.</P>

<P> "We are not proposing at all a wholesale substitution for A-76.</P>

<P> "A-76 is still alive, it's going to be a dominant factor in competitive outsourcing," said Yim.</P>

<P> However, Yim said, A-76 competitions can lead to fighting among the services and the Pentagon over just what jobs are inherently governmental, which delays competitions and their expected savings.</P>

<P> Mark Gable, legislative director for the Federal Managers Association, praised the decision, saying it would give federal managers more flexibility to make decisions.</P>

<P> "This will give managers a chance to promote efficiency without tying their hands," Gable said.</P>

<P> Also, Gable said, A-76 competitions can be expensive, costing as much as \$9,000 for every position studied.</P>

<P> Paul Taibl, a policy analyst for Business Executives for National Security, here, said it could be difficult for DoD to achieve billions of dollars in savings without competition.</P>

<P> "The business community will say 'you told us we'd have a level playing field, and now you're saying that's less likely,'" he added.</P>

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<P>Stars & Stripes Sunday Magazine

July 18, 1999</P>

<P>A Different Kind Of Fight</P>

<I><P>Since his 1994 dismissal from the Marshall Center in
Germany Col. Ernest Beinhart III says he has been stymied.</P>

<P>He seeks a reassignment to Germany, removal of bad performance reviews from
his personnel file and reimbursement of up to \$150,000 he has spent in this bat
tle.</P>

</I><P>By Chuck Vinch, Washington bureau</P>

<P> The latest twist in the saga of Marine Corps Col. Ernest Beinhart III ar
rived in the mailbox Dec. 28.</P>

<P> In a letter dated 12 days earlier, Defense Secretary William Cohen denie
d Beinharts appeal of his 1994 dismissal from the George C. Marshall European C
enter for Security Studies in Garmisch, Germany, as well as a request for an in
dependent inquiry into allegations of mismanagement at the school.</P>

<P> According to Beinhart - whom colleagues routinely describe with such wor
ds as "driven," "focused," "honest," "highly
intelligent" and "dedicated" - the alleged mismanagement over s
everal years in the mid-1990s wasted millions in taxpayer money and undermined
several careers, including his own.</P>

<P> And, he said, that situation mushroomed into a 4-year ordeal of manipula
tion and obfuscation among some of the most senior officials in the Defense Dep
artment.</P>

<P> All of it, he and others claim, has been aimed at deflecting attention f
rom the alleged problems at the Marshall Center and avoiding embarrassment for
officials higher up the chain who failed in their oversight responsibilities, a
number of them in the office of the undersecretary of defense for policy, whic
h has ultimate responsibility for the school.</P>

<P> Cohen disagreed. "I find that you have not been wronged with regard to your dismissal from the Marshall Center or your transfer from Garmisch," he wrote. "Further inquiry into your dismissal or your transfer is not necessary."</P>

<P> For the 49-year-old Beinhart - a high-school dropout who joined the Marines as a teen-age enlistee and took the back door to the upper ranks through a GED and Officer Candidate School - Cohens letter was "nothing but smoke, mirrors and puffery, the same line Ive been getting for a long time now."</P>

<P> Navy Capt. Mike Doubleday, a Pentagon spokesman, said Cohen considers the matter closed following a series of "thorough" investigations in recent years, including one by the Defense Department inspector general. Pentagon officials declined an interview request with Cohen.</P>

<P> Seeking redress</P>

<P> The tall, intense Beinhart, a rifleman with two tours in Vietnam and more than 31 years of service, said he would like personal redress - a reassignment to Germany, removal of falsely unflattering performance reviews from his personnel file and reimbursement of up to \$150,000 he has spent fighting his battle.</P>

<P> Until he was relieved in late 1994, Beinhart was the commandant of the Marshall Centers main academic entity, the College of Strategic Studies and Defense Economics. The Marshall Center teaches officers from former Warsaw Pact countries and Soviet republics about the role of military forces in a democracy. Beinhart was relieved because he "failed to form a mentor relationship" ; with the centers director - a terse description of what others called a personality conflict.</P>

<P> Beinhart said his case presents broader issues than just his own personal fate, and a central tenet of his request for redress is to have what he says is the veil of official silence on the Marshall Center ripped away.</P>

<P> "What occurred at the Marshall Center and within DOD is a deliberate suppression of due process, both legal and investigative, that not only harmed individuals, but the system that everyone in the armed forces depends on," he said.</P>

<P> "That harm, which was intentional at the level of the European Command and the Department of Defense, has never been addressed or even acknowledged," he said. "Ive been trying to hold a match to wet wood, but Im not backing off. Its like an infection. If its not cleaned out and cleaned up, then it will just get worse." </P>

<P> Beinharts civilian lawyer, Elizabeth Principi, said the issues at hand make it more than a legal case. "It is a test of DODs institutional commitment to core principles of fairness, leadership and accountability," she said.</P>

<P> Quixotic ax-grinding from a disgruntled individual and his lawyer? Perhaps

ps, if not for the lengthy list of people who have observed what happened at the Marshall Center from 1993 through 1996, and since then within the Defense Department - and who back up much of what Beinhart says.</P>

<P> The roster includes a retired three-star and a retired two-star general, three senior Pentagon civilians, three retired field-grade officers, several active-duty officers and a number of former faculty members from European nations.</P>

<P> Beinhart, his supporters said, was the primary victim of negligence.</P>

<P> "I'm sure DOD thought he would simply give up at some point and go away," said H. Kenneth Hill, U.S. ambassador to Bulgaria prior to serving as the "diplomat in residence" from 1993 to 1995 at the Marshall Center, where he knew Beinhart well.</P>

<P> "Frankly, I'm amazed at his ability to persevere," the retired Hill said in a phone interview from his home in Gettysburg, Pa. "He's one of the most intelligent, dedicated, hard-working and honest people I've ever met in my life."</P>

<P> Support network</P>

<P> Twice last year, in February and again in November, nine of his staunch supporters signed collective letters to Cohen impeaching the scope, fairness and accuracy of an inspector general report on the Marshall Center and said "serious injustices" in the case have gone uncorrected "at the highest levels of DOD." The report was released in May but advance copies circulated before then.</P>

<P> Along with Hill, the signatories included:</P>

<P> Retired Maj. Gen. Nicholas Krawciw, one of the center's concept coordinators in the early 1990s and a Defense Department consultant on the school.</P>

<P> Retired Lt. Gen. Robert Chelberg, former EUCOM chief of staff and former deputy director of the Marshall Center.</P>

<P> Walter Christman, the man credited with originating the Marshall Center concept in 1991 who now works NATO issues in the office of the undersecretary of defense for policy.</P>

<P> Retired Navy Cmdr. Ron Hessdoerfer, the NATO liaison officer to the center from 1993 to 1996.</P>

<P> Their November letter said Beinhart's appeals have been blocked "either by bureaucratic circumventions or unsupportable legal interpretations which have prevented you from personally scrutinizing the events of this case."</P>

<P> Although he is not personally involved, former Marine Corps Commandant Gen. Charles C. Krulak also apparently had questions about the situation. After reviewing some of the colonel's documentation last August, he formally requested

that Cohen consider the case under "any appropriate means that may be available."</P>

<P> The Marine Corps declined an interview request with Krulak. But Lt. Col. Scott Campbell, a Marine Corps spokesman, said Krulak intervened "because of his view that a Marine officer had been treated badly and needed assistance."
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<P> Beinhart asked Krulak to endorse his supporters November letter to Cohen because he felt unsure that his correspondence was reaching the Pentagon chief. Beinhart said an official who saw the endorsement later told him Krulak had penned a handwritten aside: "Where theres this much smoke, theres fire."</P>

<P> In a tough spot</P>

<P> Krulak also directed the Marine Corps senior lawyer, Peter Murphy, to assist to whatever extent possible, although Beinhart acknowledges that Murphy is in an awkward position now.</P>

<P> That's because Krulak has just retired. The commandant of the Marine Corps, as of June 30, has been Gen. James L. Jones Jr. - who until recently served as Cohens three-star senior military assistant and has been Beinharts main contact within Cohens office for the past two years.</P>

<P> Beinhart has recently criticized Jones, believing that the general had at least set aside some of his paperwork to Cohen. But Campbell, the Marine Corps spokesman, said Jones has personally kept Cohen fully informed about the situation throughout the process.</P>

<P> Even so, Beinhart recently sent a letter to his home-state lawmaker, Sen. Arlen Specter, R-Pa., reiterating his principal charge.</P>

<P> "For more than two years, non-frivolous, formal allegations of top-level misconduct and malfeasance have been presented to Lt. Gen. James L. Jones Jr., USMC," he wrote.</P>

<P> "These provable allegations involve a cover-up by some of Secretary Cohens top subordinates of fraud, waste, abuses of power and failed oversight of the Marshall Center."</P>

<P> Others have also waded deeply into the fray. Last December, Christman delivered a 40-page memo to Jones's office that supports Beinhart in great detail.</P>

<P> "The handling of (Beinhart's) complaints represents a sustained betrayal of trust at multiple levels, and the failure of statutory safeguards," ; Christman wrote in his memo, a copy of which was obtained by Stars and Stripes.</P>

<P> He described Beinhart as a bureaucratic "rape victim" and bluntly stated, "This affair has gone on too long."</P>

<P> Christman said "it is time to acknowledge" that senior Pentagon

n officials, to protect the Marshall Center, were encouraged to give "the benefit of the doubt for far too long" to Alvin Bernstein, the centers director until his forced resignation in 1996 and the focus of Beinharts complaints.

"Later, after quietly repudiating Bernstein and his administration of the Center, no full and truthful accounting was directed," Christman wrote. "Such an accounting might have brought embarrassment to those who had been misled, but it would have enabled those harmed by Bernstein to receive redress. Instead, sustained official efforts have been made to prevent exposure."

Christman goes on to dissect in minute detail what he considered to be the shortcomings of the IG investigation and the missteps by senior DOD officials throughout the 4 years since Beinhart was fired.

Christmans memo was officially addressed to the Pentagon inspector general, with info copies to Krulak and a number of officials in his own chain within the office of the undersecretary of defense for policy.

They included the undersecretary himself, Walter Slocombe; Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs Franklin D. Kramer; the deputy assistant secretary of defense for Europe and NATO, a position that is temporarily vacant; and Director of NATO Policy Lisa Bronson.

Christman delivered his memo to Jones on Dec. 22, the same date on the postmark of the letter from Cohen denying Beinharts appeal.

An erroneous letter?

Beinhart believes the memo may have been a catalyst for the Pentagon officials who "began to realize that all this could wind its way back to Cohen. I hardly think the timing of Cohens letter was a coincidence."

Then just days after Beinhart received that letter, Cohens military aides - including Jones - were indicating to him that the correspondence was a mistake.

"This is definitely not what we had intended, what General Jones had intended," Marine Corps Col. Mastin Robeson, military assistant to Cohen under Jones, said in a Jan. 2 telephone message that Beinhart has saved.

"There is indeed somewhat of a mix-up - thats an understatement," Robeson goes on in the message. "Were looking to see how we can resolve this. Im not sure how it happened. General Jones is very unhappy about it, as am I. Please give me a call this weekend so we can talk."

"This is not a dead issue, there are still some cards to be played. We still want to bring this thing to a satisfactory resolution," Robeson concludes.

When Beinhart finally reached him, Beinhart claims Robeson told him Cohens executive secretary had been holding the letter, which had been forwarded so

me time before through the offices of the Pentagon inspector general and general counsel.</P>

<P> "He told me it had somehow gotten swept up and signed by an auto-pen machine in some sort of end-of-year administrative cleanup," Beinhart said. Based on what he says Robeson told him, Beinhart sent a memo to Jones demanding that the letter be rescinded.</P>

<P> It wasn't. The Marine Corps declined an interview request with Jones, but Campbell, the Marine Corps spokesman, acknowledged that the letter was sent out "prematurely" because of an administrative error, which prevented Jones from giving Beinhart a heads-up that it was coming.</P>

<P> "However, its contents are accurate, so there was no reason to rescind it," Campbell said.</P>

<P> Jones asked Beinhart to come to his office for a meeting in early February to discuss the letter and the situation. Beinhart was accompanied by Murphy, the Marine Corps senior lawyer under Krulak.</P>

<P> In the meeting, Beinhart said Jones asked for a bullet-form "talking paper" on his situation that he would take to Cohen.</P>

<P> After that, nothing.</P>

<P> Cohen's letter was not rescinded, and Beinhart heard no more until he got a phone call from Jones on June 4, just four days prior to the general's confirmation hearing before the Senate Armed Services Committee.</P>

<P> In an hour-long conversation, Beinhart said Jones informed him that Cohen had sent a reply to Krulak, essentially echoing his decision in the December 16 letter.</P>

<P> Jones - who has strong ties to the Senate from his days as the Marine Corps liaison to that body in the early 1980s, when he first met Cohen - also said there were still initiatives in the works to grant him redress within the system on his performance reports and his reassignment to Europe.</P>

<P> Then a letter signed by Cohen went to Sen. Specter on June 7, the day before Jones's confirmation hearing. Specter had requested that the colonel's case be "thoroughly investigated."</P>

<P> In his response, Cohen reiterated his basic answer to Beinhart in December indicating that as far as he concerned, the case has been thoroughly scrutinized and is now closed.</P>

<P> "Col. Beinhart's case has received review at the most senior levels of the Department," Cohen wrote. "While I have concluded that his complaint is not well-founded, that does not in any way constitute a characterization of Col. Beinhart's decades of exemplary service in the Marines."</P>

<P> Cohen's letters are the latest additions to a huge cache of documents that Beinhart has stockpiled to support his claims.</P>

<P> With all potential avenues of redress within the Defense Department now apparently closed, he is making an effort to seek support for an inquiry by the General Accounting Office, the independent investigative arm of Congress. Along with interest from Specter, Sen. Charles Grassley, D-Iowa, has also expressed at least initial support for looking into Beinharts case.</P>

<P> An aide said Grassley would not be inclined to push for a GAO review on his own, but that if Beinhart can get several other senators to agree, "it could happen. We would certainly sign on for that."</P>

<P> Origins of a feud</P>

<P> Although virtually the entire staff at the Marshall Center has turned over since Bernstein and Beinhart were there and it has stayed out of the news under its new leadership, the school and its predecessor, the U.S. Army Russian Institute, have been lightning rods for controversy for much of the past two decades.</P>

<P> As far back as 1981, the centers leadership was beseeching the civilian faculty and military staff to stop their internal "backbiting," according to memos obtained several years ago by Stars and Stripes.</P>

<P> Later in the 1980s, the school was plagued by personnel problems stemming from a culture clash between the faculty, many of them academic émigrés from Warsaw Pact states, and the U.S. military administrative staff that was supposed to set the schools agenda.</P>

<P> Charges of anti-Semitism surfaced more than once. In the early 1990s, two civilian faculty members, both Soviet Jews, sued and won more than \$300,000 in compensation after a judge found they were wrongly fired from their jobs several years before.</P>

<P> The Marshall Center also has powerful patrons.</P>

<P> They include former Defense Secretary William Perry, now on the academic staff at Stanford University in California; retired NATO commander Gen. George Joulwan, who lives in northern Virginia; and retired Gen. Charles Boyd, a former U.S. European Command deputy commander under Joulwan who has been active in Republican political circles in Washington.</P>

<P> Beinhart is convinced the collective aura of the centers backers is one reason why his appeals for an independent inquiry have been "stonewalled."</P>

<P> "They don't want to draw attention to a situation that could come back to embarrass some senior officials," Beinhart said.</P>

<P> Opening the Center</P>

<P> Beinhart arrived in Garmisch, a small resort town best known for its ski slopes, in February 1993. He was assigned as a "crisis manager" to set up inaugural preparations for an organization that essentially had to be built from scratch and was due to be launched in less than five months.</P>

<P> Beinhart had been serving as operations officer for EUCOMs military-to-military contact program and expected to assume a new position as the commands assistant chief of staff in June 1993, after the center officially opened and his temporary assignment in Garmisch would end.</P>

<P> However, he stayed on at the school at the urging of the director, Bernstein, who had been selected by Boyd, the deputy EUCOM commander, in 1993.</P>

<P> Beinhart became commandant of the academic college, the schools focal point. But he saw his career, which until then had followed a steady upward arc, falter in late 1994 when his relationship with Bernstein soured amid the schools chaotic start-up period.</P>

<P> Beinhart and more than half a dozen other field-grade officers who were at the Marshall Center at the time say Bernstein - a career academician who had taught at the Naval War College and the National Defense University - contributed mightily to that chaos.</P>

<P> They say he arbitrarily rearranged the structure and curriculum, intimidated and belittled subordinates who dared to disagree with him, made capricious decisions that others had to constantly untangle, and overspent wildly, including almost \$40,000 for lavish office furniture.</P>

<P> Bernstein had denied doing anything wrong except making a few minor "mistakes" - even though a Pentagon inspector general report issued last year concluded that his actions constituted a "wide-ranging pattern" of inappropriate behavior or lack of cost-consciousness.</P>

<P> The report concluded that Bernstein had "engaged in a pattern of behavior which ignored ethics regulations" during his three-plus years at the Center.</P>

<P> Investigators said he used official government funds, credit cards, supplies and telephones for his personal use and violated travel regulations by flying on a non-U.S. carrier, resulting in an unauthorized expenditure of more than \$4,000.</P>

<P> "This is dirty," Bernstein said in an October interview with Stars and Stripes. "I didnt do anything wrong. Ive never cheated on my wife, Ive never cheated on an exam, and I never cheated on the Marshall Center."</P>

<P> Contacted recently, Bernstein declined additional comment.</P>

<P> As evidence that Bernstein wasted millions in taxpayer money, Beinhart and others point to the directors allegedly unilateral decision to double the size of the schools originally planned faculty, which boosted the budget more than \$4 million a year higher than had been projected in the original concept.</P>

<P> Hill said Beinhart warned of a potentially severe shortage of funds almost a year before it came to light. "Money was spent that was not in the budget and then retroactively made good by people in EUCOM and DOD who said, Well, we just didnt see this coming," Hill said.</P>

<P> "But Col. Beinhart saw it coming," he said. "He did a budget analysis that revealed there would not be enough money to do the kind of program Bernstein was creating, which was far beyond the original scope and mission of the Marshall Center. I believe he was fired because he kept pointing out problems that were caused by Bernstein's decisions, and Bernstein didn't want to hear it."</P>

<P> After months of worsening tensions between military staff and director, the end result was this: Bernstein fired Beinhart in early December 1994 and almost dismissed two other senior officers as well.</P>

<P> Then, Beinhart said, Bernstein had the colonel shipped out of Europe with Boyd's concurrence.</P>

<P> Beinhart now hears disability retirement cases on a Navy personnel board in Bethesda, Md., and has been sliding into debt while trying to hold onto property in Germany. Beinhart had purchased property for his post-military life.</P>

<P> In the time since then, the fight to correct the wrongs he says have been done to him has consumed Beinhart's life.</P>

<P> He has been roaming the chain of command in search of someone willing to fully examine his charges, and in the past year has focused much of his energy on getting his appeals before Cohen, through Jones.</P>

<P> Beinhart said he tried to work within the system for more than two years - even deflecting early interview requests with the media - but eventually realized that strategy wasn't working.</P>

<P> He claims several previous inquiries, assessments and reports, including last year's IG investigation, have been circumscribed by senior officials in Europe and Washington to obscure the depth of the problems at the Marshall Center.</P>

<P> Beinhart said that if Jones has, in fact, fully informed Cohen about the information and documentation he has submitted, and the secretary still stands by the decision in his Dec. 16 letter, then the former Maine senator's oft-repeated pronouncements about a single standard of accountability for all levels of the chain of command are "sheer hypocrisy."</P>

<P> "I'm going out with guns blazing now," he said. "If Secretary Cohen is aware of the misconduct perpetrated by senior officials under him and has done nothing, then he's a hypocrite."</P>

<P> Legal options closed</P>

<P> Beinhart says he's entitled to whistleblower protection for going to the Pentagon IG with his complaints about Bernstein shortly after he was fired. He acknowledges not making a formal complaint until three days after he was dismissed - which ordinarily would not be grounds for whistleblower protection.</P>

<P> But about a week later, Beinhart said he was approached by Chelberg, at the time the deputy director of the Marshall Center, with an offer - relayed by Bernstein, Beinhart believes - to let him stay on if he revoked his complaint.

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<P> "The moment I refused, in response to the offered quid pro quo, protected whistleblower status began as outlined under the regulations" because it constituted a threat to withhold a favorable personnel action - no transfer - if he persisted in making a protected communication to the IG, Beinhart said.

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<P> Chelberg, whom Beinhart said was constantly browbeaten by Bernstein, apparently had a change of heart about the situation and his role in it, because he recently recommended Beinhart for a Defense Distinguished Service Medal for his performance at the Marshall Center.

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<P> Chelberg submitted the recommendation for the highest peacetime military award last Dec. 7 to Cohen, just two weeks before Cohens letter shutting down Beinharts case was mailed out.

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<P> "Having personally observed Col. Beinharts day-to-day performance throughout the period he served at EUCOM and at the Marshall Center, I strongly feel that he is truly deserving of this award," he wrote.

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<P> Chelberg, who now lives in South Carolina, did not return a phone message.

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<P> Along with his IG complaint, Beinhart filed an Article 138 shortly after his firing. That article allows any servicemember "who believes himself wronged by his or her commanding officer" to complain to any superior officer.

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<P> After a series of inquiries and appeals, Defense Department lawyers - including, Beinhart claims, Pentagon General Counsel Judith Miller - ruled that Beinhart could not use Article 138 in this situation. John White, then the acting secretary of defense, agreed and dismissed Beinharts case in July 1996.

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<P> In a letter dated July 27, White said Beinharts complaint was "jurisdictionally defective" because neither Bernstein nor Boyd was Beinharts commanding officer, even though Bernstein was his rater, Boyd his senior rater, and both had the authority to dismiss him from the Marshall Center.

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<P> "Accordingly, I cannot take action on your submitted complaint," White wrote.

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<P> Beinhart said the legal reasoning behind Whites letter "redefines the Uniform Code of Military Justice in such a way that all military personnel assigned under a civilian, including all those in the office of the secretary of defense, can be destroyed with no legal recourse."

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<P> He said the regulations clearly state that if such an appeal is defective, a potential fix must be offered by whatever agency rejects it. Neither White nor anyone else within the Defense Department has ever bothered to tell Beinhart who his commanding officer was in Garmisch.

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<P> "This is pure malfeasance," Beinhart said. "An Article 138 inquiry was the only avenue open to me, yet I couldn't file an Article 138 because no one would tell me who my commander was."</P>

<P> In a brief phone interview, White painted himself almost as a bystander and said he doesn't remember details of his denial of Beinhart's Article 138 complaint. "A lot of those kinds of things are done on the advice of counsel," he said. "It seems strange to me that someone couldn't tell him who his commanding officer was."</P>

<P> Beinhart filed a Freedom of Information Act request for some documents he felt would be relevant to his appeal, but it was denied when Miller claimed that her attorney-client privilege with White covered the papers in question.</P>

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<P> "That was a clear conflict of interest - I can't see the facts at the same time she's failing to pursue wrongdoing by senior figures," Beinhart said.</P>

<P> This interlude persuaded many observers to conclude that there was indeed something strange going on and a number of them to rally behind Beinhart. </P>

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<P> "That whole thing with White that was such a strange facade," Hill said. </P>

<P> Bernstein's reckoning</P>

<P> While Beinhart was making his futile assault on the Pentagon, persistent complaints about Bernstein in 1995 and early 1996 led White - then acting secretary of defense during the turnover between Perry and Cohen - to form an outside "assessment team" to look into the Center in July 1996, around the same time he was dismissing Beinhart's Article 138 complaint.</P>

<P> The team reported only to White, and only verbally. Its findings were never put on paper and never discussed publicly.</P>

<P> Beinhart says assessment team leader Randy Jayne, a one-star general in the Air National Guard who works for an executive search firm in northern Virginia, told him that the team's report to White in October 1996 was less than glowing, including a description of the situation at the center as "abysmal."</P>

<P> As with Beinhart's Article 138 complaint, White said he doesn't remember much about the assessment team's findings.</P>

<P> "I remember the briefing, that there was a multidimensional set of concerns with program, the leadership, and so on at the Marshall Center," he said. "But I don't recall details. It was a long time ago."</P>

<P> In a brief phone interview, Jayne declined to comment on his report to White, but he said the abrupt removal of Bernstein as Marshall Center director one month later - he was officially allowed to resign - is a "good reflection

on" of what the assessment team found and reported back on.</P>

<P> Bernstein immediately landed on his feet, returning to a teaching slot at his former haunt, the National Defense University in Washington. But he was called to account for at least some things that had happened at the Marshall Center when the Pentagon IG finally released its report in May 1998.</P>

<P> However, Beinhart and others say that the IG investigation was "seriously flawed" because it completely ignored substantial and substantive information provided by him and others about Bernsteins "institutional abuses."</P>

<P> "The report devotes page after page of analysis to trivia and sets the stage for a token hand-slap and the reimbursement of a few thousand dollars," Beinhart said.</P>

<P> Hill said he and others talked with the IG investigators at length about the larger problems at the Center but were brushed off. "I talked with them for an hour, but for whatever reasons, they didnt want to attend to those issues," he said.</P>

<P> Beinhart and his supporters believe the IG limited its inquiry to relatively minor issues as a damage-control exercise and point to the fact that Bernstein was allowed to keep his Senior Executive Service rank, SES-6, and salary of well over \$100,000 a year at the defense university.</P>

<P> "Thats a pretty good golden handshake for a guy who had just been yanked out of his job," Hill said. "It seemed like a circling of the wagons within DOD, a sense that the reputation of the Marshall Center was being attacked by this troublesome colonel, and thus he must be at fault, not the institution."</P>

<P> "There was a lot more going on than what was finally included in that IG report," Beinhart said. "They didnt look at anything from an institutional level because they didnt want to connect the situation to anyone above Bernstein."</P>

<P> Last beachhead</P>

<P> Beinhart is moving quickly on his congressional offensive. He has to - hes running out of time, with mandatory retirement looming in a little more than a year.</P>

<P> "The strategy all along seems like it has been to drag this out until its beyond my ability to fight it - an intentional stonewalling policy," he said.</P>

<P> Ironically, he could have pulled the plug two years ago. In mid-1997, Jones offered to do everything he could to help Beinhart get reassigned to Germany and get his records corrected.</P>

<P> "Gen. Jones took a personal role because he considers Col. Beinharts relief from the Marshall Center an unfortunate and complex matter," said Campbell, the Marine Corps spokesman. "He believes the system did not wor

k as expeditiously as it could have."</P>

<P> Yet Beinhart respectfully declined. "I would welcome a transfer to Germany if it is explicitly the first step in a comprehensive redress," he wrote in a letter to Jones, referring to the larger Marshall Center issues that he says have been ignored by the Defense Department.</P>

<P> "Otherwise, I must persevere on my current path," he told Jones.</P>

<P> Even though Cohen dismissed his complaint, Defense Department officials indicated that reassignment to Europe and a correction of his performance reviews are still possibilities.</P>

<P> But they said Beinhart almost certainly is not going to be reimbursed for his losses, a central tenet of his redress claim. Campbell said Jones raised that issue with several attorneys, including the Marine Corps Murphy, and was told there is no clear legal basis for monetary compensation in a situation like this.</P>

<P> Beinhart demurs. "All that is necessary to establish a viable legal basis for compensation is a statement by Cohen acknowledging that a wrong was done," Beinhart said.</P>

<P> Defense Department officials insist they've done all they can to try to help him. "Over the past two or three years there have been a number of individuals assigned to the office of the secretary of defense staff who have taken a personal interest in this case," said Doubleday, the Pentagon spokesman.</P>

<P> "They have attempted to resolve it in a way that would be satisfactory both to Col. Beinhart and to the Department's interests."</P>

<P> Even so, Beinhart has vowed to press on.</P>

<P> "Personally, this whole thing has been very difficult," he said. "I had my life planned out. All my plans and goals had been oriented around a future in Europe, where I planned to start a new direction in life. It would have been so much easier to walk away, but if I had, I never would've been able to hold up my head again," he said.</P>

<P> Beinhart, who is single, retains a sense of irony about his situation in at least one respect.</P>

<P> "It's a negative object lesson in what the Marshall Center was created to teach, which is civil-military relations and management in a democratic context," he said. "What it has taught by negative example is how the principles of American democratic leadership of military forces can be corrupted."</P>

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European Stars And Stripes

July 17, 1999

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Questions Arise Over Combat Pay

By Jon R. Anderson, Sigonella bureau

NAS SIGONELLA, Italy Ah, beautiful Sicily. An island of quaint seaside villages and mountain resorts. A place where, even now, tourists flock from around the world to hit the beaches, see the sights and soak up the Mediterranean sun.

And, oh yeah, its a combat zone. Well, not exactly, but the sailors stationed at this quiet base nestled among Sicily's east-coast farmlands everyone from postal clerks and doctors to helicopter pilots and airplane mechanics are drawing the same combat pay and tax benefits as the grunts actually dodging the bullets in Kosovo, not to mention the pilots who flew combat missions into Yugoslavia during NATO's three-month air war.

In practical terms for sailors at Sigonella as well as thousands of servicemembers throughout Italy, Greece and Hungary the benefits translate into an extra \$150 a month for "imminent danger pay" and a full release of all income-tax obligations for each month they serve at Sigonella.

Add it all up. That can mean about a 30 percent pay raise for many. Few would argue that servicemembers everywhere don't deserve a salary hike. But the benefits, along with the fact servicemembers elsewhere in Europe directly involved in the Kosovo mission aren't getting them, begs the question: How dangerous is it here?

Officially, said Navy Capt. Elliott Bloxom, military compensation director at the Pentagon, the Kosovo combat zone includes only Yugoslavia, Albania, the Adriatic Sea and the Ionian Sea above the 39th parallel, as well as the airspace above those areas. That was declared by presidential order on April 13 retroactive to March 24, the first day of the air campaign.

<P> Soldiers serving in Yugoslavias southern neighbor, Macedonia, have been drawing combat pay and tax exclusion since 1992 as part of what was then the war in Bosnia.</P>

<P> But the dangers of war seem to extend much farther these days.</P>

<P> On May 31, at the request of Army Gen. Wesley K. Clark, head of the U.S. European Command, the Pentagon extended the imminent-danger pay to servicemembers at principal bases in Italy, Greece and Hungary.</P>

<P> Clark then immediately granted combat zone tax benefits, as well. The benefits will continue until Clark or his eventual replacement recommends a stop to them; Clarks staff is reviewing the situation now.</P>

<P> Bloxom said advances in the way combat is carried out have created "a fuzzy problem" in figuring out who should be eligible for the special benefits. High-tech weaponry allows servicemembers to fight from afar, so danger for those in the fight is subjective.</P>

<P> For example, while most servicemembers in Italy are collecting the benefits, he said, no one from Germany is, except the aircrews actually flying to the combat zone. That means a postal clerk in Sigonella is getting combat pay while the ground crews at Ramstein Air Base are not.</P>

<P> In todays world, with bombers making daily flights into combat all the way from Missouri, he said, the argument could even be made for extending the combat zone or at least the benefits of it all the way to the heartland of America.</P>

<P> For the folks in Italy, Hungary and Greece, the idea, according to those close to Clark, was to give those directly supporting the war effort against Yugoslavia the same extra cash as those actually in the fight.</P>

<P> The Internal Revenue Service says servicemembers can be free of income taxes, as long as:</P>

<P> * They directly support operations in the combat zone.</P>

<P> * Receive imminent-danger pay.</P>

<P> According to Defense Department rules, "imminent danger" can come in the form of wartime conditions, terrorism, civil insurrection or civil war.</P>

<P> What, exactly, that danger is in the case of Sigonella and other bases is unclear, however. Bloxom and spokesmen for Clark said details of the assessment are classified.</P>

<P> "All I can really say is that the recommendation from General Clark to the Joint Staff was that there was credible threat in those areas," Bloxom said. While no one in Sigonella is going to argue with the extra cash, many wonder where the danger is.</P>

<P> "The most dangerous thing around here is probably the driving,"

; laughed one sailor stretched out on a deck chair by one of Sigonellas two swimming pools, when asked if he felt like he was in any "imminent danger."ot;</P>

<P> "This is a tourist destination, not a combat zone," he said.</P>
<P>

<P> To be sure, hundreds of combat sorties were flown out of Sigonellas airfield in support of the war. The Navy posts a helicopter squadron that makes regular flights into the Adriatic in support of the fleet. The squadron of P-3 Orion's even shed their more benign role as reconnaissance aircraft and were used to launch cruise missiles into Belgrade.</P>

<P> Dozens of Air Force crews aboard everything from the big refuelers to the gliderlike U-2 spy plane have been, and continue, to fly into the actual combat zone, as well.</P>

<P> For that reason alone, they would draw the extra benefits anyway, but many say they're glad to see their ground crews getting some payback for their hard work, too.</P>

<P> "We can't do our jobs without them," said Air Force Senior Master Sgt. Rick Hackett, a boom operator for the 99th Air Expeditionary Refueling Squadron.</P>

<P> Still, even fliers like Hackett find it hard to imagine any imminent danger over Sigonella.</P>

<P> "Personally, I don't think any of us should be collecting it. Look around," he said, sitting by the pool with a nod toward the swaying palm trees, "there's no threat here."</P>

<P> Airman Evan McClug, one of the sailors at Sigonella who has to stand at the main gate and check cars for bombs, disagrees. "I think we are in danger. You never know when terrorists are going to strike."</P>

<P> McClug could only shrug when asked why that wouldn't apply to Germany, as well?</P>

<P> "They're not getting it? That doesn't make sense."</P>

<P> Petty Officer 2nd Class Phillip Williams, a supply specialist at the base hospital, said, "I think it's great we're finally getting compensated for all the hard work we do."</P>

<P> "It costs a lot of money to live here," said Melanie Murrell, a Navy spouse who works at the local gym. "We need all the extra money they can send." </P>

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Washington Times

July 20, 1999

Pg. 10

TV Easy On Clinton's War Effort

By Associated Press

Television news was less critical of President Clinton during the Kosovo campaign than of his predecessor, George Bush, during the Persian Gulf war, according to a study.

Six in 10 on-air comments on the Kosovo air campaign contained praise for Mr. Clinton's efforts, said the Center for Media and Public Affairs, a nonpartisan research organization that has analyzed television, print and radio coverage for more than 10 years.

"The Kosovo crisis was in a sense ideal for Clinton," said Dan Admunsen, the center's research director.

Contrary to the Gulf war, the NATO campaign had no financial or strategic implications for the United States. While Mr. Bush had to fight the view that he was fighting a war over oil, Mr. Clinton "came off more as a pure humanitarian," Mr. Admunsen said.

More than two out of three sources cited in coverage of the Kosovo campaign opposed it, but that seemed to have no effect on evaluations of the president's efforts, the report said.

Nor did conservative media manage to frame the war as a deliberate effort to rehabilitate a president whose image was tarnished by the Monica Lewinsky affair.

Another difference with coverage of the Gulf war was the absence of the other side from the screen.

During the Gulf war, Iraq's deputy prime minister, Tariq Aziz, was often on view to justify President Saddam Hussein's actions. But only 16 percent of

the on-air comments on the NATO-campaign supported Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic's policies and conduct.</P>

<P> The perception of the Yugoslav campaign and U.S. policy changed after NATO's mistaken bombing of the Chinese Embassy in the Yugoslav capital, Belgrade . Coverage of civilian damage inflicted by NATO consumed twice as much air time after that incident as coverage of the refugees.</P>

<P> There also was a sharp dip, from 48 percent to 14 percent, of cited sources' positive evaluations of U.S. policy in general.</P>

<P> "There had really been the overall picture of a non-fail, foolproof war until the bombing of the Chinese Embassy," Mr. Admunsen said. "The American people, although not following politics closely, understand the significance of hitting the Chinese Embassy."</P>

<P> Before that incident, people were willing to overlook events like mistaken bombings of convoys, understanding the difficulty of differentiating between a military convoy and refugees fleeing in various vehicles, Mr. Admunsen said .</P>

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<P>Defense Daily

July 20, 1999

Pg. 5</P>

<P>Air Forces JEFX 99 Doubles In Size, Seeks Improved Processes</P>

<P>By David Atkinson</P>

<P> HAMPTON, Va. The Air Force Experimentation Office is planning to almost double the size of its annual Joint Expeditionary Force Experiment (JEFX) 99 in September, and is looking to focus more on processes and connectivity than last

t years technology-driven experiment, according to AFEO officials.</P>

<P> "In 98 we were working the distributed collaborative architecture, " Col. Terry Thompson, director of the AFEO, told Defense Daily here recently. "We thought we were pretty successful with that. Were looking to build on that foundation."</P>

<P> JEFX 99 will be held at Nellis AFB, Nev., the first week in September. The event has been greatly expanded over last year, and will see two Aerospace Expeditionary Forces (AEF) deploy at Nellis and Mountain Home AFB, Idaho, to test and evaluate 59 initiatives to improve Air Force capabilities.</P>

<P> Those initiatives, ranging from command and control networks to space-based sensors to force protection ideas, are a major step forward over the 32 ideas studied last year. Of those 59, 19 are "process initiatives" intended to improve the way the Air Force uses existing technology and establishes training methods for new systems coming on line, Thompson said.</P>

<P> Some highlights of this years 59 JEFX initiatives include:</P>

<P> * Dynamic Precision Strike, allowing aircraft and precision guided weapons to be re-tasked or re-targeted in flight to engage time critical targets;</P>

<P> * Information Operations Planning Tool, allowing automation of offensive information operations by the Joint Force Air Component Commander;</P>

<P> * Global Air Mobility Operational Display, a graphical display of all air mobility assets, maps, graphs and charts to create a usable single air mobility picture;</P>

<P> * Near-Real Time Imagery Support and Geospatial Support to include the National Imagery and Mapping Agency in the experiment to provide direct support to the air operations center (AOC);</P>

<P> * Aggressor Space Applications, to utilize existing available commercial space assets to provide a view of how an opponent could use space against an AEF forward;</P>

<P> * Space Integration, bringing space information distribution and command and control systems into the distributed network, tying space directly into the planning process; and</P>

<P> * Theater Battle Management Core System/Army Battle Command System interoperability, linking the two major new command and control networks for the Air Force and Army together.</P>

<P> Most of the initiatives have come out of the Air Force battlelabs and the Air Force research labs, Thompson said. Some, however, are the result of requests or suggestions from high up in the service.</P>

<P> "We got to the general officers early this year," Thompson said.</P>

<P> To control the inflow of initiative ideas, the experimentation office set up a configuration control board to make sure that ideas don't overlap or trump each other. </P>

<P> The increase in initiatives in the experiment has also come with greater efficiencies in terms of costs, Thompson said.</P>

<P> "We've doubled the number of initiatives we're exploring, but we haven't doubled the cost," of the event, Thompson said. JEFX 99 will cost about \$60 million, while EFX 98 cost about \$44 million.</P>

<P> But JEFX 99 has been affected by the Air Force's ongoing recuperation from the effort in Operation Allied Force.</P>

<P> The original plan was to stand up two AEF equivalents at Nellis and Mountain Home to test new systems and processes. Due to the high operations and personnel tempo involved, that plan has been modified.</P>

<P> "We were going to use the 48th Fighter Wing from RAF Lakenheath, England," Thompson said. "Now we'll use the 53rd Test Wing at Eglin [AFB, Fla.], instead. We did have USAFE [United States Air Forces Europe] playing in a contingency but because of Kosovo they dropped out."</P>

<P> The plan for the upcoming Spiral III, which was to tie together the entire distributed network among all users, has also been changed.</P>

<P> "We did identify some rather significant problems with the collaborative information workspace [in Spiral II] and adjusted for PersTempo challenges," Thompson said. "We'd like to have them [all the operators of the system] back once more. For Spiral III we wanted to bring them all together but the personnel tempo is too high because of Kosovo. So we said let's see if we can bring them together just one more time. Instead of bringing all those operators back we'll do a wring-out on the systems and not bring all the operators back in. Now we'll bring them in a week earlier [for JEFX 99] to train them and wring out the whole system. With Kosovo winding down, we should be able to get them in here."</P>

<P> Training users on the actual systems and developing new procedures is a major focus this year.</P>

<P> "We were rightly criticized last year for concentrating on the systems end," Thompson said. "We were too system-centric last year. We experimented with the collaborative virtual workstation last year, and based on that we decided to go with GTE. Well, we sent that to Kosovo but did not do training for it very well. We need to look at those changes to training. We need to treat the Air Operations Center as a weapons system, so we should develop the same kinds of training for the people who man it as for other weapons."</P>

<P> JEFX 99 will see an increased emphasis not only on space but on information warfare and special operations. In addition to the space command and control networks and sensors being used, an Air Force EC-130 Commando Solo psychological operations aircraft will take part in the exercise to better integrate "out-near-real time psy ops" into the AEF planning structure.</P>

<P> The desired end state is to prove the concept of "effects-based"
ot; operations.</P>

<P> "What we want to try to do is allow the Combined Task Force comman
der to say I want X effect and allow the JFACC to determine what will achieve t
hat effect," Thompson said. "We want to get away from servicing targe
ts and prosecute war in a more dynamic manner."</P>

<P> The distributed architecture being developed through experiments like J
EFX 99 are the first step. In addition to the units deploying to Nellis, comman
d elements will be linked to the experiment from Langley AFB, Va., Mountain Hom
e, Scott AFB, Ill., Offutt AFB, Neb., Ft. Bliss, Texas, Los Angeles AFB, Calif,
Eglin AFB, Fla., the National Imagery and Mapping Agency and the Pentagon, the
USS Coronado (AGF-11) and the 7th Air Force headquarters in Korea.</P>

<P> Thompson and his staff were to brief Pentagon leaders on the experiment
plan last week. That has been temporarily delayed. The plan is to deliver the
final initiative list to Lt. Gen. Gregory Martin at the Pentagon by the middle
of August for approval. By then, Spiral III will have been completed and the ex
periment can begin in the first week in September. Selection of initiatives for
next years JEFX 00 has already begun. </P>

<P> Keeping senior leaders informed is only part of the task, Thompson said
</P>

<P> "One of the hard things is getting them to see this as an investme
nt. They want to see results. We need to keep in their minds that this is an ex
periment and not an exercise. Its an investment," Thompson said. "We
learned a lot in the past year in terms of experimentation. Were fortunate that
things are winding down in Kosovo."</P>

<P> While JEFX 99 is an experiment, technologies tested during EFX 98, such
as the GTE [GTE] Collaborative Virtual Workstation and the Boeing </
B>[BA] Multi-Source Tactical System were rapidly fielded for use in Kosovo. Tha
t kind of speedy return is what senior leaders are hoping to find even more of
in 99, Thompson said.</P>

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<P>San Antonio Express-News

July 19, 1999</P>

<P>Life In The 'Scorpion's Nest' </P>

<P>By Sig Christenson, Express-News Staff Writer </P>

<P> The sun has been up barely an hour and a muddy, disheveled James McCallen knows his bad day is about to get a lot worse. </P>

<P> Staff Sgt. Bryan Nesbitt his neck taut, carotid artery bulging literally is in McCallen's stony face, their noses less than an inch apart. </P>

<P> "Don't give me this crap that you came back and did the course!" Nesbitt yells. "I'm not stupid!" </P>

<P> At first glance, a casual observer might think this is a day in the life of a soldier, sailor or Marine. </P>

<P> Or a scene from any war film. </P>

<P> But it's actually a slice of life in the leaner, meaner Air Force, and this is just another day at Lackland AFB's "Scorpion's Nest," where the one thing worse than the sting of discipline is the mental and physical rigor of training. </P>

<P> Each day, 240 recruits march a mile or so uphill from a firing range and play soldier here. They paint their faces black and green, carry standard-issue M-16 rifles, and learn the right way to crawl in the sand and take on the "enemy." </P>

<P> They enjoy few amenities. There are no showers or chow halls. They use portable toilets a short walk from the brown and green sandbags that line the Scorpion's Nest. Everybody dines on meals ready to eat (MREs) and sweats to survive the dog days of down-and-dirty summertime soldiering. </P>

<P> And the faded black POW/MIA flag flying at the center of their camp serves as a not-so-subtle reminder that the war games they are here to learn are serious business. </P>

<P> "I'm of the philosophy that you weed out the weak ones," said Tech. Sgt. Bryan Blue, a big, no-nonsense 17-year Air Force veteran from Tucson, Ariz. </P>

<P> Recruit Leo Rios, 20, agrees. </P>

<P> "This is a day and a half out of six weeks of training," said Rios, a 1997 graduate of Mary Carroll High School in Corpus Christi. "If you can't put it all on the line for a day and a half of training, I think you should be out of here." </P>

<P> That's the idea of the Air Force's renewed emphasis on ground combat training, which Tech. Sgt. Ron Hetzel said puts recruits in the field for the first time since 1969. </P>

<P> Years in the making, Lackland's field training experience, or FTX, aims to beef up ground combat skills as its troops are sent on short notice to far-off regions, where they're forced to protect bases from terrorists and other foes. </P>

<P> FTX training also is an outgrowth of criticism by the Federal Advisory Committee on Gender-Integrated Training that the Air Force and its sister services have been too easy on young boots. </P>

<P> Until now, the recruits have spent only a day and a half of their six weeks of basic training in the Scorpion's Nest. </P>

<P> But that changes in October, when they'll spend a full week in the field. </P>

<P> Dubbed "Warrior Week," the Air Force's training is similar to the Army's "Victory Forge" and the Navy's "Battle Stations." </P>

<P> The Marine's "Crucible" is the granddaddy of them all, requiring more than 40 miles of forced marches and 56 sleepless hours. </P>

<P> Surviving Warrior Week will be a requirement for graduation. </P>

<P> Retired Army Col. David Hackworth, a decorated Vietnam War veteran and syndicated columnist, applauds the move. </P>

<P> Airmen "must learn how to defend themselves and blow off the image of civilians in uniform," he said. </P>

<P> A top Air Force general likes the trend toward toughness, too. </P>

<P> "I think the kids will respond to it (the tougher training) exceptionally well," said Gen. Lloyd W. "Fig" Newton, commander of the Air Education and Training Command at Randolph AFB, which oversees Air Force instruction. </P>

<P> "That's what they're looking for when they come in," he added. </P>

<P> And they're getting it, too. </P>

<P> The recruits wake up at 4 a.m. in eight non-air-conditioned tents. They tackle a hilly quarter-mile assault course and hug a winding, torturous sand trap as the Air Force puts them in situations that may be repeated in such distant locales as Kosovo. </P>

<P> At sundown on the end of their first full day in the field, the recruits face "Alamo's revenge." The event is a mock probe of their camp defenses led by the instructors, some of whom are known by such nicknames as "Hammer," "Dark Angel" and "Gunny." </P>

<P> At high noon the next day, they're told a heavy armored force is approaching and are ordered to evacuate the camp.</P>

<P> That leads to a 5.8-mile forced march over rough terrain populated by mosquitoes, snakes and rabbits that are as tame as some domesticated cats. </P>

<P> Curiously, many recruits actually look forward to the challenges of FTX, which comes in the fifth week of training. </P>

<P> Jacob Moore, 19, of Klamath Falls, Ore., said recruits want an escape from their air-conditioned dorms and chow halls, as well as their all-too-familiar military training instructors. </P>


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<P>European Stars And Stripes

July 19, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Mission: A United Kosovo </P>

<I><P>PsyOps spreading message of peace </P>

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

<P> THE U.S. SECTOR, Kosovo They crisscross the U.S. sector in Kosovo trying to win the hearts and minds of Albanians and Serbs by spreading KFORs message. </P>

<P> Most of them don't any wear insignias. But they proudly display the American flag on their shoulder. </P>

<P> Sometimes they deal with crowd control, settle disputes or worry about mine awareness. But these soldiers aren't the military police; they are PsyOps, a

nd they deal with minds.</P>

<P> The small wooden sign outside the tent of the 9th Psychological Operations Battalion at Camp Bondsteel reads, "Win the mind, Win the day."</P>
>

<P> Maj. Miguel Hobbs, who is in charge of two teams of three people that disseminate information, says his soldiers interact daily with Kosovos Albanians and Serbs.</P>

<P> "We try to win hearts and minds, and much of our job has been public information, Hobbs said in Gnjilane, Kosovo. "But it is going to be a hard task to change peoples minds when they have been (committing violence against each other) for a long time."</P>

<P> The PsyOps battalion has begun by trying to change the attitudes of returning refugees and the Serbs who have remained in Kosovo.</P>

<P> They want to change the two different ethnic hand signs the Serbs and Albanians use to show victory or ethnic power into one universal, united sign.</P>
>

<P> PsyOps, which develops its information campaigns in Gnjilane, has come up with a thumbs-up hand gesture to replace the Serbian and Albanian gestures.</P>
<P>

<P> "Did you see how many kids were giving the thumbs-up?" Hobbs asked on patrol Saturday.</P>

<P> Hobbs teams also have hit several towns in the central part of the U.S. sector with handbills that read, "Show your support for KFOR Give a thumbs up for peace."</P>

<P> "We started it for fun a few days ago," said Sgt. Matt Galvin about the "thumbs-up" campaign. "We passed out 6,000 leaflets in the last two days."</P>

<P> Spec. Darwin Johnson, who prints the fliers in Gnjilane, begged to get his job. He wants to tell his kids what he did while he served in Kosovo.</P>

<P> "By giving us the thumbs-up, they are helping us to help them," Johnson said.</P>

<P> Another project PsyOps hopes will help get information out is radio airtime. PsyOps has bought airtime on Radio Gnjilane and Radio Ferizaj, two towns in Kosovo. This has helped the two stations upgrade their equipment, said Maj. Jeff McClure, who runs the PsyOps shop in Gnjilane.</P>

<P> Venera Osmani, station manager at Radio Gnjilane, is thankful KFOR has come to Kosovo. But Osmani, an Albanian who stayed locked in her home for three months during the Kosovo conflict, added that the KFOR information being broadcast might not sink into the minds of the people right away.</P>

<P> "Albanians want to be united, and it will take time from the sting

of the Serbs," Osmani said through an interpreter. "People will listen to the message, but who will (understand) the message?"

But PsyOps keeps plugging. They are trying to integrate the Russian contingent in the U.S. sector by showing the Americans and Russians are united in the KFOR mission, Galvin said. The PsyOps team rode in a joint convoy with the Russian in Kosovska Kamenica in the northern part of the U.S. sector.

"By working with the Russians, the Serbs see that and so do the Albanians," Galvin said. "It also shows KFOR doesn't take sides."

But Spec. Jonathan Schwarz has a different take on his job.

"What other job can you have besides talking to people, hanging out with the Russians and don't get locked in the wire (barbed wire around Camp Bondsteel)?"

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European Stars And Stripes

July 17, 1999

Pg. 1

A Hearty Thanks

Shelton pins injured soldiers

</I><P>By Richelle Turner-Collins, Staff writer</P>

<P> UROSEVAC, Kosovo Staff Sgt. Roderick Morgan was on patrol when a sniper shot at his Humvee. Shrapnel injured his arm and hand. His Kevlar helmet prevented him from sustaining more when it deflected a bullet aimed at his head.</P>

<P> In a separate incident, Sgt. Aaron Quinn entered a building to check reports of suspicious activities. As he entered a dark room, someone lunged at him, hit him in the face and tried to take his gun. Quinn fought back.</P>

<P> So did the assailant, cutting Quinn in the right cheek before fleeing on foot.</P>

<P> On Thursday, Gen. Henry H. Shelton, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff pinned Morgan and Quinn with the Purple Heart for receiving wounds during the NATO peacekeeping mission, dubbed Kosovo Force. The two 82nd Airborne Division soldiers are the first U.S. peacekeepers injured by hostile fire or forces during the mission.</P>

<P> "You've done an absolutely superb job. I'm very proud that you are all Americans," Shelton told about 200 82nd Airborne Division soldiers who attended the Purple Heart ceremony near Urosevac town square.</P>

<P> Shelton praised the noncommissioned officers, referring to Quinn and Morgan, and the troops for taking on a tough mission.</P>

<P> Brig. Gen. John Craddock also lauded the two soldiers.</P>

<P> "I think they're heroes," said Craddock, while talking to reporters at Camp Monteith in nearby Gnjilane, Kosovo.</P>

<P> But Morgan doesn't really see himself as a hero. He also never thought he'd be pinned with the purple ribbon.</P>

<P> "It's one I never wanted. You either move too slow or were at the wrong place at the wrong time," joked Morgan, who's from Fayetteville, N.C., adding, "but I feel my actions have done something for this country."
</P>

<P> Morgan was on patrol at 2:30 a.m. Tuesday when his vehicle came under fire.</P>

<P> "I guess my helmet saved me," Morgan, 32, said. "The bullet hit me in the right front of my helmet. The married father of two boys also said he injured his shoulder and suffered a concussion in the incident. The sniper wasn't caught.</P>

<P> Troops say they have been taking fire in that sector daily since the incident.</P>

<P> "The town is pretty peaceful during the day, but at night, there are a lot of hostile acts, arsons, house burnings," Morgan said.</P>

<P> Morgan joins the ranks of his three uncles former Marines who also were awarded the Purple Heart for their services in the Pacific during World War I, he said.</P>

<P> Quinn received his medal for a July 7 incident in Urosevac.</P>

<P> Quinn and other soldiers were patrolling an area between 10 and 10:30 p.m. and went to check possible suspicious activity at a house.</P>

<P> As he walked into the house and began checking rooms, he was hit in the eye. As Quinn stumbled backward, the assailant, a man, tried to take his weapon. Quinn pulled his gun back, and the man cut him on the side of the face. As Quinn fell, he fired two shots. The suspect fled and was never apprehended.</P>

<P> "I am thankful to God to be alive. I can't wait to get home to my wife," said the 27-year-old from Bonita Springs, Fla. </P>


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<P>Marine Times

July 26, 1999

Pg. 8</P>

<P>MEB</P>

<I><P>Gen. Jones Wants To Bring Marine Expeditionary Brigades Back To Life</P>

</I><P>By C. Mark Brinkley </P>

<P> GANDER, Canada -- If Marine Commandant James L. Jones has his way, the Corps' operational forces are going to be busier than ever in the coming years.
</P>

<P> And that future will revolve around the return of the Marine Expeditionary Brigade, Jones said. </P>

<P> Once a vital part of the Marine Air Ground Task Force philosophy, a variety of MEB headquarters were located throughout the Corps. Two brigades were operational until the early 1990s: 1st MEB in Kaneohe Bay, Hawaii, and 7th MEB in Twentynine Palms, Calif.</P>

<P> The brigade structure -- built around an infantry regiment, an artillery battalion, an aircraft group and a service support group -- gave commanders a force larger than the Marine Expeditionary Unit, smaller than a Marine Expeditionary Force, and capable of rapidly deploying to a crisis with the help of prepositioned gear.</P>

<P> Both 1st and 7th brigades deployed to Saudi Arabia in August 1990, soon after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. But after Desert Storm, the Corps disbanded the MEBs.</P>

<P> "For reasons that had nothing to do with operations but everything to do with downsizing and force structure, the judgement at the time was that we could not man the MEB headquarters as standing headquarters anymore," Jones said. "[The MEB] was great -- we had generals, we had a staff and everything, but you kind of had to wait for something to happen before they got a force list. We took all that structure out and we rolled them into the MEF headquarters."</P>

<P> The Marine Corps then fashioned the MEF-Forward concept, which resembles a MEB on paper, but lacks the permanent command structure once present. In times of crisis, elements of the MEF would be pulled away to staff the MEF-Forward, giving the Corps an MEB-like capability.</P>

<P> But the MEF-Forward concept has never been a big selling point to the c