

RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (NOTES MAIL)

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CREATION DATE/TIME:23-JUL-1999 04:32:43.00

SUBJECT: Opinion

TO: OPINION@NEWSHOST.NYTIMES.COM (OPINION@NEWSHOST.NYTIMES.COM [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

- att1.htm===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====

ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

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This is the New York Times Direct e-mail message you requested.

If you can read this, you're probably not using an HTML-enabled e-mail client such as Netscape Messenger or Microsoft Outlook Express, and cannot properly view this message.

There is a text version of this e-mail available that can be viewed in any e-mail client. To begin receiving the text version, please go to

<http://search.nytimes.com/partners/iib/services/info.cgi?service=iib> and change your e-mail format from Graphics to Text.

If you need other assistance, write to help@nytimes.com.

Please do not reply to this e-mail.

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Preview other sections from today's New York Times

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<NOBR>Business</NOBR>

|

<NOBR>National</NOBR>

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<NOBR>International</NOBR>

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EDITORIAL FORUM

Today's Editoria
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Join a brief discussion of the day's editorials. Do you agree with The New York
Times' Editors and contributors?

More Opinion For
ums

<P>

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John F. Kennedy Jr.'s interment brings us closer somehow to the
mystery of death, which is something we all honor privately, if
in common. This burial dramatizes both the dissolution of the
body and, in a sense, the immensity that reclaims the body.

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Tinkering with the status of Taiwan is the diplomatic equivalent
of handling nitroglycerin. President Lee Teng-hui of Taiwan
should drop his talk of separate states, and Beijing should
abandon the idea of reunification by military force.

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The
Silence on Under-Age Drinking

</NYT_HEADLINE>

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<NYT_SUMMARY>

An important public health cause suffered a setback recently when
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youngsters from using illicit drugs.

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How
the Racial Literacy Gap First Opened

</NYT_HEADLINE>

<NYT_BYLINE>

By BRENT STAPLES

</NYT_BYLINE>

<NYT_SUMMARY>

"Compulsory ignorance" created a legacy of alienation from books
and reading that has had a lingering effect on African-American
achievement. Of the many obstacles to academic excellence,
expectations based in race have proved to be one of the most
important -- and least-studied -- factors.

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The Kenne
dy Curse, and Other Myths

</NYT_HEADLINE>

<NYT_BYLINE>

By THEODORE C. SORENSEN

</NYT_BYLINE>

<NYT_SUMMARY>

Among the most absurd speculation being uttered in the wake of the most recent Kennedy tragedy is the repeated but mindless notion that there exists some kind of Kennedy family "curse." The Kennedys are not accursed but blessed.

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Wanted: American Physicists

</NYT_HEADLINE>

<NYT_BYLINE>

By ALAN CHODOS

</NYT_BYLINE>

<NYT_SUMMARY>

The most important lesson of the recent suspected Chinese spy case is that American scientific pre-eminence is at risk because there are so few good young American physicists and labs must fill their ranks instead with foreign-born scientists.

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Tick, Tock, Tick ...

</NYT_HEADLINE>

<NYT_BYLINE>

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

</NYT_BYLINE>

<NYT_SUMMARY>

Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak must juggle multiple clocks ticking away in the Middle East -- some of which are of the innocent cuckoo variety and others of which have dynamite

attached. Barak's tenure could well be titled "Beat the Clocks."

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LETTERS

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Lauren Redniss

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Let New Moms Leave the Office<p>

In Iran, Islam Can Spur Change<p>

Politicizing Religion<p>

'Soft Money' Compromise Taints Reform Bill<p>

Public Hospitals' Survey<p>

Watchdog for the Police<p>

Settling H.M.O. Disputes<p>

Secret Campaign Report<p>

[SEND A LETTER](/subscribe/help/letters.html)

CARTOONS

[Doonesbury](http://www.nytimes.com/diversions/cartoons/doonesbury/)

[Dilbert](http://www.nytimes.com/diversions/cartoons/dilbert/)

[Jules Feiffer](http://www.nytimes.com/diversions/cartoons/feiffer/)

[Tony Auth](http://www.nytimes.com/diversions/cartoons/auth/)

[Pat Oliphant](http://www.nytimes.com/diversions/cartoons/oliphant/)

[Ted Rall](http://www.nytimes.com/diversions/cartoons/rall/)

[Tom Toles](http://www.nytimes.com/diversions/cartoons/toles/)

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RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Adam Powell <apowell@freedomforum.org> (Adam Powell <apowell@freedomforum.org> [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:23-JUL-1999 17:26:14.00

SUBJECT: Next Week at the Freedom Forum

TO: apowell@alum.mit.edu (apowell@alum.mit.edu [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

- o in the Newseum: coverage of JFK Jr. and the history of manned space flight
- o in Arlington: "Tensions between India and Pakistan: The Media's View," and "The State of the First Amendment -- 1999"
- o in New York: "The King and I" -- photos of Muhammed Ali
- o in New Orleans: "From New Media to News Media" program for educators
- o in San Francisco: how news coverage affects foreign policy
- o in Johannesburg: "Newspaper Editing and Design" workshop
- o and Newseum NewsCapade visits Philadelphia and Wilmington, Delaware.

Details:

Sat. 24 July

12:30 p.m. Inside Media: Analysis of Coverage of John F. Kennedy Jr.'s death. Eric Newton, Newseum managing editor. Newseum Broadcast Studio. Delayed webcast.

2:30 p.m. Inside Media: Rudy Abramson, Los Angeles Times aerospace writer, who covered the US space program from the orbiting monkeys to the space shuttle. Newseum Broadcast Studio. Delayed webcast.

Mon. 26 July

1 p.m. (Webcast only) Newseum Radio, the weekly program on NPR Worldwide, is webcast.

6 p.m. *New York* "The King and I: Muhammed Ali" Photojournalist Neil Leifer presents his photographs of this American sports legend.

Tue. 27 July

12:30 p.m. Nancy Woodhull Lecture: Karen Jurgensen, editor of USA TODAY. Live webcast.

Wed. 28 July

9 a.m. *Johannesburg* "Newspaper Editing and Design" workshop with Graeme Addison, Institute for the Advancement of Journalism.

10 a.m. *San Francisco* "How News Coverage Affects Foreign Policy." 22 journalists and government officials from 18 countries will be featured. Delayed webcast.

12:30 p.m. "Tensions between India and Pakistan: The Media's View" A conversation with Narendra Mohan, owner, Dainik Jagran of India, and S.H. Nayyar Zaidi, chief correspondent, Jang Group of Pakistan. Frank Gannett Room, 22nd floor, Arlington. RSVP to Bob Paul, 703-284-2860

1:30 p.m. State of the First Amendment: 1999. Discussion of the annual report on First Amendment freedoms. Arlington rooftop conference center, Live webcast.

Thu. 29 July

12 noon *Wilmington* Newseum NewsCapade opens to the public, at the First USA Riverfronts Art Center, 900 S. Madison St. Wilmington DE. Public hours: Wednesday-Thursday 12-5, Friday-Saturday 12-8, Sunday 12-5.

Mon. 2 Aug.

1 p.m. (Webcast only) Newseum Radio, the weekly program on NPR Worldwide, is webcast.

Tue. 3 Aug.

3 p.m. "Establishing Religion: Public Schools and the Ten Commandments." Arlington rooftop conference center. Live webcast.

Wed. 4 Aug.

4:15 p.m. *New Orleans* "From New Media to News Media: Opportunities and Challenges for Journalism Educators." Kevin Kawamoto, Univ. of Washington; John Pavlik, Columbia Univ.;

Patricia Sullivan, San Jose Mercury News; Jim Topping, Disney-ABC Television Stations. New Orleans Sheraton, room TBA.

The Newseum is open Wednesday through Sunday from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.

Admission to the Newseum and to all events is free.

RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: "Congressional Quarterly@cq.com" <congressional.quarterly@cq.com> ("Congressional Quarterly@cq.com" <congressional.quarterly@cq.com> [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:23-JUL-1999 14:12:45.00

SUBJECT: cq-Subject: CQ MIDDAY UPDATE, 7-23-99

TO: cq@cq.com (cq@cq.com [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

:::: Posted to cq list at CQ by "Congressional Quarterly@cq.com"

.....

CQ MIDDAY UPDATE

from Congressional Quarterly - <http://www.CQ.com>

Friday - July 23, 1999 - 2:02 p.m.

TODAY IN WASHINGTON:

- LEAD STORY: The Senate has named its entire Banking committee to negotiate the final version of financial overhaul legislation (see below).

- The HOUSE is in recess until Monday, when it will consider four minor bills under suspension of the rules and HR 1074, requiring annual cost-benefit reports to Congress on federal regulations.

- The SENATE is in recess until Monday, when it will debate and vote on a proposal to enforce the rule against policy "riders" on appropriations bills.

- President CLINTON is heading for a Democratic fundraising dinner in Cincinnati after attending a memorial service in New York City for John F. Kennedy Jr.

- In WASHINGTON, the Capitol Police will hold an 8 p.m. candlelight vigil on the east steps of the Capitol in memory of officers Jacob Chestnut and John Gibson, slain while on duty one year ago tomorrow.

- The QUOTE OF THE DAY: "I think there is a danger in the year 2000 election for running negative campaigns. People are sick of it, and I think they will pay a price for doing that." - Texas Gov. George W. Bush, a Republican presidential hopeful.

- Today's TRIVIA: South Carolina's 3rd Congressional District is home to a 70,000-acre lake formerly known as Clarks Hill Lake, which was renamed Lake Thurmond after Sen. Strom Thurmond, R-S.C., the longest-serving member in Senate history. (Source: Congressional Quarterly's newly published "Politics in America 2000.")

Edited by Martha Angle and Jack Deutsch

SENATE NAMES ENTIRE BANKING PANEL AS CONFEREES ON FINANCIAL SERVICES:

The Senate last night appointed its entire Banking, Housing and

Urban Affairs Committee to negotiate with the House on a final version of the financial services overhaul (S 900). The House has not yet named conferees, as GOP leaders try to mediate a tussle for slots between members of the Banking and Commerce committees. Both panels had jurisdiction over the House version (HR 10) of the measure to tear down regulatory barriers separating the banking, insurance and securities industries. The Senate passed S 900 on May 6. But when the House passed its version on July 1, it did not immediately substitute its text for S 900 - choosing instead to send HR 10 to the Senate. For nearly three weeks, there was a standoff over which bill would become the conference vehicle. On Tuesday, the House gave in and passed S 900 with the text of HR 10 inserted, paving the way for negotiations.

CLINTONS JOIN MOURNERS AT MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR JFK JR.:

President Clinton, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and their daughter, Chelsea, joined family and friends who paid their final respects to John F. Kennedy Jr. and his wife, Carolyn, today at a private memorial Mass at the New York City Catholic church where the late Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis worshiped. Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle, S.D., and Sens. Christopher J. Dodd, D-Conn., close friends of Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., were among the invited mourners. Sen. Kennedy eulogized his nephew, 38, and his wife, 33, who were killed a week ago along with her sister, Lauren Bessette, 34, when their small plane plunged into the Atlantic off Martha's Vineyard, Mass. Clinton brought to this morning's services three albums containing photos of White House visits by the late couple. One album was intended for Sen. Kennedy, the second for Caroline Kennedy Schlossberg and the third for the Bessette family.

CLINTON URGES HOUSE TO ACCEPT SENATE'S HATE-CRIME MEASURES:

President Clinton is urging the House to follow the Senate's lead and approve measures to expand the government's power to combat hate crimes. By voice vote last night, the Senate adopted two hate crime amendments to the Commerce-Justice-State appropriations bill (S 1217). One, based on a revised bill (S 622) by Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., would add sexual orientation, gender and disability to the categories of people protected under the federal hate-crime law. Current law covers race, color, religion or national origin. A second, by Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah, would expand federal jurisdiction to hate crimes committed after the crossing of state lines. It also would allow federal aid to state and local law enforcement officials prosecuting hate crimes. "I call on the House of Representatives to meet its responsibility in combating violence that is fueled by hate," Clinton said in a written statement. The House version of the spending bill does not include hate-crime language.

REFORM PARTY ASSEMBLES TO PICK NEW CHAIRMAN:

Reform Party delegates gather in Dearborn, Mich., today for a convention that will choose a new party chairman and possibly look over a new party star, Minnesota Gov. Jesse Ventura. Ventura was scheduled to

speak

tonight, though he reportedly is suffering back and leg pains that may keep him away. Ventura said his role is to show that a vote for a third party isn't wasted. "That's the leadership role that I'll take out there," said the erstwhile professional wrestler. Delegates are to select a new chairman this weekend, a step that will shape not only the party's direction but who it will endorse in the 2000 presidential race. The party founded by billionaire Ross Perot has more than \$12 million in federal funds for its candidate. Ventura has encouraged former Connecticut Gov. and one-time GOP Sen. Lowell P. Weicker Jr. to run for president on the Reform Party ticket.

ASTRONAUTS DEPLOY \$1.5 BILLION TELESCOPE FLAWLESSLY:

The astronauts aboard space shuttle Columbia today released the world's most powerful X-ray telescope into orbit during the first U.S. space flight commanded by a woman. Air Force Col. Eileen Collins announced the news seven hours into the shuttle journey: "Chandra's on its way to open the eyes of X-ray astronomy to the world." Release of the \$1.5 billion observatory went smoothly; the 45-foot device drifted off to begin a five-year search for signs of black holes and dark matter, and to survey galaxies, quasars and erupting stars. An hour later, a rocket motor fired to send the telescope into a lopsided orbit that will have a high point of 87,000 miles, or one-third of the way to the moon. The five astronauts cheered when notified the motor had worked; a similar motor malfunctioned on a military satellite in April.

POLITICAL CLIPPINGS:

The CINCINNATI ENQUIRER reported, "Jerry Springer isn't sure he's ready to throw his chair into the ring for the US Senate." Springer issued a statement saying he was "flattered" by the attention but didn't know if a run is "practical or possible." Democrats have talked to the TV talk show host about challenging Sen. Mike DeWine, R-Ohio.

The SEATTLE TIMES reported the "recent speculation is that former television anchor Mike James [a Democrat] is about to jump into the race for Seattle City Council," but "behind the scenes, a movement is afoot to talk him into running for the US Senate seat now held by" Republican Sen. Slade Gorton.

The SPRINGFIELD (ILL.) STATE JOURNAL-REGISTER reported farmer Dan Moore, "a Republican-turned-Democrat" on a local county board, is running for the House seat held by John Shimkus, R-Ill. Moore said he has "been friends" with Shimkus, but his "top goal now is to get Shimkus out of office." Moore said Shimkus "doesn't represent the district well. He toes the Republican Party line on everything." Shimkus spokesman Steve Tomaszewski notes that Moore has contributed \$1,800 to Shimkus' campaigns.

AND FINALLY ...

Congress is dealing with alleged Chinese spying at the Energy Department's weapons labs. And the alleged spy's neighborhood is dealing

with surveillance by the FBI. News accounts said neighbors of Wen Ho Lee have had enough of the 24-hour watch on his White Rock, N.M., home. Confronting an FBI agent, one neighbor snapped pictures and demanded to see identification of the agent who was sitting in an unmarked car. The local police chief, who lives in the neighborhood, chanced by during the confrontation and helped persuade the FBI to give the neighbors more space.

- 30 -

Editor: Kinsey Wilson
Managing Editor: Jackie Frank
Senior Editors: Martha Angle, Jack Deutsch, Phyllis A. Gilchrist, Ian McCaleb, Kathleen Silvassy and Randy Wynn
Reporters: The staff of the CQ Daily Monitor and CQ Weekly

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RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (NOTES MAIL)

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<center><H1>July 23, 1999</H1></center>

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

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<H3>TOP STORIES</H3>

House Omits Funds For F-22 From Bill

(Washington Post)....Bradley Graham

The House of Representatives yesterday approved a \$266 billion defense budget that omits money desperately sought by the Pentagon for initial production of the Air Force's prized new combat plane, the F-22 jet fighter.

<p>

Lockheed Lobbies Furiously To Restore Funding For The F-22

(New York Times)....Elizabeth Becker

Flags from 46 states line the entryway inside the 2 million-square-foot hangar where the F-22 fighter jet is being assembled, representing "all the states where some part of the plane is being produced," said R.S. Rearden Jr., Lockheed Martin's vice president for the F-22.

<p>

'We Commit Their Elements'

(Washington Post)....Barton Gellman and Pamela Ferdinand

...From the fantail of the destroyer USS Briscoe, anchored between Martha's Vineyard and the Kennedy clan's redoubt at Hyannisport, an officer in dress whites carried three brass urns of ashes, one by one, down a ladder to the wind-chopped water line. There on a small steel platform, their next of kin scattered the ashes of John F. Kennedy Jr.; his wife, Carolyn Bessette; and her sister Lauren Bessette into the waves.

<p>

US Fleet Monitors Strait Tensions

(South China Morning Post)....News Agencies

Seventh Fleet commander Vice-Admiral Walter Doran said yesterday US naval forces in the Pacific were monitoring the tension between China and Taiwan, and stressed Washington favoured a peaceful solution to the crisis.

<p>

Shuttle Blasts Off With First Female Commander At Helm

(Fort Worth Star-Telegram)....Marcia Dunn, Associated Press

With Air Force Col. Eileen Collins in the commander's seat, Columbia lifted off at 11:31 p.m. CDT yesterday on the first U.S. spaceflight to be led by a woman.

<H3>DEFENSE DEPARTMENT</H3>

Cohen Defends Pentagon On Fund Shift

(Los Angeles Times)....Paul Richter

Defense Secretary William S. Cohen sought Thursday to rebut charges that the Pentagon illegally shifted tax dollars between defense programs without congressional consent, saying any such infractions were few and unintentional.

<p>

Disclaimer

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

The Pentagon has wrapped a disclaimer around a Defense Department-sponsored health advice line that includes a telephone message that says homosexuality is OK.

<p>

Independence Day

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

A National Defense University faculty member warns that one of the lessons learned from conducting postwar "lessons learned" studies is: independence.

<H3>Y2K</H3>

Global Survey Foresees Many Y2K Glitches

(Washington Post)....Stephen Barr and Roberto Suro

...Cohen, who had been seriously concerned a year ago that the Defense Department was moving too slowly on its computer work and made Y2K fixes a top priority, said yesterday that the Pentagon's roughly 10,000 computer systems will be ready for the Year 2000, and that more than 92 percent of all "mission critical" systems have been fixed.

<p>

StratCom: Nuclear Systems Nearly Y2K-Ready

(Omaha World-Herald)....Mike Sherry

Speaking at a Pentagon briefing on Y2K readiness, the man in charge of the nation's strategic nuclear weapons said Thursday he is confident they will be as safe, secure and reliable after Jan. 1 as they are today."

<H3>CIA</H3>

CIA Chief Takes 'Responsibility' For Bombing Of Chinese Embassy

(Washington Post)....Vernon Loeb

The director of the CIA told Congress yesterday that he takes "ultimate responsibility" for the accidental bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade and promised to change the agency's procedures to ensure that such a mistake cannot happen again.

<H3>NAVY</H3>

Cohen Approved Use Of Navy Ship For Burial

I

(Washington Times)....Associated Press

Defense Secretary William S. Cohen said yesterday he personally approved requests by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy and the family of Carolyn Bessette Kennedy and her sister Lauren Bessette for the use of a Navy ship to bury the aircraft crash victims at sea.

<p>

Families Requested Navy For Burials At Sea

(New York Times)....David Stout

The Navy sea burials of John F. Kennedy Jr., his wife and her sister were authorized by Adm. Jay Johnson, the chief of naval operations, after requests from the families of the dead, Pentagon officials said Thursday.

<H3>ARMY</H3>

Army Chief Of Staff To Focus On Recruiting

(Colorado Springs Gazette)....John Diedrich

The Army's new chief of staff said Wednesday he must fix the service's recruiting woes before he considers asking for a larger overall force.

<H3>AIR FORCE</H3>

Lockheed May Face Penalty Over Launch

(Baltimore Sun)....Bloomberg News

A Lockheed Martin Corp. Titan IVB rocket's failure to put a \$800 million military communications satellite in the proper orbit April 30 stemmed from faults in testing, quality assurance and software development procedures, the Air Force said yesterday.

<H3>BALKANS</H3>

May The Forces Be With You: NATO Juggles Troops In The Balkans

(Wall Street Journal)....Ronald G. Shafer

NATO members prepare to consider force contributions there at a meeting next week.

<p>

Cost Of Nato Damage Estimated At \$29bn

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

The NATO bombing campaign caused \$29.6 billion (18.8 billion) damage to the Yugoslav economy, according to an independent Serb study.

<p>

KLA Misses Deadline For Arms Account

(Washington Post)....R. Jeffrey Smith and Peter Finn

The Kosovo Liberation Army missed a deadline today for certifying that a third of its weapons had been turned over to NATO-controlled stockades, as top NATO

officials concluded that the ethnic Albanian rebel force had underreported its total arms holdings and needed to make a new accounting.

<p>

Army Joins Fray Over Milosevic

>

(Washington Post)....William Booth

The Yugoslav army leadership was swept into the national debate over who will govern postwar Yugoslavia today, as a former army chief of staff who was fired by President Slobodan Milosevic charged that the military has been turned into a tool of an incompetent and dangerous regime.

<p>

Defense Minister Says Cooperation In Balkans Conflict Merits Western Aid

(Washington Times)....Kristina Stefanova

Bulgaria was not a NATO member but proved a loyal friend during the bombing of Yugoslavia, and it hopes Western aid will push it --and the entire Balkans -- to emerge from economic doldrums caused by the war, said Bulgaria's defense minister.

<p>

Correction

(New York Times)....Unattributed

Because of an editing error, an article Thursday about a senior United Nations official's criticism of NATO efforts in Kosovo rendered part of his comment in correctly.

<H3>RUSSIA</H3>

Appeasing Russia

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

..."A thousand people out there aren't worth upsetting the Russians over," Mr.

Halperin said, referring to residents of Alaska's Aleutian Islands, which cannot be protected from a single U.S. site.

<p>

Russian Test

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

Russia isn't waiting for deployment of a U.S. national missile defense. On June 3, the Strategic Rocket Forces conducted the seventh flight test of the new Topol-M intercontinental ballistic missile.

<p>

Yeltsin Authorizes Talks On Nuclear Arms

(Washington Post)....Unattributed

President Boris Yeltsin authorized his prime minister to discuss reducing nuclear arms with the United States, including a review of the long-delayed START II treaty, the prime minister said.

<H3>ASIA</H3>

US Navy Warship In Historic Trip To RP

(Philippine Star)....Paolo Romero

As a brass band played, a US warship carrying 1,000 American troops docked at

Manila's South Harbor yesterday for a four-day visit marking the return of large numbers of American forces to Philippine shores after a three-year absence.

Taiwan's President Declines To Soften His New Doctrine

(New York Times)....Seth Faison
Defying pressure to soften his stance, President Lee Teng-hui reaffirmed Thursday that Taiwan will only talk to China as a separate state, and he predicted that China would eventually accept Taiwan's new position.

North Korea Review Due In Early August

(Washington Times)....Unattributed
U.S. policy coordinator William Perry will submit his review of North Korea policy to Congress and President Clinton after the scheduled Aug. 9 end of the four-party talks on peace on the Korean Peninsula, a congressional source said.

N.K. Famine Possibly Among World's Worst

(USA Today)....Barbara Slavin
The most rigorous study yet of conditions inside North Korea suggests that 250,000 people - 10% of the population in one province - may have died in that nation's famine in three years.

OPINION

China's Military Assesses Kosovo

(International Herald Tribune)....Ellis Joffe
...In Chinese discussions of the Kosovo conflict, the "U.S.-led NATO" bombing of Kosovo is not seen as an isolated event but one more instance in America's drive to become the world's sole superpower that seeks to impose its will on other nations, including China.

At Long Last, An Attempt To Rein In Runaway U.S. Defense Spending

(San Diego Union-Tribune)....James O. Goldsborough
The axing of the Air Force's prize fighter program, the \$68 billion F-22, by the House Appropriations' Committee last week was as unlikely a thing for Congress as a pay cut.

EDITORIAL

A Failure Of Policy

(Los Angeles Times)....Editorial
...The Clinton administration has tried for years to modify Pyongyang's behavior by offering numerous economic and political incentives. It has little to show for that effort.

Trouble Over Taiwan

(New York Times)....Editorial
Tinkering with the status of Taiwan is the diplomatic equivalent of handling

itroglycerin.

<p>
Kennedy Farewell

(USA Today)....Editorial

...Supplying a warship for John Jr. is an unfortunate misstep.
<p>
Thanks, Coast Guard

(Philadelphia Inquirer)....Editorial

Extra efforts to find JFK Jr. mean the family and country are spared an unseemly circus.

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<P>Washington Post

July 23, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>House Omits Funds For F-22 From Bill</P>

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

<P> The House of Representatives yesterday approved a \$266 billion defense budget that omits money desperately sought by the Pentagon for initial production of the Air Force's prized new combat plane, the F-22 jet fighter.</P>

<P> The House action is virtually unprecedented in threatening funding for a major defense program on the verge of production. It reflected growing concerns about cost overruns in the \$70 billion F-22 program, the appeal of seemingly cheaper alternatives, and tensions between the Republican-led Congress and the Clinton administration over management of the military.</P>

<P> Caught completely off guard last week when key members of the Appropriations Committee first moved to delete the funding, the Air Force and the plane's prime contractor, Lockheed Martin Corp. of Bethesda, mounted a fierce last-minute

ute lobbying campaign. They now hope to regain the money when House and Senate members meet in a conference committee to resolve differences between their defense spending bills.</P>

<P> But the House's action casts considerable uncertainty over the Pentagon's long-range plans for a new generation of air warfare weapons. It also raises doubts about the ability of Lockheed, the nation's leading defense contractor, to remain in the business of designing combat jets.</P>

<P> The last time a major weapons program was killed as it entered production was 1991, when the Navy halted work on the A-12, a carrier-based aircraft that also had suffered cost overruns and technical problems. But the Navy itself - not the Congress -- initiated the demise of the A-12. And the \$6.7 billion that had been spent on the A-12 is dwarfed by the more than \$20 billion expended on developing the F-22.</P>

<P> In an unusual procedural move on the House floor yesterday, F-22 proponents introduced an amendment to restore funding for initial production of the jet, then withdrew the amendment after an hour of debate dominated by arguments in favor of the plane. By skipping a vote on an issue that has split the Republican leadership, the House spared members a decisive showdown and gave House negotiators greater leverage in shaping a compromise with the Senate, which has approved the full Air Force request for \$1.8 billion to buy the first six F-22s.</P>

<P> Rep. Jerry Lewis (R-Calif.), the chairman of the defense appropriations subcommittee who has led the attack on the F-22, struck a conciliatory note, promising to reevaluate the troubled Air Force project.</P>

<P> "At the end of the day, we will do everything that is necessary to make certain there is no nation that will threaten us" in the skies, Lewis said.</P>

<P> With little further discussion of the military spending bill, the House passed it, 379 to 45.</P>

<P> Lawmakers have complained for several years that the Pentagon has too many new jet fighters in development -- the Navy's F/A-18E/F and the multiservice Joint Strike Fighter in addition to the F-22. In response, the Pentagon has scaled back its planned purchases, shrinking the F-22 order from 750 to 339 planes. But the Air Force never expected outright elimination of the program it touts as its top procurement priority.</P>

<P> "I don't know of another major program whose cancellation has been initiated by Congress," said Steven Kosiak, a military budget analyst with the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments. "The odds are still some way will be found to go ahead with the F-22, but we're in sort of uncharted territory now."</P>

<P> While choking off production money, the House bill preserves \$1.2 billion for F-22 research and development. And Lewis and his allies insist that their aim is not to cancel the project, but merely to compel a "pause" to consider alternatives.</P>

<P> The Air Force argues that any production delay would be tantamount to killing the program, since restarting manufacturing lines would add about \$6 billion and send the F-22's cost soaring above constraints imposed by Congress two years ago.</P>

<P> Pentagon and industry officials lobbied hard to restore the money that the Appropriations Committee cut, disputing charges that the \$200 million-a-copy plane is excessively expensive and insisting the aircraft is essential to maintain a U.S. edge over the next generation of Russian and European aircraft and missiles.</P>

<P> The Air Force arranged special briefings for members of Congress and provided detailed lists of F-22 suppliers and the value of their contracts in each state. Lawmakers from states with the most jobs at stake -- Georgia, Connecticut, California and Texas -- spoke on the House floor yesterday, urging colleagues to keep the program alive.</P>

<P> Vance Coffman, Lockheed's chief executive officer, also met personally with Lewis last week but left discouraged, according to several sources.</P>

<P> Defense analysts said cancellation of the F-22 would cut deeply into Lockheed's revenue in the next 15 years. After years of consolidation among defense firms, there are only two remaining American companies that design and manufacture military jets: Boeing and Lockheed Martin. A third, Northrop Grumman, largely serves as a supplier to them.</P>

<P> "The House's F-22 decision, if sustained, has the potential to remove one of the nation's few remaining aircraft integrators," said Loren Thompson, a defense specialist with the Lexington Institute, a conservative think tank. "Without the F-22, it would be much harder for Lockheed Martin to justify remaining in the military aircraft business."</P>

<P> In addition to targeting the F-22, the Appropriations Committee denounced what it called a disturbing pattern of Pentagon spending on projects never approved by Congress. In recent years, the committee repeatedly has leveled such charges, citing a variety of programs.</P>

<P> In a report accompanying the spending bill, the committee singled out several cases of unauthorized spending, including the start-up of an unspecified secret Air Force program and an effort to buy a military communications satellite. Asked about the criticism, Defense Secretary William S. Cohen told reporters that some of the disputed cases may stem from ambiguous directions provided by conflicting House and Senate legislation. Nonetheless, Cohen acknowledged, "we are bound to have some deficiencies" and pledged to continue working with Congress to resolve any disputes.</P>

<P> <I>Staff writers Juliet Eilperin and John Mintz contributed to this report. </P></I>

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<P>New York Times

July 23, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Lockheed Lobbies Furiously To Restore Funding For The F-22</P>
<P>

<P>By Elizabeth Becker</P>

<P> MARIETTA, Ga. -- Flags from 46 states line the entryway inside the 2 million-square-foot hangar where the F-22 fighter jet is being assembled, representing "all the states where some part of the plane is being produced," said R.S. Rearden Jr., Lockheed Martin's vice president for the F-22. </P>

<P> Stationed beyond those flags on the factory floor are the plane's trademark vertical fins, the wings that will span 44 feet, sections of the fuselage and other parts waiting to be fastened together to make the fourth and fifth F-22 jets ever assembled. At the end of the hall, an American flag is painted across the exit doors where the planes will roll out under the message: "Through These Doors Pass the Most Awesome Fighters in the World." </P>

<P> This picture of outsized industrial self-confidence survived years of questioning from Congress about cost overruns and delays in the Air Force project. Throughout those years, the program enjoyed the powerful protection of Georgia politicians -- Newt Gingrich, the former speaker of the House whose district included this Lockheed plant, and Sam Nunn, the former head of the Senate Armed Services Committee. </P>

<P> Without them, Lockheed finds itself in the unaccustomed position of being on the defensive with Congress, with the House Thursday night approving the deletion of the \$1.8 billion earmarked to manufacture the first airplanes. It was a stunning defeat for the Pentagon and the manufacturer, which rarely had encountered a Congress opposed to a military program on the verge of production. </P>

<P> "Maybe we should have seen it coming, but nobody did," said Tom Burbage, the president of Lockheed Martin Aeronautical Systems. "We thought this would be the first year we wouldn't have a battle, and instead we have the biggest w

e've ever had." </P>

<P> Lockheed Martin has been lobbying heavily to save this program and remains confident that it can win this battle in conference between the House and the Senate. It does have the support of several prominent senators, including Ted Stevens of Alaska, who are ardent loyalists of the next-generation jet. </P>

<P> The firm recently hired Glenn LeMunyon, a lobbyist who was an aide to Sen. Tom DeLay, the majority whip, and is now charged with saving the F-22. The biggest aerospace defense contractor, Lockheed Martin employs its own lobbyists as well as outside firms -- spending \$1.98 million in the last six-month reporting period -- to lobby Congress on its behalf. For the 1998 congressional elections, the company outspent all of its aerospace competitors, donating more than \$1 million to political action committees for candidates in both parties, according to the Center for Responsive Politics, a nonpartisan research organization. </P>

<P> At stake is the profit from producing 339 of these fighter jets, at a spiraling cost that Congress estimates may now reach \$200 million for each plane. Jobs, too, are at issue, with 1,700 at the Lockheed Martin plant here, 1,700 at the company's plant in Fort Worth, Texas, and another 1,500 at the Boeing plant in Seattle where the wings and rear fuselage section are made along with the electronic aviation system. At Pratt & Whitney and its subcontractors, some 3,000 people are working on the jet's engines. </P>

<P> At peak production, projected for the year 2004, the company estimated that 11,000 people would be employed in the production of the plane. </P>

<P> Of course, jobs are also at issue in the Missouri district of Rep. Dick Gephardt, the House minority leader. Part of the \$1.8 billion stripped from the F-22 was earmarked by the House instead to buy refitted F-15 fighter jets, which are manufactured there. </P>

<P> Burbage, the Lockheed Martin president, insists that the stakes go way beyond jobs, however. He asserts that the loss of the F-22 program "will have a profound effect on the science, engineering and industrial base of the entire defense aerospace industry," a statement his lobbyists are repeating throughout the halls of Congress. </P>

<P> On the outside, the flat, almost blunt silhouette of the F-22, with its two upright back fins, has little of the futuristic look of the B-2 stealth bomber. </P>

<P> Inside, in the cockpit, however, it has the feel of an ultra-modern video arcade game in which approaching enemy aircraft are tracked on a computer screen as red triangles, easily distinguishable from the green squares representing the "friendlies" and the pale yellow oblongs indicating planes with unknown loyalties. </P>

<P> "Use the cursor like a mouse and see who he is," said C.L. "Buzz" Buzze, a former Air Force fighter pilot and now the F-22 advanced product representative, as he manipulated the levers of a facsimile of an F-22 cockpit with deceptive similarities to a personal computer. </P>

<P> The cursor slid over the triangle and immediately identified the enemy plane as a fighter jet from the Russian fleet. When the plane came in range, the command "Shoot" appeared on the screen and with a flick of a switch a white trail slithered across the screen hitting a dot that exploded into a small fiery ball. </P>

<P> "You didn't even appear on his radar. He didn't know you were in the neighborhood and he's destroyed," Buzze said. "That's what we mean by first look, first shoot, first kill." </P>

<P> For the moment, this successful demonstration of the stealth, speed and maneuverability of the F-22 remains more video game than actual simulation since the plane has yet to be fully tested in real flight. </P>

<P> But when, and if, the plane passes all of its tests over the next three to four years, the officials say that the expensive stealth qualities built into nearly every part of the plane's design will ensure that the F-22 is never seen on the radar of any other aircraft before it is attacked. And the F-22's supersonic cruising speed would enable the F-22 pilot to take that first shot and be the first to kill a plane in an aerial duel. </P>

<P> "The first day of a war, we'll destroy the enemy in the sky and on the ground," Rearden said. </P>

<P> In the cockpit's simulated war games, the pilot was not hampered by any of the 97 outstanding issues noted in a congressional report as limiting how the plane could operate in real life. Using the plane's cursor, targets were selected and the information transmitted instantaneously to a wingman without making radio contact, several surface-to-air missile defense systems were evaded and a nuclear weapons plant bombed, all accomplished by relying on a single computer screen. </P>

<P> This aviation electronic system in the cockpit, where data is collected, integrated and instantly compiled on the screen, is itself one of the biggest sales points for the jet fighter. </P>

<P> "Here the electronic system does the integration so the pilot can focus on the tactical mission -- not having to do what we call the housework of integrating the raw data," said Rearden. </P>

<P> The House Appropriations Committee cited these "ambitious technical goals of the F-22," especially the electronic system in the cockpit, as the reason for the expensive delays in the fighter jet development. </P>

<P> This advanced technology has come at a cost far in excess of the original \$70 million budgeted for each plane. Lockheed Martin officials admit that the average price per plane, when all costs are included, is \$172 million -- not far from the \$180 million and \$200 million figure cited by Congress. </P>

<P> But they recognize that Congress is convinced that the Pentagon should drop at least one of the three fighter jet programs under development. </P>

<P> Naturally, Lockheed Martin has a different candidate than its own F-22

jet.</P>

<P> "If Congress feels it needs to remove one of the air weapons programs, I'd pick the F-18," said Rearden, referring to the Navy's refitted fighter jet.
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<P>Washington Post

July 23, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>'We Commit Their Elements' </P>

<I><P>Ashes of JFK Jr., Bessettes Scattered Near Crash Site
</P>

</I><P>By Barton Gellman and Pamela Ferdinand, Washington Post Staff
Writers </P>

<P> MARTHA'S VINEYARD, Mass., July 22In an ancient naval ritual adapted to private grief, the Kennedys and Bessettes entombed three loved ones today in the plot of sea that swallowed their fallen aircraft six nights ago.</P>

<P> From the fantail of the destroyer USS Briscoe, anchored between Martha's Vineyard and the Kennedy clan's redoubt at Hyannisport, an officer in dress whites carried three brass urns of ashes, one by one, down a ladder to the wind-capped water line. There on a small steel platform, their next of kin scattered the ashes of John F. Kennedy Jr.; his wife, Carolyn Bessette; and her sister Lauren Bessette into the waves.</P>

<P> "We commit their elements to the deep, for we are dust and unto dust we shall return, but the Lord Jesus Christ will change our mortal bodies to be like his in glory, for He is risen the first-born from the dead," a Navy chaplain prayed, one of five clergymen who took part in the shipboard service. "So let u

s commend our brother and sisters to the Lord, that the Lord may embrace them in peace and raise them up on the last day."

No honor guard fired a three-volley salute, and no bugler played "Taps," as Navy procedure would dictate in a military funeral. The Navy's permission for burial at sea, granted after Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) requested it Tuesday from Defense Secretary William S. Cohen, came under a provision entitling nonveterans who have made notable or outstanding contributions to the United States.

"Clearly we felt that John Kennedy Jr.'s contributions were both notable and outstanding," said Rear Adm. Tom Jurkowsky, the Navy's chief spokesman. "He's obviously spent much of his life working for the disabled and underprivileged. He headed up a nonprofit group providing opportunities for people with disabilities. And he was the son of a former president of the United States, who himself was a World War II hero."

The choice of venue arose in part from the dead trio's long delight in the local waters, which link the mainland to the private beach property that Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis left her son at Martha's Vineyard's Squibnocket Pond. The two families asked that the Briscoe, officials said, steam as close as possible to the spot from which the three bodies and some of the wreckage were pulled Wednesday afternoon.

Perhaps the larger motivation, associates said, was practical. Burial at sea, behind a Navy and Coast Guard picket that kept aircraft and chartered tugs at some remove, afforded what privacy the famous can find in the age of the satellite and telephoto lens.

Only 17 relatives -- including Sen. Kennedy, Caroline Kennedy Schlossberg, Richard and Ann Freeman and Lisa Bessette -- put aboard the Briscoe at 9:00 this morning, along with an unidentified family priest. Network cameras tracked the 9,200-ton destroyer from port at Woods Hole and then from the island coast where parts of Kennedy's shattered airplane had washed ashore. All they could see, for hours, was a warship's stately procession toward the horizon.

NBC's broadcast overlaid that image with the eerily evocative voice of the dead man's slain father, recorded as then-President Kennedy toasted the America's Cup racing crews on Sept. 14, 1962: "It is an interesting biological fact that all of us have in our veins the exact same percentage of salt in our blood that exists in the ocean, and therefore, we have salt in our blood, in our sweat, in our tears. We are tied to the ocean. And when we go back to the sea -- whether it is to sail or to watch it -- we are going back from whence we came."

In New York, with another invitation-only service set for Friday, the city's Irish Catholic community held a public mass this evening for the three. Hundreds of mourners gathered for Irish hymns and eulogies at Old St. Patrick's Cathedral in lower Manhattan.

President Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton announced plans to attend the private Friday memorial, at the St. Thomas More Roman Catholic Church. They invited Maryland Lt. Gov. Kathleen Kennedy Townsend and her husband to accompany them there aboard Air Force One.

<P> Preliminary autopsy results, summarized for reporters in Massachusetts, found the three travelers died instantly of multiple trauma when their Piper Saratoga struck the water at more than 5,000 feet per minute. At that velocity, about 60 mph, the ocean is as unyielding as concrete.</P>

<P> Divers said the single-engine craft sprawled in pieces on the seabed, 116 feet down, its engine and wings sheared off and passenger compartment broken apart.</P>

<P> Sources close to the investigation said experienced investigators found no apparent defects in their initial examination of the fuselage, the engine and the propellers in a closed hangar at Otis Air National Guard Base. But they cautioned that weeks of detail work lie ahead before they can rule out structural or mechanical causes.</P>

<P> The sources said most, if not all, of the aircraft appears to have been located in the debris field where the fuselage and the bodies were found still strapped in their seats. That includes the wings, the tail section, the engine and the propeller. One of the three metal prop blades was broken off but was near the rest of the prop, indicating it broke on impact with the water or the ocean floor and not in flight.</P>

<P> A number of cockpit navigational instruments were recovered, and may provide valuable clues, the sources said.</P>

<P> If no mechanical or structural defects are found, investigators will be left with the likelihood that Kennedy lost his bearings, and then control of the aircraft, while flying over a dark ocean in thick haze. Hundreds of pilots have died in similar conditions, without visual cues to up and down.</P>

<P> Dozens of local residents and tourists in shorts and T-shirts lined the narrow streets and bridges of Woods Hole to catch a glimpse of the motorcade as it pulled into the harbor on a windy and overcast day. Like the Kennedys, who have not shed public tears, the people gathered here to remember, not to weep.</P>

<P> Jim Merageas, 62, said this was the first time in days he had managed to pull himself away from the drama unfolding on his television set in a nearby vacation home.</P>

<P> "What did they do to deserve this. . . I don't think any of us will come up with an answer," Merageas said from his perch along the two-lane road crowded with news crews overlooking the harbor. "When we got up this morning and they said what was going on, I said, 'Hey, let's see it. We can get down there and really see it for ourselves.' "</P>

<P> Family members seen embarking the Coast Guard cutter Sanibel included Caroline Kennedy Schlossberg and her husband, Edwin, holding hands; Sen. Kennedy and his two sons; Maria Shriver; and William Kennedy Smith. They were joined by Lisa Ann Bessette, Lauren's twin sister, her mother Ann Freeman and stepfather Richard Freeman. All were dressed in black. The senator waved to a pair of onlookers as if to either acknowledge their presence or kindly shoo them away, but family members otherwise maintained their silence as state police officers gua

rded the entrance to the dock and buoys clanged in the distance.</P>

<P> Family members' main concern is keeping the youngest children out of the loop of sadness, and any discussions of the tragedy are usually reserved for a fter the children have gone to bed, a source close to the family said. "You wouldn't believe how quiet it is in the compound, except for the children," the source said. "The tears they shed, they shed alone."</P>

<P> Four Navy chaplains and a civilian priest -- all Roman Catholic -- presided over a mariners' service. It lasted 35 minutes.</P>

<P> While cremation and burial at sea are not the usual Catholic funeral practices, the church lifted its absolute ban in 1963. Cremation was once thought by the church to deny Catholic belief in the resurrection of the body on Judgment Day. The church expects cremated remains to be treated much like a whole body, and frowns on the scattering of ashes.</P>

<P> The family chose to do so anyway. As they did a brass quintet from the Newport Naval Base played Christian hymns, in place of the military "Taps." There were no words, but one participant said the words were well known to the two families of observant Catholics. "Abide with me," went one of the hymns, "fast falls the eventide, the darkness deepens, Lord with me abide. When other helpers fail and comfort flee, help of the helpless, O abide with me."</P>

<P> <I>Special correspondent Pamela Ferdinand reported from Martha's Vineyard. Staff writers Don Phillips, Hanna Rosin and Bradley Graham in Washington and researcher Nathan Abse contributed to this report. </P></I>

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<P>South China Morning Post

July 23, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>US Fleet Monitors Strait Tensions</P>

<P>By News Agencies </P>

<P> The US Seventh Fleet is monitoring the Taiwan Strait as special envoys meet in Beijing to persuade officials to avoid military means to solve the unification issue. </P>

<P> And for the second successive day, President Bill Clinton warned the mainland against using force. </P>

<P> Seventh Fleet commander Vice-Admiral Walter Doran said yesterday US naval forces in the Pacific were monitoring the tension between China and Taiwan, and stressed Washington favoured a peaceful solution to the crisis. </P>

<P> There is "nothing particular, nothing exceptional" about the Japan-based fleet's movement in the region, he said aboard USS Blue Ridge. </P>

<P> "As the Seventh Fleet commander, I am the operational commander and I think the position of the US on the situation with China and Taiwan is pretty well documented," Vice-Admiral Doran said. </P>

<P> "We all very much want and support the situation being solved very, very peacefully." </P>

<P> Last night, US Assistant Secretary of State Stanley Roth and National Security Council Asian director Kenneth Lieberthal arrived in Beijing for talks, US officials said. </P>

<P> The two would seek to cool Beijing's ire over the insistence of President Lee Teng-hui that Taiwan enjoyed state-to-state relations with the mainland. </P>

<P> The two envoys were sent by US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, who is expected to meet Chinese counterpart Tang Jiaxuan at the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (Asean) Regional Forum in Singapore next week. </P>

<P> Richard Bush, director of the American Institute in Taiwan, was also sent to Taipei to urge restraint. </P>

<P> Analysts in Beijing and Washington said the manoeuvres showed the US authorities were worried about reports of PLA movements in provinces opposite Taiwan. </P>

<P> Earlier yesterday, Mr Clinton appealed to China and Taiwan to show restraint, saying a military solution was "unthinkable". </P>

<P> The Pentagon on Wednesday cancelled a visit to Taiwan by a low-level working group. </P>

<P> Mr Clinton said the trip was cancelled because "I didn't think this was the best time to do something which might excite either one side or the other and imply that a military solution is an acceptable alternative. </P>

<P> "If you really think about what's at stake here, it would be unthinkable," he said. </P>

<P> But both the Pentagon and the State Department denied reports the US had cancelled scheduled sales of weapons to Taiwan</P>

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<P>Fort Worth Star-Telegram

July 23, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Shuttle Blasts Off With First Female Commander At Helm </P>

<P>By Marcia Dunn, The Associated Press </P>

<P> CAPE CANAVERAL, Fla. -- With Air Force Col. Eileen Collins in the commander's seat, Columbia lifted off at 11:31 p.m. CDT yesterday on the first U.S. spaceflight to be led by a woman. </P>

<P> Tense moments began within seconds of liftoff when Collins said, "Fuel cell leak in Engine 1." However, flight controllers evaluated the cell and found it to be stable; Columbia soared on into the night sky.</P>

<P> The pressure was on: If Columbia hadn't lifted off, it would have been grounded for a month at a cost of millions of dollars. The telescope delivery mission is almost a year late.</P>

<P> "It's either three strikes and you're out, or the third time's the charm," NASA spokesman George Diller said before the launch.</P>

<P> As Collins departed for the launch pad, a female space worker waved a sign that read: "Eileen, Just Do It!!!" In her other hand was a sign that said, "Don't Come Back," a reference to the first two scrubbed missions.</P>

<P> In a superstitious jab at Steven Hawley, who has endured 13 launch dela

ys in his astronaut career, several workers held sheets of white paper in front of their faces as disguises. And once again, Hawley pulled a brown paper bag over his head before boarding Columbia late yesterday.</P>

<P> The third time was the charm for Columbia this week.</P>

<P> Thunderstorms took NASA by surprise shortly before midnight CDT Wednesday, preventing Columbia from blasting off shortly after midnight CDT yesterday under the command of Collins, the first woman to lead a mission in 38 years of U.S. human spaceflight. The shuttle is carrying the \$1.5 billion Chandra Observatory, the world's most powerful X-ray telescope.</P>

<P> On Tuesday, a hydrogen leak scare in the final seconds of the countdown scuttled everything seconds before liftoff. It turned out to be a false alarm. First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and her daughter, Chelsea, went away disappointed both times. They did not return for the third try. Liftoff was scheduled for 11:24 CDT last night but was delayed for seven minutes.</P>

<P> Scientists, some of whom have worked on the Chandra project for two decades, grew more anxious as the hours passed yesterday.</P>

<P> But "when you've waited 20 years to get the X-ray telescope on orbit, one additional day is not something to get particularly concerned about," said Earle Huckins, NASA's deputy associate administrator for space science.</P>

<P> The 45-foot telescope, once released from Columbia, is expected to spend at least five years searching for black holes and peering at galaxies, quasars and exploded stars. Astronomers hope to learn more about the mysterious dark matter that is believed to fill the universe, and better determine the distance to celestial objects.</P>

<P> The plan calls for the five astronauts to eject Chandra from the shuttle's cargo bay seven hours after liftoff. At 50,000 pounds, including a rocket motor and support gear, it is the heaviest payload ever carried by a shuttle.</P>

<P> To improve the odds of sending Columbia this time, NASA extended the launch window from 46 minutes to nearly two hours after new calculations showed that the telescope has more battery power than previously thought.</P>

<P> This was NASA's last chance to launch Columbia until mid- to late August because of the impending shutdown of Air Force launch facilities for more than three weeks of improvements.</P>

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<P>Los Angeles Times

July 23, 1999

Pg. 8</P>

<P>Cohen Defends Pentagon On Fund Shift</P>

<P>By Paul Richter, Times Staff Writer</P>

<P> WASHINGTON -- Defense Secretary William S. Cohen sought Thursday to rebut charges that the Pentagon illegally shifted tax dollars between defense programs without congressional consent, saying any such infractions were few and unintentional.</P>

<P> Responding to criticism leveled by the House Appropriations Committee, Cohen said Pentagon officials must keep straight about 5,000 separate programs and sometimes struggle with inconsistent advice from the House and Senate.</P>

<P> "We are bound to have some deficiencies," he said, while insisting that Pentagon officials intend to correct any that are called to their attention.</P>

<P> The Appropriations Committee, in a report accompanying the annual defense spending bill, cited six cases in which the Pentagon had moved money between military program accounts allegedly against congressional advice.</P>

<P> It said, for example, that Pentagon officials had used \$2 million in funds earmarked for other programs to continue a ballistic missile defense program called Medium Altitude Air Defense (MEADS). Congress had explicitly directed that the program be terminated, according to the report.</P>

<P> In another instance, the committee charged that the Pentagon had undertaken a top-secret, or "black," program without notifying Congress as required by law.</P>

<P> The panel also said the Pentagon used funds intended for the procurement stage of a military satellite program toward pre-production development of the satellite. Similarly, the department sought money for procurement of the new F-22 fighter plane, even though Pentagon officials intended to use the money for development of the aircraft.</P>

<P> The committee report said the panel believes the instances "raise fundamental questions regarding [Defense Department] program oversight and compliance

e with existing law and regulations."

It said the committee had seen "a steady erosion" of compliance in such cases.

The criticism was contained in a two-page section of a 313-page report accompanying the fiscal 2000 defense appropriations bill. Aides said the committee has similarly inserted language in past years' reports to complain about what its members have viewed as Pentagon inattention to their wishes.

They declined to describe how much money was at stake because some of the money belongs in "black" programs.

Kenneth H. Bacon, the chief Pentagon spokesman, offered a different version of how the MEADS program came to receive the \$2 million in funding. He said there was "conflicting guidance between the House and Senate" on a complex program.

Defense officials believed Congress wanted them to "make some changes in the program or kill it" Bacon said. To do so, they built the program around an existing missile, a Patriot 3, rather than one that they were going to develop.

Cohen noted that the committee had cited six infractions out of 5,000 line-item programs. He said the committee was making "a significant statement in and of itself, that 99.9%, of the time we're doing things right."

Congress has elaborate rules governing how, and in what circumstances executive agencies can seek to change the use of appropriated money, experts say.

In some cases, they can make small changes if they believe it is clear that the change follows the wishes of lawmakers. In other cases, they can shift funds if they receive advance approval from chairmen and ranking minority members.

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<P>Washington Times

July 23, 1999

Pg. 9</P>

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

</U><P>Disclaimer</P>

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

<P> The Pentagon has wrapped a disclaimer around a Defense Department-sponsored health advice line that includes a telephone message that says homosexuality is OK.</P>

<P>The message, put out by Tricare, the armed forces health care provider, stirred objections from some military people, who did not like its homosexual advocacy. They also said the message was inconsistent with the military's ban on open homosexuality in the ranks and presented contested theories as fact.</P>

<P>Now, Sue Bailey, assistant secretary of defense for health affairs, has issued a memo to the executive director of Tricare.</P>

<P>"I direct that the following disclaimer regarding the health care information line in Tricare region 1 be incorporated into the audio tape and printed materials provided to enrollees who have access to commercially acquired health care information line."</P>

<P>The disclaimer states: "No health consumer information provided through the advice line takes precedence over established Department of Defense or military department policies."</P>

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<P>Washington Times

July 23, 1999

Pg. 9</P>

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

</U><P>Independence Day</P>

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

<P>A National Defense University faculty member warns that one of the lessons learned from conducting postwar "lessons learned" studies is: independence.</P>

<P>That's why retired Air Force Lt. Col. Dan Kuehl is worried. He read The Washington Times story two weeks ago about Defense Secretary William S. Cohen ordering an after-action report on the 78-day air campaign over Yugoslavia and saw that all participants are Pentagon insiders.</P>

<P>"The potential makeup of the proposed panel you cite has enormous potential to turn into a huge parochial dogfight that will carefully ensure that no one's ox gets gored and that everyone comes out of this looking good," Col. Kuehl tells us.</P>

<P>The instructor of military strategy speaks from experience. As an active duty officer in 1990, he worked at Air Force headquarters at the Pentagon on early planning for the bombing of Iraq.</P>

<P>When the war ended, he was selected to participate in the Gulf War Air Power Survey (GWAPS), an Air Force-sponsored independent look at what air power accomplished.</P>

<P>"If we had not been kept separate from the institutional Air Force we would have been subject to enormous pressure to make our findings conform to institutional goals and this pressure was exerted anyway," he said.</P>

<P>Col. Kuehl said one unnamed "senior Air Force officer" tried to limit distribution of the 1993 report because it cast doubt on some wartime claims. (The Air Force, perhaps more than any other service, bills its assets as the supreme and downplays the importance of large land forces.)</P>

<P>"In all of the services, the fear that any negative information will be used to bash some program or system is so strong that hard, internal assessments are viewed with great suspicion," he said.</P>

<P> "If the services are afraid to support an effort such as GWAPS that was 90 percent laudatory of air power ... we lose an important, even vital, capability to honestly and critically assess ourselves. The price will be paid in the next conflict and the currency will be blood. . . ."</P>

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<P>Washington Post

July 23, 1999

Pg. 21</P>

<P>Global Survey Foresees Many Y2K Glitches</P>

<P>By Stephen Barr and Roberto Suro, Washington Post Staff Writers <
/P>

<P> A State Department survey of 161 nations found that about half of the c
ountries face a medium to high risk of Year 2000 computer breakdowns in their t
elecommunications, energy and transportation sectors, which may have an impact
on international trade, the department's inspector general said yesterday.</P>

<P> "It would be prudent to recognize that Y2K-related failures are inevitab
le, both here and abroad," Jacquelyn L. Williams-Bridgers, the State Department
IG, told a Senate committee.</P>

<P> Electronic disruptions--caused by computers with two-digit date fields t
hat incorrectly interpret "00" as 1900 instead of 2000--could range overseas fr
om minor inconveniences, such as malfunctioning credit card terminals, to susta
ined power and phone outages causing economic and humanitarian hardships, the I
G said.</P>

<P> The State Department survey, drawn from assessments submitted over the p
ast two months by U.S. embassies, found that highly industrialized countries ar
e at a low risk of Y2K-related infrastructure failures, particularly in the fin
ance sector. But the survey suggested that Russia and the former Eastern Bloc n
ations "are a concern because of the relatively high probability of Y2K-related
failures," the IG said.</P>

<P> Power-grid failures due to Y2K glitches could cause Russian defense syst
ems to shut down, Pentagon officials said at a separate briefing yesterday. The
re is little worry about an accidental nuclear launch because Russian strategic
weapons require humans to carry out key commands, but the Pentagon is concerne

d the Russians might lose their early-warning capabilities and feel dangerously vulnerable to a sneak attack.</P>

<P> As a confidence-building measure, Defense Secretary William S. Cohen said, the Russian government has been invited to send representatives to a specially built "Y2K Center for Strategic Stability" in Colorado Springs, Colo., where both nations would share instant access to early-warning information. The Russians halted cooperation with the initiative in March because of the NATO bombing campaign in Kosovo, and they have not agreed to resume talks.</P>

<P> Cohen, who had been seriously concerned a year ago that the Defense Department was moving too slowly on its computer work and made Y2K fixes a top priority, said yesterday that the Pentagon's roughly 10,000 computer systems will be ready for the Year 2000, and that more than 92 percent of all "mission critical" systems have been fixed.</P>

<P> Despite the State Department's "mixed" snapshot of Y2K conditions abroad, Williams-Bridgers said she is "more optimistic" now than in March, when embassies turned in their initial assessments.</P>

<P> The IG testified before the Senate Special Committee on the Year 2000 Technology Problem, chaired by Sens. Robert F. Bennett (R-Utah) and Christopher J. Dodd (D-Conn.). They heard from a panel representing some Fortune 500 companies, including Ford Motor Co., Philip Morris Cos. and Procter & Gamble Co. The executives said their companies have spent millions of dollars on computer repairs here and overseas and do not anticipate severe Y2K disruptions next year.</P>

<P> Williams-Bridgers did not identify the Y2K-troubled nations but offered some hints in her prepared testimony: South Korea got off to a late start and may not complete its Y2K work; India's electric power systems could prove vulnerable; and Poland could face power blackouts.</P>

<P> In response to questions, Williams-Bridgers said U.S. officials are concerned about the energy sector in Russia and Africa, and aviation in parts of Africa.</P>

<P> Given the array of possible Y2K problems overseas, Sen. Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.) suggested that the U.S. government's contingency planning seemed "more relaxed than I would have anticipated."</P>

<P> But Williams-Bridgers said embassies are at work on backup plans in the event of unanticipated emergencies and that a "massive database" is being developed so U.S. intelligence agencies could analyze Y2K trends abroad. The State Department will notify the traveling public of any Y2K concerns in September, she said.</P>

<P> Despite its confidence in its Y2K fixes, the Pentagon also has developed extensive plans to deal with problems in its own systems and any breakdowns that could occur where U.S. forces are stationed.</P>

<P> "We are busy preparing detailed contingency plans to deal with even the most unlikely situations," Cohen said.</P>

<P> Defense has been conducting elaborate exercises to determine whether all the Y2K bugs have been found. Last week, for example, a test of the logistics supply chain involved more than 1,000 participants from all four services in 22 sites across the country; Cohen said further exercises will test linkages to prime vendors of military equipment.</P>

<P> Five comprehensive tests of the nation's strategic weapons command have included simulated firings of every nuclear weapons system, and no Y2K failures occurred during any of them, said Adm. Richard Mies, commander of the U.S. Strategic Command.</P>

<P> With \$3.7 billion budgeted for Y2K fixes, Cohen said, "we are treating the Year 2000 as if it were a cyberattack directed at the very core of our military capabilities." </P>

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<P>Omaha World-Herald

July 23, 1999</P>

<P>StratCom: Nuclear Systems Nearly Y2K-Ready </P>

<P>By Mike Sherry, World-Herald Staff Writer</P>

<P> Speaking at a Pentagon briefing on Y2K readiness, the man in charge of the nation's strategic nuclear weapons said Thursday he is confident they will be as "safe, secure and reliable after Jan. 1 as they are today."</P>

<P> The U.S. Strategic Command, based at Offutt Air Force Base, has tested the 198 computer systems deemed critical to the nuclear mission, said Adm. Richard Mies, StratCom commander in chief.</P>

<P> Two are noncompliant, he said, but those should be fixed by October.</P>
>

<P> Some observers have raised fears that the millennium bug could cause ac

cidental nuclear weapons launches, but Mies said that won't happen because of human verification of launch orders and other safeguards.</P>

<P> "Computers by themselves cannot launch nuclear weapons," he said.</P>

<P> Appearing with Secretary of Defense William Cohen and other Pentagon officials, Mies said StratCom has been working on the Y2K computer problem since 1994. The command has 486 computer systems.</P>

<P> Because some of the command's units took part in the recent NATO bombing campaign against Yugoslavia, Mies said, StratCom was delayed in getting some of its Y2K-compliant nuclear systems completely back out in the field. That should be completed by the fall.</P>

<P> Overall, Cohen said, 94 percent of the Defense Department's computer systems are ready for the turn of the century. He said the Pentagon is spending \$3.7 billion on the effort.</P>

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<P>Washington Post

July 23, 1999

Pg. 16</P>

<P>CIA Chief Takes 'Responsibility' For Bombing Of Chinese Embassy</P>

<P>By Vernon Loeb, Washington Post Staff Writer </P>

<P> The director of the CIA told Congress yesterday that he takes "ultimate responsibility" for the accidental bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade and promised to change the agency's procedures to ensure that such a mistake cannot happen again.</P>

<P> In his first public testimony about the May 7 incident, Director of Cent

ral Intelligence George J. Tenet said the air strike by a U.S. B-2 bomber was aimed at a Yugoslav arms agency, which was the first and only target selected by the CIA during NATO's entire 78-day bombardment of Yugoslavia.</P>

<P> Most of the approximately 900 targets struck during the war were chosen by NATO and the U.S. military's European Command. But as NATO forces began to run short of sites to bomb, U.S. intelligence agencies were invited to propose targets as well.</P>

<P> Tenet attributed the error, which cost the lives of three Chinese citizens and wounded more than 20, to poor targeting procedures, inadequate review and faulty databases -- all factors previously explained in detail to the Chinese government by the Clinton administration.</P>

<P> "It was a major error," Tenet told the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. "I cannot minimize the significance of this."</P>

<P> Although the CIA had occasionally helped the military in some aspects of targeting, Tenet said the Yugoslav Directorate of Supply and Procurement was the first target "unilaterally proposed and wholly assembled" by the spy agency.</P>

<P> Tenet's assertion was challenged by Patrick G. Eddington, a former CIA photo analyst who attended the hearing and said afterward that he had participated in the identification of numerous military targets as a member of the CIA's Combined Targeting Support Staff.</P>

<P> A CIA spokesman responded that the targeting support staff exists to help the military select targets, not "develop" targets from start to finish.</P>

<P> Tenet and Deputy Secretary of Defense John J. Hamre, who joined the CIA chief at the witness table, also provided new details about a mid-level intelligence analyst at the CIA who questioned the targeting data before the airstrike.</P>

<P> The analyst was not involved in the agency's targeting process but voiced concerns to those who were, Tenet said.</P>

<P> The analyst also expressed his doubts in a telephone call on May 4 -- three days before the strike -- to an officer at the European Command's targeting task force in Naples, Italy. The analyst then left for a two-day training exercise, without realizing that the arms agency had been placed on a list for destruction, Tenet said.</P>

<P> When the analyst returned from the training exercise on May 7 and saw the arms agency on that day's target list, he again called Naples. But the officer with whom he spoke apparently believed the analyst was only questioning whether the targeted building was the arms agency's central headquarters, not whether it belonged to the arms agency at all.</P>

<P> "Neither of them went up the chain to try to turn off the strike," Hamre said, "because they didn't think they needed to." </P>

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<P>Washington Times

July 23, 1999

Pg. 13</P>

<P>Cohen Approved Use Of Navy Ship For Burial</P>

<P>By Associated Press</P>

<P> Defense Secretary William S. Cohen said yesterday he personally approved requests by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy and the family of Carolyn Bessette Kennedy and her sister Lauren Bessette for the use of a Navy ship to bury the aircraft crash victims at sea.</P>

<P> The USS Briscoe, a destroyer with a crew of 26 officers and 300 sailors, was approved for use by Adm. Jay Johnson, chief of naval operations, at Mr. Cohen's request. Mr. Cohen said in a brief written statement that use of the Briscoe would have little impact on its training operations in the Atlantic.</P>

<P> Mr. Cohen's chief spokesman, Kenneth Bacon, said the Pentagon had no estimate of the cost incurred by the government for either the burial ceremony or the extensive search and recovery operation at the plane's crash site.</P>

<P> Mr. Bacon defended the decision to approve use of the Briscoe for the burial ceremony.</P>

<P> "The Navy was meeting the needs of the nation in responding to the request of the Kennedy family -- the needs for closure, needs for respect, needs for help," Mr. Bacon said. "It was a completely appropriate response decided and supported by President Clinton and Secretary Cohen."</P>

<P> Sen. Chuck Hagel, Nebraska Republican, said the Clinton administration was right to help the Kennedy family.</P>

<P> "I think the president's judgment was wise," said Mr. Hagel, an Army veteran. "John Kennedy was a symbol to this country.</P>

<P> "I think the additional efforts made by our military and the additional cost to the taxpayers here was justifiable," he said.</P>

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<P>New York Times

July 23, 1999</P>

<P>Families Requested Navy For Burials At Sea</P>

<P>By David Stout</P>

<P> WASHINGTON -- The Navy sea burials of John F. Kennedy Jr., his wife and her sister were authorized by Adm. Jay Johnson, the chief of naval operations, after requests from the families of the dead, Pentagon officials said Thursday . </P>

<P> Sen. Edward M. Kennedy personally contacted Defense Secretary William Cohen on Wednesday to request that his nephew be buried at sea. Cohen passed the request to Johnson, who approved it at once, according to Lt. Meghan Mariman, a Navy spokeswoman. </P>

<P> Similar requests were made by the families of JFK Jr.'s wife, Carolyn Bessette Kennedy, and her sister Lauren Bessette, and approved at once, the Pentagon said. </P>

<P> "The Navy was meeting the needs of the nation in responding to the request of the Kennedy family -- the needs for closure, needs for respect, needs for help," said Kenneth W. Bacon, the Pentagon's chief spokesman. </P>

<P> A White House spokesman, Barry Toiv, said Cohen had not sought President Clinton's approval before passing the requests on to Johnson, but that the president wholeheartedly agreed with the decision. </P>

<P> Mariman said hundreds of burials at sea are performed every year for Navy dead. The ceremonies are performed only occasionally for civilians, she said , but are perfectly within naval regulations when permission has been granted. The burials of Kennedy, his wife and sister-in-law were conducted Thursday from the destroyer USS Briscoe off Cape Cod, Mass.</P>

<P> Aboard the carrier John F. Kennedy Thursday morning, a prayer was offered, followed by a moment of silence, while the ship was engaged in exercises off the mid-Atlantic coast, Mariman said. President Kennedy served in the Navy in World War II.</P>


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<P>Colorado Springs Gazette

July 22, 1999</P>

<P>Army Chief Of Staff To Focus On Recruiting</P>

<P>By John Diedrich / The Gazette</P>

<P> The Armys new chief of staff said Wednesday he must fix the services recruiting woes before he considers asking for a larger overall force.</P>

<P> Gen. Eric Shinseki, who was visiting Fort Carson and the Piñon Canyon training area this week, is waiting for an analysis of the entire Army, started early this summer, to determine if more soldiers are needed. The ranks have been cut by one-third since the early 1990s to 480,000 active-duty personnel .</P>

<P> Shinseki said no matter what the analysis says, his first priority is to meet the Armys recruiting goals. For 1999, the Army projects it will fall 8,000 soldiers short of its goal of about 73,000 new recruits.</P>

<P> "I cant make that argument (for more troops) unless I go after the recruiting problem," Shinseki said. "The number of soldiers becomes a

secondary discussion after I solve the recruiting challenges."</P>

<P> Shinseki, the services 34th chief of staff, said the Army has to do a better job of selling itself as a place for young people to enhance their careers and develop leadership opportunities.</P>

<P> "My challenge in this time of great economies is to send a message to the youth of America that service in uniform is meaningful and rewarding, that it's a good option, not a waste of time. It's an investment in the future no matter how long they serve," Shinseki said.</P>

<P> Shinseki, 56, became the highest-ranking military official in the Army on June 22. He graduated from West Point in 1965 and served two tours in Vietnam, where he received two serious injuries.</P>

<P> More recently, Shinseki commanded the NATO stabilization force in Bosnia. Since November, he has been the vice chief of staff of the Army.</P>

<P> Shinseki spent Tuesday and Wednesday in Colorado Springs meeting with commanders and observing training. It was the first opportunity Shinseki had to meet with troops since becoming chief of staff.</P>

<P> He also attended the Pikes Peak Range Riders Street Breakfast on Wednesday, at which Fort Carson troops cooked and served.</P>

<P> Shinseki said Fort Carson and its vast training area of Piñon Canyon, near La Junta, play a crucial role for the Army. "There aren't many places you can go in the continental United States where you can have the quality and intensity of training you have out here," Shinseki said as he was briefed on war games in Piñon Canyon.</P>

<P> Nearly 8,000 Fort Carson soldiers are participating in war games there this month.</P>

<P> Shinseki said Fort Carson also is important because it is home to the new 7th Division, which pairs National Guard brigades from three states with active-duty leaders at Fort Carson.</P>

<P> As the armed ranks have shrunk, leaders have said reserve forces must play a greater role in preparations for war.</P>

<P> "There is great potential," Shinseki said. "It's important to do (the integration of active and reserve forces) well. That's what the marriage of Fort Carson and the three National Guard brigades gives us." </P>

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<P>Baltimore Sun

July 23, 1999</P>

<P>Lockheed May Face Penalty Over Launch</P>

<I><P>Wayward satellite blamed on software, failed quality tests </P>

</I><P>By Bloomberg News </P>

<P> WASHINGTON -- A Lockheed Martin Corp. Titan IVB rocket's failure to put a \$800 million military communications satellite in the proper orbit April 30 stemmed from faults in testing, quality assurance and software development procedures, the Air Force said yesterday.</P>

<P> The process didn't find and correct a software programming mistake made in early February by a software engineer for the No. 1 defense contractor's Denver-based astronautics sector, the Air Force said.</P>

<P> "The error went undetected by both the internal quality assurance processes and the independent verification and validation process," said the Air Force.</P>

<P> Lockheed, under a new contract arrangement, could be penalized as much as \$135 million over the next three years if Air Force contracting officials find the company mostly to blame.</P>

<P> "We worked closely with the Air Force during the investigation and, together, we are implementing the necessary steps to prevent the recurrence of such a failure," said astronautics spokesman Evan McCollum.</P>

<P> Lockheed Martin has taken more than 200 specific actions to prevent a repeat problem, he said. "We also have exhaustively reviewed other design, manufacturing and quality control processes," McCollum said.</P>

<P> The most immediate penalty could be the loss of a \$37 million bonus for Lockheed for performance on the program during the six months that ended June 30, officials said.</P>

<P> The Air Force didn't specify who was mostly to blame. The Titan rocket program office in Los Angeles will determine that and to what extent Lockheed will face financial penalties.</P>

<P> The company has taken the potential loss of its \$37 million in award fees into account. "The potential impact of this launch failure was included in the revised financial outlook we issued on June 9," said Lockheed Martin spokesman James Fetig.</P>

<P> Lockheed Martin's decision to set aside from its earnings estimates money in anticipation of a penalty blunts the impact on investors, an analyst said.</P>

<P> "It's kind of water under the bridge," said Byron Callan, a defense analyst for Merrill Lynch & Co. who rates Lockheed Martin a short-term "neutral."</P>

<P> "We knew when they took a reserve they were looking for financial flexibility to ensure that they didn't hurt earnings," Callan said.</P>

<P> Beyond the \$37 million in award fees for good performance in the first half of the year, Lockheed could lose as much as \$98 million by 2002 related to potential savings it would share with the Air Force, according to the terms of its new contract with the service.</P>

<P> Lockheed Martin forfeited \$29 million of another \$37 million performance bonus for the six months that ended Dec. 31. Titan was also involved in that case: An August satellite launch failure.</P>

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<P>Wall Street Journal

July 23, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<U><P>Washington Wire</P>

</U><P>May The Forces Be With You: NATO Juggles Troops In The Balk

ans

NATO members prepare to consider force contributions there at a meeting next week. Some Army officers argue privately that the U.S. should simply move one of its two divisions now in Germany to Macedonia. Instead, says a Pentagon official, troops are likely to hold frequent training exercises in Macedonia while Milosevic is in power.

The NATO force size in the region poses problems. Britain, which has 10,000 soldiers in Kosovo, twice the number of any other nation, is strained by its commitments there, in Bosnia and in Northern Ireland. "They will just flat run out of troops," worries one Pentagon official. But troop pressures in Bosnia may ease by fall.

Alliance members may discuss whether to appoint an overall commander just for the Balkans -- a tacit admission that NATO plans to be in the region for years.

-- Ronald G. Shafer

[e19990723cost.htm](http://ebird.dtic.mil/Jul1999/e19990723cost.htm)

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London Times

July 23, 1999

Cost Of Nato Damage Estimated At \$29bn

By Eve-Ann Prentice in Belgrade

The Nato bombing campaign caused \$29.6 billion (18.8 billion) damage to the Yugoslav economy, according to an independent Serb study.

The vast majority of the costs, \$23.2 billion, is the estimated loss to Yugoslavia's GDP over the next ten years.

In a bleak forecast of future economic woes, the group of Serbian econo

mists says: "Because of the war and its consequences, industrial production in Yugoslavia will fall by 44.4 per cent in 1999." </P>

<P> The group is seen as a reliable source of economic information by many Western diplomats in Belgrade. The cost to the country's infrastructure is put at \$4.1 billion, while the human toll caused by deaths, injuries and unemployment is estimated to be \$2.3 billion. </P>

<P> The study says that alliance bombs caused \$2.77 billion in damage to factories, oil refineries and other industrial facilities; \$355 million to the transport system; and \$270 million to power plants. </P>

<P> Exports are expected to nose dive by 54.8 per cent this year and imports by 58 per cent. "Between 200,000 and 250,000 people have been left jobless due to the direct and indirect consequences of the destruction of large industrial facilities in Serbia," the report says. </P>

<P> The study goes on to predict a dire future for Yugoslavia unless massive foreign aid is injected into the economy. It calls on the Yugoslav Government to reform its legal and currency systems to instil confidence among potential foreign investors. </P>

<P> "Taking into account that the current Serbian and federal governments do not enjoy the credibility either within the country or abroad, the prospects do not look very bright," the study says. </P>

<P> "One also wonders whether the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia and the horrible inter-ethnic wars would have happened had its last Prime Minister, Ante Markovic, received loans from the West of only \$4 billion. That amount might have changed the history of this region." </P>

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<P>Washington Post

July 23, 1999

KLA Misses Deadline For Arms Account

By R. Jeffrey Smith and Peter Finn, Washington Post Foreign Service

PRISTINA, Yugoslavia, July 22—The Kosovo Liberation Army missed a deadline today for certifying that a third of its weapons had been turned over to NATO-controlled stockades, as top NATO officials concluded that the ethnic Albanian rebel force had underreported its total arms holdings and needed to make a new accounting.

NATO played down the missed deadline and gave the rebels a 48-hour extension. But some NATO and KLA officials acknowledged that fighters and local commanders were resisting giving up so many weapons.

Today's deadline was the first of three that are supposed to lead to the surrender of all long-barreled and automatic weaponry, including AK-47 assault rifles; antitank weapons; grenades; mines; explosives; mortars and artillery. Another third must be delivered to NATO-controlled stockades within a month, and the final third by Sept. 22.

British Gen. Mike Jackson, the commander of NATO-led peacekeeping forces, asked that Agi Ceku, the KLA's military leader, and other members of the rebel command be taken by helicopter on Friday to all of the approved weapons storage sites so they can check the number of arms at each site, NATO officials said. "Jackson told them to go back and redo their homework," one official said.

In a statement, NATO said "significant amounts" of arms had flooded into the storage sites in the past few days.

"I am encouraged by the quantity of weapons that have been handed in," Jackson said. "What is needed now is the time to ensure that the accounting process has been completed correctly. Gen. Ceku wishes to be able to give me his personal assurance that the [KLA] . . . has complied."

The task of verifying compliance with the KLA demilitarization accord is complicated by the fact that the rebels have never declared the size of their weapons stockpile, and most of the weapons are small arms that NATO officials say would be impossible to track down. As a result, NATO has only been able to guess at the rebel group's holdings and speculate that the amount declared today was too small.

"Some fighters will never turn in their Kalashnikovs," said one KLA official, referring to the Russian-made AK-47s. "They're war trophies."

The disarmament accord signed by NATO and the KLA last month left the door open for a portion of the KLA to be recruited into a new Kosovo security force. But NATO officials said they do not expect that such a force will be created, and that at best some rebels may be hired to serve in a special wing of the new police force that is to be established by next spring.

<P> NATO officials said the KLA has generally met the terms of the agreement , but there have been scattered breaches. In southern Kosovo Wednesday, NATO soldiers detained 15 KLA members who were carrying weapons and wearing uniforms two weeks after a deadline restricting the movement of uniformed rebels to designated assembly areas. The 15 were disarmed before being returned to an assembly area.</P>

<P> Also this week, NATO soldiers arrested more than a dozen rebels after finding an illegal KLA-run detention center in southern Kosovo. NATO urged the KLA leadership to tighten controls over its fighters and prevent further violations of the agreement the group signed. </P>

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<P>Washington Post

July 23, 1999

Pg. 21</P>

<P>Army Joins Fray Over Milosevic </P>

<I><P>Brass Defends Leader; Ex-Chief Urges Ouster</P>

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

<P> BELGRADE, July 22The Yugoslav army leadership was swept into the national debate over who will govern postwar Yugoslavia today, as a former army chief of staff who was fired by President Slobodan Milosevic charged that the military has been turned into a tool of an incompetent and dangerous regime.</P>

<P> Milosevic himself appeared later at army headquarters, surrounded by his top generals and their senior aides, in an event broadcast on national television. The Yugoslav leader praised the army's patriotism, courage and tenacity--and signaled to the nation that the top brass remains loyal to him and his government.</P>

<P> The war of words and symbols illustrates the heightened role the military and its commanders and troops may play in the political struggle being waged in this war-shattered nation.</P>

<P> In a magazine interview published today, retired Gen. Momcilo Perisic, the former chief of staff, called for replacement of Milosevic and his government by political means and said that he himself is "thinking about becoming politically active." The comment suggested Perisic might join the political opposition, perhaps even by starting his own party.</P>

<P> Perisic's charges came as senior army officers have begun speaking publicly in support of Milosevic and against opposition leaders who have been staging mass anti-government rallies--a development that has drawn howls of protest from opposition politicians, who insist that the army play no role in civilian affairs. The army, which traditionally has remained aloof from daily politics, is one of the more respected institutions in the country and is being watched closely to see which way it may tilt in the current opposition effort to push Milosevic aside.</P>

<P> In the interview with the weekly Belgrade magazine NIN, Perisic said that the army and special police units deployed in Kosovo for the "eradication of terrorism" used methods that gave NATO the justification to launch airstrikes against Yugoslavia. He did not specifically mention war crimes allegedly committed in Kosovo, where government forces battled secessionist ethnic Albanian guerrillas for nearly 18 months and turned hundreds of thousands of Kosovo Albanians into refugees.</P>

<P> But in his first public comments since his dismissal last November, Perisic said the Milosevic government wanted the army to be "a blind executioner of sometimes imprudent and fatal decisions." He accused the government of using "usurpation, blackmail and fear" to penetrate the military and charged that "the cruel fate" that befell Yugoslavia was mostly the fault of the Milosevic government.</P>

<P> As commander of the army for five years until his dismissal, Perisic oversaw the first nine months of the Kosovo conflict, which began in February 1998 when army and police forces launched coordinated attacks against the guerrillas. He was part of a small group of senior officers who met with NATO officials in Belgrade last October during preliminary negotiations to end the Kosovo fighting.</P>

<P> Shortly after that meeting, Milosevic dismissed Perisic in a purge that included the president's longtime ally, Jovica Stanisic, chief of the Serbian state security service. No reason for Perisic's dismissal was given, although Belgrade media reported at the time that both men had questioned Milosevic's policies in Kosovo. Perisic issued a statement complaining that Milosevic was trying to rid the government of "leaders of high integrity who think for themselves."
</P>

<P> In his appearance at army headquarters here today, Milosevic extolled the military and told television viewers that the "firm unity of the people and the army guarantees the independence and long stability of the country."</P>

<P> In recent days, Gen. Nebojsa Pavkovic--commander of the Yugoslav Third A

army and leader of the armed forces in Kosovo--criticized the political opposition in a speech to reservists as those who "malevolently even attacked our supreme commander, who did a lot to prevent the aggression, to stop the aggression and to save the nation as well as the army." Aggression is the preferred term of many here for the NATO bombing campaign.

The chief of staff who replaced Perisic, Gen. Dragoljub Ojdanic, also has criticized the political opposition. "Those who are advocating violent means to remove the legitimate government, those who were not here during the NATO aggression, will not have the support of the people," he declared to an audience of businessmen Saturday.

He was referring to Zoran Djindic, leader of the Democratic Party, which has been sponsoring anti-Milosevic demonstrations around Serbia. Djindic left Serbia, Yugoslavia's dominant republic, during the bombing, saying he did so because he feared he would be assassinated or jailed. Djindic, an army reservist, has been summoned to appear before a military court in Belgrade next week to answer charges that he failed to report for lawful military service.

The current military saber-rattling comes as thousands of army reservists continue to blockade roads and stage marches in central and southern Serbia, demanding back pay and stipends for apartments and utility service.

Many of the reservists have seen only a portion of their pay from their service during the Kosovo war, and the government announced Wednesday that it will begin soon to send them the first of six monthly checks.

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<P>Washington Times

July 23, 1999</P>

<P>Defense Minister Says Cooperation In Balkans Conflict Merits Western Aid </P>

<P>By Kristina Stefanova, The Washington Times</P>

<P> Bulgaria was not a NATO member but proved a loyal friend during the bombing of Yugoslavia, and it hopes Western aid will push it --and the entire Balkans -- to emerge from economic doldrums caused by the war, said Bulgaria's defense minister.</P>

<P> "For Bulgaria the priority is regional prosperity," said Defense Minister Georgi Ananiev in an interview in Washington this week. "It's regional issues which need to be solved."</P>

<P> Balkan and Western nations of the Stability Pact for Southeast Europe meet in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, next Friday to hear requests by Balkan countries for aid and NATO membership.</P>

<P> Albania said it will request \$3 billion. It predicts \$10 billion will be needed to rebuild all the Balkan nations and revive moribund economies still paralyzed by war, ethnic conflict and the legacy of socialism.</P>

<P> Mr. Ananiev said the Sarajevo meeting needs to deal with the construction of two corridors: one, a highway and railway from the Adriatic Sea to the Black Sea, would link Albania, Macedonia and Bulgaria; another, a bridge on the Danube, would connect northern and southern Europe.</P>

<P> The two corridors, Mr. Ananiev said, are needed for the rest of Europe as much as for the Balkans, noting that the lack of infrastructure in the region prolonged the UN for peacekeepers' trip to Kosovo.</P>

<P> The two corridors would help investment and perhaps convince the world that "the region is a part of the world which can be invested in and worked with," said the minister.</P>

<P> The Bulgarian ambassador in Washington, Philip Dimitrov, said: "Stability is more important to the region than financial aid."</P>

<P> Bulgaria's 8.5 million people lost more than \$45 million in trade and investment due to the Kosovo crisis, estimated the Bulgarian Ministry of Trade and Tourism.</P>

<P> That loss follows much larger losses of hundreds of millions of dollars during the 1991-95 war in Croatia and Bosnia. Despite five U.N. resolutions calling for repayment of war-related economic damage, Bulgaria has never been compensated.</P>

<P> "Our worry is that following this instability, investment in Bulgaria is very, very low," said Mr. Ananiev, who is the first Bulgarian defense minister to visit the United States.</P>

<P> Bulgaria is a member of the Partnership for Peace, a steppingstone to full NATO membership, and it assisted NATO's air campaign against Yugoslavia by allowing the alliance to use its airfields. It also sent tanks and artillery to Macedonia and sponsored one of its neighbor's refugee camps, providing food and medicine.</P>

<P> Secretary of Defense William S. Cohen thanked Mr. Ananiev for Bulgaria

's support and its offers to help to rebuild Kosovo.</P>

<P> Bulgaria, as well as Hungary and Romania, also blocked Russian military flights over its soil aimed at inserting Russian troops into Kosovo until Moscow agreed to a NATO plan to control their deployment.</P>

<P> Bulgarian President Peter Stoyanov told The Washington Times in April that Bulgaria expected membership in the 19-member alliance for allowing NATO to fly over its territory.</P>

<P> "By freeing our airspace for NATO planes, we become allies before we are actually members, which categorically raises the question of NATO membership," he said.</P>

<P> Mr. Cohen also commended Bulgaria for contributing a platoon of engineers to the rebuilding efforts in Kosovo and Macedonia, and for hosting the headquarters of a multinational peace force that is being created by the southeastern European defense ministers.</P>

<P> Bulgaria, with a growing economy and a young democracy, has been called an oasis of stability in the troubled region.</P>

<P> Discriminatory treatment of the small Turkish minority ended in the past five years and the Turks are represented in parliament.</P>

<P> Also, Bulgaria is coping with its mafia problem and is enforcing intellectual property laws, ending compact disc contraband.</P>

<P> Bulgaria stabilized its currency, the lev, with a currency board in 1997, and its gross domestic product grew 4.5 percent in 1998. In 1996, it had declined 10.6 percent.</P>

<P> According to some Western experts in Bulgaria, the Sofia Stock Exchange could become Eastern Europe's top achiever in 1998. </P>

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<P>New York Times

July 23, 1999</P>

<P>Correction</P>

<P> Because of an editing error, an article Thursday about a senior United Nations official's criticism of NATO efforts in Kosovo rendered part of his comment incorrectly. The official, John Ruggie, an American adviser to Secretary General Kofi Annan, said the United Nations' relief workers and police were supposed to get "up and running" while the NATO force restored a secure environment. He did not say the force had already restored such an environment.
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<P>Editor's Note: The article referred to appeared in yesterdays <I>Current News Early Bird</I>.</P>

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<P>Washington Times

July 23, 1999

Pg. 9</P>

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

</U><P>Appeasing Russia</P>

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

<P>A week ago the Clinton administration's top officials met at the White House for a National Security Council discussion of plans for a nationwide missile defense system -- plans that run counter to the president's policy of strict adherence to the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. The treaty prohibits protecting the entire country under missile defenses.</P>

<P>At the State Department the day before, a meeting was held to prepare Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright for the NSC session. The problem of Russian opposition to building a system that can protect all 50 states against long-range missile attack came up. The issue was whether to defend some of the United States from a single site in North Dakota or anger the Russians with adding a second interceptor site in Alaska.</P>

<P>At one point, State Department policy planning director Morton Halperin expressed his view. "A thousand people out there aren't worth upsetting the Russians over," Mr. Halperin said, referring to residents of Alaska's Aleutian Islands, which cannot be protected from a single U.S. site.</P>

<P>The remark is likely to anger Senate Appropriations Committee Chairman Ted Stevens, Alaska Republican, who has complained about the intelligence community excluding his state from an assessment of long-range missile threats. Mr. Stevens, who believes all his constituents deserve protection from missile attack, told the newsletter Inside the Army last week that the ABM Treaty is a "piece of paper" with "no real meaning."</P>

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<P>Washington Times

July 23, 1999

Pg. 9</P>

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

</U><P>Russian Test</P>

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

<P>Russia isn't waiting for deployment of a U.S. national missile defense. On June 3, the Strategic Rocket Forces conducted the seventh flight test of the new Topol-M intercontinental ballistic missile. The Topol is an advanced version of the SS-25, the world's only road-mobile ICBM. The test was successful. U.S. i

intelligence agencies closely watched the missile's flight path and intercepted radio signals it sent as it flew east from Plesetsk. What was noted: The missile used special high-technology methods that will be used to evade U.S. anti-ballistic missile interceptors. The missile's engine burns for a shorter time during initial boost in an effort to avoid detection and interceptor attack.

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<P>Washington Post

July 23, 1999</P>

<P>Yeltsin Authorizes Talks On Nuclear Arms</P>

<P> MOSCOW -- President Boris Yeltsin authorized his prime minister to discuss reducing nuclear arms with the United States, including a review of the long-delayed START II treaty, the prime minister said.</P>

<P> Prime Minister Sergei Stepashin, who visited Yeltsin at his residence west of Moscow, was scheduled to leave Sunday for the United States.</P>

<P> START II, which would cut Russian and American nuclear stocks to a maximum of 3,500 warheads each, has languished in the parliament's lower house, the State Duma, since it was signed in 1993. Stepashin did not elaborate on what Yeltsin said about arms reduction. </P>

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<P>Philippine Star

July 23, 1999</P>

<P>US Navy Warship In Historic Trip To RP</P>

<P>By Paolo Romero</P>

<P> As a brass band played, a US warship carrying 1,000 American troops docked at Manila's South Harbor yesterday for a four-day visit marking the return of large numbers of American forces to Philippine shores after a three-year absence.</P>

<P> US 7th Fleet commander Vice Admiral Walter Doran said the personnel of the USS Blue Ridge will be "good guests" and conduct themselves well during their stay.</P>

<P> "They are well-behaved and are the real ambassadors of goodwill," Doran said of the sailors and crew at a press briefing aboard the ship. "I think this will be apparent to you as you meet them and see them around your city during the next few days." </P>

<P> The visit of the Blue Ridge, the flagship of the 7th Fleet, follows the Senate's ratification of the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) which allows the US to resume large-scale war exercises and ship visits in the country.</P>

<P> "Today for us is indeed a very, very special day," Doran said. "It's special because we're back among friends."</P>

<P> Presidential Spokesman Fernando Barican said the visit signaled the resumption of normal defense cooperation between the military allies.</P>

<P> The routine visit, which was arranged in early July, has nothing to do with recent wrangling between China and Taiwan or fresh disputes between China and the Philippines in the Spratlys in the South China Sea, Barican said.</P>

<P> The US halted major military exercises and ship visits in the Philippines in December 1996 after the Philippine government canceled a loophole shielding US military personnel from prosecution for crimes committed in the country. Small-scale exercises involving fewer than two dozen American soldiers continued.</P>

<P> The last US Navy ship visited Manila in October 1996. </P>

<P> A downpour drenched sailors lining the top deck as the 19,200-ton Blue Ridge docked before noon at South Harbor, which was festooned with red, white and blue balloons.</P>

<P> Stalls offering city tours, phone cards, stamps and miniature US and Philippine flags lined the harbor.</P>

<P> Police stood nearby with small groups of relatives straining to identify kin among throngs of waving sailors on the main deck of the ship, which had a complement of about 100 Filipino-Americans.</P>

<P> The US Navy troops will be on rest and recreation in Manila during the port call. Staffers of the 7th Fleet will also hold talks with their Philippine military counterparts, Doran said.</P>

<P> He said the resumption of US ship visits will allow the two navies to work together to address a range of security interests, including drug trafficking, terrorism, environmental threats and weapons proliferation.</P>

<P>Tight security</P>

<P> Extra police units have been placed on duty in the city of Manila to protect the visiting sailors following threats from communist rebels, a US Embassy official said yesterday.</P>

<P> "We hope that they will be safe," said US Press Attaché Tom Skipper, who pointed out that all precautions had been taken.</P>

<P> VFA opponents, which include the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), have insisted that the pact could pave the way for port calls by nuclear-armed warships in violation of the constitutional ban on nuclear weapons.</P>

<P> The rebels called off peace talks after the VFA's approval, saying the agreement violates Philippine sovereignty.</P>

<P> Human rights, Church and leftist groups have also assailed the VFA for giving Washington jurisdiction over visiting troops who may commit crimes while on official visit.</P>

<P> The New People's Army, the armed wing of the CPP, has threatened to attack or abduct sailors who "commit crimes against Filipinos."</P>

<P> Other critics fear that the accord could drag the Philippines into conflicts with enemies of the US. The presence of US troops will also encourage prostitution, they say.</P>

<P> About 1,000 personnel will be "on liberty in Manila" during the visit, although they will be asked to strictly observe a curfew. </P>

<P> They will be coordinating with embassy officials and local authorities to get an idea on the peace and order situation in the Philippines. </P>

<P> Vice Admiral Doran said navy personnel have been ordered to travel in tandem for security and gave assurances that the soldiers will behave.</P>

<P> He noted that since the closure of American bases in the Philippines in 1992, the US navy has "evolved a great deal" with its staff more mature, better educated and well behaved. </P>

<P> Many Filipinos were happy just to see the Americans back.</P>

<P> Nenita Azarcon, a tourism information officer, said the return of US soldiers would boost tourism and the local economy.</P>

<P> "There are 1,000 of them. Imagine if each will spend even just \$5 each," said Azarcon, standing in a harbor stall with decks of travel brochures.</P>

<I><P>With Marichu Villanueva, wire reports</P></I>

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<P>New York Times

July 23, 1999</P>

<P>Taiwan's President Declines To Soften His New Doctrine</P>

<P>By Seth Faison</P>

<P> TAIPEI, Taiwan -- Defying pressure to soften his stance, President Lee Teng-hui reaffirmed Thursday that Taiwan will only talk to China as a separate state, and he predicted that China would eventually accept Taiwan's new position. Lee called his new diplomatic tack "friendly and positive," and not provocative, as Beijing has termed it. </P>

<P> Lee's remarks appeared to be directed at Washington, as well as at Beijing, the two governments he most upset by dropping the bombshell on July 9 that from now on Taiwan will only negotiate with China in a "special state-to-state relationship." </P>

<P> A special envoy from the United States, Richard Bush, arrived in Taipei Thursday and is expected to urge Lee to find a way to reopen talks between Taiwan and China. Yet Lee's stance appears to have scuttled any chance for a visit by a senior Chinese official, Wang Daohan, that was scheduled for October. </P>

<P> Thursday morning, as Taiwan's call-in radio shows juggled competing opinions about the significance of President Clinton's remarks about Taiwan at a news conference on Wednesday, Lee issued a statement that signaled, in a gentle way, his unwillingness to back down. </P>

<P> "I know it will not be easy for the Communist Party to accept this view right away," Lee told visiting legislators from the Philippines, according to a statement made public by his office. "But if they can remain cool and think it over, they will understand what I am saying." </P>

<P> Lee's remarks did not seem to allow any room for concessions to China, which has been angered by what it sees as a betrayal of the earlier framework for negotiations between Taipei and Beijing. When those talks began in 1993, Taipei and Beijing essentially agreed that they had separate governments but were part of the same Chinese country. </P>

<P> Now, as a senior aide to Lee tried to explain, Taiwan's government has changed its mind because it feels that the previous formula unfairly favored Beijing. Yet in talking about the issue, the aide had to weave his way through a semantical jungle that has grown up around the notion of "one China" -- a relic of a civil war that ended 50 years ago, when Taipei and Beijing both claimed to be the one legitimate government of all of China. </P>

<P> Washington deferred to this "one China" principle as it normalized relations with Beijing in the 1970s. In the 1972 Shanghai Communique, the United States acknowledged that Chinese on both sides of the Taiwan Strait held that there was only one China, and that Taiwan was part of China. But after it switched diplomatic relations to Beijing in 1979, the United States also committed itself to Taiwan's defense, to prevent reunification by force. </P>

<P> The aide, Su Chi, chairman of Taiwan's Mainland Affairs Council, said Beijing's formula of "one China" exists in the present tense, whereas Taipei's only exists in the future. Taipei still supports the idea that the Chinese mainland and Taiwan will reunite some day, he argued, and only then will there be "one China." </P>

<P> "As a concept, it's all right," said Su in an interview. "Our problem is that there is no 'one China' right now. There's a divided China." </P>

<P> As a result, Su insisted at one moment that Taiwan was making "a major step" in its new policy. A moment later, he countered that there is "no fundamental change," in Taiwan's position, since it has always sought reunification. </P>

<P> Like other Taiwan officials, Su would not say what seems obvious to any visitor to Taiwan: that the government is trying to distance itself from Beijing without going so far as to declare outright independence, a move that would risk military conflict. China has never renounced the use of force to achieve r

eunification. </P>

<P> "It is not that we are moving away, it is that the PRC's policies are s
o heavy-handed that they are forcing us away," he said, referring to the People
's Republic of China. </P>

<P> In Beijing, a stream of anti-Lee invective continued. </P>

<P> "Lee Teng-hui is doomed to failure," said a front-page commentary in th
e Communist Party newspaper People's Daily. "Those who follow him should unders
tand they are heading into a blind alley from which there is no escape." </P>

<P> Assistant Secretary of State Stanley Roth arrived in Beijing Thursday t
o discuss the crisis, and his trip appeared to be timed to coincide with the sp
ecial envoy's visit to Taipei. Roth is expected to echo Clinton's comments that
Washington still supports a "one China" policy but would view any military act
ion with grave concern. </P>

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<P>Washington Times

July 23, 1999

Pg. 16</P>

<P>North Korea Review Due In Early August</P>

<P>U.S. policy coordinator William Perry will submit his review of N
orth Korea policy to Congress and President Clinton after the scheduled Aug. 9
end of the four-party talks on peace on the Korean Peninsula, a congressional s
ource said.</P>

<P>The Clinton administration has informed Congress of the schedule, the source
said.</P>

<P>Initially, Mr. Perry, the top coordinator of North Korea policy in the Unite

d States and a former defense secretary, was to submit the report before the early August start of Congress's recess.</P>

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<P>USA Today

July 23, 1999</P>

<P>N.K. Famine Possibly Among World's Worst</P>

<P>By Barbara Slavin, USA Today</P>

<P> The most rigorous study yet of conditions inside North Korea suggests that 250,000 people - 10% of the population in one province - may have died in that nation's famine in three years.</P>

<P> If applied nationwide, the death toll proportionately would be among the worst of any famine this century.</P>

<P> The study, by the Johns Hopkins University School of Hygiene and Public Health, was obtained by USA TODAY in advance of its publication this weekend in a British medical journal, The Lancet. </P>

<P> It was based on interviews last summer with 440 North Koreans who crossed into China's Yanbian prefecture, primarily from North Hamkyong province. The migrants reported that their households and those of relatives who stayed behind shrank by 10% from 1995 through 1997 because of deaths. Those death rates were seven times higher than previously reported by North Korea.</P>

<P> The authors caution that the findings cannot necessarily be extrapolated to the entire country of 21 million and that not all deaths were famine-related. But the study, vetted by several expert committees, is the most statistically rigorous to date on a country that denies free access to foreign researchers.</P>

<P> "Over the three years measured, there was a steep increase in mortality

and a dramatic decline in per-capita food consumption," says Courtland Robinson, the lead author of the study. </P>

<P> "We believe there is an association between the two." </P>

<P> In May, North Korea released its first official toll: 220,000 famine deaths from 1995 until 1998.</P>

<P> The Johns Hopkins study projects a higher overall toll for North Hamkyong alone, more than 10% of the provincial population of 2 million.</P>

<P> If applied to the nation, the North Korean famine would be worse in percentage terms than African famines and the 1959-61 "Great Leap Forward" in China, which killed 30 million, 4% of the population. </P>

<P> "We ought to take this evidence very seriously," says Rep. Tony Hall, D-Ohio, who has visited North Korea four times. "It may be that conditions are worse in the northeast because it's harder to grow food there, but they may also be better because there is more access to China."</P>

<P> The deaths are suspected to be the result of natural disasters, the collapse of North Korea's socialist economy and the government's use of available money for weapons and luxuries for a tiny elite. </P>

<P> The survey left unclear the impact of international - primarily U.S. - food aid, which began pouring into North Korea only in 1997.</P>

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<P>International Herald Tribune

July 23, 1999</P>

<P>China's Military Assesses Kosovo</P>

<P>By Ellis Joffe, International Herald Tribune</P>

<P> JERUSALEM - Under President Jiang Zemin, the Chinese military has gained a central policy-making role on issues that concern its interests. Nothing concerns it more than Taiwan.</P>

<P> Lessons drawn from the Kosovo conflict, as articulated by Chinese military writers, are not uniform. Some have been clearly stated in the military press. They counsel caution in the face of U.S. technological supremacy.</P>

<P> But other lessons point to a more assertive conclusion. These can be inferred from military commentaries on the Yugoslav experience and from Chinese strategic thinking. They suggest that America's awesome superiority need not immobilize China if it perceives a threat to its national integrity.</P>

<P> In Chinese discussions of the Kosovo conflict, the "U.S.-led NATO" bombing of Kosovo is not seen as an isolated event but one more instance in America's drive to become the world's sole superpower that seeks to impose its will on other nations, including China.</P>

<P> Another consideration is that China lacks U.S. technological capabilities and is unprepared for wars of the future, which will not pit soldiers against soldiers, or generals against generals, but systems against systems. In their initial stages, electronic and information warfare will be the most critical modes of fighting, and the enemy's "nerve centers" the most critical targets.</P>

<P> The crucial factor will be the application of science and technology to the military sphere. In this area there is a big gap between China and developed countries, which is most immediately evident in China's inadequate air defense system.</P>

<P> It follows that China should close this gap as quickly as possible. Consequently, future modernization of the Chinese armed forces should give first priority to the development of high technology, and the training of officers and men in its use. Equally important is the need to assimilate new concepts of warfare that are dictated by the technology.</P>

<P> Such lessons could lead Beijing to the conclusion that it should avoid any confrontation with the United States until the capabilities gap has been narrowed. </P>

<P> However, the lessons from Kosovo that might lead to Chinese inaction over Taiwan are partially offset by other features which point to limited Yugoslav achievements in the bombing campaign. They have been noted by Chinese writers, who call attention to their relevance for China. </P>

<P> There was the ability of the Yugoslavs, despite heavy losses, to preserve effective combat forces and air defenses by using mobility, electronic countermeasures, decoys, dispersal, camouflage and dummy targets. </P>

<P> There was the Yugoslavs' skillful employment of limited air defenses, and a readiness to sacrifice assets in order to protect main strengths.</P>

<P> And there was effective political mobilization, which enabled the Yugoslavs to withstand weeks of intensive bombing without surrendering. In this way

they could wage "people's war under hi-tech conditions."

If, despite the risk of U.S. intervention, China were to use force against Taiwan, its position would be incomparably better than that of the Yugoslavs. Its territory is much larger. The United States has fewer air bases close to China, and they are vulnerable to Chinese missiles.

A U.S. ground invasion of China to protect Taiwan is out of the question. The United States would find it much more difficult to mobilize its allies and public opinion for a prolonged bombing campaign against China. Moreover, China has a nuclear deterrent.

The result is a paradox. The lessons of the Kosovo conflict might deter Beijing from risky action, but they could also embolden it to adopt a more robust policy, despite its military inferiority.

The writer, a professor of Chinese studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

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San Diego Union-Tribune

July 22, 1999

At Long Last, An Attempt To Rein In Runaway U.S. Defense Spending

By James O. Goldsborough, The San Diego Union-Tribune

The axing of the Air Force's prize fighter program, the \$68 billion F-22, by the House Appropriations' Committee last week was as unlikely a thing for Congress as a pay cut. Observers are, quite frankly, aghast.

The F-22 is a financial catastrophe, of course, but we've known that for at least six years. The cost overruns for this plane are so gargantuan that to

stay even close to budget, the Air Force had to cut back to 339 planes, less than half the originally envisaged force.</P>

<P> The cutback has raised cost to about \$200 million per plane, or five times more per unit than the F-15 it would replace, and raised questions about an air strategy dependent on relatively few, prohibitively expensive aircraft.</P>

<P> Today, the full House is scheduled to consider the Appropriations Committee's surprise decision. Rep. Jack Kingston, R-Ga., representing the state where the F-22 would be built by prime contractor Lockheed Martin, plans an amendment to overrule Appropriations and restore funding.</P>

<P> Defense Secretary Bill Cohen is using the full weight of his office to persuade the House to reverse the committee's decision, but it doesn't look good for him. Cohen, the Air Force and everyone else were caught off guard by the committee, whose action was probably the best kept secret in Washington this year.</P>

<P> The committee's Defense Subcommittee, chaired by Jerry Lewis, R-Riverside, voted unanimously to eliminate F-22 funding. The full committee, including its chairman, Bill Young, R-Fla., endorsed the decision, saying that the money could be better spent on readiness. "The money's not there," said John Murtha, the ranking Democrat on the committee.</P>

<P> The committee's decision has been supported by the leaders of both parties, Speaker Dennis Hastert and Minority Leader Dick Gephardt. But lobbyists from the Pentagon, Lockheed Martin, Boeing (airframes), Pratt & Whitney (engines), and the states where F-22 parts would be made (including California) have been busy for a week trying to change House minds, and the outcome is uncertain.</P>

<P> The issues are important and deserve a full airing. The F-22 has been controversial for nearly a decade, but mostly in the arcane circles of national security. The controversy is not just over cost but mission. Like the Seawolf submarine and the B-2 bomber, the F-22 is a weapons system designed to spend \$100 billion on a Soviet threat that no longer existed.</P>

<P> But why did it take so long for the Appropriations Committee to act? Since 1993, another \$17 billion has been spent on the F-22, and the aircraft is close to going into production. Why now?</P>

<P> The answer seems to be Kosovo, where our existing fighters, F-15s and F-16s, proved so effective. The F-22, an air superiority fighter, would not have been needed in Kosovo, where there were no enemy planes to shoot down. If there had been, they would have been no match for either F-15s or F-16s with their advanced munitions. One lesson of Kosovo seems to be that, for air superiority, munitions have become more important than planes.</P>

<P> The Air Force has some 300 F-15-Es in service. This plane, a dual-role attack and air superiority aircraft, is the best fighter-bomber ever produced. No thing else in the world comes close.</P>

<P> Except maybe the F-16, of which the Air Force has some 2,200. This plane,

a multi-role fighter in service in dozens of allied nations, is probably the most successful weapons program of all time.</P>

<P> With an original cost of \$5 million per plane when it went into production 20 years ago, the F-16 has been upgraded many times. Israel has just ordered 50 new F-16s, at a cost of \$25 million per unit, preferring it to the costlier F-15. Israel's calculation was that 50 F-16s was a better investment than 30 F-15s.</P>

<P> That kind of calculation was at the heart of the Appropriations Committee's analysis. With the F-22 unit cost driving down the number of planes available under the \$68 billion budget cap, why not keep the F-15 in production instead of scrapping it for the F-22? An F-15 costs only 20 percent as much as an F-22, meaning we can have five times as many planes for the same money, hence more bang for the buck.</P>

<P> The committee said that upgrades of both the F-15 and F-16 can keep those planes going for 15 to 20 more years, at which time the Joint Strike Fighter, currently being designed for use, with modifications, for the Air Force, Navy and Marines, would be in service.</P>

<P> The Appropriations Committee has done a major service by taking a strong stand against runaway Pentagon procurement costs, and the full House should support it, as should the Senate in conference. Two decades ago, General Dynamics in what was called "the deal of the century," sold 350 F-16s to four NATO allies for the mammoth (in those days) price of \$2 billion, or \$5.7 million per unit. Today Israel is buying the newest version of the F-16 for \$25 million per unit.</P>

<P> Imagine that the F-22 is produced for \$200 million per unit. Using the F-16 example, in two decades, the plane will cost \$1 billion per unit, becoming an aircraft, like the B-2, too expensive to send into battle. </P>

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<P>Los Angeles Times

July 23, 1999

Pg. 14</P>

<P>A Failure Of Policy</P>

<P> American officials believe North Korea is preparing to test-fire a new long-range missile, possibly next month, one year after it raised tensions in Northeast Asia by launching a rocket that passed over northern Japan.</P>

<P>A successful firing of the Taepodong-2 missile, which has an estimated range of 3,750 miles, would bring Japan, Hawaii and parts of Alaska within reach of North Korea's weapons. And it would underline the failure of the accommodationist policies adopted by the United States, South Korea and Japan toward the Stalinist state. The Clinton administration has tried for years to modify Pyongyang's behavior by offering numerous economic and political incentives. It has little to show for that effort. North Korea must be told, unambiguously and forcefully, that U.S. and allied aid will end if it tests its new missile.</P>

<P>The aid takes two main forms. Besides joining with South Korea and Japan to build North Korea two light-water nuclear reactors--at a cost of \$4.6 billion--the United States gives the north 500,000 tons of fuel oil a year. This was the deal struck in 1994 in exchange for Pyongyang's promise to suspend its nuclear weapons program. Additionally, the famine-ravaged north has been getting hundreds of thousands of tons of food from the United States and South Korea. North Korea, which for half a century has made the United States anathema, is now the biggest recipient of U.S. aid in East Asia. In a further major initiative, Washington has offered to ease its economic sanctions and improve political relations if Pyongyang stops developing and exporting missiles.</P>

<P> North Korea's response has been a series of humiliating rebuffs and extortionate demands for more costly gifts and political favors. Pyongyang's paranoid suspicions have not abated, its threat to the security of its neighbors has not diminished, its missile sales to Iran, Syria and Pakistan have not been curbed. Now it is getting ready to flaunt a new weapon, one whose success would encourage the north to demand further concessions under the implicit threat that its increasingly advanced weapons could one day be turned against South Korea, Japan or even the U.S.</P>

<P>It's time this blackmail was identified for what it is, and it's time to admit the futility of appeasement. The challenge from North Korea requires a new form of response.</P>

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<P>New York Times

July 23, 1999</P>

<P>Trouble Over Taiwan</P>

<P> Tinkering with the status of Taiwan is the diplomatic equivalent of handling nitroglycerin. President Clinton seemed well aware of the dangers as he carefully picked his words this week in commenting about heightened tensions between Taiwan and China. </P>

<P> President Lee Teng-hui of Taiwan would do well to follow Mr. Clinton's example. Unhappily, he shows no sign of doing so, and yesterday declared that negotiations between Taiwan and the mainland would not move forward until Beijing acknowledged the island as a separate state. </P>

<P> Mr. Lee unconvincingly insists that this represents no change in the "one China" framework that has allowed the two governments to coexist peacefully for decades. But he has deliberately chosen language that plays to Beijing's deepest anxieties about the permanent partition of China into two independent countries. Beijing has responded with military threats. </P>

<P> Mr. Clinton at his news conference urged both sides to avoid escalating tensions and rightly characterized military conflict between China and Taiwan as "unthinkable." He dispatched Stanley Roth, the State Department's top Asia hand, to Beijing to remind Chinese leaders of America's insistence on peaceful handling of the Taiwan issue. </P>

<P> Richard Bush, in charge of America's unofficial relations with Taiwan, has flown to Taipei to convey Washington's irritation with Mr. Lee, whose statements have disrupted promising China-Taiwan talks and unsettled the western Pacific region. </P>

<P> Mr. Lee defends his remarks by arguing that they reflect the reality of Taiwan's freedom from mainland control and asserting that Taipei must have equal standing with Beijing before it can negotiate issues like reunification. Such declarations may appeal to Taiwanese voters. But that cannot justify risking a crisis across the strait. </P>

<P> Beijing's response is rash. </P>

<P> Threatening Taiwan with blockade or invasion is not the way to persuade its people to support reunification. Washington's relations with Beijing rest not only on the doctrine that Taiwan and the mainland are part of a single China but also on America's insistence that the reunification issue be resolved peacefully.

cefully. </P>

<P> Mr. Lee should drop his talk of separate states, and Beijing should abandon the idea of reunification by military force.</P>

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<P>USA Today

July 23, 1999</P>

<P>Kennedy Farewell</P>

<P> Anyone unsure about the meaning of "closure" received an excellent demonstration of the concept Wednesday when the bodies of John F. Kennedy Jr., his wife Carolyn and her sister, Lauren Bessette, were delivered from the sea. Even unsentimental observers might feel as if some door, left disturbingly ajar, has been closed. Without the extensive search, the drama might have lingered for weeks, serving only paranoid conspiracy seekers and treasure-hunting ghoul.

<P> Cynics and theorists aside, recovering the bodies and being able to bury them provided an emotionally useful finish for millions of bystanders. Millions have invested part of themselves in the Kennedy clan and its prince, and the high-octane media coverage, swinging between sublime and absurd, has fueled that embrace. The certainty of John Jr.'s fate provides the conclusion many needed.

<P> As a matter of national catharsis, therefore, it's hard to fault President Clinton for assigning extra resources to the search and recovery effort. Yes, this accident received more attention and resources than others equally tragic. But it didn't receive more than appropriate to the national sense of loss.</P>

>

<P> With one possible exception. At the request of the Kennedys and Bessettes, Defense Secretary William Cohen approved the use of a destroyer, the USS Briscoe, for Thursday's burial at sea. That was a generous gesture. But the victims

had no claim to military honor. Supplying it, even in kindness, is bound to capture the attention of those who served and suffered without such grand recognition.

And why go so far? It's not as if the Kennedys needed a vessel. And lending one is out of step with Pentagon realities. Honor guards for true veterans are so scarce that the Defense Department has proposed using two-man teams and, in some cases, recordings of Taps.

Against that, supplying a warship for John Jr. is an unfortunate misstep. It's bound to color subsequent discussions of the victims and the lives they led. And if those lives did not warrant a ship-of-the-line send-off, they don't deserve to be measured against others, either. It would have been enough just to find the bodies, recover them and let others say goodbye.

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<p>Philadelphia Inquirer

July 23, 1999</p>

<p>Thanks, Coast Guard</p>

<i><p>Extra efforts to find JFK Jr. mean the family and country are spared an unseemly circus. </p>

</i><p> It could happen tomorrow or next month or next year.</p>

<p> A private plane goes down off the Atlantic Coast. A business executive is aboard. The Coast Guard searches for two days, declares there are no survivors and packs up and goes home - as is standard practice.</p>

<p> But then the pilot's spouse and children call a news conference to pose a pointed question: "The government spent days and many dollars to find and recover the body of John F. Kennedy Jr. Why is my loved one worth any less?"</p>

<P> Cut to a shot of a fidgety Coast Guard officer trying to explain ...</P>
>

<P> President Clinton tried to forestall such a scenario this week by noting he approved the extraordinary government effort on behalf of a private citizen because of John F. Kennedy Jr.'s link to American history as the child of an assassinated president.</P>

<P> Some will nod in solemn assent. But others will insist it's wrong for the government to treat elected officials and their families as a distinct, privileged class. Some will see the Coast Guard's extra effort as a stamp of approval for the popular culture's treatment of the Kennedys as American royalty.</P>

<P> Until a Kennedy was the one lost at sea, standard operating procedure was to halt the search once the Coast Guard determined there were no survivors. Recovering the bodies or the wreckage was paid for by the insurance company or the survivor's family.</P>

<P> But the government had solid reasons to do what it did off the Massachusetts coast. Consider what might have happened had the government not completed the "search and retrieval":</P>

<P> As the Coast Guard cutters departed, a flotilla of private boats and ships and divers would have descended on the site, followed, if not financed, by tabloid newspapers and television shows.</P>

<P> Then, the mainstream media would have added to the din by repeating the "news" dredged up by their more flashy compatriots. Soon, the nation would have been treated to video footage of shattered debris, or worse, and Internet auctions of aluminum remnants of the Piper Saratoga.</P>

<P> Perhaps the Kennedys would have financed salvage operations themselves - they could, and still can, afford it - further fueling the media circus.</P>

<P> Failure to find the wreck or victims would inspire freelance conspiracy theorists to spin wild tales about sabotaged controls or spiked fuel. The unseemly possibilities are endless.</P>

<P> In a sense, the government action - however much it may have been a boon to a famous family - did the rest of us a favor, too. It spared us further encounters with our worst selves.</P>

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<P>Federal News Service

July 22, 1999</P>

<P>Defense Department Briefing With Secretary Of Defense Willia
m S. Cohen And Other Defense Department Officials</P>

<I><P>Other Briefers: Deputy Secretary Of Defense John Ham
re And Admiral Richard Mies, Commander In Chief, U.S. Strategic Command</P>

<P>Subjects: Department Of Defense Year 2000 Computer Readiness, The Status Of
Nuclear Systems Compliance</P>

</I><P> SEC. COHEN: Good morning. A year ago, I was deeply conc
erned that the Department of Defense was not working the year 2000 computer pro
blem aggressively enough. I told the military and civilian leadership that Y2K
was a readiness issue and directed senior leadership to attack the problem acc
ordingly.</P>

<P> Every month Deputy Secretary Hamre now personally reviews the status o
f our Y2K efforts. The Joint Staff is overseeing rigorous operational evaluati
ons of our war-fighting systems. Across the department, we are spending roughl
y \$3.7 billion on this effort.</P>

<P> Yesterday, I reviewed our Y2K progress throughout the department, and I
am pleased to report that almost all of our systems are fixed and fielded. Th

e remaining systems will be fixed and tested soon. And so, as a result, I am very confident that the department will be able to carry out its missions as we cross over into the new millennium.</P>

<P> In many ways, the Y2K challenge facing DOD is the same challenge that faces all agencies and industries:</P>

<P> First, we had to get our arms around the problem and understand its true scope and challenge -- and that is a challenge in and of itself -- in terms of the vast complexities involved.</P>

<P> Next, we had to get our hands on the problem. We had to find the experts and those who could organize our efforts and approach it in a very rational fashion. That, too, was an extraordinary challenge.</P>

<P> And finally, we had to solve the problem before the hands of the clock run out. This is, literally, a race against time.</P>

<P> And what sets the Department of Defense apart from industry and all other agencies is our size and significance.</P>

<P> In terms of size, the Department of Defense is the largest organization in the nation. We have over 3 million people -- active, Guard, Reserve and civilian employees -- and they are spread all over the world.</P>

<P> To administer to this community, it takes roughly 10,000 separate computer systems involving 1.5 million individual computers, which are spread at hundreds of locations across the globe. Of these, over 2,000 systems are so-called mission-critical -- communications, navigational, targeting -- systems that absolutely must work for the military to meet its missions on January 1st, the year 2000. In fact, over one-third of the government's critical systems are in the Department of Defense.</P>

<P> I know that many of you have reported on the increasing number of cyber attacks against the department's infrastructure. We are treating the year 2000 as if it were a cyberattack directed at the very core of our military capabilities, at our ability to obtain, process, and control information that allows American forces to dominate the battlefield.</P>

<P> In this sense, Y2K is an enemy attack of the rarest kind. We know the time of his planned attack. We know the place, we know the consequences, and we know that we have absolutely no excuse not to prepare.</P>

<P> Now the military is conducting extensive Y2K exercises, advancing the clock to the 2000 and testing whether the systems will continue to function properly. We believe it's not enough for a technical team to simply validate the systems; rather, we are having our commanders test their systems in operational settings.</P>

<P> To give you an example, this spring the aircraft carrier U.S.S. Constellation and its 13-ship battle group conducted a two-week exercise. Entire crews went to their battle stations; jets were launched and then recovered. Our commanders even simulate systems failures to measure the reaction of our forces and their ability to work around problems.</P>

<P> Last week the department conducted a huge end-to-end test of our logistics supply chain. How we get orders from the foxholes to the factory, then deliver the parts back to the foxholes, is a crucial element in our operations that absolutely must work. It involves 2.5 billion transactions a year, approximately 68,000 per day, 2,800 per hour, and about one transaction every single second, all involving some \$80 billion per year.</P>

<P> Our test was not a so-called inside-the-Beltway paper exercise. It included over a thousand participants from the defense logistics agencies and all of our services. It linked 22 sites across the United States, such as Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Huntsville, Alabama; St. Louis, Missouri; Columbus, Ohio; and Albany, Georgia.</P>

<P> Another example: The U.S.S. Atlanta ordered a part through its headquarters in Norfolk, Virginia. The order went to Dayton, Ohio, for processing, and the part that was shipped to Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, back to Norfolk, to Atlanta, so it went across the entire system, in which we experienced only one failure, one failure in 200 million lines of computer code, and that failure has already been fixed.</P>

<P> The exercise will be expanded to include linkages to our key prime vendors for those mission-critical systems.</P>

<P> As of today, almost all systems across the department and the military have been fixed and fielded and tested to ensure proper performance. This includes 94 percent of all systems -- and Admiral Mies in a moment can point these out in charts -- as well as 92 percent of all mission-critical systems. All mission-critical systems will be ready before the new year.</P>

<P> There is no question that on January 1st, 2000, and every day thereafter, the Department of Defense is going to be ready. The military will be ready to meet its missions. Nonetheless, full preparation demands contingency planning. Every single Department of Defense entity is therefore prepared to put into place a contingency plan. This includes our efforts to create a special center at our Nuclear Command in Colorado. Russian and U.S. forces will work together to ensure that any glitches are not misinterpreted as an attack and to reduce the risk of an accidental nuclear launch.</P>

<P> Here at home, clear parameters are being laid out for military support to any potential domestic problems or disruptions.</P>

<P> And as with all domestic agencies, in emergencies, the Federal Emergency Management Agency, FEMA, will prioritize response efforts, and any military role will be to the support of civilian efforts.</P>

<P> I should note, in closing, that securing our systems for the year 2000 has also afforded numerous lessons that are going to translate well in our efforts to secure critical information infrastructure in the years well beyond the year 2000. Our assessment efforts have led to the best-ever accounting of DOD systems and their status, the information management structure now in place meets the requirements of the Clinger-Cohen Act, I am pleased to announce. There is more senior level awareness and appreciation for information technology than ever before to include an acute awareness that the government needs to keep pa

ce with industry. Indeed, we may someday look back on the Y2K as a blessing, a blessing that forced America to face realities of a rapidly changing information-based world.</P>

<P> I've asked Admiral Richard Mies (mispronounced) to -- I'm sorry, Mies -- the commander-in-chief of the Strategic Command to join us today, and I especially want to thank him for, really, delaying his departure to a CINCs conference so he could be here to address you today and to answer any questions. I especially wanted him to be here today because of our nuclear systems, and he's the man responsible for them and they are central to our nation's security. So it's a very important role that he plays and I wanted him to be here to respond to any insightful questions that I'm sure you're going to ask him.</P>

<P> These systems must be Y2K ready. Admiral Mies has done a great job of making sure that they are, and he represents all of the CINCs who have been conducting these extensive operational evaluations of our war-fighting systems. Here is where, as we say, the rubber meets the road of the nation's defense and I am reassured that -- and confident -- that we will defeat the Y2K attack when it comes on January 1, 00.</P>

<P> Because of the time compression that we are under, Dr. Hamre has to be up on the Hill very soon. Admiral Mies is prepared to answer any questions you have on this subject matter, and I would like to confine it to Y2K.</P>

<P> Q: Can we ask you first a question on another topic before we get started? A short one?</P>

<P> SEC. COHEN: You may ask one question.</P>

<P> Q: Can you comment on this report today about the House Appropriations Committee report which says that the Pentagon misled or misused funds and essentially broke faith with Congress on defense spending?</P>

<P> SEC. COHEN: Well, the report, much as the action by the Subcommittee, comes as something of a surprise to all of us in the Pentagon. We have more than 5,000 programs that we are required to report on. Out of the 5,000, the committee -- or subcommittee -- has cited, I believe, six.</P>

<P> That's quite, I think, a significant statement in of itself that about 99.9 percent of the time we seem to be doing things right. If there are any deficiencies or allegations of failure to comply with the law, we will work with the committee to satisfy them as to the proper result.</P>

<P> I might point out that one committee may cite the Pentagon for failing to follow the direction of the House language, when in fact you may something inconsistent in a Senate-language report, which is left ambiguous in a full House-Senate conference report. So some of this may be attributed to ambiguity in terms of what the direction is between the two houses and the ultimate resolution of the different interpretations of what the requirements are for the Pentagon.</P>

<P> But I would point that out of the six items that were cited, if you put that in the context of the 5,000 programs that we have to administer, we are bound to have some deficiencies. But I think the record is overwhelming that we

work very closely with the Congress. And when they have a problem, usually they call us, and we sit down and try to work it out. And we will continue to do that in the future.</P>

<P> ADM. MIES: Good morning. It's a great pleasure to be here.</P>

<P> As the secretary indicated, I am Admiral Rich Mies. And I currently serve as the commander of the United States Strategic Command. That's the unified command that's responsible for all our nation's strategic nuclear forces. I'd like to take a few minutes to briefly discuss the status of our nuclear systems relative to the Y2K problem.</P>

<P> Our nation's nuclear command-and-control system is really a complex system of systems that includes everything from the initial planning that we do at U.S. Strategic Command to the actual weapon systems that are deployed in the field and at sea. The system also includes functions like intelligence, threat warning and force direction. And as you can imagine, this complex system reaches across many different agencies and military commands, including the White House, the Joint Staff, other unified commands and our military services.</P>

<P> And the United States Strategic Command has been working on the Y2K problem since 1994. And in 1996, we have actually had a full-time team assigned to the Y2K effort. During the past year, as the secretary indicated, we have conducted extensive testing to verify that the command and control of our strategic nuclear forces would not be affected by the Y2K problem.</P>

<P> First, we conducted extensive validation and verification of each individual system to verify it was Y2K compliant. And then second, after the individual systems were verified, we conducted a series of comprehensive integrated operational evaluations, five in all, end-to-end tests of the systems required to support a given function, such as mission planning or force direction, so we could really evaluate the systems in their normal operating environment, from end to end.</P>

<P> Then we advanced through all the critical dates associated with the year 2000 problem, not just 1 January, but other critical dates associated with the computer code problem, to verify these systems will continue to operate as designed. The evaluations included simulated executions of each of our nuclear weapons systems. And I'm pleased to report that we had no Y2K failures during any of these operational evaluations. This comprehensive set of system verifications and then operational evaluations has given us a high confidence that our nuclear command and control systems are ready for the year 2000 transition.</P>

<P> With a few loose ends that we intend to complete by October, primarily because of some of our forces that were committed to Kosovo, we really feel like we have the Y2K problem under control.</P>

<P> Now when coverage of the Y2K problem became widespread in the media, a couple of concerns associated with our strategic forces surfaced.</P>

<P> First, several observers voiced concern that our nuclear weapons might activate or somehow improperly operate on January 1st, 2000. I want to make it clear that there is no risk of accidental launch. Procedures for launching our

nation's nuclear weapons involve multiple levels of safeguards, such as code verifications and human interactions, to verify and authenticate an order from the president. Computers by themselves cannot launch nuclear weapons. The fears of improper system operation or unauthorized weapons system activation from Y2K are really unfounded.</P>

<P> Second, there were a number of people who were concerned that our nuclear command and control systems might actually fail and shut down, fail to operate, and thus jeopardize our deterrence capability. And I think, again, our system verifications and our operational evaluations have also proven this concern to be unfounded.</P>

<P> Now while we're confident that our strategic systems will operate correctly, we're not being complacent.</P>

<P> Prudence dictates that we prepare for unforeseen failures.</P>

<P> So as a result, now we are busy preparing detailed contingency plans to deal with even the most unlikely situations. These plans lay out extra measures that we are going to take, prior to the transition on January 1st, to ensure that the right people and the right resources are positioned to monitor the transition and deal with any unforeseen failures.</P>

<P> In closing, I am confident that our nation's strategic nuclear forces will be as safe, secure and reliable after January 1st as they are today.</P>

<P> Thank you.</P>

<P> SEC. COHEN: Yes?</P>

<P> Q: My understanding was the discussions with the Russians about the shared early-warning and their costs kind of went on the slow track during Kosovo, and then afterwards, you were trying to bring that back up. Where do you stand right now? And do you have enough time to put everything in place?</P>

<P> ADM. MIES: What you say is true.</P>

<P> I am really not directly responsible for the Shared Early Warning Initiative, although I certainly have an active role in it and have representatives in the initiative. But I really would like to defer to the secretary's staff, Mr. Pete Verga, who can answer that question more directly.</P>

<P> PETER F. VERGA (executive assistant, Policy Support): Thanks, Admiral.</P>

<P> That's a true statement. And we have been working with the Russians over time.</P>

<P> And it's actually two different initiatives. There is a long-term initiative on shared early warning.</P>

<P> And there is a shorter-term initiative, called the Y2K Center for Strategic Stability that we are putting in place out in Colorado Springs. The purpose of that is to address, you know, people's legitimate concerns on security an

d safety of nuclear forces over the date-change period.</P>

<P> The Russians have deferred any action on their side, beginning in about March, as a result of the Kosovo situation. We have been continuing the work on the U.S. side. And our work is ready to go, and it will be ready to go in December.</P>

<P> We have an offer on the table with the Russians right now and are expecting their reply some time, hopefully, within the next couple of weeks. And we'd like to get restarted in about August in order to be able to get that in place mid-December, up and operational. But we are putting all the communications on our side that are needed to be able to do this.</P>

<P> Q: That is for the Y2K center, not the long -- the -- (inaudible)?</P>

<P> MR. VERGA: Right. That's correct.</P>

<P> I don't know; the Shared Early Warning Long-Term Initiative, which will actually result in centers on both sides, is a longer-term operational thing that is going on.</P>

<P> Q: If the Russians don't respond and you are faced with a situation where it is just the U.S. doing this, what are the risks with the Russians' not participating?</P>

<P> MR. VERGA: Well, I think, in my view, the risks are no more than they are today. I mean, we have been assured by the Russians that their systems, just like our systems, are not totally dependent on computers and, therefore, subject to failures of Y2K.</P>

<P> It's more of a matter of confidence. And we have in place the hot-lines, which have been in place since the '60s, that allow the exchange of information directly with the Russian command authorities.</P>

<P> We're taking actions on our side to also provide back-up communications for those in case they are subject to any particular computer things. They are very redundant systems, two or three pathways in which to get between the U.S. and Russia, so I think we're confident we'll be able to exchange confidence in formation.</P>

<P> Q: This offer on the table you mentioned is for them to actually be physically present at this center in Colorado? Is that right?</P>

<P> ADM. MIES: That's correct.</P>

<P> SEC. COHEN: We have -- I want to show you these charts here that we've labored to produce -- (laughter). (Pause.)</P>

<P> STAFF: (Off mike.)</P>

<P> SEC. COHEN: Well, they've got to speak for themselves --</P>

<P> STAFF: Why don't you go to the microphone?</P>

<P> SEC. COHEN: I think these two charts are self-explanatory in terms of where we started on June 30, '98, in terms of what was completed. And as you can see, we're up -- will be up by September of this year at the 99 percent level and then, by December, at the full 100 percent level as far as fixed and fielded.</P>

<P> (To staff.) If we could have the next chart --</P>

<P> Q: Mr. Secretary, that says 2107. This press release says 2701.</P>

<P> SEC. COHEN: Which -- I'm sorry?</P>

<P> Q: The mission-critical system --</P>

<P> STAFF: That's a typo. This is correct.</P>

<P> Q: That's correct.</P>

<P> STAFF: Well, we did this before Y2K. (Laughter.)</P>

<P> SEC. COHEN: In fact, yesterday I was presented with a ball cap that had a little digital clock that showed there were roughly, as I recall, 163 days left and then a countdown by the hours and the seconds, and I noticed that it seemed to be one hour off. And I inquired about that, of course, and these brilliant people who are serving our government so well were quick to point out that they had calculated that Daylight Savings Time was not in effect at that time and therefore that 10-hour figure was correct. So they had anticipated the non-application of Daylight Savings Time, so a lot of thought has been going into this.</P>

<P> But this, as I mentioned during my brief opening remarks, was the exercise, the end and tests and all the participants that were involved in that and, again, only one failure over 200 million lines of code. One failure has been fixed. This is to give you an example of the degree and depth of examination into this problem, and I think that Admiral Mies will be the first to come here to the podium to say all of us, I think, were -- not surprised, but at least somewhat -- somewhat surprised in terms of the depth of complexity; that once you start to pull the strings out, looking at this fabric that has been sewn together to create this incredible information system we have that dominates our country and those of others, that once you start pulling on the threads of this tapestry, it gets more and more complicated how to deal with it.</P>

<P> But this has been a remarkable effort by some very talented people who have spent the last year really working on virtually all -- spending all of their time dealing with this issue. As a result, we've gone from that first chart, where you saw such a large gap between where we were, where we had to be. That's now been virtually completed.</P>

<P> Q: Mr. Secretary, could you comment on your degree of confidence in the Russian assurances that their systems are not subject to failure, they will be in order by the end of the year?</P>

<P> SEC. COHEN: Well, the Russians, I assume, will do whatever is necessary

y to protect their self-interest. It is not in Russia's interests to have the kind of failure that would create a catastrophe. And so to the extent that they are concerned about their own welfare, then surely they are taking the measures necessary to fix the problem.</P>

<P> To the extent there can be more confidence - quote, "building" measures, mainly the exchange of personnel to come to Colorado Springs, and to have people on site to satisfy themselves that everything is operating as it should, and with the communication lines being fully open and redundant, then that only adds to the confidence that we have.</P>

<P> I had planned to meet with my own counterpart, Marshal Sergeyev, early next month, in August. That has been delayed somewhat, but I'm trying to reschedule that to get an appropriate time. And we will talk about this issue as well as national missile defense, ABM Treaty, and other types of issues.</P>

<P> Q: What about the Chinese?</P>

<P> SEC. COHEN: Pardon?</P>

<P> Q: What about the Chinese and their nuclear systems? Have they given any assurances or --</P>

<P> SEC. COHEN: Well, the Chinese have indicated that perhaps they have less of a problem because of the -- their system -- not so dependent upon these computerized programs. But again, we're satisfied the Chinese recognize they have a problem and would not want to either perpetrate or invite catastrophe. So we assume that they're also proceeding with as much alacrity as possible to deal with them.</P>

<P> Q: Are they not invited to the center?</P>

<P> SEC. COHEN: No, they -- that's not been part of the center, no.</P>

<P> Q: Can you say how much of the 3.7 billion has been spent already, how much remains to be spent?</P>

<P> SEC. COHEN: Dr. Hamre may have that information.</P>

<P> (Off-mike cross talk.)</P>

<P> PETER VERGA (executive assistant for policy support): (Off mike) -- all of it has been spent, with the exception of what is being spent.</P>

<P> We have -- we will spend 3.7 billion up through March of next year. So we are 90 percent of the way through that as we finish up with -- the last increment of congressional budget supplemental for this 165 million is in process.</P>

<P> Q: Which are the mission-critical systems that haven't been been to the test?</P>

<P> ADM. MIES: In the nuclear world, we have actually two systems that are not fully Y2K-compliant, and we anticipate both those systems will be fixed by

October. This is in the nuclear world.</P>

<P> One of those systems is a brand new system that is still undergoing testing before it's implemented. So, in a sense, if we don't have assurance it's Y2K compliant, we will just not implement it and we'll rely on the Legacy System, which we already know works and is Y2K compliant. So it's a question of timing as to when we want to bring this new bomber planning system online.</P>

<P> The second system is an enhanced Command Center Console at Strategic Command Headquarters. And again, we have an established workaround, but replacement is due to be installed in the September/October time frame. Those are the only two systems that we have in the nuclear critical systems that are not Y2K compliant.</P>

<P> We have 12 other systems -- and I won't go into expansive detail -- that have all been fixed and verified Y2K compliant and operationally tested. But we haven't had a chance, because of some of the operations in Kosovo, to get the systems fully fielded to all the units that carry that system. And so the issue then is just getting it fielded with the additional units and that, again, will be complete in the September/October time frame.</P>

<P> Q: These are 12 non-nuclear?</P>

<P> ADM. MIES: These are 12 nuclear systems, but they are Y2K compliant. They've been verified and operationally tested on individual units, but we haven't been able to field them completely to the entire force that carries them. In other words, if it were a bomber system, we have tested and done an end-to-end test to verify it works, but we haven't got it to all the bomber units yet, and we need to field it, to get it installed in all of those units, and that will be done no later than October.</P>

<P> But again, we feel we have workarounds for all of those problems that we're aware of, and we feel very comfortable we're in good shape.</P>

<P> Q: In the logistics end-to-end test that you got started there, isn't it true that only 44 -- close to a thousand systems were actually involved in that test? And isn't it also true that it's impossible to do a realistic end-to-end test that will truly prepare for all contingencies?</P>

<P> MARV LANGSTON (Deputy CIO for Y2K): I do not know the details specific to the logistics test. The logistics test was the largest test ever conducted in the Department of Defense, and it did string together all the end-to-end systems supporting logistics. But I do not know the specifics of that question.</P>

<P> Q: Can you tell us -- just describe a little bit how the fixes were actually carried out?</P>

<P> For example, how many systems did you find would have failed if they had not been fixed, and how deep the problem actually was in terms of embedded Y2K problems, and how many systems did you replace and how many systems were you -- did you simply do a recoding of?</P>

<P> MR. LANGSTON: Well, the best way to think about that answer, sir, is a

s we have shown in the other charts, 2,107 mission-critical systems and over 4,600 non-mission-critical systems are the systems we have been fixing. So had we not attempted to fix all those systems, we would have had problems in all of those systems.</P>

<P> Q: (Off mike) -- all of them?</P>

<P> MR. LANGSTON: Yes, sir. Those are the systems that we are repairing. We are putting remediation fixes in all of those systems. What we're reporting on are these end-to-end operational evaluation or functional evaluation tests which really gives us the assurance that after we fix the system as a system, they operate together as a fully strung-together mission thread, if you will -- a system of systems. And the fact that we find one or two failures in those strung-together systems means that we're testing a path or running data through a path that was not cut when they were operating as an individual system.</P>

<P> STAFF: Secretary Cohen has time for one more question, and then Admiral Mies and Mr. Langston can stay longer. Yes?</P>

<P> Q: Are there any contingency plans being drawn up that would involve the military being used in operations domestically in case of civil unrest or discontinuation of services?</P>

<P> SEC. COHEN: Well, as I mentioned in my statement, there are contingency plans dealing with a domestic situation if a city or town or community suddenly finds itself without basic services. The lead agency would be FEMA and we would act under the jurisdiction of FEMA to respond to any needs that that community might have, so we're kind of a back-up contingency planning operation to provide whatever service the civilian authorities would request or require. But that is what we're planning for right now.</P>

<P> Q: (Off mike.) -- of PDD 63?</P>

<P> SEC. COHEN: It would be under the existing guidelines, yes.</P>

<P> Okay. Thanks very much.</P>

<P> STAFF: Do you have more questions for Admiral Mies or Mr. Langston to take?</P>

<P> Q: I have a small detail -- how many of the mission-critical systems are related to the nuclear system -- to the nuclear weapon system? All of them, or some of them?</P>

<P> ADM. MIES: (To staff.) Do we have that chart on the nuclear systems here? I don't know if we brought that one. I think we have a chart on nuclear systems and I'll give you some detail here.</P>

<P> The nuclear systems are really a subset of the broader systems. There are a total of 486 systems. Of those, 198 are classified from a strategic nuclear standpoint as mission-critical. And as I indicated, of the 198 that are mission-critical, we have two that are presently noncompliant, but we have fixes in place to correct those by October.</P>

<P> And we have 12 that are Y2K-compliant but just have not been fully fielded to all the units. And again, those will be corrected before the transition.

<P> When you look at the 486 systems now, you include non-mission-critical systems in there. And again, we have the two systems that we are going to replace. We have nine systems that remain to be tested. All of those nine are non-mission-critical. They don't affect the safety, security, the reliability of our strategic forces. They remain to be tested. And most of those tests have to do with delays encountered because of Kosovo and operations in Kosovo.</P>

<P> And then again, in the nuclear world, we have 12 mission-critical that need to be fielded. And we have a total of 15 more or a total of 27 total nuclear systems that need to be fully fielded. But they have been verified Y2K-compliant. And all of that will be complete by the October time frame.</P>

<P> So we are very confident that, by the end of the year, we will be 100 percent for both mission-critical and non-mission-critical. We are even more confident in the mission-critical that we'll be done by October with those.</P>

<P> I would like to clarify one thing that Mr. Langston said, so there is no confusion about this.</P>

<P> The fact that we had 486 systems and we had 198 mission-critical systems, does not mean that every one of those systems had a problem. Many of those systems have no date dependency whatsoever. But, nevertheless, we went through and tested those systems to verify that they were fully Y2K compliant, as we would date-dependent systems, to ensure that there weren't any hidden codes that we were not aware of.</P>

<P> And so we have run tests through all our systems. And frankly, the number of problems we found has been very small and not very significant from an operational standpoint.</P>

<P> SEC. COHEN (?): Sir?</P>

<P> Q: You can work your own systems. But as you look at both your own situation and also the situation in Russia, to what extent is there concern that, even if the nuclear systems are functioning, the supplier base, the power or whatever, isn't going to be and that could create a problem?</P>

<P> ADM. MIES: Well, we have worked very hard on that. And frankly, all of our systems, and I can't speak as expertly about the Russian systems, but certainly all our systems have back-up power supplies that are independent of any commercial supply that we rely on. So we feel comfortable that, even in the event that we have an unforeseen problem from a commercial supply, that we have alternate backup capabilities to ensure that our systems will continue to operate.</P>

<P> Again, I think we've received the same kind of assurances from the Russians, although not in great detail. But their systems are very much like ours. And the danger, if anything, is not of accidental launch; the danger is that systems will lose power and literally shut down.</P>

<P> Yes, sir?</P>

<P> Q: You mentioned that the war in Kosovo caused delays. Can you explain how, how it affected your work?</P>

<P> ADM. MIES: We have a couple of our strategic systems that involve reconnaissance aircraft, and specifically there are a couple systems involving our U-2 aircraft and our RC-135 aircraft that we haven't been able to complete the operational -- the full operational evaluation on because those units were tied up over in Kosovo. So it affected some elements of our strategic forces, but not the three principle legs you normally think of. But our reconnaissance forces, some of our command and control forces were involved in Kosovo, and as a result of that, we have to wait till we get those units back and we can do the full test.</P>

<P> Q: Which ones exactly were those?</P>

<P> ADM. MIES: The U-2s and the RC-135s are two good examples of reconnaissance aircraft that we haven't been able to complete all the operational testing -- we've done a fair amount of the testing. We just haven't done it all.</P>

<P> Q: More broadly, on the Russian nuclear security question, I mean, there continue to be reports about concerns about the status of, you know, the Russian nuclear forces, whether they're, you know -- if the forces are not paid or whatever. What is your assessment at this point of the state of their nuclear forces in terms of --</P>

<P> ADM. MIES: My impression, which is somewhat anecdotal, because I was only in Russia a year ago, and I have not had the opportunity to go over since then, but with our limited level of contact and our discussions with the Russians, it's very clear to me that Russian strategic forces receive top priority in their military. And while they clearly have economic problems, we have received assurances that the systems are safe, secure, and reliable. And I saw nothing when I was over there -- again, a year ago -- to indicate anything contrary to that.</P>

<P> Q: Do you have concerns about any other nuclear powers other than Russia and China, in terms of Y2K compliance?</P>

<P> ADM. MIES: No, I think -- well, I guess I would qualify that to say certainly I have concerns. But to some degree, we've tried to reassure ourselves, and we've tried to gain assurances from those countries that they are addressing the Y2K problem. And so to a certain degree, our confidence is limited by the amount of assurances we've gotten.</P>

<P> We have no great insights into their systems and we have not worked very closely. We know they are addressing the problem, and we certainly feel we've aggressively attacked our Y2K problems to ensure that our systems are safe and reliable.</P>

<P> Q: For instance, Britain and France, or are you talking about India and Pakistan, or all four?</P>

<P> ADM. MIES: Well, I assume you're talking about all nuclear powers, so I wasn't limiting it to allies, I was considering everybody. Clearly, we work very closely with the British forces because, as you are probably aware, we share the Trident missile system. And so we feel very confident about the British forces especially because of the commonality in many of our systems.</P>

<P> Q: Not necessarily with nuclear systems, but how -- either of you -- how confident are you in the preparations of our allies, especially in Western Europe, NATO?</P>

<P> ADM. MIES: Non-nuclear, you say?</P>

<P> Q: Well, yes; since we've just covered nuclear, non-nuclear systems in our NATO command and control systems, that sort of thing.</P>

<P> MR. LANGSTON: We have been working for the past two years with our allies to ensure that they are considering the problems, working the problems. We work with them very closely. I cannot report to you the percentages of completion for all of our allied nations, but we are working with all of our allied nations to help them make sure that they prepare for this, and they are working the issues.</P>

<P> Q: If I could revisit the Y2K center with the Russians one more time. If the Russians do accept the offer in a reasonable time frame -- not November, obviously, but before then -- is it just a function of them, okay, basically signing up and coming over, or do they also need to still put a com infrastructure in place that isn't there yet to ensure that the center really will do what you want it to do?</P>

<P> ADM. MIES: It's a little bit of both. The communications infrastructure is being put in place on our side right now; essentially, that work is just about done. As soon as the Russians agree, we will then put in the communications infrastructure with them on the Russian side, and we will have the exchange of individuals that will man the center that will start -- as I said, we're planning on bringing it up and operational about mid-December, have it already to go the 1st, start operating about mid-December to go through the date-change period, you know, practicing how we are going to communicate and things like that. And again, keeping in mind that we still have also the normal so-called hot-line communications between the United States and Russia that would be available to discuss any problems.</P>

<P> Q: How many people would be at the center? And exactly what data would they see? Is it DSP data? Is it radar data? And is it global, or is it just U.S. and Russia?</P>

<P> ADM. MIES: I don't know that we have determined the exact number of people. Possibly, Admiral Willard might have a better feel for the numbers of folks that we are talking about. And what we are going to do is exchange, not data per se, but information that would be derived from that data, that would be exchanged between Russia and the United States.</P>

<P> Is that correct, Bob?</P>

<P> ADM. BOB WILLARD (sp) (Center for Y2K Strategic Stability): I am Bob W

illard (sp). I am the chairman's Y2K task-force lead. And in another part of my responsibility, I have been working the shared early-warning process, as well as the Center for Y2K Strategic Stability.</P>

<P> The idea is for a couple of consoles for Americans and a couple of consoles for Russians to be manned in this bilateral joint center in Colorado Springs. The data that's derived, frankly from all of our early-warning centers, would be processed and then supplied into that center.</P>

<P> Q: So they don't get raw data, but they get preprocessed data?</P>

<P> ADM. WILLARD (sp): They get real-time data, but it is in fact filtered.</P>

<P> Q: Are there any other countries that have been invited to this?</P>

<P> ADM. WILLARD (sp): Not at this time, no.</P>

<P> Q: Is there any interest from any other countries to be involved in this?</P>

<P> ADM. WILLARD (sp): It has been discussed in this building. But beyond that, there have been no dialogue that I am aware of, nor have there been invitations extended.</P>

<P> ADM. MIES: Well, realize that it is centered around the early - warning processes of our two countries. And these two nations are the two nations that have strategic early-warning systems in the world. So it's really an attempt to provide a level of assurance to both the Russians and the United States, that we are sharing like information across these Y2K vulnerability periods.</P>

<P> Q: Is the fear that this is trying to address, the fear that early-warning systems in Russia will not work?</P>

<P> ADM. MIES: It is unilateral information being supplied.</P>

<P> So yes, it's the United States sensors that we're very confident in, that it will be supplying the data that will be shared between us and the Russians.</P>

<P> MR. BACON: Yes? In the back.</P>

<P> Q: I was a bit late, so if this was in your statement, you can just refer me to that. But I was wondering if you could comment on this International Assessment Center -- I don't know if that's the right title -- over in Crystal City that General Kind (sp) is going to be heading up, what kind of information that's going to be monitoring, and when that's going to be set up, some details about that.</P>

<P> MR. LANGSTON: We have not spoken about it. There is activity going on, through General Kind's (sp) work for Mr. John Koskinen, as a part of the federal-level information-gathering for the period, the actual period of operation of the year 2000 events. We, like all federal agencies, will support that center.

er and will provide information to that center. And we are working with his folks to help make sure that we have the communications paths in place and that we can support it for everything that they need in that center.</P>

<P> Q: But it's not a DOD operation itself?</P>

<P> MR. LANGSTON: No, sir. It's not a DOD operation. We will do our internal command and control and executive support center operations to support anything that we need to make internally to DOD for decisions, and we will support the federal center to provide information to them about ongoing activities.</P>
>

<P> MR. BACON: Last question.</P>

<P> Q: Okay, I just wanted to ask the Admiral Willard just a follow-up on this console. So if it's real time, but fused data, I can assume that from the console I'll be able to judge performance of the overall sensor network but not performance of any one sensor system. Is that correct?</P>

<P> ADM. WILLARD: I don't think it would be appropriate to go into the exact nature of the shared data, other than to say that it is a compilation of our early-warning data. It is not being supplied to the operators time late, but rather will be supplied in the normal period of time that the actual operators within Cheyenne Mountain and elsewhere would be receiving it.</P>

<P> MR. BACON: Thank you very much.</P>

<P> ADM. WILLARD: Thank you. </P>

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<P>Inside The Air Force

July 23, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

DOD Appeals Senate Armed Services Cut To Global Hawk Program

Pentagon needs extra \$25 million to sustain industrial base

The Pentagon is trying to persuade Congress to add an extra \$25 million to the Global Hawk UAV program in fiscal year 2000, to make a smooth transition into procurement and sustain the manufacturer until acquisition can begin, according to a July 14 appeal of defense authorization bills.

The Defense Department backs the House Armed Services Committee's decision to add \$25 million to the president's request for \$70.8 million for the UAV. But it opposes the Senate committee's \$7.2 million cut to the Global Hawk program and \$6 million cut to the defunct DarkStar HAE program, money the Pentagon hoped to apply to Global Hawk development. The reductions, the appeal says, would disrupt the demonstrations in joint exercises and hamper the program's transition into acquisition.

"Reducing Global Hawk funding by this amount puts an already weakened industrial base at even greater risk, and could potentially result in an increase in the cost of procuring Global Hawk air vehicles in the future, should there be a favorable acquisition decision," according to DOD's appeal.

Designed for extended battlefield reconnaissance, the Global Hawk program is preparing to move from an advanced concept technology demonstration to an Air Force acquisition program, pending the outcome of a year-long assessment with U.S. Atlantic Command. But Pentagon and Air Force officials eager to field the high-altitude unmanned aircraft want to prevent a gap between the end of the user demonstrations and the start of procurement.

Brig. Gen. David Nagy, Air Force director of information dominance, told Inside the Air Force this week that the program appears to have relatively strong support on Capitol Hill.

Nagy said assuming the Air Force receives the extra funds, it will have the resources needed to preserve the industrial base at Global Hawk's manufacturer Teledyne Ryan Aeronautical (TRA), now owned by Northrop Grumman Corp.

"What is the absolutely minimum intellectual talent that needs to be preserved to ensure we carry over the vision and the innovation that TRA brings to the UAV world that otherwise would be lost?" Nagy asked. "It's fair to say if we had the plus-up from the Hill, we would look to build another vehicle or two as part of this [engineering and manufacturing development] transition to help us move the configuration more towards what the production vehicle would look like."

Air Force and Office of the Secretary of Defense officials are considering several acquisition strategies for the Global Hawk: conducting a one-year EMD phase, pursuing a longer EMD cycle or initiating a spiral development to improve the system intermittently. All acquisition scenarios, according to the appeal, assume that the Pentagon could keep the \$6 million in DarkStar money for G

lobal Hawk and count on a \$25 million congressional plus-up for long-lead procurement items, according to DOD's appeal.</P>

<P> But under the law, the Pentagon is restricted from buying more than the five developmental Global Hawks until after the program completes phase II testing. However, the department plans on submitting a legislative proposal to eliminate the restriction.</P>

<P> Air Force officials have acknowledged they need an additional \$31 million in the last three months of FY-00 to complete the demonstration. After the second Global Hawk vehicle crashed in March, the service was forced to accelerate its first vehicle for flight testing and demonstrations with the Atlantic Command.</P>

<P> Although the Senate Armed Services Committee reasoned it reduced the Global Hawk budget line because of a two-month delay in the UAV's participation in joint exercises, the Air Force has claimed the program continued to incur expenses and spent money to provide taped Global Hawk data to other units during the military's Green Flag exercise. Global Hawk's first flight demonstrations occurred during Roving Sands air defense exercises in June.</P>

<P> As for the defense appropriations committees, the House panel recommended a \$25 million increase, while the Senate backed a \$7.2 million cut to the program.</P>

<I><P>-- Gigi Whitley </P></I>

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<P>Florida Times-Union (Jacksonville)

July 23, 1999</P>

<P>Property Could Be Windfall</P>

<I><P>Navy may give city Cecil Field </P>

</I><P>By Chris Scribner, Times-Union staff writer </P>

<P> Congress is considering a bill that could save Jacksonville several million dollars and an even more valuable commodity - time - in the city's effort to develop its share of Cecil Field Naval Air Station.</P>

<P> A section of the bill, now in conference committee, would reverse current practice and call for the federal government to hand over free any land at closed military bases that cities plan to use for economic development.</P>

<P> Jacksonville officials recently began negotiations, which could last for nearly two years, to buy about 8,300 acres from the Navy when it leaves Cecil Field in September.</P>

<P> It's difficult to put a price tag on the land and the buildings, said Mike Weinstein, executive director of the Jacksonville Economic Development Commission. However, the new law would help the city by allowing it to take over the property faster.</P>

<P> "The possibility of knowing the future now would be priceless," Weinstein said.</P>

<P> The conference committee could complete its work by Aug. 7, when Congress breaks for the summer, said a spokesman for U.S. Rep. Tillie Fowler, R-Fla.</P>

<P> In past base closures, cities have paid from \$1 million to \$130 million for the military property, said Herb McCarthy, director of Cecil Field development for the economic development commission, which will lead the city's effort.</P>

<P> Without control over the land, it's nearly impossible for the commission to reach deals with potential developers, McCarthy said. In the meantime, the city will spend \$4.5 million in the fiscal year beginning Oct. 1 to maintain the property.</P>

<P> If Congress passes the defense authorization bill with the no-pay provision, the city "wouldn't have to go through the long, drawn-out negotiations," McCarthy said. "We could get it for free and we could get it faster."</P>

<P> The commission is working on a business plan for its Cecil Field land. In addition to the economic development parcel, the city will receive at no cost more than 2,000 acres for parks, and the Jacksonville Port Authority will receive 6,000 acres on which it will develop an airport. The Clay County government will get 600 acres for parks.</P>

<P> The provision has strong support in both houses of Congress and in the Department of Defense, which asked for the change in the law, officials said.</P>

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<P>Defense Daily

July 23, 1999

Pg. 3</P>

<P>Kosovo Makes Strong Case For Ground Control Squadrons</P>

<P>By David Atkinson</P>

<P> LANGLEY, Va. Air Force ground-based Air Control Squadrons (ACS) used in Operation Allied Force proved that the concept can alleviate the severe stress put on airborne battle controllers during a massive air operation, according to recently returned members of the 74th Air Control Squadron based here.</P>

<P> "I think this helped validate the requirement for ground-based air control squadrons," Lt. Col. Mark Williams told Defense Daily in a recent interview here. "This [Operation Allied Force] really helped state the case that theater ground-based air control stations are a necessity."</P>

<P> Williams was the commander of the 74th until July 16, when he turned over command to Maj. Charles Miller.</P>

<P> The 74th deployed to augment allied forces operating in the Balkans in May as the pace of air campaign picked up. The first ACS to deploy to the theater, the unit helped alleviate the workload on the airborne battle managers in the Boeing [BA] E-3 Airborne Warning and Control Systems (AWACS) operating over the theater.</P>

<P> "We established operations to help relieve [the operations burden] on the AWACS, and we controlled all air operations north of Serbia," Williams said.</P>

<P> The unit operated out of a former Hungarian military post in a "bare base operation," rather than from a prepared NATO position. Williams said the squadron worked primarily with U.S. Air Forces Europe air control squadrons based at Aviano Air Base, Italy.</P>

<P> "There were some definite growing pains in adding aircraft to the

[air plan]," Williams said. "Aviano was overtaxed."</P>

<P> NATO AWACS crews had been controlling the battle in the area before the 74th arrived. Problems with interaction between the NATO aircrews and USAFE pilots became a concern as the effort grew.</P>

<P> "NATO AWACS had been previously in control of that airspace and before we got there there were 14 safety incidents," Williams said. "After we were able to interface with [Aviano] there were no incidents. We did notice a very different capability working with the U.S. E-3s versus the NATO AWACS."</P>

<P> The disconnect between U.S. and allied forces in terms of technology was made apparent during the conflict and has led to calls for increased defense modernization by the European NATO nations. Technically, the unit experienced few problems with their equipment.</P>

<P> "Except for scheduled maintenance, we were up for almost 100 percent of our tasking," Williams said. "But there is still improvement to be made. At first there were some growing pains; we were able to use alternative methods to do what we would normally train to do. Here were some issues with distant operations and reliability, as well as the technical competence of some of the [people on the other end]."</P>

<P> The 74th was able to step in and take over the workload easily.</P>

<P> "We were not overly task saturated," Williams said. "We've done some joint training exercises with other air control squadrons and some of that task saturation was greater."</P>

<P> The pace of operations did not present a major problem, despite the low level of experience in the unit.</P>

<P> "We have a very low experience level in our squadron," Williams said. "This was the first deployment for a lot of folks. We have some senior NCOs who have been around, but we also have a lot of airmen as well. Honestly, we could have handled a lot more activity, probably two times as much. It is really a manning issue as far as going to full 24-hour, seven-days-a-week operations for an extended time. We don't have enough people at certain key positions to do that."</P>

<P> One of those senior NCOs said that the experience was invaluable from a training standpoint.</P>

<P> "There's no substitute for deploying to a real world contingency," " said Master Sgt. Robert Link, one of the top NCOs in charge of training the unit. "We had folks doing things that they don't normally do. I don't see a whole lot of drawbacks here. You can't simulate the things you run up against."</P>

<P> The 74th uses powerful ground-based radars installed at high points to control air traffic moving in and out of the combat area. Unlike the flying AWACS, which orbit high above and look down with their radars, the 74th does not have to take down its operations to refuel or return to a rear area to land.</P>

<P> More importantly, they took the load off the overworked E-3 forces available. The Air Force has only 24 E-3s in its primary active inventory to support all operations. The eight airborne theater air control squadrons are matched by eight ground-based units like the 74th.</P>

<P> But air battle management specialists are at a premium in the service.</P>

<P> "The Air Battle Manager field is manned at the company level at 72 percent," Williams said.</P>

<P> That leaves even ground based units like the 74th with a manning problem. For the deployment to Hungary, the 74th had 23 "augmentees"--persons assigned temporarily to bolster the strength of the unit--out of 108 personnel.</P>

<P> "[Like] last year, when we were in Kuwait for 100 days, we had to get outside help in manning to meet our operational requirements," Williams said.</P>

<P> The deployment of the unit was held up by the strain put on Air Mobility Command (AMC) to support the operation, Williams said.</P>

<P> "The first C-5 that arrived in country was the only one that was on time. We were continuously working with AMC to ensure that we were in the flow," he said.</P>

<P> The delays were despite the fact that the unit was given priority for deployment and return from the theater. To address some of the issues brought up, the air control units in the Air Force are holding a conference to discuss deployment practices and priorities, Williams said.</P>

<P> Members of the 74th were back home on June 27 and were back in "recovery" mode--performing maintenance on their equipment and preparing for further training--by July 7, Williams said.</P>

<P> The unit not only got invaluable experience during the conflict, it also got a first person view of the end of a major military campaign, as the personnel watching the operations unfold overhead saw more and more cancellations on the air tasking order and fewer and fewer aircraft heading into Kosovo and Serbia, Williams said.</P>

<P> "There couldn't be a better coup de grace experience than what we did in proving their capability, Williams said.</P>

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<P>Seattle Times

July 22, 1999</P>

<P>ROTC Cadets Get Battle-Ready At Fort Lewis Camp</P>

<P>By Eli Sanders, Seattle Times staff reporter</P>

<P> FORT LEWIS - A red light blinks on: one minute until the ground assault begins.</P>

<P> In the belly of a Chinook helicopter, about 30 jittery college students from the Army's ROTC program await their final exam - a simulated attack on a bunker.</P>

<P> Booted feet shuffle. Hands clutching automatic rifles twitch involuntarily. Shouts meant to call up courage compete with the deafening whir of the chopper's rotor blades.</P>

<P> This is what's called "advance camp," a five-week training program for ROTC cadets held at Fort Lewis, the nation's primary training ground for male and female college students from around the country who have agreed to spend up to eight years serving in the Army.</P>

<P> In exchange for their service, they get up to \$16,000 a year in college tuition.</P>

<P> ROTC cadets began rotating in coed groups through advance camp June 11, and by Aug. 14 the camp will have tested 3,900 of them, scoring their performance on a point system that will help determine their military assignments.</P>

<P> "The training they receive is as close to combat as we can make it," said Matthew McCarville, who heads the ROTC program at Princeton University. "Lock and load!" shouts a platoon leader after the chopper lands and the cadets charge off, headed for the hostile bunker.</P>

<P> Though the cadets are firing blanks, the caliber of the shells is NATO standard, and many of the cadets could be in Kosovo within a year and a half, according to Capt. Arnold Strong.</P>

<P> "We're deployed all over the world right now," said Strong, who noted t

hat Army deployments have tripled since the Cold War ended, signaling a shift in the role of the country's armed forces.</P>

<P> The cadets are receiving "peacekeeper" training along with battle tactics, and wherever they are assigned, say camp commanders, the college-educated ROTC grads will be leaders.</P>

<P> When the platoon reaches the bunker, it comes under fire, and the simulated casualties are heavy: four dead and 10 wounded. The casualties are recorded by laser-sensitive buttons on each cadet's uniform, which sound an alarm when hit by beams from weapons firing blanks. It's a lot like playing laser tag, only with noisy blanks to simulate real battle conditions.</P>

<P> "We got waxed," said Joycelyn Stewart, 20, who was "killed" in the assault even though the bunker was eventually cleared.</P>

<P> Stewart, a liberal-arts major from Louisiana who plans to become a lawyer, got a stern reprimand delivered to her "deathbed" after she complained about the lack of sleep and "all this infantry crap."</P>

<P> "Whether that future lawyer thinks this is a piece of crap or not," said Strong, "she's understanding what this Army is all about."</P>

<P> Teaching ROTC students proper attitudes and proper firing form is a part of advance camp, but the main thrust is using "light-infantry tactics as the context for assessing leadership," McCarville said.</P>

<P> Joel Kutz, 22, who was being evaluated by camp commanders during the bunker attack, looked a bit defeated after the fighting ended.</P>

<P> "It didn't go as smoothly as I had planned," said Kutz, a student from the University of Delaware who was responsible for leading the platoon of 38 cadets.</P>

<P> One of Kutz's charges was Sam Harms, 21, a student from the Colorado School of Mines. In practice exercises earlier in the day, Harms had struggled to carry his M-60 machine gun - its snaky ammo belt kept getting away from him while he was on the run, once dropping into the grass.</P>

<P> But by the time the assault reached the bunker, Harms was laying down volleys of cover fire with bravado, standing up at one point to shoot the 25-pound machine gun from his hip.</P>

<P> The cadet seemed proud to have finally mastered the M-60.</P>

<P> "I think advance camp is kind of like, if you're studying German, you don't become fluent until you go to Germany," Harms said.</P>

<P> McCarville put it a bit differently.</P>

<P> "That some of them can't carry their loads as well as others doesn't concern me much as long as they can think," he said. "We're doing leadership development here." </P>

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<P>Columbia (SC) State

July 22, 1999</P>

<P>Army Team-Building Exercises Could Be Good For S.C. Students
</P>

<P>By Dave Moniz, Staff Writer</P>

<P> "This will definitely be on my Christmas card!" Rebecca Collier exclaim
ed, staring at the gigantic wooden hobby horse known by thousands of young sold
iers as Victory Tower.</P>

<P> The executive director of the Governor's Commission on Women had just fi
nished descending the tower's four-story rope ladder with Maj. Gen. John Van Al
styne, Fort Jackson's commander.</P>

<P> "This is a very positive thing for young people to do," said Collier, dr
essed in combat fatigues for an unusual reconnaissance mission at the Army post
.</P>

<P> She and two colleagues were at Fort Jackson to take part in teambuilding
training. The purpose, Collier said, was to see if the confidence building exe
rcises used by the Army might help South Carolina middle school students, espec
ially girls.</P>

<P> For several hours, the 51-year-old Collier scaled wooden walls, hoisted
herself up "confidence course" barriers and rubbed shoulders with husky soldier
s.</P>

<P> She was especially interested in how young Army women performed at many
of the obstacle courses, which are designed to be navigated by teams of men and
women working together.</P>

<P> In one exercise, Collier and a group of recruits had to figure out how t

o help one another over a high wooden wall and hoist Army equipment over without any of it touching the ground.</P>

<P> Later, Collier spoke with camouflage-clad soldiers and wolfed down Army chow at a training battalion. When her day of basic training was over, Collier came away with an idea.</P>

<P> "Maybe we could design our own course, so guys and girls in the middle school years could work as a team and collaborate," Collier said.</P>

<P> In the middle school years, Collier said, girls often suffer from self-esteem problems.</P>

<P> It's only in the 1990s that the military services have focused intensely on team building and gender-integration in training. While the Marines instruct men and women apart in basic training, the Army, Navy and Air Force group them together, often in problem-solving exercises.</P>

<P> Van Alstyne, who has added a number of team-oriented events to basic training in his two years at Fort Jackson, suggested that Collier could take several of the Army's low-cost drills and build her own training regimen.</P>

<P> Collier said she knows of only one state that stresses military-style confidence training for middle schoolers. She plans to appoint a task force to look at what the Army does and hopes to talk to the state Department of Education about her idea.</P>

<P> "There are all kinds of simple exercises you can do to promote confidence and teamwork," Van Alstyne said, urging his guest to fall backward off a table into a sea of eager recruits.</P>

<P> Collier took the fall, smiled and told the general she'd be back in touch.</P>

<P> <I>Dave Moniz covers the military in South Carolina and reports on military trends in the Southeast</I>. </P>

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<P>Marine Corps Gazette

July 1999

Pg. 49</P>

<P>The Importance Of Maintaining III MEF Forward-Deployed</P>

<P>By Lt Gen Carlton W. Fulford</P>

<I><P> Overseas presence is the visible posture of U.S. forces and infrastructure strategically positioned forward, in or near key regions. . . deployed forces promote security and stability, prevent conflict, give substance to our security commitments, and ensure our continued access. Overseas presence enhances coalition operations by promoting joint and combined training and encouraging responsibility sharing. . . Overseas presence forces embody global military engagement. They serve as role models for militaries in emerging democracies; contribute uniquely to the stability, continuity, and flexibility that protects U.S. interests; and are crucial to continued democratic and economic development. --Extracts from the 1997 National Military Strategy</P>

</I><P> Let me start by thanking Maj Grant Newsham, USMCR, for his thought-provoking article, "The Japanese-Marine Corps Relationship--Losing Out By Default," which appeared in the June 1998 Gazette. He, like many academics, journalists, and others interested in global security matters, addresses issues associated with the forward deployment of Marine Corps forces to Japan, especially Okinawa. His particular concern is that we, as Marines, have not adequately explained the need for our presence to the Okinawan, Japanese, or the U.S. public. Therefore, as the commander for Marine Forces Pacific (MarForPac), I thought it important to share my thoughts on why we need to be forward-deployed in Japan (especially Okinawa). Additionally, I will outline what we are doing to better inform the public of our unique and valuable role. I don't intend to "lose out by default."</P>

<P> The Pacific Region</P>

<P> The Asia Pacific region is of immense importance to the United States. It includes 43 countries and is the home of two-thirds of the world's population. All of the world's major religions are represented. The six largest militaries in the world are located in the Pacific Theater. There are 20 ongoing territorial disputes in the region. Major sea lines of communication transit the theater carrying much of the world's oil supply. Many of the countries in the region have had phenomenal economic growth over the last 90 years. Currently, many of these countries are now facing significant economic challenges. These factors combine to shape a region of tremendous importance to U.S. interests. The region also has the potential for conflict which would adversely impact the nations in the Pacific, many of whom are strong allies and treaty partners of ours. Even more significant, international economic and political interests of the U.S. and the world community would be severely disrupted.</P>

<P> The National Strategy</P>

<P> A review of previous editions of the National Security Strategy (NSS), National Military Strategy (NMS), and Pacific Command Strategy demonstrates that the presence of U.S. forces, strategically based in Japan, has been a stabilizing factor contributing to the peace and prosperity of the region for the past 40 years. Our NSS, NMS, and the Pacific Command Strategy each require forward deployment of forces to execute the NMS strategy of "shape, respond, and prepare now." Shaping requires being able to influence. Influence requires more than a "virtual presence." Nothing more clearly conveys the message of our security commitment as does our forces visibly present and training with our allies.</P>

<P> We are also obligated to retain a credible military presence in the region by virtue of our two multilateral and three bilateral mutual defense treaties. Presence gives "form and substance" to our security commitments. Forward presence allows us to execute our responsibilities to promote stability and deter aggression, possibly our most important contribution to the shaping element of our NSS and NMS.</P>

<P> Marine Contributions to Theater Strategy</P>

<P> The littoral nature of the region, and the unique capability and flexibility of our Marine air-ground task forces (MAGTFs), enhances the unified commander (CinC), U.S. Pacific Command's ability to "shape, respond and prepare" within the Asia-Pacific region. As stated by the previous Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, "airpower and strategic lift are not a panacea for the requirement and difficulties associated with power projection." Even in today's joint and combined force's environment our MAGTFs, which are balanced, tasked-organized air, ground, and logistics teams, provide the National Command Authorities (NCA) and CinC a uniquely flexible and capable force prepared to respond to contingencies across the spectrum of conflict. III Marine Expeditionary Force (III MEF) is a MAGTF consisting of its command element, the 3d Marine Division (the ground combat element), the 1st Marine Aircraft Wing (the aviation combat element), the 3d Force Service Support Group (the combat service support element), and the 31st Marine Expeditionary Unit (Special Operations Capable) (MEU(SOC)). In addition to planning and deploying a task organized MAGTF, the III MEF command element also trains for missions as the Marine component of a combined joint task force (CJTF). It is a "standing," trained, and immediately deployable combined arms force available to the CinC for immediate tasking in response to emergent crisis.</P>

<P> Our experience in joint and combined operations in humanitarian assistance, disaster relief operations, and noncombatant evacuation operations (NEOs), provides the CinC a ready, capable, and relevant force to respond to crisis throughout the region. For example Operation BEVEL INCLINE, a potential NEO driven by internal strife in Indonesia earlier this year, provides an excellent demonstration of our ability to rapidly respond to events in the region with forward-deployed forces. III MEF forces deploying to participate in Exercise COBRA GOLD in Thailand were ready and prepared to respond to the task at hand. This was in no small measure due to the combined air-ground capabilities of the MAGTF, Marine experience in NEOs, and our having forces forward-deployed, ready to respond. Fortunately, a NEO was not required, but we must remain ready for the next crisis that will arise.</P>

<P> Marine forces possess the capability of shaping the security environment

t by training with our allies and friends. The Republic of the Philippines, the Republic of Korea, Thailand, Indonesia, and Tonga have a Marine Corps. Russia and the Peoples Republic of China have naval infantries. India has designated army units for training in an amphibious role. It is natural that these nations look to the U.S. Marine Corps for combined training. Additionally, the combined arms nature of our forward-deployed MAGTF, be it the 31st MEU (SOC) or other elements of III MEF, allow us to conduct air and ground training with any nation's forces. Marines provide the CinC a readily available, well-trained, flexible organization to conduct activities in support of his theater engagement plan. Our diverse and active exercise program enhances interoperability and readiness. Exercises demonstrate our military capabilities and resolve, as well as provide realistic training conditions and first hand exposure to regional geography, cultures, and values. Finally, exercises forge friendships and mutual respect--something virtual presence can never accomplish.</P>

<P> Japan/Okinawa: Strategically Located</P>

<P> Although we are expeditionary in nature and have a self-sustainment capability that allows us to operate "over-the-horizon," our capability to quickly respond is directly related to our forward-deployed forces in Japan. Forces stationed in Japan provide a significant strategic advantage in terms of geography. Okinawa and Honshu-based Marine Forces are within 2,000 miles of most of the region's capitals. III MEF does not have to overcome the "tyrannies of time and distance." This gives the CinC much greater flexibility in determining how to use limited strategic lift to deploy his forces into theater. Crisis response time is a critical factor, when considering where forward-deployed forces should be positioned. From Okinawa, the amphibious ready group/Marine expeditionary unit (ARG/MEU) can deploy to a "close-in" regional crisis (Korea) within 2 days and a "far point" regional flash point (Indonesia) within 7. The sailing time to these areas from southern California is 17 days and from Hawaii, 12. Our MAGTFs have self-deploying tactical aviation and a limited self-deployment capability for other MAGTF assets using organic KC-130 tactical refueler/transport aircraft in their secondary role of long-range assault support. Our capability to self-deploy will increase significantly with the introduction of the MV-22. The remainder of the force can deploy via intratheater lift. It takes about 2 hours to fly from Okinawa to the Korean peninsula. The estimated flight time from Hawaii is 11 hours, as compared to roughly 16 from the southwestern coast of the United States. When combined with our maritime prepositioning ships (MPS), III MEF's capabilities are significantly increased. Bottom linewhether deploying to northeast Asia or southeast Asia, Marine forces positioned in Okinawa and mainland Japan are strategically located. This posture provides the NCA and CinC with tremendous flexibility and options for prioritizing the deployment of U.S.-based forces and resources via limited strategic lift.</P>

<P> Equally important as Okinawa's strategic location is the established infrastructure. This infrastructure is a strategic logistics asset. Facilities exist to house and feed the Marines of III MEF, as well as Army, Navy, Air Force, and special operations units forward-deployed there. We can store approximately 50 million gallons of fuel and about 14,000 short tons of ammunition on the island. There is over 1 million square feet of environmentally controlled warehouse space. Retaining this infrastructure, vital to current contingency plans, is essential. In 1996, estimates for the plant replacement value (PRV) of Marine Corps infrastructure on Okinawa was \$7.5 billion. The PRV for III MEF assets on mainland Japan exceeded \$2 billion. Additionally White Beach, operated by the

Navy, can simultaneously load seven amphibious ships, and the Army's Naha Port Facility is capable of handling any of our military sealift ships. Finally, the corrosion control facilities and depot level maintenance facilities available on Okinawa are "world class." Finding replacement sites for our current Japanese facilities would not only be limited by political resistance and availability of real estate in those countries with suitable geographic locations, it would prove fiscally unsupportable.</P>

<P> The support of the Government of Japan (GOJ) enables III MEF to remain forward-deployment. The GOJ fully understands our presence is in their security interests as well as ours. U.S. Marines are prepared to fight--alongside Japanese counter parts--should a common enemy threaten Japanese soil. As recently as 1996, both Japan and the U.S. independently concluded that a continuing, strong security agreement was in both countries' best interest.</P>

<P> We understand the difficulties some Japanese families and businesses may have when living and operating adjacent to military facilities. We work through similar issues with U.S. families and businesses located next to Marine bases and stations in California, Arizona, and North Carolina. III MEF has a very active community relations program designed to ensure community concerns are heard and acted upon. More importantly, every Marine and Sailor of III MEF, as well as their families, are U.S. "ambassadors" in their own right. Our daily interaction with the local community provides the Japanese a firsthand view of American culture. Family values, habits, and even blemishes are on open display, providing an uncensored, non-CNN look at a day in the life of an average U.S. citizen. The efforts of the Special Action Committee on Okinawa have been focused on solving many of the concerns voiced by local citizens, while simultaneously maintaining the operational capabilities required to support our NSS, NMS, and the Pacific Command Strategy. Issues such as land reform, adjustments of training and operational procedures, and noise reduction initiatives have been addressed. We have not solved all the concerns, but Marine Forces Pacific, III MEF, U.S. Forces, Japan, and CinC Pacific and his staff, along with the American Embassy in Tokyo, are actively working with our Japanese and Okinawan counterparts to satisfactorily resolve such matters.</P>

<P> Articulating the Importance of Marine Corps Forward Deployment</P>

<P> Now that I've briefly discussed why the U.S. needs to retain a forward-deployed, MEF-size MAGTF in Japan and Okinawa, I want to quickly address some of the actions underway to better articulate these reasons to the Japanese, Okinawan, and American public and their political leadership.</P>

<P> This article is a beginning. MarForPac and Commanding General, III MEF will present similar views in various professional journals (Proceedings, Foreign Affairs, Asian Defense Journal, etc.). I also invite you as tomorrow's leaders to add your voice to this discussion. We have initiated discussions with the U.S. Ambassador to Japan. We are seeking to identify forums within Japan where our perspectives can be shared with leaders, academicians, and the public at large.</P>

<P> We have opened the doors at MarForPac to those interested in making a valuable contribution to this discussion. We present our thoughts via a "tailored command brief" to military and political leaders alike.</P>

<P> I have tasked my plans and policy division to engage various regional scholars concerned with regional security issues, use information technology to maintain awareness of regional security issues and policies, and participate in forums where the regional perspective of future security concerns are addressed. The Asia-Pacific Center For Security Studies, the East West Center, and the Pacific Forum Center for Strategic and International Studies are excellent examples of U.S. sponsored venues. We are looking for venues hosted by other regional states.</P>

<P> In short, we are seeking every available opportunity to articulate the strategic importance of forward-deployed Marine forces in mainland Japan and Okinawa.</P>

<P> Conclusion</P>

<P> Our reputation as the Nation's 9-1-1 force has been earned through 223 years of dedicated service. Maintaining that capability in the Pacific region is directly related to our forward presence in mainland Japan and Okinawa. Our ties to the Asia-Pacific region are not only historical, but as Asia changes these ties will continue to be relevant to tomorrow's security environment. We must not lose our forward-deployed positions by default. Let's spread the word --Marines forward-deployed to Japan are an essential part of our National Military Strategy and contribute to Japan's and to Asia-Pacific's regional stability and security.</P>

<I><P>Lt Gen Fulford is the commander, Marine Forces Pacific. He has been nominated to be the director of the Joint Staff at the Pentagon.</P></I>

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<P>San Diego Union-Tribune

July 22, 1999</P>

<P>Navy Hovercraft Join Fight Against Catalina Wildfires</P>

<P>By Dwight Daniels, Staff Writer</P>

<P> CAMP PENDLETON -- High-speed Navy hovercraft stationed here have gone to the aid of fire departments battling wildfires in a remote section of Santa Catalina Island.</P>

<P> The vessels were called Tuesday night to help move fire engines and other vehicles and personnel quickly to the popular tourist destination off the Southern California coast.</P>

<P> Four of the craft with the Navy's Assault Craft Unit 5 at Camp Pendleton were loaded and moved to Long Beach Tuesday night for use in moving equipment to the island, Navy officials said.</P>

<P> The highly versatile craft fly about four inches above the ocean's surface at more than 45 mph, and can travel more than 200 miles without refueling, said Capt. Lee H. Rosenberg, the unit's commanding officer.</P>

<P> "We have a memorandum of understanding to assist fire departments up there when the need arises," Rosenberg said. "We're only too glad to be able to do this."</P>

<P> Within six hours of a call to Navy officials, the hovercraft were moving equipment into place on Catalina, Los Angeles County fire spokesman Mark Whaling said by telephone yesterday.</P>

<P> "They were ready on a moment's notice," Whaling said. "It's not wartime experience, but it's an emergency . . . the real McCoy. And it's an outstanding example of everyone working together to get a tough job done."</P>

<P> He said the movement of fire vehicles and crews was far faster than if fire officials had to arrange contracts with barges sailing out of San Pedro.</P>

<P> "We really appreciate the cooperation of Camp Pendleton, the Marines and the Navy," Whaling said. "It's the first time we had to implement the agreement, and it couldn't have gone better."</P>

<P> The 81-foot-long hovercraft are designed to transport up to 60 tons of cargo, but can be loaded in a pinch to 75 tons. They are normally used to transfer personnel, equipment and supplies from ship to shore, or on inland waters at high speed during military conflicts.</P>

<P> The Camp Pendleton unit supports 45 of the four-engine, turbine-powered hovercraft. Each vessel has an all-enlisted crew consisting of a craftmaster, engineer, navigator, loadmaster and deck engineer. The unit motto is "No Beach Out of Reach."</P>

<P> About 80 members of the 700-member unit have been involved in the Catalina fire assistance operations, Rosenberg said.</P>

<P> "We've had to move up some new crews to relieve the others," he added. Hovercraft crews, like military aircraft pilots, face mandatory "crew rest" requirements.</P>

<P> The Catalina blaze was about 50 percent contained late yesterday after burning about 120 acres. Full containment was expected tonight, Whaling said. No structures were threatened.</P>

<P> Three of the four hovercraft returned to Camp Pendleton before dawn yesterday. Two traveled back to Catalina late yesterday to be in position to help transport firefighting equipment back to the mainland. </P>

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<P>Houston Chronicle

July 22, 1999</P>

<P>Corpus May Lose Two Ships</P>

<P> CORPUS CHRISTI -- The U.S. Navy may move two crews and two more ships from Naval Station Ingleside on the Gulf of Mexico coast to the Persian Gulf, according to the Mine Warfare Command. </P>

<P> That would mean the loss of about 250 sailors from the Corpus Christi area, Rear Adm. Jose L. Betancourt said Tuesday. The Navy is seeking a host country so that two 85-man crews -- which spend six-month tours overseas -- can permanently be stationed on the USS Ardent and USS Dextrous. The two mine countermeasure ships have been deployed to the Persian Gulf since March 1996. </P>

<P> The Navy will also attempt to move two more ships to the Persian Gulf when they can find a host country, Betancourt added. Those ships will probably be two of the newer 50-man crew coastal mine hunters. The total loss potential is about 260 sailors. </P>

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<P>Popular Science

August 1999

Pg. 60</P>

<P>Fire In The Sky</P>

<I><P>The momentum behind a national missile defense system seems unstoppable. But do we need it, and will it work?</P>

</I><P>By Frank Vizard</P>

<P> A Minuteman II rocket specially configured to simulate an enemy ballistic missile will launch from Vandenberg Air Force Base in California on August 12 and head west across the Pacific Ocean. Some minutes later, as the projectile rises high over the sea, another missile will launch from a military base on a small and very isolated atoll called Kwajalein in the Marshall Islands.</P>

<P> The second weapon is designed to intercept the first, which will be at an altitude of 120 miles and traveling at a speed of 15,500 miles per hour. It is the first test of what promises to be a national missile defense system whose purpose is to thwart incoming long-range enemy missiles targeting the United States, including Alaska and Hawaii, and carrying warheads containing nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons.</P>

<P> This testing may come as a surprise to many who have assumed that the United States already possesses a defense against intercontinental ballistic missiles. What the United States possesses is a deterrent, not a defense. This deterrent is based on this country's offensive missile capability; any attack on us would foster an overwhelming nuclear strike in reply.</P>

<P> And while some critics say that this deterrent is enough, the government is increasingly seeing the need for a shield that would serve as an alternative to reducing some spot on the planet to a nuclear wasteland. Such a move has major political consequences both domestically and overseas.</P>

<P> Over the next several months, the Clinton administration and Congress will begin wrestling with the thorny issue raised by the test in the Pacific. As currently envisioned, deployment of the government's national missile defense plan violates the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty negotiated with the former

Soviet Union.</P>

<P> Implementing a national missile defense system means the treaty will have to be renegotiated or the United States will have to withdraw. Such a decision, though, may have adverse effects on nuclear and even nonnuclear missile proliferation if Russia or another country decides it needs to counter a U.S. defensive system by increasing its offensive stockpiles. Since Congress overwhelmingly passed legislation this spring supporting a national missile defense initiative, however, the ABM treaty stands in the way of a political juggernaut that appears unstoppable.</P>

<P> The decision to begin construction of a national missile defense system won't be made until next June or July. By then, only four of the 13 tests scheduled for the next few years will be completed, which means that a decision may be made without all the technical results in hand. Because 2000 is a presidential election year, most political insiders believe the decision will indeed be made before all the test scores are in, and that a national missile defense system will be in place by 2005.</P>

<P> So how credible is the threat, and is it worth spending \$105 billion over the next six years to build a defensive shield? Russia, with an estimated 7,000 nuclear missiles capable of hitting the United States, is still the biggest threat from a numerical standpoint. Supporters of a national missile defense, however, play down the threat from Russia and other members of the former Soviet Union like Ukraine and Kazakhstan, citing reduced tensions brought about by the end of the cold war.</P>

<P> In any event, the planned system isn't designed to forestall a massive missile attack that Russia could mount. Building a Reagan-esque Star Wars-type system to defend against the thousands of missiles Russian possesses would cost too much money. Rather, the planned system is designed to defend against an accidental launch or an attack of a small number of missiles by a "rogue" nation.</P>

<P> The threat of accidental launch has been around for decades, of course, but hasn't prompted this level of rhetorical concern before. What is new in the weapons of mass destruction mix is the widespread proliferation of ballistic missiles in recent months among countries like India, Pakistan, North Korea, Iraq, Iran, China, and Libya, as Defense Department intelligence officer Dr. David J. Osias, a specialist in arms control issues, points out. With the exception of North Korea and China, Osias believes none of these countries possesses missiles with the range to hit the United States.</P>

<P> One year ago, North Korea launched a No Dong missile with a third stage in what the intelligence community now believes--and as was claimed at the time--was a failed attempt to launch a satellite into orbit. Initially, however, surprised U.S. officials believed it to be a test of an intercontinental missile. The No Dong 3 could reach our shores, but Osias believes the North Koreans do not possess the sophisticated targeting systems needed to accurately aim the missile; it's as likely to hit Chicago as it is Dallas, he says. Still, if you examine the increasing levels of missile proliferation, "you can scare yourself a lot," he says.</P>

<P> Ask military men like the U.S. Army's Brig. Gen. Daniel Montgomery, ex-

cutive officer for air and missile defense, and Maj. Gen Dennis Cavin, commander of the air defense artillery center at Fort Bliss in El Paso, Texas, about which country represents the greatest threat and both military leaders respond firmly: China.</P>

<P> China is already known to possess about a dozen ballistic missiles capable of hitting the Western United States, and concerns about its capabilities have increased exponentially in the wake of what appears to be a severe case of espionage against the U.S. government's nuclear weapons labs in Los Alamos, New Mexico. Between 1984 and 1988, China is alleged to have obtained stolen design information about the W-88, the United States' most advanced and smallest nuclear warhead. U.S. intelligence officials said in May that they believe China is now equipping a long-range missile called the Dong Feng-31 with a small nuclear warhead based on the W-88 design. A smaller, lighter warhead means more thrust can be applied to a smaller payload, thereby increasing the overall range of the missile.</P>

<P> To defend the United States against threats like the Dong Feng-31, the Pentagon wants to deploy a complicated web of ground and space based sensors linked to a command and control center that would fire an interceptor missile to destroy an incoming enemy intercontinental ballistic missile.</P>

<P> Some elements of the program, like the ground-based radar and the command center, are essentially completed or in the prototype stage. Other elements are still being developed, and one has already suffered a mishap. A space-based sensor called the Defense Support Program (DSP) satellite, designed to play a role as an early warning system, was placed in the wrong orbit on April 9. The U.S. Air Force is now searching for another mission for the \$682 million satellite.</P>

<P> More critical to a national defense scheme is another more sensitive orbital array called the space-based infrared sensor (SBIRS). This array comes in two parts. One is a system of satellites in a high geosynchronous orbit set for launch in 2004. Augmenting these satellites, designated SBIRS High, will be a low Earth-orbiting array of many more satellites for closer inspection of targets. SBIRS Low, as this latter system is called, could be especially useful for tracking missiles like the Dong Feng-31, which is reportedly truck-mounted and highly mobile. Funding for SBIRS Low has yet to be approved, but launch is scheduled for 2006.</P>

<P> What gets proponents and critics of the proposed national missile defense arguing is the missile interceptor designed to destroy an enemy missile. While advanced space-based laser weapons are in planning ["Return to Star Wars," April], deploying a missile defense system in the short term means relying on what the Pentagon and its prime contractor, Boeing, deem to be a proven "hit a bullet with a bullet" technology in which the impact of the interceptor destroys the threat. Prior missile defense schemes revolved around the considerably messier idea of detonating a nuclear missile in proximity to the incoming threat.</P>

<P> Certainly, recent successful tests of a more advanced Patriot missile defense system than that used in the Gulf War imply that the hit-to-kill concept has some validity. Supporters of the national missile defense system suggest that the success of the Patriot indicates that the same technology can be applied

d to the national missile defense system. However, the speed levels are vastly different as you move up in scale from short- to long-range missiles. Short-range missiles like the Patriot travel at about 3.5 kilometers per second (kps), while intercontinental ballistic missiles approach speeds of about 5,500 kps. To date, the military has had trouble defending against even intermediate-range missiles. The multibillion-dollar Theater High Altitude Air Defense (THAAD) system, designed to be used in a regional conflict, has suffered six failures over the course of this decade. THAAD hasn't been a total waste of the nearly \$4 billion invested in it, however. The ground-based radar being used for this August's Kwajalein test was originally developed as part of THAAD.

<P> Whether an interceptor can successfully destroy a high-speed intercontinental missile remains to be seen. The challenge is a difficult one, and tests against targets that rotate and have fast-burning boosters are the trickiest, notes Bill Davis, a former deputy director of the U.S. Army's ballistic missile defense arm.

<P> The interceptor will most likely launch from a site in Alaska. As many as 20 interceptors may be based there. (The ABM treaty allows for a national missile defense test site in North Dakota, but deployment at this location leaves portions of Hawaii and Alaska vulnerable.) First- and second-stage rockets, which are essentially modifications of Minuteman II boosters, will get the interceptor within proximity of the enemy missile.

<P> Once the interceptor nears the enemy missile, an essentially autonomous "exoatmospheric kill vehicle" disengages from the payload area. This kill vehicle (one version is being built by Boeing and another by Raytheon) carries its own propellant and thrusters, which come into play once the onboard optical and infrared sensors detect the enemy warhead.

<P> These types of sensors are best at inferring weight and temperature signatures that decoys wouldn't possess. The kill vehicle then sets a collision course for the enemy missile, striking the warhead with enough velocity to ensure destruction.

<P> Whether the kill vehicle can find, track, and intercept with sufficient force an enemy long-range ballistic missile is the main purpose of the Kwajalein exercise. The failures of THAAD suggest this capability is still not quite there, although the Pentagon believes the Patriot success story means it is only a short step away.

<P> The military, in fact, does not expect the development of a national missile defense system to be problem free. "We will have some hiccups along the way," says Brig. Gen. Willie Nance, program director for the national missile defense project. The timing of the hiccups, particularly if they occur before next July, may have a bearing on whether an informed decision to construct the missile defense system can be made.

<P> One problem to be solved is assessing the success of the kill vehicle's mission. The kill vehicle is essentially on a suicide mission; once demolished, it can't report whether the warhead is completely or only partially destroyed, a problem encountered in impacting Scud missiles in the Gulf War. Intercontinental missile warheads may contain as many as 30 basketball-size submunitions, and if the kill vehicle doesn't impact with sufficient force, some of submuniti

ons could survive. These submunitions could still prove lethal, particularly if they contain biological or chemical payloads that could discharge over even non-targeted areas. A second kill vehicle might be used to monitor the first, but the flash from the first impact might blind the sensors onboard the second vehicle.

Hardly a foolproof system, a fact the Pentagon admits. Assuming that the ABM treaty is modified or negated, the Pentagon sees this current national missile defense system as an initial building block for wider and more comprehensive missile defense in the next century. This might include space-based laser weapons.

The final configuration of a national missile defense system may also be influenced by political considerations having to do with the ABM treaty and the rhetoric of an election year. Negotiations with the Russians may mean the interceptors might have to be based in North Dakota, for example. These influences the military would like to stay clear of. "If left to our own devices, we could do pretty well," says Lt. Gen. John Costello, commander of the Army's Space and Missile Defense Command.

The Navy, meanwhile, is developing its own ship-based missile defense system that could not only help protect the United States from long-range missiles but could also be positioned in coastal waters to defend allies like Taiwan or Israel. Ultimately, ground- and space-based missile defense systems would be networked to provide a layered system of defense that could be used for both wider conflicts and local battlegrounds. Enemy missiles of varying sizes could then be passed from one defensive layer to next, as needed.

The hope is also to provide protection against fast short-range cruise missiles that fly below radar and may become the Scud missile of the next war. As currently configured, the national missile defense program could not defend against short-range missiles launched from ships in U.S. coastal waters, for example. Total cost, including the Navy program, is estimated at \$25 billion for a defensive system that would have a 20-year life span, according to Gen. Nance.


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<P>Defense Daily

July 22, 1999

Pg. 7</P>

<P>DARPA Studying Free Maneuver Options For Space Vehicles</P>

<P>By Frank Wolfe</P>

<P> The Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) is studying how to move space vehicles freely, rather than having them rely on traditional orbiting cycles, and the implications of such movement, DARPA director Frank Fernandez said yesterday.</P>

<P> "We don't maneuver in space very much," he told reporters at a Defense Writers Group breakfast. "What we do is we go into space and we park in orbit. What would happen if we could figure out a way to maneuver in space at will? What could you do from the standpoint of concentrating resources and from the standpoint of targeting?"</P>

<P> Such free space travel is hampered by lack of fuel. DARPA is studying different kinds of more efficient, less costly and safe fuel and a possible space tanker to refuel satellites and other space vehicles. Unrestricted space travel requires making "fuel a commodity in space," Fernandez said, adding that free travel may mean that enemies will no longer be able to predict when U.S. satellites will pass overhead.</P>

<P> The DARPA director, who has been in his position since May, touched on a number of other topics in addition to DARPA's new space effort.</P>

<P> The agency and the Army are to study whether future ground combat systems can be made lighter, while still retaining their lethality and survivability. While complementing the design of the services' heavy, 70-ton tanks, Fernandez noted that they require big engines and a heavy fuel load.</P>

<P> "In terms of lethality and survivability, we've got it in the way we build tanks," Fernandez said. "But we pay for it in terms of transportability and sustainability."</P>

<P> The study may touch on such things as hybrid electric power plants and the networking of manned and unmanned ground vehicles.</P>

<P> On another topic, Fernandez said that all-weather munitions for tactical aircraft against mobile targets will be developed, but "it's a hard problem," given the identification difficulty posed. During the Kosovo conflict, the military requested DARPA's help in enhancing the accuracy of munitions (Defense Daily, May 10). </P>

<P> During the first few weeks of the operation, the Pentagon said missions by strike aircraft were limited by the bad weather in the region.</P>

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<P>Business Week

August 2, 1999</P>

<U><P>Developments to Watch</P>

</U><P>A Sensor To Catch Nuclear Thieves</P>

<P> The economic meltdown in Russia may pose dangers beyond its borders. Since 1992, there have been seven thefts of Russian uranium products suitable for use in weapons, according to a congressional study. Experts worry that Russia's inability to pay for security measures or even to provide regular paychecks for the guards means Russia's uranium stockpile could be purloined by terrorists and rogue nations.</P>

<P> As part of a U.S. Energy Dept. initiative to help Russia control its nuclear materials, Pacific Northwest National Laboratory now has come up with a device to track uranium or plutonium. A team led by materials scientist Mary Bliss has developed an inexpensive glass-fiber sensor for detecting radioactivity. Unlike ordinary glass fibers that merely transmit light, these produce light. Called Puma (from plutonium measurement and analysis), the fibers contain special compounds that, when zapped by neutrons or gamma rays, emit sparks--analogous to the ticking from a Geiger counter.</P>

<P> Puma fibers could be embedded in roads at border crossings and around sites where nuclear weapons and uranium are stored, Bliss says. A prototype detector has just been installed at a checkpoint on the German-Austrian border. Canberra Industries Inc. of Meriden, Conn., will make the fibers. </P>>

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<P>Christian Science Monitor

July 23, 1999</P>

<U><P>World</P>

</U><P>Adding Up The Tab For Kosovo War And Peacekeeping</P>

>

<I><P>Some 82 states, financial institutions will attend do nor conference July 28 in Brussels.</P>

<I><P>By David R. Francis, Staff Writer of The Christian Science Monitor</P>

<P> As wars go, the NATO victory in Kosovo was cheap.</P>

<P> "A walk in the park," says Gordon Adams, deputy director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London.</P>

<P> For the United States - which so far has incurred the most expenses - the incremental cost of the Kosovo war itself was about \$2 billion above already-scheduled defense spending, estimates Mr. Adams. Maybe as much as \$3 billion, says Steven Kosiak, an expert at the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessment in Washington.</P>

<P> That \$2 billion-plus covered hazardous duty pay for the military, transportation costs, fuel, and munitions. Final costs will reflect what decisions the Pentagon makes this summer on replacing the precision-guided missiles, the more numerous regular bombs, other munitions, and drones (remotely piloted vehicles) used in the war. The US also lost an F-117 and an F-16 during the bombing operations.</P>

<P> By comparison, the Gulf War, involving ground forces, cost the US \$60 billion. One Pentagon study, however, indicated that the US made a slight profit on the war because of the large contributions of Japan, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and other nations to its costs.</P>

<P> Although overall the Kosovo war has amassed a much smaller tab, the bill is swelling as the international effort moves into the postwar phase. NATO pe

peacekeepers are expensive. So - maybe - will be the rebuilding of the Serbian province.

<P> To help residents of Kosovo, Albania, Macedonia, and others in the region deal with the economic consequences of the conflict, some 82 countries and financial institutions have been invited to a donor conference July 28 in Brussels.

<P> Two days later, President Clinton plans to go to Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia, for a Balkans summit with top leaders from the European Union, the 19 NATO countries, other nations in Europe, and Russia. About 30 heads of state are expected to attend.

<P> To cover defense spending and rebuilding related to the Kosovo war, the US Congress has already appropriated \$6 billion extra for fiscal 1999 for the Balkans.

<P> The European nations and institutions, with tight budgets, are expected to face difficulty in finding funds. There is concern that other aid projects may be raided to find funds for the Balkans.

<P> Each of the NATO countries is paying for its own operations in the Kosovo war. Most costs have been considerably less than those of the US, which lent the majority of military power.

<P> One report puts France's costs at \$600 million. The British have a 1.5 million pound (\$2.2 billion) contingency fund in their treasury, with the military expected to bid for a chunk of that.

<P> Because most of the war's costs fell on the US, and because the Balkans are in Europe, the US has said Europe should carry the major burden of peacekeeping and reconstruction.

<P> Britain is expected to have 13,000 peacekeepers on the ground; Germany 9,000; France 8,000; along with other nations. The US is providing 6,000 to 7,000 peacekeeping troops, which will cost \$2 billion or so a year to maintain, experts say. With lower military wages and shorter supply lines, the Europeans' costs will likely be proportionately less.

<P> As for rebuilding Kosovo, the European Union has agreed to take the lead role. Based on its experience in Bosnia, the EU initially estimated 500 million euros (about \$525 million) a year for three years to rebuild the Serbian province. The rest of the world would double that amount, the EU assumed.

<P> But physical damage in Kosovo from NATO bombs and Serbian destruction was less than anticipated. This was noted by officials attending a strategy session July 13 in Brussels of finance ministers from the Group of Eight industrial nations and officials from the EU, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank.

<P> The implication is that repairs will be less costly. One official was reported as saying only \$700 million to \$800 million may be needed.

<P> The immediate concern in rebuilding Kosovo is seeing that returning ref

ugees are adequately housed, fed, clothed, and supplied with power and water.</P>

<P> The allies are also aiming to set up a civil administration, including a police force, a democracy, and a functioning economy.</P>

<P> None of this will be easy, experts reckon. Kosovo still has close economic ties with Serbia proper, which is subject to economic sanctions and will not receive reconstruction aid until Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic is out of office, President Clinton has indicated.</P>

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<P>Inside The Air Force

July 23, 1999</P>

<P>Allied Force No Victory For The Clinton Doctrine, Scholar Says</P>

<I><P>NATO role bolstered by campaign </P>

</I><P> The success of the allied air campaign over Kosovo should not be interpreted as a victory for the "Clinton doctrine" of military intervention at standoff range, according to one noted expert on U.S. Balkan policy.
</P>

<P> "The Powell doctrine of decisive force is not dead," and the idea that the Clinton doctrine was a success is based on wishful thinking, says Ivo Daalder, senior fellow with the Washington, DC-based Brookings Institution.</P>

<P> Reading the results of Operation Allied Force as validation of a long-distance, incremental, combat strategy without ground troops is "not borne out by anything that happened in Kosovo," Daalder said in a July 13 interview with Inside the Air Force.</P>

<P> Two false lessons have been drawn from the campaign, he said, the first

of which is that NATO won the war. NATO may have won the Kosovar Albanians a better future, and defeated the Serb military -- but it failed in its first mission of protecting civilians from Serb atrocities, he said. Intervening to protect people did not work in the short term, but in the long term it may still prove to be a success.

The second false lesson is that intervention can be done at low cost. Air power may be cheaper than ground forces, but Daalder said 80 percent of the Serbian armor was destroyed in the last two-and-a-half weeks of Allied Force, when the Kosovo Liberation Army counteroffensive was well under way.

Additionally, by the time Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic agreed to NATO's terms, there was "clear indication the United States was considering ground forces," he said.

A senior Air Force official said last week that one of the reasons the air campaign took so long was because the service is not designed to stop the kind of "door-to-door thuggery" that was taking place in Kosovo (Inside the Air Force, July 9, p2).

Daalder agreed, saying despite their capabilities, "B-2s don't do much to stop genocide."

It cannot be assumed military intervention will be used for future humanitarian crises either. Intervention must be available cheaply, Daalder said, or else forced upon a U.S. administration by rhetoric -- atrocity or media coverage alone will not inspire action.

Although not all the consequences for U.S. foreign and military policy are yet known, NATO appears to have emerged as a clear winner. NATO is now "the go-to security organization in Europe," Daalder said, and has demonstrated that it considers the Balkans part of its sphere of influence.

"By winning, NATO is validated," he said, and has shown that it is moving closer to the European ideal for the alliance than the American one. NATO is emerging as a European organization, not a global one, and its primary purpose is European security, not global response to common threats. For example, Daalder said Iraq remains outside of NATO's realm of responsibility, despite the country's proximity to NATO member Turkey. Enforcing Operation Northern Watch, therefore, remains an American foreign policy responsibility.

The United States also clearly drove the military campaign, he said, despite the frequent grumblings about the difficulties in getting 19 member nations to agree on targeting. "The whole idea of NATO hindering the United States is false," Daalder said. "I fear we were trying to set up NATO if there was a failure."

Although the senior Air Force official said last week, "We ought to have gone for the throat. . . . We should have gone downtown right away," Daalder said this particular policy has not always been followed.

For Operation Desert Fox last December, the United States -- acting without NATO -- attacked Iraq primarily with standoff weapons for four days and "didn't go downtown," Daalder said. Furthermore, for Allied Force, NATO was prepa

red with only "three days of targets" not because of NATO's own doing, but because the U.S. policymakers did not think the conflict would last.

Although the United States was the key leader in Allied Force, "the Europeans know how to peacekeep," he said, and are the best choice to lead that effort.

Militarily, the Europeans have learned the same lessons from the campaign as the United States, namely that American capabilities are far advanced of the rest of NATO's in critical areas of precision-guided munitions, electronics, jamming, and other support capabilities.

The perceived gap is so severe that Lt. Gen. Marvin Esmond, Air Force deputy chief of staff for air and space operations, could think of no examples of what the U.S. could draw from its allies when asked about relative capabilities by Inside the Air Force on July 1.

Realizing there is a capabilities gap and actually doing something about it are two different things. Daalder says opportunity for modernization in Europe is high, but it is a difficult thing to do "even in the best of times." For Europe, in the midst of an economic downturn, "these are not the best of times."

Despite the success of the Clinton doctrine in eventually bringing peace to Kosovo, Daalder feels it is still a loser in the strategic sense, while NATO, much maligned during the operation, appears to have come out a winner with a better defined role than before the campaign.

-- Adam J. Hebert

[s19990723vulnerable.htm](#)

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New York Times

July 23, 1999

**********<P>**A Vulnerable Few Carry On In Kosovo**</P>**

<P>By The Associated Press</P>

<P> STIMLJE, Kosovo -- In the chaos of Kosovo, the struggle for survival is especially grim in this forgotten corner: a mental asylum where Serbian and Albanian patients are cared for by a skeleton staff that has not been paid in five months. </P>

<P> A nurse and therapist have been running the institution with the help of its residents since the Serbian director and other Serbian employees fled last month. Forty-three Albanian orderlies, kitchen workers and other employees -- fewer than half the original staff -- also help out. </P>

<P> "Nobody cares about them. They are forgotten by everybody," said Luan Nimani of the United Nations refugee agency. </P>

<P> The residents survive on irregular aid shipments and donations of flour from local Albanian Kosovars. A physician from the British peacekeeping force stationed nearby came once, and a doctor makes occasional visits from nearby Stimlje, which is 17 miles southwest of Pristina, the provincial capital. </P>

<P> The staff members say they have no time to give residents more than the most basic care. </P>

<P> Institutions all across Kosovo have suffered from the exodus of Serbian workers after Serbia's forces pulled out and NATO moved in last month. While aid agencies have worked to keep hospitals, water stations and power plants running, the asylum fends largely for itself. </P>

<P> The nurse in charge, Lirie Bytyci, a Kosovo Albanian, said the hospital needs more food, sheets and diapers and a car to transport sick patients and diapers. </P>

<P> The Special Institution, as it is officially called, houses 305 residents, most of them mentally or emotionally disturbed. There are 35 children, and several dozen adults segregated in a special ward who are considered worst cases. </P>

<P> More than half the residents are Serbs, but the mixed asylum population seems oblivious to politics. "We look after them like they are the same people," Ms. Bytyci said of the residents, who often help the staff clean and make beds. </P>

<P> The atmosphere on a recent summer day was generally calm. Ms. Bytyci wandered around lighting cigarettes. She urged a woman who carried her belongings in her shirt front to come and eat. In the dining hall, men and women ate at separate tables. One woman ate on the floor. Lunch was red bean soup and bread for the adults, porridge and bread for the children. </P>

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<P>European Stars And Stripes

July 22, 1999

Pg. 6</P>

<P>Former Troops Turn On Sloba</P>

<I><P>Debt, defeat breed hatred</P>

</I><P>By Aleksandar Vasovic, The Associated Press</P>

<P> BELGRADE, Yugoslavia Dobrivoje and Dragan, who fought NATO as Yugoslav soldiers, hate the West, but their hatred for the man who forced them to fight is even deeper.</P>

<P> "We were brainwashed for 10 years by Milosevic and his gang," says Dobrivoje, referring to Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic. "I would gladly see Sloba before a firing squad. He is responsible for our misery."</P>

<P> Thousands of Serbian men like Dobrivoje and Dragan may hold the key to the country's political future and whether Milosevic is pushed from power by a rising swell of discontent. On one side of the barricades are army reservists like Dobrivoje and Dragan, former soldiers and thousands of civilians. They are joining demonstrations daily throughout Serbia blaming Milosevic for the nation's misery, which began in 1991 when the world slapped sanctions on Yugoslavia to punish Milosevic for his role in the Balkan wars.</P>

<P> On the other side sit Milosevic and his political and military establishment. That includes top generals who label Milosevic opponents traitors while trying to assuage indignant former rank-and-file soldiers by saying outstanding wages will be paid soon. Among them is Lt. Gen. Nebojsa Pavkovic, in charge of southern Serbia, including Kosovo, who acknowledged that the army owed reservists \$90 million in back pay.</P>

<P> Dobrivoje and Dragan both asked that they not be fully identified for fear of retaliation participate both in reservist protests demanding back pay and opposition demonstrations demanding Milosevic's ouster. Their current hardships and frustrations reflect those of a country poised uneasily between war and

peace.</P>

<P> With his wife, Branka, and three children, 34-year-old Dragan lives in an old house in downtown Kragujevac, a central Serbian town heavily damaged by the North Atlantic Treaty Organizations bombing. A tall, skinny man, Dragan and his entire family survive by selling cigarettes on the black market. The former computer engineer recalled the nearly three months his anti-aircraft unit spent trying to protect Kragujevac from NATO aircraft. He claimed to have shot down two cruise missiles with a 20 mm anti-aircraft cannon. "I had no fear. It was like a computer game," he says. "We hated NATO. We were defending our families here."</P>

<P> After the end of hostilities, the reservists received a heroes welcome in their hometowns but no money from the state. The army owes them about \$400 each.</P>

<P> "It is my money, and I'm not going to finance Bambiland," Dragan says, referring to an amusement park recently opened by Milosevic's big-spending son, Marko.</P>

<P> Dobrivoje, a stocky, unshaven car mechanic from the Kosovo town of Vucitrn, has fled from the province to the southwestern Serbian town of Kraljevo, where he rents a shabby house for his family. He was called up into the infantry a week before NATO's air war began and was a driver, charged with transporting wounded Serbian soldiers. He saw Albanian houses burning and people killed but denies army involvement, ascribing atrocities to "some bearded savages who called themselves volunteers and some other nasty characters in camouflage fatigues."</P>

<P> The biggest enemy of all for Dragan and Dobrivoje is Milosevic. But though both are desperate for change, they see the opposition as still too weak and untrustworthy. Dobrivoje, 40, has taken part in nearly all opposition rallies, joining the Alliance for Change and traveling much of Serbia.</P>

<P> "I'm doing that not because I believe them but because there is nothing else I can do to speed up the process" of Milosevic's ouster, he says.</P>


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<P>London Times

July 23, 1999</P>

<P>Iran 'Trains Hamas For Terror Offensive' </P>

<I><P>Shin Bet has uncovered existence of a secret guerrilla camp near Tehran, Ross Dunn reports from Jerusalem </P>

</I><P> IRAN is secretly instructing Palestinians from the militant Islamic group Hamas in guerrilla warfare as part of preparations for a fresh wave of terror strikes against Israel, according to press reports in Jerusalem. </P>

<P> The Hamas training camp outside Tehran is being run by the Islamic Revolutionary Guards under the control of Iran's spiritual leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei. </P>

<P> The Hebrew daily Haaretz reported yesterday that Shin Bet, Israel's secret police, first became aware of the connections between Iran and Hamas after the arrest of three members of the movement as they returned from abroad. </P>

<P> During interrogation, the three Hamas activists allegedly confessed that they had received guerrilla warfare training in Iran and had come back to the West Bank and Gaza Strip to begin planning operations against Israel. The trio is still held and expected to stand trial soon in the Israeli military court in the Gaza Strip. </P>

<P> Hamas is the largest and most effective guerrilla group operating in the occupied territories against Israel. In recent years scores of Israelis have died in suicide bomb attacks by Hamas activists who blew themselves up in buses, markets and shopping areas. </P>

<P> Zeev Schiff, military editor of Haaretz, wrote: "The Iranian-Hamas link is a new development, since the movement has until now kept Iran at arm's length, fearing to compromise its independence." </P>

<P> By agreeing to accept training from Iran, Hamas has placed itself in a similar position to the Hezbollah (Party of God), the Islamic guerrilla movement in southern Lebanon, which regularly receives funds and weapons courtesy of Tehran. Most of the supplies are sent first to Syria and from there transferred to Hezbollah in Lebanon. Hezbollah has been waging a campaign for more than a decade to drive Israeli forces from a self-declared buffer zone in southern Lebanon. However, Syria, the main power broker in Lebanon, is under pressure to rein in Hezbollah as it prepares to re-enter peace negotiations with Israel on the return of the Golan Heights, captured during the 1967 war. </P>

<P> This development may force Iran to focus on Hamas, which has vowed to continue its campaign against Israel and rejects the decision by Yassir Arafat, the Palestinian leader, to pursue peace negotiations with the Jewish state. </P>

>

<P> Hamas's spiritual leader and founder, Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, said this week that his followers would never agree to lay down their weapons until Israel was destroyed. He made his declaration in response to reports that Syria had ordered Palestinian dissident groups in Damascus to give up their armed struggle and become political parties. </P>

<P> This development was matched yesterday by more positive signs from Damascus that Syria is serious about wanting to resume peace talks with Israel. The visiting Spanish Prime Minister, José María Aznar, conveyed a message to the Israeli Prime Minister, Ehud Barak, from President Assad of Syria, where he held talks. "All I can tell you is that my impressions are very positive of an active will to achieve peace," Señor Aznar told reporters after meeting Mr Barak and President Weizman of Israel in Jerusalem. </P>

<P> Officials in Mr Barak's office told reporters that Mr Assad's message is that Syria is keen to restart negotiations. </P>

<P> Ahead of an expected resumption of talks, Señor Aznar said yesterday that Israel had asked for help in securing the return of the remains of a Mossad spy, Eli Cohen, hanged in Damascus in 1965. </P>

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<P>Washington Times

July 22, 1999

Pg. 15</P>

<P>Iraqi Oil Industry Rebounds</P>

<I><P>Trade lets nation boost production to prewar output</P>

</I><P>By Leon Barkho, Associated Press </P>

<P> NORTH RUMEILAH, Iraq - Iraq's oil industry, devastated by war and stifled by trade sanctions, is recovering, thanks to trade - however restricted - and infusions of chemicals and spare parts. </P>

<P> Within a year, confident oil officials say, Iraq will regain its pre-Persian Gulf war position as a key world crude producer. </P>

<P> The 1991 war over Kuwait wiped out 75 percent of Iraq's oil infrastructure. Since then, Iraq has clawed its way back to an official production rate of 2.65 million barrels per day. A return to full production - 3.5 million barrels - is possible in 2000, said Rafid Duboni, chairman of the state-owned South Oil Co. </P>

<P> The comeback began after December 1996, when the United Nations allowed some exceptions to its strict ban on trade with Iraq. </P>

<P> Under U.N. sanctions imposed to punish Iraq for its 1990 invasion of Kuwait, the world shuns oil deals and other business with the country. The 1996 exemptions let Iraq export \$5.2 billion worth of oil every six months, as long as the proceeds are used to meet Iraqi citizens' food, medical and other humanitarian needs. Special dispensation also has been given to buy oil industry materials. </P>

<P> Iraqi officials have complained that required U.N. approval of each deal has been slow, and blamed delays on the United States. But enough deals have come through to give industry officials their first chance in years to cheer. </P>

<P> Before 1996, Iraq had the funds for little more than patchwork repairs on facilities shattered by missiles. It had to shut down waterlogged wells because it couldn't import chemicals to absorb the water. It lacked the chlorine needed to maintain proper pressure for maximum pumping in functioning wells and the compounds used to separate oil from water. </P>

<P> Waterlogged wells were the main reason output was low in the Rumeilah fields, once the most productive in the country. </P>

<P> Mr. Duboni said Iraq has overcome that obstacle, adding that his company now has enough chemicals to boost pumping rates. </P>

<P> Two new water-treatment units are to reach Rumeilah, 350 miles south of Baghdad, next year. </P>

<P> By the end of 1999, the amount approved for chemicals and spare parts should reach \$1 billion. If deliveries continue uninterrupted, Mr. Duboni reckoned, 250,000 more barrels per day could be pumped by year's end, and another 500,000 in 2000. Iraq is currently pumping 1.55 million barrels from southern fields. </P>

<P> The total would reach 2.3 million, equaling southern production prior to the sanctions, Mr. Duboni said. Northern fields, he said, already are producing their prewar mark of 1.2 million barrels per day. </P>

<P> If it meets its 2000 production goals, Iraq would for the first time earn the entire \$5.2 billion it is allowed under the U.N. sanctions exemptions - provided that oil prices do not slide below \$15 a barrel. </P>

<P> Getting all the oil out could be difficult. Under U.N. rules, Iraq is allowed to use only its pipelines to the Turkish terminal of Ceyhan and Min a Al-Bakr on the Gulf. The lines have a combined capacity of about 2.4 million barrels per day, and spare parts to boost that have not yet come through, said Yassin Jayed, South Oil's communications officer. </P>

<P> Iraq is barred from using its pipeline to Saudi Arabia, which has a capacity of 1.6 million barrels per day. </P>

<P> Regardless of earnings, U.N.-imposed spending restrictions will remain: 30 percent of revenues must be used to compensate victims of Baghdad's invasion of Kuwait, 5 percent to pay for U.N. activities in Iraq, and the rest for Iraqi needs. </P>

<P> The first wells in the Rumeilah fields, which official estimates indicate hold 22 billion barrels of proven reserves, were drilled in the 1950s. Decades of excessive production may have inflicted more damage than allied bombings and recent neglect. </P>

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<P>Washington Times

July 23, 1999</P>

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

</U><P>Was It Bin Laden?</P>

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

<P> The United States Thursday closed its embassy in Chad because of a bomb threat. A search found nothing, and the embassy is expected to reopen July 23.

</P>

<P> However, the question remains: Was Osama bin Laden behind it?</P>

<P> State Department spokesman James P. Rubin refused to say. In fact, he insisted he had not implied that bin Laden was linked to the recent temporary closures of seven other U.S. embassies in Africa.</P>

<P> The United States suspects the Saudi dissident was the mastermind behind the bombings last year of the American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.</P>

<P> At Thursday's press briefing, a reporter asked, "Do you have any reason to link [the closure of the Chad embassy] to Osama bin Laden or anybody else?"</P>

<P> "Well, you know I don't normally do that. I wouldn't start now," Mr. Rubin replied, insisting he never names the suspected source of a threat to an American embassy.</P>

<P> Last month Mr. Rubin announced the reopening of several embassies in Africa and referred to suspected threats by bin Laden. Thursday he insisted that he never linked one to the other, even though he mentioned them in the same statement.</P>

<P> "I used my words very carefully," Mr. Rubin added. "What I said was that we had indications generally of Osama bin Laden's organization's willingness and desire to conduct actions against the United States or its interests.</P>

<P> "Generally. And then I indicated that in each of these [embassies], we had tactical information that justified closing it. Now, I made that point, but I did not link Osama bin Laden to one particular embassy threat."</P>

<P> He explained that if he were more specific, his words might tip off "the bad guys" to the extent of U.S. intelligence operations.</P>


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<P>London Times

July 23, 1999</P>

<P>Britain And Russia Exchange History To Heal The Rifts Of Past And Present </P>

<I><P>Cook doubles scholarships as diplomacy mends broken Moscow fences</P>

</I><P>By Michael Evans, Defence Editor</P>

<P> ROBIN COOK took steps yesterday to repair damaged relations with Russia over the Kosovo crisis by announcing new measures to improve co-operation with Moscow. </P>

<P> After meeting Igor Ivanov, his Russian counterpart, the Foreign Secretary said that he would be doubling the number of scholarships awarded to Russian students - from 13 to 26. He also said that a group of MPs would fly to Russia to meet their counterparts in the Duma. </P>

<P> Mr Ivanov, making the first visit to London by a prominent Russian official since the 11-week Kosovo conflict ended, also asked Mr Cook to visit Moscow and to address the Duma, an invitation that was accepted. Tony Blair may also visit Moscow next year. </P>

<P> Relations between Nato and Russia deteriorated during the Kosovo conflict to their lowest ebb since the Cold War after alliance aircraft mistakenly bombed the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade in May. Mr Ivanov, had been due to fly to Edinburgh for a weekend with Mr Cook, but cancelled the trip. </P>

<P> Contacts worsened when Russian troops took control of Pristina airport on June 11 - 24 hours before Nato's Kosovo Force entered the Yugoslav province to begin its peacekeeping mission. </P>

<P> In their talks yesterday, Mr Cook and Mr Ivanov agreed to speak on the telephone before any future international or bilateral meeting to discuss the agenda - and so try to avoid any risk of their adopting conflicting positions. </P>

<P> Mr Cook rejected any suggestion that the Kosovo crisis had "seriously" damaged relations between Britain and Russia. </P>

<P> "We are not talking about how much damage, but how we build relations in the future," he said. Mr Ivanov said that Moscow saw the urgent need to work with Western powers and organisations, not just in policing the peace in Kosovo, but in helping in the "stability pact" reconstruction effort being launched at a Sarajevo conference next week. </P>

<P> Mr Ivanov added that aid efforts should be directed to Serbia itself as it had been "50 per cent destroyed and faces a human catastrophe". The West has refused such help as long as President Milosevic remains in power. </P>

<P> In a Foreign Office report on human rights published yesterday, Mr Cook

said that President Milosevic's forces had "trampled on virtually all the articles of the universal declaration of human rights". </P>

<P> He added that Nato had not wanted conflict with Belgrade but the Yugoslav leader had shown that he was not interested in a peaceful settlement.</P>

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<P>Pacific Stars And Stripes

July 24, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Judge Dismisses Atsugi Noise Suit</P>

<P>By Richard Roesler and Mayumi Yamamoto, Stripes Tokyo Bureau</P>

<P> TOKYO In a setback to residents who say they're fighting for peace and quiet, Tokyo's High Court on Friday threw out a lawsuit seeking to halt night flights at Atsugi Naval Air Facility. The ruling also reduced some payments residents will receive from the Japanese national government as compensation for putting up with the engine noise.</P>

<P> Judge Sun Ewae read his decision before a packed courtroom filled with local residents anxiously awaiting his ruling. The lawsuit had been in the Japanese court system for nearly 15 years; Friday's ruling lasted five minutes.</P>

<P> The plaintiffs 156 local residents who live near the base were discouraged.</P>

<P> "We are very disappointed by the judgment of the Tokyo High Court," said Yoshiyuki Ikeda. "I believe in democratic countries, citizens are supposed to be the main people determining policy. But our country is not willing to help us at all."</P>

<P> A spokesman for U.S. Naval Forces in Japan said the command had no immediate reaction to the court ruling. For decades, U.S. military officials have maintained that they perform the minimum amount of aircraft training needed to stay proficient. At Atsugi, much of the criticism is due to night-landing practice before deployments aboard the aircraft carrier USS Kitty Hawk, based at nearby Yokosuka Naval Base. The Navy says more than 95 percent of the carrier air wings training is performed at the remote island of Iwo Jima.</P>

<P> In 1995, the Tokyo District Court ruled that the 156 plaintiffs were eligible for payments of about \$48-\$115 a month, depending on how severe the noise is in their homes. Ewaes ruling reduced those payments by about 10 percent across the board, and left 22 plaintiffs with no compensation whatsoever.</P>

<P> Hirushi Yamamoto, part of the plaintiffs legal team, said hes worried that the courts are attempting to discourage such lawsuits by reducing the payments for those who press their cases. There are more than 6,000 people suing the Japanese government over noise from Yokota Air Base, more than 5,000 Atsugi residents who filed suit two years ago, and residents near Kadena Air Base on Okinawa are also suing.</P>

<P> "Im going to coordinate our work with other lawyers working on similar cases at Yokota and Kadena (air bases), and were going to approach the U.S. government directly," Yamamoto said. He didnt elaborate.</P>

<P> Nobuyuki Murata, another plaintiff, said the suits, contrary to some critics claims, arent "backed by any political group," he said. "But our goal is to get rid of the base, not to get money."</P>

<P> The plaintiffs and their lawyers said theyre unsure whether theyll refuse.</P>

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<P>South China Morning Post

July 23, 1999

Planned Purchase Of Fighters Scrapped

By William Barnes in Bangkok

The Government and its military leadership have agreed to scrap a plan to purchase 50 second-hand German fighter planes.

Fears of a repeat of the fiasco following the acquisition of a Spanish aircraft carrier by the navy two years ago made the decision inevitable, military sources said.

The air force touted the deal as a cut-price way of boosting border defence capabilities at a time of spending cutbacks.

The 20-year-old Alpha fighter/trainers were said to be a bargain at one million baht (HK\$214,000) each.

But many air force officers felt the planes were past their sell-by date. The fighters have not flown for years and refurbishment might cost 50 to 60 million baht per plane.

"It was very easy to imagine most of the planes sitting on the ground waiting for parts. We didn't want to run that risk," said one officer.

The decision follows the embarrassment caused by the purchase of a Spanish aircraft carrier that the navy said was essential for Thailand's long-range defence capacity.

But a lack of spare parts has meant that only two of the carrier's nine Matador AV-8S Harrier jump jets, made in Britain around the time of the Falklands conflict, can fly at any one time.

The air force's claim that it was using its own internal funds to purchase the German planes is understood to have been rejected by Prime Minister Chuan Leekpai.

"No matter where the money comes from it is state money which ultimately belongs to the people," he told the military this week.

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<P>Washington Times

July 23, 1999</P>

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

</U><P>More Hope In Vietnam</P>

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

<P> The U.S. ambassador to Vietnam has added his voice to those hoping for a quick agreement on a trade pact between Washington and Hanoi.</P>

<P> "The potential for a trade agreement being signed sometime this week is good. It can be done," Ambassador Douglas "Pete" Peterson told reporters Thurs day in Vietnam.</P>

<P> Mr. Peterson was preparing for the arrival of Deputy U.S. Trade Represe ntative Richard Fisher for more talks with his Vietnamese counterpart.</P>

<P> He said Mr. Fisher and his negotiating team will "attempt to close thos e final gaps" between the two sides.</P>

<P> The United States is pressing the Communist Vietnamese government to op en its markets and provide protection for copyrights, patents and investments.< /P>

<P> Normal trade relations with Vietnam could boost Hanoi's exports to the United States by \$800 million in the first year of an agreement that would lowe r tariffs.</P>

<P> Vietnam exported \$470 million in goods to the United States last year.< /P>

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<P>San Francisco Examiner

July 22, 1999</P>

<P>Chinese Sabers Rattle Across Taiwan Strait</P>

<P>By Benjamin Kang Lim</P>

<P> Beijing -- In fury over Taiwan's declaration of independence, China is beating the drum of invasion threats, boasting about its possession of the neutron bomb and conducting mobilization drills in a mainland province facing the estranged island.</P>

<P> Western analysts doubt that China will do anything drastic, but Chinese analysts warn the islanders not to underestimate Beijing's resolve.</P>

<P> "The two sides of the (Taiwan) strait are at a very important crossroad to reunify or become independent, war or peace," said Zhou Zhihui, deputy director of the Institute of Taiwan Studies of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.</P>

<P> "The Taiwan issue is the most probable cause for a clash breaking out between the United States and a major power after the end of the Cold War," Zhou told Reuters in an interview.</P>

<P> Taiwan, frustrated at its diplomatic isolation, touched off the spat by junking the longstanding "One China" policy a mutually accepted formula that has prevented war and helped underpin East Asian security for decades. The policy offered comfort to Beijing that Taiwan was committed to reunion and not independence.</P>

<P> Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui now insists talks with Beijing should now be conducted on a state-to-state basis.</P>

<P> Western analysts said China was caught between hardliners who want to bully Taiwan into ending its bid to break out of diplomat isolation and its craving for international respect as an emerging superpower.</P>

<P> An Asian diplomat said China wanted to send the Taiwan stock market into a tailspin and may stop at that.</P>

<P> But no one is ruling out a repeat of 1995-96 war games which followed President Lee's private trip to the United States which Beijing saw as a move by Taipei to break out of its isolation. Washington sent two aircraft carrier battle groups to the area.</P>

<P> Zhou said Taiwan miscalculated if its leaders thought China's reaction to the about-face would be meek during the festive atmosphere that marks the 50th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic.</P>

<P> He interpreted Taiwan's move as an attempt - in the hope that the United States would back Taipei - to take advantage of the strained relationship between China and the United States following the NATO bombing of Beijing's embassy in Belgrade.</P>

<P> Washington repeated its commitment to a "One China" policy. But it has issued a strong warning to Beijing that U.S. forces would not stand aside if an invasion were launched.</P>

<P> Hong Kong's Ming Pao newspaper said the People's Liberation Army the world's biggest fighting machine with 2.5 million troops was planning to hold joint exercises involving China's army, navy and air force in the southeastern province of Fujian. Taiwan is off the coast of that province.</P>

<P> The Chinese-language Hong Kong Economic Times speculated that China might seize one of two Taiwan-held islets that are just offshore from the mainland.</P>

<P> Beijing is opposed to any move away from "One China," fearing it might lead to a formal split, as on the Korean peninsula, that would complicate reunification.</P>

<P> China, the victim of foreign aggression since the last century, is obsessed with unification fearing that if Taiwan declares independence, the restive provinces of Tibet, Xinjiang and Inner Mongolia could be next.</P>

<P> Taipei's unilateral redefinition of its relationship with Beijing is doomed to fail because Taiwan has no clout in the international arena, the Chinese analysts said.</P>

<P> Zhou said the policy change was limited to just "talk" now, but China would take further action if Taiwan moved to revise its laws and regulations to reflect the about-face.</P>

<P> Tian Yimin, a member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, a toothless advisory body to parliament, believed war was inevitable.</P>

<P> "Better an early war than a late war," Tian told Hong Kong's Beijing-backed Ta Kung Pao newspaper. "Better a huge war than a small war."</P>

<I><P>Benjamin Kang Lim wrote this commentary for Reuters news service.</P></I>

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New York Times

July 23, 1999

Wanted: American Physicists

By Alan Chodos

The most important lesson of the recent suspected Chinese spy case is not that we must guard against foreign nationals who are conspiring to infiltrate our national laboratories. Rather, it's that American scientific pre-eminence is at risk because there are so few good young American physicists and labs must fill their ranks instead with foreign-born scientists.

The golden age for physics in this country was the 1960's, when university budgets were ample and young people considered physics to be a challenging and worthwhile career. Today, even though American graduate schools still provide the world's best education in physics, the classes are half their former size and are filled mostly with foreign students.

Only 3,826 bachelor's degrees in physics were awarded in 1997 (the last year for which statistics are available), the lowest figure in 40 years. And half the entering graduate student class in 1998 was foreign, compared with 42 percent 10 years ago.

In Yale University's physics department, for example, this year's eight theoretical physics graduate students include a Russian, a Georgian (the former Soviet republic, not the state), two Indians, two Chinese and a Greek. And, oh yes, one American.

Any American undergraduate today who considers physics as a career soon realizes that after finishing five or six tough years of graduate work, he or she would be faced with a tight job market in which low salaries are the norm.

Many physics Ph.D.'s end up on Wall Street, where they do computer work and data analysis for much better pay than they would get as physicists. Others go into industrial labs at companies like Lucent or Exxon, where the scientific work often doesn't involve physics, or into lines of work that don't require any scientific training at all.

It is no wonder that a bright, technologically oriented undergraduate is likely to be seduced by the computer industry instead of the more intellectually challenging (and, some would say, more satisfying) but less economically se

cure choice of going on to graduate school in basic science. </P>

<P> Of course there will always be a few highly dedicated and talented individuals who will go into physics no matter what. But without additional incentives, there will not be enough American physicists to staff the universities and national laboratories where basic research is done. Although foreign physicists may make excellent scientists who can fill these openings, concerns over spying will make the national laboratories want to hire American-born physicists, a group that is continuing to shrink. </P>

<P> In the wake of the Cox report, there has been a lot of finger-pointing, mostly at the Departments of Energy and Justice and the White House. But Congress is at fault for the severe shortage of American physicists. It has cut the budget for basic research every year since the 1970's, and especially in the 1990's with the end of the cold war, sending a message to potential physicists. These people do not demand exorbitant salaries, but they do want a measure of job security and a reasonable assurance that years of specialized training will not be squandered. </P>

<P> We are still basking in the twilight of our investment in physics in the 1960's. It will take a long time before the damage done by years of inadequate budgets becomes evident to the general public. The current spy scandal is perhaps the first real indication of a serious weakness that can be cured only by a sharp reversal of the policy of diminished support for basic research. </P>

<P> Congress seems inclined to address the problem with calls for heads to roll and security to be tightened. Some of these measures are undoubtedly necessary, but we also need to approximately double the number of Americans who are being trained at the graduate level in the basic sciences. This can be done only by providing the resources to restore the image of the profession after years of erosion and neglect. One hopes that when the current frenzy of fear, loathing and political recrimination subsides, the serious work of rebuilding basic American science will begin.</P>

<I><P> Alan Chodos is a senior research physicist at Yale University.</P>></I>

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<P>Kansas City Star

July 23, 1999</P>

<P>NATO Should Be Praised For Providing European Stability</P>

<P>By David K. Garrison, Special to The Star</P>

<P> The NATO success in Kosovo has finally brought belated kudos to this organization.</P>

<P> While stationed at Ramstein Air Base, Germany, from 1983 to 1987, I was both an aircrew member flying the F-4 Phantom and a staff member at headquarters, U.S. Air Forces in Europe. I learned early that NATO was an entity that received very little credit for the good work it did. A conglomerate of 15 (sometimes 16) democratic nations, it sometimes had difficulty getting all members to agree on issues. Unlike the Warsaw Pact, no single nation could tell the others what to do. Plus, we had language barriers to overcome.</P>

<P> The initial and primary reason for NATO's existence was to thwart a conventional thrust by Warsaw Pact forces into the central region of Europe, an area we came to know as the "Fulda Gap." The fear was that the Warsaw Pact nations, with their huge numerical superiority in all classes of weaponry, especially tanks and aircraft, could rapidly push to the Rhein River, stop there, and start negotiating a truce.</P>

<P> The thinking of the Soviet military was that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization would not react immediately with a nuclear response for fear of homeland destruction and possible worldwide escalation.</P>

<P> That's where the French withdrawal from NATO actually aided NATO's cause. As a nuclear power, easily capable on its own of striking Soviet territory, France had made it clear after World War II that it would never surrender French soil again. And, since France was no longer a NATO member, the French could use nuclear weapons as early in a conflict as they saw fit.</P>

<P> That meant French nukes would be flying when the first Soviet set foot in West Germany. The Russians knew all this and it gave them headaches.</P>

<P> However, even without the French threat, NATO posed a continual problem for the Soviet "Fulda Gap" plan, which was later found to be an actual Russian military strategy, just waiting for the right moment to happen.</P>

<P> That moment never came. NATO won the "Fulda Gap" scenario and brought about the most stable European political climate in the continent's rocky history (although even today, Europe is pretty rocky politically) and without firing a shot. But NATO received little of the credit it deserved.</P>

<P> I believe the main reasons for the unheralded NATO success over the years have been 1) our European training, 2) the cohesiveness of the respective militaries of the NATO nations (unlike the civilian governments of those nations

-- and I'm including France here -- the militaries all got along just fine) and
3) the good old American taxpayers. We shall never know exactly how much suffering and destruction those American tax dollars have saved the world, but I'll guarantee that it was and is a bargain.</P>

<P> Now NATO has evolved into a different and even more powerful organization. We should start recognizing NATO as the "teeth" of the United Nations (and the U.N. needs "teeth"). I could never have imagined when I left Germany in 1987 that the Berlin Wall would be down, there would be one Germany (a member of NATO), and that several other former Warsaw Pact nations would now be NATO members.</P>

<P> I would like to see NATO invite Russia and other ex-Soviet "states" to join the conglomerate. In the meantime, I'm just happy to see NATO receive some of the congratulations and good words that have been long overdue.</P>

<I><P> Dave Garrison, a retired U.S. Air Force major, graduated from Southwest High School in 1969 and received a bachelor of science degree from the University of Missouri in 1974. Although he now lives in San Antonio, Garrison still considers himself a Kansas Citian.</P></I>

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<P>Boston Globe

July 22, 1999

Pg. 19</P>

<P>Fixing A Bad Deal With Russia</P>

<P>By Alan Kuperman</P>

<P> WASHINGTON--When Al Gore meets Russian Prime Minister Sergei Stepashin next week in Washington, the vice president will have an opportunity to rectify one of the biggest blunders of his tenure. At issue is an "arms control" agreement Gore negotiated with Stepashin's predecessor, Viktor Chernomyrdin, that

is actually opposed by Washington arms control groups on grounds it will increase risks of loose nukes.</P>

<P> While the upcoming minisummit may be intended to showcase Gore as presidential, he will demonstrate that quality only if he emerges with an improved nuclear deal.</P>

<P> The goal of the Gore-Chernomyrdin pact is worthy: to stop production of weapons-grade plutonium. Despite the end of the Cold War, three Russian nuclear reactors still produce such plutonium, one of two radioactive explosives that can be used to make atomic bombs, such as the one dropped on Nagasaki. The reactors, located in Siberia, cannot simply be shut down because they also generate steam for electricity and heat. The solution, agreed by all, is to modify the fuel in the reactors so that they cease producing such plutonium while continuing to generate energy.</P>

<P> The problem is Russia's disastrous choice of a new fuel - highly enriched uranium, or "HEU," the radioactive explosive used in the Hiroshima bomb. bizarrely, Moscow proposes to reduce the proliferation threat from one nuclear explosive by increasing that of the other.</P>

<P> This cure is worse than the illness. Over 10 years it would eliminate production of some 14 metric tons of bomb-grade plutonium but increase commerce in bomb-grade uranium by some 36 metric tons. Still worse, the bomb-grade uranium fuel would be fabricated, transported, and stored at Russian facilities that the US National Academy of Sciences recently warned are inadequate to prevent theft and diversion.</P>

<P> Minimum security upgrades are not due for completion until 2003, but Russia is scheduled to begin fabricating bomb-grade fuel in spring 2000 to convert the first reactor. Terrorists and rogue states would have their choice of vulnerable sites to target for the mere 50 pounds or so of such uranium needed to make a bomb.</P>

<P> The Russian plan also would undermine longstanding US nonproliferation efforts to reduce global commerce in bomb-grade uranium. Since 1978, such traffic has been slashed from about three metric tons annually to just a few hundred kilograms, en route to zero. Moscow's proposal would reverse these two decades of progress in a single blow, generating more such commerce than all other civilian reactors worldwide combined.</P>

<P> Fortunately, there is an alternate way to halt Russia's production of weapons plutonium without inadvertently raising proliferation risks. The reactors could be converted to low-enriched uranium or "LEU" fuel, which cannot be diverted to weapons. Similar fuel was used successfully many years ago in another Russian military production reactor, and Moscow's Ministry of Atomic Energy concluded last year that conversion of all three "reactor cores to LEU fuel is feasible" without any significant difference in the fuel-cycle cost of conversion. Final irradiation tests will be completed in 2001, delaying conversion by less than a year if at all.</P>

<P> Moscow, however, resists this safer alternative. Proudful, it denies there are any security failings at its facilities that necessitate such a change. Perhaps as important, Russian bureaucrats have ties to the company that would fa

bricate HEU fuel but not LEU.</P>

<P> Last year, a coalition of eight US arms-control groups urged Gore "to ensure that no further funds are disbursed that could in any way facilitate HEU core conversion."</P>

<P> Instead, the vice president acquiesced to Russia, agreeing to "HEU fuel for the initial cores." Trying to appease the arms control community, he pledged to "concurrently pursue the development" of the alternative LEU design. However, this promise is hollow. Once the United States converts the Russian reactors to run on bomb-grade uranium, Moscow will likely use its own stockpile of this proliferation-prone fuel in perpetuity, having no incentive to shut the reactors for a second conversion.</P>

<P> The simple fact is that Gore's subordinates originally negotiated bad terms, as some of them now admit privately. The vicepresident has been reluctant to pressure the Russians for better terms because he fears derailing one of his few major "accomplishments" in office, especially while running for president.</P>

<P> However, the vice president can and should use his ample economic leverage to insist that Moscow switch to the alternate, low-enriched fuel plan. Washington is paying virtually the entire \$300 million bill to upgrade and convert the Russian reactors. If Gore makes switching to LEU a condition of this aid, Moscow hardly can afford to say no. In the unlikely event it does, Gore should insist on no deal rather than one that increases proliferation risks.</P>

<P> <I> Alan Kuperman is a senior policy analyst for the Nuclear Control Institute. </P></I>

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<P>New York Times

July 22, 1999

Pg. B1</P>

<P>Public Price For The Loss Of A Kennedy </P>

<P>By John Tierney </P>

<P> Most Americans are probably glad that no expense was spared to find the plane of John F. Kennedy Jr. But many of them might also have a hard time justifying the government's extraordinary efforts in this case, which officially was nothing more than a relatively routine accident involving a private citizen. </P>

<P> One way to reconcile the public's conflicting sentiments would be for someone other than taxpayers to pay for the salvage operation. As it happens, there are some logical candidates in New York that have both the money and the moral obligation, although it would not be easy getting them to pay the bill. </P>

<P> The cost has been an awkward issue since the search effort began over the weekend with egalitarian pronouncements. "We treat all searches the same -- there's no difference between a celebrity and a noncelebrity," said Lieut. Col. Steve Roark, the director of the Air Force National Search and Rescue School. </P>

<P> That became harder to believe as the White House got involved and the operation expanded to include hundreds of people from the Coast Guard, the Air Force, the Navy, the National Guard, the United States Customs Service, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration and other agencies. </P>

<P> They used a search jet, helicopters, two cargo planes, 15 small planes and dozens of boats, including ones equipped with side-scanning sonar. After two days, when there was no hope of finding survivors, the search continued until the wreckage was found. </P>

<P> How does that compare with a noncelebrity search? Consider the case of Lyle C. Davis, an investment manager in Boston, who was flying his Cessna over Delaware Bay on April 4 last year when his engine failed. He radioed for help and then disappeared into the water near Cape May, N.J. </P>

<P> "The Coast Guard began searching as soon as he disappeared Saturday evening," recalled Reese Dill, a close friend of Mr. Davis's who lives in Weston, Mass. "There were a couple of boats, at least one helicopter, a cargo plane and some planes." The search continued for a day, until Sunday night, when it was called off because there was no longer any hope of finding the pilot alive in the frigid waters. </P>

<P> "The Coast Guard told me there was nothing more they could do," Mr. Dill said, "because their mission was to find survivors, not find wreckage. I told them we needed to keep looking to resolve things. They said we'd have to do it ourselves." </P>

<P> WITH the pilot's family footing the \$4,000-a-day bill, Mr. Dill arranged for the search to continue by renting a boat and hiring an oceanographer with a side-scanning sonar unit to hunt below the surface. After two fruitless weeks, the search was given up. </P>

<P> "We could have used the kind of help the government provided to the Kennedys," Mr. Dill said. "But I guess there are a fair amount of planes lost, and the government can't afford to go all out for every one. Obviously, they paid more attention to the high-profile case." </P>

<P> President Clinton said yesterday that the government's efforts were justified because of the "enormous losses" sustained by the Kennedy family. But such special treatment would never be accorded to the many others whose relatives died in public service, such as the children of soldiers and police officers. </P>

<P> It might also be argued that the government has a special obligation simply because Mr. Kennedy is so famous that the public demands a resolution to the case. But a country founded on the equality of all men can't very well set up a special classification for celebrities. Aside from the legal and moral objections, there is a practical problem: how could bureaucrats decide who is a celebrity? </P>

<P> That's a job best left to the professionals who made Mr. Kennedy famous and are now covering every detail of his demise. The nation's media executives know precisely who deserves special treatment in death: whoever sells copies and increases ratings. This week, once again, the press is demonstrating that Mr. Kennedy sells. </P>

<P> So perhaps the news media could reimburse the government for the rescue-and-recovery bill. New York's publishers and broadcasters can certainly afford to pay a portion of the profits they have made off Mr. Kennedy this week, not to mention the last 38 years. Considering everything they did to Mr. Kennedy during his life, paying this bill is the least they can do. </P>

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<P>New Republic

August 2, 1999

Biohazard

Assessing the bioterrorism threat.

By W. Seth Carus

On July 14, a bipartisan commission headed by former CIA Director John Deutch will release its report on the readiness of the United States to deal with weapons of mass destruction. While the Deutch commission expresses concerns about loose Russian nukes and Chinese missile exports, it's also alarmed by the prospect of terrorists armed with biological weapons. Among the commission's nightmarish scenarios is an anthrax attack on a crowded subway system that sends 6,000 people to the hospital. "These events have not taken place," the panel intones, "but they could."

The Deutch commission is the latest example of how nervous Washington has become about bioterrorism. Senior Clinton administration officials are convinced that bioterrorism poses an imminent and serious, perhaps cataclysmic, danger. Their budget reflects that conviction: the fiscal year 2000 budget proposal includes \$1.4 billion for both chemical and biological terrorism responses, double the 1999 spending levels. This includes the Department of Health and Human Services's Bioterrorism Initiative, whose budget ballooned from \$14 million in fiscal year 1995 to \$158 million this year; and the fiscal year 2000 budget calls for \$230 million. In addition, the FBI, the Federal Emergency Management Agency, and the Departments of Agriculture, Defense, Energy, and Justice have smaller initiatives.

To be sure, just because terrorists haven't had much interest in, or success with, biological weapons in the past doesn't mean they won't use them in the future. Reports of varying quality suggest that Osama Bin Ladin, the Islamic Jihad, and the Kurdish PKK have shown some interest in bioterrorism during the past few years. Similarly, some domestic terrorist groups have also reportedly demonstrated an interest. But, with rare exceptions--such as the two men belonging to the Minnesota Patriots Council who, in 1995, were found guilty of producing the ricin toxin as part of a plot to kill government officials--there is no compelling evidence that any of these groups, foreign or domestic, have actually acquired biological agents or even know how to use them. Indeed, the evidence suggests that terrorists are unlikely to acquire biological weapons unless they get them from a state sponsor.

The only surefire bioterrorism threat assessments we do have are, for the most part, about the now-ubiquitous anthrax hoaxes. Since March 1998, there have been more than 150 publicly reported incidents of someone falsely claiming that a victim had been exposed to anthrax. A wide array of hoax perpetrators have discovered that, for the price of a first-class stamp or a call from a pay phone, they can generate considerable fear and confusion. Anti-abortion activists have disrupted dozens of abortion clinics in this way; and, apparently in retaliation, anti-abortion demonstrators themselves have been victims of similar hoaxes. Students, some as young as twelve, have sent anthrax threats to their schools. One man interrupted his bankruptcy proceeding by telephoning in an anthrax threat; another man tried the same ploy to get out of work early.

<P> So, if it's impossible to accurately gauge the bioterrorism threat, why is the U.S. government so worried? One major reason is that the scenarios generated by security analysts to illustrate the potential dangers of biological agents are so scary. The only problem is that, since there's so little empirical data about bioterrorism, the scenarios are necessarily works of fiction; scenario writers, limited only by their imaginations, are free to dream up almost any kind of threat. Thus, even a mildly creative analyst can dream up threats that overwhelm any reasonable set of response capabilities. Yet, such scenarios provide little insight into the types of agents that might be used or how they would be used, because they are not based on a factual understanding of terrorist motivations or capabilities. Rather, they reflect the biases of the scenario writer.</P>

<P> But the government's fear of bioterrorism isn't completely unfounded. Even if we don't know much about the terrorists, there is a large and authoritative body of knowledge about the use and effects of biological agents---and it is scary. This technical data, much of it obtained prior to the cancellation of the U.S. offensive biological program in 1969, demonstrates that it's possible to place large populations at risk by releasing appropriately prepared pathogens into the air. Even relatively small quantities of biological agents can have catastrophic results: a panel of World Health Organization experts calculated that 50 kilograms of anthrax released over a city of half a million people would kill 95,000 and incapacitate another 125,000. Some experts believe that, pound for pound, biological weapons are potentially more lethal than thermonuclear warheads.</P>

<P> Despite the Biological Weapons Convention prohibition on possession of biological weapons, the U.S. intelligence community apparently believes that at least a dozen countries may have offensive biological weapons programs. Among those countries are two of the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council--China and Russia--and all six countries on the State Department's list of state supporters of terrorism--Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, Sudan, and Syria. Significantly, Iran, Iraq, and North Korea are the three countries most likely to confront the United States militarily. While there's no current evidence that any of these countries has given biological weapons to any terrorist group, it's not difficult to imagine circumstances in which such a transfer could happen.</P>

<P> Moreover, the absence of evidence regarding terrorists' capabilities to employ biological agents is not necessarily comforting. Collecting intelligence on biological weapons programs--even on state programs--is extremely difficult. For instance, the intelligence community knew nothing of Aum Shinrikyo's efforts to develop and use biological agents until after the Tokyo sarin attacks. The first indication of terrorist possession of biological warfare capabilities may only come when those capabilities are used. </P>

<P> IN THE ABSENCE of credible threat assessments, there is no way to quantify the seriousness of the threat or to calculate the resources needed to respond. Nor is it possible to predict with confidence which specific biological agents terrorists might adopt, how they might employ them, or where the potential targets might be located. This makes it difficult to properly allocate resources and suggests caution in developing responses.</P>

<P> Therefore, the focus of our bioterrorism response policy ought to be on

programs that make sense even if the nation never experiences a single bioterrorism attack. One such program is the Center for Disease Control's (CDC) Epidemic Intelligence Service (EIS), which investigates unusual disease outbreaks. It was created in the early 1950s specifically because of concerns that foreign powers might use biological weapons against the United States. The CDC has sent EIS officers to investigate thousands of disease outbreaks, and, although the EIS has never identified a foreign biowarfare attack on the United States, most public health experts believe the service is a valuable and cost-effective part of the nation's public health infrastructure. </P>

<P> FROM THIS PERSPECTIVE, many aspects of the Clinton administration's plans are quite sensible. The first indication of a bioterrorism attack is likely to be the appearance of sick people, which justifies efforts to improve the nation's disease-surveillance systems to detect and then respond promptly to outbreaks. Public health laboratories need to be upgraded, both to identify biological agents and to ensure that results are quickly circulated. Considering that the nation's public health infrastructure has been woefully underfunded for decades, these initiatives would make considerable sense, even if there were no bioterrorism threat.</P>

<P> Other activities that the administration wants to fund are so small, and the potential scientific benefits so large, that the expenditure is justified. Thus, spending \$24 million for the National Institutes of Health to research likely threat agents and develop new treatments for them makes considerable sense. Providing training and equipment to the country's largest cities as part of the National Domestic Preparedness program is also good policy. Even if no terrorist attacks occur, the training will enhance local capabilities to respond to hazardous materials incidents.</P>

<P> Unfortunately, some programs the administration wants to fund will provide tangible benefits only if a terrorist actually uses a biological agent, and, thus, they require more scrutiny. This is true for devices designed to provide rapid detection and identification of biological agents in the field. The medical stockpile program, through which the CDC will create reserves of antibiotics and certain vaccines, is more problematic. Although the CDC is finding ways to reduce the cost of stocking antibiotics, the vaccines are extremely costly and could be useless. In the absence of adequate threat assessments, it's impossible to know what types of agents terrorists might use; a stockpile of anthrax and smallpox vaccines won't do much good against tularemia or Marburg.</P>

<P> In the final analysis, there is a compelling need to enhance the nation's ability to contend with the possibility of biological terrorism. The threat, however, is less compelling and not as imminent as often claimed. And the threat is most likely to originate from a foreign government's bioweapons program. Given these uncertainties, we have almost no ability to predict the character of a bioterrorism attack. Therefore, greater effort needs to be made to justify spending on bioterrorism responses to ensure that the resources are spent wisely. </P>

<P> <I>W. SETH CARUS is a senior research professor at the National Defense University. The views expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the official policy or positions of the Department of Defense or the U.S. government.</P></I>

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<P>Wilson Quarterly

Summer 1999

Pg. 72</P>

<P>The Enigma Of The North</P>

<P>By Robert A. Manning</P>

<P> It is early March 2000. Tensions have steadily escalated since mid-November, when stories leaked to the American news media hinted at the existence of yet another North Korean secret nuclear weapons facility and suggested that Pyongyang was deploying Taepo-dong missiles capable of reaching Hawaii and Alaska. President Bill Clinton sends retired general Colin Powell and former senator Sam Nunn as special emissaries to Pyongyang, but the talks stall. Food aid from the United States, Japan, and South Korea is halted. Reports of still-mounting famine filter out as many private aid groups withdraw from North Korea, fearing that food is being misdirected to the military and the Communist Party. The rhetoric intensifies. North Korean leaders charge that food is being used as a weapon. The United States demands that Pyongyang abandon its covert nuclear weapons program. North Korea delivers a bombastic reply.</P>

<P> Finally, a desperate North Korea unleashes a round of artillery and Scud missile fire onto the outskirts of Seoul and sends special operations brigades through tunnels under the demilitarized zone (DMZ) separating North and South. As the 37,000 U.S. troops in South Korea brace for war, the Pentagon places all U.S. forces around the world on alert. Then Pyongyang issues an ultimatum: "We have nuclear missiles, ready to launch on warning, targeting Tokyo and U.S. bases in Okinawa. We seek to discuss the terms of unification with Seoul. If the United States or Japan intervenes in this internal Korean matter, we will level Tokyo and the U.S. installations in Okinawa."</P>

<P> It may sound like a Tom Clancy thriller, but such a crisis is, unfortunately, not just the stuff of paperback fantasies. Five summers after a politica

A crisis over Pyongyang's nuclear weapons program brought the United States and North Korea to the brink of war, the nightmare Korean "implosion-explosion" scenario--a North Korean internal collapse leading to a desperate act of war--against which U.S. military forces have spent endless hours planning remains entirely in the realm of the possible.

Indeed, an August 1998 New York Times report about the existence of a suspected secret nuclear bomb-making facility under a North Korean mountain and Pyongyang's unexpected firing of a three-stage missile over Japan at the end of that month underscore a troubling possibility: North Korea may have managed to build not only one or two nuclear devices but also new means to deliver them against distant targets. This, despite an October 1994 nuclear deal dubbed the Agreed Framework, in which North Korea agreed to freeze its known nuclear weapons program in exchange for a variety of blandishments from the United States, Japan, and South Korea. The payoff included two light water nuclear power reactors for generating electricity (engineered to prevent the creation of materials useful in making weapons), 500,000 tons of heavy fuel oil annually, security assurances, and the promise of improved relations with the United States.

Today's Korea question is part Cold War legacy, part 21st-century nuclear proliferation challenge. Together, these two problems make Korea arguably the world's most dangerous flashpoint, and inarguably one of the most vexing and consequential foreign policy issues confronting American diplomacy. The Korea question has been made still more perplexing by the powerful humanitarian concerns about the famine and food shortages that have left a million or more North Koreans dead and an entire generation of children malnourished. To understand the special combustibility of the situation, one need look no further than geography: the outskirts of greater metropolitan Seoul and its 14 million people (not to mention some 90,000 Americans) are barely 25 miles from the DMZ. Even without nuclear weapons, North Korea's Scud missiles, 11,000 long-range artillery tubes, and some 600,000 forward-deployed troops could enable Pyongyang to realize its 1994 threat to turn Seoul into a "sea of fire."

It was precisely to avoid such apocalyptic outcomes and to move North Korea to a trajectory of peace and reconciliation that the 1994 accord--touted by the Clinton administration as one of its great diplomatic successes--was reached. In 1995, then-secretary of state Warren Christopher boasted that "this administration has ended [the nuclear threat]." The agreement, made possible after former president Jimmy Carter's freelance diplomacy persuaded "Great Leader" Kim Il Sung to freeze his nuclear weapons program, was certainly a watershed event. After a four-decade standoff, it was the first American deal ever with the strangest, most closed, anachronistically Orwellian society on earth.

The deal went beyond nuclear nonproliferation. It was in essence a quid pro quo: Pyongyang would trade its ultimate insurance policy, its nuclear weapons program, for a new economic and political engagement with the United States, South Korea, and Japan. At a minimum, the aid would provide a kind of life support system for the North. Like Nixon when he went to China, Kim Il Sung--who had skillfully played his Chinese and Soviet allies against each other for several decades--launched a strategic gambit aimed at turning an adversary into an asset. Kim saw the agreement as a route to more economic aid, trade, and investment that would eventually revive North Korea's moribund economy.

The United States and its allies were relieved to avert a showdown, and

also saw the possibility of an eventual North Korean "soft landing," which would ease the economic crisis and promote the North's economic and diplomatic opening to the world. Over the long term, the process could lead to gradual reunification of the two Koreas. At a minimum, the accord would buy time, which, "from a Machiavellian perspective," as Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Stanley Roth explained, "is in our national interest." It was also possible that the regime might collapse as its counterparts had in Eastern Europe, due to a severely weakened military. In the administration, this "collapse theory"--the notion that the North Korean problem would go away relatively quietly--was for a time very much in vogue.</P>

<P> The reality has proven infinitely more complex than most people imagined. Compared with those from five or 10 years ago, satellite photos taken today literally show the lights going out in North Korea. The economy has nearly ground to a halt. The country has suffered a catastrophic annual grain shortage of about 1.5 million tons--roughly a third of consumption--since 1995. Yet the regime of Kim Jong Il, son of the "Great Leader," who died in 1994, has not collapsed, or even exhibited any telltale signs of major instability. Five years after the agreement, North Korea has not opened up significantly to the world, apart from extending its tin cup; has not substantially reformed its economy; and has used what dwindling resources it has to develop two new generations of ballistic missiles. Meanwhile, it has become the largest recipient of U.S. aid in Asia (mostly food aid), even as an economic embargo against it dating from the end of the Korean War remains in effect. While the Agreed Framework halted the overt nuclear weapons program, peace on the Korean peninsula has grown no less precarious. The administration failed to build a cohesive policy framework on the foundation of the nuclear deal. Instead, the nuclear deal became the centerpiece of a fragmented policy.</P>

<P> During an April 1997 press conference, President Clinton offered a rare view of the underlying logic of U.S. policy:</P>

<I><P> [The North Koreans] are better off having agreed to freeze their nuclear program And I think they ought to go the next step now and resolve all their differences with South Korea in a way that will permit the rest of us not only to give food aid, because people are terribly hungry, but to work with them in restructuring their entire economy and helping to make it more functional again . . . they need to lift the burden of a system that is failing.</P>

</I><P> This statement illuminates virtually all of the questionable assumptions of U.S. policy toward North Korea. It remains unclear, for example, whether Pyongyang has actually taken that first step of completely abandoning its nuclear weapons program. Former defense secretary William Perry, whom Clinton chose to conduct a congressionally mandated review of Korea policy, has said he suspects North Korea may be continuing its nuclear efforts covertly. (The nuclear crisis of 1994 occurred after International Atomic Energy Agency inspectors found suspicious irregularities in spent fuel from North Korea's nuclear reactors; under the Agreed Framework, North Korea is not required to reveal more about its nuclear past for another three or four years.)</P>

<P> Perhaps the most disturbing possibility of the past five years is that it is North Korea that has actually been buying time. The death of North Korean founder Kim Il Sung only weeks after Carter's 1994 visit left his son and successor, Kim Jong Il, in need of time to consolidate the Leninist family dynasty.

Time has also allowed Pyongyang to develop new longer-range ballistic missiles, and thus the capacity for nuclear blackmail. And time allowed the international community to mobilize significant amounts of humanitarian aid--which North Korea's communist leaders have claimed credit at home for procuring (even going so far, for example, as to remove country-of-origin markings from bags of rice).

At the same time, Pyongyang has consistently rebuffed generous overtures by South Korean president Kim Dae Jung for high-level political reconciliation talks, apparently for fear of undermining its own legitimacy. The Pyongyang regime is communist, but much of its claim to legitimacy rests on its self-proclaimed role as Korea's heroic bastion of resistance against colonial powers--first Japan, then, since 1945, the United States. Like East Germany without communism, the North Korean state without its nationalist mythology would have precious little *raison d'etre*.

Herein lies the fundamental dilemma facing North Korea: every path to salvation is fraught with extreme risk. The same fear of undermining itself prevents the government from pursuing market-oriented economic reforms, even though China and Vietnam have done so. After nine straight years of economic contraction, an economy that former senior White House economist Marcus Noland describes as "the most distorted in the world" has all but ceased to function. It has survived through the kindness of strangers, particularly China (a provider of food and fuel) and the United States, and by profiting from a variety of dubious or plainly illicit schemes. Pyongyang has acquired hard currency by counterfeiting U.S. hundred dollar bills, selling its people's labor in the Russian Far East, smuggling methamphetamines, selling overflight rights to its airspace, and, not least, by selling Scuds and other ballistic missiles to Pakistan, Iran, and other Middle East countries. The North Korean economy is widely misunderstood. The problem is not that it is failing and will collapse. As a functioning national economy, it has already collapsed. What factories have not been dismantled and sold for scrap iron at the Chinese border now operate at roughly 20 percent of capacity--except for those devoted to military production, which operate at 50 percent of capacity, according to the South Korean Defense Ministry.

Lately there have been hints that North Korea may be moving haltingly toward some very modest reforms. Faced with the breakdown of its national food distribution system, the regime has accepted the existence of the farmers' markets that have sprung up spontaneously during the current crisis, and it is encouraging North Koreans to raise goats and rabbits. It is also working with South Korean corporations to secure investments in North Korean factories. Recent reports suggest the North Korean economy may have bottomed out and begun to improve modestly. Food production is up 11 percent over last year, according to South Korean estimates. But Pyongyang has not gone very far. Even the kinds of limited market-oriented reforms that Vietnam and China long ago implemented as first steps are still far beyond anything Pyongyang has pursued. A recent commentary by the official North Korean news agency declared that notions like "reform" and "opening" are a "Trojan Horse" of capitalism.

Even without reform, North Korea may continue to muddle through indefinitely. But it is on a trajectory toward oblivion. This creates the ultimate policy dilemma for the United States and its South Korean and Japanese allies. If North Korea is unwilling or unable to open up and reform its economy, it will b

e severely limited in its ability to usefully absorb the kind of investment and aid required to restart its economy. And if Pyongyang cannot digest such "carrots," how can one put in place an incentive structure likely to persuade North Korea that its least bad choice is to reduce tensions and pursue a future of reform and reconciliation?

This puzzle may help explain why, amid all the discussion of "soft" and "hard" North Korean landings in recent years, the pattern of diplomacy has been one of no landing, of muddling through. In pursuing their ends, the North Koreans have made skillful use not only of military threats but of their own famine. They have rejected many overtures, such as the initial U.S. call in 1996 for talks on a peace treaty to supersede the armistice that ended the Korean War, only to consent when food was put on the table. The American desire to have a process, however empty of substance, has led to a diplomacy of "food for meetings."

The Clinton administration has responded to each United Nations appeal for help over the past three years, officially for humanitarian reasons, but in reality, using food as a bribe to get North Korea to attend meetings in order to create the impression that diplomacy is working. Assistant Secretary Roth told reporters in 1997 that there is a "security dimension" to putting Pyongyang on "life support": "If there is no international relief effort North Korea could approach a situation of desperation. If you have 22 percent of our population either starving or on the verge of starvation [w]ho knows what actions [you] might take... ?"

But such "feed me or I'll kill you" logic is flawed in several respects. Apart from underestimating the power of the U.S. military threat to deter even a "desperate" North, it naively assumes a connection between human misery and the regime's political stability. But Stalin's starving millions in the Ukraine during the 1930s and Mao Zedong's during China's Great Leap Forward in the 1950s serve as a reminder that under totalitarian regimes there is no necessary relation between the two. Indeed, if one assumes that scarce food is unlikely to go to those least favored by the regime, it might be argued that the food crisis may bolster Pyongyang by starting its potential domestic enemies.

In any case, the United States has fallen into the trap of rewarding bad behavior. Frustrated by Washington's unwillingness to lift sanctions and take other steps outlined in the Agreed Framework, the North Koreans have resorted to provocative actions. The process has all the qualities of a vicious circle: Pyongyang does something outrageous (such as sending troops into the DMZ or sabotaging submarine-laden submarines into South Korean waters) to command attention and a payoff, but each act triggers a reaction in Congress, making it that much more difficult for the Clinton administration to deliver what North Korea wants. Contrary to conventional wisdom, North Korea is neither crazy nor unpredictable. Once its logic of bluster and brinkmanship is understood, its behavior appears quite predictable.

This diplomacy of negative reinforcement has reached a new apogee in the past year. Last summer, even as U.S. diplomats were at the United Nations speaking about Pyongyang's suspected nuclear site, North Korea, as part of its 50th anniversary celebrations on August 31, sent a three-stage missile soaring over Japan. (The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency later determined that it was a failed satellite launch.) Pyongyang then consented to further negotiations about

the suspected site, and the Clinton administration announced it would send the North 300,000 tons of food aid. After several rounds of talks, North Korea agreed to an inspection. Soon thereafter, Washington announced it would ship another 600,000 tons of food. Only in late May did a U.S. team visit the construction site, with ambiguous results.</P>

<P> The suspected site and the missile launch--and the administration's response--combined to push an already deeply skeptical Congress over the edge. Last October, Congress passed legislation that attached conditions for future funding of the 1994 Agreed Framework, and required a review of the policy led by a prominent figure outside the administration. The White House drafted former defense secretary Perry for the task.</P>

<P> The results so far are mildly encouraging. After meeting with members of Congress and with others in Washington, South Korea, Japan, and China, Perry has concluded that some adjustments are in order and has begun a new phase of diplomacy. He was warmly received in late May when he went to North Korea, speaking directly with top leaders (though not the reclusive Kim Jong Il), instead of dealing with midlevel bureaucrats, as has been the pattern in past U.S.-North Korean dealings. Moreover, the Clinton administration seems to be taking to heart its critics' concerns and is seeking some final commitments from Pyongyang about its missile program if cooperation is to continue. The revised policy that Perry explored in North Korea seeks a comprehensive approach, more fully coordinated with South Korea and Japan. If it means a willingness to link expanded benefits to reciprocal behavior--to results rather than mere process--it is an important step in the right direction.</P>

<P> But have we fully learned the lessons of nine years of active diplomacy with North Korea? Pyongyang's goal clearly is to survive while taking the least possible risk of undermining itself at home. It is capable of making and implementing deals, though willing to push others to the brink to test limits. Nobody should need to be reminded that rewarding bad behavior begets more bad behavior. There is something odd about a decrepit, failing state managing to place the world's sole superpower in the role of demandeur. It is possible because Pyongyang has been strategically clear about its objectives, while the United States and its allies have been fuzzy and inconsistent if our goal is to bring the North Koreans into the international community, for example, why do we still have Cold War trade sanctions against them? The Perry review also suggests that it would make for a more cohesive and disciplined policy to have a senior figure as a North Korea "point person" in Washington. That policy must be based on the principle of reciprocity, with a series of benefits tied to a series of actions.</P>

<P> A larger framework, structured as a "roadmap" with which to resolve all security issues--ballistic missiles, chemical and biological weapons (which the North Koreans may possess), conventional forces, forward deployments--would offer the best prospect of success. But that would require putting a larger package of economic inducements on the table. At the same time, the United States must be willing to break off if minimum goals are not met. That might mean living with one or two North Korean nuclear weapons--but we have been living with the distinct possibility that such weapons already exist for several years. As long as Kim Jong Il is bent on survival rather than suicide, the weapons will be of secondary value. The United States will still have diplomatic leverage.</P>

<P> It is easy--and understandable--to call for pre-emptive strikes against North Korea's suspected nuclear sites and for attempts to get rid of Kim's horrific regime. But such strikes would put the lives of tens of thousands of Americans and South Koreans at immediate risk. Moreover, obtaining precise intelligence about targets and ensuring that deep penetrating warheads actually destroy them are both difficult exercises, with no guarantees of success. Even for an administration with a clear sense of strategy, the divided Korean peninsula would pose a most un-American predicament: a problem with no good solution, only least bad choices. The most that can be asked of public policy is that it test North Korean intentions. Pyongyang must be given a clear choice: a future of cooperation or one of disengagement and confrontation.</P>

<P> If Pyongyang chooses to seek survival with nothing more than changes at the margins, it will set a course toward suicide, either by implosion and collapse or by explosion. In the end, a failing state cannot be saved from itself. Under such circumstances, even the best conceived and best-executed policy may not produce a peaceful outcome. The unthinkable may be unavoidable. That is why it is necessary to exhaust all reasonable diplomatic options before drawing that horrendous conclusion.</P>

<I><P> ROBERT A. MANNING, a former State Department adviser for policy (1989-93), is C. V. Starr Senior Fellow and director of Asian studies at the Council on Foreign Relations.</P></I>

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<P>Washington Times

July 23, 1999</P>

<P>Red Carpet For Red China</P>

<P> Sorry, but no matter how miffed the White House may be that Lee Teng-hui, president of the Republic of China on Taiwan, had the audacity to speak his mind about Taiwan's relation's with mainland China without asking Washington's permission first, there is no justification for the public spanking

now being meted out by President Clinton. Why you would almost think that it was the Taiwanese who had been stealing our nuclear secrets. In his eagerness to get back into the good graces of Beijing's Communist rulers, Mr. Clinton has gone overboard and is undermining the security of an old and faithful friend.</P>

<P> It will be recalled that last week, Mr. Lee in an interview with German radio said that he believed that China and Taiwan ought to deal with one another on a "state-to-state" basis. Beijing, which is ever suspicious of any move by Taiwan to assert formal independence and breach the "One China" principle reacted with sound and fury, denouncing Taiwan's "splittist" plots. Within days, Mr. Lee backed down and asserted that Taiwan's policy vis-à-vis the mainland had not changed. Evidently this was not good enough for Beijing, to whose demands the Clinton administration is now responding.</P>

<P> During Wednesday's news conference, Mr. Clinton confirmed what had been reported by this newspaper, that a high-level Pentagon delegation set to depart for Taipei to discuss armament sales had been put on ice. "I didn't think this was the best time to do something that might excite either one side or the other and imply that a military solution is an acceptable alternative. If you really think about what's at stake here, it would be unthinkable," Mr. Clinton said.</P>

<P> What double-talk. Is Mr. Clinton seriously arguing that both sides are equally likely to attack each other? The poisonous principle of moral equivalence is surely at work here. Taiwan is not likely to launch an invasion of the mainland, U.S. delegation or not. An invasion by Red China of Taiwan, however, remains the nightmare scenario that the island's 21 million people fear most of all. Moreover, there actually is a military solution which has been keeping Taiwan free since 1949, and that is called deterrence. A strong defense is the best guarantor of peace, and that involves a solid U.S. commitment to Taiwan's security.</P>

<P> Therefore, when Sen. Jesse Helms, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, this week accused the Clinton administration of "appeasement" towards Beijing, he hit the mark. So did House International Relations Committee Chairman Ben Gilman when he vowed to fight for the delivery of surveillance aircraft and spare parts for Taiwan's F-16 fighter jets. To cut it off would be the same as rolling out the welcome mat for China's People's Liberation Army.</P>

<P> Ever since Mr. Clinton last year let himself be talked into denouncing Taiwanese independence during his stay in Shanghai, the Taiwanese have felt nervous, betrayed and uncertain about the future. That may have had something to do with Mr. Lee's gambit, which was maybe a little undiplomatic, but certainly not the capital offense it is being treated as. Contrary to the course pursued by the White House, it is the Taiwanese who need to be reassured. Real trouble will surely arise if Beijing, too, starts to doubt America's commitment to Taiwan's safety.</P>

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Long Island Newsday

July 22, 1999

Pg. 44

Congress Should Kill Plan To Buy Untested F-22

How often does Congress have enough gumption to halt production of a major new weapon-even when it's unnecessary, as well as far too expensive? About as often as the Gulf of Mexico freezes over.

But such an opportunity will arise in the House today, and members should seize it enthusiastically. They should back the Appropriations Committee's recommendation to knock out \$1.8 billion in procurement funds for the Pentagon's next-generation fighter plane, the F-22 Raptor. And then House members should stand fast when the bill goes to conference with the Senate, which has voted to fund six new Raptors.

The Air Force argues that the F-22 will be needed one day to replace the F-15, its current top-of-the-line fighter. But as U.S. pilots demonstrated again and again over Iraq and Kosovo, there's nothing in the air now that can match the F-15, and no potential enemy has anything better on the drawing board, much less in production. And the Air Force has more urgent needs than starting up a production line for an unproven fighter that's likely to end up costing \$200 million a pop for 339 copies.

The F-22 might not have lasted this long in Congress if Lockheed Martin hadn't chosen to build it in the Georgia stamping grounds of ex-Speaker Newt Gingrich and former Senate Armed Services Chairman Sam Nunn. Now that they're gone, the plane looks less essential, especially since the House bill would funnel some of the deleted F-22 funding to build KC-135 tanker planes at the same Georgia plant-planes that would have been very useful in operations over Kosovo.

The House bill wouldn't kill F-22 development; nine planes already on order would still be built. Instead it would institute a "production pause" that would allow the Air Force to proceed with required testing, which is now only 5 percent complete. Congress should not fund procurement of a plane whose most ad

vanced features have yet to be tested at all.</P>

<P> U.S. air superiority wouldn't be endangered by cutting the F-22. In advanced fighters we already hold a 5-1 advantage over our "most challenging" adversaries, and the Joint Strike Fighter, similar in capability to the F-22 but much less expensive, will come on line in the next decade. Better to spend money upgrading F-15s and keeping pilots in the Air Force than buying overpriced, under tested F-22s. </P>

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<P>Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel

July 22, 1999</P>

<P>Let F-22 Remain Grounded</P>

<P> There is a limit to the amount of arrogance and mismanagement that Congress will tolerate from the Air Force, and that line was crossed recently when the House Appropriations Committee denied funding for an expensive, problem-ridden and probably unnecessary new fighter jet, the F-22.</P>

<P> The committee gagged at the plane's high-flying costs, which have more than doubled as a result of serious technical problems. At present, each F-22 would cost about \$187 million, making it the most expensive fighter jet ever produced. All told, the F-22 program would cost the taxpayers about \$70 billion.</P>
>

<P> Equally daunting - except to the Air Force - are the glitches, which include problems in the F-22's brakes, fuselage, fuel lines and engines. There is even a report that manufacturers are having trouble connecting the plane's wings to the fuselage.</P>

<P> Nevertheless, the Air Force wanted to go ahead and start mass-producing the planes, presumably in the belief that repairs could be made as production continued or after the planes had rolled off the line. But because the F-22 uses revolutionary new technologies, fixes may be impossible.</P>

<P> Buying large numbers of defective aircraft does not provide this country with the strong defense it requires if it is to stand up to foreign tyrants. Even the deadliest fighter jet in the world won't help protect America if it can't fly safely and effectively.</P>

<P> In fact, there are legitimate reasons to wonder whether the F-22 is necessary at all even if its problems can be ironed out. It is designed to replace the Air Force's F-15, which by all accounts is the best plane of its kind in the world. No country, and certainly no probable enemy, is likely to build a rival to the F-15, at least not in large numbers.</P>

<P> Even though the committee is populated by some of the most conservative members of Congress, last week the panel denied the Air Force the \$1.8 billion it sought to build the first six F-22s, although the committee authorized \$1.2 billion for further research and development. The full House is set to vote today.</P>

<P> The House ought to follow the committee's lead at least until the costs, flaws and merits of the F-22 can be fully debated and understood. What this country needs is a strong defense. It doesn't need a fighter jet that may turn out to be an expensive and dangerous lemon. </P>

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<P>San Diego Union-Tribune

July 22, 1999</P>

<P>Back To The Drawing Board</P>

<I><P>Air Force should devise an affordable fighter plane</P>

</I><P> When Republican lawmakers move to scuttle a huge weapons program because of cost overruns, the Pentagon can hardly dismiss the action as the work of anti-military liberals. On the contrary, steps by House GOP leaders

to cancel the F-22 fighter jet, the centerpiece of the Air Force's modernization effort, should sound a clanging alarm that the Defense Department's procurement process is out of control.</P>

<P> At \$70 billion, the F-22 is the Pentagon's largest weapons project. In a move that is highly unusual, if not unprecedented, the House is expected this week to cancel funding for the stealthy, air-superiority plane just as it approaches the assembly line.</P>

<P> Over the last decade, the F-22 has become the poster child for how not to develop a major weapons system, even one that is needed to ensure America's ability to control the skies in the 21st century.</P>

<P> Intended to replace the Air Force's aging F-15 fighter, the F-22 started out at \$68 million per copy. Today, after the Pentagon has sunk \$20 billion into research and development, the F-22 is foundering under a projected cost of \$200 million per plane. To contain a price tag per unit that is escalating exponentially, the Air Force has slashed its planned order from 750 to 339.</P>

<P> The House Appropriations Committee, which voted last week to suspend funding, concluded the F-22 would require "unprecedented levels of spending on tactical aircraft over the next 20 years . . . twice the historical percentage of procurement dollars to buy roughly half the number of aircraft."</P>

<P> In short, the panel declared that the Air Force cannot afford the gold-plated F-22. It voted instead to redirect the \$1.8 billion the Clinton administration requested for the first six planes toward the purchase of much cheaper F-15 and F-16 fighters. Both Republican and Democratic lawmakers argued that addressing the Air Force's immediate readiness needs is a better use of limited defense dollars than the supercostly F-22.</P>

<P> President Clinton said yesterday he would fight to restore funding for the program, and key Republicans in the Senate said they would do the same. This sets the stage for a titanic struggle later in the year when the House and Senate must agree on a defense budget.</P>

<P> The worst possible outcome would be for the House and Senate simply to split their differences, scaling back orders for the F-22 even more to offset the mounting cost overruns. That is how Congress historically has responded to such procurement nightmares. But that approach also would drive the cost per plane through the roof and undermine the overall effectiveness of the investment because of reduced overall numbers of aircraft.</P>

<P> Nor would it make fiscal sense to throw away the \$20 billion taxpayers already have spent on the program. Rather, the Air Force needs to go back to the drawing board and, drawing on what it has learned in developing the F-22, devise a next-generation fighter it can afford. </P>

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The Economist

July 17-23, 1999

Is Closer Necessarily Worse?

The morality of warfare

An Intimate History Of Killing

By Joanna Bourke. Granta; 564 pages; 25

Lieutenant William Calley seemed bewildered when he was prosecuted for organising the massacre, accompanied by sadism and sexual violence, of about 500 unarmed civilians in the Vietnamese hamlet of My Lai in March 1968. "I had killed, but so had a million others," he wailed. "It couldn't be wrong or else I would have remorse about it." Having recently had a scolding from his colonel for allowing "men, women and children or other Viet Cong soldiers in our area to escape," he was determined, he said, to act as ruthlessly as Saul had in the Old Testament, when he set out to "utterly destroy" the Amalekites.

Mr Calley himself was not the only person who fumed or protested over his indictment and eventual conviction for premeditated murder. Eight out of ten Americans disapproved of the conviction or sentence, according to one opinion poll. Some insisted the massacre could never have happened. "Any atrocities in this war were committed by the communists," said the governor of Alabama. Others, including many of those in a position to know, made the opposite point: there was no reason to single out the My Lai killings from a general pattern of behaviour by American troops in Vietnam or in other 20th-century wars.

Anyone now pondering the moral and judicial issues raised in the aftermath of the Kosovo war should read Joanna Bourke's scholarly, spine-chilling and almost encyclopedic account of the agonies (and occasionally the joys) of combat as experienced by English-speaking soldiers in two world wars and Vietnam. She maintains (though her case is not quite proven) that atrocities in Vietnam were easily matched by those committed by the Americans, Britons and Australians in the other two conflicts. Only because part of American society dissented from the war in Vietnam did a climate exist in which horror stories could come to public knowledge. Or so Ms Bourke argues, recalling public rallies in 1971 at which

high more than 100 Vietnam veterans "bore witness" to atrocities they had seen or even helped to commit. After 1945, when American troops entering Germany "engaged in orgies of rape and murder", there had been no appetite for collective self-examination. </P>

<P> She also reports the scepticism among war veterans, whatever they think of the causes in which they fought, over the ability of civilian judges to reach fair conclusions about the deadly calculations of war. "How can anyone judge who has never seen his buddies mangled or been shot at himself?" asked an Australian military trainer in 1946. </P>

<P> Most of the book is about combat at close quartershow men were trained to kill, why they fought (for comrades and the respect of comrades, mostly) and what role doctors and clergymen played in combat. But it is also studded with reminders that different moral and psychological issues can arise in "standoff" warfare: the launching of bombs and missiles from a safe distance. Not even the most hardened Vietnam vet could match the sang-froid shown by the navigator of the Enola Gay, who after doing his bit to annihilate close on 100,000 people in Hiroshima, recalls that he "had a bite and a few beers, hit the sack" and, so he claims, never lost a moment's sleep for the next 40 years. Admittedly, some bombers were less sanguine; the book also quotes airmen who observe (more as a passing thought than in self-reproach) that, if Germany had won the war, they might be facing a war-crimes prosecution for carpet-bombing civilians. </P>

<P> As Ms Bourke reminds us, different sorts of war crime shock people to different degrees; that is one of the problems that need to be faced in winning acceptance for a permanent war-crimes tribunal. To western city-dwellers with no military experience (Tony Blair, for example), the sickening acts of violence seen in the Balkans recently seem almost unbelievable. As Bill Clinton is reported to have told his British friend: "If people saw (the Serbs) tying groups of 15 people together and setting them alight, they would wonder why we didn't flatten the place." It is much harder to persuade Russians who have witnessed the wars in Chechnya, Azerbaijan or Tajikistan either at close quarters or on Moscow television, which is far less "tasteful" in its war footage than the BBC, that there is anything egregious about the fighting in the Balkans. </P>

<P> Of course, it is not good enough to shrug your shoulders in the face of atrocities and say that "everybody does it". There are choices in war, and there are different degrees of atrocity. Killing prisoners is one of the commonest crimes. Mass rape, often sanctioned or at least condoned by commanders, is another. The premeditated killing of non-combatants, whether in Vietnam or Kosovo, is different from acts committed in the heat of battle. None of these horrors can be excused in the name of cultural relativism. Nor, on the other hand, will any attempt to outlaw the worst crimes in war enjoy any moral authority if it seems to focus exclusively on old-fashioned sorts of horrors things done with machetes and bayonets and winks at the more high-tech variety. It may be harder still to persuade politicians from Arkansas, say, that the behaviour of American soldiers should in any circumstances be subject to international scrutiny and held strictly to the laws of war.</P>

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New York Times Book Review

July 18, 1999

Pg. 27

Exit Strategy

Breakout, The Chosin Reservoir Campaign, Korea 1950

By Martin Russ.

452 pp. New York: Fromm International. \$27.50.

By Ronald H. Spector

Near the end of November 1950, forces of the Chinese Army, believed to number eight divisions, opened massive surprise attacks against elements of the First Marine Division and parts of the United States Army Seventh Infantry Division at points close to the Chosin reservoir in the mountains of North Korea. These stunning attacks, and others against Maj. Gen. Walton Walker's Eighth Army, advancing up the west coast of Korea, abruptly ended Gen. Douglas MacArthur's "home by Christmas" offensive, which he had expected would bring the Korean War to a victorious conclusion. Walker's forces were sent reeling back with heavy losses. In the east the elements of the Seventh Division, near Chosin, were virtually destroyed and Marine units at Yudam-ni, Hagaru-ri and Koto-ri were surrounded and cut off from their line of communication with the port of Hungnam, nearly 80 miles away.

Had these events occurred in the 1990's, one might expect a flood of leaks to the news media and E-mails to sympathetic lawmakers and journalists complaining that this was all the fault of President Harry S. Truman, who had cut defense spending to the bone before 1950, had blundered into the war in Korea and was now endangering the Marine Corps, which many saw as embodying Traditional American Values. In addition, Truman had no "exit strategy." Marines of 1950, however, spent little time pondering questions of policy. Their job was to "fight our country's battles," as the Marines' hymn declares, and they soon devised

ed an exit strategy that produced a brilliant tactical success in the midst of a general American defeat.</P>

<P> Martin Russ, himself a Marine veteran of Korea and the author of a widely respected memoir, "The Last Parallel," has produced an engrossing account of this campaign, which the military analyst Drew Middleton called "one of the most masterly withdrawal operations in the history of war." "Breakout" is a detailed day-by-day account, presenting the campaign from the company and even the platoon level. Readers not familiar with military terms and operations may find themselves lost at times, though the main story is easy to follow. Nor is there much evidence that the author has made use of the Chinese military memoirs and documents that are beginning to become available in English. But his aim is not a scholarly account.</P>

<P> The Chosin campaign had many larger-than-life characters. There was Col. Lewis (Chesty) Puller, who announced to his men: "We've been looking for the enemy for some time now. We've finally found him. We're surrounded. That simplifies things." There was Lieut. Col. Raymond Davis, whom Gen. Creighton Abrams would later call "the best division commander in Vietnam." There was Capt. Robert Barrow, a company commander who would later be Commandant of the Marine Corps; and a host of others.</P>

<P> RUSS'S focus is not so much on the top leadership, however, as on the ordinary Marine enlisted men, NCO's and junior officers. Though there are no footnotes, he appears to have corresponded with or interviewed dozens of these men. Their recollections are still vivid, at times powerful; emotional but unsentimental. Those of his informants who wished to honor their dead comrades will undoubtedly be pleased with this book, in which the stories of the individuals who died during the campaign play as large a role as the stories of those who survived.</P>

<P> Like many marines of his era, Russ cannot resist any opportunity to make invidious comparisons between the Marines and the Army. Indeed, one is hard pressed to find any positive descriptions of Army officers and men in this book. Yet the author makes relatively little effort to explain why the marines were more effective except to say that they were marines, a necessary but not sufficient part of the explanation.</P>

<I><P> Ronald H. Spector, a professor of history and international relations at George Washington University, is completing a book on 20th-century naval warfare.</P></I>

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<P>New York Times Book Review

July 18, 1999

Pg. 29</P>

<P>Mission Impossible</P>

<I><P>Orphans Of The Cold War, America and the Tibetan Struggle for Survival

By John Kenneth Knaus

395 pp. New York: Public Affairs, \$27.50</P>

</I><P>By Jonathan Mirsky</P>

<P> Until "Orphans of the Cold War" came my way, the most depressing book I'd read about covert operations was "The Spy Who Came In From the Cold." John le Carre's novel was bleak perfection: low-level operatives risked their lives under orders from masters playing a game known only to themselves, which they abandoned when it suited them. By then, their pawns were dead.</P>

<P> Although no le Carre masterpiece, "Orphans of the Cold War" is a fascinating book, all the bleaker because true. John Kenneth Knaus, until recently the Central Intelligence Agency officer in residence at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard, spent 44 years in the agency; these included seven years helping direct a Tibetan guerrilla campaign against the Chinese occupiers that lasted from 1956 to 1968. His book describing these events is intended partly to "alleviate the guilt some of us feel over our participation in these efforts, which cost others their lives, but which were the prime adventure of our own."</P>

<P> While adventurous for the Americans, the effort was a matter of life and often death for the Tibetan guerrillas, and like many C.I.A. operations it ended in failure arising from arrogant ignorance. The operations in which Knaus participated, stretching from a training camp for over 300 Tibetans in the Colorado mountains into Tibet itself, were overseen by Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson and their senior officials. During one rare success the guerrillas captured some high-level Chinese military documents, but the operations concluded with the guerrillas dead, in prison or in exile.</P>

<P> The Dalai Lama knew only the outlines of the C.I.A.-assisted warfare carried on in his name. In 1995, when Knaus, just retired from the agency, asked him, "Did we do a good or bad thing in providing this support?" the Dalai Lama thanked the C.I.A. for organizing some of the guerrillas who protected him during his flight into Indian exile in 1959. But he told Knaus that "thousands of

lives were lost in the resistance" and that "the U.S. Government had involved itself in his country's affairs not to help Tibet but only as a cold war tactic to challenge the Chinese."

<P> Knaus says regrettably little about his own involvement with the guerrillas, relying instead on publicly available C.I.A. documents and on interviews with senior Government officials, former C.I.A. colleagues and Tibetans who survived the operations. But it is a mark of the haphazard nature of the agency's Tibetan enterprise that Knaus says he initially "stumbled" into it. In 1958 he was asked to lecture on Chinese-Soviet relations to a group of "Asians." These turned out to be nine Tibetans recruited by the agency, to whom such a lecture would be as useful as "a discourse on the Wars of the Roses." After this "surrealistic day" he helped to train the Tibetans "to explain their objectives to their countrymen."

<P> Even this chore was doomed. As Knaus concedes, the C.I.A. trainers knew next to nothing about Tibet. They thought of Buddhism only as the Tibetans' religion and not as the bedrock of their nationalism. No agent had been to Tibet; only one knew any of its languages; and the maps they used to locate the first parachute drops for the Tibetans trained in Colorado had been drawn by a British expedition in 1904.

<P> Worst of all was the Americans' illusion that "their" Tibetans would survive -- as had Mao's forces -- like fish swimming in a homogeneous sea of their supporters. But the people whom the C.I.A. trainees attempted to lead were not free to fight as classical guerrillas. They were herdsmen, roaming about with their families and animals. "The only way these men could have survived as guerrillas would have been to abandon their defenseless dependents and move in small bands to remote mountain outposts." Before long the Chinese, veterans of Korea using warplanes, cavalry and tanks, had scattered and largely eliminated the resistance.

<P> The early failures should have been terminal. Allen Dulles, the Director of Central Intelligence, admitted to the National Security Council in 1959 that "the dissidents or the patriots had been severely beaten by the Chinese Communists" and "had been pretty well knocked into pieces." Knaus says, however, that cancellation would have been seen by the C.I.A. officials "as a personal failure and a threat to the continuance of the whole program."

<P> The guiding emotions in all of this remind me of the C.I.A.'s support for the Montagnards in Vietnam and the Hmong in Laos. Policy makers like Dulles, Knaus and Kennedy saw the Tibetans under their wing as "Oriental versions of self-reliant, straight-shooting American frontiersmen." Dulles admired Desmond Fitzgerald, the agency man who ran the Tibet operation, because of his "imagination and sense of daring, backed by his credentials as a fellow Wall Street lawyer and his impeccable social connections, coupled with his ability to get things done."

<P> "The rebellion in Tibet," Knaus writes, "was tailor-made for a covert action program designed to challenge Communist consolidation in what was still regarded as Moscow's mirror image in the Far East." The C.I.A. men imagined, too, that in Tibet they could replicate the European resistance movements of World War II in which some of them had participated.

<P> And then came the betrayal that the Dalai Lama had long feared. "It no longer served U.S. purposes to support him as a challenge to China, a country we now were courting," Knaus explains. "The Tibetans became the worthy but hapless orphans of the cold war." As a Tibetan adage says: "When men become desperate, they consult the gods. And when the gods become desperate, they tell lies."
</P>

<P> At the end of his sad and enraging book, Knaus hopes something may be "harvested" from President Clinton's suggestion to President Jiang Zemin that he and the Dalai Lama hold a "dialogue." But when Clinton mentioned this, last year in Beijing, Jiang, whose officials commonly refer to "the criminal Dalai," threw back his head and laughed. In November, Clinton met the Dalai Lama in the White House for 30 minutes. The Chinese had objected to this meeting; to assuage their feelings, the First Lady was announced as the host, and the President was officially described as having "dropped by." </P>

<P> <I>Jonathan Mirsky was the East Asia editor of The Times of London from 1993 to 1997. He has visited Tibet six times.</P></I>

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