

ommanders in chief.</P>

<P> "What happened -- interestingly enough -- in the joint arena, we had just finished convincing and educating everyone that the MEU, MEB, MEF concept was viable," Jones said. "And everybody was just saying, 'We understand this.' Then we came up and said, 'By the way, we don't do brigades anymore, we do MEF-Forward.' And the whole joint arena said 'OK fine' and they just forgot about it."

<P> "We pioneered the concept of the Maritime Prepositioning Squadron and the Maritime Prepositioning Force," Jones said July 12. "We maintain that it is a viable capability, but it is just nowhere to be found on the CINCs employment list because, I think, they don't understand it. I think it is a question of advertising and I think it is a question of just advocacy."

<P> Jones said there is support in the Fleet Marine Force for the resurrection of the brigades.</P>

<P> "I don't throw these things out there without a lot of help," Jones said. "I think there is support for this from the bottom up."

<P> Jones and his generals will meet in September to discuss bringing back the MEB, as well as other changes to force structure. If Jones' commanders are supportive of the ideas -- and early indications are they will be -- the MEB will be back very soon.</P>

<P> "I think just bringing the title Marine Expeditionary Brigade back is certainly a lot more Marine Corps-like than a MEF-Forward," said Maj. Gen. Jan Huly, director of the operations division of the Plans, Policies and Operations directorate at Marine Corps Headquarters.</P>

<P> Huly said the brigades that come back, though, might be the same as those that went away. </P>

<P> "I don't know if the structure will come back. I don't know that we'll go back to having standing brigades," Huly said. "I'm not sure where we would get the structure to all of the sudden go down to Camp Pendleton or Camp Lejeune and say 'Look, here is the 5th Marine Expeditionary Brigade headquarters and all of its people.' But I think somewhere we need to be able to come up with those people and things."

<P> What it means</P>

<P> Jones said the recent force structure initiatives should make it easier for Marines to do the jobs they love.</P>

<P> "What affects the corporal's life is having a fire team that's there. It not only affects the corporal's life, it affects the sergeant's life, the staff sergeant's life, and the young platoon commander that we train so hard," Jones said. "But in terms of the MEB, that is more of an institutional benefit. It helps us be more user friendly to the CINCs. It uses the capability that the Marine Corps has but is relatively dormant."

<P> If used effectively, the MEBs would not only keep the Marines busy, but

also help take stress off Army units, Jones said. It is a plan that Jones said new Army Chief of Staff Gen. Eric Shinseki is supportive of, because both men see their services as complements of the other.</P>

<P> "[Shinseki] is correctly concerned about the utilization rates in the Army," Jones said. "If we can take a turn with using a Marine Expeditionary Brigade, recognizing that we are not an occupying force, but if we can help lighten the load for the Army, then I'm happy to do that. Anywhere we can help, we'll help. And we'll work with the Army to see what we can do."</P>

<P> What it will take </P>

<P> Jones said bringing back the brigades requires re-directing the Corps' focus on maritime prepositioning forces, or MPF.</P>

<P> "In our own utilization, MPF offloads are selective and they're kind of off the beaten path," Jones said. "I mean, we practice it, we rehearse it, we train our units to it, then when it deploys, it just disappears. You rarely see a battle group and an [amphibious ready group] sailing with [a maritime prepositioning] squadron."</P>

<P> Jones said he has discussed that with Adm. Jay Johnson, chief of naval operations, and has gained support for increasing MPS movements with the deploying forces. Jones also anticipates the addition of an MPF certification process for brigades similar to the MEU's Special Operations Capable designation.</P>

<P> That kind of certification, Jones said, will help sell the MEB to the regional commander.</P>

<P> "There's nothing like showing it," Jones said. "We just have to show it more often, and not be timid about it, and I think a MEB-type command element will help us do that."</P>

<P> Jones, too, was unsure what the new brigade structure might look like, but anticipates that it will still fall under the Marine Expeditionary Force. </P>

<P> "We don't have the end strength to man three separate or four separate MEB headquarters, but we do have the capability to establish a MEB headquarters that is clearly earmarked and identified within the MEF," Jones said. "The deputy MEF commander could be the [commanding general of the 4th MEB], for example, and then we can see where that goes.</P>

<P> "Frankly, I wouldn't eliminate the fact that we couldn't stand up some headquarters," Jones said, indicating that the MEBs could be realigned under other commands. </P>

<P> "There are other headquarters out there that have titles that we ought to take a look at and see if we want to use one of those, like the MACE headquarters down at Lejeune," he said, referring to the II MEF Augmentation Command Element at Camp Lejeune, N.C.</P>

<P> Jones also expects that the Marine Corps, like the other services, will

seek an end strength increase from Congress in the coming years. Any additional bodies would go directly to the operational forces, Jones said, and some could be dedicated to the MEB structures.

"These are things that are going to sweep us into the General Officers Symposium," Jones said. "By the end of September, we will definitely be accomplishing some very, very direct-type changes and reforms and policies."

[s19990720top.htm](#)

http://ebird.dtic.mil/Jul1999/s19990720top.htm	RETURN TO TOP
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European Stars And Stripes

July 17, 1999

Pg. 4

Top Marine Delivers Thank You

Commandant applauds troops inspirational job

By Robert Burns, AP military writer

ABOARD THE AMPHIBIOUS ASSAULT SHIP KEARSARGE The new commandant of the Marine Corps gave his troops aboard this ship a pat on the back Thursday for spear-heading NATO's peacekeeping mission in Kosovo, even as they loaded up to sail out again.

"I'm here to say congratulations and to introduce myself as the new guy," Gen. James L. Jones, who took over as the top Marine on July 1, told members of the 26th Marine Expeditionary Unit assembled on the flight deck. The unit, based at Camp Lejeune, N.C., was loading up at Salonika, Greece, to leave in the next few days.

"You should feel good inside about what you have done and what you've been a part of," Jones said.

Jones flew came on the fifth leg of a weeklong European tour of Marine o

utposts in which he has promised a renewed emphasis on ensuring that all Marine forces are ready for combat or for other operations like peacekeeping. Aboard the Kearsarge, he applauded the Marines for carrying out "an inspirational job for the nation."

<P> His message struck a chord with Cpl. Todd Willis of Dallas, a radio operator who said he felt a special satisfaction in having put his training to use in an operation that brought new hope for peace in the Serbian province.</P>

<P> "There's no substitute for a real-world mission," Willis said as he watched Jones mingle and pose for pictures with smiling Marines. "When you're out there, you enter a new mind-set you know the bullets are real."</P>

<P> The Marines had no casualties in their four weeks in Kosovo. They landed at Salonika on June 10 and drove overland into the Serbian province through Macedonia to help lay the groundwork for a permanent 7,000-member U.S. Army peacekeeping force. By foot and aboard helicopters and light armored vehicles, the Marines established a peace by collecting Serbian and Kosovo Liberation Army weapons and setting the stage for the re-establishment of a civilian government that had been dominated by minority Serbs before NATO's 78-day air war.</P>

<P> Scores of Marines in full battle dress were reboarding the Kearsarge as Jones arrived pierside. They expect to set sail early next week for Rota, Spain, for repairs and resupply, then enjoy some liberty before finishing up the final three months of their six-month tour in the Mediterranean Sea. They had been helping provide humanitarian relief for Kosovo refugees in Albania when they got the call for peacekeeping duty the first week of June.</P>

<P> Col. Kenneth Glueck, commander of the 26th Marine Expeditionary Unit, told Jones in a detailed briefing on the Kosovo operation that it unfolded almost exactly as he had planned.</P>

<P> An important turning point, he said, came on June 16, when the Marines began asserting their authority by disarming members of the Kosovo Liberation Army.</P>

<P> "From that, the word got out. Don't mess with the Marines; they'll get it in your face," Glueck said.</P>

<P> In all, the Marines confiscated 491 rifles, 87 pistols and 807 other unspecified weapons, the colonel said. They also detained 84 Kosovar Albanians, 15 Serbs and one Gypsy woman who was caught stealing clothes, he said.</P>

<P> Glueck said he believed both the Serbs and Albanians were still hiding many weapons. He estimated that the rebel KLA has turned over only one-third of its weapons. In a brief interview after his meeting with Jones, Glueck expressed doubt about the evenhandedness of Russian troops who will be patrolling a northern portion of the U.S. sector in Kosovo.</P>

<P> When a small number of Russian soldiers scouted the area recently, they flashed the three-fingered Serbian nationalist sign, Glueck said. Russia, which strongly opposed the NATO bombing, has historic cultural and political ties to Serbia. Asked how he thought coordination with the Russian forces would work,

he replied, "Not very well." </P>

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RETURN TO TOP
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<P>Navy Times

July 26, 1999

Pg. 8</P>

<P>Training Time Sliced 20% More Aviators Speeded To Fleet</P>

<P>By Bradley Peniston, Times Staff Writer</P>

<P>Eighteen months after naval aviation got serious about streamlining its stop
-and-start training process, it's taking less time to turn newly minted Navy an
d Marine Corps officers into fleet aviators.</P>

<P>The average time-to-train has dropped by 16 percent, a good start toward the
goal of a 40 percent reduction, said Capt. A.J. Gallardo, who is coordinating
the streamlining for the Navy's director of air warfare.</P>

<P>"Production" is up as well. More than 1,200 new aviators will join the fleet
in 1999, up 200 from last year.</P>

<P>"These numbers put the three-year Naval Aviation Production Process Improvem
ent effort about 12 months ahead of schedule," Gallardo said.</P>

<P>He noted the biggest challenges are over: getting the Navy's fleet squadrons
and training commands and personnel bureau to work together and figuring out h
ow to predict and control the flow of students through the pipeline.</P>

<P>In early 1998, the leaders of the Navy's air warfare office, training comman
d, air training command, personnel bureau and Atlantic and Pacific air forces j
oined forces with the Marine Corps' air training commander to iron the huge wri
nkles from the training process. </P>

<P>At the extreme, new strike pilots were taking up to four years to enter the fleet. These delays hurt manning, morale and retention and cut operating time, naval aviation officials said.</P>

<P>The streamlining effort is designed to shrink the time-to-train. The strike pipeline, for example, will come down to 30 months. Currently, it takes an F/A-18 Hornet pilot an average of 45 months, down slightly from the 48-month extreme.</P>

<P>Progress has come largely by rethinking the process, not by adding planes or parts.</P>

<P>"This isn't the 1980s Navy approach: throw money at the problem until it goes away," Gallardo said. "This was a business approach." </P>

<P>For example, training squadrons and personnel bureau officials have been working closely to keep experienced aircraft maintainers from needlessly switching to another community. As well, most of the "pools" of students who sit idle for weeks or months in the middle of the process have been shifted to the front of the pipeline, allowing a more efficient, predictable flow. </P>

<P>Other problems may yet require solving anew. One major problem was keeping enough aircraft flying at the fleet replacement squadrons, where newly winged aviators learn to operate their assigned birds. Different communities solved it in different ways.</P>

<P>The EA-6B Prowler community "borrowed" aircraft from the already-strapped fleet squadrons, while the S-3 Viking training squadron commandeered extra maintenance people instead.</P>

<P>Neither of these may be permanent solutions, but "they are the right thing for the short term," Gallardo said.</P>

<P>Next up: program review</P>

<P>The next step for naval aviation: taking a fresh look at the training programs themselves.</P>

<P>"We started with certain presumptions, including that the CNO's training requirements were correct," Gallardo said.</P>

<P>But as naval aviation begins to approach its time-to-train goals, the various communities are reviewing their programs to make sure aviators are prepared for their ever-multiplying missions.</P>

<P>The new T-45C jet trainer may help as well.</P>

<P>Its state-of-the-art systems might allow part of the hectic FRS curriculum to move to the less-strapped intermediate training squadrons, Gallardo said.</P>

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<P>Norfolk Virginian-Pilot

July 19, 1999</P>

<P>Norfolk-Based Salvage Ship Joins Search For Plane</P>

<P>By Joe Humphrey, The Virginian-Pilot </P>

<P> NORFOLK -- The salvage ship Grasp, thrust into the spotlight three years ago when it helped recover the wreckage of TWA Flight 800, is heading for the center of attention again.</P>

<P> The ship, stationed at Little Creek Naval Amphibious Base, left Sunday for the waters off Martha's Vineyard, Mass. Upon its arrival, expected late today, the Grasp will join the Coast Guard and other agencies in pinpointing the location of the plane piloted by John F. Kennedy Jr.</P>

<P> ``It's a big ocean and we're looking for a small plane," said Lt. Cmdr. Eric Anderson, the ship's commanding officer.</P>

<P> Boats have been searching for the plane since Saturday morning. Some luggage, a plane wheel and other debris have washed ashore.</P>

<P> The Grasp will bring another search tool -- a Remote Operating Vehicle. The ROV, which is tethered to the ship, is equipped with underwater video cameras and sonar, and is controlled remotely from aboard the ship.</P>

<P> ``It's like a big Nintendo," explained Lee Wolford of the Navy's Deep Ocean Search and Salvage.</P>

<P> Once Kennedy's Piper Saratoga II HP aircraft is found, the Grasp's 100-member crew will lead the effort to extract it from the Atlantic Ocean.</P>

<P> Seventeen divers are aboard the ship to search for the plane or help prepare for its retrieval. The plane was last spotted on radar at 9:39 p.m. Friday, about 17 miles from the island.</P>

<P> Sailors stationed aboard the Grasp were notified about 10 p.m. Saturday of their departure at noon Sunday.</P>

<P> With the disappearance of John F. Kennedy Jr., his wife, Carolyn Bessette Kennedy, and her sister Lauren dominating the news Saturday, sailors said they weren't surprised to hear of their mission.</P>

<P> ``I anticipated getting the call," said Petty Officer 1st Class Bryan Chambers, a 16-year Navy veteran. On his first ship, the Sunbird, Chambers was part of a team that recovered the space shuttle Challenger in 1986.</P>

<P> The Grasp's involvement is the area's second connection to the latest Kennedy tragedy. A unit based at Langley Air Force Base in Hampton coordinated early search efforts.</P>

<P> Despite the high profile of this mission, sailors say there is no increased pressure.</P>

<P> ``Every mission is equally important," Senior Chief Petty Officer Glenn Hunsinger said.</P>

<P> It's not likely that Kennedy, his wife and her sister are alive, which makes this more of a recovery mission than a rescue.</P>

<P> But crew members still don't know what to expect. None were stationed on the Grasp in 1996, when it spent several months off the coast of Long Island, N. Y., for the recovery of TWA Flight 800. </P>

http://ebird.dtic.mil/Jul1999/s19990720building.htm	RETURN TO TOP
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</HEAD>

<P>Washington Times

July 20, 1999

Pg. C7</P>

<P>Academy Building Reopens After Scare</P>

<P> The Naval Academy reopened Rickover Hall yesterday after getting preliminary test results showing no traces of the bacteria that causes Legionnaires' disease in the building's air-conditioning tower.</P>

<P> The engineering building was closed last week after a routine test revealed a high concentration of legionella bacteria in the cooling tower. No classes are held in the building during the summer, but it is used by faculty members, clerical staff and lab employees.</P>

<P> New tests were taken after the tower was treated to kill the bacteria.</P>

<P> Final results will not be in for about a week, and employees can work elsewhere if they feel uncomfortable returning to Rickover Hall, academy spokeswoman Karen Meyers said.</P>

<P> Preliminary results almost always are confirmed by final testing data, and "everybody feels pretty confident" that the building is safe, she said.</P>

<P> As a safety precaution, the academy is not using the cooling tower until final results are received. Towers in adjacent buildings are being used to run the air conditioning system.</P>

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<P>Washington Post

July 19, 1999

Pg. B3</P>

<P>Va. College Goes The Distance For Students</P>

<I><P>Old Dominion Offering Courses Via Satellite and the Internet for Sailors at Sea</P>

</I><P>By Craig Timberg, Washington Post Staff Writer</P>

<P> Distracted students and dense material are the curse of professors everywhere. But try keeping a classroom full of twentysomethings focused on the marketing merits of Morton salt while fighter planes roar off a flight deck overhead.</P>

<P> And, oh yeah, they're 7,000 miles away.</P>

<P> As the U.S. Navy continues to offer educational advancement to sailors at sea, the Internet and satellite hookups are taking over from the old-time correspondence courses. But few are as advanced as the graduate-level business curriculum Old Dominion University is pioneering from this quintessential Navy town.</P>

<P> The Norfolk Naval Station is the world's largest. About 100,000 military personnel and 100 ships are based in the Hampton Roads area. And Old Dominion, already a leader in what's called "distance learning," has begun offering courses to an ambitious pool of students who have a little time on their hands--like six months.</P>

<P> The courses, such as the four-hour marketing management class beamed to the U.S.S. Theodore Roosevelt in the Arabian Sea today, draw both those seeking advancement within the service and those preparing for a new life outside it. Either way, an MBA is a ticket up.</P>

<P> Lt. Thomas Musselman, a 26-year-old Naval Academy graduate serving as a deck officer on the aircraft carrier, has visions of starting an Internet company when his commitment is up in May. Or maybe he and a buddy will start the military affairs newsletter they've been dreaming of.</P>

<P> "I think an MBA would certainly benefit me, whether I started my own business or worked for another one," said the blurry, digitalized image of Musselman as he spoke over the same two-way satellite link used for the class.</P>

<P> The technology of distance learning has improved remarkably since Old Dominion began beaming courses to area military sites 16 years ago.</P>

<P> Back then, the university routinely had to send a staff member onto the roof on windy days to keep the microwave antenna on target.</P>

<P> Today's course traveled via land-based phone lines to New Jersey before beaming to a satellite and back down to the Roosevelt. Assignments and office hours happen by e-mail. And to make the course as user-friendly as possible, its time--6 p.m. to 10 p.m. each Sunday--doesn't change for its entire 11 weeks.</P>

<P> The professor and university techs adjust their schedule as the ship slips through time zones on the way to the world's hot spots. The Roosevelt flew sorties over Serbia and Kosovo a few months back and now is targeting Iraqi air-defense systems from its base in the Persian Gulf.</P>

<P> Seven business administration courses have been beamed to three carriers since the program began nearly two years ago. So far, only one class has been lost to technical glitches despite the perils of technology and the high seas--including a plane crash.</P>

<P> "You've got a bunch of bright kids out there itching for an education," said retired Navy Capt. F. Richard Whalen, Old Dominion's military liaison. "We've done this through aircraft mishaps, wars, good days and bad."</P>

<P> Whalen said the cost is small: about \$1,000 per student for the Navy plus a one-time cost of \$40,000 to equip the ships with wiring, monitors and cameras for the satellite link. Old Dominion officials take sometimes-harrowing flights to sign up students on their ships.</P>

<P> The Navy hopes that the offerings will persuade both officers and enlisted personnel to make careers in the service, but officials say it's a good investment even for those who opt out sooner.</P>

<P> "It makes our sailors better and more productive for the Navy," said Capt. David R. Bryant, skipper of the Roosevelt.</P>

<P> Many are like Lt. Bowen W. Ranney, who's getting married in October and hopes to start a business with his new wife, perhaps after his commitment ends next May. She's a graphic artist who could use a little help on the business end, Ranney said.</P>

<P> "I'm trying to find a way I can cash in on all her abilities," he said.</P>

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<TD ALIGN=RIGHT>RETURN TO TOP</TD></TR></TABLE>
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<P>Defense Week

July 19, 1999

Pg. 8</P>

<U><P>Q&A</P>

</U><P>Information Warfare No Longer Just Defense</P>

<P> Capt. Jim Newmans title hasnt changed yet. But he promises i
t wont be long until hes no longer known as the Navys division director for Inf
ormation Warfare. Instead, because of the widening realm of both the defensive
and offensive nature of his work, he will become the division director of Infor
mation Operations.</P>

<P> Over the years, Newman has served in a wide variety of assignments, inc
luding assistant chief of staff at the Navys Central Command (NAVCENT) in the M
iddle East, executive officer at Naval Computer and Telecommunications Area Mas
ter Station for the Western Pacific region, program manager for Navy C4I and In
formation Warfare training, and Training and Commanding Officer of the Naval Se
curity Group Activity.</P>

<P> In a recent interview at his office in Arlington, Va., Newman told Defe
nse Week reporter <i>David Abel</i> how internal saboteurs represent the greate
st danger to Navy information systems, how the Navy is shoring up its vulnerabi
lity to cyber-attacks and generally assessed the threat of cyber-war to the Uni
ted States.</P>

<P> DW: Are information operations the militarys Achilles heel, in t
he sense that we have come to rely so much on computer technology and computer
networks that if they were corrupted somehow, we might not be able to effective
ly prosecute a serious conflict?</P>

<P> Newman: The United States has 46 percent of the worlds computing
capacity. Thats a huge target. And the essential fact of networked operations
is that any vulnerability that exists anywhere within that network is shared am
ong all the users of that network I wouldnt call it an Achilles heel, I wo
uld call it an Achilles potbelly. Its a huge target. Its a reason for great con
cern. So what we do about it is try as hard as we can to first of all define wh
at those ... weaknesses that are most inimical to our health are, and not use t
hem.</P>

<P> DW: What types of weaknesses?</P>

<P> Newman: Im talking about ... a whole series of protocols designe
d in the Internet structure to enable me to pull data out of your location or f
or me to provide a timing signal to be able to control printers in a variety of
locations When the Internet was created, the idea was for everybody to be
able to talk to everybody. So it was designed with the opposite of protection
in mind</P>

<P> What we do is identify the vulnerabilities that we know exist, try to r
estRICT their use in a number of different procedural and configuration type of
ways, and employ a whole array of tools to try to defend our networks. There i
snt any one security solution that guarantees a piece of network or a network w
ill be safe.</P>

<P> DW: Is it possible to develop an invulnerable system?</P>

<P> Newman: Yes. It is possible. The way you do it is by not connecting it to anyone but those whom you trust. You can create a network that is a closed network of trusted individuals. And as long as there are no connections to the outside world, you're safe</P>

<P> DW: Is Internet- or Intranet-type technology antithetical to the military in the sense that it's meant to share information, whereas information is generally closely guarded in the military when those who don't have to know something don't?</P>

<P> Newman: The military, like any large organization, has business operations that need to be conducted. And one of the metrics is the efficiency and the speed of conducting whatever those business operations are. Some of them equate to combat situations. But many of them don't. Many of them equate to organizing or moving across an area, not accomplishing war objectives.</P>

<P> DW: But do too many hands in the pot heighten the risk?</P>

<P> Newman: Moving information through the military organization is largely powerful and positive, and not inherently a risk. The risk, as we move toward secrets, becomes: Do people who ought not to have access to secrets have access? And the answer is we have the same mechanisms that we've had for many years that control access to classified information.</P>

<P> DW: How vulnerable is the Navy compared to the other services, being that secure networks are so important to ships at sea?</P>

<P> Newman: I don't think we are significantly more or less vulnerable or more or less attacked than the other services. There are different types of attackers like the hacker community that see the Department of Defense as a Mount Everest that they want to try to scale. And if they can scale it, they've been successful, whether it's Navy, Army or Air Force.</P>

<P> DW: But is there anything that makes the Navy more vulnerable, in terms of types of communications ships at sea have to use?</P>

<P> Newman: Good question. For the network vulnerability, the answer is no. We share the same network vulnerability with all the other services. Larger vulnerability issues are something I think the Navy considers that are of prime importance. The Navy's basic operating premise is that we do our business out in the world's oceans on a daily basis. We aren't a garrisoned force In terms of information, we're visible on the horizon. If you're in Macedonia, and you look out into the Adriatic, you see an aircraft carrier.</P>

<P> DW: Was there anything gleaned by the Navy in terms of information warfare from the Kosovo conflict, and was there any influence that the Russian surveillance ship had on the fleet's operation in the Adriatic?</P>

<P> Newman: The lessons learned from Kosovo [are] an ongoing process. I think the simple answer is that information really matters. We watched Slobodan Milosevic effectively employ some information tools through artful decimation or restriction of information within his country.</P>

<P> DW: The investment strategy for the 21st century relies on the r

apid insertion of commercial technology. Does that create increased vulnerability in terms of being able to breach insecure systems?

Newman: The answer is certainly. Relying on commercial technology stuff we didn't make ourselves inherits a set of vulnerabilities that we have to be sensitive to. Again, we do all that we can to understand vulnerabilities as we import them. The other side of that coin is that commercial technology offers us tremendous opportunities to do what we do more effectively.

The Defense Department appropriation on a good year is maybe \$280 billion. Sounds like a lot of money. The commercial information technology business in the United States this year is \$1.5 trillion and another \$1.5 trillion in the rest of the world If we ignored the tremendous power that comes out of that \$3 trillion worth of investment, we would be turning our backs on a repository of unimaginable wealth.

DW: You recently told me there were 12,000 attacks on the Navy each year, but you said only a half of 1 percent of those were successful. Can you define a successful attack?

Newman: Success means an outsider was able to get into a system of ours and extract data, destroy data, deny our access to our data. Anything that manipulates data, destroys data, inserts new data for their purposes is a successful intrusion.

DW: Could you give a few examples of how that has happened?

Newman: The most common, and accounts for almost all of that half of 1 percent, are hackers who get into our publicly accessible Web sites and succeed in altering the data, i.e. the words on the screen We've had 80-odd successful intrusions this year, and 60 of them have been Web-site hacks ... It's really the same as when a kid with a can of paint sprays graffiti on the wall . We count them as attacks, but they're really not significant.

The next most common attack is a denial of service. That's where someone doesn't get our data, but keeps us from getting our data. There are a variety of ways they can do that. But it's basically a spam attack. Overloading a particular server with nuisance calls The last category is when someone achieves a level of access that enables him or her to query for information or embed new files on the network.

DW: How many times has that happened?

Newman: Fewer than 10. It's like four or five, actually. That has only happened in our unclassified network.

DW: How much of a threat is a disgruntled sailor who, let's say, has had enough of a deployment or wants to sabotage the mission? Is it as easy as just sticking a floppy disk into a server and uploading a virus?

Newman: Since World War II, since Korea, since Vietnam, all of the serious damage to the national security happened from insiders How do we protect ourselves from ourselves is an ongoing issue that we work with. And,

again, one of the ways we do it is with devices like intrusion-detection systems that are looking for anomalous behavior We have the cyber equivalents of badges and trusted agents who vouch for individuals and say, "Yes, this person can have that much access."

DW: Would that discount the benefits of the multibillion-dollar planned intranet for the Navy? If there are 450,000 work stations available, as is planned, doesn't that raise the odds of an inside threat?

Newman: If you gave everybody access to everything, I would say undoubtedly yes. But we don't give everybody access to everything. We partition ourselves to the extent that we are able.

DW: Finally, would you please outline your priorities?

Newman: Broadly, the highest priority is to continue to try to improve the assurance that our networks will operate safely and securely [They include:] The fielding of the equipment such as firewalls, intrusion-detection systems, Melissa-code checkers and all that stuff and the ability to see across all our networks.

http://ebird.dtic.mil/Jul1999/s19990720worker.htm
RETURN TO TOP

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<P>Forbes

July 26, 1999

Pg. 248</P>

<P>Worker Bees</P>

<I><P>Microchip backpacks turn insects into minesweepers. </P>

</I><P>By Nikhil Hutheesing </P>

<P> REMEMBER HOW MINERS once carried canaries to give them early warning of

dangerous fumes? Now scientists are preparing bees to do a similar good deed, by seeking out toxic chemicals, even forgotten land mines. </P>

<P> The man behind the bees is Jerry J. Bromenshenk, an entomologist with the University of Montana in Missoula. In the early 1990s he demonstrated his bees' prowess by scattering hives across southeastern Idaho, near pine trees that were suffering from a mysterious plague of brown needles. When the bees returned to the hive, Bromenshenk froze them solid and shipped them home for analysis. It turned out the bees had inhaled fluoride, which came from nearby industrial plants. </P>

<P> Since then, Bromenshenk's bees have become more technologically advanced. For one thing, they don't have to die to do their jobs. </P>

<P> The U.S. Army has given them a chance to be all they can be, by monitoring military landfills for toxic fumes. Bromenshenk sets up hives nearby and tracks the bees as they go in and out. The same statically charged hairs that normally snag pollen also bring back dangerous chemicals, which are detected by an electronic system that sucks air from the hive onto an absorbent material. The material then gets analyzed. </P>

<P> At the Old O-Field landfill, on an Army base north of Baltimore, the bees detected gas, diesel fuel and solvents from dry-cleaning fluid. The Army capped the landfill with sand and gravel, then Bromenshenk repeated the process to make sure the landfill was safe. </P>

<P> Now comes the bees' biggest mission yet: detecting land mines. "We anesthetize the bees with carbon dioxide and then glue tags onto their backs," explains Ronald Gilbert, who is testing the technology at the Pacific Northwest National Laboratory, in Richland, Wash. </P>

<P> The tags contain radio-frequency-emitting chips, much like the ones stores put on clothes to thwart shoplifters. The laboratory's workers shrank the tags to half the size of a grain of rice. Antennas at the entrance to the hive pick up radio frequency signals from the tag. A computer analyzes the data to tell whether bees are coming or going. </P>

<P> Upon returning to the hive, each bee is identified by its tag and greeted with a puff of air. The air sweeps molecules into a mass spectrometer, which measures their atomic weights and compares the results with those for TNT. If the explosive is identified, the computer system updates its map of known minefields. Police then post warning signs for as long as it takes sappers to remove the mines. </P>

<P> One of these days, though, Bromenshenk would like to do away with chips and electronics. "We have proven that bees are excellent samplers of their surroundings," he says. "What I want to do next is see if bees can use their visual and olfactory senses to find things." </P>

<P> It's anyone's guess whether that is possible. But Bromenshenk is giving it a shot. He's training his bees much as you might train a dog to search for drugs--through positive reinforcement. By giving the bee a little TNT dipped in sugary syrup, for instance, he conditions it to love the smell of the explosive. </P>

<P> The Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency, the research arm of the Department of Defense, is spending \$3 million over the next three years on bee research. If it turns out that the bees can discover land mines, DARPA expects to make it all back by selling the bee reconnaissance system to armies around the world. </P>

<P> So far, insect rights activists have not protested this research. </P>

http://ebird.dtic.mil/Jul1999/s19990720gathering.htm	RETURN TO TOP
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</HEAD>

<P>Washington Post

July 18, 1999

Pg. 26</P>

<P>Gathering War-Crimes Evidence--In 3-D</P>

<I><P>In Kosovo, German Camera Team Prepares Images to Help Tribunal Build Case</P>

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

<P> GNJILANE, YugoslaviaUp and down the rutted, narrow streets of this south eastern Kosovo town, a black van with darkened windows makes its bumpy way.</P>

<P> Ethnic Albanian children stop and wave, often flashing the two-finger sign that means either peace or victory. They yell "NATO!" and "Hello!" as they do to any clearly alien vehicle that might be carrying the soldiers, reporters, bureaucrats and relief workers who have invaded the province since the allied bombing campaign ended a month ago.</P>

<P> But this is an unusual vehicle. On its roof are mounted eight cameras that are constantly whirring at what goes by--25 to 50 still frames a second. In

side, amid a cramped welter of wires, boxes and computer equipment, screens show a technician what the cameras are recording: the streets and buildings of Gnjilane, captured at thousands of angles.</P>

<P> This van is systematically gathering the raw material for a comprehensive three-dimensional digitized portrait of a devastated Kosovo.</P>

<P> The German team in the van and in an advance jeep marked "UN," are under contract to the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia to produce what amounts to an "after" picture of the province that can be used as evidence in trials of suspected war criminals.</P>

<P> There are no "before" pictures, beyond what residents might have snapped in the normality of their prewar lives. "But we can assume that people were not living in demolished houses or working in gutted storefronts," said a tribunal prosecutor inspecting the van's harvest of 1 million frames from 12 hours of driving the day before.</P>

<P> As tribunal investigators envision it, when witnesses testify about what happened last spring, their accounts will be accompanied by high-tech visual corroboration of what they are describing--making a more convincing package of evidence for the judges at the U.N. court in The Hague.</P>

<P> The German high-tech imaging project is one of the ways the tribunal hopes to cope with the pressures of preserving, if only virtually, the massive "crime scene" that Kosovo represents before the rebuilding begins and the evidence disappears.</P>

<P> The "contamination" of hundreds of atrocity sites is a key problem for investigators. With limited staff and resources, the tribunal cannot be everywhere in Kosovo at once, and troops from the Kosovo Force (KFOR), the NATO-led peacekeeping force, cannot protect every mass grave or wrecked building while waiting for investigators to arrive.</P>

<P> When the team's work is done, in a couple of months, Kosovo will have one of the most sophisticated maps ever made of any place its size in the world.</P>

<P> Project leader Claudia Bauer-Spiegel said that in Kosovo there are few municipal maps of any kind, and seldom any street signs or street numbers, even in a town the size of Gnjilane, population 45,000.</P>

<P> Thus the little caravan noses its way in and out of streets, squeezing past cars or through crowds, hitting blind alleys, circling almost by instinct to be sure nothing is missed.</P>

<P> There is no need to take notes. The van's equipment, as well as a handheld camera the team uses to supplement its shooting, are linked to satellites that constantly pinpoint where each image was taken.</P>

<P> If investigators want to check an account of an event, they will need only to click on a town's name or coordinates on a computer screen and a processed, lifelike image of a street will blossom</P>

<P> Although Gnjilane is relatively free of the gutted, blackened structures that mark Yugoslav and Serbian forces' sacking of Kosovo's ethnic Albanian homes and businesses, the cameras do not discriminate. Other towns along the route make for more shattering imagery. Pozaranje, southwest from Gnjilane, is all but uninhabitable--the houses burned, wrecked and emptied.</P>

<P> The imaging project chief, Bauer-Spiegel, works for Tele-Info GmbH, a small company headquartered between Hamburg and Hanover. Its commercial specialty is creating visual imagery of every street in major German cities for use by such clients as insurance companies, banks, emergency services and law enforcement authorities. Tele-Info's CD-ROM of 12 German cities will be out later this summer.</P>

<P> The idea of approaching the war crimes tribunal came from Bauer-Spiegel. Early in the NATO bombing campaign in April, she saw chief prosecutor Louise Arbour on CNN lamenting that the tribunal lacked photographic records to prove systematic crimes.</P>

<P> "I thought: 'This is it. We have what they need,' " said Bauer-Spiegel, who quickly persuaded company president Ralf Sood to take on what she describes as a "zero-loss"--that is, non-profitable--project. Tribunal officials would not reveal the cost of the imaging effort except to say, according to one, that it was "very expensive" and "worth the money."</P>

http://ebird.dtic.mil/Jul1999/s19990720year.htm
RETURN TO TOP

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<P>New York Times

July 18, 1999</P>

<P>A Year After Bombings, A Case Of Diplo-Jitters</P>

<P>By Philip Shenon</P>

<P> WASHINGTON -- The U.S. Embassy in Madagascar, a coffee-growing island nation hundreds of miles off the east coast of Africa, might not seem a likely target for terrorists from the faraway Middle East. </P>

<P> But the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency are worried that followers of Osama bin Laden, the Saudi-born terrorist suspect, have had the U.S. compound under surveillance in preparation for an attack this summer. As a result, the embassy has been shuttered for most of the last month. </P>

<P> The closing of U.S. embassies, those flag-flying symbols of U.S. power and influence, was once about as common as a snowstorm on the palm-shaded beaches of Madagascar. </P>

<P> But in the year since terrorist bombs destroyed U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania and killed 224 people, 67 U.S. embassies and consulates have been closed for some period of time for security reasons. In June alone, six U.S. embassies in Africa were shut down because of terrorist threats. </P>

<P> The State Department has no comparable figure for the prior 12-month period. But it says the number of closings in the year since the August explosions in East Africa, which the United States has blamed on bin Laden, dwarfs that for the previous year. </P>

<P> "I think some of the swagger around here has disappeared," said a senior department official who has served at large embassies in Europe and Asia. "Once you treated the threat of terrorism as the price of being a diplomat. You didn't demand resources for embassy security. Now you do." </P>

<P> The embassy closings reflect both a heightened awareness of security -- diplomats say they are much more likely to report suspicious people loitering near an embassy -- and intelligence reports suggesting that bin Laden's followers are about to strike again. </P>

<P> State Department officials say the bombings in East Africa left some U.S. ambassadors frantic about the vulnerability of their embassies, and a number have flooded the department with requests for better security or new buildings. </P>

<P> Many U.S. diplomats were startled to learn after the embassy bombing in Nairobi, Kenya, that the U.S. ambassador there, Prudence Bushnell, had been pleading to the State Department for months for money to build a safer compound; her requests had been turned down for lack of money. </P>

<P> A recent survey by the department found that 80 percent of U.S. embassies and other diplomatic offices did not meet security standards set in the 1980s requiring that the buildings be at least 100 feet away from the street to protect against car bombs. </P>

<P> "I wouldn't say that panic is the word, but there's a tremendous amount of concern," said another senior department official. "We know these 2,000-pound truck bombs are a new, ominous threat." </P>

<P> Some diplomats, angered by bureaucratic delay in Washington, have sought help from private security companies in the aftermath of the Africa bombings. Bechtel, the giant San Francisco-based construction company, says it has spoken with diplomats in Croatia about improving security at the highly exposed U.S. embassy in Zagreb, the capital. </P>

<P> Terrorism is also taken seriously at the State Department's headquarter
s in Washington, which has recently been ringed with concrete barricades like t
hose that surround the White House. The department is considering closing the a
iry, glass-enclosed main entrance, fearing it may present a tempting target. </
P>

<P> In seeking to improve embassy security, the department's biggest proble
m is, as always, money. </P>

<P> The department received an emergency \$1.4 billion from Congress last fa
ll to beef up embassy security, and the money has been used for enhancements li
ke alarms, closed-circuit television systems and metal detectors, as well as fo
r an extra 4,000 local guards to work along the perimeter of embassy compounds.
</P>

<P> But virtually every security consultant who has studied the problem for
the government agrees that U.S. diplomats will remain in danger until scores o
f old, vulnerable embassies are replaced with new buildings, a project that wil
l cost billions of dollars. </P>

<P> "There are many embassy buildings that can't be secured," said Jane C.
Loeffler, author of "The Architecture of Diplomacy" (Princeton Architectural Pr
ess, 1998). "Some are right on the sidewalk. They have no setback, they're old,
their walls aren't strong enough." </P>

<P> This year, a State Department panel recommended a \$14 billion budget to
improve embassy security over the next decade. But Congress and the Office of
Management and Budget have resisted a commitment to anything approaching that a
mount because of budget caps that the Clinton administration and Capitol Hill h
ave vowed to enforce. </P>

<P> State Department officials acknowledge that it will be years before som
e of its most vulnerable diplomatic buildings are replaced. Until then, America
ns traveling abroad seeking help from the local U.S. embassy had better get use
d to seeing a sign hanging from a locked front gate: "Closed." </P>


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<P>New York Times

July 20, 1999</P>

<P>Congo: Defense Ministers Talk </P>

<P> Defense ministers from countries involved in the war in Congo and their neighbors arrived in Lusaka, Zambia, to try to set up the joint military commission called for in the cease-fire signed last week. The commission is meant to oversee the withdrawal of troops from both sides, but the rebels, who did not sign the cease-fire, have continued combat operations. </P>

<P><i>--Donald G. McNeil Jr. (NYT)</i></P>

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<P>New York Times

July 20, 1999</P>

<P>Sudan: Cease-Fire Extended </P>

<P> Peace talks aimed at ending a long civil war between the Government and rebels restarted in Nairobi, with the rebels immediately declaring they would extend a partial cease-fire. The political wing of the Sudan People's Liberation Army said it would extend a cease-fire in the vast southern provinces of Bahr el Ghazal and Upper Nile. </P>

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

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<P>Philadelphia Inquirer

July 20, 1999</P>

<P>Still Hiding, Unaware War Over</P>

<I><P>Three ethnic Albanians emerged from a mine last week
after finally learning that they were safe.</P>

</I><P>By Daniel J. Wakin, Associated Press</P>

<P> STARO CIKATOVO, Yugoslavia - The bombs had stopped falling for more than a month, and Serb forces were long gone. But Sokol, Petrit and Selman Morina - three ethnic Albanians terrified by the massacre they had witnessed - remained in their hiding place in an abandoned Kosovo strip mine. </P>

<P> Wedged inside rock hollows and eating bread dough baked in the sun, the three men remained hidden until last week, when they finally emerged and were told NATO forces had freed the province five weeks earlier.</P>

<P> "I was ready to die of hunger, but not to give up to the Serbs," said Sokol Morina, 43. </P>

<P> "They told me we were free, and there were no more Serbs," he told an interviewer yesterday, saying the men hadn't realized the tanks they heard lumbering by for the last month were NATO's. "I hugged the whole village that day." </P>

<P> For nearly three months, Sokol, his nephew Petrit and cousin Selman had hidden by day in the mine's lunar landscape, drinking water from stagnant pools filtered through a handkerchief. They lived in terror that Serb patrols on the ridge above would spot them. </P>

<P> Their odyssey began on April 17 when Serb police moved into the village of Staro Cikatoovo, about an hour east of Pristina, Kosovo's capital, and began rounding up people, separating men from women and children. </P>

<P> The Morinas were brought with five others to a yard, where police demanded to know where ethnic Albanian guerrillas were hiding. Then, without warning, "they started firing," Sokol Morina said. "They didn't even make us raise our hands." </P>

<P> Sokol's father and brother were killed. But he, Petrit, Selman and a man they knew as Emin survived. Emin was badly wounded in the side. Selman suffered wounds to his forearm and back. </P>

<P> The men pretended to be dead, and the police left. Sokol tentatively called out for his brother, but got no answer. Selman stood up, and the two fled to a chicken coop to hide. Petrit carried Emin to a nearby house. </P>

<P> When night fell, Sokol and Selman moved to the edge of the iron and nickel strip mine. </P>

<P> "We thought the Serbs would never imagine anyone could live here," Sokol said. After several days, Petrit and Emin joined them. They returned periodically to the now-abandoned village for food, foraging in empty houses. </P>

<P> The four decided to seek better cover under the gnarled, red rock formations inside the strip mine. The shelter was good, but the basin was exposed to the road above and woods on the other side, where Serb forces traveled. </P>

<P> Yesterday, Sokol and Petrit displayed the rock-sheltered hollows where they lay on their backs by day, emerging only at night to talk quietly together. Rain sometimes soaked the dirt floor, and the sharp rock edges tore their hands. </P>

<P> Sokol and Petrit slept wedged inside one 2-foot-high hollow. Selman, 51, a former miner, and Emin had smaller spots nearby. A piece of dirty foam lay in Selman's hollow; plastic mineral-water bottles littered the area. </P>

<P> "This was like a prehistoric way of living," Sokol said, standing atop his rock hollow. Then, spreading his arms, he said: "I never thought I would live to stand up here. Damn, I'm free now!" </P>

<P> Sokol, a former electrician at the nearby iron and nickel plant, said he had passed his days thinking about old quarrels, conversations and soccer matches he played in his youth. Petrit, a metallurgist at the plant, wrote a diary. </P>

<P> Occasionally, crawling for an hour along a water channel for the factory, they would visit their village. Eventually they took Emin, his wound festering badly, back to the attic of his home because he could no longer stand the cold. They returned every three or four days with food and water. After two weeks, Emin was dead. </P>

<P> With more and more Serb forces occupying the village, the three thought it was too dangerous to return, so for five weeks they stayed in the strip mine, surviving on a 55-pound bag of flour. Military vehicles continued to rumble by, but the men said they didn't realize the drivers weren't Serbs anymore after mid-June, when NATO entered the province. </P>

<P> On July 12, they decided to take a chance and lit a daytime fire. Some children who saw the smoke came over. </P>

<P> "When we heard they came from our village, it was the happiest time of my life," Sokol said. </P>

<P> Sokol said his thoughts never wavered from his wife and children, refugees in Germany. They didn't know he was alive, but Sokol was able to use a visitor's satellite phone to leave word with a relative living there - and found out his sixth child had been born only days earlier. Her name is Donika. </P>

<P> "It's a great pleasure that I survived, but the biggest pleasure will be when I see my family," he said. </P>

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<P>European Stars And Stripes

July 20, 1999

Pg. 4</P>

<P>Airstrike Report May Fuel Debate</P>

<I><P>Successes, failures studied</P>

</I><P>By Robert Wright, The Financial Times</P>

<P> PRISTINA, Kosovo Just after the start of NATO bombing of Serbia and Kosovo in March, two 1,000-pound bombs hit the fifth floor of the eight-story Pristina police headquarters, leaving a gaping hole and a now-useless building. Other bombs hit the buildings communications center, and one knocked over the nearby radio mast. </P>

<P> It was, says Air Force Col. Brian McDonald, a textbook case of very precise precision bombing. The story hit was exactly the right one. The fifth floor

r was chosen to give margin for error if the bombs strayed. The rear of the building, away from the street, was chosen to avoid civilian casualties and damage to other buildings.</P>

<P> McDonald surveys the building with a smile and says: "It doesn't look as if any business was conducted in it after it was hit."</P>

<P> If air warfare always worked so well, McDonald's work as head of the Kosovo Munitions Effectiveness Assessment Team would be unnecessary. Instead, his team's report promises to fuel an intense debate about whether NATO's whole air campaign worked as well as its impressive successes against key buildings.</P>

<P> Arguments have raged about both wider aspects of the air campaign and the narrow areas being examined by McDonald. His team is looking only at how well NATO hit targeted buildings and military vehicles.</P>

<P> The fate of the Kukaj family doesn't fall within his remit. However, in a war conducted on a propaganda as well as a military level, one of the most serious blows to NATO came when cartridge bombs were dropped on the enclosure where the Kukaj family and 600 others were sheltering in the village of Korisa, in southern Kosovo.</P>

<P> The 86 resultant deaths were treated at the time as a tragic NATO error. However, Mrs. Kukaj's account of the incident raises even more difficult tactical problems about fighting ground forces with air power. She says the refugees were in the compound, which had been a paramilitary police weapons store because they were sent there by Serbian forces clearing the village.</P>

<P> But the key questions for McDonald will be prompted by the apparent absence of burned-out vehicles to back up NATO claims that large numbers of Serbian tanks were destroyed. However, McDonald refuses so far to give a figure to compare with Serbian forces' reported claims to have lost only 13 tanks.</P>

<P> On a visit to Pristina last week, British Defence Secretary George Robertson defended the air campaign's effectiveness. He said: "When people ask us how much damage we did, my answer to that is: Enough. We did enough."</P>


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<P>New York Times

July 20, 1999</P>

<P>Movie Sets Serbs' Emotions On Edge</P>

<P>By Chris Hedges</P>

<P> BELGRADE, Serbia -- The most popular movie this summer in Serbia is a historical drama about war, love and vengeance called "The Knife." </P>

<P> It has a chillingly familiar Balkan opening. A polite, well-scrubbed family is at dinner when armed men burst into the house, rape the young mother and then plunge knives into bodies and shoot helpless men and women. The village is looted, almost everyone is massacred and the homes are set ablaze. </P>

<P> This movie has nothing -- yet everything -- to do with Kosovo. It is a film that depicts the killings of hundreds of thousands of Serbs during World War II by the Croatian fascists and their Muslim allies. </P>

<P> It seems to justify contemporary revenge and to perpetuate the idea that the Serbs, even after Croatia, Bosnia and Kosovo, remain the region's victims. </P>

<P> Vuk Draskovic, the leading opposition politician, wrote the novel on which the film is based in 1982, long before entering politics and almost a decade before the wars of Yugoslavia's destruction began. </P>

<P> Draskovic said he had nothing to do with making the movie, which opened before the war over Kosovo, was taken off screen during the conflict and is now playing again. But he told the daily Blic that he was glad to see the film, only wishing it had been made before war started in Yugoslavia in 1991. </P>

<P> " 'The Knife' would have helped outsiders to understand the roots of these wars," Draskovic said, referring to the World War II massacres that many Serbs felt were too little acknowledged in the old Communist Yugoslavia. As that federation disintegrated, emotions about the massacres fed Serbian nationalism and, among some Serbs, a desire for revenge. </P>

<P> "Crimes that are not punished are repeated," Draskovic said. The crimes committed by the Croatian Fascists, known as the Ustashe, were "erased," Draskovic said. </P>

<P> "If the Serbs had acted, as they should have," he said, "they would not have tarred the Muslims and the Croats with collective guilt for the genocide committed in World War II against the Serbs. But this did not happen, and everything exploded again. Everything has been repeated." </P>

<P> Critics of the author and of such a blanket exculpation of recent Serbian crimes say the movie encourages the belief that historical wrongs committed more than 50 years ago give license to settle scores with later generations. </P>

P>

<P> "Draskovic considers himself a reasonable nationalist," said Stojan Cerovic, a columnist for the independent magazine Vreme, "but he questions in his writings the right of those in the former Yugoslavia to practice the Muslim religion. He insists that Muslims are really Serbs who converted to Islam, yet he also portrays Muslims as bloodthirsty and brutal Turks. His denial of Muslim identity is itself a profound act of aggression." </P>

<P> In the novel, and the film, it is 1941 in Herzegovina, a mountainous area of western Bosnia that historically was dominated in its east by Orthodox Serbs, and in its west by Roman Catholic Croats. The royalist government in Belgrade has capitulated to the Germans, and a demobilized Serbian soldier returns home. </P>

<P> The soldier's mother acidly comments that the Serbs "must again live under Turkish rule," implying that 500 years of Ottoman occupation that ended in 1918 have returned with the Nazi occupation. Snarling, unshaven and swarthy-looking Muslims, all with red fezzes on their heads, inform the Serbian peasant family that their fields now belong to the Muslims, because "your state is finished." </P>

<P> The pious family, with a Serbian Orthodox priest seated at the head of the table, sits down for Christmas dinner. The Muslim neighbors burst in, are welcomed as guests, but bind the Serbs to the chairs. The Muslims rape a young mother, in a scene that never seems to end, before knifing and shooting their victims. </P>

<P> The gruesome images on the screen include blood dripping on the face of Christ as liturgical music pumps out of the sound system. Father Nikifor, the Orthodox priest, cries out as he is burned alive in his church: "God sees everything. We will get justice." </P>

<P> His Muslim killers grin and chuckle as the flames engulf him. And justice, if justice means revenge, becomes the theme of the film. </P>

<P> The infant of the young mother survives. He is given to a Muslim woman and named Alija. The local imam informs the villagers that since the baby has not been baptized, "he has not yet been dirtied." </P>

<P> It is wartime, and the Chetniks, Serbian royalist irregulars who fought the Germans, attack the village and gun down most of the Muslims. The shooting evoked applause in the theater at a recent showing. Informed that a Serbian child is living with a Muslim family, the Chetniks take an infant, but they take the wrong boy: a Muslim who is then raised as a Serb. </P>

<P> An encounter between the two boys, now grown, during the most recent war in Bosnia concludes the film, a setting presumably altered to reflect events after the book was written. The reunion takes place during a battle scene that shows Muslims and Serbs fighting on equal footing, rather than Serbian forces rounding up and expelling Muslim villagers from their homes or raining shells on a besieged Sarajevo. </P>

<P> The Serbian soldiers are depicted as honorable and pious -- like those

killed in the opening moments of the movie. The movie is peppered with assaults on Muslim identity, bolstering a view held by many Serbs that the Slavic Muslims of Bosnia and in other parts of the old Yugoslav federation are descendants of Serbs who converted to Islam during Ottoman rule. </P>

<P> Dragan Nikolic, a well-known Serbian actor who plays a Muslim cleric in the movie, has said that the most important sentence in the film is that "there are no better Muslims than Serb converts." </P>

<P> Serbs are portrayed in the film as educated, cultured and urban. Muslims are shown in squalid stone huts, dressed in traditional baggy dress and surrounded by chickens and sheep. The film has only two sympathetic Muslims. </P>

<P> The first, who has stolen the property of his Serbian neighbors as an Ustaše soldier, atones for his guilt and commits suicide. The second, the Muslim cleric portrayed by Nikolic, informs Alija that all Muslims are descended from Serbs and have committed crimes against the Serbian people. </P>

<P> In one of the final scenes, the cleric is shown kneeling in the gutted remains of a Serbian home crossing himself and asking for forgiveness. </P>

<P> In Belgrade, viewers seem to go home with the message that the recent wars are part of a struggle for identity that has bedeviled the Balkans for centuries and continues. </P>

<P> "There is a connection between the events portrayed in the film, and the conflicts today," said Milan Roncevic, 58, a refugee from Bosnia. "The film points out that religious identity is the greatest problem in our society and always has been." </P>

<P> Predrag Milovic, 26, was standing on the street after the movie. "I wept when I read the book and I wept when I saw the film," he said. "It is all true. We are all the same people. It is like physics: for every action there is a reaction. All sides have done bad things. Who can say who is guilty?" </P>

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<P>Washington Post

July 18, 1999

Pg. 25</P>

<P>Kosovo Village Stands At Heart Of Crime Scene</P>

<I><P>Number of Victims, Brutality of Deaths Prove Jarring
to Seasoned Investigators</P>

</I><P>By Dan Eggen, Washington Post Staff Writer</P>

<P> CELINA, Yugoslavia Worn and muddy, the passports and identification papers rustle in the hot wind of a Kosovo summer, stuck gently amid the roses scattered on piles of fresh red earth.</P>

<P> There are 21 booklets in all, one for each of the bullet-riddled corpses that lay below. The ethnic Albanian victims were apparently sprayed with gunfire as they cowered in a gully three yards away. Fifteen were members of the same family; six were less than 10 years old when killed; the youngest wore diapers.</P>

<P> A third of a mile away, perched on a hill above the red-tile roofs and carved-wood gates of this typical Kosovo Albanian village, Detective Superintendent William Gent of New Scotland Yard huddles under a sweltering tent. He is poring over evidence, preparing to unearth the bodies below.</P>

<P> Passports, jewelry, bloodstained clothing and other personal items will help identify victims. Eyewitness accounts and spent bullets will aid in determining who did the killing. Autopsies will confirm the ages and cause of death.</P>

<P> Gent's 18-member team--along with a half-dozen other groups from the FBI and other Western law enforcement agencies--are at ground zero in the U.N. war crimes tribunal's effort to build a case against Serbian and Yugoslav officials for atrocities committed against ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, marrying the established discipline of criminal investigation with the uncertain efforts of war crimes prosecution.</P>

<P> The investigators are using the same basic forensic techniques that they would at any murder site, except that most murder sites don't have scores of victims. Most victims aren't buried on top of each other in remote fields, charred or decayed beyond recognition. And most killers don't come in uniformed squads, armed with machine guns and hand grenades.</P>

<P> "At its core, it is exactly the same as any other standard, forensic crime scene investigation," Gent said, standing 100 feet from a burned farmhouse that held seven executed ethnic Albanians. "The difference is the size of the crime scene, the sheer number of victims, and the brutal, brutal way they were killed. . . . Everybody here is experienced in dealing with murders, but no one has experience dealing with anything quite like this."</P>

<P> Celina is at the epicenter of what is proving to be the heaviest concentration

tration of mass graves in Kosovo. More than 50 bodies, mostly women and children, have been exhumed so far from eight grave sites in this 3,000-person settlement, and investigators expect to find as many as 50 more. Hundreds of others have been unearched from the clay soil in the surrounding area, and U.N. officials suspect thousands more will be found.</P>

<P> "This whole village is a crime scene," said Keith Martin, one of the tribunal's field investigators.</P>

<P> The bodies from Celina are transported to a special U.N. pathology center a few miles north in an abandoned granary. The morgue is a truck-size freezer that held about 20 corpses last week; there was room for 30 more.</P>

<P> Inside the decrepit granary, pathologist Jack Crane of Queens University in Belfast and his team perform autopsies at the rate of one per hour, 10 per day. The power needed for the morgue and an X-ray machine, used primarily to locate bullets and their paths, comes from a generator. Eight black, zippered body bags were piled around the stench-filled room with two others on gurneys; anthropologist George Maats was sawing through the leg of a young girl to determine her age, much like counting the rings of a tree.</P>

<P> Crane, who has conducted autopsies from Bosnia to Northern Ireland, said the severe decomposition of the Celina victims provides the greatest challenge for a pathologist. Bullets are perhaps the most important pieces of evidence, he said, because the team's ballistics experts can link certain types of bullets with Serb-led Yugoslav troops and can use their trajectory to determine how the victims were shot.</P>

<P> The shooting in Celina began on March 25, the day after NATO airstrikes against Yugoslavia began. It was cold but sunny, after days of icy rain. Yugoslav army soldiers and Serbian special police stormed the village that afternoon, survivors say, executing some against stone walls and hunting down others in the woods nearby. The killing continued into the next day, and those who were not slain fled into the eastern hills or to the western mountains toward Albania.</P>

<P> Among the dead were more than 20 people, including 15 members of the extended Zeqiri family, who made their flight down a streambed and into the gully on the first day. The bare trees could not hide them: Three Serbian policemen armed with AK-47s just up the hill killed members of the group as many crouched on their hands and knees for cover; an older man was picked off trying to escape up the hill.</P>

<P> Six hours later, another Zeqiri and four other people were caught trying to creep into the same woods. This time soldiers and police lined them up against the inside of a concrete shed, killed them and burned the bodies along with an Opel sedan. They also shot the Zeqiris' shepherd dog, whose corpse lies chained under a small wood shed.</P>

<P> "They were yelling to us that we were KLA [Kosovo Liberation Army, the ethnic Albanian separatist group], that we were terrorists," said Nustret Salihu, 23, who escaped the killing by hiding under a stairwell. "They told them the truth, that none of us were KLA. That's when they started shooting."</P>

<P> The final story of what happened in Celina will come not just from auto
psies and ballistics tests, but from witnesses like Salihu. Firsthand testimony
will go a long way toward proving whether the dead were innocent victims of wa
r crimes, or casualties of war.</P>

<P> "That's vital to any criminal investigation, and this is no different,"
said Martin, the tribunal's liaison to the Scotland Yard team. "Witnesses are
one of the keys to our case."</P>

<P> Proving crimes committed during something as inherently lethal as war i
s a tricky business. In general, Martin and other tribunal officials said, purp
osely killing any civilian who has not actively taken up defense of an area is
a war crime.</P>

<P> Thus, investigators are looking particularly hard at clothing, witness
statements and other evidence to determine if victims were members or allies of
the KLA.</P>

<P> In the case of Celina, the point may be moot; Gent said there is no evi
dence of KLA affiliation or weapons among the victims. Most were women and chil
dren.</P>

<P> "What we are looking to try to prove for [the tribunal headquarters at]
The Hague is that in any given case, there were women and children that were m
ercilessly killed for no reason at all," Gent said. "If we can establish how pe
ople died, and establish that they were ordinary women, children and men going
about their lives, that will go a long way to proving that crimes occurred."</P>
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<P>Boston Globe

July 17, 1999

Pg. 2</P>

<P>Coming To Light: Jews Aided All In Bosnia </P>

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

<P> SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina - There were 38 checkpoints, four armies, and six militias between the besieged city of Sarajevo and freedom during the long agony of the Bosnian civil war.</P>

<P> On the high ground, Serb artillery and snipers tore at the fabric of Sarajevo at will, terrorizing the residents and earning the contempt of the Western world. In the city, Muslims and Croats hunkered down as uneasy allies, sometimes fighting each other as well as the Serbs.</P>

<P> Invisible amid it all were the Jews, a once-thriving Bosnian ethnic minority whose numbers had shrunk to a few hundred under a succession of Nazi, Communist, and Yugoslav regimes. Alone among the resident ethnic communities of the besieged city, they could negotiate the perilous route from the embattled Bosnian capital, through Croatia, to the Adriatic port of Split. There, the refugees could reach the refugee camps of Europe.</P>

<P> What the Jews did is just beginning to emerge, nearly four years after the end of the siege. Details of how they did it still are under wraps.</P>

<P> "It took a little bit of diplomacy, a little bit of bribe, and some very good Jewish connections," said Jakob Finci, one of four leaders of the Jewish community who led frequent clandestine convoys in and out of the city during the war, carrying an estimated 2,500 Sarajevans to safety and returning with medicines and other essentials supplies.</P>

<P> "The key was to be absolutely honest with all three sides, always to do exactly what we said," said Finci. "Finally they understood we were working for all the ethnic groups of Sarajevo. It was not always easy to get the trust of people who sometimes were war criminals."</P>

<P> Absolute honesty notwithstanding, the Jews drove out of Sarajevo in convoys of two or three trucks each, with different documents in different pockets.</P>

<P> "If you accidentally showed the Muslims you had a special permit from the Serbs, or accidentally showed the Serbs you had a special permit from the Croats, you could be shot on the spot," he said. "Sometimes the Muslims would say, 'Don't take this guy, the Serbs will arrest him.' And sometimes the Serbs would say, 'Please take these two guys out for us.' But always it was an open game."</P>

<P> The convoys were organized and operated by La Benevolencija, a mutual aid society founded by the Jews in 1894. The society also operated a soup kitchen that remained open throughout the siege, except on Judaism's three holiest days. Regardless of the siege, an especially nice table was laid weekly on Saturday, the Sabbath.</P>

<P> "Now everyone in Sarajevo knows what is Shabbat," Finci said. "It's when there's a good lunch in the Jewish community center." The Sabbath crowds still averages around 300 people, he said. "Eighty are Jews, the rest are friends."

ds."</P>

<P> Something similar happened in the Sunday School the Jews started during the siege. After the second Sunday, a Jewish child said, 'Can I bring my best friend next week? We've spent the last six months in a shelter.'" By the end of the siege, there were 20 Jewish children in the school, and 30 best friends.</P>

<P> Passover, when the traditional seder marking the Hebrews' last night in Egyptian slavery is held at night, had to be observed in the daytime, lest Serbian gunners fire at glimmers of light from the synagogue in the midst of the darkened city. But this, too, was turned into a celebration of survival.</P>

<P> Kemal Kurspahic, who was editor-in-chief of Oslobodjenje, the city's principal newspaper during the siege, attended the seder in 1993, in the hardest of times, a period when the paper was winning an international reputation for never missing an edition despite destruction of almost all its facilities.</P>

<P> "The seder ... was a huge community event, with leaders of other religious communities there," said Kurspahic, who now is the newspaper's correspondent in Washington. "Especially the Passover lunch, with all the traditional foods, in a city in need of everything; it was a huge symbol of survival."</P>

<P> Symbolism aside, he said, "the Jewish community did things during the siege that really contributed to the survival of the city: La Benevolencija's supply of medicine, especially."</P>

<P> During the siege, the Jews marked the 500th anniversary of the expulsion of their ancestors from Spain when that country was retaken from the Moors by Catholics. Many Jews ousted from Spain resettled in North Africa, Greece, Turkey, and the Balkans.</P>

<P> The commemoration of the migration from Spain to the Balkans "was a celebration of a spirit of diversity and of the ethnic cultures of Bosnia," said Kurspahic. "And with all their experiences of the Second World War and the destruction of Jewish people and heritage, there was a focus among them of saving people who otherwise would have been condemned."</P>

<P> Finci, 55, was born in an Italian concentration camp just before the end of World War II, making him the first member of his family to be born outside of Sarajevo in 300 years. A prosperous lawyer before the war, he now is director of the Soros Foundation's Open Society Fund for Bosnia and a highly respected citizen. </P>

<P> Another of the four wartime Jewish leaders is mayor of one of the four municipalities of Sarajevo. But the other two have emigrated, and Finci is afraid the days of the Jewish community here may be numbered.</P>

<P> Before World War II, when the population of Sarajevo was 60,000, there were 12,000 Jews, he said. Only 2,000 returned after the Holocaust. </P>

<P> On the eve of the disintegration of Yugoslavia, there were 1,500. But 1,000 left during the war, and only 200 returned with the peace. Now, the migration of young people to Israel is steady.</P>

<P> "Even my own son," said Finci, in tone and expression at once sad and proud.</P>

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<P>London Daily Telegraph

July 20, 1999</P>

<P>Kosovo And Montenegro Sanctions End </P>

<P>By Toby Helm in Brussels</P>

<P> THE European Union is to lift sanctions against Kosovo and Montenegro to assist economic regeneration and further isolate President Milosevic.</P>

<P> EU foreign ministers meeting in Brussels yesterday agreed that the European Commission should draw up proposals to free the two regions "without delay" from the EU's oil embargo and its flight ban. The discouragement of sporting links would also end.</P>

<P> The EU imposed the sanctions against all of Yugoslavia last year in response to the Serbs' campaign of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. Although they will remain in place elsewhere, ministers agreed to consider rewarding specific municipalities and community groups working for greater democracy.</P>

<P> Papers circulating at yesterday's meeting stressed the distinction now being made by the EU between the Belgrade regime and "the Serbian people who have suffered as a result of the policies of their leaders".</P>

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<P>New York Times

July 18, 1999</P>

<P>Swiss Freeze Assets Of 300 Milosevic Associates</P>

<P>By The New York Times</P>

<P> GENEVA -- Swiss authorities said last week that they would freeze the as
sets of 300 people close to Slobodan Milosevic as part of the most intensive ef
fort yet by Western countries to squeeze the Yugoslav leader. </P>

<P> Last month Switzerland blocked funds belonging to Milosevic and four hi
gh-ranking allies who were indicted along with him by the international war cri
mes tribunal in The Hague in May. </P>

<P> Since then, however, Swiss authorities have turned up no assets in thei
r names, said a federal police office spokesman, Folco Galli. Federal officials
believe that any funds here may have been transferred elsewhere. </P>

<P> In extending their freeze, Swiss officials were acting in response to a
list provided by the European Union, which had asked other countries to search
for money in the names of hundreds of individuals and companies connected with
the country's ruling elite. </P>

<P> The Swiss order, signed into effect on Friday by President Ruth Dreifus
s, means that any accounts in the names of the individuals or companies listed
must be frozen, and immediately reported to authorities. </P>

<P> Swiss banks or financial firms also may not accept or manage funds for
those named on the 15-member European Union list. </P>

<P> Failure to comply can result in criminal penalties or fines, but the re
porting system relies on voluntary compliance, Swiss officials concede. </P>

<P> Last month, the Swiss government froze assets belonging to Milosevic and
his associates at the request of the war crimes tribunal for the former Yugos
lavia. </P>

<P> The tribunal made the request in May after the indictment of five men,

including Milosevic, for atrocities allegedly committed by Serbian forces in Kosovo. </P>

<P> The others indicted are Milan Milutinovic, the president of Serbia; Nikola Sainovic, the Yugoslav deputy prime minister; Dragoljub Ojdanic, chief of the Yugoslav armed forces, and Vlatko Stojiljkovic, Serbia's interior minister. </P>

http://ebird.dtic.mil/Jul1999/s19990720bombs.htm	RETURN TO TOP
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<P>Washington Post

July 17, 1999

Pg. 13</P>

<P>Bombs Broke Hearts And Minds</P>

<I><P>In Yugoslavia, Lasting Damage Will Be Psychological</P>

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

<P> BELGRADEIn the back pages of the state-run newspaper Politika there appeared recently a most unusual item: During the war there was one suicide a day here in the capital.</P>

<P> From the night that NATO bombing began on March 24, and for the next three months, the official organ reported, 96 residents of Belgrade took their lives; another 19 attempted suicide. They hanged themselves, pointed guns at their heads and hearts, threw themselves off buildings and bridges, under trains and down wells. Two people blew themselves up with grenades.</P>

<P> While the prewar suicide rate was not available, experts here agreed that the frequency jumped from its normal level during the bombing--a change that did not surprise Belgrade residents. For the war here and in Kosovo has taken, and will continue to take, a terrible psychological toll on Serbs as well as e

thnic Albanians.</P>

<P> In psychiatric wards, where because of sanctions there is no more Thora zine to treat the truly psychotic, in mental health clinics, where there is no more lithium to quiet the storms of bipolar depression, in hallway conversations with doctors, patients, ordinary Serbian citizens and soldiers, it is clear t he conflict has left many here as the walking wounded.</P>

<P> In the United States, every national trauma, from the Oklahoma City bombing to the killing spree at Columbine High School, is always followed by the appearance of counselors and experts deconstructing the national psyche. In Serbia there has mostly been silence, denial, anger and guilt. And there is soaring alcoholism, according to professionals who treat all those on the edge of a society that does not want to admit defeat.</P>

<P> But that does not mean the symptoms go away.</P>

<P> The director of a mental health clinic, for example, has a young daughter who began to stutter during the 78 days of NATO bombing.</P>

<P> For weeks, anxious parents wrapped their children in blankets, gathered up some toys and took them down into damp, dark bomb shelters. As the electricity flickered on and off above their heads, many parents struggled to explain what was happening.</P>

<P> Aleksa Djilas, a prominent historian and son of a famous dissident during Yugoslavia's Communist era, confessed how he walked around Belgrade during the bombings with a "mental map" in his head, trying to imagine what NATO targets to avoid as he took his children to the park, to maintain, as he put it, "some semblance of normal life."</P>

<P> He said his young son, age 4, began to discuss with his grandmother the difference between hydrogen and atomic bombs.</P>

<P> "Everyone lost weight," Djilas said. "No matter how much they ate." </P>
>

<P> Many Belgrade residents say they still have trouble sleeping and confess to a kind of lethargic semi-depression, a sort of national funk. A lot of people, especially the elderly, spent much of the war sitting in their cramped apartments, waiting for the "Big One." There were not enough tranquilizers to go around, and many private and state-run pharmacies said their shelves were empty.</P>

<P> Today, kids in parks still play a game where imaginary NATO bombs fall on them, and some lay pretending to be dead, while others run around in circles above them, their arms outstretched, pretending they are airplanes loaded with bombs.</P>

<P> "What is the psychological effect?" asked Col. Radoslav Svcevic, a psychologist and deputy director of the large military hospital here. He reached across his desk and turned around a photograph of his two grandchildren, boys age 4 years and 10 months. "The older one, he bites his nails now. He is silent. He is afraid his house will be bombed," the military doctor said. "The younger

just wakes up every night screaming and crying. This was a quiet baby before."</P>

<P> The stress of the Serbian people came in many forms, in a country where many citizens opposed the war and, more specifically, the government of Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic.</P>

<P> Many of the 10 million residents of Serbia experienced months of sleep deprivation--they were awake by night, during the bombings, and slept by day. One young woman described it this way, without irony for the bloodshed carried out in her name by Serbian forces against ethnic Albanians in Kosovo: "We lived like vampires."</P>

<P> Every day here, there were air raid sirens. "You must understand, how the sounds of the sirens are terrifying. This is almost a European city, and people were not used to such things," said Vladimir Jovic, a psychologist at the city's Institute of Mental Health.</P>

<P> Jovic said many citizens of Belgrade are suffering from an exaggerated "startle response," meaning every time they hear loud noises--trains, thunder, slamming doors--or feel earthquakes, which continue to rattle the populace, they jump or flinch.</P>

<P> Jovic treated several employees of the state-controlled television station RTS, the target of a NATO missile attack that killed a dozen low-level technicians. Those who did not come to work that day, Jovic said, manifested all the symptoms of survivor's guilt, Jovic said. They wondered why they lived.</P>

<P> Jovic and other psychologists say it will be months or years before they begin to see, or understand, whether there is a post-traumatic stress syndrome associated with those who spent the war in Kosovo and Serbia, as there was for returning veterans from Vietnam or the people who survived the Oklahoma City bombing.</P>

<P> But some signs are already apparent.</P>

<P> At the military hospital here, the largest medical facility in the Balkans, a young soldier named Branko, 21, who asked that his last name not be published, described his mental health.</P>

<P> In November 1998, he was a soldier in the Yugoslav army, serving his mandatory one-year enlistment, and was based along the Kosovo-Albanian border, where fighting with the ethnic Albanian Kosovo Liberation Army was most intense.</P>

<P> Branko was in a convoy hit by a shoulder-mounted rocket grenade launched by the rebels. Before his eyes, his friend was cut in half. "Only his legs and stomach remained," said Branko, sitting in the psychiatric ward of the military hospital. </P>

<P> Branko spent the month of December 1998 in the ward here, and was then released to return home. But in April, NATO airstrikes pounded his town of Lucani in southern Serbia. As he describes it, Branko "freaked." He was "retraumatized," his doctor said. The young man reimagined all that he had seen in Kosovo

and went running out of the house, looking to hurt someone.</P>

<P> "I can't get the pictures out of my head," Branko said. He has flashbacks. His worried mother sat in the waiting room, and confessed that her son seems different. He is withdrawn, aggressive, forgetful and sometimes trembles.</P>

<P> At the International Aid Network here, a group of young psychologists spent the war answering calls on their SOS hot line. They listened to callers, some who cried with overwhelming panic, and others who were coolly, strangely calm. Ann Djapovic, one of the counselors, remembers listening to callers who tried to explain their feelings as air raid sirens wailed in the background and the bombs fell.</P>

<P> "They didn't want to scare the children," she said. "But it was obvious that they were scared, and that there was this tremendous anxiety, and I believe we have not even begun to see the effects of this time."</P>


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<P>New York Times

July 20, 1999</P>

<P>Russians Gaze With Envy Across The Border At China</P>

<P>By Celestine Bohlen</P>

<P> BLAGOVESHCHENSK, Russia -- Ten years ago, when Russians gazed across the Amur River into China, all they could see was a scraggly forest and an occasional smoke stack. What lay beyond was a mystery, sealed by a border that was shut tight as a drum. </P>

<P> Today, with ferryboats now making regular trips across the river, the view is more revealing, and all the more galling for residents of a city, a region and a country that have spent the last decade falling behind the strides of their giant neighbor. </P>

<P> "Look over there," said Irina Guiman, a 28-year-old candy factory employee whose last paycheck surfaced six months ago. She waved her hand at the sparkling new skyline across the river in the Chinese city of Heihe, bursting with new high-rise buildings, which she like many others believes were built with the money Chinese traders take back with them from Russia. </P>

<P> "And look at this," she said, turning back toward Lenin Square, surrounded by grimy Soviet-era structures. "We're still the same dirty old village we always were." </P>

<P> At a time when Moscow and Beijing are talking about beefing up their strategic partnership to counter NATO's show of strength in Yugoslavia, Russians on this side of the 2,400-mile border with China have a more cautious, even suspicious view of the relationship. </P>

<P> Ten years of trade, tourism and a regular flow of official exchanges -- begun after a trip to China in 1989 by the last Soviet president, Mikhail Gorbachev -- have left many Russians feeling bitter, disappointed and often exploited by a hectic shuttle trade in Chinese goods and food that has enriched their Chinese neighbors and left them as poor -- if not poorer -- than before. </P>

<P> "We send them our natural resources, and they send us their disposable clothes," said Larisa Buyanova, a deputy editor of Amurskaya Pravda. "For China, it is not profitable for us to be strong. The weaker we are, the more they can get from us." </P>

<P> Always present in the back of the Russian mind is a centuries-old fear of Chinese expansion -- if not by force, then by infiltration. That fear is echoed by Russian foreign policy experts in Moscow who point to Chinese encroachment in the Far East and Siberia as one of the nightmares Russia may face if Moscow's authority over the country continues to weaken. </P>

<P> It is not a question of military confrontation or border changes, those experts stress, but of gradual erosion of Russian control and rising Chinese influence, including migration, in a region very far from Moscow. </P>

<P> At a recent meeting of leaders from Russia's border regions, Viktor Ishayev, governor of the Khabarovsk region, described with alarm how more and more Chinese are moving into the Russian Far East, often illegally. Citing national statistics, he said half-a-million Chinese crossed the border into Russia each year, many never to return. </P>

<P> "The danger is there," said Sergei Torbin, editor of The Pacific Star, a popular newspaper in Khabarovsk, the second largest city in the Russian Far East. "The government has to take stricter measures, or else one day we will wake up with Chinese all around us." </P>

<P> The logic for such scenarios is purely arithmetical. "We have 10 million people in the whole of the Far East," said Sergei Lopatin, head of the Khabarovsk region's foreign economic relations department. "And there are 40 million Chinese in just one of the provinces across the border. Unemployment in northern China is high, 30 percent. And their main strategy in Russia is not only in trade and business; they are constantly and very actively proposing their labor."

" </P>

<P> So far the Chinese presence in Russia's Far East -- a huge swath of territory carved out by Russian explorers and settlers in the 19th century -- is still muted. But even if the numbers are small, their influence is growing. Every city has its "Chinese" market, selling fruit, vegetables, cheap goods and clothing brought over by Russian and Chinese "suitcase traders" on the daily ferries. </P>

<P> Here in Blagoveshchensk, residents have learned to appreciate spicy Chinese cooking at restaurants with names like The Great Wall and Black Dragon. More than a dozen local dormitories have been given over to Chinese traders, while busloads of Chinese tourists fill the rooms at the local Friendship Hotel. </P>

<P> The number of Chinese residents and visitors has fallen off sharply in recent years, as the local and federal authorities tighten up passport and visa controls. For a border region, the presence of Chinese does not strike a visitor as overwhelming, and the frontier is obviously far less porous than the one, say, between Mexico and Texas. But many residents here speak darkly about an illegal migration of Chinese that they say is hidden, and uncounted. </P>

<P> In the vast and empty countryside that stretches north of the Amur River, hundreds of Chinese farm workers -- earning twice the wages they can get in their villages in Manchuria -- have been hired on seasonal contracts to plant watermelons and vegetables, teaching their Russian hosts how to coax crops out of poor soil using the age-old Chinese style of back-breaking labor. </P>

<P> And in a neighboring autonomous region, Birobidzhan, local officials are watching closely to see how a Chinese company fulfills its promise to turn around a bankrupt Russian logging enterprise and turn timber into chopsticks for the Chinese market. </P>

<P> Yet behind these still-tender shoots of local Chinese business lurks the uncomfortable feeling that Russia -- its economy weakened by reform, mismanagement and corruption -- has let itself be taken advantage of by "the other shore," as Mrs. Buyanova refers to China. </P>

<P> "They consider this their city," said a photographer who takes snapshots of Chinese tourists against the backdrop of the Amur River. "And that," he added, pointing to Heihe's glistening skyline, "is our money over there." </P>

<P> The problem, as most Russians here will admit, is that while Russian shoppers grumble about their dependence on cheap, sometime shoddy Chinese goods, Russia today has little to offer its Chinese trading partners except military hardware and natural resources. </P>

<P> Local manufacturers have been unable to compete with Chinese goods that even now, after last summer's sharp devaluation of the ruble, cost less than their Russian equivalents. Last year, the giant region of Khabarovsk -- from the Amur River up the Pacific coast -- could boast only \$600 million in sales to China, of which all but \$60 million was for military exports. </P>

<P> "In the beginning we sold them Russian military overcoats," said Yuri G

arushyants, a China expert at Oriental Studies Institute in Moscow. "Every Chinese who came to Russia in the early 1990s went home with one. Now their market is stuffed with coats, and we have nothing else to sell them." </P>

<P> Although China still ranks as Russia's third-largest trading partner, after Germany and the United States, turnover has dropped sharply in recent years -- from \$6.8 billion in 1996 to \$5.5 billion in 1998, according to the Russian Trade Ministry. Russian exports, valued at \$5.5 billion in 1996, had dropped to \$3.6 billion by 1998. </P>

<P> Here along the border the decline has been even more dramatic, after the boom years of the early 1990s when a torrent of Russian raw materials and heavy equipment streamed across the border in exchange for crates of fruit, vegetables, rice and other commodities. </P>

<P> "In 1991, as a result of reforms, we were left with empty shelves," Lopatin said. "In these conditions, China did its business. They sent us their cheap goods, their noodles and their vegetables, and everyone bought them up." </P>

<P> Much of this early trade was barter, which allowed entrepreneurs on both sides to avoid taxes and customs duties, and which skewed statistics. In China, where the Communist government keeps stricter control over foreign trade, much of the profit was plowed back into the economy -- hence the glistening Heihe skyline. In Russia profits, including those earned by local middlemen, were rarely if ever translated into investments. </P>

<P> The boom years were already over by the mid-1990s when Russia began to raise fees on rail transport, utilities and other costs, which made Russian-produced tractors, excavators and other heavy equipment less economically attractive to the Chinese. Here in the Amur region, for instance, trade with China peaked in 1993 at \$416 million. By 1998, it was down to \$100 million. </P>

<P> Cross-border barter has also been curtailed, as Russia tries to bring its foreign trade in compliance with requirements set by the World Trade Organization. According to the Trade Ministry, if in the early 1990s, half of Russian-Chinese trade was conducted in barter, now -- officially -- the proportion is only 4 percent. </P>

<P> Official statistics, however, consistently underestimate the volume of shuttle traffic and, according to many residents, the real numbers of Chinese who have taken up residence in Russia, sometimes illegally. By the mid 1990s, the numbers of Chinese traders, arriving here on tourist visas, became so great that Russia adopted tighter requirements, obligating tourist agencies to hold on to the Chinese clients' passports until their departure. </P>

<P> The collapse of the ruble last summer put a major dent in the "suitcase trade." At the Chinese market in Khabarovsk, where 1,500 vendors are licensed to trade in tightly packed stalls, salespeople speaking pidgin Russian complain loudly that business these days is bad, very bad. </P>

<P> Among the trade that goes unreported are the goods brought into Russia by Russians, who are hired by Chinese suppliers to make the trip from Blagoveshchensk to an island in the middle of the Amur, where the Chinese have built a new trading center. </P>

<P> Mrs. Buyanova, for instance, has a neighbor, an underemployed university professor, who gets paid 200 rubles for each of the nine trips she makes to China each month, bringing back only as much as she can arguably use for her personal use. </P>

<P> But according to Mrs. Buyanova, that requirement is not strictly enforced by Russian customs agents. "Our customs officials are good at looking the other way," she said, "because they know that this is how people are forced to make a living." </P>

http://ebird.dtic.mil/Jul1999/s19990720battles.htm
RETURN TO TOP

</HEAD>

<P>New York Times

July 20, 1999</P>

<P>Russia: Battles With Chechens </P>

<P> Chechen fighters attacked Russian police posts and patrols, killing two commanding officers, wounding seven other policemen and provoking strikes by Russian artillery and helicopter gunships, Russian news outlets reported. The fighting along Chechnya's borders followed a weekend of skirmishes in which Chechen rebels killed four policemen and four civilians. </P>

<P><i>--(AP)</i></P>

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RETURN TO TOP

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<P>London Daily Telegraph

July 20, 1999</P>

<P>Turkey Refuses To Compromise Over Cyprus</P>

<P>By Christopher Lockwood, Diplomatic Editor</P>

<P> THE Turkish Prime Minister yesterday ruled out any form of compromise over the divided island of Cyprus as he prepared to fly to Nicosia today to mark the 25th anniversary of his country's invasion and occupation of the north.</P>
>

<P> Gigantic flags, including one measuring 280,000 square feet, spray-painted on a mountain, and monumental statues of Kemal Ataturk and other Turkish heroes, have been put in place to celebrate the military intervention ordered by Bulent Ecevit himself, then as now the Turkish leader.</P>

<P> Mr Ecevit said: "It is time to put a stop to these games. There is no longer a Cyprus issue. For Turkey and the TRNC [the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus], the problem has been resolved long ago."</P>

<P> The 1974 invasion came at dawn, and by August, after a lull for ineffective diplomacy, Turkey had secured the northern part of the island. Thirty thousand Turkish troops are still stationed there and the ceasefire line still divides the island and its capital, preventing Greeks and Turks alike from visiting their old homes. Today's celebration will be attended only by the Turks.</P>

<P> Twenty-five years of negotiation have failed to reunite Nicosia, Europe's last divided city, and although the G8 industrial countries again declared Cyprus a "priority" last week, the prospects for even starting, let alone concluding, talks on a settlement are as remote as they have ever been.</P>

<P> United Nations-sponsored talks are supposed to start again in September, but Rauf Denktash, the Turkish Cypriot leader, refuses to attend unless he is invited as a "president". The UN cannot do that, since it would imply that it recognises his statelet and would therefore prejudge the outcome. </P>

<P> In 1974, most of the world's sympathies lay with Turkey, which launched its "peace operation" in response to the overthrow five days earlier of the government of Archbishop Makarios by soldiers who declared enosis, or union, with the Greece of the colonels.</P>

<P> But in the years since then, the Greek Cypriots have reclaimed all of the ground. Theirs is the sole government recognised by any country save Turkey, and last year, to the fury of the Turks, the EU opened negotiations on membership with it.</P>

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<P>Chicago Tribune

July 16, 1999</P>

<P>Kosovo War's Jetsam Leaves Italy Fishermen Trawling For Trouble</P>

<P>By Tom Hundley, Tribune Foreign Correspondent </P>

<P> CHIOGGIA, Italy -- The first time fisherman Jimmy Zennaro's nets hauled up one of the eight-inch yellow-and-green cylinders, he threw it back.</P>

<P> "I thought it was some kind of equipment from one of the jets," he said, referring to the NATO warplanes that frequently flew over the northern Adriatic from Aviano Air Base to Yugoslavia this spring.</P>

<P> The second time it happened, the cylinder exploded when it plunked into the boat's hold. A blast of shrapnel and flame ripped into Zennaro and two crew members, and turned their 80-foot commercial fishing boat, the Profeta, into a floating inferno.</P>

<P> Crewman Gino Ballarini, 40, took the full force of the explosion. He suffered serious injuries to his stomach, liver, lungs and intestines. The blast fractured a leg and severed one of his fingers.</P>

<P> Zennaro said he was so busy trying to put out the fire, radio for help and attend to the bleeding Ballarini that he scarcely noticed the 20 or so pieces of shrapnel embedded in his own legs and torso.</P>

<P> Quick action by Zennaro and a helicopter rescue by the Italian coast guard

rd saved Ballarini's life.</P>

<P> At first, Italian authorities insisted that the canister was a World War II-era bomb. Although rare, Adriatic fishermen occasionally find unexploded ordnance from World War II, even World War I, in their nets.</P>

<P> But four days later, on May 13, another fishing boat from the Chioggia fleet, trawling the same waters near the coast of Venice, hauled up 46 of the little yellow-and-green canisters. They were quickly identified as bomblets from a U.S.-made cluster bomb. Suspicion turned to NATO.</P>

<P> NATO said it knew nothing about the bombs. German Gen. Walter Jertz, the alliance's military spokesman, acknowledged that sometimes in emergencies pilots jettisoned their payloads before landing, but said he knew nothing about the bombs.</P>

<P> A few days later, however, NATO informed the Italian government that it had six designated bomb-drop areas in the Adriatic, including one just outside Italian territorial waters 20 miles off the coast of Venice, a prime commercial fishing area.</P>

<P> "The sea there is only 30 meters deep. It was practically guaranteed that our fishermen would be injured by these bombs," said Enzo Fornaro, chairman of the Venice region of the Italian fishing industry cooperative.</P>

<P> NATO said the coordinates of the six zones had been published in naval journals, but apparently no one informed the people most likely to be interested in this information.</P>

<P> "We found out when the bomb exploded on Jimmy's boat," Fornaro said.</P>

<P> Warned to steer clear of the drop zones, fishermen soon began dredging up cluster bombs, rockets and other explosives just four or five miles from the coast, far from any designated drop zone.</P>

<P> The Italian government banned trawling in the Adriatic, and NATO sent in minesweepers to attempt to clean up the mess.</P>

<P> The Venice prosecutor's office is looking into the matter: Why was NATO permitted to designate a site that was so heavily used by Adriatic fishing fleets? Who was responsible for the breakdown in communications that resulted in the commercial fishermen not knowing about the drop sites?</P>

<P> Italy's Defense Ministry has advised the prosecutor that at least 161 bombs, including seven cluster bombs, were dumped in the Adriatic during the Kosovo conflict. Each cluster bomb contains more than 200 bomblets.</P>

<P> The drop sites were used by NATO warplanes returning from missions in the Balkans with unused bombs. If planes were low on fuel or had mechanical difficulties, pilots would dump the bombs in the sea before landing.</P>

<P> Instead of releasing them at the drop sites in the middle of the Adriatic, where the water is deep and fishing activity would be undisturbed, many pilots

ts held off until the last moment and drop their loads just outside Italian territorial waters. At least 32 bombs were dropped in the shallow waters off Venice.</P>

<P> The Chioggia fishing fleet, Italy's second largest, has been tied up in port for nearly two months. With 210 boats and perhaps 1,000 men, it is losing about \$500,000 a day.</P>

<P> As the men repair nets, fiddle with engines and cast idle glances at the blue horizon, Chioggia Mayor Fortunato Guarnieri speaks of the "collateral damage" inflicted by NATO's careless choice of a bomb-drop site.</P>

<P> "It's more than just the men and boats. There are people who process the fish, transport the fish," he said. "The rhythm of the city--the boats going out, the market-- everything depends on the sea and now everything has come to a stop."</P>

<P> The hiatus has given Zennaro time to recover from his injuries and to make repairs on his boat. It will be a while longer for Ballarini, the crewman, who was hospitalized for 30 days.</P>

<P> Earlier this month, Italian Defense Minister Carlo Scognamiglio declared the Gulf of Venice to be clear of bombs, but NATO minesweepers continue to work in other areas of the Adriatic. Thus far they have recovered five unexploded cluster bombs.</P>

<P> The trawling ban was supposed to expire July 15, but this week the Italian government recommended extending it through August. The fishermen of Chioggia are not having it. They voted to ignore the ban and return to sea Friday.</P>

<P> Zennaro said he is eager to return to the only job he has known since he was 14, but he doubts he will be dropping his nets in the familiar and productive waters off the Venetian coast.</P>

<P> "I'm afraid. I doubt they will be able to recover all these little cluster bombs. It will be a danger to us for years and years."</P>

<P> Zennaro, his two brothers and their father own four fishing boats. Repairing the damage to the Profeta and two months of idling in port have been a severe blow to the family business, but that's not what is really troubling the sunburned fisherman.</P>

<P> "It will not be the same feeling as when we went out in the past," he said. "It was quiet and peaceful. We knew our work. Now I feel like we are going out to fish in a sea of mines." </P>

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<P>Washington Post

July 20, 1999

Pg. 15</P>

<P>Indonesia's Military Backs No Party</P>

<P> SINGAPORE -- The Indonesian military will support the presidential candidate who can do the most for the nation, armed forces chief Gen. Wiranto said after receiving a medal from the Singapore government.</P>

<P> "In the current situation [the armed forces] don't support any political party," Wiranto said after receiving a Distinguished Service Medal from President Ong Teng Cheong. "We want to support the candidate [for] the next president [who] . . . can do everything for the nation and the people."</P>

<P> The role of the armed forces may prove crucial in picking the new president.</P>

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<P>Boston Globe

July 19, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Taipei's Move On 'One China' Reflects Changed Party, Public</P>

<P>By Indira A.R. Lakshmanan, Globe Staff</P>

<P> TAIPEI - For 50 years, the leaders of mainland China and Taiwan have agreed on one thing, and one thing only: that the island of Taiwan is an inalienable part of China.</P>

<P> But as years have passed, the governments of Beijing and Taipei have followed radically divergent paths, making the notion of one nation little more than a fiction. Communist China has mushroomed in global power and influence and slowly liberalized its economy, but retained a repressive, one-party rule. Tiny Taiwan emerged as a capitalist success story and a spirited democracy, leaving behind its authoritarian past. Along the way, the "one China" line that both sides have toed came to mask an ever-expanding divide across the 100-mile wide Taiwan Strait.</P>

<P> Half a century after a civil war between Communists and Nationalists drove the losers to the island of Taiwan, many Taiwanese feel profoundly alienated from the place mainland China has become. Even those who long for reunification do not want to live under communism, and Taiwanese who visit the mainland often return disillusioned with China and disparaging of mainlanders as poor, unsophisticated, and uncouth.</P>

<P> For over 40 years, the United States has been Taiwan's number one trade partner and the major influence on Taiwanese society, and in countless ways, Taipei feels closer to Los Angeles than it does to Beijing. The 10th anniversary of the massacre of democracy protesters in Beijing's Tiananmen Square riled only a few dozen sympathizers enough to march in Taipei. When supporters of a fringe socialist party drive around town blasting the national anthem of the People's Republic of China, the common reaction of Taipei residents is not allegiance, but confusion: What is that song?</P>

<P> So in many ways, Taipei's move last week to scrap the "one China" idea and call for "special state-to-state relations" with Beijing was a long time coming. It reflects not only a shift in public opinion, but a dramatic evolution in the mentality of the ruling Kuomintang party.</P>

<P> "Somebody had to say it sooner or later. I'm not a fan of President Lee Teng-hui or of the DPP," the pro-independence, opposition Democratic Progressive Party, said Huang Jui-ming, a lawyer. "But he's only saying what the reality has been for 50 years."</P>

<P> Lee, a native-born Taiwanese, has led Taiwan for nearly 12 years, and in that time the first-generation Nationalist leaders from China have died and been marginalized, and the pro-independence opposition has flourished.</P>

<P> The 1970s saw Taiwan lose its UN membership and other diplomatic recogni

tions to China, an experience that spurred a rise in "native" consciousness and a flowering of indigenous art and literature. In the 1980s, the end of martial law accompanied a rise in native-born politicians. The 1990s brought democracy and the abolition of the provincial government, a vestige of the premise that Taiwan is a province of China. So it was perhaps inevitable that the ruling party's new generation would urge Lee to change his China policy to fit the times, as they did in a confidential report submitted to the president last month.</P>

<P> "He's ridden the tide of public opinion, and now he's trying to lead the tide further. Society is ready for this," said Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao, a sociologist at Academia Sinica, Taiwan's national academy, and a member of the National Reunification Council, an elite advisory board to the President.</P>

<P> His public may have been ready, but Lee's abandonment of the "one China" principle enraged Beijing, upset Washington, and spooked Taipei's stock market with the possibility of military conflict. China's military newspaper called Lee "a criminal of the nation who will leave a stink for a thousand years," and Beijing yesterday repeated a vow to use force to stop Taiwan independence.</P>

<P> Taiwanese people are famously pragmatic, and quarterly government surveys consistently show the majority favor the status quo in cross-strait relations. The last thing people here want is war, or even hostilities that would rock their economy, one of the few to escape the ravages of the two-year-old Asian crisis. Taiwan's government Saturday used \$11 billion in state funds to shore up the stock market, and the Defense Ministry denied rumors yesterday that China stepped up drills and sent fighter jets into the Taiwan Strait.</P>

<P> Numerous polls in recent days show more people approve of Lee's "two state" policy than oppose it. The most dramatic support was reported in a survey released by Central News Agency yesterday that found 73 percent behind the new policy.</P>

<P> Reaction seems to divide largely along ethnic lines, between those who came from the mainland or whose parents did, 15 percent of the population, and those who have lived here for generations and call themselves "Taiwanese."</P>

<P> "He said 'one nation, two states,' but I don't think it should even be 'one nation,'" declared Go Diang-ling, 46, an eighth-generation Taiwanese who works at an ethnographic institute that promotes native culture. "I was in China two months ago, and I won't accept life under that government. Now they say they have the neutron bomb, but I'm not scared. I think we should stand up for dignity and if necessary, die for this land."</P>

<P> That view differs markedly from people with strong emotional ties to the mainland, such as Yi Ya-chieh, 55, a worker for the maritime union. "The policy of state-to-state relations gives up the idea that Chinese people are one and the same nation. It's like giving up the chance to be Chinese."</P>

<P> There is also a striking generational split. Most younger people, who have no memory of civil war or of China, seem to support the notion of Taiwan and China as separate. Many older voters, nostalgic for a united China and fright

ened of invasion or economic collapse, are angry that Lee would risk stability and prosperity by rocking the boat.</P>

<P> "It's terrible and it's dangerous. President Lee had no right to say it . This island was originally part of China," raged an old man who, like many elderly people interviewed, refused to give his name because of his memory of military rule and his fear of Taiwan's secret police.</P>

<P> In contrast, Kao Hui-jung, a high school student, said she would support the independence opposition party if she could vote. "If Taiwan doesn't declare independence and becomes part of China, we'll have to pay for their economic problems," she reasoned.</P>

<P> In an interview Friday, Foreign Minister Jason Hu insisted the government's goal of reunification once China has "freedom, democracy, and prosperity" has not changed. The new policy, he asserted, is intended to promote that goal by getting Beijing to negotiate on more realistic and equal terms.</P>

<P> "We have to answer to 22 million people. You really think they want to be just another province of the PRC" he asked. "What can" China "offer us? What are" they "going to give me that I don't already have today? I only hope the PRC will try to understand us, our sentiment, our mentality, our frustration."</P>

<P> Antonio Chiang, publisher of the Taipei Times and an independence advocate, said times have so changed that "even civil war veterans, old soldiers who dream to go back realize their home is here. ... China's military exercises against Taiwan dissipated any feelings of loyalty. No government would use force against its own people."</P>

<P> The gap today with China is so wide that the fringe socialist labor party that blasts the PRC's national anthem from the windows of its beaten-up sedan won only 1,020 votes nationwide in the last election, Chiang said. "Even though Lee Teng-hui talks about eventual reunification when China becomes a democracy, I say, when China becomes a democracy, why bother joining them? Xinjiang, Tibet, Mongolia - all will run away." </P>


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<P>New York Times

July 20, 1999</P>

<P>Israel: Defense Forces Shift </P>

<P> The Israeli Defense Forces began work to relocate its Jenin headquarters in anticipation of the next withdrawal from the West Bank. As part of the pullout, some military installations are to be moved near the Jewish settlement of Shaked. </P>

<P><i>--Deborah Sontag (NYT)</i></P>

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RETURN TO TOP

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<P>Chicago Sun-Times

July 19, 1999</P>

<P>Colombia Peace Bid A Disaster </P>

<P>By Robert Novak, Sun-Times Columnist </P>

<P> Peace talks between the Colombian government and the narco-guerrillas of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, scheduled for Tuesday, have been preceded by a bloody leftist offensive. As critics feared, the peace initiative crafted by President Andres Pastrana and encouraged by the Clinton administration is a disaster.</P>

<P> The guerrillas' response has been blood and iron: military assaults based in its new demilitarized zone and murder of Colombian National Peace officers. Amid the carnage, the State Department said last week that U.S. military helicopters desperately needed by the Colombian police, first promised in October

1996, might be shipped in September.</P>

<P> Colombia is the first Western Hemisphere state falling under control of guerrillas financed by international drug cartels, but it remains a State Department backwater. While the United States is committed to Balkan ethnic wars, Colombia's priority always has been low. When a newly elected Pastrana brought peace plans to Washington nearly a year ago, the State Department saw an easy way out. But it has not been easy back in Colombia.</P>

<P> On July 6, Washington Post correspondent Karen DeYoung reported from Bogota that under Pastrana, the guerrilla war and drug trafficking "only have gotten worse." After that was written, guerrillas launched a brutal new offensive. On July 7, according to Colombian intelligence, close to 1,000 men attacked a forward army post and killed at least 10 troops from the 13th Brigade.</P>

<P> Unofficial field reports indicate two Colombian army counterinsurgency forces shredded in current fighting, with 48 confirmed dead and 30 wounded (and the death toll is expected to rise because of insufficient medical attention). Over three days recently, guerrillas killed eight children, 10 adult civilians and 27 national officers (nine of them off-duty assassinations).</P>

<P> It got worse on July 11. Just five miles outside Bogota, an outpost of the 13th Brigade was attacked, with more disastrous results. Sources said at least 45 soldiers were killed and many more were missing.</P>

<P> In trying to stave off the July 7 guerrilla attack, the mobility of government forces was severely limited to the use of only seven helicopters (two of them were damaged in the fighting).</P>

<P> On July 12, Assistant Secretary of State Barbara Larkin hinted that help might be on the way. Rep. Dan Burton, chairman of the House Government Reform and Oversight Committee, had written on May 12 asking about the helicopters that Larkin had promised nearly three years ago.</P>

<P> Larkin's delay in answering Burton is the norm. "At this time," she wrote, four Huey helicopters will be ready "by late July" and will be sent "as soon as possible," but only after the U.S. government approves and there is "available military air transport." The rest of 10 promised helicopters will be shipped in September--"or as soon as possible thereafter." That's not exactly the urgency shown in assaulting Serbia.</P>

<P> Last week, two senior Colombian officials--Luis Ramirez, the defense minister, and Gen. Fernando Tapias, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff--met with Chairman Ben Gilman and other House International Relations Committee Republicans. The Colombians claimed victory against the guerrillas in the July 11 fighting outside Bogota. Gilman is a kindly gentleman but did not believe a word of it.</P>

<P> After the meeting, Gilman issued a statement that the new DMZ has become a "drug export zone," also used by the guerrillas. A week earlier, Gen. Jose Serrano, the heroic national police commander, was in Washington saying much the same about the DMZ, while loyally supporting the need to attempt Pastrana's peace offensive.</P>

<P> Pastrana complains that Gilman, Burton and other House Republicans are undercutting peace. He has arranged for prominent Americans--Rep. William Delahunt of Massachusetts and New York Stock Exchange President Richard Grasso--to meet with guerrilla leaders. But the guerrilla army is now estimated at 15,000 and may be larger than that--well-fed, well-armed and financed by narcotics money. Thus, Gilman last week called on the Pastrana regime to "confront" this inconvenient fact: "It is losing the war, and the Clinton administration has not been helping."</P>

<I><P> Robert Novak appears on the CNN programs "Capital Gang" at 6 p.m. Saturday, and "Evans, Novak, Hunt and Shields" at 4 p.m. Saturday and 10 a.m. Sunday.</P></I>

http://ebird.dtic.mil/Jul1999/s19990720logic.htm	RETURN TO TOP
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</HEAD>

<P>International Herald Tribune

July 20, 1999</P>

<P>The Logic Of Taiwan Points Toward Independence</P>

<P>By Gerald Segal, International Herald Tribune</P>

<P> LONDON -- The fact that President Lee Teng-hui has stirred up tension in the Taiwan Straits seems inexplicable and even foolish to China or the United States, but it is logical if seen in terms of domestic Taiwan politics.</P>

<P> The risk is that unless the politics of a democratic Taiwan are understood and accommodated, at least by fellow democrats in the West, a major crisis in 1999-2000 will be unavoidable.</P>

<P> Mr. Lee's statement that China-Taiwan negotiations should be conducted between two states is the result of a detailed review of policy designed to define the meaning of a new Taiwanese identity. It is not the result of a search for a new formula for unification. It is a calculated step toward self-determination and eventual independence.</P>

<P> The new policy should be recognizable to democrats around the world. It is what happens when a country grows rich and develops a middle class and a civil society that demands democratic accountability. These powerful social forces inevitably lead to domestic political struggle.</P>

<P> Mr. Lee has ridden the tiger of reform, giving confidence to Taiwanese in their new identity, especially when, in the 1996 crisis, China tried to scare Taiwan into abandoning it. In the run-up to the presidential election in 2000 (when Mr. Lee cannot stand again), the battle has been joined for the mantle of leadership of the New Taiwan.</P>

<P> Unfortunately for Mr. Lee, he has chosen a lackluster successor, Vice President Lien Chan. Sensing weakness, Mr. Lien's rival in the ruling Kuomintang, James Soong, a former governor of Taiwan, has decided to break away and stand as an independent. Mr. Soong is popular on domestic issues but stands for much closer relations with China and an abandonment of the concept of the New Taiwan.</P>

<P> Opinion polls show him leading Mr. Lien. And so President Lee is stepping into the campaign, apparently trying to smoke out Mr. Soong's unpopular tendency to bend to China's will.</P>

<P> Mr. Lee's domestic political logic is impeccable but dangerous. Mr. Lien is so unpopular that he is running third behind Chen Shui-bian, candidate of the formally pro-independence Democratic Progressive Party. In response to Mr. Lee's articulation of the new Taiwanese identity, the DPP has softened its commitment to immediate and formal independence and thus in many respects represents Mr. Lee's best hope to defeat Mr. Soong.</P>

<P> The risk of even an implicit policy of support for the DPP candidate is that China will treat a DPP victory as a declaration of Taiwanese independence and call up the invasion troops.</P>

<P> In fact, Mr. Lee may well be counting on China to go ballistic about his declaration of state-to-state relations precisely in order to unmask Mr. Soong as a poor defender of the rights of a New Taiwan.</P>

<P> Given China's hysterical reaction to the accidental NATO bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade and the increasingly shrill level of Chinese nationalist rhetoric, it may seem to Mr. Lee that China can be counted upon to overreact and help defeat Mr. Soong. </P>

<P> No Chinese leader, especially at a time of domestic weakness, will want to be seen to be soft on Taiwan. But a smart and subtle China would virtually have to pretend that Taiwan does not exist in the run-up to the presidential election next March, or risk repeating the error of 1996 and helping elect a president committed to a New Taiwan.</P>

<P> A clever China would simply let the angst of the Taiwanese middle class about losing its savings on a falling stock market lead to reluctant support for Mr. Soong. Taiwanese clearly lack the confidence of Serbs who withstood months of very real NATO bombing. </P>

<P> But even if Mr. Soong should win in 2000, it is hard to believe that he could arrest the powerful domestic forces that are taking Taiwan to the brink of independence. His election would merely polarize Taiwanese society and create the risks associated with a divided democracy.</P>

<P> Of course, if Chen Shui-bian should win, the battle over Taiwan's future would quickly grow acute. </P>

<P> In any case, sooner or later China, the United States and the wider world will have to come to terms with the powerful logic of a democratic Taiwan. As 21 million people grope toward self-determination, democrats everywhere will have to ask themselves whether they want an authoritarian China telling them how to think about Taiwanese democracy.</P>

<I><P> The writer, director of studies at the International Institute for Strategic Studies, contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.</P></I>

http://ebird.dtic.mil/Jul1999/s19990720beware.htm	RETURN TO TOP
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<P>International Herald Tribune

July 20, 1999</P>

<P>Beware Of Preemptive Aggression</P>

<P>By Gregory Clark, International Herald Tribune</P>

<P> TOKYO -- Growing moralism in Western foreign policies has seen a dangerous revival of the doctrine of preemptive force. The latest example is moves by the United States and Japan to consider some kind of preemptive attack to prevent North Korea from further testing of its long-range Taepo Dong-2 missile.</P>

<P> The doctrine got an airing in the immediate postwar years when hard-liners urged the United States to use its nuclear monopoly to strike against the evil empire in the Soviet Union. Next came the Soviet crash program to

o develop nuclear weapons, and 40 years of Cold War. </P>

<P> Kosovo provides a more recent example. To head off what it saw as a repeat of the Bosnian humanitarian tragedy, NATO attacked preemptively and ended up escalating atrocities into something almost as bad as Bosnia.</P>

<P> Preemptive moves are usually justified on the grounds that the other side is evil and bent on causing harm. But world affairs are rarely so black and white. Kosovo was a good example. NATO said it went in to prevent ethnic cleansing by the Serbs, but the initial ethnic cleansers, surely, were the Kosovo Liberation Army determined to use guerrilla warfare and random killings to drive out the Serbian minority. </P>

<P> The Serbs retaliated with much the same kind of vicious anti-guerrilla warfare as we have seen in many other countries when gung-ho troops are pitted against an unseen enemy enjoying wide rural support.</P>

<P> But until the NATO bombings, even that did not add up to ethnic cleansing, and could have been prevented if NATO had used more pressure to increase the United Nations observer presence there and negotiate a compromise with moderate ethnic Albanians. </P>

<P> As for the alleged Bosnia parallel, that tragedy, too, could have been prevented if from the start the West had not wanted to impose its own ethnic harmony values, encouraging formation of a sovereign state with a Muslim majority having control over a Serbian minority. </P>

<P> If there is one lesson from Yugoslavia in the past 50 years, it is that traditional Balkan hatreds mean that Serbs, Croats, Muslims and Albanians will not tolerate being ruled by ethnic groups other than their own. Peace can be achieved only by imposing a force stronger than ethnicity (communism, for one) or by dividing them on ethnic lines. </P>

<P> Current thinking about North Korea seems equally confused. We know that in 1994 the United States seriously considered a preemptive attack to prevent a North Korean nuclear development plan. The North Koreans use the 1994 threat to say they are entitled to develop a missile capacity to defend themselves.</P>

<P> Japan and the United States in turn use the missile development to call for stronger policies against a North Korea bent on malice. </P>

<P> The North Koreans could, if they wanted, go back to the arbitrary division of Korea in 1945 and U.S. nuclear support for South Korea as proof of Western malice. Once preemptive strategies are unleashed, the potential for tit-for-tat escalation is unending. </P>

<P> Tokyo also uses the recent intrusion of two North Korean spy vessels into its Japan Sea waters to justify a harder military posture against North Korea. But the intrusion was close to the Komatsu air base, and we now learn that the Japanese air self-defense forces last year drew up a plan, admittedly theoretical, to use that base for a preemptive air attack against North Korean missile development.</P>

<P> The world needs a return to the old-fashioned rule that says sovereign states can be attacked only when they aggress against other sovereign states.</P>

<I><P> The writer, a former Australian diplomat, contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.</P></I>

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<P>San Diego Union-Tribune

July 19, 1999</P>

<P>Suddenly, Taiwan Changes The Rules</P>

<P>By James O. Goldsborough, The San Diego Union-Tribune</P>

<P> Cheng Nylon was the editor of the Taiwanese magazine Freedom Era Weekly. Ten years ago, when I visited him in his Taipei offices, he spoke of the latest police raid. Publication of his magazine had been suspended for advocating Taiwan's independence.</P>

<P> Last week, that is what Lee Teng-hui, the president of Taiwan did. He said that from now on relations between Taiwan and China would be "state-to-state." That is a drastic change in the "one-China" policy followed by both Taiwan and China for half a century, and which is the basis of U.S. policy as well.</P>

<P> Cheng told me that he had warned the police that if they came back, he would burn down his offices with him inside. Before we went to lunch, he showed me the bottles of gasoline he kept.</P>

<P> The police would come back, and Cheng kept his promise, dying in the blaze.</P>

<P> Cheng passionately believed in Taiwanese independence. The offense for which

ich he died was publication of a draft constitution for an independent Taiwan, written by Dr. Shu Shih-kai, who at the time headed the Taiwanese Independence Movement from exile in Japan. Cheng contended that if the Taiwanese people could read the constitution, they would accept it.</P>

<P> Cheng had the right idea. Taiwan has changed from a decade ago, when it was still a fiefdom run by Chiang Kai-shek's mainland fugitives and their appointed presidents. Lee Teng-hui is the island's first popularly elected and first Taiwan-born president. Today, Cheng would not have to immolate himself for advocating Taiwanese independence.</P>

<P> Coming from Lee, it was a shock. As a dark cloud of outrage rose over Beijing, stock prices fell in Shanghai, Hong Kong and Taipei, and the Taiwanese central bank intervened to stop the fall of the New Taiwan dollar.</P>

<P> In Washington, the State Department, indicating it had no clue about Lee's intentions, reiterated U.S. support for one-China and sent its man in Taipei to seek clarification from Lee, who tut-tutted, and said there had been no change in policy.</P>

<P> Beijing wasn't buying that. In a flurry of saber-rattling, Beijing insulted Lee in its usually imaginative style ("a criminal who will leave a stink for a thousand years," said the "Liberation Army Daily"), announced that it had neutron bomb technology, and stated that "the People's Liberation Army is ready at any time to safeguard the territorial integrity of China and smash any attempts to separate the country," (Defense Minister Chi Haotian).</P>

<P> One week later, there's no knowing where Lee's bombshell will lead. Many analysts believe he was acting for domestic reasons, co-opting his political opposition's more pro-independence stance prior to next year's presidential election, which the opposition could win for the first time.</P>

<P> Barry Naughton, a China specialist at UCSD, rejects the domestic theory and believes Lee is making a complicated strategic calculation related to the U.S. show of force in Kosovo, which Taipei and Beijing perceive as interventionism with implications for power relationships in Asia.</P>

<P> Lee is playing chess, and the experts are puzzled by his gambit. The U.S. surprise is probably genuine (though Beijing doesn't think so) since Lee has complicated U.S. relations with Beijing at a time when they're already at a low point. Lee's move is a coup de main which could force Washington to take sides. One China can have two governments, not two states.</P>

<P> What Lee dismisses as no change is actually radical change. It is change that Beijing has always said would constitute a casus belli. Beijing's saber-rattling, by law, involves America. The Taiwan Relations Act of 1979 states that the United States will "consider any effort to determine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means . . . a threat to the peace and security of the Western Pacific and of grave concern to the United States."</P>

<P> Here is how I read the gambit:</P>

<P> Lee made the statement in an interview on German radio. Why would he choose such an obscure vehicle for an announcement so obviously important and long c

calculated? Why would he, meeting with the U.S. representative in Taiwan three days later, insist that his statement was based on "legal, historical and practical realities"?

He was drawing a parallel between German and Chinese reunification.

For two decades, from 1949 to 1969, West Germany refused to recognize nations that recognized East Germany. Nations had to choose.

Bonn's policy, known as the Hallstein Doctrine, was a failure, isolating West Germany from Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union, which held the key to German reunification.

In 1969, with the election of Chancellor Willy Brandt, the Hallstein Doctrine was dropped. "To change the status quo, we must first accept it," Brandt explained. Ostpolitik succeeded. East and West Germany recognized each other, entered the United Nations, and detente between them contributed to East-West detente and the eventual implosion of the Soviet empire.

Lee, in his talk of practical realities, sounds like Brandt. He believes the time has come to put Beijing on alert that the two Chinas must deal with each other mano á mano. He is saying that Beijing must choose between the German model and confrontation with America, betting it will choose the former.

Lee knows something else: no democratic nation has ever voluntarily unified with an undemocratic one. His position that unification can only come when communism goes is consistent with the German model, and, more importantly, consistent with political and common sense.

Lee could be wrong. Beijing knows the German model cost the Communists their jobs. Gambits are always risky.

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<P>St. Louis Post-Dispatch

July 17, 1999 </P>

<P>The Army Needs More Battalions, Not A Separate Constabulary
</P>

<P>By Harry Levins</P>

<P> An influential senator says it's time for the Army to consider forming un
its dedicated solely to peacekeeping chores. The record shows that the idea wor
ked once before, but under vastly different circumstances.</P>

<P> The senator is Alaska Republican Ted Stevens. Because he heads the Senate
Appropriations Committee, generals tend to sit up and listen when he speaks. Af
ter all, Stevens holds the Pentagon's purse strings.</P>

<P> In an article this month in Defense Weekly, reporter Vince Crawley quotes
Stevens as saying that America's GIs "volunteer for combat. They're warriors, a
nd we end up putting them at intersections in Haiti, the Balkans, Kuwait and no
w Kosovo. You really don't need the guys who are Rambos walking around on the s
treets of Bosnia and Kosovo." In effect, he's saying, peacekeeping calls for co
nstable, not warriors. Half a century ago, the Army did, in fact, press some o
f its warriors into duty as constables.</P>

<P> That was in occupied Germany, just after World War II. The Germans were po
or and desperate; the GIs were affluent and bored. Inevitably, both parties dab
bled in corrupt dealings involving cigarettes, gasoline, coffee, whiskey and wo
men.</P>

<P> By a year after VE Day, the Army in Germany was a sinkhole of ill discipli
ne. Something had to be done. The Army turned to tough-talking Maj. Gen. Ernie
Harmon and told him to clean up the mess.</P>

<P> Harmon got 38,000 soldiers. He dressed them in fancy uniforms, drilled the
m in the ways and means of discipline and dubbed them the Constabulary. To othe
r GIs, the Constabulary sent a message of soldierly deportment. To Germans, the
Constabulary sent a message of law and order. By all accounts, the Constabular
y worked wonders. Before long, good order returned to the Army's ranks, and to
German society, too.</P>

<P> There was just one problem. The members of the Constabulary spent so much
time and energy being constables that they had no time to be warriors. Cops and
soldiers do vastly different jobs. Cops are meant to impose tranquillity, whil
e soldiers are meant to inflict violence.</P>

<P> That's why the Army grumbles about standing at intersections in places lik
e Bosnia and Kosovo. When GIs fill in for cops, they lose their edge as warrior
s. The Constabulary served splendidly in cowering German criminals. But fancy uni
forms and shiny jeeps would be of little use against a professional army.</P>

<P> So maybe Stevens has a point. Why not revive the Constabulary and let the
rest of the Army go off and be soldiers?</P>

<P> Because the result would be two armies, each with its own mission and mind
set. The Constabulary would look like an army, but it couldn't fight like an ar

my. It would be a luxury the Army couldn't afford.</P>

<P> Anyway, a Constabulary would inevitably become scorned by the professional soldiers. The Army has long looked down its professional nose at the part-time soldiers of the National Guard and Army Reserve. Imagine how the Regulars would treat a bunch of mechanized cops.</P>

<P> Stevens might be more helpful by loosening the purse strings and letting the Army raise more battalions and brigades of warriors. If the Army must do peacekeeping, an expansion of its ranks would let it spread the burden more evenly.</P>

<P> Meanwhile, the Army might swallow hard and accept peacekeeping as its lot in an unsettled and twitchy time. The alternative is an Army that trains hard for a war that looks awfully unlikely. That's a luxury that taxpayers are ill-disposed to afford.</P>

<P> Sooner or later, we'll need the Army to be an army. That's what happened in Germany.</P>

<P> When the Soviet threat began to loom in the late '40s, the Army in Germany got serious about soldiering - and the Constabulary faded away. </P>

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<P>Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel

July 18, 1999</P>

<P>U.N. Can Stabilize Tensions As World's Wealth Gap Widens</P>

<P>By Richard Foster</P>

<P> <I>Patiently endured so long as it seemed beyond redress, a grievance becomes intolerable once the possibility for removing it crosses men's minds.</P>

<P> - Alexis de Tocqueville</P>

</I><P> For 10 years, the United Nations has been issuing annual reports on human development in its member countries. Like its predecessors, this year's survey portrays, in elaborate and often fascinating detail, both the extent and the danger of the ever-increasing gap between the world's richest and poorest peoples.</P>

<P> The danger exists not simply in faraway countries like Afghanistan and Albania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, but on Main Street USA, and for this reason, the U.N. report is not something that only foreign-policy wonks have reason to look at.</P>

<P> Economic globalization, fostered by the communications revolution and other developments, is making the world more prosperous, says the report.</P>

<P> The Internet, which has become almost as familiar as the telephone, is the fastest-growing communications tool ever, according to the survey. More than 140 million people surfed the Net last year, and that number will surpass 700 million by 2001. This will make possible an abundant flow of information to enormous numbers of people who previously lived out their lives in ignorance, with the impotence and misery that ignorance breeds.</P>

<P> The bad news about globalization, however, is that it has widened the already wide gap between the rich and poor. Some 40 years ago, in 1960, the gap in income between the one-fifth of the human beings who lived in the world's richest countries and the fifth who lived in the world's poorest nations was 30 to 1. In 1990, the gap had grown wider, to 60 to 1. By 1997, it had grown to 74 to 1.</P>

<P> Look at it another way: The three richest people in the world have more money than the combined wealth of the poorest nations, where 600 million people live, the report says.</P>

<P> There was a time when the poor simply endured - or tried to endure - their misery, when they looked upon their poverty not only as a fact of life, but as something fated and irremediable. Only rarely did they rebel against it. Poverty was the only life they knew, or knew about.</P>

<P> But, as de Tocqueville pointed out more than 100 years ago, poverty becomes intolerable when people conceive the possibility of easing it. That enticing possibility is being brought home to millions of people by movies, television, fax machines, cell phones, the Internet and the many other manifestations of the communications revolution.</P>

<P> Of the U.N. report's many findings, one of the most fascinating is that "the single largest export industry for the United States is not aircraft or automobiles. It is entertainment. Hollywood films grossed more than \$30 billion worldwide in 1997."</P>

<P> When, thanks to the wondrous technology of communications, people in Africa and Asia see vivid images of ordinary human beings like themselves living in spacious homes, eating lavish meals, enjoying quality medical care, they may

no longer tolerate being 74 times as poor. It is no accident that 61 major armed conflicts were fought between 1989 and 1998.</P>

<P> Thus far, the U.S. has been able to avoid involvement in most of these wars. But, as more of the world's poor find their burdens intolerable, wars may break out in regions that, in the past, the U.S. was able to ignore.</P>

<P> Remote and seemingly obscure countries may suddenly demand our attention and action, like Madagascar or Guinea-Bissau. If that seems impossible, ask yourself: 5 years ago, how likely seemed the possibility of U.S. involvement in Kosovo?</P>

<P> I recently spent two weeks in Russia, where the population has been numbed and made passive by more than 100 years of communism and czarist despotism. The Russian people live lives of what Thoreau called quiet desperation, getting up every morning and going to work, even though they may not have been paid their wages for weeks or even months. They muddle along, living through economic crises, supinely enduring government corruption, environmental degradation and rampant criminality.</P>

<P> To suppose that the Russians will remain inert indefinitely is wishful thinking. When globalization comes to Russia, people may find their poverty and misery intolerable and rise up. If the U.S. found it impossible, for whatever reasons, to avoid involvement in Kosovo, it's difficult to see how it could avoid an upheaval in Russia, a nation of 150 million people that possesses nuclear weapons.</P>

<P> With only the most perfunctory debate, Congress votes billions of dollars for the armed forces, but it gives only a pittance to U.S. agencies and international organizations like the U.N. that are engaged in work that can prevent war.</P>

<P> If this country can't or won't help in the task of human development, the globalization of the world may be more violent and deadly than it needs to be.</P>

<P> <I>Richard Foster is a Journal Sentinel editorial writer and columnist.</P></I>

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<P>Forbes

July 26, 1999

Pg. 41</P>

<U><P>Commentary on events at home and abroad </P>

</U><P>Anything For An Agreement</P>

<P>By Caspar W. Weinberger, Chairman </P>

<P> THERE IS A PATTERN--indeed a rhythm--evident in the Clinton Administration's attempts to handle foreign policy problems that is both highly predictable and hugely worrisome. It is summed up best by the phrase: anything for an agreement. Recent examples, from Kosovo to airport-invading Russians to North Korea to Iraq, illustrate this pattern of Clinton-Albright foreign policy. </P>

<P> *Kosovo. After commendably joining in NATO's successful air attacks against Serbia, the U.S. has entered into an agreement with Slobodan Milosevic that leaves him far better off than if we had held to the terms agreed to at Rambouillet, which were said to be nonnegotiable. We have allowed Milosevic to retain control of Yugoslavia, including sovereignty over Kosovo. The agreement makes a vague reference to Kosovo's having "autonomy" within Yugoslavia, under the auspices of the U.N., but, as Henry Kissinger has pointed out, "Every aspect of this scheme is a potential land mine." </P>

<P> We agreed to disarm the Kosovo Liberation Army, the rebels whose welcome victories over Serb troops played a part in Milosevic's surrender. We did not, however, insist on the Kosovars' being able to vote on independence. Worse still, we agreed that an unspecified number of Serbian forces may remain in Kosovo at border entry points through which ethnic Albanians must pass in order to return home. And despite the fact that Prime Minister Tony Blair has declared Britain will give no financial aid to Serbia as long as Milosevic is in power, our U.S. security adviser has said we will give "humanitarian assistance" to Serbia, although he could not define what that might encompass.</P>

<P> *Russia. As always, our dealings with Russia reflect the President's, as well as his deputy secretary of state's, insensate insistence that Russia participate fully in, and be in agreement with, everything we do. For instance, all the concessions we gave Milosevic were insisted upon by Russia's pro-Serbian negotiator, Viktor Chernomyrdin. And when some 200 Russian troops raced into Kosovo from Bosnia to seize Pristina's airport--a maneuver Russia's foreign minister claimed to know nothing about--we acceded. We agreed Russia could control the ground at the airport, but NATO would be in charge of air control. Has it occurred to no one that the Russian forces, acting on one of their infamous whims, might some day refuse the air controllers access to the tower? This is not the way we succeeded with the Berlin airlift. </P>

<P> We also agreed that 3,600 Russian forces could operate, with unspecified

d powers, in three sectors of Kosovo, with 16 Russian "liaison officers" having "full political and military control over the Russian contingent." Even so, we are told, this "will preserve the principle of unity of command." Presumably, NATO will be in command overall. But this is all so conveniently vague that if a Russian border guard were to shoot a Kosovar, he would either be disciplined or bemedaled by Russian officers. The U.N. has been given enough power to satisfy Russia and to confuse completely the role of NATO. </P>

<P> And beyond what has happened in Kosovo, we recently sat by as the head of the IMF congratulated Russia on its great economic progress--and indicated he was prepared to begin releasing another \$4.5 billion "loan" to Russia this month. Nothing has been said about monitoring these funds to prevent their being used--as has other foreign aid--to strengthen Russia's enfeebled military. In fact, over the past decade Russia has spent some \$37 billion on strategic forces and weapons programs. This from a country that has no money to pay its workers and soldiers. Russia also used substantial amounts of economic aid to fight a spectacularly unsuccessful war against its own people in Chechnya.</P>

<P> *North Korea. Our intelligence sources report unmistakable evidence that North Korea is planning another launch of its new long-range missiles, the type fired over Japan last August. Our reaction? We worry that missile firings might interfere with our plans to give North Korea two new nuclear reactors, and with the offer by the President's emissary, William Perry, of all manner of benefits if the North will promise (for the fourth time) to "freeze" its nuclear weapons program and permit inspections.</P>

<P> *Iraq. Saddam Hussein has barred U.N. inspectors from conducting inspections he promised to allow. Now we are joining in a plan to lift oil sanctions (the only thing that has hurt Iraq) partially, if Saddam will again promise to allow inspections after the new U.N. commission that he demanded is appointed. The New York Times has astonishingly lavished praise on this proposal, calling it "a constructive change from the previous American insistence that sanctions could not end as long as Saddam Hussein remained in power." Incredible. </P>

<P> All these actions and concessions can be explained only by the fact that Clinton will do anything and give away anything to bring off any agreement that can be photographed and used in future political campaigns. These are hardly the policies that won two world wars and the Cold War. </P>


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<P>Long Island Newsday

July 18, 1999

Pg. B6</P>

<P>Taiwan Broaches The Idea Of Unification </P>

<P>By Les Payne </P>

<P> "DOES YOUR GOVERNMENT provide you with living quarters?" the African journalist asked Tao Wen-Lung, the Taiwan minister of foreign affairs. "No," Tao replied, "I have to pay for them myself." "That's incredible," said Wangethi Mwangi, the managing editor for the Nation newspaper in Nairobi, Kenya. "The Kenyan government pays for all of its ministers' housing and my country is much poorer than yours."</P>

<P> "Maybe that's why your government is so poor," Tao replied with a smile lacking the slightest trace of condescension. This exchange took place at the recent Taipei conference of the International Press Institute, an organization that concerns itself with world press freedoms. This year's session focused on the millennium relations between Taiwan, which fancies itself simply as the Republic, and China, which prides itself as the People's Republic.</P>

<P> The Taiwan foreign minister could just as easily have tailored his biting observation about the spending habits of the People's Republic. Not only is government ministers' housing subsidized in China, but the urban masses, so-called, most of whom are on the payroll, also come in for free rentals. Were such key expenditures to enter the market, China's per capita income, estimated to be \$800 annually, would be at least four times as high.</P>

<P> Taiwan, on the other hand, with a per capita income of \$15,000, and a surplus of some \$100 billion, ranks as one of the world's wealthiest nations. Such economic success, under a capitalistic system opposite to that of its colossal motherland across the Taiwan Strait, has this spunky tiger roaring more heartily, perhaps, than is healthy these days. In an interview with German radio, President Lee Teng-hui reportedly suggested that his nation of 22 million should begin to deal with the People's Republic with its 1.2 billion citizens on a "state-to-state" basis.</P>

<P> China considers such breakaway talk off limits. The anything but toothless People's Republic snapped with a maddening growl, warning Lee in its unique phrasing that he should "rein in at the brink of the precipice." Although Beijing remains willing to recognize two political systems under its indivisible umbrella, there is room on this planet for only one China.</P>

<P> Dr. Sun Yat-sen founded the Republic of China in 1912, following the overthrow of the Ching imperial dynasty. The People's Republic, of course, came into existence following the Long March, under the more commanding presence of Chairman Mao Zedong and has never abandoned its claim on such entities as Hong Kong

g, Macao and the juiciest jurisdiction of them all, Taiwan. President Lee, who addressed the recent journalists' conference in Taipei, has zigzagged his tender rich nation in the safe waters of "One China, two systems," while occasionally referring to his nation as independent.

"Beijing's claim that . . . Taiwan is a renegade province of the PRC not only deviates from reality, but completely negates the truth," Dr. Koo Chen-fu, the chairman of the government's Strait's Exchange Foundation, told the conference. But Koo, whose views approximate that of the Taiwan government, adhered to the two-systems policy and stated that "both sides \ not exclude the possibility of future unification through the process of peace and democracy, when time and conditions mature."

In 1996, Taiwan held its first democratic presidential election, thereby bringing down the wrath of China, which fired brush-back warning missiles during a staged sea exercise. Lee Teng-hui held his nerve, won the elections and relaxed any talk of independence, until last week.

Taiwan's attempts at clarification have been fast, if not altogether reassuring. With one eye apparently on Taiwan's hope for western aid, China reminded the world that not only is it not a paper tiger, it is an aroused one-with no clear teeth.


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<P>Orlando Sentinel

July 18, 1999</P>

<P>Result Of Kosovo Conflict: Situation Is Even Worse Than Before</P>

<P>By Charley Reese</P>

<P> Now that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization forces are settling in for an indefinite stay in Kosovo, let's review what was gained and what was lost in this episode of imperialism disguised as humanitarianism.</P>

<P> First, NATO violated its own charter. It was a defensive alliance and made an offensive war against a sovereign nation.</P>

<P> Second, it violated the United Nations Charter, which forbids making war on a sovereign nation at peace with its neighbors.</P>

<P> Third, it destroyed the credibility of NATO. This happened not only because of the above-mentioned violations but also because NATO got caught in so many fibs during its propaganda briefings. The latest is the discovery by European journalists and the NATO forces themselves that 78 days of aerial bombardment did considerably less damage to the Yugoslav army and its equipment than NATO had stated. </P>

<P> Good thing the Russians persuaded Yugoslavia to sign an agreement. Otherwise NATO ground troops would have plodded into much more of an army with much more armor and artillery than it thought existed.</P>

<P> So the facts are that, contrary to NATO propaganda, the air campaign caused minimal damage to the armed forces and maximum damage to Yugoslav civilians and civilian infrastructure.</P>

<P> Of course, the root cause of the conflict -- the feud between Albanians who want an independent Kosovo and Serbs who want Kosovo to remain Serbian territory -- was aggravated, not resolved. As always with war, both sides now have brand-new reasons to hate each other. Both sides are infinitely poorer as a result of war damage. The situation, in short, is worse than it was before. Therefore NATO forces, at a cost of billions of dollars, will be stuck in the Balkans for the indefinite future.</P>

<P> Finally, there is an even more morally heinous aspect of this -- it was not necessary. The so-called negotiations at Rambouillet in France appear to have been nothing more than a setup. The Serbs were willing to grant Kosovo some form of autonomy. They were willing to have it monitored by a force of international observers.</P>

<P> But the United States insisted that they agree (this wasn't announced but was contained in a now-infamous Appendix B) to the military occupation by NATO soldiers of all of Yugoslavia -- Kosovo, Serbia and Montenegro. Furthermore, there were, in fact, no negotiations. The United States presented it as an ultimatum -- sign or we bomb you. That, too, by the way, is a violation of international law.</P>

<P> Americans ought to be asking themselves why in the heck the federal government got them into this mess. Everyone knows it was not, as NATO purported, for humanitarian reasons. It certainly was not because America has any strategic or national interests in the Balkans (which U.S. politicians asserted before they thought of the humanitarian ploy).</P>

<P> But make no mistake: What the world saw was a gang of powerful nations decide to destroy an innocent sovereign nation-state for reasons the gang has not seen fit to make public. They did so at the cost of alienating Russia and China. Perhaps their true intent is to control eventually all of the southern tier of the former Soviet Union, with that area's vast oil resources. If so, you c

an look forward to a very dangerous future indeed.</P>

<P> For my part, I think that technology outpaced the intelligence quotient of the world's political leaders some years ago. Most of them are hypocritical remnants of the anti-Vietnam War era, not competent to command a small squadron of cavalry, much less a modern army.</P>

<P> The scariest part is that most of these politicians are not even smart enough to know that they aren't smart.</P>


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<P>Detroit News

July 16, 1999</P>

<P>Clinton Doctrine Fell Flat In Kosovo</P>

<P>By Chris Stewart and David Forsmark</P>

<P> In recent weeks, President Clinton and his aides have basked in the success of what they call the Clinton Doctrine, a supposed breakthrough in the use of military force .</P>

<P> The Clinton Doctrine, in essence, states that, in an effort to stop racial or ethnic slaughter within another nations borders, the United States and NATO should be willing to engage in something called "humanitarian warfare" a chillingly Orwellian phrase, even by this administrations standards of torturing language. It is based on the purported success of the United States in the Kosovo war.</P>

<P> The premise of this policy is extremely dangerous to the future of our military preparedness because it is based on political spin, not competent analysis. To sort the truth from the rhetoric, here are four facts that are being ignored by the euphoria peddlers.</P>

<P> Air power did not win Kosovo. The effectiveness of the bombing campaign

was wildly exaggerated. For example, many, if not most, Serbian surface-to-air radar sites went untouched during the 11-week campaign. One reason for this lack of success was the Serbian forces brilliant use of military decoys. Another was the fact that NATO limited its pilots to flying at 15,000 feet, making accurate targeting impossible in the mountainous terrain.

It is important to note that these exaggerations of success were not claimed by the military, but by civilian policy makers and their spokesmen. The military knew the bombing campaign was going slowly and stated so when it could.

In the end, NATO's vaunted air power did nothing more than hinder Serbia's military operations. It provided the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) with an air force, while the KLA did the dirty work for Clinton. It was the KLA's work on the ground during the final 17 days of the campaign, coupled with Clinton's seeming move toward committing ground troops, that dislodged Slobodan Milosevic from Kosovo.

Three months ago, not even the staunchest advocate of air power believed a war could be won from the air. Today, that argument has only been reinforced. Military doctrine requires the use of combined arms — ground troops and air power — to shut down the enemy.

War by committee is ineffective at best and dangerous at worst. Throughout the Kosovo war, all 17 NATO allies had equal say in target selection and determining the rules of engagement, even though the United States was flying more than 80 percent of the combat missions. We know of many situations where air crews observed targets they could have and should have attacked, but they were unable to do so because of rules set by the NATO committee. Instead, they continued to bomb another decoy, empty building or military bunker that had already been hit.

The target selection in Kosovo was reminiscent of Vietnam and Lyndon Johnson's "target breakfasts." Worse yet, the "body counts" of that war were replaced by "sortie counts" for purposes of daily press briefings on how we were "stepping up the pressure on Slobodan Milosevic."

It was an absurdly ineffective. There is no question it led to more Serbian terror and further innocent Kosovo casualties.

The Clinton Doctrine entwines the United States with NATO, a group of nations that continually refuses to spend the money on weapons research and development that modern warfare requires. As a result, we are tied to a group of second- and third-tier military partners, any one of which has veto power over the rules of engagement. This philosophy is an open invitation to future hostilities.

The war was incredibly expensive. Military assets were consumed that will take months — even years — to reconstitute and resupply. Precious military assets were drawn away from such strategic missions as protecting South Korea and monitoring the Chinese missile fields at Wuzhai. Relationships with potential adversaries Russia and China were put back 10 years, creating the lasting impression that NATO, a traditional defensive alliance, is now an offensive military a

lliance.</P>

<P> Worse, faith was broken with military personnel, many of whom saw the war as Clintons political quest for a legacy, not a response to any national threat.</P>

<P> International forces are not good at solving international disputes. For a millennium or more, inhabitants of the Balkans have been slaughtering each other. The only hard and fast rule seems to be that whichever side gains an advantage becomes the aggressor. Does Clinton believe a few weeks of bombing and a few thousand peacekeepers are going to make all that animosity suddenly go away? Or has he merely shifted the balance of power to yet another ethnic group that is eager to take its revenge?</P>

<P> If this doctrine is accepted as our national policy, plan on U.S. troops being stationed in Bosnia and Kosovo for generations to come. And you can add Turkey, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Pakistan, the Sudan, Russia and China to the list of potential future bombing targets. (The principle might apply to Ireland as well, but our own ethnic politics make that unlikely.)</P>

<P> Fortunately, the presidents failure to get the usual bump in the polls reserved for commanders-in-chief who bomb the bad guys mean the Clinton Doctrine is likely headed for the trash heap of history.</P>

<P> <I>Chris Stewart is a former B-1 bomber pilot and Air Force major who is now a novel writer. David Forsmark is a Flushing, Mich., free-lance writer.</P></I>

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<P>New York Times

July 18, 1999</P>

<P>America Finds It's Lonely At The Top</P>

<P>By David E. Sanger</P>

<P> WASHINGTON -- It is impossible to pinpoint the moment when America's successes in the 1990s moved from a topic of grudging admiration around the world to a constant source of annoyance at Washington's triumphalism to a rationale for mistrust and resistance. </P>

<P> Perhaps the clincher was envy over the Dow's dramatic ascent from a little over 2,000 at the start of the decade to a little over 11,000 this year. Maybe it was the dawning realization that people around the globe are all flicking on the same Windows operating system in the morning, on their way to navigating an Internet dominated by U.S. innovations and businesses and driven by Intel inside everything. Maybe it was when the United States, in the wake of the Asian economic crisis, began offering tutorials on American-style capitalism, and insisting that the world's financial architecture be rebuilt to American building codes. </P>

<P> But surely the capstone was Kosovo. Whether Washington intended this outcome or not, the war demonstrated to allies and potential adversaries alike how much more formidable U.S. military technology has become since the Persian Gulf War. Europeans got a rude awakening when they learned that the gap between the United States' capability and their own had so widened that they now have to rethink their we'll-build-it-on-the-Continent mentality. </P>

<P> And nothing sent a greater chill through the Kremlin and the Chinese leaders' compound next to the Forbidden City than the image of those B-2 bombers lazily lifting into the air over Missouri at midday, flying an 11,000-mile, 32-hour mission to drop laser-guided weapons over Belgrade, Yugoslavia -- and getting back in time for dinner the next evening. Feeling the need to stake out some ground, Moscow hastily flew a ragtag force into Kosovo, and Beijing boasted last week that it had the neutron bomb -- don't-mess-with-us messages that undercut the Clinton administration's talk of strategic partnerships with old Cold War adversaries. </P>

<P> Of course, the world looks very different to Americans, who have already moved beyond the Kosovo war. In the national self-image, America's pillars of global power -- unparalleled financial clout, unmatched technological prowess and unchallenged military reach -- are separate entities, bits of a far more fragile mosaic. Sure, times are good, but Americans don't feel particularly powerful now, even with the Russians broke, the Chinese consumed with unemployment and slowing growth, and the Japanese unable to get their breath back. </P>

<P> But talk to Thai politicians stewing over what they view as an American conspiracy to keep their candidate from running the World Trade Organization, or scan the People's Daily, or listen to talk radio in Toronto, and it becomes clear that America's triple threat -- the dollar, the Pentium III chip and the B-2 -- is now also its biggest diplomatic challenge. It may be a case of being too powerful for one's own good. </P>

<P> Or as Michael Mandelbaum, a professor at Johns Hopkins University, puts it, "If you are the 800-pound gorilla, you're concentrating on your bananas, and everyone else is concentrating on you." </P>

<P> Of course, the reactions differ dramatically when America talks to friends like the Western Europeans and to potentially hostile powers. Nonetheless,

<P> When foreign companies look at the pace of U.S. technological development, they see a gap far greater than a decade ago. But American corporate executives look over their shoulders and worry. "You sense quite the opposite of triumphalism from CEOs," said Jeffrey Garten, the dean of the Yale School of Management. "They feel they are in a brutally competitive world, and they think they are in a race for their lives." </P>

<P> The developing world holds a similar fear. The U.N. Development Program issued a report last week arguing that the digital divide is widening faster than ever. Twenty-six percent of Americans use the World Wide Web, it said, compared to 3 percent of Russians and a tiny fraction of a percent of the population of South Asia. The United States has more computers than the rest of the world combined. In other words, the faster rich nations log on, the further they pull ahead of countries that aren't even plugged in. But the closest the report came to advocating a solution was a 1-cent tax on long e-mails, with the revenue earmarked for connecting up the rest of the world. </P>

<P> The perception gap grows whenever the subject turns to the lessons of Kosovo and U.S. military power. Washington looks back at the events of the spring and wipes its brow, relieved that it got through with negligible casualties and no ground troops. It sees a truly multinational mission: After all, there was Prime Minister Tony Blair, feeling his oats, arguing for ground troops. </P>

<P> The European allies emerged with a different view: The war was won with U.S. air power that homegrown military technology cannot match. Meeting last week in Washington to review the war, European defense contractors and officials concluded that trans-Atlantic mergers of defense contractors -- something both Europe and America have long resisted -- are now inevitable. </P>

<P> The Chinese saw Kosovo through another lens. When Thomas Pickering, the under secretary of state, went to Beijing last month to explain the series of mistakes that led to the accidental bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade, a senior Chinese official said China believed that the United States was involved in Kosovo simply to test its latest armaments, according to U.S. officials who have reviewed transcripts of the conversation. </P>

<P> "I don't think that we appreciate how this integration of financial, military and technological power looks from the outside," said Gerrit Gong, the director of Asian studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. "It makes random, unconnected events seem like part of a plan for America to hog the road." </P>

<P> This may be a problem without a solution. Perhaps it could be eased with a little less talk of America as the "indispensable nation" -- Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's phrase -- and a little more attention to sharing technology and the wealth it creates. </P>

<P> That, however, is not exactly the mood that Congress is in. Nor is the administration so inclined; it is trying to get through its last 18 months with no more ethnic wars, no more economic collapses around the globe and no abrupt end to the age of prosperity. </P>

<P> "Economic progress is a Faustian bargain," concludes Mandelbaum. "You g

ain a lot, you pay a price. That's what international politics is all about."</P>

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<P>London Financial Times

July 20, 1999</P>

<P>Euro Defence </P>

<P> European leaders lamented their countries' yawning technological gap, revealed by the Kosovo war, with the US. Europe contributed only a fifth of the warplanes and very little intelligence to the bombing campaign, while mustering even a peacekeeping force showed up deficiencies in logistics.</P>

<P> Later today comes an attempt to give more precision to the widespread pleas for the European Union to base its defence policy ambitions on a greater military capability. At a bilateral summit in London, two European prime ministers, Tony Blair and Massimo D'Alema, will call for EU states to set themselves targets for defence improvements. The move is welcome, and not just because Anglo-Italian summits and initiatives are rare.</P>

<P> Ironically, it was Britain, which has so far chosen to stay outside the euro, that last year first floated the idea of applying "convergence criteria" - used to select participants in the euro - to defence. The notion has a positive resonance inside the EU. The Union has, in its ponderous way, proved itself good at setting and hitting long range targets. After the single market and currency, why not now defence?</P>

<P> But talk of convergence criteria raises the question: converging on what? Britain? Having capably led the peacekeepers into Kosovo, UK forces could reasonably be considered the European norm to aim at. But others could not accept that politically. Nor will it be possible to set standards for defence by supranational treaty, as was done for the euro.</P>

<P> The EU should therefore treat the Blair-D'Alema idea flexibly. Targets

cannot be used to exclude or include states from EU defence. They should probably not focus on the money that goes into defence - to avoid endless arguments with national treasuries - but rather on the output, the hardware and force structures that matter. After all, the key is not always the level of spending, but the right kind.

Giving the EU a say might help push along the necessary reforms towards military mobility and deployability which have been largely completed in Britain, are under way in France, but are still absent in Germany. The Germans have strong political reasons for keeping conscription, but perhaps EU pressure might get them to give their forces a larger professional core.

Force modernisation and improvement would be the one aspect of the EU's new defence ambitions which the US administration would wholeheartedly welcome. It would make it easier for US forces to operate with the European counterparts. It would also answer the repeated threat from Capitol Hill: that if Europe does not do more in its own defence, the US will do less.


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<P>Flight International

July 7-13, 1999

Pg. 3</P>

<P>Allied Forces</P>

<I><P>"Europe's air forces need key equipment such as large transport aircraft"</P>

</I><P> Things just don't seem to be getting any better when it comes to getting a cohesive European defence structure. Calls for a better equipped and more militarily capable Europe, by Adm Guido Venturoni, the chairman of NATO's military committee, and UK defence secretary George Robertson, merely echo pleas that have been made to Europe's leaders since the Second World War ended. While NATO achieved its aims in Kosovo, it could not have done so with

hout the USA, which provided nearly 80% of Operation Allied Force's airpower.

The war against Serbia highlighted the fact that Europe is still not prepared for the crisis or conflict that its warplanners have been anticipating for almost a decade in their threat analyses. Lack of willingness to spend defence euros following the fall of the Berlin Wall and the desire to grab a greater peace dividend than existed resulted in drastic force reductions without the necessary restructuring of capabilities to prepare for a wider range of potential conflict.

Not only has procurement spending been reined in but progress in training warfighters to fight globally at varying conflict levels has been conducted at a snail-like pace. As a result, Europe's armed forces lack the very equipment needed for today's contingencies, especially its air forces, which need key equipment such as large transports, precision guided munitions, long-range stand-off weapons and surveillance/reconnaissance assets.

Airpower had to win the Kosovo conflict. Robertson says it would have taken around 100 days to amass the 150,000 troops and equipment needed for a land invasion. Surface transport would have played a major part in moving the ground force, which would have arrived at the front line on trains and ships, as it did in August 1914. Apart from the USA, only France and the UK deployed significant numbers of laser guided bombs, and these were difficult to use because of the weather. Only the UK, with a single submarine equipped to fire the Tomahawk Land Attack Missile (TLAM), supported the US Navy's long-range precision strike effort.

France and the UK are more advanced in their force restructuring since both have made commitments to convert their Cold War warriors into go-anywhere, do anything forces. The UK has taken a lead in issuing requirements for a short term strategic airlifter, new tankers and transports. And it is well on the way with adapting Cold War-inspired requirements to suit today's needs. It bought the TLAM, ordered attack helicopters, stand-off air-dropped weapons and announced a preferred bidder for its Airborne Stand Off Radar (ASTOR) project.

TLAM and ASTOR provide crucial capabilities for warfighting and peace support.

But both the UK and France still have some way to go before they can act as the core of a coalition force in the same way as the USA.

Their lead does, however, need to be chased by the rest of Europe, although in a managed way so that capabilities are not needlessly duplicated across the continent. To achieve this, European nations need a firm resolve to sign up to a military plan, with deadlines, that will allow them to operate as a well-balanced, capable whole. The European Defence and Security Identity (EDSI) concept, which should allow the European Union to conduct military missions using forces and the command structure normally assigned to NATO, goes some way to formalising the EU's much-needed defence voice and role. But it needs backing up by immediate action to procure the necessary equipment to make it a reality. There is no time like the present, especially when Europe's economies are relatively healthy and the experiences of Kosovo are fresh in the minds of politi

cians, purse-string holders and the taxpayers. </P>

<P> If the concern is to ensure that any EDSI is to be backed by a strong European -based defence technological and industrial capability, perhaps what needs to be tackled urgently is transatlantic technology transfer to overcome wasteful duplication of effort each side of the Atlantic. This would allow Europe to buy now and maintain the industrial infrastructure which is crucial for defence self- sufficiency. In return, the USA must ensure that the two-way street, so-often used as a bargaining chip, becomes a reality.</P>

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<P>Colorado Springs Gazette

July 19, 1999</P>

<P>Paying For Extras</P>

<I><P>Let academy solicit remodeling funds</P>

</I><P> It was troubling enough when we learned that \$268,000 in military readiness funds had been spent remodeling the kitchen at Carlton House, home of the Air Force Academy superintendent.</P>

<P> But that has proven to be only the beginning of the story. A recent Gazette update on the controversy reported \$1.5 million has been spent since 1992, most from readiness funds, on generals' houses at the academy.</P>

<P> And academy officials have plans to spend \$1.2 million more on the superintendent's house in the next 18 months, more than half projected to come from readiness funds.</P>

<P> It's little comfort that U.S. Sen. Wayne Allard says no laws were broken in channeling readiness funds to such projects, and that the practice occurs at other military installations as well, including the Naval Academy.</P>

<P> More to the point, Allard was right when he called the practice "particu

larly egregious" in a period of wartime when operational and maintenance needs in the field have becoming glaring. And that's not to mention reports that at least half of all military housing for families is in need of repair.</P>

<P> The House of Representatives was right to ban in the future the channeling of readiness funds for such uses when it passed an appropriations measure last week. The ban ought to survive an upcoming Senate-House conference committee deliberation and win final congressional approval and the president's signature.</P>

<P> It would be far better if the Air Force Academy chose the route of West Point and sought private donations, including from alumni, to complete major upgrades to the homes of the superintendent and commandant of cadets. </P>

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