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<P>Chicago Tribune

May 22, 1999

<P>Refugees: KLA Rebels On Verge Of Folding

<P>By Paul Salopek, Tribune Foreign Correspondent

<P> KUKES, Albania -- A fresh wave of 2,000 refugees spilled into Kukes on Friday, bringing bitter accounts of the fall of a rebel stronghold in the mountains of Kosovo--and a blunt message for NATO on the 58th day of its bombing campaign in the embattled Yugoslav province.

<P> "NATO is doing nothing," said Fatime Kokollari, 43, a sunburned farmer's wife who spent most of the past two months living in a rugged haven held by the Kosovo Liberation Army in southern Kosovo. "The Serbs shelled us day and night, and NATO didn't stop them. Our soldiers ran out of ammunition. They told us, 'Go down to the Serbs and surrender, we can't protect you anymore.' They were crying."

<P> The inability of the KLA to defend thousands of displaced civilians in their forested redoubt near Suhareke flies in the face of recent NATO assertions that the lightly armed rebels are regrouping and even making a battlefield comeback in the province.

<P> The KLA, a committed but poorly trained force whose only piece of common equipment seems to be a cigarette dangling from the lip, has carved out a tiny corridor of rebel-held territory along the northeastern Albanian frontier at a high cost in casualties. Yugoslav forces have sealed off remaining border areas with troops and mines, choking off vital ammunition and food supplies to beleaguered rebel units operating deeper inside the province.

<P> The Yugoslav army's starvation tactics took a devastating toll on the guerrillas in the hills east of Suhareke, say the villagers who staggered out of

the mountains last Wednesday.

<P> Beaten, robbed and harassed by Yugoslav security forces on their dayslong journey to the Albanian border, the exhausted refugees told grim tales of living in the rain and mud for weeks while being constantly bombarded by mortar fire from Yugoslav troops, who launched a decisive attack against the KLA stronghold early last week.

<P> "The (KLA) were brave boys but they couldn't feed us any longer," said Zyle Shukolli, 16, a thin, pale girl who crossed the border with nothing but the clothes she wore. "We were living on a half kilo (one pound) of flour for our 10 family members. We were always hungry."

<P> Shukolli said her father was killed by Yugoslav soldiers when he crept down from the hills to forage for food two weeks ago. Her family buried him on the spot.

<P> She and other refugees holed up in the KLA redoubt said the turning point in the defense of the mountain refuge came when advancing Yugoslav troops discovered and burned the rebels' meager food cache.

<P> "Our soldiers told us to tell the world that they were starving and were down to only a few bullets," said Fahrije Kokollari, 20, the daughter of the farmer's wife. "They said that if NATO doesn't airdrop food and ammunition, they will be dead. They are surrounded."

<P> Several refugees said the KLA force in the mountain base numbered about 500 men. They are armed with automatic rifles and have no heavy weapons.

<P> In a pattern now grimly familiar in Kosovo, the Yugoslav forces who herded the civilians out of the mountains separated some 200 fighting-age men from the refugee column and trucked them away. In most cases, such men have not been heard from since. But soft-spoken Myftar Kokollari, 18, is one of the few who has come back to tell his tale.

<P> After beating his hands and feet with rifle butts, the Yugoslav security forces released him after forcing him to write and sign a denunciation of the KLA, he said.

<P> "They held us for days at a military base in Ferizaj," said Myftar Kokollari, who is a distant cousin of the Kokollari family. "The Serb soldiers raped four Albanian girls in front of all of us. When we tried to turn our backs, they fired their guns in the air and told us they would kill us if we didn't watch."

<P> He was one of only 32 men in the group bused to the Albanian border. He says he doesn't know why he was released.

<P> "NATO must bomb more," he said, holding his bruised hands gingerly under his armpits. "We are dying slowly every day."

<P> NATO has been bombing Yugoslavia since March 24 in an inconclusive air campaign to stop the brutal expulsion of ethnic Albanians from Kosovo. Some 800,000 Kosovar Albanians are now refugees in Albania and Macedonia.

<P> The KLA, whose strength has been estimated between 4,000 and 25,000 men , has repeatedly asked to be armed by NATO.

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<P>Dallas Morning News

May 22, 1999

<P>NATO Chief Seeks Kosovo Monitoring

<I><P>International organization would set up government

</I><P>By Gregory Katz and Richard Whittle / The Dallas Morning News

<P> NATO Secretary-General Javier Solana called Friday for an "international administration" to oversee the development of political life in Kosovo once the conflict is over and ethnic Albanian refugees have returned.

<P> Mr. Solana's statement, echoed in Washington by visiting British Foreign Secretary Robin Cook, goes further than earlier NATO demands calling for autonomy for the Kosovo Albanians, who have been governed by hostile Serb authorities for 10 years.

<P> It means that NATO wants to have a civilian international agency set up in Kosovo to administer local government and organize elections so that Serbian officials in Belgrade will have no say in how the province of Kosovo is run.

<P> In an interview with The Dallas Morning News at NATO headquarters in Brussels, Belgium, Mr. Solana said the terms of the proposed Rambouillet peace agreement calling for self-government for the ethnic Albanians no longer apply.

<P> The plan was rejected by Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic, leading to the NATO aerial assaults that began in late March.

<P> "A lot of things have changed since Rambouillet," Mr. Solana said. "I don't think we should start from scratch, but now we are talking about a military and civilian presence on the ground and that civil authority should organize Kosovo's political life, its institutions, and elections. And at the end there would be self-government for Kosovo."

<P> The idea of an interim international administration to oversee Kosovo was hinted at in a plan put forth by the "Group of 8" industrial countries two weeks ago and has now been incorporated into NATO's demands.

<P> The new position is likely to anger Mr. Milosevic, who maintains that Kosovo is an integral part of Serbia and cannot be placed under international control. It also may antagonize Russian leaders, who have repeatedly warned NATO against trying to set up an international protectorate in the province.

<P> But Mr. Solana stopped short of calling for independence for Kosovo, which is the basic demand of the rebel Kosovo Liberation Army and its supporters in the ethnic Albanian community.

<P> "We don't want to see a change in borders," the NATO leader said. "At this point we are not for independence for Kosovo."

<P> He said the key to a successful resolution of the current crisis is the safe return of the more than 1.5 million ethnic Albanian refugees who have been forced from their homes by Mr. Milosevic's policy of ethnic cleansing.

<P> Democratic system

<P> This will not be possible, Mr. Solana said, if Serb military forces or governmental officials are allowed to prevent the Albanians from developing a free, democratic system.

<P> "The Serb forces have to leave, and the international forces have to come in," he said. "That is the starting point. If that doesn't happen, the refugees will not go back."

<P> In Washington, Mr. Cook, the British foreign secretary, said the international administration that will be set up to run governmental affairs inside Kosovo should be endorsed and approved by the United Nations.

<P> He said the interim administration should handle Kosovo's affairs for three years while the future status of the province is determined by negotiations under international mediation.

<P> Mr. Cook said NATO would insist on this arrangement to guarantee that Mr. Milosevic and federal officials in Belgrade have no say in the affairs of the ethnic Albanians inside Kosovo.

<P> "Belgrade isn't going to run Kosovo," he said at the British Embassy. "Belgrade is not going to have operational support in Kosovo. It's not going to have direct rule over Kosovo."

<P> Mr. Cook said Kosovo would need an interim administration in part because

se of the wholesale destruction of ethnic Albanians' identity documents and electoral records at the hands of the Serbs.

<P> Diplomats from NATO countries and Russia have been trying to agree on a draft plan to submit to the U.N. Security Council to resolve the crisis.

<P> Slow negotiations

<P> State Department spokesman James Rubin said the negotiations, being conducted by Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott in meetings in European capitals, were going slowly.

<P> "We have not achieved major movement forward," Mr. Rubin said. "This is not going to be an overnight diplomatic process."

<P> He said the primary issue was the composition of the security force.

<P> NATO says it must be heavily armed and have NATO troops at its core. Mr. Milosevic has said he would accept only a lightly armed force that includes no troops from NATO nations participating in the air war. Russia has yet to accept NATO's view on the issue, Mr. Rubin said.

<P> Pentagon spokesman Kenneth Bacon said NATO's top military commander, U.S. Army Gen. Wesley Clark, told Defense Secretary William Cohen and the Joint Chiefs of Staff in meetings Thursday that the alliance must decide soon on a plan for putting ground troops into Kosovo if they are to be in place before winter.

<P> Gen. Clark has offered NATO's military committee a plan for a peace enforcement force of 45,000 to 50,000 troops, of which 7,000 to 8,000 would be Americans, Mr. Bacon said. The spokesman said the United States wants the force to assemble in Macedonia and be able to move into Kosovo as quickly as possible if a peace deal is made.

<P> Mr. Bacon said Gen. Clark did not recommend an invasion of Kosovo. But he told Mr. Cohen that because there was no guarantee the air campaign will force Mr. Milosevic to accept NATO's demands by fall, "you have to be open to the possibility of looking at other options."

<P> Despite the extremely slow pace of negotiations, Mr. Solana said in Brussels that agreement on a U.N. plan might be reached fairly quickly because Mr. Milosevic's position is becoming weaker by the day.

<P> "I think we are getting closer because the air campaign is becoming very effective," he said. "Every day Milosevic is more isolated, externally and internally. Already you see demonstrations inside Serbia against Milosevic. You see fragmentation in his military. You see some important military generals under house arrest. And you see political fragmentation inside his country."

<P> Mr. Solana said a NATO meeting Friday with ambassadors from the front-line countries surrounding Serbia found strong support for the military campaign against Mr. Milosevic.

<P> "You cannot find anyone who is not militantly against him," Mr. Solana

said. "They want us to continue even more than we want to. He is completely alone in the region."

<P> Mr. Solana played down evidence of splits within NATO that surfaced this week with regard to the timing of a possible pause in the bombing. He said there was little difference between Italy's call for a bombing halt when a U.N. resolution is agreed upon and NATO's insistence that the bombing continue until Mr. Milosevic accepts NATO's five demands.

<P> "We will not pause until Milosevic has accepted the conditions in a verifiable manner," he said. "It seems to me that by the time we have a U.N. Security Council resolution, which requires the vote of Russia, that Milosevic would have accepted it and that the five demands would be incorporated into the resolution."

<P> He said that NATO would probably halt the bombing at that point because its objectives would have been achieved.

<P> NATO airstrikes continued Friday, though bad weather during the night limited the number of targets struck, alliance and Pentagon spokesmen said.

<P> NATO spokesman Jamie Shea said Mr. Solana had apologized to ambassadors in Brussels from several countries whose Belgrade embassies suffered blast damage - mainly shattered windows - from an errant bomb during strikes on the Yugoslav capital Thursday.

<P> The Pentagon, meanwhile, announced that another 1,022 members of the Air National Guard and Air Force Reserve were being ordered to active duty to serve in the conflict.

<I><P> Staff writer Gregory Katz reported from Brussels, Belgium, and staff writer Richard Whittle reported from Washington.</I>

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<P>Los Angeles Times

May 21, 1999

Yugoslav Army Tightens Noose

Montenegro: Relief aid is reported confiscated and essential economic supplies to the region are blocked.

By David Holley, Times Staff Writer

PODGORICA, Yugoslavia--The Yugoslav army has seized control of all major roads into Montenegro, blocking imports of raw materials, confiscating much-needed humanitarian aid and preventing Westerners from entering Yugoslavia's smaller republic, authorities here said Thursday.

"The Yugoslav army has blocked Montenegro completely; tension is increasing, Belgrade is tightening the noose," the Information Ministry of Montenegro declared in a statement about the army's gradual extension of control.

Of greatest concern is a new, heavily fortified army checkpoint set up this week in Kumbor, near the border with Croatia, Montenegrin Deputy Prime Minister Dragisa Burzan said Thursday in an interview.

"Some bunkers have been made," Burzan said. "There are heavy machine guns in the bunkers, on each side of the road, so you really have to stop."

The pro-Western government of Montenegro, which along with Serbia makes up the rump Yugoslavia, has a strong police force. But army forces controlled by officials in Belgrade, the Yugoslav and Serbian capital, also are stationed here, and the two sides have been in an uneasy standoff that some fear could lead to civil war.

Montenegrin authorities will consider next week whether to ask the police to remove the army checkpoint by force, Burzan said.

"The police were ready to do it, they claim, but it would be a very bloody thing to do," he said. "The problem is, it can move to a huge conflict. That is something you do not do unless you are in a totally desperate situation. . . . [But] we will open at least one of the border crossings suitable for humanitarian aid."

The growing tension between Yugoslavia's two republics came amid international efforts to find a peaceful way out of the Balkan nation's clash with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. But envoys meeting in Moscow and Bonn ended the day without agreement on peace proposals.

Burzan, the Montenegrin deputy prime minister, said Thursday that Yugoslav army forces and supporters of Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic within Montenegro are "very tense and smelling defeat. . . . These people are under horrible strain."

Responding to the army's growing aggressiveness in Montenegro but also to what is seen here as Milosevic's increasing weakness in his standoff with NATO, Montenegrin President Milo Djukanovic issued a statement Thursday warning that military officers who break Montenegrin law will be punished after Yugoslav

avia's conflict with the alliance ends.

<P> "Right after peace is introduced, we will all have to pay our bills--civilians and soldiers," Djukanovic said. "Montenegro certainly--and I hope the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia too--will not be quiet about anybody's violent, criminal and illegal behavior. With no exceptions, everybody will be found responsible: The ones who robbed money, cars and other property from citizens."

<P> The Montenegrin government has a policy of visa-free entry for foreigners and is seeking to bring in humanitarian aid for Kosovo refugees here. But in the last few days, soldiers at the army checkpoints set up a few miles from border crossings have blocked anyone without Belgrade-approved visas, even in cases in which border police have let people pass.

<P> The military also has confiscated numerous shipments of goods intended for relief efforts and is blocking other shipments essential for the republic's economy, Montenegrin authorities said.

<P> Addressing these issues, Djukanovic declared: "In particular, those who confiscated humanitarian aid--including hospital medical equipment, endangering in that way powerless and hurt people--will be found responsible."

<P> In another indication of the Montenegrin government's growing confidence against the pressures from pro-Milosevic forces, Djukanovic criticized army officers here for "tying their professional destiny to the existence of this [Belgrade] regime, whose defeat and end is already visible, even to people who don't know much."

<P> Amid the growing stress within the Yugoslav federation, the search for a diplomatic solution to the war shifted Thursday to Moscow, where U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott met with Russia's special envoy for the Balkans, Viktor S. Chernomyrdin.

<P> Talbott, Chernomyrdin and Finnish President Martti Ahtisaari, who is representing the European Union, had cobbled together the framework of a peace plan earlier in the week, and Chernomyrdin went to Belgrade on Wednesday to show Milosevic the plan.

<P> Chernomyrdin said he and Milosevic had made "a step forward" but that the Yugoslav president was still unwilling to yield on major matters demanded by NATO.

<P> Before leaving Belgrade, Chernomyrdin reiterated the Russian viewpoint: "For shifts to occur in the settlement of the Kosovo crisis, it is necessary to stop the bombings and solve everything at the negotiating table. . . . The problem should be diverted into a political channel under the aegis of the U.N."
"

<P> But at NATO headquarters in Brussels, spokesman Jamie Shea refused to delineate how far the Milosevic government must go toward meeting NATO's key demands: the withdrawal of Yugoslav forces from Kosovo and the return of ethnic Albanian refugees under the protection of an international peacekeeping force with alliance troops at its core--before the military grouping would consider a pause in its 8-week-old bombing campaign.

<P> "We're not at that time yet," Shea said. "The diplomats who are involved in this process have made it clear that although they've made excellent progress, there is still a lot of hard work to do."

<P> Envoys from the Group of 8 countries--Russia and seven Western powers--met for a second day in Bonn, trying to draft a U.N. resolution dictating peace terms to Milosevic that Russia and China would be willing to support in the Security Council. But after 12 hours, talks broke up with divisions remaining about much of the text. The group was to resume work today.

<P> In other developments:

<P> * In the southeastern Serbian town of Krusevac, hundreds of Yugoslav soldiers who reportedly had deserted from posts in Kosovo and returned to their hometowns refused a compromise Thursday that would have absolved them from punishment but sent them back to the beleaguered province, the Montenegrin daily newspaper Vijesti reported. Reservists from Krusevac rejected the offer from Yugoslav 3rd Army commander Gen. Nebojsa Pavkovic; instead, they asked for the war to end. An additional 400 reservists who reportedly deserted earlier this week to the town of Aleksandrovac also said "they have no intention to return to the war," Vijesti reported.

<P> * Maj. Gen. Charles Wald, a senior planner for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said Thursday that the Kosovo Liberation Army, or KLA, had captured the village of Jablanica in Kosovo. He said the action was significant because it gave the rebels control of the roads in the area where they are operating. Wald said if the Yugoslav army sends large numbers of troops to combat the rebels, NATO would attack the force. The alliance has had difficulty in recent days targeting Yugoslav troops, he said, because they are dispersed and hidden.

<P> * Kosovo rebels claimed Thursday to have killed 33 Serbian soldiers and a Russian fighting alongside the Serbs in battles over the last three days. Kosova Press, the KLA's news agency, said the fighting occurred along the Albanian-Yugoslav border. The report could not be confirmed. There have been rumors, but no confirmed reports, of Russian sympathizers and mercenaries helping Serbs fight the KLA, which seeks independence for Kosovo.

<P> * The Pentagon confirmed Thursday that AC-130 Spectre gunships have been operating in Kosovo since April 19. The low-flying, turboprop aircraft carry a 25-millimeter and a 40-millimeter cannon. Although chief Pentagon spokesman Kenneth H. Bacon declined to discuss the tactics used by the planes, he said their use showed that NATO pilots were operating lower than 15,000 feet.

<P> * The U.S. Consulate in Hong Kong said today that China has stopped all U.S. warships from visiting the port in May and June because of "the current situation," an apparent reference to the bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade. U.S. warships have routinely paid port visits to Hong Kong since Britain returned the territory to Chinese rule in July 1997.

<P> * U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan visited a refugee tent city Thursday in northern Albania and called for the United Nations to play a key role in resolving the conflict. Annan was surrounded by applauding refugees in Kukes, temporary home to about 100,000 Kosovars--the largest single concentration of t

he ethnic Albanians who have fled Kosovo since NATO air raids began.

<P> <I>Times staff writers Richard C. Paddock in Moscow and Norman Kem
pster in Washington, along with Associated Press and Reuters, contributed to th
is report. </I>

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<P>Los Angeles Times

May 21, 1999

<P>From Real World Friction To Reel World Fiction

<I><P>Film: Despite chaos at home, a Yugoslavian movie dist
ributor takes big-screen images to country at war.

</I><P>By Mark Saylor, Times Staff Writer

<P> CANNES, France--"If it weren't for wars, I would be a rich man," said
Milutin Randjelovic, the only Yugoslavian movie distributor who made it to the
International Film Festival here this year.

<P> "I'd have a yacht like that one," he said, waving his hand toward a m
ogul's boat, complete with helicopter, bobbing in the Mediterranean waters.

<P> Randjelovic, owner of Belgrade-based Metro Films, took "Terminator 2"
to Yugoslavia seven days before war broke out between Serbia and Croatia in Au
gust 1991.

<P> This year, bombs started dropping on Belgrade before he could release
a French-language film, "Asterix and Obelix" starring Roberto Benigni.

<P> Yet through nearly a decade of war, political instability and economi
c chaos, Yugoslavian movie fans have wanted to see the films produced in Americ
a, France and other movie centers around the world. So Randjelovic, known as Mi
sko to his friends, persists.

<P> He drove 600 miles from Belgrade to the French Riviera uncertain whether he would buy any films--with theaters closed at night in Yugoslavia, it's not practical to release new movies.

<P> But after spending a day begging price reductions on films he had bought in March at the American Film Market in Santa Monica, he could no longer resist.

<P> "I must buy something for faith and happiness. If a film is good, people will see it--even during a war," he said.

<P> He purchased the rights to two films in festival competition, a David Lynch film "The Straight Story" and a Russian film "The Barber of Siberia" for \$5,000 each.

<P> It was, he said, an expression of his optimism "that this will be over soon." He adds, "Maybe when the war is over, maybe in the fall, we can make a good film business again."

<P> Ten years ago, Yugoslavia was one of the largest entertainment markets in Eastern Europe. But after a decade of political chaos and rampant piracy of films, the country means scarcely pocket change for the large international film sales companies, surpassed by Poland and the Czech Republic among others. American films remain in demand; "Titanic" was No. 1 at the box office there last year.

<P> Usually half a dozen or more Yugoslav film distributors show up at the world's major film markets. This year, all but Randjelovic were kept home from Cannes by the combination of economic sanctions and the practical problems associated with trying to distribute movies in a country at war.

<P> Randjelovic had another reason to make the journey from Belgrade. His French wife, Alexandra, and 17-year-old daughter, Marie, had fled to Paris not long after the NATO bombing of Belgrade began March 24. They met him here on Saturday night.

<P> "I wanted to come here and wake up normally and go to the market," he said. "Enjoy the sun, no bombs."

<P> Randjelovic, 40, has been in the film distribution business for more than a decade.

<P> He was born into an affluent Belgrade family, the son of a builder. But his life in the Yugoslav entertainment industry has been precarious. A few months before the bombing, he set up a television network of sorts, distributing programming to dozens of local broadcast stations around the country. That and his film distribution effectively stopped when the NATO bombing campaign started. He has let most of his 40 employees go and hopes to get started again after the war.

<P> Randjelovic is an elected member of the Belgrade city government overseeing cultural and social affairs. He also is an active member of a Serbian opposition party headed by Vuk Draskovic, who was thrown out of the national government.

rnment for criticizing Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic after the bombing.

<P> Of course, Randjelovic opposes the NATO bombing campaign, which he describes as "not a clever thing." He said he has friends in city government who have been killed and maimed, and one bombing target, a police headquarters, was only a few hundred yards from his home.

<P> "But I have many friends outside the country, so it's hard for me to hate Americans or French or English," he said. "Who is guilty for what is happening to us? I blame the government."

<P> Randjelovic, a stocky man who speaks comfortably in English and French, visits Los Angeles twice a year for film and television markets and remains curious about what's going on in the business. Passing a billboard for Universal's picture "EDtv," he asks, "How did it do?"

<P> After arriving late Saturday and trying unsuccessfully to get tickets for the party thrown by New Line for its "Austin Powers" sequel, Randjelovic spent Sunday and Monday making the rounds of the companies he often works with.

<P> At some stops, he asked whether he could get a reduction in the prices he'd committed to pay for films.

<P> At the Carlton Hotel office of Jacques-Eric Strauss, general manager of President Films, he got a sympathetic response to his request to lower the price from \$45,000 to \$20,000 for "Asterix," the story of a Gaulish village in 50 BC that resisted the Roman Empire, thanks to a magic potion.

<P> "I understand your situation," Strauss said.

<P> Randjelovic also had several meetings trying to help sell international rights to "The Dagger," a Yugoslavian film based on a novel by Draskovic, the leader of Randjelovic's political party. It is described as an "epic film about the destiny of a nation, its roots and evil which is following it like a doom through centuries."

<P> By mid-week, after watching several new films, his spirits were on the rise. "I love this place," he declared. "Give me any time a beautiful love story, please."

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<P>Los Angeles Times

May 21, 1999

<P>Relief Camps For Africans, Kosovars Worlds Apart

<I><P>Aid: Workers are struck by contrasts in food, shelter and health care. They cite culture, race as reasons.

</I><P>By T. Christian Miller and Ann M. Simmons, Times Staff Writers

<P> SKOPJE, Macedonia--When veteran refugee worker Lynne Miller arrived here from Africa earlier this month, she stepped into a different world.

<P> Miller had just spent three years monitoring food supplies at a remote refugee camp in Somalia, and one of her first crises in Macedonia was an urgent request from a medical team. A diabetic refugee had crossed the border. Could she provide a special diet?

<P> She couldn't believe what she was hearing, much less that she was able to fulfill the request.

<P> "In Africa, we don't have special food or diets. There are no diabetics in the camps," she said. "They just die."

<P> The outpouring of aid in recent weeks for ethnic Albanians ripped from their homes in Kosovo has stunned humanitarian groups, which continuously fight for dollars for refugees in Africa.

<P> For many of these workers, the response to the Balkan crisis has highlighted the enormous difference between the newly sprouted camps in Europe and existing facilities in Africa.

<P> And this difference, in turn, has raised uncomfortable questions about the reasons for it--a complex mix, according to humanitarian groups, of logistics, culture and race.

<P> While none of the camps compares to a permanent home and a stable life, refugee workers say, those in Africa and Europe are a world apart.

<P> Consider:

<P> * The Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees is spending about 11 cents a day per refugee in Africa. In the Balkans, the figure is \$1.23, more than 11 times greater.

<P> * Some refugee camps in Africa have one doctor for every 100,000 refugees. In Macedonia, camps have as many as one doctor per 700 refugees--a ratio far better than that of many communities in Los Angeles.

<P> * Refugees at most camps in Albania, across the border from Kosovo, have readily available clean water. In Eritrea, on the Horn of Africa, families as large as 10 are given about 3 1/2 gallons of water to last three days, according to Mary Anne Fitzgerald, a Nairobi, Kenya-based spokeswoman for Refugees International.

<P> * The camps in Africa hold as many as 500,000 people. Up to 6,000 refugees there die each day from cholera and other public health diseases. In Macedonia, the largest camp holds 33,000 people. So far, there have been no deaths from public health emergencies such as an epidemic or starvation.

<P> The immense flow of aid to Europe has alarmed some aid agencies, which worry that the attention focused on the Balkans will cut into the food and supplies going to places such as Eritrea and Somalia.

<P> The most common explanation for the gap in resources is culture. U.N. officials and aid workers say they must give European refugees used to cappuccino and CNN a higher standard of living to maintain the refugees' sense of dignity and stability.

<P> Others offer a blunter assessment: They say wealthy donors in the developed world and the aid agencies they support feel more sympathy--and reach deeper into their pockets--for those with similar skin tones and backgrounds.

<P> Andrew Ross, a refugee worker who came from Africa to the Balkans last month, called the camps in Macedonia "far superior" to those in Africa.

<P> "What's the difference?" Ross asked. "There's white people here."

<P> Shelter and Supplies Better in Europe

<P> Nezir Gashi's life is by no means comfortable.

<P> His family of 13 lives in a 150-square-foot tent in Macedonia. Every day, Gashi or one of his four children stands in line four hours for food. They haven't had a hot meal in weeks. Water is a few hundred feet away at a communal spigot.

<P> Still, the meager shelter and supplies are far better than what is provided to refugees in Africa.

<P> Typically, African refugees sleep out in the open, or under makeshift shelters made from branches, leaves or mud or from plastic sheeting provided by an aid agency. They rarely have canvas tents or prefabricated housing.

<P> For example, most of the 300,000 or so Eritreans deported from Ethiopia back to Eritrea in early February make their homes under trees, in riverbeds or simply at roadsides without any kind of shelter, said Fitzgerald, who recently visited the refugees.

<P> They are stranded in a semiarid terrain, where the afternoons are blazing hot and the nights freezing cold, and there are 1,200 tents for about 16,000 families, Fitzgerald said.

<P> In other cases, African refugees get only a plastic sheet to cover a homemade shelter.

<P> Another major difference between refugee facilities in Africa and those in Europe is in the type of food supplied.

<P> World Food Program officials say both European and African refugees are getting about 2,100 calories a day of food rations. But for the Kosovo Albanians, those calories come in the form of tins of chicken pate, foil-wrapped cheeses, fresh oranges and milk. In some ready-made meals, there is even coffee and fruit tarts.

<P> Water is plentiful in most of the camps in the Balkans.

<P> At one camp in Macedonia, German officials have even installed a fully functioning sewage treatment system.

<P> That contrasts with Africa, where refugees are far less likely to get ready-made meals and have to make most of their food from scratch--a practice reflecting the simpler lifestyles of the area, say U.N. officials. Instead of meals, the refugees are given basic grains such as sorghum or wheat.

<P> "Here in Africa, we see people who have walked naked, without a thread on their back, who don't have a grain of rice," said Nina Galbe, a Nairobi-based spokeswoman for the International Committee of the Red Cross. "With all due respect to the horrors the people of Kosovo have suffered, they are dressed in their winter clothes; the babies are kept in their blankets. They are not malnourished."

<P> Beyond such basics as shelter and food, the differences become even more stark.

<P> The camps in the Balkans have mobile phones that refugees can use. There are soccer fields, basketball courts and pingpong tables. One camp has a children's center with two theaters showing films like "The Neverending Story."

<P> At Stankovac, the third-largest camp in the Balkans, hot showers, communal kitchens and street lighting are planned.

<P> Such extras are nonexistent in Africa, according to those who have worked in both areas.

<P> "Compared to the refugee camps in Africa, Stankovac is a five-star hotel," said Marion Droz, a Red Cross field worker who also worked during the Rwandan crisis earlier this decade.

<P> Provisions Based on Living Standards

<P> The primary explanation for the stark contrasts, according to U.N. and aid groups, is the difference between the backgrounds of the refugees on the

two continents.

<P> In Africa, where many refugees eke out an existence in seminomadic tribes, the bare provisions of shelter and health care offered by the refugee camps are a step up in life for many.

<P> But in Europe, where many of the refugees from Kosovo, a southern province of Serbia, the main Yugoslav republic, had two cars, a city apartment and their own business, a night in a canvas tent with cold food is misery.

<P> "You've got to maintain people's dignity," said Bob Allen, a camp manager who has worked in both Africa and Europe for the relief agency CARE.

<P> "The life in Africa is far more simple. To maintain the dignity and lifestyle of Europeans is far more difficult."

<P> Another issue is that Yugoslavia is in Europe's backyard. Albania is a ferry trip from Italy. Two of the Macedonian camps are just off the main highway that leads north from Athens to such European capitals as Vienna and Berlin. The crisis is far more immediate and tangible.

<P> People can directly see and feel the impacts of the refugee crisis, and they respond accordingly, aid workers say.

<P> "This is the middle of Europe. It's so close to home," said Paula Ghedini, a spokeswoman for the U.N. refugee agency who has worked in Africa and the Balkans. "This is not so foreign."

<P> Still, many wonder whether such distinctions are valid. While some extras are just that, shelter, food and water should be the same everywhere, they say.

<P> "I don't know if [the help] should be different," said Lindsey Davies, spokeswoman for the World Food Program, a U.N. agency. "People are people all over the world."

<P> Ross, a CARE worker who came to the Balkans from Sierra Leone, said race plays a big role. It's easier for Europeans and Americans to identify with the Kosovo refugees they see on television than with those in remote parts of Africa, he said.

<P> "I may be cynical, but personally I think people see the television and say, 'It's just a bunch of blacks over there,' " he said.

<P> The media--and people's response to coverage--also play a big role in determining the conditions during a particular refugee crisis. In Macedonia alone, there are more than 1,000 reporters, according to government figures.

<P> The steady television presence attracts scores of charities, for which the media visibility is free advertising to raise money.

<P> "You can't walk in the camps here for tripping over the television cables," said Miller, the food worker.

<P> As a result, eight to 10 charities labor in some camps, dividing the work of running the facilities into highly specialized areas.

<P> In the medical field, for instance, the large number of volunteer groups has created a mini-HMO system, with primary-care doctors from some humanitarian groups referring refugees to specialist clinics run by other groups that offer sites for dentistry, minor surgery and gynecology.

<P> "I'm always asking, why are these things not a problem for my Somalis?" said Miller, the World Food Program worker.

<P> Pledges to Africa Not Keeping Pace

<P> All the attention focused on the Balkans has frightened refugee officials and charity groups in Africa, who fear that the continent's already meager resources will be further drained by the Balkan crisis.

<P> For instance, the World Food Program has a fund-raising goal this year of \$98.5 million for the area around Africa's Great Lakes--Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania, Uganda--where long-simmering, though often ignored, conflicts have created hundreds of thousands of refugees. So far, the food agency has received 22 % of that amount.

<P> In Liberia, the situation is even worse. The agency made an appeal for \$71.6 million. It received \$500,000.

<P> That compares with the situation around Kosovo, for which the agency has requested \$97.4 million and received more than 70% of that amount already, with a "large number of commitments" now under negotiation, Davies said.

<P> "Africa is just being eclipsed by this," said Fitzgerald of Refugees International.

<P> Refugees in Eritrea "are just being ignored for the large part because of Kosovo," she said. "Everybody is focused on Kosovo, because it's a serious situation, and because of peer pressure."

<I><P> Miller reported from Skopje and Simmons from Nairobi. Times staff writers Elizabeth Shogren and Marc Lacey in Macedonia contributed to this report. </I>

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<P>Washington Times

May 21, 1999

Pg. 13

<P>Serbian Refugees Caught In NATO Cross Fire

<I><P>Thousands flee, find haven in Bosnia

</I><P>By Philip Smucker, The Washington Times

<P> SKOPJE, Macedonia - Stojan Zlatonovic, a Bosnian Serb by birth, went to Kosovo to try to persuade his wife and daughter to return with him to his homeland. A NATO bomb killed them first.

<P> Wounded six times in Bosnia's war and taken prisoner by a notorious Muslim warlord in 1995, the Serbian construction worker thought he had escaped war for good when he was handed over in an exchange for three Muslims.

<P> A friend's house in Kosovo served as a refuge for the family for seven years as Yugoslavia imploded. He finally found a job in Bosnia this spring and wanted to persuade his wife, Stojanka, 42, to return with him to start life over again.

<P> "When the bombing started I rushed back to Kosovo to be with them," Mr. Zlatonovic said. "I wanted to speak with my wife and daughter and make serious plans for the future.

<P> "My wife was reluctant to go back to Bosnia since we have nothing there," he said. The indecision was fatal.

<P> Mr. Zlatonovic went to drink coffee one evening last month with a friend. He was sitting on a porch about 250 yards from his wife's home when a NATO bomb hit the house, instantly killing his wife and 16-year-old daughter, Ivana.

<P> "I stayed for seven days to bury them, and I left on a bus full of Albanian refugees," he said. "The soldiers just told me to keep my mouth shut and pretend I'm an Albanian."

<P> In Macedonia, Mr. Zlatonovic found himself in a refugee camp full of tens of thousands of Albanians but not one fellow Serb.

<P> "The Macedonian guards let me out because they said they wouldn't be able to protect me," he said.

<P> Barefoot and penniless, he was given a used suit and some shoes by sy

empathetic Serbs in the Association of Serbs in Macedonia.

<P> Ethnic Serbian officials in Macedonia estimate that some 300,000 Serbs have fled the war so far. U.N. officials say the figure is probably closer to 100,000, most of them women, children and deserters.

<P> "One phenomenon we are seeing is that a lot of the Serbs who fled Bosnia during the war are now returning because they see it as more stable and safer than Serbia," said Kris Janowski, senior spokesman for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees in Geneva.

<P> Mr. Janowski said the number of Serbian refugees could jump to several hundred thousand or even millions in a few months if the war continues. Most Serbs do not qualify as official refugees, meaning they are excluded from U.N. benefits and a chance to resettle in a third country.

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<P>Los Angeles Times

May 21, 1999

<P>Peace Organizations Set To Take On Clinton

<P>By Norman Kempster, Times Staff Writer

<P> WASHINGTON--Eighteen peace groups, many of them allies of the young Bill Clinton in the antiwar movement three decades ago, announced Thursday a coordinated campaign to pressure the president into ending the bombing of Yugoslavia.

<P> The organizations--including such long-established groups as the American Friends Service Committee and the Roman Catholic Pax Christi--vowed to follow Clinton around the country with noisy demonstrations, a tactic that was used with devastating impact against President Lyndon B. Johnson in the 1960s during the Vietnam War.

<P> "We demand an end to the NATO bombing, and we will act on those demands until they are met," Gordon Clark, executive director of Peace Action, the nation's largest grass-roots antiwar organization, told a Washington news conference. "This is a wide and broad coalition of peace and religious groups."

<P> The groups also called for "an end to ethnically targeted violence" and for deployment of an international peacekeeping force in Kosovo, demands aimed at Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic and his military. Participants said they had no magic formula to induce Milosevic to stop "ethnic cleansing" of Kosovo Albanians and accept peacekeepers in the province, but they insisted that the bombing campaign has failed to protect civilians targeted by Yugoslav troops.

<P> "We can't force Slobodan Milosevic to do anything, but it seems to us that if [nearly] 60 days of bombing and civilian casualties did not force him to act, it is time to try something else," Clark said.

<P> Although there have been a few scattered protests since the NATO bombing campaign began March 24, Thursday's news conference marked the opening of an organized national effort.

<P> Asked in an interview later Thursday why it had taken so long for groups with well-developed pacifist ideologies to react to the bombing, Clark said some peace organizations were concerned about alleged Yugoslav atrocities in Kosovo that "made some of us think twice about what to do."

<P> Besides, he said, the Clinton administration has used force so often that "the peace movement is stretched thinner by President Clinton than we were even during the Reagan years."

<P> The coalition plans to hold demonstrations Saturday in Washington and several other cities, including Sacramento, leading up to a rally in the nation's capital June 5 that organizers hope will draw thousands of protesters. Other demonstrations are planned for June 12, when Clinton gives a commencement address at the University of Chicago, and June 18, when Secretary of State Madeleine Albright delivers a graduation speech at Northwestern University in Evanston, Ill.

<P> Opinion polls continue to show widespread support in the United States for Clinton's stated aims of ending "ethnic cleansing" in Kosovo, a province of Yugoslavia's dominant republic, Serbia, and allowing hundreds of thousands of refugees to return home under the protection of an international force that includes North Atlantic Treaty Organization troops. Some polls, such as one issued this week by the Program on International Policy Attitudes, indicate that Americans would support stronger measures--including a ground invasion of the province--if that is needed to stop the purge of Kosovo Albanians.

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<P>Washington Post

May 23, 1999

Pg. 26

<P>Frustration Feeds Anxiety On Air War

<I><P>While Hill Democrats Back Policy, Some Are Growing Wa
ry

</I><P>By Eric Pianin, Washington Post Staff Writer

<P> Even as NATO debates expanding the war in Yugoslavia, a majority i
n President Clinton's own party in Congress opposes sending in ground troops an
d some harbor growing anxiety over what they see as a failed air war strategy,
according to interviews with lawmakers last week.

<P> While many Republicans have been highly critical of NATO's efforts
to crack the resolve of Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic, only a few doze
n Democrats in the House and Senate have openly denounced or opposed the bombin
g strategy until now.

<P> But a combination of frustration over NATO bombing errors, a refug
ee crisis along the Yugoslav border and a weakening in public support for the w
ar is producing subtle but important shifts in thinking, prompting more Democra
ts to join with Republicans in urging a swift negotiated settlement. The shift
signals more headaches for Clinton in maintaining support for the intervention
in the Balkans.

<P> Rep. James P. Moran (Va.), a centrist Democrat and staunch backer
of the NATO strategy, said that many of his Democratic colleagues who initially
supported the air war are having second thoughts. "They're losing resolve and
losing confidence," Moran said. "They want the president to get them out of it."
"

<P> Rep. Charles B. Rangel (N.Y.), ranking Democrat on the Ways and Me
ans Committee, questioned the wisdom of continued bombing, noting that NATO mis
takes have led to the deaths of hundreds of innocent civilians and greatly stra
ined U.S. relations with China and Russia.

<P> "I support the president, he's the commander in chief . . . [but]

I just don't believe bombing is the answer to political problems," said Rangel, an Army veteran who saw action in the Korean War. "I just don't know how many lives have to be lost before we say we've won."

<P> Moreover, there are early signs of concern that the war could hurt the Democrats' chances of regaining control of the House next year, just when the party seemed to be gaining the upper hand on gun control and other issues.

<P> "Certainly there is the hope and the expectation that Kosovo will not be a front-and-center political story a year from now," said Geoff Garin, a Democratic political consultant. "But if it drags on, then it's a whole new ballgame."

<P> Rep. John M. Spratt Jr. (S.C.), a senior Democrat on the Armed Services Committee, agreed that "some anxiety and frustration is creeping through the ranks."

<P> "Most of those who are supporting the effort still hope that something's going to break -- a United Nations peace plan, a brokered negotiation, something like that," Spratt said. "But we're a long way from having Democrats jumping ship in big numbers."

<P> Aware that Congress needs regular reassurance, Clinton used a retreat with Senate Democrats yesterday in Virginia to make his case anew on why he is pursuing his Kosovo policy, aides said. "There's no doubt that periodically you need to reassure members about what we are doing and why," one White House official said.

<P> Another White House official said that while administration officials are alert for any evidence of wavering, they detected no evidence yet of widespread erosion of support in Democratic ranks.

<P> The lessening of Democratic resolve appears more pronounced in the House than the Senate, where only three Democrats have openly broken with the administration on the prosecution of the war. "I think there are individual senators who are hoping the situation will come to some resolution reasonably soon," said Senate Minority Leader Thomas A. Daschle (D-S.D.). "By and large members are supportive, but cautiously so."

<P> House and Senate Democrats agree there is little support at this point for launching ground troops to try to drive Serbian-led forces out of the Kosovo province, even if Clinton and other NATO leaders could reach a consensus on such a dramatic shift in tactics. For now, Clinton has said he is opposed to ground troops.

<P> "There has always been serious questions inside the Democratic caucus on the use of ground forces," said Rep. Martin Frost (Tex.), the Democratic caucus chairman. "My guess is that on a direct vote on that, a majority of the caucus still would not support the use of ground forces."

<P> Sen. Barbara Boxer (D-Calif.), who likens the Serbs' ousting of ethnic Albanians from Kosovo to the Nazi Holocaust, nonetheless would oppose escalating the NATO offensive. "I support the NATO action and I think we need to st

ick with it," Boxer said, adding that she fears a ground war would consign many NATO troops to slaughter "because they don't know the terrain."

<P> From the moment Clinton first announced in March NATO's intention to launch airstrikes, following the collapse of peace talks with the Serbs, Congress has responded cautiously and with ambivalence. In a bewildering series of votes last month, the House refused either to declare war in the Balkans or to stop it, then refused to authorize a ground war without congressional permission or endorse the current air war.

<P> The Senate, by contrast, adopted a bipartisan resolution endorsing the air war, 58 to 41, but defeated a resolution allowing Clinton to use "all necessary force" in the Balkans to defeat Milosevic.

<P> Only three Democrats in the Senate -- Jeff Bingaman (N.M.), Ernest F. Hollings (S.C.) and Russell D. Feingold (Wis.) -- opposed the air war. In the House, 26 of 207 Democrats voted against a resolution supporting the air war, a measure that failed on a 213-213 tie.

<P> Some of the House Democrats who voted against the resolution, including Reps. Dennis J. Kucinich (Ohio) and Rod R. Blagojevich (Ill.), represent districts with many constituents of Serbian and Croatian descent. Others, including Reps. Cynthia A. McKinney (Ga.) and Neil Abercrombie (Hawaii), indicated they favored negotiations over bombing.

<P> Since then, however, other Democrats who initially rallied behind Clinton are having second thoughts.

<P> "I have real reservations about whether we should continue down this road," said Rep. John Lewis (Ga.), the chief deputy Democratic whip and a prominent civil rights leader. "If we can talk and engage in dialogue it's better than dropping bombs. Too many innocent people are being slaughtered."

<P> Sen. Bob Kerrey (D-Neb.), a decorated Vietnam War hero, said that at this point Clinton and the NATO forces have no choice but to continue the bombing in hopes of grinding down Milosevic's resolve, while "recognizing that it's not likely to have a very happy ending."

<P> Another Democratic senator, who spoke on the condition of anonymity, said that he is concerned that Clinton and the NATO allies launched the war without a coherent plan or strategy. "I think there's a fair amount of concern, if not apprehension, as to whether the administration has thought it all through and has a strategy," this Democrat said.

<P> For all the criticism, a majority of Democrats in both chambers continue to support Clinton, with many convinced that NATO's prestige and credibility are on the line. Democrats overwhelmingly supported emergency legislation last week to fund the war. "The vast majority of our members support the president and understand the horrific policy of Milosevic and the need to keep NATO viable," said Rep. David E. Bonior (Mich.), the Democratic whip.

<P> But other Democrats say it is not that simple: While they would eagerly support efforts to "take out" Milosevic as a war criminal, they are finding it increasingly difficult to justify NATO's daily pounding of Yugoslavia with

hout some end in sight. Some members are also beginning to feel the heat at home.

<P> Moran recalls encountering scores of angry constituents at the Falls Church farmers market the day after NATO pilots mistakenly bombed the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade.

<P> "All of them were angry at the United States," he said, "and apparently far more offended that the Chinese Embassy had been bombed than that thousands of Kosovars had been executed and hundreds of thousands forcefully removed from their homes."


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<P>Pacific Stars & Stripes

May 22, 1999

Pg. 1

<P>Panel Urges DOD To Improve Commissaries

<P>By Chuck Vinch, Stripes Washington Bureau

<P> WASHINGTON The House Armed Services Committee is pressing the Defense Department to consider selling new products in military commissaries and opening up exchanges to more customers as ways to keep the resale system viable.

<P> In drafting its version of the \$288.8 billion defense authorization bill for next fiscal year, the committee said budget cutbacks are taking a toll across a wide range of military morale, welfare and recreation programs particularly the commissaries.

<P> "Budget pressures have forced the Defense Department to relentlessly ferret out funding wherever it can be found," said Rep. John McHugh, R-N.Y., chairman of the committee's MWR panel. "Unfortunately, the comptroller's ferrets have gnawed away at MWR programs with more than a little enthusiasm.&

quot;

<P> McHugh said the resale system of commissaries and exchanges is "our biggest challenge. Sales are flat and facilities are aging. We must find a way to fund and operate commissaries more efficiently. We may need to expand the customer base in the ex-changes."

<P> The commissaries get about \$1 billion a year in taxpayer subsidies, but still lose money because their discount pricing policies, which save servicemembers roughly 25 percent compared with off-base stores, don't provide enough cash flow to expand and replace facilities, a committee staffer said.

<P> Lawmakers are reluctant to increase subsidies or the 5 percent surcharge that commissaries place on their goods. "That leaves us with attracting more customers," the staffer said.

<P> To that end, the MWR panel wants the Defense Department to move faster to carry out a customer survey, which would highlight additional products that might get more patrons into the stores.

<P> The panel also urged the Pentagon to open more combined commissary-exchange facilities on bases that are closing as a way to keep retiree patrons. McHugh said the 1996 Defense Authorization Act gave the military permission to open as many as 10 such stores, but to date only three are in operation "depriving thousands of military retirees across the nation access to a valuable MWR benefit."

<P> The committee bill would direct the Pentagon to review its process and criteria for establishing such stores and report back to Congress by Jan. 1.

<P> The panel also wants another report by Jan. 1 on the idea of opening military resale facilities to veterans with at least a 30 percent disability, who under current policy can shop in military stores only if they are also retirees. That recommendation would add hundreds of thousands of people to the potential customer base.

<P> While it's fine to keep an eye on where the money goes, the resale benefit is too important to servicemembers and their families to base policy decisions solely on financial considerations, he said.


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<P>Defense Daily

May 21, 1999

Pg. 1

<P>House Panel Adds \$2.6 Billion To Procurement

<P>By Sheila Foote

<P>The House Armed Services Committee on Wednesday night completed an FY 00 Defense Authorization Bill that recommends \$288.8 billion in budget authority--\$8.3 billion more than requested by the administration--and adds funds to dozens of weapons programs.

<P>"The additional funds provided in this bill, when combined with the additional funds in the Kosovo supplemental, will cover a large percentage of the critical unfunded priorities that the Joint Chiefs identified in the administrations defense budget for next fiscal year," said HASC Chairman Rep. Floyd Spence (R-S.C.)

<P> "However, revitalizing our military forces will take an even more aggressive and sustained effort in the years ahead--years during which we will be left to manage the growing risks associated with the U.S. armed forces ability to protect and promote our interests around the world," Spence said.

<P> The House panel recommends \$55.6 billion for procurement, \$2.6 billion more than the presidents request.

<P>It recommends \$35.8 billion for research and development, \$1.5 billion more than the administrations request, according to a HASC press release summarizing the bill.

<P> One of the only apparent major cuts made by the HASC is a \$105 million cut in Lockheed Martins [LMT] troubled Theater High Altitude Area Defense program. The DoD had requested \$507 million for the program.

<P> The highlights of the HASCs recommended increases in funding for weapons systems are included below.

<P>Ballistic Missile Defense

<P>* \$417 million more for the Ballistic Missile Defense Organization, for a total of \$3.7 billion, within which was included:

<P>* \$8 million more for modernization of the Kwajalein Missile Range;

<P>* \$25 million more for exoatmospheric intercept technology and near-term technology insertion;

<P>* \$48.5 million more in R&D for the PAC-3 by Lockheed Martin and Raytheon [RTNA/RTNB], for a total of \$77.9 million. The bill recommends matching the DoDs procurement request of \$300.9 million;

<P>* \$25 million more to support a cooperative international BMD program called the Russian American Observational Satellites program, for a total of \$61.7 million;

<P>* \$50 million more to a Navy coordinated radar improvement program designed for BMD and fleet air defense, for a total of \$55.7 million;

<P>Aircraft

<P>* \$152 million more to upgrade the Northrop Grumman [NOC] B-2 bomber fleet to reduce the aircrafts radar cross section and integrate Link 16, for a total of \$353.8 million. The HASC also recommends \$35 million more than requested, or \$141.9 million, in post-production support funding that is intended to be used to integrate a system into the B-2 that allows real-time flight planning;

<P>* \$50 million more to modify two Northrop Grumman E-2C Hawkeye airplanes to the Hawkeye 2000 configuration, for a total of \$78.2 million. The HASC also recommends adding \$15 million to the \$27.1 million R&D request for the E-2C radar modernization program;

<P>* \$46 million more to buy one Northrop Grumman Joint STARS aircraft in FY 00 and advance fund the 15th Joint STARS aircraft in FY 01, for a total of \$326.3 million in Joint STARS procurement. The HASC also recommends \$30 million extra, or \$160.5 million, to accelerate the Radar Technology Insertion Program, and \$8 million more, or \$19.5 million, to complete development of the secure data link for the Joint STARS ground station;

<P>* \$45 million more for modifications to the Northrop Grumman EA-6B Prowler to improve its ability to jam radar systems and \$5 million extra to evaluate options for a follow-on support jammer, for a total of \$206 million;

<P>* \$50 million more than the request for F-15 engine modifications and upgrades, for a total of \$313.5 million;

<P>* \$63 million more for kits to upgrade 14 Marine Corps F/A-18As, built by Boeing [BA], for a total of \$371.8 million for F-18 series modifications;

<P>* \$30 million more to accelerate development and flight testing of an alternate engine for the Joint Strike Fighter, for a total of \$265.4 million in the Air Force portion of the JSF. The HASC recommends funding the full request of \$241.2 million for the Navy JSF;

<P>* \$252 million more to buy four Lockheed Martin KC-130Js for the Marine Corps;

<P>* \$18 million more for the Marine Corps to buy three Cessna [TXT] UC-35 aircraft, a long-range medium-lift airplane that will replace the CT-39;

<P>* \$60 million more for one additional Bell Helicopter Textron [TXT]-Boeing V-22 tiltrotor, or \$987.4 million for a total of 11 aircraft. The HASC also recommends \$9 million more, or \$25 million, to accelerate development of the CV-22 special operations variant;

<P>* \$9 million more to upgrade the inventory of TRW [TRW]-Israel Aircraft Industries Hunter unmanned aerial vehicles; and

<P>* \$20 million more to buy two more General Atomics Predator UAVs than requested, for a total of \$58 million and five UAVs.

<P>Helicopters

<P>* \$45 million more for aircraft sensors and avionics circuit redesign to modify 60 Boeing AH-64A Apaches to the Longbow configuration, for a total of \$774.5 million;

<P>* \$56.1 million more to upgrade Boeing CH-47 Chinook improved cargo helicopters and extend the systems life-span by 20 years, for a total of \$126.8 million ;

<P>* \$38 million more for two additional Sikorsky [UTX] CH-60S combat support helicopters, for a total of \$320.3 million and 15 helicopters;

<P>* \$26.6 million more to the Marine Corps 4BN/4BW helicopter upgrade, performed by Bell, for a total of \$184.3 million;

<P>* \$56 million more to speed development of the Army's Comanche armed reconnaissance helicopter, developed by Boeing-Sikorsky, for a total of \$483 million; and

<P>* \$26.7 million more for three more Sikorsky UH-60 Blackhawks, for a total of \$112.8 million and 11 helicopters.

<P>Munitions

<P>* \$114 million more to accelerate procurement of Boeing Joint Direct Attack Munitions, for a total of \$275.2 million;

<P>* \$110 million more for the Raytheon Joint Standoff Weapon, for a total of \$344.9 million;

<P>* \$52 million more for Hellfire missiles, built by a Lockheed Martin-Boeing joint venture;

<P>* \$10 million more to convert older Raytheon Maverick missiles to an updated infrared and electro-optical configuration, for a total of \$12.8 million; and

<P>* \$300 million more than the president's request to remanufacture 326 Raytheon Tomahawk anti-ship missiles to the Block III configuration, restart the Tomahawk Land Attack Missile Block III production line, and buy new TLAM Block III missiles, for a total of \$350.9 million.

<P>Ships

<P>* \$15 million more for advance procurement of materials for the LHD-8 amphibious assault ship, built by Ingalls Shipbuilding [LIT];

<P>* \$5 million more for advance procurement funding of insertion of advanced technologies into the third boat in the <I>Virginia</I>-class of New Attack Submarines, developed by a team of General Dynamics [GD] Electric Boat and Newport News Shipbuilding [NNS], for a total of \$753.5 million. The HASC also recommends \$25 million more for development of advanced New Attack Submarine technologies, for a total of \$192.5 million; and

<P>* \$14 million more to develop advanced munitions for the DD-21 next-generation destroyer, including \$21.8 million to develop a near-term land attack missile and \$14 million to develop the Extended Range Guided Munition and advanced, miniaturized guidance and controls.

<P>Ground Weapons and Vehicles

<P>* \$26.4 million more to accelerate development of the General Dynamics Advanced Amphibious Assault Vehicle and move up the initial operational capability from FY 06 to FY 05, for a total of \$121.2 million;

<P>* \$12 million more to Army science and technology funding for critical enabling technologies for future combat vehicles;

<P>* \$49.4 million more to upgrade 24 United Defense, L.P., M88A1 recovery vehicles to the M88A2 Hercules Improved Recovery Vehicle variant, for a total of \$72.3 million;

<P>* \$31 million more to accelerate the Lockheed Martin High Mobility Artillery Rocket System, for a total of \$37 million;

<P>* \$4.2 million more to lightweight 155mm towed howitzer by Britain's Marconi Land & Naval Systems, for a total of \$27.4 million;

<P>* \$25 million more to upgrade the M113A3 troop carrier, for a total of \$78.5 million;

<P>* \$60 million more for miscellaneous National Guard and Reserve Equipment;

<P>* \$557 million more for National Guard and Reserve modernization programs, within which was included:

<P>* \$15 million more for Advanced Surgical Suite for Trauma Casualties;

<P>* \$25.9 million more for Raytheon Enhanced Position Location Reporting Systems (EPLRS), for a total of \$64.7 million for the Army National Guard. The HASC also recommends a \$20.3 million add to buy EPLRS for the Marine Corps;

<P>* \$72 million more to upgrade ANG Bradley Fighting Vehicles, built by United Defense; and

<P>* \$47.2 million more to buy Single Channel Ground and Airborne Radio Systems with Advanced System Improvement Program upgrades, built by ITT [IIN].

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<P>USA Today

May 21, 1999

<P>DOE Concedes Nuke-Board Need

<P>By Peter Eisler, USA Today

<P> WASHINGTON -- The Department of Energy (DOE) has reversed its opposition to legislation that would set up an independent commission to monitor security at the government's nuclear weapons plants and labs, all but assuring that the unusual plan will become law.

<P> The legislation, authored by Sen. John Warner, R-Va., mirrors an idea that was derailed two years ago by DOE officials, who were reluctant to give oversight powers to a panel outside its control, which would be a highly exceptional arrangement for a Cabinet-level department.

<P> But Energy Secretary Bill Richardson, who took over the department last fall, said in an interview Thursday that he believes such a commission can validate his efforts to reform the department's much-criticized security operations.

<P> "I'm ready to accept the concept that we should be investigated and reviewed by outside, qualified experts," he said. "For us to have credibility, it's important that we be assessed <ellipsis> by independent groups."

<P> Richardson's endorsement reflects the struggle he faces in addressing sharp congressional criticism of DOE's security, which has been buffeted by revelations that a scientist at Los Alamos National Laboratory in New Mexico is suspected of passing nuclear secrets to China from 1983 into the mid-1990s.

<P> Richardson has launched security reforms across the nationwide network of plants and labs where the DOE develops, maintains and decommissions U.S. nuclear weapons.

<P> Changes include the appointment of a "security czar" to consolidate and coordinate the agency's fragmented security operation, which includes an array of warring "fiefdoms," Richardson says, that have blocked past efforts at reform.

<P> Other initiatives are meant to strengthen computer security and counter intelligence programs, update alarm systems and expand guard forces.

<P> The new, permanent oversight commission will be charged with seeing that security measures are effective. Its nine members, to be drawn from inside and outside government, will include representatives of the Pentagon, FBI and CIA. The panel will report to Congress and DOE.

<P> Had such a commission been created two years ago, when it was first proposed, "I cannot help but believe that the recent events at (Los Alamos) might have been avoided or, certainly, resolved much earlier," Warner wrote to Richardson in March.

<P> But DOE officials fought successfully to soften that original proposal. They agreed to a compromise under which the department set up a Security Management Board that included outside officials, but it remained under the department's control. USA TODAY reported earlier this week that members of the board complain that it has met only a few times and issued few policy recommendations.

<P> Raymond Mislock, associate deputy director of the CIA and a member of the board, recently referred to the panel as "a feckless exercise with no accomplishments."

<P> Richardson's support of the revived proposal for a completely independent commission virtually assures passage of the plan, which already has bipartisan support in the House and Senate. The legislation is an amendment to a bill authorizing defense programs.

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<P>New York Times

May 21, 1999

<P>U.S. Acts In Behalf Of Immigrants Who Fled Right-Wing Regime
s

<P>By Joel Brinkley

<P> WASHINGTON -- Reversing decades-old Cold War policy, the federal government announced Thursday that hundreds of thousands of immigrants who fled repression from right-wing governments will now be eligible for many of the same protections from deportation that had been reserved for immigrants from left-wing or communist countries.

<P> The rule mainly affects about 240,000 immigrants from El Salvador and Guatemala, who fled the repressive governments and civil wars in those countries in the 1980s and have been living in the United States in legal limbo ever since. Under the new rule, which takes effect June 21, the Immigration and Naturalization Service will more easily presume that these people would be subject to "extreme hardship" if they returned.

<P> As a result, their applications for legal residency will be streamlined, and they cannot be deported while that process is under way. Previously, under a law passed in 1997, protections of this sort had been available only to immigrants from Nicaragua, who argued that they had been victims of the former Marxist Sandinista government, and from communist Cuba.

<P> Until the 1990s, the United States had backed, even propped up, the right-wing governments in Guatemala and El Salvador, despite horrific human rights abuses in those countries.

<P> The Guatemalans and Salvadorans came to this country "seeking refuge from civil war and turmoil," Doris Meissner, the commissioner of immigration and naturalization, said at a news conference Thursday. "They have put down deep roots and are making a significant contribution to society. They've spent decades in legal limbo, but this gives them permanent relief from deportation or removal."

<P> Central American immigrant organizations had long lobbied the U.S. government to make the change. Most of the immigrants, and their political allies, are in California and Florida, important states for the Democrats.

<P> But those in Congress who are more conservative on immigration issues had expressed fear that the blanket amnesty would grant legal status to criminals and others who are unsuitable for citizenship.

<P> To address those polar concerns, Ms. Meissner noted that while the immigrants in question would receive special handling, each would also have to sit for an interview with an asylum officer. The agency will maintain the right to

contest the application and send the immigrant to court. And, Ms. Meissner noted, the review process for all of them would take several years, adding that "while the review process is under way, these people are safe and able to stay in the country."

<P> But Ms. Meissner specifically noted that the new rule "will not result in people getting any benefit that they would not otherwise have received, under a much longer, and more complex and difficult process."

<P> The National Immigration Forum, which lobbies on behalf of immigrants, said, "If implemented properly, this program could provide a measure of justice to a defined group of hard working, long-established refugees" who have been "treated unfairly for almost two decades."

<P> In a statement, Rep. Lamar Smith, R-Texas, who is chairman of the House Judiciary subcommittee on immigration, criticized the new rule, saying: "Amnesty rewards those who break the law and encourages more illegal immigration. It is a slap in the face to all those who patiently waited their turn to come to the U.S."

<P> The new regulation amends a 1997 law that awarded amnesty to 155,000 Nicaraguans and Cubans but gave less generous relief to the Salvadorans and Guatemalans.

<P> Under the rule applied Thursday, the new group will be spared the need to appear before an immigration judge, where they would have to prove that they had lived in this country continuously for the last seven years and would be victims of "extreme hardship" if they returned home.

<P> In effect, they will be presumed to be eligible for legal residency unless the immigration service can find grounds to deny it.

<P> Ms. Meissner said about 190,000 Salvadorans and 50,000 Guatemalans were covered under the new rule. In addition, the immigration service said, about 10,000 people who fled Eastern European countries that had been part of the Soviet Union will also be covered under the new rule.


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<P>Washington Post

May 24, 1999

Pg. 23

<P>Translating DOD Speak

<P> Troubled by military jargon and acronyms? The Pentagon has nothing on the following news item from the May 3 edition of HILLINT (itself, short for Capitol Hill Intelligence), a newsletter on defense developments published weekly by Ted Cormaney of Program Analysis Associates. For the military jargon-challenged, here is an annotated version:

<P> NAVY SHUTS THE DOOR ON NTACMS(1); OPNAV(2)OPTS FOR NEW MISSILE

<P> Navy committed to an Advanced Land Attack Missile (ALAM)(3) to coincide with IOC(4) of DD-21(5) in 2009, according to memo from VCNO Pilling(6) to USD(A&T) Gansler(7). ALAM to be funded in PR-01(8) for AOA(9) and proceed to full and open competition. Funding profile is ROM(10) \$100 million across the FY DP(11), entering EMD(12) in the FY04-05(13) time frame. USD(A&T) Gansler reported to have OK'd ALAM and initiated MNS(14) and ORD(15)

<P> (1) NTACMS: The Navy version of the Army Tactical Missile System (ATACMS), a surface-to-surface guided missile with an anti-personnel/anti-materiel warhead.

<P> (2) OPNAV: Operational Navy

<P> (3) ALAM: A ship-to-ground Navy missile that's fired in support of a Marine amphibious assault.

<P> (4) IOC: Initial operating capability

<P> (5) DD-21: A new class of Navy destroyers

<P> (6) VCNO Pilling: Vice Chief of Naval Operations, Adm. D.L. Pilling

<P> (7) USD(A&T) Gansler: Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition and Technology Jacques Gansler

<P> (8) PR-01: Program review for the Fiscal 2001 budget. Program reviews are performed in the odd years of a two-year Pentagon planning cycle.

<P> (9) AOA: Analysis of alternatives, a review that must be performed in the acquisition cycle for any new weapons system.

<P> (10) ROM: Rough order of magnitude, Pentagon shorthand for approximately

<P> (11) FYDP: Future Year Defense Plan, which used to be called a five-year defense plan until the Pentagon went to a two-year planning cycle.

<P> (12) EMD: Engineering, manufacturing and development

<P> (13) FY04-05: Fiscal years 2004-2005; fiscal year 2004 begins Oct. 1, 2003.

<P> (14) MNS: Mission needs statement, a document that must be prepared at the beginning of any new weapons system development explaining why the system is needed.

<P> (15) ORD: Operational requirements document, which explains what a needed new weapons system is supposed to do.

<P> In short, the Navy doesn't like the Army missile system and wants to build its own.

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<P>Philadelphia Inquirer

May 22, 1999

<P>DNA Testing Set For Troop Remains

<I><P>The technology is to be used to try to identify about 70 U.S. "unknowns" from the Korean War.

</I><P>By Robert Burns, Associated Press

WASHINGTON - The Pentagon for the first time will try to use DNA technology to identify the remains of U.S. troops killed in the Korean War and buried as "unknowns" at the National Memorial Cemetery in Hawaii.

About 70 sets of remains are candidates to be disinterred at the cemetery, commonly called the Punchbowl, where 864 remains of unidentified soldiers are buried. They were turned over to the United States by North Korea after a cease-fire ended the conflict in 1953, but the remains could not be identified.

<P> Only the 70 are considered candidates because the records associated with them, such as military unit or recovery location, suggest a name, Pentagon spokesman Larry Greer said. Name associations are vital because the DNA technique for positive identification requires a comparison blood sample from the maternal bloodline.

<P> The names were not released. Greer said not all the families had been contacted.

<P> Pat Dunton of the Korean War/Cold War Association of the Missing said her organization and others had lobbied the Pentagon for years to use DNA testing more aggressively on Korean War remains.

<P> "It's an excellent thing," she said in an interview. "It needs to be done."

<P> Yesterday's announcement follows the identification last year of Air Force First Lt. Michael Blassie, the former Vietnam War unknown from the Tomb of the Unknowns at Arlington National Cemetery. The same mitochondrial DNA technology used in his case will be used in the Korean War cases.

<P> The Blassie case stirred emotional debates about whether the Tomb of the Unknowns should be disturbed, whether a replacement set of unknown remains from Vietnam should be put in, and, later, whether the Pentagon should set a policy of disinterring potentially identifiable remains at war cemeteries.

<P> The work will be done by forensics experts at the military's Central Identification Laboratory in Hawaii.

<P> The Pentagon certified the use of mitochondrial DNA testing as a reliable forensic tool in 1995 and has used the technique to identify some Korean War remains turned over by North Korea in the early 1990s.

<P> Greer said no firm timetable had been set for beginning the disinterments at the Punchbowl cemetery.

<P> The 864 sets of remains at the Punchbowl are among the approximately 8,200 men listed as unaccounted for from the Korean War. Most of the rest are in North Korea, and the Pentagon has been working with the North Korean government in recent years to recover remains at former battle sites.

<P> Eventually the Pentagon may disinter remains from World War II cemeteries, Greer said.

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Inside The Navy

May 24, 1999

Pg. 1

Navy Restructures Remote Minehunting System In Wake Of Cost Growth

Numbers cut, but still outfit carrier group

The Navy has restructured the development schedule of a future autonomous minehunting vehicle in the wake of a large research and development cost increase announced last month (Inside the Navy, April 26, p1). As part of the service's fiscal year 2001 program review it has shifted procurement dollars for the Remote Minehunting System (RMS) to research and development, while cutting the number of units to be bought within the next several years in half.

Originally the Navy had planned to purchase 15 of the units from FY-02 to FY-05. Now, Pentagon sources say the service will buy only seven or eight of the systems over those years, plowing the money saved into the r&d line to cover the cost increase.

Sources point out this strategy has an important upside in the era of constrained budgets, as it allows for getting the program back on track without upsetting the schedule of another program. Additionally, despite the procurement cut, the seven or eight units will still meet the requirement for fielding enough systems to outfit one carrier battle group by FY-05, an important consideration because Defense Secretary William Cohen has added money to the service's mine warfare accounts in the past with the express purpose of getting systems to the fleet, rather than keeping them in extended r&d schedules. Officials had been considering in recent weeks whether they should scrap the program altogether in favor of a new system. Some said there were smaller minehunters that could do the mine reconnaissance job less expensively. However, the Navy now plans to stay the course with RMS.

One source indicated that the program should be able to stay on track for the FY-05 delivery, as the recent problems haven't involved technical issues.

"In the refining of the program, it just cost more than had been originally thought," explained the source, without saying exactly how much money had been shifted to r&d.

<P> The service had planned to spend \$436 million between FY-00 and FY-05 on the program, including \$48 million in FY-00 and \$55 million in FY-01. Procurement had been set at \$102 million in FY-02 for four systems, \$79 million in FY-03 for four, \$80 million in FY-04 for another four and \$72 million in FY-05 for three.

<P> RMS, which is being developed by Lockheed Martin, is a key component of the Navy's plan to move towards organic, vice dedicated, mine countermeasures forces. It is one of seven systems being developed that will collectively form the core organic minehunting force for future Navy battle groups.

<P> The system is deployed from ships and speeds ahead of them to identify mines and minefields and record their locations for subsequent avoidance or removal. It is designed to be used from over-the-horizon and will be able to detect, classify, and identify bottom and moored mines in both deep and shallow water.

<P> Navy officials plan to send the fiscal year 2001 program review to the Office of the Secretary of Defense for review at the end of the month.

<I><P>-- Peter J. Skibitski </I>

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<P>Inside The Navy

May 24, 1999

Pg. 10

<P>Better Weather, More Aircraft Leads To Drop In Tomahawk Strikes

<I><P>Improved planning helps cut TLAM response time

</I><P> ABOARD USS LEYTE GULF IN THE ADRIATIC SEA -- As the weather

her in the Balkans has improved in recent weeks and more U.S. aircraft have been deployed to the region, the number of Tomahawk Land Attack Missile strikes against Serbian targets in Yugoslavia and Kosovo from this ship, and others in the region, have dropped, according to Capt. Raymond Donahue, the commanding officer of this Aegis cruiser.

<P> The better weather means the swelling number of NATO aircraft in the region can now use less expensive laser-guided bombs and other munitions to strike at Serb targets rather than using the Navy's limited number of premier strike missiles, which are much more expensive than laser-guided bombs.

<P> "There is a conscious effort to use the best weapon to service the best target," Donahue told Inside the Navy on May 20.

<P> Early on in the conflict, when cloudy weather hampered air strikes, TLAMs were called on often. In addition to the weather, the success of NATO missions to date has cut the number of fixed sites that need to be targeted, shrinking the pool of targets Tomahawks are normally used against. "It reflects the change in what he's got left," Donahue said of the type of targets that are still being struck in the region.

<P> "I think we shot a lot in the beginning because we didn't have the air assets available," according to Lt. Cmdr. Russell Haas, the executive officer of Leyte Gulf.

<P> Leyte Gulf and the other ships of the aircraft carrier Theodore Roosevelt battle group replaced other Tomahawk-carrying ships in early April.

<P> Donahue declined to say exactly how many TLAMs his ship has fired, but in conversations here over the past two weeks, Navy sources say the service has launched over 220 missiles and Leyte Gulf has fired about 14. The night before ITN arrived aboard this ship, it launched one missile, its first in weeks.

<P> As U.S. and NATO aircraft and missiles have pounded targets in the region, the number of fixed sites still operating has declined, targets that TLAMs might normally be used against. But there are still some of those kinds of missions left for the ships here because some of the targets, such as airfields that are cratered and then repaired, need to be "revisited" time after time.

<P> But with the number of fixed targets dwindling, the Navy has been able to get the TLAMs into action against mobile targets or time-sensitive targets by streamlining the amount of planning and programming that accompanies the launch process, Donahue said.

<P> "We can get it in times of less than an hour," Donahue said of the push toward more responsive targeting that allows missiles to be launched more quickly than normal. "They've cut down all the steps in the process."

<P> "People here are very excited about what it portends for the future," Donahue said.

<P> Haas called the new methods for using Tomahawks "unprecedented."

<P> Officials declined to say exactly what kind of missiles are being used,

but the later model of the TLAM, the Block IIIC, uses Global Positioning System guidance that is easier to program than earlier versions that use a digital terrain mapping guidance for steering.

<P> But Donahue did hint that later versions of the missile were being used . "If we were flying first-generation Tomahawks . . . we wouldn't have been able to do the things we are doing today," he said.

<P> The quicker response time makes the TLAMs more useful against fleeing Serb targets, and the new procedures and tactics are evolving as the campaign drags on. As one example of the Tomahawk's new role, one or two missiles are sometimes used to knock out mobile Serb air defense missiles or radars, clearing a corridor for aircraft that then swoop in and destroy fixed command and control sites.

<I><P>-- Roman Schweizer </I>

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<P>European Stars And Stripes

May 22, 1999

Pg. 2

<P>Man Asks Clinton To Pardon Mutiny Conviction From WWII

<P> WASHINGTON (AP) Fifty-five years after the worst domestic loss of life in World War II, one of the survivors of an ammunition explosion is asking President Clinton to clear his name.

<P> Freddie Meeks and 49 other black sailors were court-martialed for mutiny for refusing to return to the loading docks after the July 1944 blast at the Port Chicago Naval Magazine that killed 320 men. Meeks, 79, is one of two known surviving members of the group of black sailors convicted and imprisoned three months after

<P> the explosion near San Francisco. "We didnt really deserve what we got, but we got it and we had to put up with it," Meeks said Thursday in a telephone interview from his home near Los Angeles. Lawyers for Meeks argued the military prosecution was racist and the punishment too harsh.

<P> "There really wasnt evidence that these men organized a mutiny the way most people think of a mutiny at sea," said one of Meeks lawyers, Brian Busey. "These were 50 men who decided individually that they were not going to go back and load ships ... after seeing hundreds of their friends blown to smithereens."

<P> The sailors defied white officers orders to resume loading ships two weeks after the blast. Two-thirds of those killed were members of the all-black loading crews that stacked bombs and other explosives aboard Navy ships. White sailors in the same position would not have been court-martialed, Busey contended.

<P> The pardon petition argues that Meeks apprehension was justified, although he did not mutiny. It also notes that Meeks volunteered for any other Navy duty, including service at the front lines, instead of returning to the docks. A pardon would clear Meeks record but is not the same as a reversal of the court-martial conviction. The Navy has refused to do that.

<P> Meeks lawyers presented the pardon petition to Navy Secretary Richard Danzig with a request for a speedy review because of Meeks declining health. Danzig will review the case and make a recommendation to the Justice Department.

<P> From there, a recommendation will be forwarded to the White House. A 1994 Navy legal review concluded that the black seamen had faced racial prejudice but found no grounds to overturn their courts-martial. The review came after several years of congressional pressure aimed at clearing the sailors names.

<P> More than 250 black sailors initially refused to go back to the loading docks. Eventually, 208 were forced to return and were disciplined. The 50 sailors who continued on with the boycott were court-martialed by an all-white military jury.

<P> Meeks served less than two years of an original 15-year sentence, then returned to active duty in the Navy to serve out the term of his draft. He was discharged from the service in 1946 and his military benefits were later restored.

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<P>Norfolk Virginian-Pilot

May 21, 1999

<P>Judge Dismisses Suit To Restrict Navy In Adding Jets At Oceana

<P>By Louis Hansen, The Virginian-Pilot

<P> NORFOLK -- A Federal District Court judge Thursday dismissed a grassroots organization's challenge to the Navy's relocation of 10 Florida-based F/A-18 squadrons to Oceana Naval Air Station.

<P> The ruling by Judge Rebecca Beach Smith clears away one hurdle for the Navy to move 156 Hornet jets from Cecil Field in Jacksonville, Fla., to Virginia Beach.

<P> Although the members of Citizens Concerned About Jet Noise have not reached a formal decision, the group's chairman, John Shick, said it probably will appeal the ruling.

<P> The suit was filed in Federal District Court in Norfolk in July 1998, but has not halted the relocation of the jets. The first two squadrons arrived in December, and two more arrived in April. The Navy expects the move to Oceana to be complete by October.

<P> The suit alleged that the Navy's two Environmental Impact Statements and its Record of Decision were arbitrary, capricious and not in accordance with Navy regulations or federal environmental laws.

<P> The citizens group asked the court to order the Navy to stop the relocation and to perform a supplemental study. The group wanted a further investigation about how the supersonic jets would affect thousands of homes, schools and businesses in Virginia Beach and Chesapeake.

<P> But in Thursday's decision, Smith wrote that the Navy's study and decision did not run afoul of environmental laws. "The Navy's decision to transfer the F/A-18 aircraft was not arbitrary and capricious," Smith wrote.

<P> Lt. Cmdr. Mark McDonald, Atlantic Fleet spokesman, said Navy officials felt "very confident" in its environmental studies.

<P> "We're pleased with the ruling," he said. "The Navy did a very thorough job."

<P> The federal government ordered the Navy to shut down Cecil Field in 1993. The Navy considered three sites for the 12 Hornet fighter squadrons based at C

ecil Field: Oceana, and Marine Corps air stations in Beaufort, S.C., and Cherry Point, N.C.

<P> In May, the Navy decided to relocate two squadrons to Beaufort, and the rest to Oceana. The 10 squadrons are supported by about 4,600 personnel, and are expected to pump \$185 million annually into the local economy.

<P> Citizens Concerned About Jet Noise will remain active, Shick said. The group, led by retired military officers and professionals in Virginia Beach and Chesapeake, meets regularly to discuss ways of mitigating the impact of jet noise in the community.

<P> "We're talking about a big environmental problem," he said.

<P> Shick said he was not disappointed by the ruling: "It's likely that we'll appeal," he said.

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<P>Washington Post

May 24, 1999

Pg. 23

<P>New Admiral Pilots Smallest U.S. Corps

<P>By Judy Sarasohn, Washington Post Staff Writer

<P> Commanding a ship was not something that Evelyn Fields, a black woman armed with an undergraduate degree in math, envisioned in her career plans when she graduated some 28 years ago from Norfolk State College.

<P> "To be honest, in the early '70s, I was looking for a job, any kind of a job," she recalls. "Growing up in the Norfolk area, which is a sea town, I never really thought about going to sea. I never really spent more than the normal amount of time going to the beach."

<P> But friends recommended the Atlantic Marine Center, part of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, where she got a job in 1972 as a cartographer. The next year when NOAA, a Commerce Department agency, began recruiting women into its uniformed service, Fields signed up.

<P> Fields rose through the ranks of the 233-member NOAA Corps, the smallest of the nation's seven corps of commissioned officers, becoming the first woman to command a U.S. government ship for an extended period of time, according to NOAA. And earlier this month, she was promoted to rear admiral and was confirmed by the Senate as director of the NOAA Corps.

<P> The eldest of two girls and three boys, Fields, 49, outranks her brothers, who have retired as army officers.

<P> Fields is responsible for a staff of 700--civilians and commissioned officers--15 research ships and 14 aircraft that survey the world's oceans and the nation's bays, take stock of fisheries, produce nautical maps for shipping vessels and study weather systems. Officers must have a college degree in science or engineering.

<P> The most widely known mission is hunting hurricanes: NOAA Corps pilots fly into the storms to assess their strength and chart their movements.

<P> NOAA Corps crews also located the wreckage of TWA Flight 800 off Long Island, provided damage assessment after the major oil spill of the Exxon Valdez and produced the maps of the Persian Gulf for Operation Desert Storm.

<P> The corps traces its origins to 1807, with legislation signed by President Thomas Jefferson authorizing a "survey of the coast." But since 1995, the corps has been fighting Clinton administration efforts to strip officers of their commissioned status and disband the service. A hiring freeze in 1995 reduced the corps, then with more than 400 members, by almost half. The administration wanted to establish a new civilian position to "manage the corps."

<P> But with three studies showing that converting from a military to a civilian work force would produce only a slight cost savings at best, the corps won its battle. Congress last year authorized a corps of up to 264 officers and kept a flag officer as its chief.

<P> "I believe that my task is going to be to move us forward, to not necessarily look back at what has happened but to . . . move forward because there are an awful lot of things we can do for the organization [Commerce Department]," Fields said.

<P> One of the major tasks, she said, is to build up the corps' relationships with other agencies, the University-National Oceanographic Laboratory System (UNOLS) and other research organizations.

<P> "Everybody has to leverage their resources. It makes sense not having two vessels sitting in the same spot," Fields said.

<P> "I'm not sure that we would ever really know everything about the ocean, but we will try to find out as much as we can. . . . It's important to our d

aily lives. Water covers much of our Earth's surface, so we've got to know. . .
. I think there's so much more that we need to learn to effectively use our re
sources," Fields said.

<P> Restoring the corps' morale and numbers will take time, she said. The
corps' first class of recruits--17--in four years graduated in March.

<P> "I don't expect us to get to 264 tomorrow. We didn't get to 233 overni
ght," Fields said.

<P> Her predecessor, Rear Adm. William L. Stubblefield, who retired in Mar
ch, praised Fields's "street smarts" as well as her management skills and legis
lative knowledge.

<P> As he saw her operate under "feisty circumstances," Stubblefield said
, Fields "would sit back and listen calmly. She was not the first to engage in
the discussion." But when she did engage, she would promote consensus, he said.

<P> Race and gender are not issues, both he and Fields said. As of April,
there were nine members of minorities in the corps and 32 women.

<P> "I have spent my career working very hard. I have spent the right time
doing the right kinds of jobs and obviously have been in the right kind of ass
ignments to put me in the position to be here," said Fields. "The fact that I'm
female is nice; the fact that I'm black is nice, but I don't think those were
the reasons I was selected."

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<P>Washington Post

May 22, 1999

Pg. 3

<P>New Hampshire Covets Its Neighbor's Shipyard

One Man's Tax Crusade Becomes 2 States' Battle

By Pamela Ferdinand, Special to The Washington Post

PORTSMOUTH, N.H. Victor Bourre seems an unlikely revolutionary, with his cushy living room recliners and above-ground pool. Yet the retired shipyard worker has resurrected a tax rebellion worthy of his colonial ancestors and reignited an old feud between Maine and New Hampshire.

Bourre's revolt, replete with harborside tea protests and 17th-century maps and deeds, stems from his conviction that an island containing Portsmouth Naval Shipyard belongs to his home state of New Hampshire, not Maine. The bit of land, Seavey Island, lies in the Piscataqua River at a point where the river separates the two states, 50 miles north of Boston near Kittery, Maine, and Portsmouth, N.H.

What most rankles the 51-year-old Bourre is this: New Hampshire, the land of "Live Free or Die," has no general income tax. But for more than a decade, he and fellow shipyard workers--including nearly 1,400 Granite State residents--have been subject to Maine income tax, which also figures their spouses' income into its tax rate even if they do not work in Maine.

Invoking the rallying cry of "no taxation without representation," Bourre has refused to ante up his share of the levy for eight years, claiming he can prove the shipyard lies legally in his home state.

"It's the principle," said Bourre, a speed-talker with a compact build and sunburned brow whose marriage of 24 years disintegrated under the pressures of his fixation. "People have a right to be protected from this kind of tyranny."

New Hampshire long has contended that the state line runs along Maine's northeast riverbank, which would put the island in New Hampshire; Maine believes it runs through the middle of the river, which would put the island in Maine.

A 1976 Supreme Court ruling settling a Maine-New Hampshire lobstering dispute left the river boundary unclear, and court opinions in tax-related lawsuits involving Bourre and other disgruntled shipyard workers have sided with Maine. Unlike years past, however, this time the New Hampshire Legislature and Gov. Jeanne Shaheen (D) threw their weight behind Bourre's crusade.

In March, state representatives allotted \$200,000 for the New Hampshire attorney general to pursue a case they say is destined for the U.S. Supreme Court, which handles disputes between states. In a preemptive strike, Sen. Robert C. Smith (N.H.), a Republican presidential candidate, announced that the shipyard will be represented in New Hampshire's display at a Library of Congress bicentennial exhibit next year.

"Apparently," sniped Maine's Bangor Daily News, "presumption is nine-tenths of the law."

This could be the Ellis Island of New England, some here believe,

referring to the case last year in which New Jersey successfully challenged New York for ownership of America's historic immigration port of entry.

<P> New Jersey based its petition on an agreement signed by the two states more than a century ago. Likewise, Shaheen felt New Hampshire's position was buttressed by an 18th-century state map she reviewed during a trade mission to Britain two years ago.

<P> "We think it's a very strong claim," she said. "We believe [the shipyard] is in Portsmouth and always has been."

<P> Maine legislators, in turn, awarded their attorney general \$100,000 to mount a defense. Prior interstate feuds over liquor stores, lobster standards, highway tolls and fireworks could pale in comparison to the upcoming tussle over a New England landmark that reaps millions for the seacoast economy, observers said.

<P> "We would certainly fight this tooth and nail," said Sen. Olympia J. Snowe (R-Maine), whose husband, John R. McKernan Jr., confronted the same dispute when he was governor of Maine. "This issue goes beyond the tax treatment issue. It goes to the issue of state sovereignty and the ability of any state to apply and enforce its laws."

<P> The Navy has remained neutral, no easy feat considering that the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard was once billed as "the cradle of American shipbuilding." Established in 1800--before Maine was a state, Bourre notes--it was the site of Russo-Japanese War peace treaty negotiations in 1905 and later became the first U.S. naval shipyard to build a submarine.

<P> Today, the shipyard specializes in submarine and deep sea operations and reportedly is the second-largest employer north of Boston. Shipyard officials say the federal facility has a Portsmouth, N.H., mailing address and administrative code, and the state's flag and seal emblazoned with a Revolution-era frigate that was commissioned there. Yet, the shipyard also uses a 207 Maine area code and obtains its water, sewer service, electricity and permits from Maine.

<P> Mainers, moreover, are quick to point out that "you can't get there from here," observing that the only way to travel without a plane or boat to the shipyard is through Maine. Take that, they say.

<P> Yet, Bourre keeps going.

<P> A former shipyard planner and estimator, he noticed a map from 1800 on the commander's wall indicating Seavey Island was located in New Hampshire. That was 13 years ago.

<P> "The more I did, the more I found that everything said, 'New Hampshire, New Hampshire, New Hampshire.' And I said, 'Why are we paying taxes to Maine?' " he recalled.

<P> Bourre filed complaints and twice led hundreds of demonstrators on a latter-day Tea Party, dumping an oversized tea bag filled with peat moss, sawdust and tea into Portsmouth Harbor. Thousands of hours of research have produced

ced damning evidence, he said. The alleged proof lies in neat stacks of cross-referenced, highlighted, and dogeared charters and deeds, aerial photographs and letters piled on his kitchen table, heaped in closets and spare rooms, even under the bed in his home near here.

<P> Local historians caution that antique maps and references are often unreliable. But Bourre, undeterred now that he is being taken seriously, gleefully brandishes new ammunition with which to arm his troops: a decree signed by King George III of England defining New Hampshire as "including the river."

<P> "It's been a continuous battle," he said. "Maine is a nice place, but the people who run it don't care where anything is."


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<P>San Diego Union-Tribune

May 20, 1999

<P>Plan To Add Nuclear Ships Is Protested

<P>By James W. Crawley, Staff Writer

<P> About 50 chanting and sign-waving demonstrators picketed the Navy's regional headquarters here yesterday, protesting plans to bring more nuclear-powered warships to San Diego.

<P> The protesters, organized by the Environmental Health Coalition, hoped to get the attention of Navy Secretary Richard Danzig, who is in town this week touring local Navy and Marine Corps facilities.

<P> The Navy has proposed home-porting three nuclear flattops here. The aircraft carrier Stennis arrived at North Island Naval Air Station last year, and the Nimitz is expected to move here in 2001. A third carrier would come a few years later. A final decision may come later this year.

<P> The environmentalist group fears that a reactor accident would endanger S

an Diego Bay and surrounding communities.

<P> But yesterday Navy officials ignored the chanting protesters who stood in front of the Southwest Navy Region's downtown offices.

<P> Danzig was eating lunch across town during the noon-hour protest. And Rear Adm. Veronica Froman, who oversees local Navy installations, was meeting in Point Loma with area base commanders.

<P> Also missing was the Stennis. The carrier, which has two atomic reactors on board, was training off the local coast.

<P> Protesters attempted to deliver a letter and 2-inch-thick scrapbook for Danzig, but Navy security and public affairs personnel refused to accept delivery.

<P> "I'm shocked and outraged they wouldn't take our letter (and scrapbook)," said Laura Hunter, the coalition's Clean Bay Campaign director. "If you disagree with the Navy in this town, you get stonewalled and shut out."

<P> A Navy official suggested that the group mail the materials to the admiral.

<P> A Navy spokesman, Capt. Gregg Hartung, said Froman had previously offered to meet with the coalition's executive director alone, but Hunter said the organization wants the admiral to sit down with a group of environmentalists, instead of just one.

<P> Although Danzig did not see the protesters, he told reporters during a news conference that he is "very comfortable" with the Navy's nuclear safety record, which includes more than 117 million miles sailed without a nuclear reactor accident.

<P> He noted that San Diego had been the home of nuclear-powered surface ships in the past and that nuclear submarines are based here now.


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<P>Inside The Navy

May 24, 1999

Pg. 1

<P>6th Fleet Seeking Training Ground For Marines Afloat In Adriatic Sea

<I><P>Island site being discussed

</I><P> ABOARD USS KEARSARGE IN THE ADRIATIC SEA -- U.S. and Albanian officials are negotiating an arrangement that would allow Marines from the 26th Marine Expeditionary Unit to conduct practice exercises on a small island located just off the coast of Albania, according to Col. Kenneth Glueck, the Marine commander, and Capt. James Bolcar, the commodore of the Kearsarge amphibious ready group.

<P> Glueck and other Marine officers are concerned about maintaining the variety of skills Marines aboard the three-ship ARG may need for future missions. For weeks, there has been little to do for most of them aboard the ships except eat, sleep, work out and watch movies.

<P> "The key right now is sustainment training," Glueck told Inside the Navy.

<P> "Amphibious work is a lot of blood, sweat and tears," Bolcar said in a separate interview, emphasizing the need to give sailors and Marines the opportunity to keep sharp skills they hone to a fine edge during training the six months before the group actually deploys. "If you stay on station waiting, some of the sharper skills become dull," he said. "Fighting complacency is a real task."

<P> While Marine Harrier and helicopter pilots have been flying daily missions against Yugoslav targets in the Balkan region or supporting the small group of Marines ashore, there has been little to do on board the ships for Marine infantry, armor and combat service support units. The 2,200-person unit is spread out on the three ships of Amphibious Squadron 2, comprised of the large-deck amphibious assault ship Kearsarge and the transport ships Ponce and Gunston Hall.

<P> The tiny island of Sazan, located just off of the coast of southern Albania, has been suggested as a good place to let Marines practice the variety of missions they may have to conduct, from rescuing downed NATO pilots in Kosovo, to landing armored vehicles ashore, to deploying company-sized and smaller infantry units.

<P> Glueck said officials from 6th Fleet were working with Albanian authorities for the use of the island. Last week a fleet spokesman said talks are still ongoing and no final decision on the plan has been made.

<P> Two weeks ago, the Marines were scheduled to survey the island to determine its suitability.

<P> "We don't have a real lot of information about the island yet," Glueck said.

<P> Very few Marines have been sent ashore to Albania, and because U.S. officials want to keep a "light footprint" there, the bulk of the force has been kept afloat (Inside the Navy, May 17, p1). There are about 150 Marines from Ponce providing security for Camp Hope, a refugee camp near Fier, Albania, sent up by Joint Task Force Shining Hope and international relief agencies.

<P> Marine officials had been planning to rotate different units to provide security for civilian contractors building the camp, but those plans were shelved temporarily when the camp was opened weeks ago to accept the first trickle of refugees heading down from the Albanian-Kosovo border.

<P> Glueck said he made the decision to leave the roughly company-sized unit already there in place for a few extra days to prevent confusion by sending in a new batch of Marines who were unfamiliar with the camp, the terrain, and the local Albanian police who have been assisting the security effort.

<P> In addition to looking for training alternatives on land, the Navy and Marines are trying to make use of the open water of the Adriatic. On the same day Marines were scheduled to investigate Sazan, air-cushioned landing craft and amphibian tractors, or amtracs, were launched from the ARG's ships to give crews their first day of intense practice running the vehicles in the water since they arrived here.

<P> The Navy LCACs and Marine amtracs conducted a simulated all-out landing from the ships, but instead of roaring onto the Albanian coast, they steered their craft at an imaginary line in the water. No Marine combat troops were actually loaded into the vehicles for the exercise.

<I><P>-- Roman Schweizer </I>

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<P>U.S. News & World Report

May 31, 1999

Pg. 43

<P>A Soldier's Story

<P>By Joseph L. Galloway

<P> LONG AFTER EDDIE CARTER DIED, the U.S. Army and a grateful nation awarded him America's highest honor for heroism in combat. That was two years ago, and it seemed at the time that an old wrong had finally been righted. It had, but not entirely. Because there was still a mystery about how his country had treated Staff Sgt. Edward A. Carter Jr. About how a battlefield hero could be broken by the country he served, then banished from his beloved military career like a bum. About why.

<P> Now, at last, the mystery is ended, the puzzle complete. And if the picture it reveals is not entirely new, it reminds again how a nation consumed by paranoia and misspent passion can consume in turn even those who have loved and served it best. Until just days ago, this much was known about Sergeant Carter's case: Despite his certified record of heroism killing Nazis on the battlefields of Germany, the Army on the basis of secret charges of disloyalty that had no basis in fact denied Carter the right to continue serving his country in uniform. There was no hearing. No explanation. No appeal. Just a cold stone wall. It happened in a very different America, in an America just entering the deep freeze of the cold war, a country where patriots and political hacks pursued homegrown Communists, real and imagined, with the passion of avenging angels.

<P> It was not a good time and place to be Eddie Carter. Besides his race, Carter had lived an outsized life. He had been raised in strange lands, fought in foreign armies. China? The Spanish Civil War? Such entries on his résumé raised questions among the Commie hunters. But at such a time and place, such questions with no answers, no evidence of wrongdoing, and despite his distinguished Army service had the power to wound and wound fatally. Banned from the service, Eddie Carter fought on for years, asking only that he be allowed to pursue his love of soldiering. But the soldier's said no. Eddie Carter was crushed, his heart broken. In 1963, he died in Los Angeles. He was 47 years old.

<P> Clearly, a terrible wrong had been done. But Eddie Carter was not alone in that. Two years ago, when President Clinton presented the Medal of Honor to Carter's family, he bestowed the same belated honor on six other African-American soldiers whose service in World War II distinguished them as heroes.

<P> But Carter's story was different. Unlike the families of the other veterans who received the medal from the president, Eddie Carter's two sons and a daughter-in-law he never knew were angry. There were fine words of encomium throughout the White House ceremony. But the words Eddie Carter's kin needed to hear most were never uttered: We apologize. Edward Carter III, the eldest, recalls the memory vividly. "Honor without honor," he says, summing up the moment.

<P> The Search

<P> Which is why the story didn't stop there. Eddie Carter's family wanted to know the truth. They wanted to know it even if it burned like lye. And they wanted America to know it, too. Edward III's wife, Allene, knew the old soldier only from his cards, letters, and family photos. But in her drive to remove the stain from her father-in-law's name she allowed herself no rest. There were blizzards of demands for records. For hidden files. Using the Freedom of Information Act, she peppered the Army and the FBI for answers. It was a lonely crusade. Friends and government officials urged the family to leave the secrets of the past buried in the past. Allene Carter would hear none of it. Eddie Carter's life was destroyed by secrets and lies. Only in their exposure could healing begin.

<P> But exposure, as any detective can tell you, takes time. Slowly, painstakingly, paying her own way and working in state and national archives on her vacations from her job as a nighttime 911 supervisor in Los Angeles, Allene Carter assembled the pieces one by one. From a trunk she found in a storage locker she unearthed Eddie Carter's letters. Seeking answers, he had written to the Army, the Department of Defense, the White House. He pleaded with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the American Civil Liberties Union to champion his cause. From the letters emerges a picture of pain and bewilderment. What dark force had caused his banishment?

<P> The answers were slow in coming. Then, just last month, Allene Carter finally got what she'd been waiting for: 57 pages of documents that constituted the newly declassified counterintelligence file the Army had assembled on Eddie Carter. The contents were breathtaking. The Army opened its file on Carter in 1942, when he first enlisted. It was updated like clockwork right up until he was denied re-enlistment, in the fall of 1949. Carter, it seems, was watched like a cat. His commanders in every unit he served in filed secret reports on him. No detail was unworthy of mention. The magazines he read are noted with care: Popular Science and Popular Mechanics. So, too, the club he joined: the Masons. There are interviews with neighbors and landlords. With bosses on every job he ever had. Even Carter's father was interrogated.

<P> The File

<P> A summary of the Carter case dated June 4, 1943, listed the following "adverse information" about Sergeant Carter:

<P> 1. "Subject reportedly was a member of Abraham Lincoln Brigade, having served for 2 years with said Brigade in Spain." True enough, as far as the notation went. A born soldier, Carter had joined the brigade and fought with distinction with it in the Spanish Civil War.

<P> 2. "Potentially adverse Subject is seemingly potentially capable of having connections with subversive activities due to the fact that he spent his early years (until 1938) in the Orient and has a speaking knowledge of Hindustani and Mandarin Chinese." More true facts albeit ones unilluminated by any context. Carter's parents were missionaries, and he was raised by them as a young man in China.

<P> Twice, the record reflects, well-meaning men tried to abort the witch hunt. "In view of absence of any adverse information as result of completed investigation," an entry dated 1943 states, "it is recommended that case be closed

and authority be granted Unit Commander to mark Subject's service record: 'Not considered potentially subversive. . . .' Recommend case be closed." The recommendation went nowhere. At the end of the Carter file is a single sheet of paper, on Army letterhead, from the Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, Intelligence. The letter refers to Sergeant Carter and states: "ALLEGATION: Communist Party suspect. SOURCE: 6th Army." Then this: "Information on the allegation is not reflected in the files of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, Department of the Army." Despite all the Army's compulsive snooping and file making, in other words, there wasn't a single damning fact about Carter. Only that letter's allegation. It was dated Dec. 4, 1950. Carter had been refused re-enlistment more than a year earlier.

<P> There is irony in that. Carter's fight for justice began in September 1949, after he was told he would not be permitted to re-enlist. Had he seen that piece of paper, he would have known the charge against him. Herbert M. Levy, then a young lawyer for the American Civil Liberties Union who took on Carter's case, explains why: "The pronounced national hysteria about communism," he says, doomed Carter's cause. To truly understand, he suggests, a passing knowledge of Kafka is useful. "This was completely indecent," Levy, now 76, says. "But we were on the path to hysteria. It was guilt by association. It was un-American, but it was being done by the House Un-American Activities Committee."

<P> The Beginning

<P> To best understand Eddie Carter's story, it helps to start at the beginning. Carter was born in Los Angeles on May 26, 1916, on a brief visit home by his parents, the Rev. E. A. Carter, a traveling missionary, and Mary Carter, a native of Calcutta. The Carters took their young son back to Calcutta, where he attended grade school. The elder Carter then resettled the family in Shanghai, where young Eddie attended a military school. After his father divorced his mother and married a German national, Eddie ran away from home and joined the Chinese Nationalist Army fighting the Japanese. The father got the son back by revealing the young man's age: He wasn't yet 18.

<P> But Carter wasn't home for long. After hitching a ride on a merchant ship to Manila, he tried to enlist in the U.S. Army but was rebuffed. So he worked his way to Europe on another merchant ship and joined the Spanish Loyalists in their fight against Gen. Francisco Franco's fascists. Carter's name appears on the roster of the American volunteer unit that fought in Spain, the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. Carter spent 2 years in Spain, often in fierce combat. Once he was captured and held by Franco's forces. Somehow he escaped. At the end, in early 1938, Carter was among the Loyalists in the mountains when the line broke and those who could fled across the border to France. Carter, by all accounts, didn't take up the Loyalist cause out of any particular political bent. He threw in with them for the same reason he joined the Chinese Army: He loved a good fight.

<P> Signing Up

<P> After Spain, Carter caught a boat to America. In 1940, he met and began courting Mildred Hoover, the widowed daughter of a well-known black family that kept a boarding house in Los Angeles. On Sept. 26, 1941, Carter enlisted in the Army and was shipped to Camp Wolters, Texas, where he baffled instructors who couldn't understand how a raw recruit shot near-perfect scores with five

different weapons. From Texas, Carter was shipped to Fort Benning, Ga. Less than a year later he was promoted to staff sergeant.

<P> Combat billets for black soldiers were scarce. Army leadership subscribed to a policy that black troops couldn't be relied on in combat and were best used as service troops in engineering, transportation, or stevedore outfits. So, despite his previous combat service, Carter was assigned as a mess sergeant in the 3535 Quartermaster Truck Company. In 1942, Mildred joined him in Georgia where they were married. In two years, she gave him two sons, Edward III and William, in addition to the two children she had by a previous marriage.

<P> The domestic bliss didn't last long. On Nov. 13, 1944, Carter and his truck company arrived in Europe and were assigned to transporting supplies to the fighting forces. For three months straight, Carter began every day by volunteering for combat. No luck. By late February of 1945, however, things had changed. The Battle of the Bulge had cut through the Army's infantry ranks like a scythe. Reinforcements were needed desperately. Army brass appealed for volunteers among black troops.

<P> Carter was among the first chosen. Like the other 2,600 black volunteers, he was forced to give up his rank and become a private. Carter stripped off his sergeant stripes and awaited assignment. It didn't take long. The 7th Army sent Lt. Russell Blair to collect a platoon of black volunteers. Carter caught his eye immediately. "Eddie Carter was an outstanding soldier," Blair remembers. "He was always neat and soldierly. There was no malarkey about him. He soldiered 24 hours a day. He was one of the best ones. You bet."

<P> Things moved fast. Carter's unit was organized into the 1st Provisional Company, assigned to the 12th Armored Division, then assigned again to the 56th Armored Infantry Battalion. "They gave us some six-by-six trucks, three jeeps, a command halftrack and a maintenance halftrack," Blair says. "And that's what we fought our war out of." Floyd Vanderhoff, the company commander, and Blair, the executive officer, made two decisions right off the bat. They gave Carter his staff sergeant stripes back. Then they made him a squad leader of Infantry.

<P> To Fight

<P> The fighting was at hand. The 12th Armored Division was detached to Gen. George Patton's 3rd Army, and Old Blood and Guts was salivating at the prospect of beating Field Marshal Bernard Law Montgomery across the Rhine and punching a hole through the heart of Nazi Germany. Carter was ready. It was the 23rd day of March 1945, and the 12th Armored was on a dash toward the city of Speyer. There was a bridge over the Rhine there, still intact. The 714th Tank Battalion was rolling at the point, Eddie Carter and the other black volunteers clinging to the backs of the 714th's rumbling Shermans. Suddenly, German antitank rockets were screaming through the air. Machine-gun fire crackled.

<P> Carter and his squad took cover. Ahead was a big warehouse. That's where the rocket fire was coming from. From the road embankment he'd dived behind, Carter surveyed the scene: the warehouse and open ground, maybe 150 yards, between it and him. The warehouse had to be taken. Carter volunteered. He would lead a three-man patrol. Clambering over the embankment, Carter saw one of his men cut down instantly. He ordered the other two to turn back. Before they could r

each the embankment, one was killed, the other wounded. Carter ran on alone. Before he reached the berm surrounding the warehouse, he'd taken five bullets and three pieces of shrapnel. He crawled the last few yards, blood and dirt staining his fatigues.

<P> For two hours, Carter waited. Finally, convinced he was dead, an eight-man patrol came out to make sure. Waiting for his moment, Carter opened up with his .45-caliber Thompson submachine gun. Within seconds, six Germans were dead. Carter took the other two prisoner. Using the two as human shields, he marched back across the open field to his company.

<P> Russel Blair couldn't believe his eyes. From an observation post he'd established on the second floor of a brewery, he watched Carter and the two Nazis cross the road. Blair wanted Carter evacuated to a medic's tent so his wounds could be treated. Carter refused. Instead, he climbed the stairs to the observation post and pointed out several German machine-gun nests. Then he turned his prisoners over for interrogation. Utilizing Carter's information, Blair's company cleared the road to Speyer. The city was taken in two days.

<P> Less than a month later, Carter reported back to Blair, ready for duty. A few days after that Blair got a telegram from the Army hospital in the rear, reporting that Carter was missing, apparently gone AWOL from the hospital. "We sent word to them that it was OK," Blair says. "We told them Eddie was back with us and everything was all right."

<P> With Carter, too. In a letter home, he wrote: "Well, I am on my way back up to the front. I'll be darn glad to get back; back into the fight . . . Mill, I am in good health except for these bullet holes paining me at times. Maybe I shouldn't have talked my way out of the hospital so soon. The hospital was OK except for the four walls that just about drove me crazy."

<P> Carter soldiered on to the end of the war in Germany. In July of 1945, Captain Blair, now commanding Provisional Company 1, signed a recommendation that Carter be awarded the Distinguished Service Cross, the nation's second-highest decoration for valor in combat. The DSC was approved, one of only nine awarded to black soldiers for heroism during the war.

<P> Back Home

<P> In 1946, Carter was back in Los Angeles. He and Mildred were sought-after guests not only in black society but white society, too. One of the many invitations they accepted was to a "Welcome Home, Joe" dinner. The headliners were Frank Sinatra and Ingrid Bergman. The chairman for the event was Harpo Marx. The dinner was organized by the American Youth for Democracy, a left-wing political group. One of the sponsors was screenwriter Dalton Trumbo, who would later be blacklisted in the movie industry for refusing to answer questions of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Trouble, already, was in the air.

<P> Carter, meanwhile, made a stab at business, leasing out a wartime landing craft for movie-promotion stunts and fishing trips. But the business went bust and the war-hero scene was fading. Carter decided it was time to get back in uniform. The Army snapped him up for a three-year tour at his old rank. Not long after that, he was promoted to sergeant first class. Things, it seemed, were looking up. The brass chose Carter and two other senior noncommissioned officers

rs to train and organize a new all-black National Guard engineer unit in Southern California. Carter was back in his element.

<P> Almost from the moment he re-enlisted, however, the old questions were raised again. Army counterintelligence investigators came to interview Carter. A series of weekly Army intelligence summaries from 1945 to 1946 show how concerned intelligence agencies were with black communities. One document dated Jan. 5, 1946, looked at the "racial situation" and said, "Tension continues; no major incidents." It ranked two "sensitive areas" on the West Coast. One was Los Angeles: "Rated as sensitive because of the heavy concentration of Negro workers, unrest in the Los Angeles Harbor area, and current government contract cutbacks."

<P> Then there was that dinner. An Army intelligence summary dated Jan. 12, 1946, noted that an informer was present and stated: "Quotation of embittered World War II veterans honored at the recent Welcome Home Joe dinner sponsored by the American Youth for Democracy (CP organization) as denouncing the 'so-called democracy for which they fought' and saying that they have returned 'to find America more prejudiced than before, and intolerance at an all-time new high.'"

<P> Re-enlistment refused. Carter paid no heed. He was proud of his role in training the new all-black engineer company. Near the end of his three-year tour, he was transferred from Los Angeles to Fort Lewis, Wash. His family moved north with him. There was no sign of anything wrong until Sept. 21, 1949, when Carter's enlistment ended. When he announced his intention to re-enlist for another tour, Carter's commanders said no. He would not be allowed to re-enlist, they said, without the specific permission of the adjutant general of the Army. Carter was stunned. He paid his own way to Washington and turned up on the steps of the adjutant general's office to ask why he couldn't re-enlist. He got nowhere.

<P> Now he was angry. He turned to the NAACP. It bombarded the Army with letters and telegrams. But it got nowhere, either. NAACP lawyers could find no evidence that Carter was being discriminated against because of his race. Carter took his case to the ACLU and staff lawyer Herbert Levy.

<P> In a letter dictated by Carter to his wife, Mildred, Carter told Levy, "I have always been loyal and faithful to the land of my birth. Sir, if I were guilty of being a traitor to my country, would I have traveled at my own expense to the Department of the Army requesting permission to re-enlist? I need help. I ask for justice. This could not be democracy. There must be some mistake."

<P> By May of 1950, Carter's spirits were low. In another letter to Levy, Carter said he was enclosing his DSC medal and asked that the next time Levy visited the White House he give it back to President Truman. "In my country's hour of need, I was in the front lines with a submachine gun in my fist. My reward? A stab in the back. So far I have lost two jobs after word passed around that I had been kicked out of the Army because I was a Communist."

<P> Levy tried everything. On May 16, 1950, he wrote Defense Secretary Louis Johnson: "All that Mr. Carter asks is that he be given a statement of the charges against him and a full hearing on these charges. We join in his request."

. . We feel sure that you will agree with us that a man who has served his country so well is at least entitled to a hearing." This letter, like all others, bounced back to the adjutant general of the Army, Maj. Gen. Edward F. Witsell. He answered Levy's letter. "A complete and comprehensive review of Mr. Carter's records has been made by competent Department of the Army agencies," Witsell wrote, "and it has been determined that his re-enlistment cannot be authorized."

<P> In a private letter to another ACLU attorney, Levy wrote, on Nov. 29, 1950, that an officer in the adjutant general's office told him that the Army had "turned down Carter purely on the basis of a directive to do so from the Central Intelligence Agency, which itself did not disclose the reasons to the adjutant general." No evidence of any CIA directive in the Carter case has surfaced in the papers released to the Carter family.

<P> Herbert Levy was 26 years old when he took on the Carter case. "We never found the reason he was suspect," Levy says now, 50 years later. "The only two things there were his involvement with the Spanish Loyalists and the Youth for Democracy dinner. If you were associated with a group like that, you were suspected of being a sympathizer, or a 'Pinko.' Apparently this thing just took on a life of its own."

<P> In Tacoma, Wash., Carter got work as a vulcanizer in a tire plant. He and Mildred started breeding registered dogs to keep food on the table and the rent paid. In the summer of 1954, in answer to one of Carter's letters, Levy said, "Frankly, in view of the obvious scare thrown into the Army by the McCarthy mess, I am even less hopeful than I was in my last letter to you of April 7, 1953, in which I expressed pessimism but would not concede defeat." In response to Carter's request, the ACLU lawyer returned the DSC medal, which he had not given Harry Truman, plus copies of all Carter's records and papers.

<P> In 1955, Mildred and the children moved back to Los Angeles. Carter followed a few months later. He got work as a vulcanizer at another tire factory, in the Los Angeles area. It was hot, dirty work, just one more blow on top of the one he had already suffered in having to move back into his wife's home. Carter began drinking. By 1958 a family friend, a physician, wrote to Herbert Levy's successor at the ACLU asking if perhaps the climate in America had changed enough so that Eddie Carter might be allowed to re-enlist. The doctor noted that it would help Eddie and his family, too. The ACLU replied that it saw no reason to believe that the Army would now be willing to change its mind.

<P> Late in 1962, Carter was diagnosed with lung cancer. He died on Jan. 30, 1963, and was buried in the National Cemetery in Los Angeles. That might have been the end, except for a study undertaken by the U.S. Army in 1995-1996 to determine why no black soldiers in World War II had received a Medal of Honor. The study focused on the nine black soldiers, including Edward Allen Carter Jr., who had earned the DSC. A special Army Awards Board panel determined that seven of those DSC recipients, Carter included, should have their awards upgraded to the highest combat award, the Medal of Honor.

<P> Seeking answers. All of this was enough for Allene Carter to swing into action. "There were silences in this family that I didn't understand, and Eddie Carter and what happened to him was always at the heart of the silence," Allene Carter says. "When Mildred moved in with us, and all she could talk a

bout was Eddie, and I found the trunk in storage, it seemed like the right time to begin to find some answers to all the questions."

<P> Most of the answers are spread on the record, thanks to Allene Carter's bulldog tenacity ("I come from the South Side of Chicago; this is not some soft California person you are dealing with."). What happened to Eddie Carter Jr. should never have happened in a democratic nation. What happened to him wouldn't have happened a few years earlier or even a few years later. If the U.S. Army and the United States government would like to say "We're sorry; we apologize for what happened to Eddie Carter," the Carter family says it is ready to listen and ready to forgive. And maybe a long-dead hero who now sleeps in Arlington National Cemetery will rest a bit easier.


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<P>Inside the Army

May 24, 1999

Pg. 2

<U><P>Says 101st Airborne commander . . .

</U><P>Enemy Air Defenses A Growing Problem For Army's First-To-Fight Forces

<P> NASHVILLE, TN -- The Army's first-to-fight troops are entering a long and potentially dangerous period of vulnerability due to a lack of protection against enemy air defenses, says the commanding general of the 101st Airborne Division.

<P> According to Maj. Gen. Robert Clark, the proliferation of man-portable air defense systems and mechanized air defense systems has created a serious problem for his air assault troops, the first to enter most warfighting scenarios. The spread of these types of weapons has generated "a level of risk in air assault and aviation operations that at some time in the near future, it may become unacceptable," he said May 10 at the Army Aviation Association of America's

annual conference.

<P> This risk is magnified by the "continuing reduction" in the number of jamming platforms available to the commander during an air assault operation, Clark stated. Retirement of the Air Force's EF-111 leaves only limited quantities of the F-16CJ and Navy EA-6B Prowler to conduct effective jamming operations.

<P> "I can tell you from recent joint exercises we don't have enough," he asserted.

<P> This places the 101st Airborne with a distinct operational need for a helicopter platform targeted at joint suppression of enemy air defense, particularly in light of changing battlefield conditions. "Clearly the results of Desert Storm showed our adversaries that a static, conventional battlefield means a heavy fight in the Army on our terms. In the future, though not entirely clear, what's clearer in this regard is that a larger, more decentralized battlespace that increases proliferation of air defense systems appears to be the name of the game. The enemy will use complex terrain and [differing] asymmetrical means at his disposal," Clark said. With the average deployment consisting of 4,000 troops over an area the size of the Eastern seaboard, the 101st remains at risk for six, long hours.

<P> The solution to this dilemma is more than a decade away, however, leaving units like the 101st in a compromised position against radar-directed air defense for the next 15 years.

<P> "We don't have a solution to this problem for some years," Clark said.

<P> The Army will not field the ALQ-211 Suite of Radar Frequency Countermeasures until 2008 for its Apaches and until 2015 for the UH-60 air assault fleet, he added.

<P> "That's creating a window of vulnerability. We, like every other element on the battlefield, will be competing with a field of commanders for suppression of enemy air defense capability and that is problematic," he asserted.

<P> The answer, says Clark, is "an organic, robust J-SEAD suite for air assault operations." The fielding of suppression systems to individual aircraft may partially fill the need in the interim but it will do so "at an unacceptable risk for air assault operations in certain situations," he stated.

<P> Clark does not advocate any one technical solution over another, leaving that decision to "the experts."

<P> Clark also contends that the Army's premier attack helicopter may suffer a significant battlefield deficiency that could impact its effectiveness in the most-anticipated of future scenarios -- the city.

<P> "While the acquisition capabilities inherent in the Longbow radar will certainly revolutionize the conduct of deep attacks against large, mechanized arrays, I'm concerned about the ability of this . . . system to identify and recognize threats in complex terrain or in an urban environment," he stated. "This

concern could be exacerbated when using restricted rules of engagement or when fighting alongside our coalition partners."

<P> The Target Acquisition Designation Sight/Pilot Night Vision System on the AH-64A Apache also is a source of concern for Clark. The only remedy is integration of Second Generation Forward Looking Infrared, he insists.

<P> "The original A-model TADS/PNVS system will still remain a significant mismatch compared to the upgraded Longbow radar system, especially in areas outside a desert environment," he stated. "It only makes sense that our aviators have at least the same capabilities that our weapons have. How else are we going to get to the fight? The bottom line, in my opinion, is we need Second Gen FLIR on the Longbow," Clark emphasized.

<P> The 101st's commander would like to see other improvements to his troops' capabilities in the near-term. Simulators must faithfully replicate the systems they represent, he emphasized, noting updates to simulators must be instituted every time product improvements are made to the fleet. In light of recent high accident rates, Clark feels flight data recorders should be installed on all aircraft.

<I><P>-- Erin Q. Winograd </I>

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<P>Defense Week

May 24, 1999

Pg. 3

<P>Cost Of Not Using Apaches: \$2 Million A Day

<P>By Ron Lorenzo

<P> The Pentagon and NATO say they do not yet know how much it has cost to put Army Apache attack helicopters in Albania, which NATO appears less and less

likely to use despite the rhetorical buildup that preceded their slow arrival in the theater. But a private budget expert estimated the U.S. government is paying up to \$2 million per day to sustain the Apaches and their supporting forces.

<P> "We estimate that the costs are probably on the order of \$50 million to date and probably \$1 million to \$2 million a day," said Steven Kosiak, director of budget studies at the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, a Washington think tank that analyzes defense spending.

<P> That figure does not include the cost of the two \$14 million Apache helicopters that crashed while training in the rugged Albanian mountains, nor the hundreds of Air Force cargo flights that ferried the 5,500 troops of the Apache operation, called Task Force Hawk, and their equipment into the Albanian capital of Tirana. Kosiak said the estimate was a "really ballpark guestimate of what the costs are" based on studies of previous Army deployments, including Bosnia. Task Force Hawks monthly price tag likely runs about \$50 million, he said.

<P> The human cost of the deployment is sadly obvious: Two pilots were killed on May 5 when their Apache crashed because of a mechanical malfunction. They left behind two widows and five orphans.

<P> The cavalry?

<P> Expected to open a new front in the war against Yugoslav troops in Kosovo, Task Force Hawk and its star performer the tank-busting Apaches may wind up a footnote to NATO's air war against Yugoslavia. After more than a month of training in Albania, the Pentagon appears unwilling to risk the slow-flying aircraft and has chosen to rely more on the Air Force's A-10 "Warthog" and AC-130 Spectre gunships to bring the war closer to Serb troops.

<P> The Pentagon has said the faster, more heavily armored Warthogs and AC-130s can do the job better, now that the weather over Kosovo has improved. But that contradicts earlier official statements. On April 22, for example, Air Force Maj. Gen. Chuck Wald, a Pentagon spokesman, told reporters, "As the weather gets better ... there will be much more [around-the-clock bombing of Serb forces] happening. The Apaches coming in will add to that."

<P> No idea of cost

<P> The Army did not have an estimate of how much the deployment has cost. Jim Stueve, an Army spokesman in the Pentagon, said it was still too early for the services bean counters to review the costs. Maj. Mark Biron, spokesman for the U.S. European Command in Stuttgart, Germany, which sent Task Force Hawk to Albania, was blunt when asked if the service had even a rough estimate of the cost.

<P> "No," he said.

<P> A NATO spokesman in Brussels said the alliance does not keep track of how much individual members spend when they contribute forces.

<P> "The military doesn't typically come up with these cost estimates f

or some time after the operation is over," Kosiak said. "So this isn't unusual."

<P> Task Force Hawks small size also makes it more difficult to accurately estimate the cost, he said. Also, the ad hoc nature of the unit's mishmash of forces operating outside their usual support structures makes the accounting trickier than for a regular brigade or a much larger division.

<P> "It's easier to get the absolute costs, but all you're looking at is what are the extra costs of having these people deployed in Albania, rather than in the States, and the extra training they're doing in preparation, and the construction of any facilities you have to do," he said. "It's genuinely a difficult thing to do" to add up incremental costs.

<P> On April 19, the Pentagon in its supplemental budget request to Congress asked for \$678.1 million to cover the Army's costs of supporting the Kosovo air campaign, said Susan Hansen, a Pentagon spokeswoman. That money would cover Army operations from March to the end of the fiscal year on Sept. 30.

<P> Hansen said that sum includes Task Force Hawk, but could not say if the Army had specified exactly how big the Apache forces slice of the pie would be.

<P> "We will have figures at some point. But the way that they develop these figures is for the supplemental and at that time, I don't know that they had broken it out by individual components such as Task Force Hawk," Hansen said.

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<P>Defense Daily

May 24, 1999

Pg. 2

<P>Misunderstood

<P> Army Lt. Gen. John McDuffie, joint staff director of logistics, says the Boeing AH-64A Apache helicopters weren't the cause of the four-week wait to get Task Force Hawk set up. "It didn't take long to deploy the Apaches; they flew down," he tells the Army Aviation Association of America's annual meeting audience. "What took a long time to deploy were the MLRS [rocket artillery], Bradley [fighting vehicles] and tanker trucks." McDuffie points out that the entire deployment took over 400 loads flown by only 10 Boeing C-17s. A limiting factor for the size of the airlift operation was the lack of supporting services and space at Albania, he says.

<P>Dirt Strip. McDuffie explains that logistics planners for Task Force Hawk had a "minimum-on-ground" limitation of one aircraft at a time at the Albania airfield. Also, for the beginning of the operation, the average day included only 12 hours of operational landing time. "We did not have ground handling equipment, lighting, etc. So we could not do night operations," McDuffie says. "It took us about a week to get [night operating equipment] stood up to give us 24-hour capability."

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<P>European Stars And Stripes

May 23, 1999

Pg. 19

<P>U.S. Leaders Pay Visit To Army Camp

<P> CAMP REICHERT, Albania (AP) Eleven members of the U.S. House of Representatives got a close-up look Saturday at the American military encampment that has sprouted in Albania to support possible U.S. Army helicopter attacks on Serbian forces in Kosovo.

<P> "Grim," said the group's leader, Rep. David Hobson, a Republican from Ohio, after a quick walking tour of the tent city housing 5,000 U.S. soldiers. "It's very basic. It's getting better, but part of what we have to do

o is reinforce the support."

<P> The lawmakers saw a sprawling camp that began in early April in mud so deep it sucked the boots off soldiers feet. It now has wooden walkways, showers , portable toilets and other basic comforts.

<P> In the past two days, Albanian workers hired by a military contractor have taken over mess halls, garbage collection and other tasks formerly handled by troops. The camp adjacent to Tiranas Rinas airport exists solely to support the deployment of 24 AH-64 Apache attack helicopters from Germany for possible action in Kosovo.

<P> The night-flying Apaches have been training intensively since their arrival, simulating missions they would undertake if ordered into combat. Officers say they are ready to go at any time. But President Clinton, in a surprise comment last Tuesday, said it was unlikely the Apaches would be committed anytime soon.

<P> Their primary tank-busting mission might be taken over by Air Force A-10 Warthog attack jets, which he said were less vulnerable to Serbias portable anti-aircraft missiles.

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<P>Anniston (AL) Star

May 21, 1999

<P>Fort McClellan Closing Ceremony: Time For Emotion, Pride, Respect

<P>By Jonathan Lifland

<P> More than 1,200 observers were at the hazy parade grounds on a perfect, sun-kissed morning. The ceremony marked one of the last times all

<P> branches of the military will be available before shipping off later th

is year.

<P> "Never again will our hearts swell on Memorial Day; never again will the Womens Army Corps return; never again will the 14th Army Band march before this field," said Maj. Gen. Ralph Wooten, the 47th and last commanding general for the "Military Showplace of the South."

<P> "The closing of Fort McClellan is truly the end of an era; but it will not be the end of time," Wooten said, his words dramatically accompanied by the background rustling of regimental flags and banners.

<P> A 13-gun salute for a visiting general launched plumes of white smoke through the clear morning warmth, followed by a display of man-made cloud cover from a smoke-making Army truck.

<P> The display was the largest event at the post since World War II, said Col. David Trueting, garrison commander for the post.

<P> More than 950 soldiers traced the steps of their Army predecessors across the grounds, marching to a beat dictated by Uncle Sam.

<P> The moving ceremony was inspired by those whose first smell of gunpowder was within the military's fenced walls and who first heard "Taps" sounded by a bugle in Calhoun County.

<P> Emotions ran high at the last public appearance by most of the military trainees, and the "Star-Spangled Banner" brought more salutes than anything in this uncertain time. Two chemical companies are graduating Friday and are expected to be among more than 1,500 families leaving for Fort Leonard Wood in the next 90 days because of McClellan's closure, said fort officials.

<P> "You don't want to start me crying," said Maxine Monk of Jacksontonville, whose husband is a retired lieutenant colonel from South Dakota.

<P> They chose Alabama to retire because of their love for the area, she said.

<P> "This is home," she continued. "Everybody thought Fort McClellan would be here forever."

<P> Chests on this day were stuck out a little further in pride from the turnout, which included four past post commanders and a senior Army official, owning a total of 13 general's stars between them as they reviewed passing troops.

<P> "It's an incredibly proud moment to be on that field," said Brig. Gen. Don Ryder, commander of the troops. Ryder pivoted towards the stands for review his final time.

<P> "Today was probably the last time I will make that turn," he said.

<P> Soldiers on parade, however, stoically passed the reviewing stand with dispassionate precision, which revealed the training and preparation for the ceremony.

remony. After marching past, they continued ever forward, fading then disappearing over the eastern hills on the grounds.

<P> Finally, as the last of the soldiers departed, a Fox Reconnaissance Vehicle dropped a bright yellow banner from its tail, reading:

<P> "Good-bye to beautiful Fort McClellan."

<P> Multitudes of personnel scurried about the bleachers, drafted to provide help to the crowd. Seemingly every aspect of the ceremony, from the seating arrangements to the placement of the programs to the freshly mowed grass, displayed the attention to detail for an important show.

<P> "Fifty-five years ago this week, I was here on this field," said Alfred Richey of Gadsden, a retired staff sergeant who drove just to see the closure with his own eyes. "I'm sure going to miss this place."

<P> Richey, 74, thought the fort was a permanent fixture in Calhoun County, remembering his initial tour in 1944, the first of his military duty that continued through three engagements and a Bronze Star for valor. Sporting a Navy US Alabama hat, he stood stock still and stared at the colors during the national anthem, pacing nervously after its conclusion.

<P> Training will continue at the fort until the final goodbye in September. Only when the fort is closed will Anniston know the impact from years of military presence.

<P> "Today is an emotional day for this whole community," said Duane Higgins, executive director of the Calhoun County Chamber of Commerce. "We salute them for years of service. Changes are ahead, but now is the reality; we've got to do the best with what we're left with."

<P> The legacy of Anniston's outpost, named after Maj. Gen. George McClellan because of his spirit to support all facets of Army life, will continue in troops who were trained at the fort throughout the new millennium, said Lt. Gen. William Steele, deputy commanding general of the Training and Doctrine Command, the Army command that oversees Fort McClellan.

<P> His superiors, who would normally attend a closure like McClellan thought by a fort spokesman to be the largest base closure have been sent overseas because of the current crisis in Kosovo.

<P> "A grateful Army appreciates the support over the years," Steele said. "I think the key is not what (closure) does to you, but what happens after. The Army has tried to ensure that things should go as well after this as before; we want the potential to become a reality."

<P> The reality of the base closure, authorized in 1995, does not shade the legacy of the local garrison. Wooten, during his speech, implored the audience to take a moment to remember the fort, taking pride from its presence, so that its memory would remain.

<P> Call Thursday a day for pride, a day for respect of the decades of the military's local reign. County, state and national leaders sent the fort off.

<P> A sign at the exit from the Summerall Gate exit read: "We began as friends and partners. We end as friends and partners."

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<P>Washington Post

May 23, 1999

Pg. C3

<P>Fort Hill Evaluated For Refugee Housing

<P> Federal and military officials toured Fort A.P. Hill in Caroline County on Friday to evaluate whether the sprawling Army post 70 miles south of Washington might be able to house up to 5,000 Kosovar refugees.

<P> Arriving refugees now stay for about a week at Fort Dix in New Jersey, and Pentagon officials said there is no immediate plan to expand to other areas. The tour of the 76,000-acre Virginia facility and others was part of contingency planning, officials said.

<P> Refugees would stay at Fort Hill's largest campsite with fixed barracks, which could accommodate up to 4,000 people. President Clinton has promised to allow up to 20,000 Kosovar refugees entry into the United States.

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<P>New York Times

May 23, 1999

<P>Immigrants Finding The Promise Of America In The Army

<P>By Somini Sengupta

<P> It was only four years ago that Fernando De Souza and his family arrived in New York from Lima, Peru.

<P> Mr. De Souza, the eldest of four children, scrambled to learn English at John Bowne High School in Flushing, Queens, kept his grades in the high 80's, and dreamed of studying medicine in college.

<P> But disappointments quickly tumbled in: A guidance counselor questioned whether he could succeed in a pre-med program. And Mr. De Souza's father, a condominium maintenance worker, could hardly afford college tuition in any case. Mr. De Souza never bothered to apply. Instead, he enlisted in the Army.

<P> Mr. De Souza, 17, plans to head off to basic training in Oklahoma by summer's end, and after training hopes to join an artillery unit. It was not the lure of being a soldier that changed his mind -- it was the regular paycheck and the Army's promise of \$19,000 for college. Mr. De Souza plans to send his first few paychecks -- \$800 a month -- back home to help his family with the rent.

<P> He hopes to take college courses near the Army base and eventually graduate from the Brooklyn campus of Long Island University.

<P> "I don't like shooting people and stuff like that," Mr. De Souza said.

<P> "I thought I had to work for college, pay for my education. I didn't think I was going to be able to take that. That's why I thought the Army was the best decision."

<P> Because many more high school graduates have been heading directly to college or landing jobs in New York City's booming economy in recent years, military recruiters say persuading young men and women to enlist is harder than ever. But for more and more immigrants, even legal residents who are not yet citizens, the military has come to represent a step up the American social ladder, much as it has long been for working-class youths born here.

<P> At the Army station in Flushing, where Mr. De Souza signed up, official

s estimate that half the recruits today are immigrants -- youngsters from India and Korea, Jamaica and Guyana.

<P> About a third of the recruits from New York City, where 13 percent of the children under 18 were born outside the United States, hold green cards.

<P> Nationwide, the percentage of immigrants in the Army is still small: about 5 percent last year, up from 2 percent a decade ago. But Army officials say they believe that the children of immigrants, too, are enlisting in greater numbers. Since they do not keep statistics on immigrants who are naturalized citizens, that belief is supported not by hard numbers but by anecdotal evidence and by inference based on signs like the growth in the percentage of Hispanic soldiers. More than 10 percent of the roughly 70,000 recruits in fiscal year 1998, for instance, were Hispanic, up from 4 percent in 1987.

<P> The Secretary of the Army, Louis Caldera, is himself the Texas-born son of Mexican immigrants.

<P> At the Flushing recruiting station, Hojin Pak, 17, a Korean-American who immigrated at age 4, said he signed up for the Army because his parents could not afford to send him to the State University of New York at Buffalo, where he had been accepted. In the fall, he will be stationed in Virginia and work as a logistics specialist. He said he hoped that his stint would help pay for college and earn him a measure of self-confidence.

<P> Amos Dobrowski, who was born in Poland before the fall of Communism, said he enlisted because he did not want to subject his parents to financial hardship. In exchange for \$50,000 for college, Mr. Dobrowski, 17, who once dreamed of going to culinary school, has agreed to a four-year assignment in Fort Hood, Tex., where he will be a tank gunner.

<P> Margaret Rodriguez, a Dominican immigrant at John Bowne High School who wanted to study law at George Washington University, said she signed up because no one else was offering what Sgt. Marc Ross, a recruiter in the Flushing station, did: \$50,000 for college.

<P> So Ms. Rodriguez, a strong-willed, serious 17-year-old with a delicate coil of curls, will spend the next four years as a chemical operations specialist, testing for toxic chemicals on the battlefield and, she hopes, attending evening classes at a college near her base.

<P> Talking to Sergeant Ross one afternoon earlier this year "opened a whole new world," she said.

<P> It is that glimpse of opportunity, Sergeant Ross said, that explains the Army's appeal to young people -- not only to native New Yorkers like him, but also to the immigrants of Queens. As he trolls for potential recruits, he peppers them with questions: Do you have any major health problems? Are you a high school graduate?

<P> And then he adds: Were you born in this country? If not, do you have a green card?

<P> The sergeant, a jovial, fast-talking man with a close military haircut

and a pencil-thin mustache, grew up in Bushwick, Brooklyn, and now lives with his wife and their three sons on the Army base in Fort Hamilton, Brooklyn.

<P> When he was the age of his young immigrant recruits, Sergeant Ross, 30, said, his world was actually not all that different from theirs. He was not exactly brimming with patriotic fervor as a teen-ager. All he wanted after high school was a good job and a way to provide for his girlfriend, now his wife. When a recruiter told him that the Army could help him do just that, he signed up.

<P> He said he often wondered how many of his old friends were in jail, or dead. He still sees some of them hanging out on street corners, he said, and his conversations with them usually go like this:

<P> "Why don't you join the Army?" he asks.

<P> "No, man, I don't want to join the Army," they reply.

<P> "You got \$20?"

<P> Today, even though the Army is smaller than it was a decade ago, finding soldiers has never been harder, recruiters said. In New York City, they said, it has become harder to attract young people with a high school diploma (the Army can take a few with only equivalency degrees) and without a criminal record. Even among high school graduates, finding applicants who can pass the military entrance exam is a formidable challenge, recruiters said.

<P> And then there is the challenge of competing with the lure of a college education. Compared with high school graduates of previous generations, many more of today's graduates are going to college.

<P> One recent morning, Sergeant Ross went recruiting at La Guardia Community College in Queens. On campus, Sergeant Ross passed a young man dressed in camouflage pants. "You want the whole suit?" he asked.

<P> "Nah," came the nonchalant reply.

<P> Sergeant Ross pointed to a table where young men were playing cards. "That's what college is all about -- playing," he said, barely hiding his contempt.

<P> Later, he ran into Brandon Baxter, a student he had been trying to recruit for months, and resumed the hard sell.

<P> Deeply ambivalent about joining the Army, Mr. Baxter, 20, is ambitious and thoughtful. He said he wanted to be like the billionaire investor Warren E. Buffett. "Rich people inspire me," he said. "Maybe 'cause I'm broke."

<P> Sergeant Ross reminded Mr. Baxter that the Army was a \$64 billion business, and that jobs in finance were available to candidates like him.

<P> Mr. Baxter told Sergeant Ross that he was thinking about taking the Army test soon. Sergeant Ross pressed him to act before it was too late -- before he ended up with a criminal record. Mr. Baxter insisted that he was not involved

d in crime.

<P> Sergeant Ross simply shrugged and reminded him of Amadou Diallo. "He probably wasn't into anything either," he said.

<P> Sergeant Ross is much like his recruits in focusing on the security of Army life, rather than its rigors. Many of the young men and women who have signed up at the Flushing recruiting station say they give little thought to the dangers they may face in the Army or the violence of combat.

<P> Mr. De Souza, for instance, said that even though his mother cried for him every time she saw television reports about the war in Yugoslavia, he was confident that he would not be in danger.

<P> Assembled at the recruiting station one afternoon last week, the newest recruits from Flushing reflected on the lives they will be starting soon.

<P> Lnu Geevarghese, 18, an Indian immigrant, said he knew that combat could be part of the bargain. "It's your job to defend," he said. "Obviously, you have to be prepared."

<P> That evening, Mr. Dobrowski said the war in Yugoslavia had prompted him to think long and hard about serving the United States Government. He became an American citizen two years ago. "I'm seeing it as another Holocaust," he said. "It's good they're helping the people."

<P> But he was also a bit cynical about the American military action.

<P> "From history," said Mr. Dobrowski, who plans to major in the subject, "I see they get interested where they have an interest."


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<P>Boston Globe

May 22, 1999

Gunships Poised For Battle, But Risks May Keep Them Grounded

By David Abel, Globe Correspondent

WASHINGTON - If used in Yugoslavia the way military planners envision, a team of Apache attack helicopters might fly into the wake of raining rockets and promptly pick off scattering tanks, troop carriers, and other enemy targets.

Or they might slip across the Albanian border on a moonless night to strike arms depots or anti-aircraft batteries.

The vaunted gunships also could be used as no-frills patrol cops, as they've been employed in Bosnia, hovering near hot spots of violence and intimately signaling to troublemakers on the ground that there is a higher authority.

But the 24 AH-64A Apaches poised for battle just across the border between Yugoslavia and Albania may not even test-fire their armor-piercing weapons, let alone cross into enemy territory, officials say.

The reason: The copters, which cost \$14 million each, would be vulnerable to attack by the thousands of dispersed Serbian soldiers on the ground, hundreds of whom may be carrying shoulder-fired missiles. Before deploying them, a strategic calculation has to be made about whether the risks of use are worth the benefits.

"They are ready and capable to go," said Major Joseph Harrington, an Army spokesman at the Pentagon. "But a political decision must be made before they are used. And we have not received such a decision."

President Clinton has acknowledged that the Apaches might not be used. Other aircraft, including the Air Force's more resilient A-10 Warthogs and special operations AC-130 Spectre gunships, could do the same work with less risk, he said.

Echoing statements from the Pentagon, Clinton told reporters that improving weather made it less necessary to utilize the Apaches, which fly below clouds and can operate in rain or snow.

The increasing doubt that political leaders will launch the Apaches, which together with at least 5,000 Army troops took more than a month to deploy to their makeshift muddy base in Albania, has prompted some military analysts to question whether the Pentagon ever planned to use them.

"One has to wonder if they weren't just intended ... for psychological reasons," said Dan Goure, deputy director of political-military studies at Washington's Center for Strategic and International Studies. "They may be the equivalent of the Marine brigade stationed off the Kuwaiti coast during the Gulf War, which threatened to tie down Iraqi troops in an amphibious assault."

Goure and other military analysts said that, given the amount of time it

t took the Apaches to prepare for combat, it seems odd that the Pentagon didn't transport the newer, more powerful version of the aircraft, the AH-64D Longbows, from the United States.

<P> The next-generation Apaches improve on the agile and deadly helicopters, already considered the world's most capable. The older version, which began rolling off McDonnell Douglas assembly lines in 1984, carries 16 antitank Hellfire missiles, 76 folding antipersonnel rockets, and 1,200 rounds of 30mm armor-piercing ammunition.

<P> Still, the Apaches in Albania, which flew in from bases in Germany, are anything but featherweights. They received nearly universal praise for their service in the Gulf War, having emerged virtually unscathed after destroying more than 500 Iraqi tanks, hundreds of armored troop carriers and military vehicles, and key early warning radar sites.

<P> With two of the initial 24 Apaches having already crashed, in one case killing the helicopter's two-man crew, Pentagon officials have little appetite for further casualties.

<P> Despite the millions of dollars required to move them and to set up Task Force Hawk in Albania, Pentagon officials and analysts now say the Apaches would be flying unorthodox missions by attacking Serbian forces.

<P> They argue the Apaches weren't meant to fly solo missions deep into enemy territory, although they did during the Gulf War, having fired the first shots of the air campaign against Iraqi radar installations. They were designed to take out Soviet tanks rolling across central Germany, working closely with ground forces, Army officials say.

<P> Analysts argue that the Apaches are highly versatile and are not limited to one mission. Nevertheless, they agree it is unwise to risk them at this point in the air war over Yugoslavia.

<P> "We're in a war of attrition, just plinking targets until there's nothing left to plink," Goure said. "We can do this just as well from high up with jets."

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<P>Washington Post

May 23, 1999

Pg. C3

<P>Site Of Air Force Memorial Challenged

<P> Three organizations have retained a law firm to fight the location of a new Air Force Memorial about 500 feet from the Iwo Jima Memorial in Arlington.

<P> The Friends of Iwo Jima, the Iwo Jima Preservation Committee and the Combat Veterans of Iwo Jima have contracted Covington & Burling to fight the proposed site for the Air Force memorial over environmental issues, according to a news release from the groups.

<P> The Air Force Memorial Foundation received federal approval for the site, between the Iwo Jima Memorial and the Netherlands Carillon, in 1995.

<P> Friends of Iwo Jima filed suit in 1997 to get the approval overturned, but the suit was dismissed.

<P> The Air Force Memorial Foundation wanted that site because it is near the Fort Myer parade grounds where Orville Wright first demonstrated flight to the military in 1908.

<P> The Marine Corps also has objected to the location, saying it would be too close to Iwo Jima, which honors Marines who fought in the famous World War II battle, and would add traffic and noise to the area.


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<P>Washington Post

May 23, 1999

Pg. C6

<P>James E. Hill Jr.

<I><P>Air Force General

</I><P> James E. Hill Jr., 77, a retired Air Force general and former commander of the North American Aerospace Defense Command and a force behind the U.S. military's push into space, died of cancer May 20 in Colorado Springs.

<P> Gen. Hill, who was commander of NORAD and Air Defense Command from 1977 to 1980, strongly advocated a separate space command.

<P> He enlisted in the Army Air Forces in 1941 and flew 128 missions, making five kills in a P-47 Thunderbolt fighter during World War II.

<P> He also flew in the Korean and Vietnam wars.

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<P>New York Times

May 22, 1999

<P>Raytheon Drops Suit Over Internet Chat

<P>By The Associated Press

<P> BOSTON -- When the Raytheon Co. suspected some employees were talking behind its back on the Internet, the defense contractor took them to court.

<P> Saying 21 people were using aliases to divulge company secrets, Raytheon said it got their real identities and the Web talk stopped.

<P> Now, after four of the workers quit, and the rest entered corporate "cooling-off," Raytheon this week dropped the suit and claimed victory.

<P> But critics say the company used legal action to chill free speech.

<P> "We felt like our internal investigation had accomplished what we wanted it to accomplish. It was time to put the matter behind us," David Polk, a spokesman for the Lexington-based company, said Friday.

<P> "We are committed to protecting proprietary information from being communicated on a public forum. We think we've done that to a certain extent."

<P> In February, Raytheon sued 21 "John Does," accusing them of discussing such matters as rumored mergers and acquisitions, impending divestitures and possible defense contracts on a public Internet site run by Yahoo! On Thursday, Raytheon asked the court to drop the case.

<P> The chatterers used aliases like "Rayman-mass" and "RaytheonVeteran" -- names they may have thought would protect their identities. But Raytheon obtained subpoenas against Yahoo! and other Internet services, and Polk said Raytheon eventually learned all 21 names.

<P> Polk said nearly all were Raytheon workers.

<P> They exchanged gossip about the company and its executives, griped about Raytheon's stock price and discussed business deals, finances and staffing. Like much on the Internet, some of the comments were speculative and inaccurate and some covered information that already had been made public.

<P> Online privacy advocates accused Raytheon of misusing the courts' subpoena power to get the chatterers' names.

<P> "It seems that the sole objective of Raytheon was to identify these individuals," said David Sobel, general counsel for the Electronic Privacy Information Center, a Washington research group financed by the nonprofit Fund for Constitutional Government. "It raises questions about the legitimacy of the way the court's discovery procedures were used."

<P> Sobel said while it is not uncommon for companies to try to identify anonymous Internet users, he said the number of people in the Raytheon case appeared to be the largest he had seen targeted.

<P> He said the situation illustrated the need for standards to ensure that online anonymity is not too easily compromised.

<P> "I'm not prepared to say that it's the responsibility of the Internet companies to fight these efforts, but they do need to make sure that their subscribers are given notice of these subpoenas," he said, noting that some Internet companies don't even require a subpoena to divulge information about their customers.

<P> In the Raytheon case, America Online received subpoenas. Under AOL policy, whenever it receives such a subpoena in a civil case, the customer notified

and given 14 days to try to block the subpoena. Only after that time has expired will the company turn over the information, said AOL spokesman Rich D'Amato.

<P> However, he said targets of criminal investigations are not given such a luxury.

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<P>Wall Street Journal

May 21, 1999

<U><P>Heard on the Street

</U><P>Raytheon-Hughes Deal Is Done, But Parties Continue To Haggle

<P>By Anne Marie Squeo and Paul M. Sherer, Staff Reporters of The Wall Street Journal

<P> "Satisfaction guaranteed or your money back." It's a slogan used in consumer-product advertising, not in corporate takeovers. But a heated \$1 billion-plus dispute between Raytheon and Hughes Electronics shows how companies often continue haggling about price long after shareholders thought the deal was done.

<P> The public almost never hears about this process, known as post-purchase adjustments, because issues are usually resolved behind closed doors by number-crunchers and lawyers.

<P> But in a rare, though so far little-noticed example of after-purchase bargaining that has gone public, the two industry giants are battling in a Delaware court over the partial refund Raytheon wants on the \$9.5 billion it paid for Hughes's defense assets. The January 1997 deal, struck after Raytheon won a bidding war with Northrop Grumman, was seen as a watershed event, the culmination of the post-Cold War defense consolidation.

<P> The merger agreement gave Raytheon, the world's leader in many defense-electronics markets, the right to re-evaluate the price tag after reviewing the balance sheets for the defense business as of the deal's December 1997 closing date. But when Raytheon did the analysis last May, it cried foul, privately sending Hughes notice of 144 alleged errors in financial information.

<P> The errors, Raytheon said in a subsequent court filing that barred the dispute to the world, "collectively overstate the value of Defense by more than \$1 billion."

<P> As part of its own flurry of court filings, Hughes says Raytheon "has refused to provide Hughes access to the information and documentation necessary to both analyze and resolve Raytheon's objections." Still, Hughes's parent, General Motors, warned in a recent U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission filing that the eventual settlement "could be material to Hughes." It said the amount of the payment "is not determinable at this time."

<P> Both companies, in documents they have placed on the public record so far, seem to have gone to great lengths to avoid providing any details about the nature of the objections. In response to questions, neither company would elaborate.

<P> Now the companies are trying to move the dispute back behind closed doors. Talks are under way that would allow Raytheon to provide the needed information, without a judge making an official ruling, according to attorneys and officials for both companies. But both sides are bracing shareholders for a possible payment from Hughes.

<P> Raytheon has signaled that it expects to get at least some of its money back, though it said in a recent SEC filing that "the amount, timing and effect on the company's financial position are uncertain."

<P> Given the high stakes, relations between the two sides have been so acrimonious that they have barely begun to address the specifics of what Raytheon described in filings as "a staggering number of significant errors" in financial data. Instead, the two companies have spent the last year simply fighting about the forum for eventually resolving the dispute -- even though the original deal included an arbitration procedure to avoid court fights.

<P> Post-closing price adjustments are common in deals where a unit or a closely held company is purchased. They are rarely part of a deal where a public company is being bought, since it is nearly impossible to retrieve money from public shareholders. Public companies selling divisions often strongly resist adding such provisions, and the outcome is often a function of the relative bargaining power of the parties.

<P> Often, the companies agree to a mechanism to adjust the price several months after the transaction's close to reflect fluctuations in assets and liabilities as of the close. The price can be adjusted in favor of the buyer or the seller.

<P> Usually, these differences are in the range of 2% to 3% and are hammered out in negotiations, and rarely do they turn into public scuffles. At \$1 billion-plus, though, this dispute represents more than 10% of the deal's overall value.

e. "That's quite an adjustment," said George Cary, a Cleary Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton attorney in Washington who specializes in mergers.

<P> There have been a few other examples. In August 1998, Germany's Siemens completed its acquisition of the Westinghouse Power Generation business from CBS for \$1.2 billion, about \$300 million shy of the \$1.53 billion it had announced it would pay. The companies declined to detail the reasons for the adjustment.

<P> CBS and Ziff-Davis Publishing also engaged in a rather public fight about price adjustments during the 1980s. In that case, CBS argued that it overpaid when it spent \$362.5 million for a dozen magazines, including Popular Photography and Car & Driver. CBS and Ziff ended up in a legal brawl, which was settled by the New York Court of Appeals in CBS's favor.

<P> In the defense industry, where huge revenues and sometimes lax government oversight historically have led to controversial excesses such as \$436 hammers, adjustments after mergers are common. Quarterly balance sheets often are affected by charges and fluctuations in payments as a result of negotiations with the Pentagon and other factors.

<P> "Sometimes people regret the bargain [they made] and try to manipulate the facts, and sometimes there are legitimate disputes about facts," said Chuck Nathan, a partner at Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson. However, going to court is "everybody's nightmare," he said.

<P> In the Raytheon-Hughes battle, the fight about arbitration is centered on Hughes getting the backup papers to understand Raytheon's objections to the numbers. After more than five months of fruitless negotiations, Hughes put Raytheon on notice on October 1998 that it intended to seek arbitration. Raytheon responded by filing a motion in Delaware Chancery Court seeking to enjoin the arbitration, a move that simultaneously forced their secret fight into the public domain. In November, Hughes asked the court to compel the start of arbitration.

<P> Some lawyers and others suggest Raytheon's \$1 billion-plus claim is merely a starting point for talks. While not referring to this case specifically, Mr. Nathan said, in this type of litigation, "there's a tendency to throw in the kitchen sink."

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<P>Washington Post

May 22, 1999

Pg. 7 </P>

<P>Energy Dept. To Give Air Force Rebuilt Version Of Premier Warhead </P>

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

<P>While Washington remains astir over allegations of Chinese nuclear espionage, the embattled Energy Department next month will deliver to the Air Force the first rebuilt versions of America's most powerful nuclear warhead, the W-87, 15 years old and now certified to be effective for 25 more. </P>

<P>Several other U.S. nuclear systems have also been going through a life extension process. But the W-87s -- 10 of which are carried on each of 50 operational MX intercontinental ballistic missiles -- will become the first major strategic force to be remanufactured and put back into operational status in a new weapons era where testing of nuclear devices is banned by international agreement. </P>

<P>Administration officials say the stockpile life extension program, as illustrated by the W-87, shows how in a time of no nuclear testing and suspicions of nuclear espionage, the United States can remain ahead of the Russians, the Chinese and other nuclear powers by using giant, unique computers and laser devices to keep weapons up to date. </P>

<P>The Energy Department expresses confidence that, despite the lack of tests, the remanufactured older warhead will, if launched, deliver the planned explosive yield of almost 400 kilotons, or 20 times that of the atomic bomb that destroyed Hiroshima. "Assessment of its nuclear performance is based on computer simulation, past nuclear tests, and new above-ground experiments that addressed specific physics questions raised by the proposed alterations and computer simulations," a senior department official said. </P>

<P>The "above-ground experiments" are so-called subcritical tests that are permitted under the agreement in effect since 1992 and the comprehensive test ban treaty that the Senate has yet to ratify. </P>

<P>The W-76 warhead, the older warhead for the submarine-launched Trident missile, has been undergoing a similar program. But its review will not be concluded until December 1999, according to Energy Department officials. The B-61 hydrogen bomb was given a new outer casing to allow it to penetrate the earth's surface before exploding, but its nuclear package and other inner workings were untouched. </P>

<P>First designed in the late 1970s and deployed in the mid-1980s, the W-87 has been undergoing a life extension program that involves changing not only some

of the nonnuclear materials in the warhead but also modernization of the Mark 21 reentry vehicle that carries the warhead through space. </P>

<P>When first deployed in 1986, the W-87 was a major triumph for the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory. It miniaturized the nuclear package by changing its spherical shape and boosting the effects of its nuclear materials, thereby gaining almost twice the yield from an earlier warhead of the same size. </P>

<P>But parts -- the W-87 has about 7,000 -- deteriorate over time, particularly when they are sitting unused atop a missile in a silo. For example, the high-explosive compound used to set off the nuclear trigger changes with time, the official said. The electronics in the warhead often have to be replaced, along with other complex elements. </P>

<P>The new individual parts of the W-87 were produced in Energy Department facilities around the country: subassemblies of nuclear materials in Oak Ridge, Tenn.; electronic and mechanical parts in Kansas City; and final assembly at the Pantex Plant near Amarillo, Tex. Meanwhile the Air Force has flight-tested the refurbished Mark 21 reentry vehicle on missiles launched from California into the Pacific missile range. Thereafter, Mark 21s too went to Pantex for mating with the warhead. </P>

<P>"As long as they are not taking a dramatic step into new territory, it's like fitting an old car with new parts but keeping the engine," said Stan Norris, a nuclear specialist with the Natural Resources Defense Council. </P>

<P>The Russians handle their aging warheads differently. They replace their ICBM warheads every 15 years, but keep building the same old design in the same way and therefore avoid the need for tests. </P>

<P>The Chinese, on the other hand, have been far behind in nuclear technology, working for more than 10 years on their second generation of nuclear weapons. The more than a dozen underground tests that took place in the late 1980s and concluded in 1996 apparently provided the Chinese with designs for warheads to be put on their new generation of mobile ICBMs, the DF-31, which has been under development for more than a dozen years. </P>

<P>One reason the Energy Department has focused so much attention on the W-87 is that it plays a part in future strategic plans. </P>

<P>When the Russian parliament has ratified the START II strategic arms reduction treaty, the multiwarhead MX is to be retired, to be replaced by a new version of the Minuteman III ICBM that is limited to one warhead. That single warhead is to be the W-87, because a new warhead could not be built reliably in the era of no tests. </P>

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<P>Chicago Tribune

May 21, 1999

<P>Book Exposing U.S. 'Top Secrets' Prompts Concern In Spy Circ
les

<P>By John Diamond, Associated Press

<P> WASHINGTON -- Highly classified U.S. documents in a new book divulge a
wealth of secrets, including that North Korea's leader crushed a 1996 coup atte
mpt and President Clinton assured Boris Yeltsin that U.S. policy would have a "
positive impact" on the Russian leader's re-election.

<P> The documents also detail how Navy intelligence used the cover of a Coas
t Guard ship inspection to search for laser weapons aboard a Russian ship. None
was found.

<P> Though the government is prone to leaks, the unauthorized publication of
classified documents that in most cases are just a year or two old is rare. It
has touched off widespread concern in the intelligence community.

<P> "This is the kind of material that people file lawsuits to obtain after
it's 30 years old," said Steve Aftergood of the Federation of American Scientis
ts, a Washington group that follows intelligence issues.

<P> "These documents carry some of the highest classifications in the U.S. g
overnment, and it's absolutely astonishing that they would be published in this
way," Aftergood said.

<P> "Betrayal" by Bill Gertz, a reporter for The Washington Times, presents
a critical account of Clinton administration security policy that tracks closel
y to stories Gertz has written. But the original articles did not include repri
nts of the classified documents.

<P> U.S. officials on Thursday confirmed the authenticity of the documents.

<P> One senior administration official, speaking anonymously, said the White
House didn't consider any of the published information embarrassing but was co
ncerned about risk to intelligence sources and methods.

<P> Gertz, in a telephone interview, declined to discuss his sources. But hi

s book says the Clinton administration carried out a policy of appeasement of real or potential U.S. enemies that "so angered some intelligence, defense and foreign policy officials that they responded in the only way they knew how: by disclosing to the press some of the nation's most secret intelligence."

<P> Gertz wrote that his sources were "unsung heroes" who "jeopardized their careers to expose wrongdoing."

<P> The book's appendix reprints all or part of 23 documents from the Clinton administration--some as recent as last year--ranging in classification from confidential to top secret.

<P> A 1996 U.S. intelligence report disclosed that the North Korean government had detailed three cases of cannibalism stemming from famine. It was classified at the "code word" level, among the highest levels of classification.

<P> A secret dispatch written last August by Larry Robinson, a State Department official in Seoul, raised questions about leader Kim Jong Il's hold on power.

<P> "There is extensive evidence of a major coup attempt by elements of the VI Corps in 1995, which appears to have been crushed only with some difficulty," the dispatch said.

<P> A March 1996 State Department memorandum, marked "confidential," summarized Clinton's meeting with Yeltsin at a terrorism summit in Egypt.

<P> Clinton told Yeltsin he "wanted to make sure that everything the United States did would have a positive impact and nothing should have a negative impact" on Yeltsin's upcoming re-election, the memo said.

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<P>Washington Post

May 21, 1999

OPM Says It's Y2K-Ready

Federal Employee Benefits Disruption Ruled Out

By Stephen Barr, Washington Post Staff Writer

The Office of Personnel Management, which oversees a broad array of federal employee benefit programs, has declared that its 109 most critical automated systems have been fixed and tested for Year 2000 computer glitches.

"I am able to guarantee to you that OPM operations will continue well beyond the year 2000," OPM Director Janice R. Lachance said Wednesday.

For the nearly 10 million federal employees and retirees who depend on OPM, yesterday's announcement was a significant step toward allaying Y2K anxieties, similar to President Clinton's assurance in December 1998 that Social Security payments will not be halted by Y2K disruptions.

OPM oversees federal employment information, job applications, federal pay and vacation policies, health benefits, life insurance, retirement payments and the government's annual charity drive, the Combined Federal Campaign. For example, OPM transfers benefits data electronically to the Treasury Department, so that checks can be sent to government retirees.

Lachance said OPM will find out later this month the Y2K readiness of the health insurance companies participating in the Federal Employees Health Benefits program.

OPM will offer help to contractors found struggling to make Y2K fixes, she said.

The OPM announcement was welcomed by Rep. Constance A. Morella (R-Md.), who co-chairs the House Y2K task force; Janet Abrams, executive director of the President's Council on Year 2000 Conversion; and Bill Smith, director of retirement benefit services at the 435,000-member National Association of Retired Federal Employees.

Morella praised OPM for creating English and Spanish public service announcements on Y2K for radio and television stations and for producing informational cards that tell employees and retirees where to call for Y2K information.

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<P>New York Times

May 23, 1999

Pg. 1

<P>Time Running Out For NATO To Plan A Kosovo Invasion

<P>By Eric Schmitt and Michael R. Gordon

<P> BRUSSELS -- Senior NATO officials say that within the next three weeks the alliance will have to face a decision whether to prepare a ground force powerful enough to fight its way into Kosovo, one of the most fateful and uncertain steps of its 50-year history.

<P> The Clinton Administration's announcement on Friday that it will push to send 50,000 NATO troops to Kosovo's border will briefly defer, but not end, the argument over combat troops, officials say.

<P> While that deployment would nearly double the number of peacekeepers intended for Kosovo, those forces would be used only if a settlement is reached with President Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia or if all Serbian forces withdraw.

<P> The NATO troops would not have the armored punch of an invasion force.

<P> Marshaling an invasion force -- which could number over 150,000, including the initial contingent of peacekeepers and support troops -- would be a mammoth undertaking, requiring timely decisions on which units to send, reserves to mobilize and tons of armor and ammunition to ship.

<P> In short, officials say, the alliance has much to do and very little time to do it if it wants to keep open the option of deploying an invasion force to bring the war to an end before winter sets in.

<P> Further, there is still intense opposition from Germany and some other NATO members to using ground troops in a combat role.

<P> "In the next two to three weeks, we need a political breakthrough on a peace resolution," said a veteran NATO diplomat. "If not, some tough choices on ground forces will have to be made."

<P> The urgency over making a decision on ground troops is being driven mainly by NATO's goal to return 850,000 refugees outside Kosovo and 580,000 people

displaced inside the province to their homes before subfreezing temperatures return to the Balkans in October. But beyond complex logistics, there are other factors. Interviews with a dozen senior diplomats and other top officials at NATO headquarters here suggest that the facade of public optimism among the allies is tempered by private fears.

<P> With each passing day, they say, concern grows that eroding public support for the air campaign, their ability to hold the alliance together, and the dispersal of Kosovar Albanian refugees are all working against them.

<P> Even deploying the more modest peacekeeping force wanted by the Clinton Administration may not be easy. That force is expected to number about 48,000 troops, 14,000 of which are already deployed in Macedonia.

<P> The alliance's political body, the North Atlantic Council, is to meet as early as Tuesday to consider the plan. But there are plenty of thorny issues to settle before the troops can be sent.

<P> The peacekeeping contingent will have to include thousands of combat engineers, military police officers and civil affairs troops who could help rebuild the shattered province of Kosovo and maintain order there in the event of a negotiated settlement.

<P> Allied ambassadors have to identify which nations would contribute those troops and equipment. Since combat engineers and military police are generally in the military reserves, NATO nations would have to make the politically difficult decision about whether to mobilize them.

<P> And there are other political considerations. While NATO has said that its troops must form the "core" of any security force sent into Kosovo, the allies have yet to spell out exactly what that means. Also expected to send troops are non-NATO nations, including Russia, which has insisted that any force in Kosovo be under United Nations command.

<P> Further, some NATO nations may be nervous about speeding up the preparations for deployment of ground troops -- even peacekeeping ones -- at a time when diplomats are trying to explore ways to resolve the conflict.

<P> Finally, NATO nations would have to make a separate decision to actually send the force. Not all of the peacekeeping troops are likely to be sent right away. Milosevic will be closely monitoring the alliance's moves to see if NATO has the determination to end the war on its terms.

<P> It was Gen. Wesley K. Clark, NATO's military commander, who pressed the allies to deploy the nearly 50,000-soldier peacekeeping force to the borders of Kosovo as quickly as possible. He wanted them to be ready in case of a peace settlement, but also to place added pressure on Milosevic.

<P> In Washington this week, General Clark gave Defense Secretary William S. Cohen and Gen. Henry H. Shelton, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the same warning he has already delivered to NATO ambassadors: Time is running to play an air campaign.

<P> In approving the proposal for the added peacekeeping troops, the Clinton

n Administration was also hoping to deflect the political pressure it has been under to declare its hand on the use of combat troops.

<P> Under current plans, the peacekeeping force will only be used in a "permissive environment," meaning Milosevic has agreed to a peace settlement or all Serbian troops have been withdrawn from Kosovo.

<P> The move, however, will not silence the debate over ground troops. Britain this week revived the idea of using combat troops but not until the Serbian troops had been weakened by months more of air attacks. If the air war and diplomacy fail to end the crisis soon, a ground war may be the only way to guarantee the return of most of the refugees before winter sets in, they say.

<P> But Germany, among other allies, vowed this week to block a land campaign, calling it "unthinkable."

<P> The Administration has been wary of suggestions involving ground troops in a combat role, and American officials have tried to avoid public discussion of the sensitive subject.

<P> Some allied officials have seized on reports of Yugoslav army deserters and new signs of Belgrade's willingness to cut a peace deal as indications that the air war is finally having an impact on Milosevic.

<P> At the same time, many seasoned diplomats here conceded this week that such interpretations may be the wishful thinking of an alliance fighting its first war, and learning on a steep curve at that.

<P> "This is a half war, fought for half a result, and that's where we're heading," said one senior NATO diplomat. "Milosevic is still sitting there."

<P> The calendar is not the only pressure on NATO diplomats and generals. Deadly mistakes like the bombings of a hospital, a prison and the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade are chipping away at public support for the war in many countries.

<P> "There should be great care taken to avoid tragic errors that would increase the sense of uneasiness and impossibility to understand among our public opinion," Prime Minister Massimo D'Alema of Italy said on Thursday.

<P> The logistics of returning refugees to their homes are also daunting. "The longer the refugees are gone from their homes, and the more they're spread out, the harder it will be to get them back in," said one senior NATO diplomat. "In the long run, Milosevic may win."

<P> At what point that level of Serbian capability may be low enough for NATO forces to enter Kosovo without Milosevic's acquiescence is a question diplomats and commanders here will likely struggle with the next few weeks.

<P> A special group of military analysts in General Clark's headquarters and in Washington are poring over reconnaissance photos and handicapping the strength of the Yugoslavia forces in Kosovo down to individual battalions.

<P> Maj. Gen. Walter Jertz, a NATO military spokesman, announced this week

that allied bombing had destroyed 31 percent of Yugoslavia's tanks, artillery and other heavy weaponry in Kosovo.

<P> The announcement did not just highlight NATO's claim that the air campaign is having success against Milosevic's heavy forces in Kosovo. It also set a benchmark to follow as the debate over ground forces intensifies. Military theory holds that combat units lose their ability to fight after suffering losses of 50 percent or more, though General Clark has been careful never to give a figure publicly.


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<P>London Daily Telegraph

May 21, 1999

<P>Nato Considers Halt To Bombing

<P>By Toby Helm in Brussels and Christopher Lockwood, Diplomatic Editor

<P> NATO leaders are considering a fundamental switch of tactics whereby the bombing of Serbia could be halted before Slobodan Milosevic has met the alliance's five conditions for a ceasefire.

<P> The move, if agreed, would represent a significant climbdown from Nato's position that its demands must be met in full before the air campaign could end. Central to these are the withdrawal of all Serb forces from Kosovo and the intervention of a Nato-led peacekeeping force.

<P> As diplomatic efforts to find a solution intensified yesterday, Nato made it clear that it was seriously considering plans advanced by Massimo D'Alema, the Italian prime minister. These involved a cessation of bombing as soon as a United Nations Security Council resolution on a settlement had been merely drafted. The resolution, being prepared in Bonn by senior diplomats of the G8 countries, could be ready today.

<P> Under the Italian plan, bombing would stop before Milosevic had withdrawn any of his 40,000 troops and perhaps even before he had formally agreed to do so, and to allow in a Nato-led peacekeeping force. The bombing would halt before the UN resolution had been officially approved to get round the possibility of a Chinese veto.

<P> Following more shuttle diplomacy by Russia's Balkans envoy, Viktor Chernomyrdin, Belgrade stated yesterday that it was ready to accept a peace formula along the lines of the original G8 plan that now forms the basis for the UN resolution. After meeting Mr D'Alema at Nato headquarters in Brussels, Javier Solana, the Nato Secretary General, said the alliance would take his proposal "very seriously".

<P> It was "not in contradiction to the position we have taken in the alliance". The drafting of the resolution and the cessation of bombing could be carried out "practically simultaneously". Last night, Mr Solana flew to London to meet Tony Blair and for dinner with George Robertson, the Defence Secretary. The Italian plan was understood to be one of the main items for discussion.

<P> At yesterday's Nato briefing in Brussels, Jamie Shea, the alliance spokesman, hinted clearly that the D'Alema plan, or something like it, was under active consideration. Previously, Nato had rejected any such claims out of hand. Mr D'Alema, among the most dovish of the Nato leaders, said yesterday that if bombing was stopped and the Serbs failed to withdraw, Italy would support any military action the alliance wanted to take - including, the use of ground troops.

<P> However, he criticised Mr Blair's vocal support for ground troops, saying: "It is a totally useless exercise, a pointless exercise, which is useful only for our adversaries."

<P> Last night American sources in Nato were sceptical about the suggested tactical change. President Clinton said: "We will continue our military campaign until our conditions are met. I believe the campaign is working."


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<P>New York Times

May 21, 1999

<P>Visitor: British Official Warns U.S. Not To 'Lose Nerve'

<P>By Adam Clymer

<P> WASHINGTON -- The British foreign minister, Robin Cook, came to Washington Thursday to tell Congress and the American news media that "this is not the time to lose our nerve" over Kosovo, and to say that NATO should have troops and equipment ready to advance if Yugoslav forces collapse.

<P> "We can't buckle first," he told the Senate Armed Services Committee, because that would greatly weaken NATO, said Sen. Jack Reed, D-R.I., who was at the meeting.

<P> Cook made his sales pitch despite a complaint by President Clinton on Tuesday night about what appeared to be a British push for an invasion of Kosovo. But Cook insisted his trip had been planned long before and did not relate to any differences with the White House.

<P> Cook's tour seemed aimed instead at American public opinion, with a luncheon with columnists, editorial writers and reporters, and meetings with House and Senate committees coming before a session with Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and an appearance with her on "Larry King Live" on CNN.

<P> He told the House International Relations Committee that he believed there were no serious differences between Britain and the United States, or even with Germany. Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder of Germany threatened on Wednesday to veto the use of ground forces before a peace agreement is reached.

<P> Cook offered a reporter a three-point summary of his message:

<P> -- "The USA should be proud of what it has accomplished in the Kosovo campaign so far." (Rep. Peter King, R-N.Y., said Cook stressed that American pilots had flown three-fourths of the combat missions, and that he dismissed the idea that it was a risk-free campaign, saying the pilots did not feel that way.)

<P> -- "The air campaign has already caused serious demoralization among the Serb forces."

<P> -- "This is not the time to lose our nerve. The air campaign is working, and NATO should be ready to take advantage of its success." (Rep. Sam Gejdenson, D-Conn., quoted Cook as saying, "There can't be a gap between when Milosevic surrenders and you're ready to move.")

<P> King and Gejdenson said Cook's arguments were well received by most of the representatives present.

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<P>Los Angeles Times

May 20, 1999

Pg. 8

<P>NATO Is Using 240,000 Barrels Of Jet Fuel A Day

<P>By Reuters

<P> WASHINGTON--NATO's bombing campaign in Yugoslavia accounts for 5 percent of world demand for jet fuel oil, a private U.S. oil industry group said Wednesday.

<P> NATO is using an estimated 240,000 barrels per day of jet fuel and other oil products in its war against Yugoslavia, the American Petroleum Institute said in its monthly petroleum statistics report.

<P> The jet fuel is coming from either NATO stockpiles or European suppliers, the group said.

<P> Jet fuel prices increased by about a third shortly after the NATO bombing campaign began in late March and the U.S. Defense Department has increased its purchases of military jet fuel for Europe.

<P> NATO demand for jet fuel and oil products is likely to rise. Defense Secretary William Cohen said earlier this week that the alliance will intensify its air campaign to force Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic to agree to NATO's terms to end the Kosovo crisis.

<P> "We intend to intensify this campaign to the point where he [Milosevic] will accept those conditions," Cohen said. "We're coming at him from all angles."

<P> NATO said on Tuesday it was sending 90 warplanes to Turkey and Italy to use in its bombing campaign.

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<P>Washington Post

May 22, 1999

Pg. 20

<P>Sudan To Sign Anti-Terrorism Accords And Join Chemical Warfa
re Ban

<P>By John M. Goshko, Washington Post Staff Writer

<P> UNITED NATIONS, May 21 Sudan, which has tried for months to convinc
e Washington that it does not support international terrorism, advised the Unit
ed States today that it will sign several anti-terrorism accords and the 1993 c
onvention banning chemical warfare.

<P> The Sudanese move marks the latest step in a quiet but persistent
campaign to improve Khartoum's badly frayed relations with the United States. T
he relationship plunged to frigid levels last August when U.S. cruise missiles
levelled a pharmaceutical plant near Khartoum in retaliation for what Washington
charged was Sudan's complicity in the bombing of the U.S. embassies in Kenya a
nd Tanzania.

<P> Sudan steadfastly has denied that the plant had any connection to
terrorism and has repeatedly but unsuccessfully asked for a U.N. Security Counc
il investigation. In a parallel move, it also has sought to better its standing
in Washington, hinting that it would drop calls for international censure of t
he United States in exchange for Washington's easing economic sanctions and tak
ing Sudan off its list of pariah states.

<P> Sudan's U.N. ambassador, Elfatih Erwa, called acting U.S. Ambassad
or A. Peter Burleigh today to advise him that next week Sudan will join the 165
other countries that already have signed the convention barring the use, devel
opment and production of chemical weapons. Erwa also said he will sign on Sudan
's behalf a U.N. convention on the suppression of terrorist bombings and other
international treaties dealing with the fight against terrorism.

<P> In a telephone interview, Erwa said Khartoum was taking this step because it felt its innocence had been established by the U.S. Treasury Department's action May 3 unfreezing \$24 million in the U.S. bank accounts of Saleh Idris, owner of the destroyed pharmaceutical plant. The United States claimed that Idris, a Saudi, has ties to Osama bin Laden, a Saudi dissident who U.S. officials say masterminded the embassy bombings. Bin Laden, a former resident of Sudan, now lives in Afghanistan.

<P> U.S. officials denied the assets were unfrozen because Washington changed its assessment of the plant. Instead, they said, the United States did not want to disclose the intelligence it used in targeting the plant, a disclosure it would have been forced to make to combat lawsuits by Idris.

<P> Although the United States continues to insist it had good grounds for bombing the plant, the impression has become widespread in diplomatic circles here that Washington acted without adequate evidence. Erwa cited what he called "the bad intelligence and bad science" that has caused the United States and its NATO allies to bomb several unintended targets in Serbia and Kosovo, including the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade. "We think that recent events have removed the cloud of suspicion from us and made our innocence evident," Erwa said.

<I><P> Staff writer Vernon Loeb in Washington contributed to this report.</I>

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<P>London Times

May 21, 1999

<P>Germans Attack 'Isolated Blair'

<P>By Roger Boyes In Bonn

<P> GERMAN irritation with the Blair Government surfaced yesterday when the press described Britain as isolated within Nato on the question of deploying ground

d troops in Kosovo.

<P> In Britain, George Robertson, the Defence Secretary, tried to play down the differences with Gerhard Schröder, the German Chancellor, who said in Brussels on Wednesday that a ground offensive was unthinkable. "In the 19-nation alliance, with 19 democratic countries, you will always get differences of emphasis," Mr Robertson told BBC radio.

<P> But the Germans see the dispute with Britain as more than a matter of interpretation. Michael Steiner, the Chancellor's foreign policy adviser, said airstrikes should be continued for at least another fortnight to weaken the Serbian leadership "to the level of vulnerability where it will agree to our demands". He said: "We will not deploy ground troops in Yugoslavia."

<P> A headline in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung read: "The British Prime Minister is playing a risky solo role as the know-all in the Kosovo war."

<P> Herr Schröder's comments - in which he said that he would not participate in "this specifically British debate on war theory" - were "directed against Blair, the hawk from London, who is becoming more and more isolated in the Western alliance", wrote the Stuttgarter Zeitung yesterday.


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<P>New York Times

May 21, 1999

<P>Ireland: NATO Partnership Eyed

<P> Ireland formally announced that it intends to join the Partnership for Peace, an American-sponsored organization of non-NATO countries that coordinates security policies with NATO. Prime Minister Bertie Ahern denied assertions that this would violate Ireland's tradition of military neutrality, which kept the country neutral in World War II, and virtually silent on NATO's air campaign in Kosovo.

<P>--James Clarity (NYT)

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<P>New York Times

May 23, 1999

Pg. 1

<P>India And Pakistan: Frozen In Fury On The Roof Of The World

<P>By Barry Bearak

<P> SIACHEN GLACIER, in the Western Himalayas -- For 15 blustery, shivering years, the Indian and Pakistani armies have been fighting a war along the frigid peaks of the western Himalayas -- in an area named for the Siachen Glacier and known as the battleground on the roof of the world.

<P> For a soldier, this is where hell freezes over, a 46-mile river of slow-moving ice surrounded by stupendous towers of snow. Temperatures swoon to 50 below, and sudden blizzards can bury field artillery in minutes. Men sleep in ice caves or igloos and breathe air so spare of oxygen that it sends their hearts into a mad gallop. Fainting spells and pounding headaches are frequent. Frostbite chews its way through digits and limbs.

<P> The enemy is hard to see in the crags and craters in the vast whiteness -- and harder to hit. Rifles must be thawed repeatedly over kerosene stoves, and machine guns need to be primed with boiling water. At altitudes of 18,000 feet, mortar shells fly unpredictable and extraordinary distances, swerving erratically when met by sledgehammer gusts.

<P> While some troops fall to hostile fire, far more perish from avalanches

and missteps into crevasses that nature has camouflaged with snow. This is especially so now in springtime, as the sun licks away several feet of ice and opens new underground cracks and seams.

<P> But for all these logistical peculiarities, the Siachen conflict might be thought of as just another low-intensity border war -- were it not being fought between the world's two newest nuclear powers. Their combat over a barren, uninhabited nether world of questionable strategic value is a forbidding symbol of their lingering irreconcilability.

<P> "This is like a struggle of two bald men over a comb," said Stephen P. Cohen, an authority on the Indian subcontinent at the Brookings Institution. "Siachen is the epitome of the worst aspects of the relationship. These are two countries that are paired on a road to Oslo or Hiroshima, and at this point they could go either way."

<P> Since gaining independence in 1947, Pakistan, which is overwhelmingly Muslim, and India, which is predominantly Hindu, have been enemies with a bent toward military confrontation. In 1949, after the first of three wars, the nations agreed to a cease-fire line that unfortunately stopped short of the remote mountains of north-central Kashmir -- a disputed area on the map where India, Pakistan and China rub shoulders.

<P> The wording in the agreement merely said the line was to continue "north to the glaciers." For two decades, this vague phrasing was of more concern to map makers than soldiers, but then in the 1970's several groups of mountaineers in down outerwear began trekking through the region. If they could survive the cold and elevation, so might an army. Siachen became another reason for two nervous neighbors to be reflexively suspicious.

<P> The Highest Ground: Frozen Firearms, Magnificent Vistas

<P> On April 13, 1984, the Indian Army made a "pre-emptive" move into the glacier and the peaks and passes around it. Within weeks, Pakistani forces swept in to oppose them, but the Indians have been able to hold on to the tactical advantage of the high ground.

<P> Most of India's many outposts are west of the glacier along the Saltoro Range of the Karakoram Mountains. These pickets are reachable to an enemy only after a strenuous climb and then a frontal assault, a near-hopeless task in such thin air. After 50 strides, even a well-conditioned man is gasping for breath with his muscles in a tremble.

<P> Fifteen years of refrigerated combat have brought only 15 years of hardened stalemate. The Pakistanis cannot get up to the glacier; the Indians cannot come down.

<P> "Nobody can win, no matter how long we fight," said Maj. Gen. V. S. Budhwar, the Indian commander in Leh, whose region includes Siachen. "But this is our land. It is a portion of our nation-state, and we will not cede it."

<P> Occasionally, some vital strategic importance is assigned to the Siachen area, with hypothetical aggressors flooding across mountain highways. More often, the conflict is described as a simple matter of principle. Imagine, people

say, how America would respond if the Russians overran even a small, barren chunk of Alaska.

<P> "Siachen is an awful place where you can step on a thin layer of snow and, poof, down you go 200 feet," said Gen. Khalid Mehmood Arif, the retired former vice chief of Pakistan's military. "But no nation ever wants to lose a single inch of territory, so Siachen has psychological and political importance. Its value is in ego and prestige."

<P> Arduous to live in, the Siachen area is beautiful to look at. Some of the world's tallest mountains fill the landscape, their snowy tops giving way to rivulets of white that glitter against the black and purple rock. It is a moonscape of mesmerizing pinnacles and ridges and drops. Ice formations rise a mile high. Clouds seem at arm's reach.

<P> The Indian base camp is at the very start of the glacier, which gently curves upward like a giant white tongue. Barracks, helipads, supply sheds, satellite dishes, a hospital and Hindu shrines are spread across several acres. It is clear the Indians have been here awhile and are ready to stay. The command post is carpeted. Curtains hang along the windows.

<P> "We have the heights," said Brig. P. C. Katoch, who runs the operation. In contrast with the superior vista those heights afford, he said, the Pakistani soldier sees nothing: "He hears a helicopter and shoots. He hears artillery and shoots. It's stupid. He doesn't know where he's shooting."

<P> But being king of the hill is costly. The Pakistanis can resupply most of their posts by road and pack mule. At their forward positions, some as high as 21,000 feet, the Indians must rely on helicopters. The whirlybirds strain against the altitude like oversized bumblebees. Many an airdrop is swallowed by the snow.

<P> Both sides deploy about 3,000 soldiers. While the Pakistanis refuse to divulge how much they spend in Siachen, the Indians estimate the cost at about \$350,000 to \$500,000 a day, said Lieut. Gen. R. K. Sawhney, the army's director general of military intelligence.

<P> Transporting kerosene is one major expense. Some Indian soldiers live in igloos made of fiberglass panels. Six soldiers can sleep in jigsaw configurations, crowded into a room the size of a king-size bed. Others live in ice tunnels gouged out with a pickaxe. Either way, small kerosene stoves are the hearths they huddle around. The hissing competes with the howling of the wind. Black smoke seems to color everything, including a man's spit.

<P> The highest perches are occupied by only a handful of soldiers, and sleeping is rarely done at night, for this is the most likely time for the enemy to sneak up. Sentry duty is bleak work. Hot water bottles do not stay hot for long. A relay must be set up to exchange frozen rifles for defrosted ones.

<P> During storms, the heavy snowfall seems as thick as long, white drapery. The wind does pinwheels, and the basics of a hard life gets that much harder. "At my post, you have to use a crawl trench to get to the toilet," said Cpl. Joginder Singh. "When it snows, the trench fills up and you have to stand. The enemy can see you and that's how you die."

<P> It is difficult to know how many men have been killed. Some local news reports put casualty totals for both sides in the thousands, but this seems based on conjecture. The Pakistanis do not release such details, and the Indians say they have lost only the 616 soldiers whose names appear on a stone memorial at the base camp.

<P> The inscription reads: "Quartered in snow, silent to remain. When the bugle calls, they shall rise and march again."

<P> A Question of Control: Disputing Borders, Armed With Scorn

<P> Since they were separated at birth, India and Pakistan have fought over the territory of Jammu and Kashmir, a stunningly lush area that touches both of their borders.

<P> In the complicated and emotional give-and-take that accompanied Partition in 1947, Kashmir, a state with a large Muslim majority, ended up within India. To Pakistan, this seemed unreasonable. The infant nations were drawn into combat.

<P> To this day, Kashmir is the issue that most heats the blood. The Indians claim the area while the Pakistanis argue that the Kashmiris must decide their own future through a plebiscite. Both countries maintain formidable armies near the cease-fire line that splits the territory in two. The killing may slow but it never stops.

<P> Ownership of the mountainous and sparsely-populated northeast is a particular conundrum. From the Indian point of view, the language of the 1949 agreement is eminently clear: "north to the glaciers" means a line going slightly northwest along the natural watershed of the Saltoro peaks. The Pakistanis are equally sure: the phrasing intends for the line to continue northeasterly as it does through the rest of Kashmir.

<P> "The roots of the Kashmir problem are very tangled, but as far as the glacier goes, this is simply a matter of Pakistanis sneaking their way into a place that doesn't belong to them," said India's Lieut. Gen. M. L. Chibber, retired, who is central to the Siachen saga.

<P> An amiable man who left the army in 1985, General Chibber now follows the guru Sai Baba and speaks easily about the futility of war. In 1978, however, he was a commander with responsibility for Siachen. He was alarmed to learn that the Pakistanis were accompanying mountaineers to the glacier. Just as troubling were maps printed in the West. They showed Siachen as part of Pakistan.

<P> By the early 80's, both armies were sending expeditions into the area, and suspicions accumulated like fresh snow. In late 1983, the Indians became convinced the Pakistanis were about to seize the glacier, General Chibber said. This was inferred from intercepted communiqués. If further evidence was needed, he said, it came when India sent procurers to Europe to buy cold-weather gear. They ran into Pakistanis doing the same shopping.

<P> A Military Novelty: Fighting Frostbite and Altitude

<P> India's "pre-emptive" takeover of Siachen was called Operation Meghdoot after the divine cloud messenger in a Sanskrit play. It soon came to seem a burdensome success. Like over-eager chess players, the Indians had failed to plan several moves ahead.

<P> "No one had ever carried out military operations at these altitudes and temperatures, so we figured after the summer ended, we'd have to pull out," General Chibber said. "But with the first snows, we realized it was possible to stay up there all winter. If we left, the Pakistanis would take the glacier and then we'd never get it back."

<P> In the conflict's first years, with the armies inexperienced at such a cold war, the number of casualties mounted quickly. Valiant, if foolhardy, assaults were attempted. Frostbite, snow blindness and pulmonary and cerebral edema took a huge toll.

<P> Daring raids are now rare, the Pakistanis say, though the Indians often boast of victorious defensive skirmishes, killing three here and a dozen there. Each side makes claims the other vigorously denies.

<P> These days, the blasts of artillery and mortar shells are the war's steady cadence. "We fire at them and they fire at us, but this is not a place where the usual calculations of trajectory and distance apply," said Capt. Hamid Mukhtar, a Pakistani artillery officer.

<P> Captain Mukhtar was serving at a forward post at 18,000 feet, near a ridge line known as the Conway Saddle. "There are crevasses on either side of these paths," he cautioned as he walked. "Step into the wrong place and you will go to meet God beneath the snow."

<P> Daily patrolling is necessary, if for no other reason than to tread on a marked trail so it will not disappear. In February, in a typical catastrophe, an avalanche crushed 13 Pakistani soldiers tethered together with rope. A single survivor led the search that later recovered the pristine dead, their bodies preserved as if locked in cold storage.

<P> Melting leads to snow slides. The noontime temperature in early spring was 10 below, but the sun was bright enough to rapidly turn an exposed nose the color of a radish. Sweat is a problem because it becomes ice in a soldier's gloves and socks. Frostbite is then quick with its work.

<P> Even after a day's exertion, most soldiers have little appetite at these heights. Rations come out of tin cans. Fresh produce is rare. An orange freezes to the hardness of a baseball; a potato cannot be dented with a hammer.

<P> Despite the hardships, both sides report an oversupply of volunteers. Stints in Siachen usually last three months or less. "This is my country's soil, and whether something grows here or not, I would gladly die to protect it," said Cpl. Mohammad Shafique, a Pakistani.

<P> The Options: Peace by Rocket or by Bus Ride

<P> Few soldiers know much about the other side's territorial claims, but they seem untroubled by doubt of the enemy's murderous skulduggery. While ma

ny people in India and Pakistan hope for rapprochement, others merely heap fresh animosity upon the old. Evil is presumed.

<P> General Budhwar, the Indian regional commander, said Pakistanis suffer from a "deformed growth," becoming brainwashed in school "with all the dos and don'ts" of Islamic fundamentalism. "Their very existence depends on being inimical to India," he said.

<P> One of his counterparts is Brig. Nusrat Khan Sial, who commands Pakistan's Siachen operation from the city of Skardu. He called the Indians "cowards" whose Hindu beliefs lack reverence for human life. He said he suspects they have used chemical weapons in Siachen, which the Indians vehemently deny.

<P> "It will be the Indians, not us, who will trigger this situation up to the level where both sides resort to nuclear weapons," he said.

<P> Last month, both nations tested ballistic missiles as they develop enough tit-for-tat firepower to give an adversary pause. Following the example of superpowers, they are pursuing peace through nuclear deterrence, their leaders say: Smaller disputes are less likely to provoke all-out wars when the possible outcome includes annihilation.

<P> At the same time, a less costly path toward peace is being undertaken. Earlier this year, with brass bands and polite embraces, India's Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, made a heralded bus trip to Pakistan and met with Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif.

<P> More talks are in the offing, but optimism is in irregular supply.

<P> Over the years, Siachen itself has been the subject of seven "major rounds of talks," said Robert G. Wirsing, a scholar at the University of South Carolina.

<P> Under various Governments ruled by various parties, negotiators have agreed that the conflict is futile -- and some have even called it lunatic. But on one side or the other has always been too afraid of a double-cross to complete a deal. Domestic politics are also a hitch. Any compromise involving Kashmir looks like a lit fuse, especially to unstable Governments.

<P> So the two armies fight on, proud of conquering the elements if not each other. Their doctors have become experts at high-altitude medicine, their helicopter pilots adroit at skirting the cliffs. Solar panels are affixed to some igloos.

<P> On the Indian side, a kerosene pipeline is being completed. A ski lift will ferry soldiers across the canyons. A pulley system has begun to hoist supplies up the mountainsides. Bacteria are eating human waste in machines called bioreactors.

<P> "We have become specialists at high-altitude fighting -- probably the best in the world," boasted General Sawhney, sounding as self-congratulatory as his Pakistani counterparts. "We can tolerate the harsh elements. We have made livable conditions."

<P> We are prepared, both sides say, to battle on the roof of the world for ever.

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<P>Pacific Stars & Stripes

May 22, 1999

Pg. 4

<P>NK Urges Population To Raise Rabbits As Food

<P>By The Associated Press

<P> TOKYO North Korea, faced with a daunting food shortage and famine in parts of the country, is encouraging people to raise rabbits as a source of food.

<P> The animals provide lots of fur and meat and grow fast on little feed, the North's Rodong Shimmun newspaper reported. "We should thoroughly learn about rabbits and make rabbit raising a national movement," the newspaper said.

<P> The issue was seen by the Radiopress agency in Tokyo and reported Wednesday. Radiopress monitors North Korean news reports and radio broadcasts. A rabbit can produce more than 4.4 pounds of "delicious" meat in three months, Rodong Shimmun said. It would also produce up to 30 baby rabbits, which would make some 110 pounds of meat.

<P> News of the campaign follows another in which North Korea called for a boost in potato production.

<P> The country has been largely dependent on foreign aid to feed its 23 million people since 1995, after decades of economic mismanagement and several years of bad weather devastated its farming system.

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<P>Los Angeles Times

May 21, 1999

<P>Monument To Perseverance May Fall

<I><P>Straddling the DMZ, popular tourist site Hien Luong B ridge has been targeted for demolition</I>.

<P>By David Lamb, Times Staff Writer

<P> DONG HA, Vietnam--For Americans and Vietnamese alike, the Hien Luong B ridge over the Ben Hai River has been a symbol of a once-divided country and of a terrible war.

<P> The steel bridge, built on 10 piers and the length of five football fields, stands smack dab in the middle of the onetime Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) and links what from 1954 to 1975 were two countries: the North's Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the South's Republic of Vietnam.

<P> Today, it remains to the Vietnamese the embodiment of Hanoi's long-held belief that the division of Vietnam was only temporary.

<P> "The Vietnamese are one," Ho Chi Minh--who led the resistance to French rule and was the first head of North Vietnam--said in a comment inscribed on a towering monument on the southern side of the bridge. "The rivers can dry up and the mountains can fall down, but this idea will never change."

<P> But now, much to the dismay of the Dong Ha People's Committee and the local tourist authority, the central government has recommended dismantling the bridge because a new span, built with Russian assistance 300 yards upstream and inaugurated in April, is meeting the growing needs of a unified country.

<P> "Hien Luong is really a very important tourist attraction, and we don't want to lose it," said Truong Van Tam of DMZ Tours. "It's something every to

urist coming to Quang Tri province wants to see because it has so much history.
"

<P> Actually, it's future is in doubt only because of a technical problem . While the new bridge upstream has only five piers, Hien Luong's 10 support pillars are causing whirlpools that slow the water flow.

<P> Besides, transportation officials add, Hien Luong is not the original bridge, as most tourists believe. The first Hien Luong Bridge, a graceful structure with brick arches at each end, was built by the French in 1950 and destroyed by U.S. warplanes in 1967. The current bridge was completed by North Vietnam two months before its troops marched into Saigon--now Ho Chi Minh City--in April 1975.

<P> Quang Tri, one of Vietnam's poorest provinces and one still laced with thousands of land mines, sees increased tourism as critical to its economic well-being. One solution being discussed is to replace the dismantled bridge with a replica of the original French-built span.

<P> Last year, 12,000 tourists visited Quang Tri, despite the lack of visitor amenities in Dong Ha. Most of them came on day trips from Hue, and their destinations were places that resonated in America's consciousness a generation ago: the DMZ (which was never demilitarized), Khe Sanh, the Ben Hai River, Cam Lo, the Rockpile.

<P> "The majority of our tourists are from Japan," Tam said. "Then Australia, Germany and the United States. Very few French. They go to Dien Bien Phu. Why the Japanese come, I don't know. Most don't speak much English and don't understand much about the war."

<P> While the scars of war have been patched almost everywhere else in Vietnam, Quang Tri, the scene of some of the heaviest fighting against France, the U.S. and South Vietnam in two wars, remains something of a living war museum.

<P> French pillboxes still stand silent guard at key road junctions, and two allied armored personnel carriers are parked by Dong Ha's main square as if they had been abandoned only yesterday.

<P> The old airstrip at Khe Sanh could be serviceable with a few days' work, and the few buildings in Dong Ha that survived the war are still pockmarked with bullet holes.


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<P>Pacific Stars And Stripes

May 23, 1999

Pg. 3

<P>U.S. Military Presence In Japan Scrutinized

<P>By Matt Curtis, Stripes Tokyo Bureau

<P> CAMP ZAMA About 30 U.S. businessmen, not satisfied with the news they're getting back in the States, spent the week with Army officials here to get a better understanding of America's military presence in Japan.

<P> Members of the Defense Orientation Conference Association, a collection of corporate CEOs, lawyers and defense contractors, toured Camp Zama and the bases surrounding communities Wednesday with U.S. Army Japan officials.

<P> The point behind the meeting, said executive vice president John Ohlsen, was to answer questions the organization had about everything from the quality of life enjoyed by local soldiers, to USARJ's role in the Pacific in the event of a full-scale war.

<P> "No offense, but they don't necessarily believe everything they see, or hear, in the media," Ohlsen said. "Or what their elected officials say, for that matter. They wanted to see for themselves what it's like over here."

<P> DOCA, a nonprofit organization founded in 1952, conducts two such overseas visits each year, to South America, Asia or Europe. The group's 550 members pay for the trips out of their own pockets.

<P> "They want to ensure their country is strong enough to deter conflict," Ohlsen said. "And if that isn't possible, to defend itself."
;

<P> DOCA representatives took a quick tour of USARJ's facilities here on the Kanto Plain before having lunch with local troops. Ohlsen said organizers also had scheduled meetings with officials of Japan's Foreign Ministry. He said association members were impressed with the benefits provided through the Japan Facilities Improvement Program.

<P> According to the Army Corp of Engineers Japan District, JFIP funds cover about \$1 billion in improvements at U.S. military installations yearly. Last week's visit was the first time DOCA had been in the Pacific in 10 years. Ohlsen said the group's activity in Japan peaked in the late 1960s during the Vietnam War.

ar.

<P> "Something like this exposes our members to what our military says, our troops say, and what the host nation has to tell us," he said. "A lot of the people here help shape opinions back home. They'll speak to other people in their communities, even their elected representatives, who will listen to them."

<P> Members were to leave Japan this weekend. Ohlsen said the group is slated to spend a few days in Thailand meeting with military officials involved in Cobra Gold 99.


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<P>Wall Street Journal

May 21, 1999

<P>China Spy Report Diminishes Chances For Trade Agreement

<P>By John J. Fialka, Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal

<P> WASHINGTON -- Shocked by a report on Chinese espionage, Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott predicted Congress will pass a package of security laws, including export controls, and suggested that lawmakers won't have the appetite to approve any trade agreement with China soon.

<P> At a hastily called news conference, Sen. Lott pounded the Clinton administration for delaying the release of the unclassified version of the report on Chinese espionage prepared by a special House committee headed by Rep. Christopher Cox (R., Calif.).

<P> Sen. Lott, who was briefed on the report with other senators Wednesday, said Democrats and Republicans were surprised by the breadth of spying, which appears to have compromised many of America's most-sensitive military secrets. "It made the hair stand up on the back of my neck," he declared.

<P> 'An Abysmal Failure'

<P> Signaling what seems likely to be a period of heightened partisan warfare over China issues, the Senate leader called the Clinton administration's current China policy "an abysmal failure." He said he saw "real problems" over what should be in any agreement with Beijing over China's accession to the World Trade Organization. "From what I've seen, I don't think we can trust the Chinese," he added.

<P> Congress must approve any trade agreement with Beijing. Just when the administration will negotiate one is uncertain; the U.S. has been scrambling to resume talks since the North Atlantic Treaty Organization mistakenly bombed the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, two weeks ago.

<P> While he held some hope for future trade deals with China, he added that the U.S. must "demand some different conduct" from Beijing. "We've got a piece to go," he said.

<P> Up until now, Mr. Lott has handled the espionage issue much more gingerly, sidestepping opportunities as recently as Sunday to attack the administration.

<P> One of the "heads" that Mr. Lott hoped would roll belongs to an, as yet, unknown Justice Department official who denied FBI investigators permission to install a wiretap on the phone of a suspected former scientist at the Department of Energy's weapons laboratory at Los Alamos, N.M. The refusal happened, Sen. Lott charged, "under extremely strange conditions. Why?"

<P> The Cox report, which has been slimmed down to 700 pages after sections of classified or secret material were removed, was supposed to be released Thursday. But continued haggling between the Clinton administration and the Cox panel over what should be left in the final version delayed its release until Tuesday, at the earliest. "What is it the White House is trying to hide?" Sen. Lott asked, rhetorically.

<P> A spokesman for the White House denied that it is holding up the report. "The report is up to the committee to release," he said.

<P> Referring to a package of security-tightening measures proposed by Energy Secretary Bill Richardson, Sen. Lott said more legislative fixes will be needed. One of the targets will be the nation's nuclear weapons labs where, Sen. Lott said, one of the problems has been that "academics have been in charge of security."

<P> Fueling the Fire

<P> Notra Trulock, the Energy Department's acting deputy director of intelligence, fueled this fire Thursday by telling the Senate Energy Committee that department officials called him a "cold warrior," a "knuckle dragger," and a "McCarthyite" after he first raised the Chinese espionage issue in mid-1995.

<P> He said he finally had to go outside the department to brief the FBI, the CIA and the National Security Council before the Clinton administration began moving on the issue. "By the middle of 1997, we knew what had to be done," he said.

id, but repeated delays and inaction meant that security problems on Los Alamos's computer systems weren't fixed until last month. One of the security losses noted in the Cox report involves computer codes containing much of the nation's nuclear testing data.

<P> Mr. Richardson, testifying before the House Science Committee, blamed a lack of communication between DOE and the FBI for the delays in the espionage investigation at the labs. He promised to issue a report next week further explaining the matter.

<P> Meanwhile, he cautioned committee members not to vote for a pending bill to slash the number of foreign visitors to the weapons labs. "We'll hurt our national security," he said, explaining that contacts with U.S. scientists help keep Russian nuclear weapons scientists from selling their knowledge to nations like Iraq.

<P> --<I>Katherine Ackley contributed to this article.</I>

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<P>Washington Post

May 21, 1999

Pg. 23

<P>New Order Rises From Afghan Lair

<I><P>Taliban Militia Reshapes Warlord's Luxury Base

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

<P> KAYAN, AfghanistanHidden deep in the mountains of northeastern Afghanistan, a jolting three-hour journey from the nearest paved road, lie the ruins of a modern monument to megalomania. It is the indulgent creation of a man who once ruled all he surveyed -- but who is now one more footnote to Afghanistan's volatile and bloody recent history.

<P> Until last August, Sayed Mansur Naderi, a regional warlord and a leader of the Ismaili Muslim sect, controlled Baghlan province for nearly a decade. He was both benefactor and brigand, according to local residents; he bestowed blessings and charity on supporters but also milked local industries and sent armed militias to loot farms and extort money from travelers.

<P> In his hilltop stronghold, Naderi constructed a fantasy of imported princely delights: plum orchards and rose gardens, cascading waterfalls and marble-tiled pools, aviaries and cable cars, a helicopter pad and military parade ground -- even a factory that produced gold coins from the crushed ore of a private quarry 25 miles away.

<P> But today, the Kayan compound is a deserted mausoleum of glass shards and crumbled tile. Last August, it was overrun by fighters from the Taliban, the conservative Islamic militia that now controls most of Afghanistan. Naderi, 63, and his family had already fled, and he reportedly lives in London.

<P> "My heart bled when I saw it," said one Taliban combat veteran named Mahammad, who escorted several foreign visitors through the Kayan ruins last week. "Years of war and martyrs, and this is what we were fighting for? No one in such a poor country should build something like this."

<P> Both hated and revered, Naderi and his family protected their followers during a decade of almost unimaginable turmoil -- from the waning days of the 1979-89 Soviet occupation to the period of anarchy and civil strife in the early 1990s when Afghan communist rule gave way to a fractious coalition government. Amid that chaos, the Taliban took up arms in 1994 and gradually swept across Afghanistan, capturing the capital Kabul in 1996 and routing Naderi last August.

<P> Since then, as Taliban authorities strive to subdue the last pockets of resistance to their rule, they have turned this ruggedly beautiful province into a strategic staging ground for offensives against their sole remaining armed opponent, Ahmed Shah Massoud, who controls territory nearby. Last week, cargo trucks full of soldiers and bristling with machine guns and rocket launchers groined along the rutted roads to the front lines near Bamian. One day several hundred armed men on horseback appeared, and Taliban officials said they were being sent to fight in especially difficult terrain.

<P> Despite the conflict nearby, however, the Taliban takeover has brought some positive changes to Baghlan, changes that embody the broader transformation of Afghan society under their control. After years of turbulence, there is now a sense of security in the region, whose fate once depended on the benevolence, might and shifting alliances of warlords like Naderi.

<P> "We used to take turns sleeping on the roof because nothing was safe from the Kayanis," said an elderly farmer named Bahram, referring to Naderi's private army. He pointed to an underground bunker in his yard, where he used to make his children sleep. "Sometimes we would be bombarded by the communists on one side and the Kayanis on the other. Now everything is peaceful, and nobody bothers us anymore."

<P> At the same time, despite a glaring lack of resources and technical know

ledge, the Taliban are trying to rebuild local industry in nearby Pol-e Khomri, the once thriving provincial capital. Under Naderi, some longtime residents said, factories were looted and cash was extorted from traveling businessmen at checkpoints.

<P> "When Naderi was here, he stole all the equipment, never paid the workers and drove the plant into the ground," recalled Mohammad Hussain, 60, who has worked at the Ghorri Cement Factory for 40 years. "Since the Taliban came, we have fixed it with spare parts and gotten it producing at full capacity again, but it has been a labor for the love of our country."

<P> Actually, the legacy of Naderi and his family is more complex than the opulence of their abandoned lair would suggest. Their decade-long sway over this territory combined elements of religious mysticism, feudal paternalism, military strength and a shrewd instinct for survival.

<P> According to press accounts, Naderi and his son, Jafar, were a powerful but paradoxical pair. The son, educated in the United States and barely able to speak any Afghan languages, was named an army general and provincial governor in his mid-twenties by the Afghan communist government. A flashy dresser with American tastes, he cruised the region in a white Mercedes.

<P> The father was a religious leader from the ritualistic Ismaili sect, an international offshoot of Shiite Islam headed by the Aga Khan. Local followers genuflected when he passed by, slaughtered goats to receive his blessing and paid him an annual tribute of money, crops or animals.

<P> As a result, the Taliban takeover has meant little to many faithful Ismailis here. In one remote valley near Kayan last week, illiterate villagers expressed undying fealty to Naderi and seemed to know no other leader. "We are Ismailis. We belong to him," said a wizened man in a cluster of mud huts near Naderi's abandoned gold quarry.

<P> The villagers, men in rags and women in bright clothes with uncovered faces, a rarity in Afghanistan, said they were poor farmers who knew nothing about the Taliban. To all appearances, they were dutifully awaiting the Naderis' next visit. But 20 miles away in Pol-e Khomri, where turbaned police roamed the bazaars and women were completely veiled, the Taliban's presence was instantly palpable -- and not entirely welcome.

<P> Several business owners, speaking in Dari, praised the Taliban for bringing peace. But one, glancing around nervously, whispered a few words of English: "It's terrible. Everyone who had money escaped last year, and now there is no work. The only good thing is that people don't have guns any more. The Taliban took them all away."

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<P>Washington Post

May 23, 1999

Pg. 19

<P>As The U.S. Prepares To Hand Over The Canal, Uncertain Panamanians Find Themselves . . . Wading Into Murky Waters

<P>By Serge F. Kovaleski, Washington Post Foreign Service

<P> PANAMA CITYTaped to the side of Jose Gabriel Gonzalez's snack cart is a handwritten note asking, "WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO THE CANAL NOW?" The question testifies to his anxiety about what will happen after Dec. 31, when the United States pulls out the last of its troops and the Panama Canal comes under full Panamanian control.

<P> "I have great worries," said Gonzalez, whose cart occupies a busy street corner here. "I have lost my sense of security. I have never known Panama without the Americans being here."

<P> Judging from numerous interviews, many Panamanians share his concern about the departure of the Americans, whose presence in Panama dates to its creation in 1903 after it broke from Colombia. In particular, they fear that entrenched political corruption and incompetence in the government will affect the administration and financial stability of the canal, which links the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. They also worry about the economic costs of the U.S. troop pullout as well as potential harm to the investment climate.

<P> Such reservations are not without irony. The treaties that set the stage for the canal handover and troop withdrawal were negotiated by Panama's then-leader, Gen. Omar Torrijos, and President Jimmy Carter and approved overwhelmingly by Panamanian voters in 1977. The signing of the accords was seen as a powerful assertion of national sovereignty and catapulted Torrijos to the status of national hero.

<P> In recent years, however, newspaper polls have indicated that between 50 and 70 percent of Panamanians queried support a continued U.S. military presence beyond 2000, particularly when the issue is framed in economic terms. About 36 percent of Panama's 2.8 million people live in poverty, and unemployment hovers near 13 percent. Some polls have even found that a majority of Panamanians would like the United States to retain control of the 50-mile-long canal, or, at least, operate it in partnership with Panama similar to the current arrangement.

angement.

<P> Distrust of Leaders

<P> "A lot of us never thought that this would really happen and as a result a lot of people did not plan for the future," said Jose Worrell, 54, a Panamanian who has worked for 10 years as a press operator at a printing plant at a U.S. Army base that is to close in November.

<P> Some said growing distrust in political leaders changed their minds. Others expressed concern that Panama, which doesn't have an army, will be vulnerable without the protection of U.S. troops.

<P> "Their leaving will not change my life right now, but I worry about the future of my four children because the United States has helped our country economically and with protection," said Mario Castillo, 34, who parks cars in downtown Panama City. He added, "The canal is going to be so important and I do not think we can run it without it being a disaster."

<P> But Panamanian officials, including the newly elected president, Mireya Moscoso, have vowed to shield the canal from politics and corruption. Furthermore, they have said that the waterway, which generates about \$545 million a year in tolls collected from 13,000 ships, will be operated in a more profitable and competitive manner than it was by the United States. They also have pledged to expand the maritime thoroughfare and protect its watershed from further deforestation, as well as dispose of vast tracts of valuable real estate returned to Panama by the United States that amount to about 8 percent of all the country's land.

<P> "The running of the canal and the autonomy of the canal are serious matters and the reputation of the country is riding on these things, and you will not be able to dispel many of the fears and doubts until you taste the pudding," said Mercedes Morris Garcia, spokeswoman for the Panama Canal Commission. "But we are ready to continue operating the canal and to continue making it a world class transit service provider for decades and decades."

<P> At the same time, some contend that the departure of the United States could provide an opportunity for Panama to mature politically -- forcing its leaders to take responsibility for their country rather than blaming its problems on Washington. "The Panamanian political class is losing the whipping boy, the United States," said Mark Falcoff, author of the 1998 book "Panama's Canal: What Happens When the United States Gives a Small Country What it Wants."

<P> A 'Third Independence'

<P> "This could give Panama a greater sense of self. Panamanian politics now may become a dialogue among Panamanians about Panamanian issues and not about the United States."

<P> Similarly, some Panamanians said they hoped the canal handover would lead to a stronger national identity in perhaps the most Americanized country in Latin America. The U.S. dollar is the only paper currency circulated here, English is widely spoken and American restaurants and stores abound, from TGI Friday's to McDonald's and a Harley-Davidson motorcycle gear store.

<P> "We have a very rich tradition. Our historical roots are South American, our geographical roots are Central American and culturally we are Caribbean, and it would be good to develop more of this," said stockbroker Andres Solis, 33. "This is kind of a third independence. First it was from the Spanish, then the Colombians and now the Americans."

<P> Roberto Eisenmann, former publisher of La Prensa, Panama's leading daily newspaper, said of future relations between the United States and Panama: "I compare it with the teenager who has an overpowering father and is ready to leave the house. There is anxiety on both sides. But in the end the relationship gets better once he steps out of the door because now it becomes a mature relationship."

<P> But many say the imminent departure of Panama's American patron is also cause for anxiety. Corruption, cronyism and slipshod administration of some public institutions, they fear, could affect the running of the canal, undermining its competitiveness.

<P> Others are concerned that the pullout of the U.S. military, which at one point pumped \$350 million a year into the local economy, will have a bruising financial impact on the nation, even though the exit has been gradual and government officials have said that annual economic growth of 2 to 3 percent could offset the revenue loss.

<P> "I don't know what kind of country we will be 10 years from now, but I'm sure it will be different without the Americans," said Gonzalez, the snack vendor. "For now, I am just worrying."


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<P>Dallas Morning News

May 22, 1999

<P>Panamanian Indicted In Killing Of U.S. Soldier Wins Election

<I><P>Administration calls evidence solid

</I><P>By Tod Robberson, The Dallas Morning News

<P> PANAMA CITY - A decade after invading Panama to transform military dictatorship into democracy, the United States may have gotten a bit more than it bargained for when election results for the federal legislature were announced here this month.

<P> Pedro Miguel Gonzalez, who has been indicted in the United States on murder charges in the shooting death of an American soldier, was certified this week as one of the winners in May 2 national elections for Panama's unicameral legislature. His election promises to be an ongoing irritant in relations between the two countries as the United States prepares to relinquish control of the Panama Canal on Dec. 31.

<P> The Clinton administration asserts the evidence is "overwhelming" that Mr. Gonzalez was one of three gunmen who chased down and killed Sgt. Zak A. Hernandez as he and a colleague drove an Army Humvee along Panamanian highway on June 10, 1992.

<P> Mr. Gonzalez, who spent three years in hiding after Mr. Hernandez's killing, insists that he is not guilty and notes that a jury here acquitted him in a 1997 trial that was co-prosecuted by the United States. Under Panamanian law, Mr. Gonzalez cannot be extradited for trial abroad.

<P> "I did not do it," the 34-year-old congressman-elect insisted in an interview. He alleged that despite his acquittal, the U.S. government is planning to kidnap him and take him to the United States for trial.

<P> "They are still chasing after me. They want to kill me," he said. "There are men hired by the United States following me wherever I go, waiting for the chance to grab me. I want them to resolve this through the proper legal channels."

<P> The United States is in the final stages of a two-decade drawdown from Panama that will culminate in the Dec. 31 handover of the Panama Canal and withdrawal of thousands of U.S. troops.

<P> For years, Washington has sought permission to maintain troops here under the auspices of a multinational drug-enforcement center beyond the Dec. 31 withdrawal deadline. That effort has been repeatedly rebuffed by the government of President Ernesto Perez Balladares.

<P> President-elect Mireya Moscoso, who takes office Sept. 1, also has publicly rejected the idea of a continued basing agreement. Nevertheless, high-level delegations from the White House, State Department and Pentagon have held several meetings with Ms. Moscoso and her advisers over the past two weeks, though neither side will discuss details of their meetings.

<P> The U.S. Embassy had withheld comment on Mr. Gonzalez's election until this week, when Ambassador Simon Ferro broke the silence.

<P> Feared pursuit

<P> "I don't know about Mr. Gonzalez's behavior," the ambassador told reporters, questioning whether Mr. Gonzalez's fears of being pursued by U.S. agents might be the product of "a troubled conscience."

<P> The ambassador added: "Our position has been clear for some time. Besides, we've said all we have to say about that case."

<P> Mr. Hernandez's mother, Arlene La Porte, said the United States was equally at fault for creating the circumstances that "allowed my son's killer" to win a seat in the federal legislature. She asserted that U.S. diplomats backed off the prosecution of Mr. Gonzalez because it might have upset bilateral relations at a time when the two countries were near an accord on the multinational drug-enforcement center.

<P> "I think the United States was always more interested in getting permission for the drug base than in getting justice for my son," she said in a telephone interview from her home in Baltimore. "Pedro Miguel Gonzalez killed my son . . . I always felt that there were times when the United States could have intervened or applied more pressure. They were willing to sacrifice justice for my son if it meant getting the base agreement."

<P> An embassy spokesman, Joao Ecsodi, declined to comment on Ms. La Porte's assertions but said, "We continue to discuss with the government of Panama our desire to see justice done in this case."

<P> During his confirmation hearings last year, Mr. Ferro blasted the trial of Mr. Gonzalez as having been riddled with irregularities. "There is no doubt that the prosecutor manipulated the subsequent trial of Pedro Miguel to produce an acquittal despite overwhelming evidence of guilt and an energetic effort," he said in written testimony.

<P> Mr. Hernandez's killing occurred one day before a visit here by President George Bush, who ordered the controversial 1989 U.S. invasion of Panama that removed dictator Manuel Antonio Noriega from power. Hundreds of Panamanians were killed in the invasion, and Mr. Noriega was forced to stand trial in the United States on drug trafficking charges. He is serving a 30-year sentence in a Florida penitentiary.

<P> Mr. Bush's trip was so marred by protests that, at one point, he was overcome by tear gas during a public appearance and was rushed offstage by Secret Service bodyguards.

<P> Mr. Gonzalez was a principal organizer of the demonstrations. His father, Gerardo Gonzalez, the outgoing leader of congress, and is widely regarded as the second-most powerful man in Panama behind Mr. Perez Balladares. He also is a longtime supporter of Mr. Noriega and president of the Democratic Revolutionary Party that the former dictator founded.

<P> Out of hiding

<P> When Mr. Gonzalez came out of hiding in 1995, he was received personally by Mr. Perez Balladares, another close political ally of Mr. Noriega.

<P> The United States contends that the murder weapon used to kill Mr. Hernandez, an AK-47 assault rifle owned by Pedro Miguel Gonzalez, was found buried along with other guns and military paraphernalia at a farm owned by Gerardo Gonzalez near the scene of the killing. The car used in the killing also was found nearby, with spent bullet casings littering the floor.

<P> One at-large suspect in the case, Roberto Garrido, was seen by several witnesses at the Gonzalez farm immediately before and after the killing. A third alleged gunman is a nephew of Gerardo Gonzalez.

<P> Pedro Miguel Gonzalez does not proclaim the innocence of the other suspects or dispute any of the evidence linking them to the murder. But he insists that the evidence against him is entirely circumstantial, contradictory and inconclusive.

<P> An FBI weapons expert testified that the AK-47 owned by Mr. Gonzalez was the weapon used to kill Sgt. Hernandez. A separate test by Scotland Yard returned negative or inconclusive results.

<P> Although various witnesses had no trouble identifying Mr. Garrido as one of the assailants, they offered conflicting responses regarding Mr. Gonzalez's presence. Some described Mr. Gonzalez as having a mustache while others described him as being clean-shaven. Some placed him in the front seat of the gunmen's getaway car, others in the back.

<P> "They were the best witnesses we could have asked for in a trial. Defense attorneys dream of witnesses like these," said Mr. Gonzalez's attorney, Carlos Carrillo.

<P> "If they put me on trial in the United States using the same evidence and same witnesses, I'm sure the jury would have the same verdict," Pedro Miguel Gonzalez added.

<P> Mr. Gonzalez describes himself as a Panamanian nationalist who was fiercely opposed to the U.S. invasion. "The United States is a great country, but I think the U.S. military presence here should end," he said.

<P> In retrospect, he has come to view Sgt. Hernandez's death "as a tragedy," although at the time, "I thought of him as nothing more than a soldier killed in battle."

<P> In his testimony before the U.S. Senate, Mr. Ferro vowed to continue efforts to put Mr. Gonzalez on trial in the United States because, he said, "Pedro Miguel Gonzalez owes a debt to American justice."

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<P>Los Angeles Times

May 21, 1999

<P>Zedillo Urges Humane U.S. Border Policy

<P>By Mary Beth Sheridan and Chris Kraul, Times Staff Writers

<P> SAN DIEGO--Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo wrapped up a historic three-day goodwill tour of California on Thursday, vowing to press for a more humanitarian U.S. border control policy to reduce the mounting toll of immigrant deaths.

<P> Zedillo said his government will use an upcoming session with U.S. Cabinet officials to complain about the scores of migrants who have died in the remote desert or harsh mountains, trying to avoid stepped-up U.S. border patrols.

<P> "We don't argue with the U.S. government's right to apply their laws," Zedillo said, "but the laws should be applied having in mind very basic humanitarian considerations."

<P> Zedillo's comments, made in an interview with The Times, marked a rare note of discord in a four-city sweep intended to highlight a turnaround in ties with California. The Mexican president was invited by Gov. Gray Davis, who has pledged to heal relations fractured during Gov. Pete Wilson's administration by new laws perceived as anti-Mexican.

<P> President Clinton added his voice to the goodwill chorus surrounding the trip by calling Zedillo on Thursday morning, as the Mexican leader toured an East Los Angeles school. In the five-minute conversation from Air Force One, Clinton and Zedillo spoke about the importance of California-Mexico relations to both countries, according to a Mexican communique.

<P> But the Mexican leader was clearly moved by more than just a diplomatic victory. In an emotional farewell address in San Diego Thursday night, Zedillo emphasized how impressed he was with progress by Mexican-Americans, citing Lt. Gov. Cruz Bustamante and California's Assembly Speaker, Antonio Villaraigosa, who had greeted him with effusive Spanish-language speeches in the Legislature two days earlier.

<P> "How times have changed!" declared Zedillo, who grew up in the border city of Mexicali. "When I was a child, living not far from here . . ., if some

one had said two people of Mexican origin would be lieutenant governor and Speaker . . . , I would never have believed it."

<P> In San Diego, Zedillo emphasized rapidly growing trade by visiting a California energy company with extensive investments in Mexico, and a Mexican giant that recently opened a headquarters here.

<P> In recent years Mexico has become California's second-biggest export market, and is closing in on California's No. 1 customer, Japan. "We want to affirm our partnership with California and make better use of the advantages that our geographic proximity offers," Zedillo told 150 business executives at a luncheon at the headquarters of Sempra Energy in San Diego.

<P> The company is one of the most successful U.S. companies trying to exploit the underdeveloped Mexican energy market. Among its investments is a 23-mile natural gas pipeline that by year's end will power Baja California's largest power plant.

<P> Also at the lunch, Leap Wireless International, a spinoff of Qualcomm, announced that it is spending \$1.3 billion on new wireless phone systems in Mexico.

<P> Zedillo's last event Thursday was the inauguration in San Diego of the new U.S. headquarters of telecommunications giant Telefonos de Mexico, which moved from Houston to better tap the Latino market in California.

<P> Mexico's Recovery

<P> Throughout his trip, Zedillo emphasized Mexico's recovery from its devastating 1995 economic crisis. In part, such comments have been aimed at investors. But the glowing economic report card also was intended to allay the fears of Californians nervous that continuing economic problems would drive more Mexicans north, Davis aides said.

<P> In Mexico, there is growing concern that beefed-up border controls in the San Diego area are forcing immigrants into remote, inhospitable areas to the east, where many die of exposure to heat or cold.

<P> Last year, 300 Mexican migrants died at the border, 177 of them on the California side, Mexican officials say.

<P> "Over the last year we have seen very painful tragedies occurring in both the desert . . . and also in the sierra" on the border, Zedillo said. He did not specify what Mexico will ask U.S. officials to do.

<P> Rosario Green, Mexico's foreign minister, said Mexico will urge U.S. authorities to work more closely with their Mexican counterparts as they do in implementing their anti-drug policy. "We need cooperation to avoid these deaths," she said.

<P> Mexican officials said they have addressed the border deaths with Doris Meissner, head of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

<P> On June 3-4, the subject will be introduced at a higher level, in the

annual meeting of officials from the U.S. and Mexican cabinets.

<P> A senior U.S. State Department official said the Clinton administration is aware of Mexico's concerns about the immigrant deaths. "We have to work together to come to grips with the problem in a joint fashion," said the official, speaking in Washington on condition of anonymity.

<P> "There are things we can do and things they can do. Much has to do with just ensuring that people know how dangerous the situation is and that people don't risk their lives here," he said.

<P> The official listed a series of actions that the United States has already launched to deal with the problem, including increasing rapid-response capabilities for emergencies and boosting communication with Mexican authorities when immigrants' lives are at risk.

<P> In the interview with The Times on Thursday, Zedillo addressed several subjects besides immigration:

<P> He defended his government's efforts to fight poverty and resolve the rebellion in southern Chiapas state.

<P> He insisted that the North American Free Trade Agreement was producing good jobs for Mexicans.

<P> And he suggested that he intended to play an active role in his party's recently announced plunge into democracy. The Institutional Revolutionary Party, or PRI, has controlled the presidency for 70 years. Zedillo has announced that he will break tradition by not nominating his successor; instead, the PRI announced this week, it will hold a primary.

<P> "I think what has to be done is to check whether the rules are sound, and to follow everybody's behavior to see whether those rules are being obeyed," Zedillo said. "I think it would be very bad for Mexican democracy if people started looking at these things in a not very transparent way."

<P> Zedillo's 24-hour Los Angeles trip included a pep talk to a flag-waving Latino audience Wednesday at Union Station, a speech to a large lunch sponsored by Town Hall Los Angeles and the Los Angeles World Affairs Council, and a gala dinner Wednesday night in Beverly Hills.

<P> The president's last public event in the city was a visit to Breed Elementary School in East Los Angeles on Thursday morning. Hundreds of children and parents seated on bleachers and on an outdoor playground waved American and Mexican flags and cheered heartily for the two dignitaries. One section of the audience chanted Zedillo's name, and he responded with a warm wave and applause.

<P> After brief comments in which Zedillo encouraged the students to work hard at school, Gov. Davis and the president went inside a classroom to read to the children from the book "The Little Engine That Could."

<P> "There are people walking out of here with goose bumps," said Henry Ronquillo, principal at nearby Roosevelt High School. "This is going to spread."

ike wildfire through this community."

<P> <I>Times staff writers Dave Leshner of the Times' Sacramento bureau and Tyler Marshall of the Washington bureau contributed to this story. </I>>

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<P>Defense Week

May 24, 1999

Pg. 1

<P>Iran Has Makings Of North Koreas Taepo Dong

<P>By John Donnelly

<P> HUNTSVILLE, Ala.Iran may soon have a missile capable of striking Europe , a top U.S. intelligence official said in the most specific comments to date about the missile capabilities of Iran and its comrade in proliferation, North Korea.

<P> While government officials and intellectuals debate whether the Iranian regime is growing more moderate, its missile capabilities proceed apace. Whether or in what context Teheran would employ them is a separate question. Currently, Iran has the makings of North Korea's Taepo Dong-1 (TD1) missile, which has a range of 2,000 kilometers (1,240 miles), David Osias, the Defense Intelligence Agency's top missile expert, told reporters at a recent symposium here.

<P> North Korea's Taepo Dong 1 uses a No Dong for a first stage and a Scud for a second stage, both of which Iran possesses, Osias said. Specifically, last July, Iran successfully tested the Shahab-3 missile, which is a slightly modified version of North Korea's 1,300 kilometer (800 mile) No Dong missile.

<P> The Shahab-3, which Iran recently said it has already fielded, enables Iran to strike Israel, Saudi Arabia and parts of Turkey. Iran built the Shahab-

3 with help from North Korea, Russia and possibly China, officials and analysts say. Iran is reportedly working on longer-range follow-ons called Shahab-4 and -5. Even before those come on line, though, putting together the Shahab-3/No Dong and a Scud to form an Iranian version of Taepo Dong 1 is well within Iran's grasp, Osias said.

<P> "We are not sure of the details of these missiles [Shahab-4 and -5] nor whether there might be a TD1-type vehicle in Iran's future," he said. "But it is important to recognize that with the Shahab [-3] [the Iranians] have essentially the first stage of the TD1. And they make Scuds. So they have the second stage of the TD1. There is some work to be done putting them together, but with help from whoever they get it from they can probably manage."

<P> Significantly, if Iran can obtain a third stage from North Korea or elsewhere like the one Pyongyang added to the Taepo Dong-1 last August in an earth-shaking test launch which overflew Japan, then Iran could hit major European cities.

<P> Taepo Dong 1 could hit London

<P> "While the space-launch attempt failed, the two stages that constitute the TD1 missile appear to have operated successfully," Osias, defense intelligence officer for Acquisition Support, Counter-proliferation and Arms Control, told reporters at a U.S. Army Space and Missile Defense Command symposium on missile defense. "In addition, before it failed, the TD1 achieved a trajectory sufficient for the final propulsion stage to reach ICBM range more than 5,500 kilometers [3,415 miles]."

<P> For comparison, the distance from Northwest Iran to London is 3,700 kilometers (2,300 miles). Consequently, if Iran obtained the Taepo Dong 1 with a third stage, or the Taepo Dong-2, with a range of 6,000 kilometers (3,700 miles), "all of NATO Europe would be at risk, including major alliance population centers, such as London, Paris and Berlin," said David Wiencek, a proliferation expert with International Security Group of Round Hill, Va.

<P> The Taepo Dong-2 is North Korea's next project to come due. The Taepo Dong-2 has not yet been tested, but "it could be deployed in a few years," he said; said the CIA's top missile expert, Robert Walpole, in a speech last December. Osias, for his part, said: "The TD1 could roll out anytime. The TD2, we'd have a few months warning."

<P> The Taepo Dong-2's 6,000-kilometer range assumes a heavy payload, Osias said. If the Taepo Dong-2 which Osias says comprises a new missile for a first stage and a No Dong second stage adds the same third stage used last August with a light-enough payload, it could be launched from North Korea and strike anywhere in the United States. So said Walpole in his December speech, which was first reported by Defense Week in January and later stated in testimony by the CIA director.

<P> The Taepo Dong-2 could soon be for sale, Walpole said: "We assess they [North Korea] will follow their current path and market them; at a minimum, aspiring recipients will try to buy them."

<P> However, for Iran to attain the 10,000 kilometers (6,200 miles) needed to strike the United States is a larger leap. Still, a report by former Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld last July said Iran is trying to acquire engines that could be used on ICBM systems of this magnitude. Rumsfeld said Iran could acquire such a system within five years of deciding to do so and may have already made the decision.

<P> Experts say the biggest challenge facing any aspirant to the ICBM club is conquering the staging needed.

<P> "The big thing is that Iran is clearly on the way to building longer-range systems and stacking them together," said David Tanks, a proliferation expert with the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis. "And once they get to that point, the range limits go away significantly."

<P> Tanks did not minimize the technical challenges, though. Besides staging, Iran must also master complex technical issues involving guidance and overcoming the tremendous heat generated at high velocities.

<P> Graduation to No Dongs

<P> To Osias, the cautionary tale here is that No Dongs are spreading now the way Scuds have proliferated, leading countries closer to intermediate-range and intercontinental missiles.

<P> "The No Dongs seem to be proliferating much the way Scuds did a few years ago," he said. "Currently perhaps a dozen countries have Scud missiles The graduation to No Dongs would have a profound impact on the ability of most of these countries to target others within their regions. In short, No Dongs matter."

<P> In addition, nations working with China can combine the No Dong with the solid-fuel M-9 or M-11 missile as a second stage instead of a Scud to gain a Taepo Dong effect with a range of perhaps 3,500 kilometers (2,175 miles) instead of 2,000 kilometers (1,240 miles), Tanks said. What's more, all the ranges Osias gave are based on unspecified "heavy" payloads. But lightening the payloads can increase the ranges on all these systems.

<P> Biological payloads tend to be quite light, Tanks said. And despite the talk of moderation in Teheran, when it comes to chemical and biological weapons, "one of the most active players has been Iran," said John Lauder, special assistant to the Director of Central Intelligence for Non-proliferation, at a public forum last month. He cited "blister, blood and choking agents."

<P> Finally, Osias made clear that Iran's development of the Shahab-3 would not have been possible without North Korean help.

<P> "Iran built it," he said, "but relied heavily on imports of missile technology from foreign sources, particularly from North Korea, who provided at least the No Dong plans. Also of importance, Russia provided technical assistance that allowed its missile programs to proceed much more swiftly than we thought it otherwise would."

<P> He also said: "Russia and China have provided assistance to Iran's missile program, and it is not simply happenstance that Iran's Shahab-3 and Pakistani Ghauri are almost identical to North Korea's No Dong."

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<P>Washington Post

May 22, 1999

Pg. 14

<P>Iraqi Oil Sales Program Extended For 6 Months

<I><P>Divided U.N. Security Council to Resume Debate on Arms Inspections, Sanctions

</I><P>By John M. Goshko, Washington Post Staff Writer

<P> UNITED NATIONS, May 21The Security Council today extended for another six months the oil-for-food program that permits Iraq to sell as much as \$5.256 billion worth of oil and use the funds to buy food and humanitarian supplies for the hard-pressed Iraqi masses.

<P> Although the 15-nation council is expected to resume more broad-ranging debate about Iraq next week, there still is no sign that the members will be able to resolve their disagreements about how to persuade Iraq to cooperate with the United Nations on disarmament and sanctions issues.

<P> The world body's Iraqi policy has been stalemated since late last year, when Iraq responded to American and British bombing raids by expelling U.N. arms inspectors and demanding an immediate end to the U.N. economic sanctions that have been in place since Iraq's 1990 invasion of Kuwait. The council has mandated that the sanctions cannot end until it is satisfied that Baghdad has eliminated its weapons of mass destruction.

<P> At the core of the impasse is a policy dispute dividing the council's f

ive permanent, veto-wielding members. The United States and Britain favor a continued hard line against President Saddam Hussein, while Russia, France and China advocate a more flexible approach leading to a quick end to weapons inspections and lifting of the sanctions.

<P> The new round of discussions next week is expected to center on a proposal by Britain and the Netherlands to permit foreign companies to invest in the oil fields that are Iraq's principal livelihood. But that would be permitted only after Iraq agrees to a new weapons monitoring system and demonstrates for 120 days its willingness to cooperate with a new U.N. inspection system that would replace the U.N. Special Commission (UNSCOM), which now has responsibility for searching out prohibited Iraqi weapons.

<P> The Baghdad government has not commented officially on the British-Dutch proposal. But the newspaper Al-Thawra, official organ of the ruling Arab Baath Socialist Party, denounced it today as an attempt by Britain, the former colonial power in Iraq, to reimpose British rule over the country.

<P> Here at the United Nations, though, heavy British lobbying has produced some tentative interest in the proposal. U.S. diplomats have said that Washington supports the broad, general outlines of the plan, including the provisions for foreign investment. However, these sources added, the United States wants the proposal discussed at length in the council before any action is taken on it.

<P> Other diplomatic sources said that a majority of the council is probably willing to take up the British-Dutch plan as the starting point for discussion next week. However, Russia, which has been pushing an alternative proposal that would suspend the sanctions, has criticized the British-Dutch ideas as inadequate to gain Iraqi cooperation, and some sources said it is possible that the Russians will try to sidetrack serious consideration of the plan.

<P> In keeping the ceiling on oil-for-food sales at the \$5.256 billion level, the council acceded to the hard line espoused by the United States and Britain. Secretary General Kofi Annan had told the council that this level was inadequate to meet Iraq's humanitarian needs.

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<P>Washington Post

May 23, 1999

Pg. B1

<P>Militarily, It's Winter

<I><P>And That Means Talk of a Ground War Has Come Too Late

</I><P>By Lewis MacKenzie

<P> BRACEBRIDGE, Ont. NATO's strategy in Kosovo will be used for generations as an example of how not to wage war. In fact, if students in this year's U.S. Army, Navy and Air Force war colleges had come up with the NATO objectives now being pursued in the Balkans, each and every one of those students would have--or at least should have--been failed on the spot.

<P> I never thought I would be saying this. I served 10 years with NATO for ces in junior command and staff positions and participated in eight United Nations peacekeeping missions, the last one as commander of the U.N. forces that opened the Sarajevo airport for humanitarian relief flights in 1992. When the Kosovo conflict erupted, my experience with both organizations led me to believe that NATO's decision-making process would put the U.N.'s to shame. I now realize that I was terribly naive. NATO, with its 19 members and 19 national leaders, is saddled with some of the same problems that I observed at the U.N. during the Bosnian civil war.

<P> The crisis in Bosnia in 1992 was the U.N.'s first major post-Cold War challenge. Just weeks after our modest peacekeeping force (900 troops initially) established its headquarters in Sarajevo, Bosnia's capital, the civil war broke out. The difficulty of achieving consensus within the 15-member U.N. Security Council on what we should and could do became all too obvious. Dominated by its five permanent members (the United States, the United Kingdom, France, China and Russia), the Security Council could only reach agreement if it watered down its resolutions to the point of ineffectiveness. The creation of five "safe havens" that the U.N. could not keep safe, and the establishment of a "dual key" authorization for airstrikes (shared by NATO and the U.N.) are but two examples of the bizarre decision making that resulted from the Security Council's need to compromise beyond reason.

<P> Because of NATO's 50 years of practice and experience, I expected better this time around. But once again the need to please everyone has led to a flawed strategy that pleases no one and cannot accomplish NATO's goals. Much has been written and said about the folly of eliminating the option of using ground troops even before NATO launched its first airstrikes against Yugoslavia on March 24. The American people breathed a collective sigh of relief, I'm sure. But I dare say that Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic was even more delighted. I spent three weeks recently in Belgrade reporting for Canadian television, and I interviewed a number of Serbian politicians. Many of them brought up the possibility of a ground war (perhaps to learn something from me), but I had the cl

ear sense that no one considered it a serious threat. By taking that option off the table at the outset, NATO emboldened Milosevic and his backers.

<P> Now, suddenly, talk of a ground war is back in the headlines. Pundits dissected President Clinton's statements last week (he said no option had been ruled out), looking for a change of heart. The British are lobbying to position more troops in Albania and Macedonia to be ready for a "semi-permissive" environment (presumably that exists when only some of the enemy's forces want to kill you). The Germans, Hungarians and Greeks still say no to ground troops, and Canada continues trying to keep everyone happy by deploying a small ground contingent (not due to arrive until July 1) while actively urging a negotiated settlement.

<P> Sorry, folks, but it's too late to even threaten a ground war. It may sound odd to say so now that the weather has just turned nice, but on the military calendar, winter is at hand. There isn't enough time to achieve the necessary political consensus (remember those 19 national leaders) or enough time to put together, train and supply an international force that could complete an occupation of Kosovo before the nasty Balkan weather sets in (Napoleonic wishful thinking to the contrary). The fact is that it took NATO a month to deliver 24 Apache helicopters to the region and it will take more than two months to send 800 Canadians there, so the rapid deployment of more than 30,000 additional troops and their equipment sounds at this point like a fairy tale.

<P> A combination of factors weighs against launching a NATO invasion force from Albania and Macedonia. Anyone who has walked the terrain will tell you that it is challenging at best and, in many places, untenable for mechanized or armored forces. I'm sure the Kosovo Liberation Army finds the hilly terrain useful for its guerrilla tactics, but a NATO attack would have to break out of the mountains and onto the open plain that runs down the center of Kosovo. This isn't a place for the kind of lightning-quick race across the desert that we saw in Iraq during the Persian Gulf War.

<P> In addition to the terrain problem, there is an absence of space to the south of Kosovo. A military force of any size occupies a large area, and the borders of both Albania and Macedonia are crowded with nearly 800,000 refugees (as well as the people and equipment to feed and house them). Every port, railway, road and airfield is being used to transport relief supplies. The region's infrastructure is strained to the breaking point, including the few roads leading toward Kosovo. Moving an army is a mammoth operation in any circumstance; the vision of moving hundreds of thousands of tons of supplies to troops at the front, through unavailable ports and airfields, over nonexistent roads, should be enough to eliminate any thought that an invasion could be mounted from Albania and Macedonia before the weather changes in late October or November.

<P> An attack from the north is a different story. Hungary would provide an ideal staging ground for any NATO force. A few weeks ago, I drove from Budapest into Yugoslavia, and it didn't take long to confirm what any map clearly shows: A wide open plain leads past Belgrade and extends all the way into Kosovo. It is a long distance, but a NATO operation from the north could bypass Belgrade with relative ease; the difficult terrain along Kosovo's borders with Albania and Macedonia would come into play in the last phase of the offensive, rather than at the beginning.

<P> The Hungarians would surely have a few things to say about such a plan. Hungary is one of NATO's newest members. Just five days after joining the alliance, it found itself part of a war against one of its neighbors; becoming the primary launching pad for a ground war is probably more than the Hungarians can bear at this stage.

<P> All this speculation about what could happen would be strictly academic if the NATO bombing campaign had reduced the Yugoslav army in Kosovo and Serbia to the point of operational ineffectiveness. It seems clear that it hasn't. Optimistic estimates put Yugoslav losses at somewhere between 10 and 20 percent of the army's capability. It is safe to assume that key items--such as tanks, artillery pieces and surface-to-air missiles--must still be there in serious numbers. Otherwise, the Apache helicopters would have been authorized to cross the border and fly into Kosovo airspace by now.

<P> But if the Yugoslav army is more battered than I think it is, the existing NATO forces in the region could mount an invasion from their current positions. There are 12,000 NATO troops in Macedonia; soon there will be 8,000 in Albania and 2,500 U.S. Marines afloat in the Adriatic. There are also 2,500 or so U.S. troops with NATO's stabilization force in Bosnia. They have not trained together and their logistic support is inadequate for a prolonged operation, but they could mount a modest operation to provide a large "safe haven" for displaced Kosovo Albanians before the snow flies. Mind you, I would not hold my breath waiting for it.

<P> There is an assumption on the part of some politicians and military planners--too many, I suggest--that Milosevic will be watching and waiting while NATO puts together an invasion force. That is not what he did at the start of the bombing campaign. Based on the principle that the best defense is a good offense, it would seem that Milosevic's best option would be an attack, perhaps with artillery and missiles, against the crowded refugee camps on the Kosovo borders. He might simultaneously launch an "ethnic cleansing" of 300,000 Hungarians who live in Yugoslavia's northern, ethnically diverse province of Vojvodina, pushing them into Hungary. This action would merely add to the humanitarian crisis that NATO is now trying to resolve (sound familiar?).

<P> Military planners and commanders will always be frustrated by some of the decisions made by political leaders. That's a function of their very different roles and responsibilities, and I wouldn't have it any other way. Nevertheless, NATO has a serious problem on its hands due to the size of its membership and the inherent difficulty in reaching consensus. Its early elimination of a ground war option for Kosovo is a perfect example of a collective solution that met the "lowest common denominator" test but was counterproductive in its application. And now it is too late to put it back on the table--at least, too late for this year.

<I><P> Lewis MacKenzie was commander of U.N. troops during the siege of Sarajevo in the Bosnian war in 1992. He retired from the Canadian army as a major general in 1993.</I>

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<P>Washington Post

May 23, 1999

Pg. B5

<P>Keep Russia Away From The Danube

<I><P>So Says Romania, With Reason to Be Wary of the Federa
tion's Involvement

</I><P>By Ion Iliescu

<P> BUCHARESTHere's a message for the United States from the Balkans:
Inviting the Russians to camp out along the Danube River is not a good idea. A
Kosovo peace created and maintained by Moscow may not be peace at all for our f
ractive region.

<P> The Balkans have long been a playground for the Great Powers. Addi
ng Moscow to the mix won't help now. Russia is not merely a large country with
great economic leverage here. Moscow may have thousands of troops stationed in
the area with international sanction and a considerable amount of clout and pre
stige for its designated role as Balkan peacemaker. With the recent upheaval in
Russian President Boris Yeltsin's government, we in Bucharest worry about the
injection of further instability to our area.

<P> I studied in Moscow during the communist era and have had dealings
with many of the Russian elite. While the Russian people yearn for peace, as d
o Romanians and Americans, I don't trust the Russian agenda in our region. Firs
thand experience gives people of my generation insight that I wish was shared b
y NATO leaders. Bulgaria, like Romania, has pinned its hopes for the future on
looking to the West and on eventual inclusion in NATO. But Russia has so far re
fused to sign a basic treaty with Romania giving us the same degree of independ
ence as is enshrined in the Russian-Polish, Russian-Hungarian and Russian-Czech
treaties.

<P> Don't give the Russians a way to return to southeastern Europe. Do
n't force Romania or other countries to open their borders and highways to Russ
ian troops and tanks heading for Kosovo.

<P> We in the Balkans study history assiduously. We cannot avoid it. We remember the 1870s and the early 20th century almost as if they were yesterday. And, through the communist epoch, Russia's role in the region was blatantly self-serving--it was to dominate and exploit. Even the oft-mentioned Serb-Russian love feast is grossly exaggerated. Moscow has done little for the Serbs since the beginning of this century beyond rhetorical flourishes. For many years after 1948, the biggest threat to the former Yugoslavia was the Soviet Union. Even in Bulgaria, which is often thought of as being emotionally close to Moscow, Russian historic dominance meant that every bit of assistance Moscow gave increased Bulgaria's dependency.

<P> Americans may be less concerned than we are about a large and long-term Russian presence in southeastern Europe. After all, Russia looks weak today from the vantage point of the United States. But we're much closer, and we harbor very distasteful memories of Moscow's eagerness to collaborate with a Nazi dictatorship here in 1939-40, its brutal suppression of Hungary's revolution in 1956 and the 1968 Prague Spring, and Russia's continuing preference to use military might to reverse political losses. The crisis in Chechnya demonstrated that proclivity, at the same time that it dramatically exposed the weaknesses of the Russian army. The notion that Moscow can become again an active participant in the region, but this time with better intentions and careful behavior, seems to us to be a dubious proposition. The possibility of weak states being reabsorbed into the Russian Federation is troubling in light of speculation about a Slav union of Russia, Belarus and Serbia.

<P> Adding more Russian troops to southeastern Europe is not a reassuring proposition. Intolerant nationalism in Serbia will not be moderated by forces from a country where militarism and nationalism are on the rise. A Serbian state will have a Serbian army, but Russians won't provide the best example.

<P> Deployment of Russian troops will add to the existing leverage conferred by Russia's control over oil and gas, as well as by its proximity. An increased Russian military presence would make it extremely difficult for countries of the region to pursue and express their fundamental security interests independently. Instead of merely looking back over our shoulders, we'd have to look ahead, to the left, and to the right.

<P> Tomorrow's Russia will be hostile to us as we continue to express interest in another round of NATO and European Union enlargement. As the largest country in southeastern Europe, we in Romania would vastly prefer that NATO make a peace with Yugoslavia through us, not around us. Rather than imposing a hostile neighbor on our fragile region, why not give us a chance to give peace a chance and keep Russian troops away from the Danube?

<I><P> Ion Iliescu was twice elected president of Romania and led the nation from 1990 through 1996. He is now a senator and leader of Romania's principal opposition party, the Romanian Party of Social Democracy.</I>

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<P>National Journal

May 22, 1999

Pg. 1402

<P>Behind Enemy Lines

<P>By Richard E. Cohen, National Journal

<P> As President Clinton has continued to wage war against Serbia, he has faced increasingly harsh -- and increasingly bipartisan -- condemnations from Capitol Hill. It is difficult to recall such a high level of congressional second-guessing over a military mission that has had so few American casualties.

<P> Lack of confidence in Clinton's handling of the Kosovo conflict appeared to hit rock-bottom in late April, when the House rejected, on a 213-213 vote, a Senate-passed resolution endorsing the military air campaign that had already been under way for more than a month. But since then, House disdain for the Clinton team has deepened, notwithstanding the chamber's approval of a supplemental Pentagon spending bill that was nearly double the size of the President's request.

<P> In recent weeks, lawmakers have been participating in overseas negotiations to find an alternative to what they consider the Administration's inept handling of the situation in Yugoslavia. Throughout the course of these free-lancing efforts, the criticism from all sides has been severe, as has been the breakdown in cooperation between the executive and legislative branches.

<P> The vitriol was evident at a May 13 hearing of the House International Relations Committee, at which six Republicans, four Democrats, and independent Rep. Bernard Sanders of Vermont described their recent discussions on Yugoslavia with four members of the Russian Duma in Vienna, Austria. Rep. Samuel Gejdens of Connecticut, the committee's senior Democrat and a strong supporter of the Administration, set the tone when he twice raised the charge of "treason" in referring to his colleagues' actions.

<P> A short time later in the proceedings, Rep. Corrine Brown of Florida, a Democrat who was part of the delegation to Vienna, bluntly responded, "If anyone thinks that I was involved in anything of treason, or negative, I would ask

them to step outside." Stephen R. Sestanovich, the State Department's expert on Russia, had stirred the bad blood a day earlier when he told the House committee that he believes that the Administration sometimes needs to "stand up to Congress."

<P> Rep. Curt Weldon, R-Pa., who organized the Vienna meeting with the Russians and has long advocated closer ties between the two nations, said that he kept Administration officials fully informed of his activities. In fact, Weldon said he thought he was doing the Clinton White House a favor when his group, on May 1, announced agreement with the four Russians on the general terms of a peace plan.

<P> "I went to Vienna with a positive attitude toward the Administration," Weldon said in an interview. "Now my view is that they are a bunch of hypocrites and demagogues." A week after Weldon's announcement, Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright agreed with the Western powers and Russia on language that Weldon said is similar to his own. "They are embarrassed that it took Congress to prod the negotiations," said Weldon.

<P> But the dispute is about more than pride of authorship. Rep. Tom Lantos, D-Calif., told Weldon at the committee hearing that his effort was "well-intentioned but inappropriate." Lantos had sharp words for Weldon's peace plan, criticizing "the sloppiness of the phrasing, the ambiguity, the uncertainty, the amateurism that permeates your document." And undersecretary of State Thomas R. Pickering told the panel: "Words matter.... This resolution's provisions simply do not square with the principles that we and our NATO allies" have set forth.

<P> Weldon and the other members of his group raised the stakes even further by introducing a House resolution that calls on U.S. officials to support the Vienna agreement. Rep. Dennis Kucinich, D-Ohio, another member of Weldon's group, said that "Congress must step up to its responsibility" and consider the resolution. "NATO does not speak for my constituents," Kucinich said in an interview. "What I care about is breaking the logic of war that has taken a grip on the Capitol."

<P> Weldon's resolution, however, was not immediately scheduled for House floor consideration. Gejdenson -- who said he raised objections to the resolution with a top aide to Speaker J. Dennis Hastert, R-Ill. -- contended in an interview, "We may have slowed it down by embarrassing them." Gejdenson added: "I would not be as opposed if they simply represented their negotiations to the committee. For Congress to micromanage foreign policy with a resolution doesn't make sense."

<P> Weldon, of course, still has plenty of supporters among his Republican colleagues. Rep. Jim Leach, R-Iowa, said that Weldon's effort underscores the congressional "lack of confidence" in Clinton's handling of the Yugoslavian crisis. "There is a great bipartisan desire to de-escalate the war," said Leach, a 12-term veteran who is one of the House's most moderate and internationalist Republicans.

<P> While it's true that some of the most vigorous criticism of Clinton's Kosovo policy has come from Democrats -- such as Kucinich and Rep. Rod R. Blagojevich of Illinois -- many House Democrats remain supportive of the President. T

hey continue to try to shift the focus to Republican partisanship and missteps.
"As long as [House Majority Whip] Tom DeLay [R-Texas] is running the other side, Republicans will continue to embarrass themselves by taking these kinds of actions," Gejdenson said. "Their hatred of the President is blinding them."

<P> It may seem that the ill feeling between Clinton and his antagonists couldn't get any worse. But recent events strongly suggest that it will.

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<P>Washington Post

May 23, 1999

Pg. B7

<P>Kosovo: As The World Looks On

<P>By Fred Hiatt

<P> Two months ago the U.S. military began its air campaign against Serbia with an achievable goal. The bombing "will be successful," Defense Secretary William Cohen said, if Slobodan Milosevic is deterred from assaulting the Kosovo Albanians -- "or we have diminished his capacity to wage that kind of effort."

<P> The "or" was crucial. By Cohen's definition, NATO could declare victory today, for Slobodan Milosevic's capacity to wage war certainly has been diminished.

<P> But far from being deterred, as Cohen hoped, Milosevic accelerated his campaign of terror once the bombing began, forcibly expelling hundreds of thousands from their homes and killing thousands in a process that continues today.

<P> In response, President Clinton reshaped the goals of the campaign to those he described on Thursday: "The refugees must go home with security and

self-government. Serbian forces must leave Kosovo. An international security force with NATO at its core must deploy to protect people of every ethnicity and faith in Kosovo."

<P> These objectives are still relatively modest for a military assault of this magnitude. They do not include the displacement of Milosevic or the defeat of his army. Even so, by changing goals without adjusting means, Clinton has been left with a strategy uncertain of success.

<P> That leaves him with three alternatives. One is to keep hoping the strategy will work. No outsider can say for sure when the bombing might induce Milosevic to give in; it could happen this week.

<P> On the other hand, it could happen never. Given that possibility, continuing an air campaign that kills and injures innocent civilians inside Serbia is tough, as Italy's prime minister made clear last week. NATO, he said, should avoid bombing mistakes that "increase the sense of unease among our voters." That unease is all the greater given Milosevic's success at ensuring that NATO's mistakes attract more news coverage than his atrocities.

<P> Clinton's second choice, then, is to adjust the means, to assemble ground forces that would occupy Kosovo in case the air campaign does not work. Such a decision undoubtedly would further embitter Russia, fracture NATO's 19-member unified front and present the army with a logistical nightmare. It also might induce Milosevic to accelerate the killing of those Kosovars he has not yet expelled.

<P> Yet militarily it would be achievable, especially against a Serbian army already battered from the air. It also could accomplish the return of Kosovo's deportees.

<P> A negotiated end to the war is the third option. This also is achievable, but not necessarily on Clinton's terms. NATO is unlikely to negotiate a victory that it lacks the will to achieve militarily.

<P> That may seem obvious, but advocates of negotiation rarely acknowledge it. "There is only one acceptable way for NATO to stop the ethnic cleansing," Daniel Ellsberg wrote in the New York Times Friday, and that is "to negotiate as quickly as possible the immediate, unopposed introduction of a large international security force into Kosovo."

<P> But what if Milosevic doesn't choose to admit such a force, "unopposed"? NATO would have to give ground -- on the composition of the occupying force, the withdrawal of Serb troops, war-crimes accountability.

<P> The United States so far has resisted such compromises, its objections more pragmatic than moral. Any armed Serb presence in Kosovo will dissuade the deportees from returning and the Kosovo Liberation Army from disarming. Fighting will continue. Peacekeepers will be caught between Serb and Kosovo soldiers. American GIs will be building winterized shelters for displaced thousands in Albania next fall. It will be difficult to claim victory.

<P> "Sooner or later, you are going to have to get into a ground campaign," Jordan's King Abdullah said last week. "If you are going to get the Kosov

ars back into their homes, an air campaign alone is not going to do it."

<P> The young king, visiting Washington last week for the first time in his new role, stressed that "the whole world is watching." Wrongdoers and radicals everywhere will be emboldened by U.S. failure, he said, or chastened by its success. Abdullah lives in a neighborhood where the difference will be of more than academic interest.

<P> "The United States' integrity and moral fortitude internationally is at stake," the king said. "There is a lot riding on this."

<I><P> The writer is a member of the editorial page staff.</I>

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<P>New York Times

May 22, 1999

<P>The Dangers Of Letting A President Read

<P>By Michael T. Kaufman

<P> How do books influence public policy, or more specifically, how do some books come to be read by policy-makers while others are not?

<P> Consider the case of President Clinton and Robert D. Kaplan's "Balkan Ghosts," a book that the writers Richard Reeves and Elizabeth Drew say profoundly shaped the president's thinking on the limitations of intervention in a part of the world where ethnic feuds have deep roots.

<P> Whatever the author's intentions were, the president reportedly inferred from the book that the peoples of the region had never coexisted peacefully for very long. Moreover, by some accounts, after reading Kaplan's book he shied away from his earlier inclination toward a proposed policy of "lift and strike," meaning lifting an arms embargo to supply Bosnian Muslim forces while launching

ng an air attack on Serbian supply lines.

<P> In his book about Clinton's presidency, "Running in Place," Reeves writes that the message Clinton and his wife "took from the book was that these people had been killing each other for 10 centuries."

<P> Subsequent books, notably "Origins of a Catastrophe: Yugoslavia and Its Destroyers" by Warren Zimmermann, the U.S. ambassador to Yugoslavia from 1989 to 1992, took direct aim at what has become known in sound-bite style as the ancient hatreds position.

<P> In "On the Edge," Miss Drew recounts how Clinton told Les Aspin, then the secretary of defense, that after reading Kaplan's book he was struck by the deep historical roots of the Bosnian conflict. The reference was enough for Aspin to call Anthony Lake, then the president's national security adviser, and others warning them that Clinton was "not on board" in terms of lift and strike.

<P> To what degree Clinton's reading of Kaplan's book may have led to presidential reservations on bolder involvement and inspired fears of a Balkan quagmire is certainly a matter of conjecture. After all, Bismarck's well-known observation that the Balkans are "not worth the healthy bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier" long predated the "ancient hatreds" thesis. (With Pomerania having been ceded to Poland, and Poland now in NATO, some descendant of Bismarck's grenadier may yet be called to Balkan duty.)

<P> In any case, "Balkan Ghosts" could end up being the best-known volume associated with the Clinton presidency, much the way "The Other America" by Michael Harrington was the book that had the greatest influence on the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, leading to the policies of the Great Society, or similar to the impact that George Gilder's "Wealth and Poverty" had on President Ronald Reagan.

<P> But are such comparisons really useful? For one thing, Clinton reads much more than most other recent presidents. His staff has always scheduled three hours each afternoon for phone calls and reading.

<P> He reportedly receives all sorts of reading suggestions from a range of people inside and outside government, among them former Labor Secretary Robert Reich, Vice President Al Gore, Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott, the author Taylor Branch and Stephen L. Carter, the Yale professor.

<P> "I try to read at least 30 minutes a day," Clinton said in an interview in 1996. "And then sometimes on weekends or a long plane ride, I'll read for a couple of hours at a time." He added: "I read a lot -- magazines, all kinds of books; books about politics, books about history, mysteries. I love mysteries. I'm an addict; that's one of my little cheap thrills outlet. I'm always reading mysteries."

<P> He said the best book he had read that year was E.J. Dionne Jr.'s book about the Democrats, "They Only Look Dead." He read Gabriel Garcia Marquez's "Love in the Time of Cholera" several times. He mentioned Walter Mosely, Sue Grafton and Jonathan Kellerman as among his favorite mystery writers and noted that he had recently read a mystery by a British writer, Gerald Seymour, that was s

et in Bosnia and Croatia. He said he was introduced to books by old friends and new ones as well as through reviews.

<P> In his own book, "All Too Human," George Stephanopoulos, the former Clinton adviser, records that on a shuttle to New York he found himself sitting next to R.W. Apple Jr. of The New York Times, who praised Dean Acheson's 1987 memoir, "Present at the Creation." The next day Stephanopoulos took the book out of the library and left it on his desk, where Clinton eventually picked it up.

<P> More recently, during a low period in Clinton's tenure as impeachment loomed, the president was reading James Chace's biography "Acheson," reportedly at the urging of Sidney Blumenthal, who is a friend of both Clinton and Chace.

<P> Several people familiar with the president's reading habits commented on how purposeful he is. Unlike Churchill, Roosevelt, Truman and Acheson, who kept reading the likes of Herodotus, Thucydides and Gibbon, Clinton appears to share the widespread view that contemporary problems require up-to-the-minute nostrums.

<P> For such a wide-ranging reader, can one book be so profoundly influential? Mark Danner, who has reviewed several books on the Balkans, says he has a bookcase containing 160 such volumes that have appeared just in English in the last four years. Had the president read all of them, would the choices he made have been better?

<P> More realistically, had he read some of the others, say Zimmermann's, which focuses more narrowly on the destructive intentions of Serbia's leader, Slobodan Milosevic, instead of Kaplan's book (or at least before it), would U.S. and NATO policies on the Balkans be different?

<P> "This raises an interesting question," Stephanopoulos said with just a touch of sarcasm. "Is a man or a president who reads more likely to be influenced by the alleged bias of a particular book than a man or a president who doesn't?"


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<P>Los Angeles Times

May 21, 1999

<P>Kosovo Is America's War, America's Pain

<I><P>Balkans:Europe talks big about its role in the fight, but both the action and its costs fall disproportionately on the U.S.

</I><P>By Jonathan Clarke

<P> A visitor to London today makes a remarkable discovery about the events in Kosovo. Far from being "Madeleine's war," as suggested by many American observers, the British media present the war as an almost exclusively British affair, with responsibility for strategy firmly located in Downing Street. Prime Minister Tony Blair wins huzzahs for his fulminating calls for "his generation" to stand up to tyranny. The reality, of course, is very different.

<P> As shown by historian Niall Ferguson in his new book, "Pity of War," World War I was the last European war in which the Europeans put more men into the field and deployed greater financial assets than the United States. In Kosovo there are fewer than 50 British aircraft in theater. Without the U.S., the British and wider European ability to deliver a punch is nil.

<P> The imbalance on military inputs is an open scandal. What is less noticed is that the actual and potential downsides of the Kosovo operation accrue disproportionately to the U.S. This is because, unlike the United States, Europe no longer has global strategic interests. Take China, for example, in the wake of the bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade. Now that there are virtually no European forces in Asia, Europe's relationship with China is confined to commerce. What is important to Europe is how many shirts, tractors or power stations can it sell to what by the mid-21st century will be the world's largest economy. Whether China is politically pro- or anti-European makes little difference for this basic traffic in goods. As a European, therefore, NATO Secretary-General Javier Solana can content himself with an apology for NATO's mistakes and think nothing more of it.

<P> The situation for the U.S. could not be more different. Of course, the U.S. also has a pressing interest in trade with China, but its interests extend far beyond this. As what former National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski has called the "balancer of the last resort in Eurasia," the U.S. has a vital stake in how it is perceived in China. If the Chinese authorities adopt a strategically benign view of the U.S. and its intentions, then the way is open to peaceful resolution of such potential conflicts as Taiwan and the South China Sea. If they take the opposite view, then not only will these problems become more acute, but there are plenty of other ways for China to extract a price from the United States. Intensification of nuclear cooperation with Pakistan or North Korea, mischief-making in Indonesia, strategic cooperation with Russia, an anti-U.S. rapprochement with India--the Chinese are subtle strategists who plan for the long term. All these possibilities are open to them. And all would be very damaging to U.S. interests.

<P> The same is true of Russia. Despite the current fashion in Washington to scoff at Russia's financial hard times and thus to deride Russian retaliations on capabilities, there are several pressure points available to Russia. Caspian oil, defense technology cooperation with Iran, assistance to the Kurds in Turkey, fanning the flames of nationalism in eastern Ukraine and the Baltic republics--the list is not insignificant. Finally, if the Russians conclude en masse that America's word cannot be trusted, then Europe may be headed for a new Cold War. Good friends of the U.S., such as Russian reformer Anatoly B. Chubais, have warned of a growing wave of anti-Americanism in Russia.

<P> Which brings us back to our entry point. Advocates and opponents of the Kosovo war can agree that, for every day that the war continues and the mistakes multiply, the geostrategic damage to the U.S. grows exponentially. The hemorrhage to the United States' moral credibility is palpable. The war party disregards this wider damage and focuses narrowly on Kosovo, arguing that, despite all the mistakes, now is the time to "stay the course." This is the message borne by British Foreign Minister Robin Cook in his visit to Washington. But American decision-makers need to remember that while the European interest is provincial, theirs is global. If Blair and company feel so strongly about Kosovo, let them take the lead.

<P> The U.S. cannot afford a "win" in Kosovo that sows the seeds of new geostrategic conflicts a few years down the road--particularly as it is sure that these conflicts will be fought exclusively by the United States.

<P> - - - <I>Jonathan Clarke, a former member of the British diplomatic service, is with the Cato Institute in Washington. </I>

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<P>New York Times

May 21, 1999

<U><P>ON MY MIND</U> / By A.M. Rosenthal

<P>Awaiting Ehud Barak

<P> On a day in Israel in June 1992 I talked separately with the four men I considered most important to their country. I asked them all the same question, most important to its people and future.

<P> What was their thinking about the statement of President George Bush that for Israel security was not in land or geography but in peace with the Palestinians?

<P> They were Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Defense Minister Moshe Arens, both of Likud; Yitzhak Rabin of Labor, who soon would defeat Likud in a national election; and the chief of staff of Israel's armed forces, respected nationally as a particularly brave commander.

<P> To my surprise, the men from the acridly contesting parties and the non-political chief of staff all agreed with each other -- none with Mr. Bush.

<P> They said Palestinians would never rest with a slice of Israel but were targeted at defeating it altogether. They said a Palestinian state would fight a war of terrorism from its sanctuary, constantly reinforced by Arab allies.

<P> Gen. Ehud Barak, the chief of staff, said day by day the Israeli military had watched U.S. strategy in the gulf war. He said smart weapons had not been as important to the victory over Iraq as smart strategy. He said the U.S. had taken advantage of great reaches of space and the wealth of maneuver time to pummel the Iraqis where and when it would do most military damage.

<P> The fact that Israel had so little space and time, said General Barak, made what it did have critical to its survival.

<P> Next day I talked with Avraham Burg, of Labor's powerful left wing. I said he sure did sound softer than Mr. Rabin about peace and security. Mr. Rabin, said he, would be the "propellant" for Labor's rocket. Then it would be dropped and the rocket would zoom off on its own way.

<P> In 1993, after Israeli withdrawal obligations had been negotiated at Oslo by the Rabin Government, General Barak was one of the Israeli generals furious that the military had not been consulted.

<P> Now that he is Prime Minister-elect, various commentators and the Clinton Administration drip with ecstasy. That's preferable to the poisoned daggers they kept sending Benjamin Netanyahu.

<P> But these folk are waylaying Mr. Barak. The message is "rush to peace, or failure will be called your fault."

<P> The truth is he won't be able to do anything unless his minority party constructs a coalition that allows him to rule, and not be Burgered.

<P> Mr. Netanyahu killed himself politically by his talent for turning members of his Cabinet into devoted enemies. But one day, I think, Mr. Barak will say what so many Israelis, including ex-friends of Mr. Netanyahu, admit privately: By the political guts he showed, the former Prime Minister has helped the just-elected one.

<P> He infuriated hard-line Likudniks by accepting Oslo's untested premise of land for peace. He returned Hebron, bitterly contested by religious Jews and Muslims. He told Yasir Arafat that from then on Palestinians would have to show progress on dismantling their terrorist structure, not just putting it in the cooler during negotiations.

<P> Oh, Clinton folk were terribly upset by how stubborn he was about Israel's security, terribly.

<P> Mr. Barak was elected not just by Mr. Netanyahu's faults, but by his own reputation for honesty and strength. Now he will face the same problems as his predecessor -- like Palestinian expectations raised by Mr. Arafat, the nasty Clintonian tilt against Israel, and the anti-Israeli campaign by the European Union.

<P> And: How much more mobilization time and space can Israel surrender without risk to its safety? What concessions to make on Jerusalem? Answer from both men: Virtually none.

<P> How to keep other Arab states from sending arms, terrorists and disguised soldiers to swell the illegally large Palestinian "police" army? How to limit civilian Arab immigration into Palestine when Israel's doors let in any Jew? Concrete answer to both questions: Who knows?

<P> My wife sometimes tells me not to seem so politically gloomy. All right, get ready for joy:

<P> I am not at all gloomy about Israel. One good man has replaced another, in a way terrifying to every Arab ruler. It's called election, and for friends of Israel it is powerful anti-gloom, for all Israel's years ahead.


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<P>New York Times

May 21, 1999

<P>The Price Of Admission

<P> The overwhelming sense coming out of Israel today, in the wake of the landslide victory of Ehud Barak over Benjamin Netanyahu, is that of a national nightmare having ended. While Mr. Netanyahu helped to create the new center in Israel, by breaking down the divide over peace with the Palestinians, he was reluctant to lead that new center forward. Instead he actually tried to divide it and run against it, and in the end that center not only defeated him but evicted him from Israeli politics. Israelis declared that they wanted peace at home and peace abroad, they wanted differences healed, not exploited, and they wanted to get on with it already.

<P> It's not going to be easy for Mr. Barak to achieve these lofty goals. But the good news is that Israel will now be led by a statesman who, when he confronts the still-formidable bumps in the road, will not use them as an excuse for doubling back, will not try to turn those bumps into mountains, but will actually try to surmount them. Some of these bumps, such as the Golan Heights, are very high. Success is not guaranteed. But I am convinced that with Mr. Barak we will at least have an honest effort to get over them.

<P> His first test will be in the formation of his governing coalition. Which parties will join, and on what terms? His challenge, notes the Middle East expert Stephen P. Cohen, "is to bring the different parties into a national consensus with very clear parameters -- rather than making the consensus include everything and its opposite. His challenge will be to create a government that is pluralistic in the parties it includes, but unified in the policies it will pursue. That means that there should be a real price of admission into the Barak government -- people will have to accept some things that are hard for them -- but he has a mandate now to charge that admission price."

<P> Who should pay what? Here's an early tout sheet of what Mr. Barak might charge. He will try to bring into a national unity coalition either the Likud or the Shas Party, which is made up primarily of ultra-Orthodox Sephardic Jews, and possibly both. It would be politically dangerous to leave both out in the cold.

<P> The price for the Likud coming in will be that it drop its insistence that no Israeli settlements in Gaza and the West Bank be uprooted as part of a peace agreement -- otherwise no deal with the Palestinians or Syria is possible. The price for Shas should be twofold. One, Shas, whose leader, Aryeh Deri, was convicted on corruption charges, will have to cease its attacks on the Israeli supreme court and secular law. Second, Shas will have to start taking steps to insure that its youth, if they don't serve in the army, at least contribute some form of national service. Israel's majority clearly declared in this election that the ultra-Orthodox cannot expect to claim ever-larger slices of the national budget, to which they contribute so little, while their youths are wards of the state and avoid army service.

<P> Mr. Barak will want the Palestinians and surrounding Arab states as silent coalition partners as well. The Arabs need to read the message of this election too. It says to them: "The peace process now belongs to the center of Isra

eli society, and it's time for you Arabs to bring it into the center of your societies as well. Stop threatening us with what happens if there is no peace and start doing what's necessary (like visiting Israel) to nurture it."

<P> For Mr. Barak's own Labor Party, the price of a successful coalition is also twofold. It too is going to have to clearly decide just how much land to hold for Israeli security in the West Bank and Golan. At the same time, Mr. Barak's party will have to start thinking more seriously about taking Judaism more seriously. The old Ben-Gurionite division of labor, where the ultra-Orthodox get to decide what it means to be Jewish in Israel, while the secularites get to run everything else, has collapsed. Mr. Barak doesn't want to go from Bibi's extreme -- which was kowtowing to the ultra-Orthodox -- to the other extreme of treating them with contempt.

<P> If there is one thing we have learned from the past few years it is that without a measure of peace at home, based on some real shared principles, it is impossible for any Israeli cabinet to hang together for the even tougher decisions needed for peace abroad.

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<P>Wall Street Journal Europe

May 21, 1999

<P>Boris Blocks Progress

<P>By Stephen Jennings, co-founder and CEO of Renaissance Capital, an investment bank founded in Moscow in 1995.

<P>Last week, Russian President Boris Yeltsin threw away six months of relative stability and fired his prime minister, Yevgeni Primakov. On Saturday, the Duma, the lower house of parliament, narrowly failed to approve impeachment charges against the ailing president, partly thanks to a last minute about-face by clownish far-right leader Vladimir Zhirinovski. Yesterday, the Duma overwhelmingly approved the fourth prime minister in 14 months. What does this frenetic series of events mean to the nation's fragile financial markets? Not much, since re

al change cannot come until the country holds presidential elections in 2000.

<P>While Mr. Yeltsin sits on the constitutional levers of power, the country, its commerce and capital markets will remain deadlocked. Mr. Yeltsin seems to thrive on crisis. He fades from the political scene for months only to emerge and explode into action, flex his atrophied muscles and launch the country again toward confrontation. This brinksmanship routine leaves the president again with the facade of control.

<P>However, the control Mr. Yeltsin enjoys is of a destructive kind. While he is strong enough to destabilize, he lacks the credibility or influence to actually force the parliament to support constructive policy. He is for example too weak to take on the banking and industrial lobbies, the ingrained and still expanding bureaucracy, or the entrenched regional authorities.

<P>Yesterday's Duma vote was a case in point. The president's choice, Maj. Gen. Sergei Stepashin, faced a hostile, Communist-dominated parliament in the first of three attempts at confirmation. In the event, he sailed through on a 297-55 vote in the lower house. The Duma caved in soon after Mr. Stepashin threatened to step down in favor of a far less palatable candidate. Had he been rejected by the Duma three times in succession, the president would have been constitutionally bound to dissolve parliament and call new parliamentary elections.

<P>But now that Mr. Yeltsin has dodged this crisis, the country will return to its shaky status quo and stumble on toward its next crisis. A Stepashin government is likely to enjoy a honeymoon in the West. His predecessor, the tortoise-like Yevgeny Primakov, became popular at home by creating the illusion of stability, moving very slowly and resisting substantive change. The banking system, for example, is as moribund as it was after last year's crisis. In contrast, Mr. Stepashin's government will likely include a number of recycled reformers who will draft nifty-looking economic programs that will generate only pro-forma excitement among the international financial institutions.

<P>However, there is very little hope the Stepashin government has any greater chance of implementing reform than the much-hailed reformist government of Sergei Kiriyenko had in 1998. The Duma is not expected to cooperate with the government, so Mr. Stepashin will be powerless to do anything beyond holding the system together until the presidential elections of 2000. Despite the hype surrounding the Duma confirmation, little will change in Russia's underlying economic or political situation.

<P>Russia's parade of crises grabs the headlines but is not the nation's fundamental dilemma; the bankruptcy of the system generating the crises is the problem. The economy lies in ruins, but it is no longer in anyone's interest to rally for change. Mr. Yeltsin is now more isolated and weak than ever, and is principally interested in influencing whoever will be his successor. Duma members want to remain undisturbed in office to lambaste any emerging government and prepare for their own elections in December. The industrial and banking elite are content in the shadow-world of semi-crisis where they generated their fortunes. They, too, will busy themselves with choosing a friendly candidate for president.

<P>And, if recent polls can be believed, most Russians prefer not to gamble what little they have gained after eight years of bad government against thin prom

ises of reform.

<P>International pressure for change will be limited to holding the system together. The International Monetary Fund is highly motivated to provide Russia with loans to prevent an embarrassing public default. The new Stepashin government will eventually cobble together a policy agenda amenable to the Fund. However, during the search for a palatable economic program Russia may be forced to delay repayment. Since there is enough flexibility in the Fund's regulations to avoid mention of the word "default," the delay will be properly renamed to keep the ball rolling.

<P>The evening news will trumpet political crises. There may even be more government changes before the election. The ruble will surely wobble. But the only truly crucial event in Russia over the next 15 months will be the presidential elections. Only a new president will be able to revitalise the office. And only then will the new president enjoy the authority and the democratic mandate to push through the reforms essential to catalyze sustainable economic growth. Everything else is political froth.

<P>For Russia's financial markets, this will mean a year of continued volatility as the country lurches from crisis to crisis. There is some scope for further recovery, and some money to be made, if the oil price remains firm and emerging markets continue to rehabilitate in the eyes of investors. However, the chance for fundamental economic recovery and a sound re-appreciation of Russian assets will remain elusive until the presidential question is answered.

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<P>Wall Street Journal Europe

May 21, 1999

<P>Is A Saudi-Iranian Detente Underway?

<P>By Kenneth R. Timmerman, a contributing editor for Reader's Digest, and publisher of a monthly investigative newsletter, The Iran Brief.

<P> The visit of Iranian President Mohammad Khatami to Saudi Arabia this week is a clear sign that relations between the two Persian Gulf giants have begun to thaw after nearly two decades of often bloody hostility. It is also the first appreciable sign that Mr. Khatami, a reformist cleric, has begun to take control of Iran's foreign policy from hard-liners loyal to Supreme Leader Ayatollah Khamenei. But nobody should expect Iranian behavior to improve in the area that's most important to U.S. foreign policy in the region, relations with Israel. And even in Iran-Gulf relations, obstacles remain.

<P> President Khatami has made it clear he intends to end Iranian attempts to subvert the regimes of his Arab Gulf allies, efforts that began almost immediately after Islamic revolutionaries seized control of the government in Tehran in February 1979. But he has made it equally clear that under his stewardship, Iran will continue to support anti-Israeli guerrillas in Lebanon and to oppose the Middle East peace process. It is these efforts that head the list of Iranian actions to which the U.S. objects.

<P> Just before arriving in Saudi Arabia last Saturday, Mr. Khatami was in Syria, where he met with the leader of the Lebanese Hezbollah, Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah. After the meeting, Mr. Khatami told reporters that in his view Hezbollah was an "ideological and humanitarian movement" that was trying to liberate Lebanese territory from Israeli occupation, and was thus worthy of Iran's support. Two days after these kind words, Hezbollah guerrillas fired katyusha rockets in to northern Israel to "celebrate" Israel's elections.

<P> Also while in Syria, Mr. Khatami pledged Iran's support to Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad, two groups which reject the Israeli peace process and have carried out numerous bloody terrorist attacks on Israeli soil. The Iranian parliament reauthorized President Khatami's \$100 million annual budget to support radical groups opposed to the peace process earlier this year.

<P> But the Islamic Republic's opposition to the Israeli peace process is of less concern to Saudi Arabia than Tehran's long-standing support for Islamic radicals seeking to overthrow the desert monarchy and to destabilize neighbors such as Bahrain. And on this front, Saudi diplomats say, there has been a marked improvement in Iran's behavior in the nearly two years since President Khatami took office.

<P> While the Saudis remain cautious, fully aware of the power struggle currently underway in Tehran, a senior Saudi diplomat told me Riyadh for the first time has "real hope" that Mr. Khatami will succeed in consolidating power and thus bring about better relations between the Gulf states and the Islamic Republic.

<P> Among the positive trends identified by the diplomat: an apparent cessation of Iranian government assassination teams operating overseas (with the exception of hits against the Mujahedin-e Khalq, a radical opposition group operating from bases inside Iraq); a major drop in Iran's support for violent opposition groups in the Gulf, in particular in Bahrain, where the diplomat noted "no bombs have gone off" since Mr. Khatami took office; a drop in the recruitment and training of Gulf state nationals by the Iranian intelligence services, and a concomitant drop in the number of clandestine visits by Iranian intelligence operatives to Arab Gulf countries; a decrease in the number of Iranian challenges to maritime traffic in the Gulf; a "distinct" decrease of anti-Saudi rhetoric.

rom Tehran; the absence of violent anti-Saudi or anti-Western demonstrations at this year's annual pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, despite calls by Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei in February that pilgrims stage the annual "disavowal of infidels" rally. In the past, this rally has degenerated into a raucous denunciation of the U.S., Israel and Saudi Arabia. This year, the rally was quietly canceled.

<P> "It's clear that their tone has changed," the diplomat said. "The question is, is it permanent, or just temporary? If this is due to Khatami, has he consolidated power? We don't think so. So we are not in a hurry. But we will continue to build links to Iran slowly."

<P> In March, Iran and Saudi Arabia agreed to OPEC-wide oil production cuts, a move that Saudi Arabia has resisted in the past, that have rescued oil prices from historic lows. Mr. Khatami was supposed to meet with King Fahd in Riyadh to seal the pact later that month, but was forced to cancel the trip when hard-liners in Tehran objected. On April 30, Saudi Defense Minister Prince Sultan bin Abdulaziz traveled to Tehran for extensive talks with Mr. Khatami and other officials, a trip which Iranian Defense Minister Ali Shamkhani called a "turning point" in their relations. Prince Sultan responded coolly, however, to an Iranian proposal that the two oil-producing giants form a military alliance. Economic, cultural and social relations "should take precedence," he said, pointing out that military cooperation between the two "is not a simple matter."

<P> During his trip, the Saudis accorded Mr. Khatami extraordinary honors, allowing him to perform the hajj and to visit Shiite Muslim communities in Saudi Arabia's Eastern Province, where Iranian-backed Islamic extremists bombed the Al Khobar Towers military barracks outside of Dhahran in June 1996, killing 18 U.S. airmen.

<P> Saudi officials say there is "no doubt" that Iran ordered the bombing, trained the bombers, and gave them refuge in Iran after the attack. However, until now the United States has refused to accept publicly the Saudi conclusion of Iran's direct responsibility for the attack.

<P> A dragnet of Shiite activists in Saudi Arabia's Eastern province shortly after the June 1996 bombing netted hundreds of young men who had been trained in Iran, 40 of whom remain in Saudi jails. Under interrogation, they identified their ringleader as Ahmad Mughassil, a Saudi Shiite trained in Iran. Mr. Mughassil's name first surfaced publicly when a 21-year old Saudi Shiite, Hani Abdel Rahim Sayegh, was arrested in Canada in late 1996. Mr. Sayegh gave details of the bomb plot to the Canadians in hopes of obtaining political asylum.

<P> A Saudi official familiar with the case said Mr. Mughassil is the head of the Saudi branch of Hezbollah, and fled to Iran along with a half dozen followers within hours of the Dhahran bombing. "We know who they are, we know where they are, and we want them back," the official said. "We've told the Iranians this, but they continue to deny they are in Iran."

<P> The Saudi Hezbollah team that carried out the bombing was recruited in Saudi Arabia by Iranian intelligence officers, the official said. They traveled to Syria on their Saudi passports, then joined an Iranian Revolutionary Guard base in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley where they were given Iranian passports. Returning to Damascus on Iranian passports, they were flown to Iran for explosives and co

unterintelligence training. Then they returned to Syria, picked up their Saudi passports, and re-entered Saudi Arabia, without the Saudi authorities ever suspecting they had been to Iran. The explosives expert who crafted the Khobar Towers bomb is Lebanese, and fled Saudi Arabia to Iran along with Mr. Mughassil.

<P> The United States, however, has been reluctant to accept evidence of Iran's involvement, no doubt because once it does, it may have to act, and moving against Iran at this point would undermine Mr. Khatami. For Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf states who have been on the receiving end of Iranian state-sponsored terrorism, the proof that Mr. Khatami is truly sincere in his efforts to improve relations with them will come only when Iran surrenders the terrorist suspects it continues to harbor.


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<P>Chicago Tribune

May 19, 1999

<P>Military Action: Women Who Free Men From Fighting

<P>By Clarence Page

<P> WASHINGTON--As they did when they entered, the first women to graduate from Virginia Military Institute endured their final insult with style, honor and grace.

<P> That's more than I can say for their abuser, G. Gordon Liddy, convicted Watergate burglar and, more recently, conservative radio gasbag.

<P> As two women, Chih-Yuan Ho, 23, and Melissa K. Graham, 21, sat for the first time among the 160-year-old academy's 225 uniformed graduates in Lexington, Va., their ex-con commencement speaker declared a woman's place to be behind the lines, to "free a man to fight."

<P> The armed forces "did it right" when women were used to assist male soldiers in World War II, Liddy said. They "did non-combat work that was vital, and

they did it splendidly. It wasn't broke, but we fixed it. We should put it back right."

<P> Not so fast there, Gordo. The decision to sexually desegregate military jobs was not done simply to please the lofty ideals of feminists. It has a practical side too.

<P> After all, if the role of military women in World War II was to free a man to fight, the role of military women these days frees many a man to avoid fighting.

<P> Here's how it works: Equalized opportunities in the military for women have spurred dramatic increases in female enlistment. Conveniently, this has occurred at a time when military jobs increasingly call for high-tech skills that require more brain than brawn.

<P> That has saved Congress from having to reinstitute a draft, a possibility for which few Americans have much stomach these days.

<P> If the Pentagon suddenly decided to roll back those opportunities, many women would head for the exits as quickly as possible and fewer female recruits would take their places. Too many opportunities await women in the civilian world for very many to subject themselves to a system that declares them at the outset to be second-class workers.

<P> Even at current levels of opportunity for women, the robust civilian economy has reduced male and female recruits to hazardously low levels. Capitol Hill, reflecting the obvious will of the people, seems eager to do anything other than institute a draft.

<P> Some, like Sen. John Warner (R-Va.), have proposed shortening some enlistments to 18 months instead of the two- or four-year requirement for most military jobs. In a letter to armed forces chiefs, Warner cited a proposal by Charles Moskos, a Northwestern University sociologist, who is calling for a 15-month enlistment term.

<P> Although critics question whether that would allow enough time for the military to get enough use out of its recruits, the debate illustrates how desperate the enlistment situation is these days, just as the United States is considering sending ground troops into Kosovo.

<P> Although Liddy has said in the past that he opposed allowing women to enroll at VMI, he declined to say anything on that topic in his speech other than "the issue of women at VMI is closed."

<P> So it is, and not just at VMI. A quiet revolution has taken place in recent weeks as women graduated for the first time from two of this nation's most venerable military academies.

<P> A week earlier, another state-funded military school, The Citadel, in Charleston, S.C., graduated its first female cadet, Nancy Mace, 21, three years after losing its court fight to remain all-male. She leaves behind 41 other women who are still enrolled at the college and about 50 new ones expected in the fall freshman class.

<P> Better than me. I did my part. I was a Vietnam-era draftee. I respect the need to answer my country's call to arms. But I have no desire to see the draft return today, especially now that I am the father of an able-bodied lad who is almost 10.

<P> If we truly need a military draft, so be it. Just let it be fair. There are immense virtues in sharing the burdens of national defense. The draft helped me and countless other young men to understand our fellow Americans from all sorts of backgrounds in ways we never otherwise would have known.

<P> The political consequences of imposing a draft also make Washington think at least twice before committing American troops to any new overseas adventures. That burden was lost during the Vietnam years when it was too easy for the rich and well-connected to escape.

<P> But, before we take the desperate step of bringing back the draft, there's nothing wrong with giving all of our volunteers a chance, including our female volunteers. Our fighting men need to gain a better understanding not only of their fellow men, but of their fellow women too.

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<P>Washington Post

May 24, 1999

Pg. 24

<P>Russia's Latest Drama

<P> ONCE AGAIN Russian President Boris Yeltsin has confounded the experts, not to mention this editorial page. Two weeks ago he was widely reported to be in mortal political danger, on the verge of impeachment, outmaneuvered by his cagey and popular prime minister. Now that prime minister, Yevgeny Primakov, is out on the street, yesterday's man. Mr. Yeltsin, or the savvy political operatives who maneuver in his name, has beaten back impeachment. And his new prime minister, Sergei Stepashin, distinguished by his longstanding loyalty to Mr. Yeltsin, has been confirmed by a suddenly acquiescent parliament and thereby transformed into a contender in next year's presidential election.

<P> There's good news and bad in this drama. Russia's young political institutions once again have shown their resilience. A political crisis has been managed within constitutional rules. The country remains on track toward parliamentary elections later this year and a first-ever orderly transition of executive authority next summer.

<P> On the other hand, it would seem unreasonable to hope that this latest change of government will produce much improvement in Russia's dire circumstances. Mr. Stepashin, who has spent most of his career in the national police ministry, may be marginally more pro-reform than his predecessor; he is certainly of a younger generation than Mr. Primakov. But he will operate under constraints so severe that his own convictions are almost irrelevant. The parliament remains opposed to the kind of deep reforms needed to reverse Russia's economic decline and combat the culture of corruption, reforms such as land privatization and new tax laws. Even if Mr. Stepashin could promulgate such measures, he would be unlikely to try, since they would need time to take effect; between now and the election, they would likely cause more pain than benefit and thus be seen as politically counterproductive.

<P> And then there's the uncertain backing of his patron, Mr. Yeltsin. The Russian president consistently has proven himself adept in crisis, but incompetent at and uninterested in governing between emergencies. Given his unsteady health, there's no reason to expect different this time, and so scant expectation for Russia to escape its downward drift between now and the election. Just last Friday, in fact, with one more miraculous escape to his credit, and one more political scalp on his belt, Mr. Yeltsin flew out of Moscow. Destination: Sochi, a beach resort on the Black Sea.

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<P>Washington Post

May 23, 1999

Pg. B6

<P>Splits In Serbia

<P> TO THOSE WHO question its contention that the air war is working in Kosovo, the Clinton administration now claims to detect serious and growing fractures in Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic's hold on his army and his people. Drawing on intelligence sources in parts of Serbia and Kosovo not normally open to Western journalists, the administration cites reports of civic unrest, popular demonstrations, disaffection at the middle level of the officer corps, a new boldness among the political opposition and the onset of a change in the public mood from a readiness to rally around the Milosevic leadership to a grim concentration on economic survival amid the harshness of daily life. By the official political calculus, it adds up to a vindication of the Clinton strategy to intensify the air war rather than add the component of a ground attack as well. The recent spell of good weather is cited as a break permitting a surge in daily sorties.

<P> Would that the air war finally was generating the sort of pressure to induce Serbia to conclude that in pressing its aggression it has bitten off more than it can chew. The notion that air sorties, now counted in the tens of thousands, could compel an early or an eventual change of heart by Slobodan Mi

losevic is an attractive one even to skeptics. We have favored the air war from the start. But frankly we find that at this point the evidence presented for its likely success seems frail and tenuous as a basis for sticking just with the air campaign.

<P> NATO and the Serbs, while both trying to project high measures of unity and steadfastness for themselves, are also both trying to play on real or imagined shortfalls in the other's public support. NATO has a keen eye out for indications of social and economic tension within embattled Serbia. The Serbs are looking no less eagerly for meaningful splits in the 19-nation NATO alliance. In this sense, each is conducting its own propaganda for the purpose of breaking the other's will. NATO takes comfort from its belief that Slobodan Milosevic supposedly did not think NATO would generate a bombing campaign for the sake of the refugees, and did not think the alliance would stay together as it has once the campaign had begun and intensified.

<P> The reported discovery of splits in the other side's key constituencies and the reliance on those splits to avoid hard choices has a long history in war. That is what troubles us about the administration's seeming confidence in its air war policy now. It may be so that Mr. Milosevic has begun to acknowledge casualties, but the losses do not seem to be of numerical significance so far. The Serbian strongman has made a fuzzy embrace of NATO's principles for a political settlement in an evident exploration of a way out of the war. Still, there is no sign that he intends to accept the alliance's key condition for a settlement, the insistence on a NATO core in the international force that would enter Kosovo to ensure the safe return and homecoming of all the Kosovar refugees. Until the Serbs meet this entirely reasonable and necessary condition, and not only this condition, a readiness to take the war to a ground campaign will remain a requirement of an effective war policy.


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<P>Philadelphia Inquirer

May 22, 1999

<P>Guns, Butter And Pork

Kosovo is now an excuse for budget busting.

What some Republicans like to call "Bill Clinton's war" has at least one benefit for the opposition party. It lets the Republicans on Capitol Hill go on a spending binge.

The \$15 billion "emergency" package that Congress passed this week is crammed with spending that has nothing whatsoever to do with waging war over Kosovo or aiding the refugees. Only about \$6 billion goes to the unbudgeted costs of this unanticipated war. An additional \$2 billion is for other bona fide emergencies: disaster relief and reconstruction in Central America, the Caribbean and the United States.

The remaining items, including a military pay increase that would cost \$1.8 billion, are not emergencies, but ordinary spending that should have gone through the normal budgeting process. This would have subjected them to the fiscal discipline that Congress and the President agreed to in 1997.

Instead, Congress just couldn't resist the temptation to stuff this must-pass bill with pork, ranging from a new federal prison to assistance for Gulf Coast shipyards to \$547 million to help farmers.

The small consolation is that some of the pork - such as assistance to the oil, steel and natural gas industries - was removed under the pressure of a possible veto by President Clinton.

Since little of the bill's cost was offset by spending cuts, the official spin is that it will be funded out of "the surplus." But so far, the government has only the illusion of extra cash created by including Social Security surpluses within a unified federal budget. The reality is that this "emergency" bill is funded by a raid on the retirement system's reserves, which are already grossly insufficient to handle the baby-boom generation.

In the current, anti-tax vogue, there was never a chance that Congress and the President would meet the extra costs of this war responsibly: with a modest tax increase. Nor was there any chance that Congress would find \$8 billion or so in spending cuts to offset the war-related and disaster-related costs that constitute true emergencies.

Still, by giving the President roughly double what he had requested, the Republican Congress has shredded all pretense of fiscal responsibility. And remember, this package comes on top of \$21 billion in "emergency" funding that Congress passed late last year. Congress, without much resistance from Mr. Clinton, is betraying the goal of a balanced budget.

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<P>Fort Worth Star-Telegram

May 21, 1999

<P>Quite A Smell

<P> A war is on. It has to be paid for. Dutifully, Congress is in the process of doing that through an emergency spending package. The trouble is that it has brought about a predictable, disgusting sideshow: the rush of porky pigs muscling their way to the rim of Washington's money trough. Lardy! Lardy!

<P> The war in Yugoslavia requires serious money. Fortunately, there is a budget surplus to help fund it. But the surplus does not spring from a bottomless pit, although some members of Congress seem to think so. So they are up to their old trick of attaching pet spending items to the war spending bill.

<P> There would be money to pay for a highway interchange for a town of 3,000; money for a forestry research center; money to pay fishers for losses suffered because of fishing restrictions; money to make reindeer breeders eligible for livestock assistance; money for a dorm for House pages; and more. At last count, the special spending riders that are hooked unabashedly to the war spending bill totaled into the hundreds of millions of dollars.

<P> War really is hell on taxpayers.

<P> Perhaps it is unfair to label all of the requests as pork, although under the circumstances they do have the strong smell of it. Perhaps if they were not attached to the war spending measure and were submitted for consideration separately and given the opportunity for careful debate and scrutiny, they would be found worthy of federal dollars. But to link them to the war spending package and to rush them through under that guise is odious.

<P> Simultaneously, there is a report that more Americans are declining to earmark \$3 of their federal taxes for the presidential election campaign fund.

<P> We regret this, because this is at least one proper way to help pay for presidential campaigns without resorting to some of the other questionable campaign funding practices now in use. But we also view it as one method -- maybe small in individual dollars but large in its collective significance -- that people use to protest what they see their elected officials up to, including playing fast and loose with spending bills.

<P> In other words, hoi polloi do have a keen sense of smell.


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<P>Los Angeles Times

May 21, 1999

<P>Barak's Big Agenda

<P> Israel's Prime Minister-elect Ehud Barak plans to move quickly to restart stalled peace talks with the Palestinians, but he doesn't intend to stop there. He is ready as well to seek a regional political settlement. Like most Israelis he wants to end the long, costly and frustrating occupation of southern Lebanon. And he hopes to revive direct talks with Syria, among the most obdurate of Israel's enemies and the key to achieving a quiet border with Lebanon. Barak needs two things for these ambitious hopes to be realized: Arab negotiating partners who are ready for pragmatic solutions to a half-century of sterile conflict and the backing of a stable majority of the newly elected Israeli parliament.

<P> Barak, whose Labor-dominated One Israel party holds only 27 seats in the 120-member Knesset, would like to form a government that embraces more than the half-dozen parties of the center-left. This week's election gave stark expression to the deep divisions that separate secular and religious Israelis, the poor and the prosperous, those of European background and those of North African and Middle Eastern origin. Barak wants to be a unifier. With 15 parties holding seats in the Knesset, he will have both plenty of opportunities to reach out and manifold challenges to meet. He has even indicated a readiness to talk with the ultra-Orthodox Shas party, provided that its leader, Aryeh Deri, who was recently convicted of corruption, plays no part. There is also a possibility that the conservative Likud, left with only an embarrassing 19 Knesset seats after Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's crushing defeat, might join the government.

<P> A coalition based on such potentially disparate interests and ideologies could complicate the effort to reach a consensus on the territorial and other

er concessions Israel will have to make in behalf of peace. But a broad coalition also strengthens the prime minister's hand by diluting the bargaining power of the different parties, reducing the threat that any one of them could collapse the government unless it was given a disproportionate share of power--as, say, Shas held in Netanyahu's government. A Barak government with a firm 75 Knesset votes would have real authority.

<P> A quick start on carrying out Israel's earlier commitment to turn more of the West Bank over to the Palestinian Authority would send a welcome signal of the Barak government's good faith. But even with the best of intentions, negotiations toward a final settlement promise to be arduous. The thorniest issues lie ahead and the most difficult mutual compromises have yet to be made. Barak will be no less insistent than his predecessors that Israel's security needs must be met, whether in southern Lebanon, on Syria's Golan Heights or on the West Bank. But he will bring to any security assessment 35 years of military experience and the flexibility that a realistic appreciation of Israel's formidable strategic strengths allows. For such reasons, he plans to be his own defense minister.

<P> Israelis this week voted in compelling numbers to support the peace process, knowing that at its end a Palestinian state in control of much of the West Bank is certain to emerge. If Barak can forge the kind of coalition he wants, and if the Palestinians and Syria show they are ready for responsible bargaining, the peace process is sure to advance.

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