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

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Title

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<H3>TOP STORIES</H3>

NATO Moves Ahead On A Kosovo Force Of 50,000 Troops

(New York Times)....Michael R. Gordon

NATO on Tuesday approved plans for a heavily armed peacekeeping force of about 50,000 soldiers for Kosovo, part of a broad campaign by the alliance's top commander to increase the political and military pressure on Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic.

<p>

Spy Report Sparks GOP Attack

(Washington Post)....Vernon Loeb

A House select committee probing China's theft of U.S. nuclear secrets finally made its 700-page report public yesterday, triggering an intense partisan outcry about the impact of Chinese espionage on national security that could affect the course of U.S.-China relations for years.

<p>

Experts Say China's Gains Are Political, Not Military

(Philadelphia Inquirer)....Steve Goldstein

...While the theft by China of secret designs for U.S. nuclear warheads and other weapons systems is a major security failure, the likelihood of China soon gaining nuclear parity or even posing a serious threat is slim verging on nonexistent, security analysts and weapons experts said yesterday.

<p>

Cohen Cancels China Trip

(Omaha World-Herald)....Associated Press

Defense Secretary William Cohen has dropped plans to visit China next month, his spokesman said Tuesday, because of the Kosovo crisis and heightened tensions with the Chinese government.

<p>

Home Is The Hunter

(Washington Post)....Peter Finn and Molly Moore

...While KLA-held territory has been reduced to isolated pockets across Kosovo since Serb-led Yugoslav forces launched a major offensive against them in March, rebel units operating along the Albanian border in the last two months have been able to establish a narrow corridor into the province, taking advantage of NATO's nine-week-old air assault on Yugoslavia.

<p>

NATO Troops Up As U.S. Approval Slips

(USA Today)....Susan Page and Fred Coleman

A new USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll finds U.S. support for the air war against Yug

oslovakia slipping even as NATO ambassadors move to dramatically increase the deployment of ground forces in the region.

<H3>CONGRESS</H3>

Senate Panel Backs Boost In Defense Funds

(Washington Post)....Unattributed

As Congress turned its attention to defense issues, the Senate Appropriations Committee yesterday approved a \$267.6 billion defense spending bill for fiscal 2000, about \$4.3 billion more than what the administration sought.

<p>

G.O.P. Scrapes For Extra Money As Spending Bills Begin Moving

(New York Times)....Associated Press

Senate Republicans prepared to shift \$3.6 billion from defense to domestic programs Tuesday as they struggled to write spending bills that honor stringent limits required by Congress' budget.

<p>

Senators Exonerate Pearl Harbor Chiefs

(Washington Post)....Unattributed

The Senate voted yesterday to exonerate two American military commanders accused of dereliction of duty in the bombing of Pearl Harbor.

<p>

For The Record

(Washington Post)....Rep. Tom Campbell and Rep. Dennis Kucinich

From a press conference at the Capitol yesterday on the War Powers Act lawsuit by Rep. Tom Campbell (R-Calif.) and Rep. Dennis Kucinich (D-Ohio).

<H3>DOD</H3>

Low Profile, High Impact

(Retired Officer Magazine)....Tom Philpott

Air Force Gen. Joseph W. Ralston, vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, speaks about his job, the defense budget, and troop deployment.

<H3>ARMY</H3>

Army Scratches Antimissile Test For Target Failure

(Wall Street Journal)....Associated Press

The Army scratched yesterday's test flight of an antimissile missile because of a problem with the missile that was to serve as its target.

<p>

Apache Pilots Practice In Case Of Real Thing

(Boston Globe)....Lynda Gorov

...For now, the 24 Apaches mostly sit idle on a runway at the airport just out

side the Albanian capital of Tirana, on farmland and property that has been leased or purchased by the military.

[Apache Role In Kosovo Illustrates Cracks In Joint Doctrine](#)

[\(Defense Daily\)](#)....David Atkinson and Hunter Keeter
More than a decade after the Pentagon set out to bolster cooperation between the military services, a string of Air Force e-mail messages blasting the Army's plans to use AH-64 attack helicopters in Kosovo illustrates the problems still inherent in forging the type of united armed forces needed as the nation prepares to enter the 21st century, according to retired and active military officers and analysts.

AIR FORCE

[UAVs Will Target Serb Bases With Lasers](#)

[\(Jane's Defence Weekly\)](#)....Bryan Bender
As part of a classified effort initiated soon after the start of NATO's air war over Yugoslavia, the US Department of Defense plans to deploy to the Balkans additional Predator unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) capable for the first time of directing laser-guided bombs to their targets, Jane's Defence Weekly has learned.

[Value Of C-17 Jets Proved In Balkans](#)

[\(Charleston \(SC\) Post And Courier\)](#)....Terry Joyce
The air war over Yugoslavia is still going full-tilt, but one winner may already have emerged - the relatively new C-17 cargo jets flown by Charleston Air Force Base crews.

BALKANS - NATO

[NATO To Send 20,000 More Troops To Albania, Macedonia](#)

[\(Washington Post\)](#)....William Drozdiak
The NATO allies approved plans today to send more than 20,000 additional troops to Macedonia and Albania as part of a peacekeeping force that will await orders to move into Kosovo and help ethnic Albanian refugees return to their homeland.

[NATO Says Bombs Hit Villa Used By Milosevic And Staff](#)

[\(New York Times\)](#)....Elizabeth Becker
With allied officials describing the Yugoslav air defense system as increasingly crippled, NATO planes bombed several targets overnight, including the villa and compound outside Belgrade, the capital, that is a headquarters of Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic and his leadership, Pentagon and NATO officials said.

[German Pegs Quick Peace To The Role Of Russians](#)

(New York Times)....Jane Perlez

German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer said here on Tuesday that Germany was counting on a diplomatic outcome to the war in Kosovo, with the backing of Russia, in the next several weeks.

<p>

Building Of Camps Off Schedule

(European Stars And Stripes)....Cory Lancaster

As pressure mounts to relocate Kosovo refugees from northern Albania, the United States is finding itself behind schedule and facing obstacles in opening three refugee camps in this southern coastal region.

<p>

NATO TV Is Sent To Serbs, Who Are Harsh Critics

(New York Times)....Carlotta Gall

The picture is grainy, the sound poor, but if people here really want to, and if they have electricity, they can tune into NATO TV, beamed into Serbia on Channel 21 every evening from an American Hercules plane.

<p>

NATO Exercise May Be Dry Run

R>

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

Overshadowed by the air war in Yugoslavia, a NATO exercise that started this week in the Czech Republic may be a dry run for deployment of a multinational peacekeeping force in Kosovo.

<H3>BALKANS</H3>

Belgrade Strikes At Dissidents Amid Calls To End The War

(Wall Street Journal)....Robert Block and Carla Anne Robbins

Yugoslavia's military and political leadership, battered by widening NATO and Atlantic Treaty Organization airstrikes and nervous about growing signs of public fatigue, is clamping down on dissent against the war and ratcheting up its rhetoric of defiance against the West.

<p>

A Refugee River, Dammed At The Border

(New York Times)....David Rohde

More than 4,500 ethnic Albanians fled into Macedonia on Tuesday, including hundreds of women from the town of Kacanik in southeastern Kosovo, many of whom accused Serbian forces of separating hundreds of fighting-age men from their groups before expelling them.

<p>

Training, Arms, Allies Bolster KLA Prospects

(Washington Post)....R. Jeffrey Smith

KUKES, AlbaniaKosovo Liberation Army recruits have flocked from Croatia, Macedonia and Western Europe to a sprawling training camp here, where they learn Western-style military discipline and test fire mortars and anti-tank weapons that they soon hope to carry into battle in Kosovo.

<p>

**Kosovo Capital Faces New Wave Of Serb Terror
**

**(London Daily Telegraph)....Julius Strauss
**

Serb authorities have launched an operation to rid Pristina of tens of thousands of ethnic Albanians still living in the city, former residents and aid workers at the Macedonian frontier said yesterday as thousands more refugees streamed out of Kosovo.

<H3>MIDDLE EAST</H3>

**Way Could Be Open For F-16 Sale To Emirates
**

**(Jane's Defence Weekly)....Ed Blanche
**

US defence authorities have agreed to provide the United Arab Emirates (UAE) with the source codes for weapons systems aboard the F-16C/D Block 60 combat aircraft, according to military sources in Abu Dhabi. Transfer of the codes would remove the final obstacle to the \$6 billion sale of the aircraft.

<p>

**U.S. Planes Reportedly Bomb Buildings In Iraq
**

**(Washington Post)....Unattributed
**

Iraq said buildings were damaged yesterday when U.S. warplanes hit targets in the Western-imposed northern "no-fly" zone.

<p>

**Iraq: U.N. Tells Of Drought
**

**(New York Times)....Associated Press
**

The worst drought on record in Iraq has cut crop yields to half of last year's totals, a U.N. report said.

<p>

**Turkey: 8 Rebel Kurds Reported Slain
**

**(New York Times)....Reuters
**

Security forces killed eight Kurdish guerrillas loyal to the captured rebel leader Abdullah Ocalan in clashes in eastern Turkey, officials said.

<H3>LATIN AMERICA</H3>

**U.S. Troops Rebuilding Haiti Watch Their Backs
**

**(Washington Times)....Jennifer Bauduy, Reuters News Agency
**

The preoccupation with American forces' safety that is shadowing debate about a ground war in Kosovo has meant a life behind barbed wire and sandbag walls for hundreds of U.S. troops in Haiti.

<p>

**Panama Canal Transfer Moved Up To Dec. 10
**

**(Washington Times)....Unattributed
**

The Panama Canal will officially pass from the United States to Panama on December 10, 21 days before the date set out in the 1977 treaty, Panamas foreign minister said yesterday.

<p>

**Panama: A U.S. Pullout
**

**(New York Times)....Reuters
**

The U.S. withdrew the 400-soldier 245 Support Battalion, bringing the number of U.S. military personnel in Panama to about 3,200, officials said.

<H3>ASIA</H3>

**China May Add 100 Missiles Over 15 Years
**

**(Washington Post)....Walter Pincus
**

A 700-page report released yesterday by a select House committee investigating Chinese espionage estimates that China, possibly helped by purloined U.S. secrets, will take 15 more years to modernize its intercontinental ballistic missile force, deploying up to 100 new ICBMs based on land or submarines.

<p>

**President's Sober Response Assures Public Of Security Measures
**

**(New York Times)....John M. Broder
**

The White House responded in a low-key and respectful manner to the release on Tuesday of the Cox Committee report on Chinese nuclear espionage, acknowledging that a serious security breach exists while assuring Congress and the public that the Administration is working hard to improve security.

<p>

**China Has Harsh Words For Report
**

**(Washington Post)....Michael Laris
**

China's government today said the release of a 700-page, bipartisan congressional report accusing China of stealing America's closely guarded nuclear secrets was meant to "disturb and destroy" Sino-American relations and to deflect attention from the U.S. bombing of China's embassy in Belgrade.

<p>

**North Korea: Perry Pays A Visit
**

**(New York Times)....Nicholas D. Kristof
**

Former Defense Secretary William J. Perry arrived in Pyongyang, the capital, to discuss the Clinton Administration's aims of easing North Korea out of its isolation.

<H3>OPINION</H3>

**Here's The Deal, Slobodan Milosevic
**

**(Washington Post)....Jim Hoagland
**

President Clinton is using heavy diplomatic and military pressure on Serbia to get a message to Slobodan Milosevic: Now is the last best hope for a deal.

<p>

**Bosnia's Refugees Hold Lesson For NATO
**

**(USA Today)....David Rieff
**

The Kosovo crisis has now spiraled so badly out of control that any solution that would be fair and comprehensive - and also have a chance of actually working - may already be out of reach.

<H3>EDITORIAL</H3>

America's Stolen Secrets

(New York Times)....Editorial

A devastating pattern of security lapses is laid out in the Congressional report on China's acquisition of America's most vital nuclear and missile secrets.

<p>
Nuclear Pickpocket

(Washington Post)....Editorial

...It does not follow that the United States should treat China as an enemy. But neither does it make sense for the United States to open its strategic pockets and allow China to help itself.

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<P>New York Times

May 26, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>NATO Moves Ahead On A Kosovo Force Of 50,000 Troops</P>

<P>By Michael R. Gordon</P>

<P> BRUSSELS, Belgium -- NATO on Tuesday approved plans for a heavily armed peacekeeping force of about 50,000 soldiers for Kosovo, part of a broad campaign by the alliance's top commander to increase the political and military pressure on Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic. </P>

<P> The decision came as NATO's supreme commander, Gen. Wesley Clark, began pushing to broaden the bombing strikes in Yugoslavia. </P>

<P> Under the plan cleared by the 19 countries which make up the alliance,

the peacekeeping force would not enter Kosovo until Serbian troops are withdrawn from the province, either as part of a formal peace settlement or because of the allies' relentless air attacks. </P>

<P> The plan envisions stationing about 30,000 troops in neighboring Macedonia, positioning the allies to move swiftly into Kosovo if a settlement is reached. </P>

<P> But some NATO officials noted that some of the forces could also play a combat role if the alliance decides to mobilize for a land attack. NATO officials estimated that an invasion force could number more than 150,000 soldiers, and would have much more armored punch than the peacekeeping unit, which is likely to include tanks and helicopters as well as many combat engineers and support troops. </P>

<P> While NATO spokesmen insist that the alliance is not planning a ground invasion, Clark indirectly raised the issue during a closed-door briefing last Friday for NATO delegates. </P>

<P> In a presentation about the overall NATO plan, Clark showed a slide listing the possible evolution of a military campaign against Yugoslavia: threat of air strikes, use of air strikes, threat of ground forces, use of ground forces. </P>

<P> Diplomats said the slide seemed to be intended to prod them into thinking more seriously about the possibility of ground forces, a matter about which the allied countries remain sharply divided. </P>

<P> It may also have been intended to signal to the diplomats that they are more likely to confront a politically wrenching decision on using combat troops later if they do not now give the NATO commander leeway in conducting the air war. </P>

<P> "There was no discussion of the slide, but it was a bit striking," said an allied diplomat who attended the briefing. "The subliminal message seemed to be if you don't give me the freedom to conduct the air war this is what we may face." </P>

<P> During the Friday presentation, Clark was asked if sending the peacekeeping force to the region could facilitate combat preparations. He said it could. </P>

<P> NATO Secretary-General Javier Solana has said that the alliance plans to bring the war to a close and return ethnic Albanian refugees to Kosovo before the winter. If NATO's bombing does not lead the Milosevic regime to accept the allies' terms, NATO officials will face a decision several weeks from now about whether to start preparing a ground force powerful enough to seize control of Kosovo. </P>

<P> The conduct of the air war has been a matter of increasing debate within the alliance. Following NATO's mistaken bombing of the Chinese Embassy and a hospital in Belgrade, Italy and the Netherlands pushed for a broad review of the policy for selecting bomb targets. Britain, France and the United States rebuffed the call for a review, underscoring their backing for carrying out punishi

ng air strikes. </P>

<P> Clark has told critics that some civilian casualties are inevitable in the bombing, despite NATO's extensive precautions. He has also been pushing to broaden the attacks. </P>

<P> His aim is to focus the attacks on the Milosevic regime and its supporters, not just on Serbian forces in Kosovo. But some of the targets he would like to hit are politically sensitive to some NATO members who insist the alliance should not be perceived as waging war against the Yugoslav people. </P>

<P> Spanish Prime Minister Jose Maria Aznar alluded to approving Clark's targeting plans after meeting with him Tuesday. </P>

<P> "I do share the point of view that the military alliance may have to have new targets," Aznar said. "New targets may allow us to continue so that we can achieve a speedy political and diplomatic solution." </P>

<P> Despite the furious pace of the bombing, some targets have been off limits. They include factories which produce civilian as well as military goods that are run by supporters of the Milosevic regime. </P>

<P> Other sensitive targets include private television studios the Milosevic regime is using following NATO air strikes on the government broadcast center. </P>

<P> Broadening the targets could also involve attacks on the telephone system and command centers located in historic sites. It may also include attacks on military targets in civilian neighborhoods. </P>

<P> Under current procedures, Clark must consult Solana before ordering an attack against a politically sensitive target. Solana, in turn, may consult allied nations. </P>

<P> But Tuesday, the focus of the discussion was NATO's peacekeeping plans. The allies originally planned to dispatch a peacekeeping force of 28,000 troops to Kosovo under the terms of the Rambouillet agreement. </P>

<P> After Belgrade rejected that accord and NATO began air strikes, allied officials concluded that the force was woefully insufficient. </P>

<P> Not only did the force need to be stronger to impose order in war-torn Kosovo and repel possible Serb threats, it also needs to carry out new missions. They include clearing mines and helping to rebuild the province's infrastructure. </P>

<P> NATO's plan specifically calls for 48,000 troops, but officials say the force could vary. Not all of the peacekeepers will be sent to the region before the war is brought to an end. </P>

<P> Solana sent a confidential note to allied delegates explaining that 30,000 of the troops would be based in Macedonia. Previously, Macedonia, a poor nation already overwhelmed by ethnic Albanian refugees, had agreed to allow no more than 16,000 troops; about 14,000 are there now. </P>

<P> Other troops will be sent to Bulgaria, Solana noted. Albania is also expected to be a staging ground and other countries, including Hungary, a new NATO member, could be involved. </P>

<P> The alliance's decision on the force was taken under its "silence" procedure, which is designed to maximize the chances of achieving consensus. After a general plan for the force was circulated, NATO members were given until 5 p. m. Tuesday in Brussels to object or attach conditions to their support. No members of the alliance took either step. </P>

<P> That does not mean, however, that all of the key details have been worked out. Many important questions remain, including which nations will contribute the troops. The United States is expected to provide about 7,000 soldiers. </P>

<P> Although some non-NATO nations are being asked to provide forces, well-armed NATO forces would serve as the "core" of the force, allied officials said. </P>

<P> "This is what I call the Teddy Roosevelt force," said NATO spokesman Jamie Shea. "It is a force that we are designing to speak softly and carry a big stick." </P>

<P> Allied delegates also approved arrangements to search ships that may be carrying fuel to Yugoslavia via the Montenegro port city of Bar. The search will be limited to nations that have volunteered to stop sending shipments of oil to Yugoslavia and allow their registered ships to be inspected. </P>

<P> Some nations, like Malta, that register foreign vessels have not agreed to participate. </P>

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<P>Washington Post

May 26, 1999

Spy Report Sparks GOP Attack

Clinton Defends Reactions to China Espionage Allegations

By Vernon Loeb, Washington Post Staff Writer

A House select committee probing China's theft of U.S. nuclear secrets finally made its 700-page report public yesterday, triggering an intense partisan outcry about the impact of Chinese espionage on national security that could affect the course of U.S.-China relations for years.

Leading Republicans, including Texas Gov. George W. Bush and four other candidates for president, seized the committee's dramatic findings of Chinese spying and loss of U.S. nuclear secrets and went on the attack, accusing the Clinton administration of appeasing China and failing to swiftly counter Chinese espionage at the nation's nuclear weapons laboratories.

"Presented with detailed information about China's espionage, this administration apparently did not take [it] seriously, did not react properly and it is still trying to minimize the scope and extent of the damage done," Bush said in a statement released in Austin.

President Clinton fired back immediately, telling reporters during an appearance at the University of Texas-Pan American in Edinburg, Tex., that his administration had enacted "the most sweeping reorganization ever of counterintelligence in our nuclear weapons labs" 15 months ago in response to suspected Chinese espionage at Los Alamos National Laboratory in New Mexico.

"We have strict controls on the transfer of sensitive commercial and military technology to China," Clinton said. "At the same time, I strongly believe that our continuing engagement with China has produced benefits for our national security."

Clinton credited the House panel, headed by Rep. Christopher Cox (R-Calif.), with acting in a "careful and bipartisan manner."

But the committee's widely reported unanimity in concluding that China has stolen U.S. thermonuclear design secrets and used them to help develop a new generation of sophisticated nuclear weapons came unglued as the report was released.

Rep. Doug Bereuter (Neb.), one of five Republican committee members, said the panel's work confirmed that Chinese espionage at the nation's nuclear weapons laboratories represented "the gravest single loss of our nation's most sensitive secrets ever."

"There is really no doubt about that," Bereuter told hundreds of reporters gathered in the ornate caucus room at the Cannon House Office Building.

<P> The panel's four Democrats sharply disagreed.</P>

<P> Rep. John M. Spratt Jr. (D-S.C.) took strong exception with the central finding that stolen U.S. nuclear secrets have given the Chinese thermonuclear design information "on a par with our own."</P>

<P> "Now that's alarming, but is it accurate?" Spratt asked, noting that U.S. intelligence agencies do not know what use the Chinese have made of stolen nuclear secrets.</P>

<P> "I do know that we have had 1,100 nuclear tests, as opposed to 50 on their part," Spratt said. "We've built over 30,000 nuclear warheads, as opposed to a few hundred, at most, on their part. So that would suggest to you that we have a somewhat greater capability for nuclear design than they do."</P>

<P> Rep. Norm Dicks (Wash.), the committee's ranking Democrat, said the report was written "in a worst-case fashion" and predicted that "academics and experts in and out of government will challenge some of our worst-case conclusions."</P>

<P> Right on cue, Robert S. Norris, a senior analyst and nuclear weapons expert at the Natural Resources Defense Council, disputed the conclusion that stolen U.S. secrets substantially influenced Chinese warhead design. "Their weapons are not copies of ours," he said.</P>

<P> Norris also noted the United States' overwhelmingly nuclear superiority and said, "that's not going to change in any kind of dramatic fashion in the future."</P>

<P> "I think it's best to put some of this in perspective and context and not hyperventilate about the future of Chinese nuclear weapons," he added.</P>

<P> But the context remained partisan as Republican and Democratic committee members sparred over the validity of the panel's conclusions and leading Republicans joined the fray.</P>

<P> The Cox committee came into being one year ago after then-House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) proposed that a select panel be formed to investigate whether contributions to the Democrats' 1996 campaign influenced the administration's regulation of exports of sensitive military-related technology to China.</P>

<P> Some leading Republicans believed that the administration's acceptance of campaign contributions from satellite makers in return for alleged favorable export rulings was possibly an impeachable offense. But the Cox committee ultimately shied away from the issue, focusing instead on the export controls themselves and on signs of espionage at the nuclear weapons labs.</P>

<P> House Majority Whip Tom DeLay (R-Tex.) raised the campaign contribution issue again yesterday, faulting the Clinton administration for turning "a blind eye while Communist China stole our most classified national security secrets."</P>

<P> "We are forced to question whether the president and vice president del

iberately ignored the reality of Chinese spying and theft because they had ulterior economic and political motives," DeLay said.</P>

<P> Rep. Bobby Scott (D-Va.), a Cox committee member, responded that the panel asked executive branch officials responsible for regulating technology transfers to China whether they had ever felt any type of "political pressure." All of them answered no.</P>

<P> "Although some had originally speculated that impeachable behavior would be found by this committee," Scott said, "we in fact found nothing worthy of a referral to the Judiciary Committee."</P>

<P> Still, Republicans pressed the attack, focusing on Clinton's national security adviser, Samuel R. "Sandy" Berger. Rep. Curt Weldon (R-Pa.), a Cox committee member, lambasted Berger for releasing the committee's recommendations in February so that he could put his "spin" on the results at a time when the panel's report was still stamped secret and undergoing a declassification review that ended last week.</P>

<P> Berger's move, Weldon said, came before CIA Director George J. Tenet had even finished reading the report.</P>

<P> "Today the American people get to make their own judgments," Weldon said. He described the administration as "a government that has relaxed the export controls, a government that has not had aggressive counterintelligence efforts, a government that has not enforced the very arms control agreements they would have us agree to."</P>

<P> As for future relations with China, committee members split again along partisan lines.</P>

<P> "We need to completely reevaluate our relationship with the People's Republic of China," said Bereuter, the Nebraska Republican, suggesting a "guideline" that ensures no short-term compromises in return for long-term gains. "Everything must be in our short-term and long-term national interest," he said.</P>

<P> Dicks, the Washington Democrat, was far more conciliatory. "I think we still need to engage with China," he said. "And I would hate to see this report create a circumstance in which we . . . go to a Cold War setting with China. I think that would be a mistake."</P>

<I><P>Staff writers Helen Dewar and Paul Blustein contributed to this report.</P></I>

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<P>Philadelphia Inquirer

May 26, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Experts Say China's Gains Are Political, Not Military</P>

<P>By Steve Goldstein, Inquirer Washington Bureau</P>

<P> WASHINGTON - Don't build that fallout shelter just yet. The release yesterday of the long-awaited Cox committee report on Chinese efforts to obtain U. S. military technology sparked strident words in Washington and stirred speculation of a second Cold War.</P>

<P> But the reality is at odds with the report and its accompanying furor.
</P>

<P> While the theft by China of secret designs for U.S. nuclear warheads and other weapons systems is a major security failure, the likelihood of China soon gaining nuclear parity or even posing a serious threat is slim verging on nonexistent, security analysts and weapons experts said yesterday. </P>

<P> "I'd put China low down on our concern meter," said Stan Norris of the Natural Resources Defense Council, which monitors nuclear-weapons proliferation. "We see no evidence of crash weapons programs."</P>

<P> "I assume they've been able to close the gap [with the United States] a little bit," said Monte Bullard, who was military attache at the U.S. Embassy in Beijing in the early 1980s. "But we haven't exactly been standing still."</P>
>

<P> A damage assessment by the CIA on the implications of Chinese espionage was unequivocal.</P>

<P> "To date, the aggressive Chinese collection effort has not resulted in any apparent modernization of their deployed security force or any new nuclear-weapons deployment," said the CIA assessment, which was released last month.</P>
>

<P> China is generally regarded as a "responsible" nuclear power, maintaining strict safety controls over its arsenal. Russia, by contrast, is a disaster waiting to happen, with thousands of warheads, and tons of enriched uranium and plutonium lacking proper safeguarding.</P>

<P> Norris said that Russia "is an immediate security concern that's much more grave than China is 5, 10, or even 15 years from now."</P>

<P> Although the chairman of the committee, Rep. Christopher Cox (R., Calif.), said that the panel "did not engage in surmise; we did not engage in opinion," few could read the 900-page tome and not succumb to a vision of a new "Red Menace" rising in the East.</P>

<P> "The Select Committee judges that the PRC's [People's Republic of China's] next generation of thermonuclear weapons, currently under development, will exploit elements of stolen U.S. design information," the report states.</P>

<P> Additionally, the committee concludes that U.S. warhead designs will soon be used in building China's next generation of mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles. A similar conclusion is reached with regard to the development of space-based and ground-based anti-satellite laser weapons.</P>

<P> Some panel members seemed less certain that the sky was falling.</P>

<P> Rep. John M. Spratt Jr. (D., S.C.) said that the committee "does not know how big the base of this iceberg is, how much to infer from the size of the tip of the iceberg."</P>

<P> Although he termed the thefts "one of the worst counterintelligence failures in our nation's history," Rep. Norm Dicks (D., Wash.), the committee's ranking Democrat, acknowledged that the report's conclusions "have been written in a worst-case fashion."</P>

<P> Even assuming the worst case - that the design information and other U.S. technology now resides in the files of the People's Liberation Army - many experts said that there was no cause for alarm.</P>

<P> Part of their reasoning is based on pure mathematics. The U.S. arsenal includes 11,000 ICBMs, and 7,000 strategic nuclear warheads. The Chinese have a maximum of 20 so-called East Wind 5 missiles that can reach the United States.</P>

<P> The Chinese do not have B-2 stealth bombers, Trident submarines or MX missiles.</P>

<P> "They have one nuclear sub, but it's unsafe to operate," Norris said. The fact that only one has been built means "there have to be problems; you don't decide just to build one submarine."</P>

<P> As for the Chinese missiles, experts say that they carry heavy, 1950s-era warheads. U.S. thermonuclear warheads are significantly smaller and lighter, which is why U.S. missiles can carry multiple warheads a longer distance.</P>

<P> China tried to obtain the design for the U.S. W-88 warhead to enable it to build lighter warheads, the report states. But the design of the W-88 is actually quite old, dating from the 1970s, and a former director of Los Alamos National Laboratory, Harold M. Agnew, said that, even if the Chinese stole the co

mputer design codes, "actually being able to manufacture the total system from a computer code is a different matter."</P>

<P> Additionally, the Chinese have historically taken a long time to research, develop, test and deploy weapons. An advanced missile, the DF-31, has been in development for 15 years and has not been deployed.</P>

<P> "There is no indication that [U.S. technology] is on deployed weapons or anything that is on the drawing board," said Norris of the nuclear-weapons monitoring group.</P>

<P> "It is a remarkably leisurely modernization of their weapons systems," said John Pike of the Federation of American Scientists, "and I cannot detect any acceleration of their efforts."</P>

<P> Some analysts suggested that the real aim of Chinese espionage was to make the United States and other nations believe that China was ready to accelerate and broaden its nuclear operational capabilities.</P>

<P> "Almost everything they are doing is for psychological and political impact rather than for military impact," said Bullard, the former military attaché, who now directs the East Asia program at the Center for Nonproliferation Studies in Monterey, Calif.</P>

<P> "The Chinese want to demonstrate they have the capacity to do these things," Bullard said. "With limited money [the U.S. military budget is eight times that of China's], they will focus on keeping the U.S. Navy out of the Taiwan straits.</P>

<P> "They want to show the U.S. they can't do there what they did in Kosovo," he added.</P>

<P> Norris said that the Chinese might have already accomplished this goal. He recalled the famous 1995 "walk-in" to the CIA by a Chinese citizen - later determined to have been a double agent - who delivered a secret Chinese document that included, among other matters, stolen U.S. design information about the W-88 warhead.</P>

<P> That incident helped spur the formation of the Cox committee.</P>

<P> "Maybe the message this agent was sending to us from the Chinese was: 'Hey, we know how to do this now, so don't mess with us,' " Norris said. "That is certainly [nuclear] deterrence on the cheap."</P>

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<P>Omaha World-Herald

May 26, 1999</P>

<P>Cohen Cancels China Trip </P>

<P> Washington (AP) - Defense Secretary William Cohen has dropped plans to visit China next month, his spokesman said Tuesday, because of the Kosovo crisis and heightened tensions with the Chinese government.</P>

<P> "It probably is not the easiest time to visit China," spokesman Kenneth Bacon said, alluding to allegations of extensive Chinese espionage at U.S. nuclear weapons laboratories and to Chinese outrage over the mistaken NATO bombing May 7 of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade.</P>

<P> It is the second time this year that Cohen has put off a trip to China. In April he cited the urgency of the NATO air campaign over Kosovo, then in an early stage. The trip was tentatively rescheduled for June, suggesting that the Clinton administration had expected the air campaign to be over by then, or not early so.</P>

<P> Bacon said Cohen hoped to reschedule the China trip but would be occupied with other matters in June.</P>

<P> "I think the primary reason for that is that right now he feels that his place is here in Washington, devoting as much time as possible to running the U.S. participation in the air campaign in Kosovo, preparing for the peacekeeping force, et cetera," Bacon said.</P>

<P> Tensions with China are a factor, too.</P>

<P> "China, as you know, has broken off military-to-military relations temporarily with the United States, and he feels that it may be better to go later," Bacon said. "He remains, of course, steadfastly committed to engagement with China as a long-term policy."</P>

<P> Shortly after the Chinese Embassy bombing in Belgrade, Beijing informed the Clinton administration that it was suspending high-level military contacts at least through May. The first casualty was a planned visit to China in mid-May by Gen. Charles Krulak, the Marine Corps commandant.</P>

<P> Last week, China refused to allow U.S. warships entry into Hong Kong harbor. It barred a scheduled May 21 port visit by a U.S. submarine and ship, marking the first time since World War II that the U.S. 7th Fleet was denied access to the former British colony.</P>

<P> Bacon said it was Cohen's decision, not Beijing's, to scrap his June trip. The trip was never officially announced, but Cohen told a congressional committee two weeks ago that he was planning to go.</P>

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<P>Washington Post

May 26, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Home Is The Hunter </P>

<I><P>Kosovo Rebels Cross Border to Prey on Serbs</P>

</I><P>By Peter Finn and Molly Moore, Washington Post Foreign Service </P>

<P> KOSARE, YugoslaviaIn the mountain ridges and narrow gorges along the Albanian border here in Kosovo, the Kosovo Liberation Army is pushing into the Serbian province a yard and a field at a time.</P>

<P> Artillery and mortar shells from both sides of the border whistle across flower-carpeted valleys and hit their intended targets more by luck than skill. After sharp firefights, the dead lie for days in a no man's land before their comrades can reach them. Young Kosovo Albanian men with only a few weeks of military experience often find themselves on a shifting front line that is sometimes less than 50 yards from Serbian gun muzzles.</P>

<P> While KLA-held territory has been reduced to isolated pockets across Kosovo since Serb-led Yugoslav forces launched a major offensive against them in March, rebel units operating along the Albanian border in the last two months have been able to establish a narrow corridor into the province, taking advantage of NATO's nine-week-old air assault on Yugoslavia.</P>

<P> "We have been attacking Serbian positions from the first day" of the NATO attacks, said Hysen Berisha, the KLA commander for this region, who once served in the Yugoslav Army. The Serbs "are very damaged, but they have put down many mines. That's the reason we can't go faster."</P>

<P> Even though the guerrilla force has advanced here, it has established control of only a thin and vulnerable swath of territory and has yet to occupy a village or town. The fighting is intense but localized, and in cemeteries from this patch of Kosovo to the town of Bajram Curi across the border in Albania, the cost of this campaign to the KLA is measured daily in fresh graves.</P>
>

<P> A month ago, after a day-long firefight, the rebels captured an isolated Yugoslav army barracks here, a mile into Kosovo, seizing five trucks, a bulldozer and crates of ammunition. It was a major step forward in its grinding war of attrition with Yugoslav troops and Serbian police and paramilitary units. Last Friday morning, a NATO bomb slammed into the two-story red-brick barracks, killing five sleeping KLA rebels and wounding 25 others. NATO apparently was unaware the guerrillas had captured the building.</P>

<P> But the same bombing campaign that destroyed a section of the barracks has forced Belgrade government security force to hunker down. They move only at night or under the cover of the ghostly clouds and mist that frequently shroud the mountain tops, using many of the same guerrilla tactics of the rebels, according to KLA commanders.</P>

<P> The NATO airstrikes also have given the rebels openings to launch more effective artillery and mortar attacks against opposing Yugoslav forces. In recent weeks, using Chinese-made anti-tank weapons and employing hit-and-run tactics in the wake of NATO bombing raids, the guerrillas say they have destroyed 13 tanks.</P>

<P> Moving toward the village of Junik, seven miles inside Kosovo, the best-equipped KLA units are trying to extend the salient they hold into a critical resupply route for their comrades deeper inside Kosovo, who they say are desperate for food and ammunition.</P>

<P> "Our big problem is that we can't get supplies inside," said Burim Thaqi, 24, who abandoned studies in Madrid 11 months ago to join the rebel group. "Our soldiers are eating cats; their food supply is very low."</P>

<P> In addition to creating a supply route, the capture of Junik would give KLA forces a strategic foothold from which to push much deeper into Kosovo's open countryside. "We will take Junik soon," said Berisha, "and then on to Pristina," the Kosovo capital.</P>

<P> The border between Kosovo and Albania in this area is a fallen barbed wire fence. On the Albanian side, a couple of hundred yards from the line, a KLA base camp sits on a rise in the village of Padesh, a collection of stone farmhouses and military tents that come under daily Yugoslav shelling. KLA mortar units hidden in thick forest covering the surrounding hills reply with their own salvos. </P>

<P> Uniformed rebels, some as young as 15, walk the muddy roads around

the camp, automatic rifles slung over their shoulders, cigarettes hanging from their lips. The roads around the camp are in such bad condition that it is difficult to envision how NATO could assemble a Kosovo intervention force in this area without time-consuming air-lifts of heavy equipment.

Most KLA rebels walk the one mile from the Albanian border here to their Kosare base, although some supplies are brought in on horseback. The guerrillas based here are the best-outfitted of all the KLA rebels. Their uniforms are new, if mismatched -- a Swiss camouflage shirt paired with German pants; a British tunic with U.S. Army britches; berets in rainbows of red, black or U.N. blue, World War II-style metal helmets and outback slouch hats in greens and browns.

"We get our uniforms from all over the world," said Bashki Belegu, 26, who ran a pizza shop in the Kosovo city of Pec before joining the KLA in Albania two months ago. "Many of us buy them ourselves."

When the KLA seized the Kosare barracks, it also captured a trove of ammunition. "We killed them with their own bullets," Belegu said. But the rebels said that while they have plenty of ammunition, they have too few weapons for the several hundred guerrillas fighting in this area, including recruits who continue to stream in from around the world. Most of the guerrillas have bound the clips of their assault rifles with tape to keep them from falling apart.

From the barracks, the rebels walk well-worn paths to the front line, cutting across fields of yellow and lavender flowers, pocked by fresh shell holes left by Yugoslav mortar rounds. They sprint through gorges where Yugoslav troops fire rifles at them, then slow to catch their breath when they round a mountainside held by KLA guerrillas.

The guerrillas here -- few of whom were KLA members before the NATO bombing began -- return to the barracks from the front lines every day or two for a respite and a chance to eat bean and meat stew cooked on the mobile kitchen also captured along with the barracks.

For the past month, the barracks, hidden in a hollow, has been one of the few rebel refuges from Yugoslav fire. But at 7:20 a.m. last Friday, a NATO bomb smashed into the back of the building. Inside the remains of the building, rows of bunk beds are covered with shards of glass and other debris.

About 80 men were asleep or eating when the building came down around them in a fireball. "I thought I was going to die," said Faton Hajdini, 23, who comes from Vucitrn, a city northwest of Pristina. "Thank God it didn't hit where I was sleeping."

Berisha, the commander, who had come to the barracks for an inspection shortly before the bomb hit, said a door blew on top of him. "I heard soldiers shouting help," said Berisha, a swaggering, blue-bereted soldier who back-slaps his men as he moves among them, cracking jokes.

For days after the attack, the KLA was wary of the NATO planes that roar over their positions almost every day. Hajdini said one fighter plane flew low over the barracks Saturday. "We were afraid," he said. "That was hell."

/P>

<P> KLA commanders, who have hosted foreign journalists in the barracks in recent weeks, could not explain the NATO error. "We were on [the] news," said one mystified rebel. But they insisted that despite the bombing, NATO's air campaign in the border region has been their best ally, critical to the advancement of their positions. And looking at the damage, the guerrillas exhibited a kind of pride in NATO's firepower -- even though it had rained down on them. </P>

<P> "It was a technical error," said Berisha, as he stood beside the ruins. "Our opinion of NATO and the U.S. is the same. . . . We are one young army. We need NATO." After a little hesitation, he said that without NATO ground troops, the KLA cannot hope to win its war against government forces.</P>

<P> On an exposed hill of grass and wild flowers overlooking the Kosovo farmland, five mounds of red clay mark the fresh graves of fallen KLA rebels. As Esat Krasniqi, commander of the Kosare base, approached the five plots, three young guerrillas stood guard, facing a nearby ridge controlled by Yugoslav forces. In a thicket of trees, just across a rushing stream, another group of rebels watched both the ridge and the lowlands, which Yugoslav troops dart across in the early evening fog. The sharp detonation of outgoing mortar shells followed by the explosive thud of incoming Yugoslav shells pierced the valley's natural silence.</P>

<P> Krasniqi -- bearded, gnarled and weary-looking -- moved unperturbed between the graves, looking at the names written in black ink on hand-cut wooden markers -- Xhemshir Islami from Srbica in central Kosovo; Mentur Isa from Podujevo in northern Kosovo; and Faik Qabrati, Januz Krasniqi and Hami Misin, all from the southern Kosovo city of Prizren.</P>

<P> "These are the victims of NATO," Krasniqi said, adding, after a pause, "these things happen in a war. There are mistakes."</P>


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<P>USA Today

May 26, 1999</P>

<P>NATO Troops Up As U.S. Approval Slips</P>

<P>By Susan Page and Fred Coleman, USA Today</P>

<P> A new USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll finds U.S. support for the air war against Yugoslavia slipping even as NATO ambassadors move to dramatically increase the deployment of ground forces in the region. </P>

<P> The North Atlantic Council agreed Tuesday in Brussels, Belgium, to increase ground troops in Macedonia from 28,000 to 45,000-50,000. They would be ready to enter Kosovo as peacekeepers if a diplomatic settlement is reached.</P>

<P> The troops might increase pressure on Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic to negotiate and could act as an advance guard for an invasion. That possibility was broached by Britain but opposed by other allies and viewed with skepticism by the United States. </P>

<P> "This force will speak softly but it will have very sharp teeth as well as very big teeth," NATO spokesman Jamie Shea said. </P>

<P> Americans' unease about the military operation is growing, the USA TODAY poll shows. By an overwhelming 82% to 15%, those surveyed said they would support a pause in the bombing for an attempt to negotiate. The telephone survey of 1,050 adults Sunday and Monday has a margin of error of plus or minus 3 percentage points. </P>

<P> Among the findings: </P>

<P> *Support for the military action slipped to 49% from 55% two weeks ago, the first time it has fallen below 50% since airstrikes began March 24.</P>

<P> *If the airstrikes don't succeed in forcing Milosevic to let ethnic Albanians return to Kosovo, a 57%-40% majority oppose sending in U.S. ground troops as part of a NATO force.</P>

<P> *Americans are divided 48%-46% over whether the United States and NATO are doing everything possible to minimize civilian casualties.</P>

<P> *President Clinton's job approval rating fell to 53%, the lowest in nearly three years. </P>

<P> "This should be a warning call for the administration," says Andrew Kohut, director of the Pew Research Center. "There's a combination of frustration with the effectiveness of the operation and alarm about the accidents that have caused civilian casualties." </P>

<P> But White House spokesman David Leavy said there was "strong support in this country and the Congress for standing up to Milosevic's oppression." The survey did show overwhelming opposition, 71% to 25%, to leaving the Kosovars to fend for themselves. </P>

<P> And if a settlement is reached, there's little doubt that an international force will have to stay in Kosovo. Just 12% say Milosevic could be trusted to comply with an agreement; 82% say a peacekeeping force will be needed.</P>

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<P>Washington Post

May 26, 1999

Pg. 4</P>

<P>Senate Panel Backs Boost In Defense Funds</P>

<P> As Congress turned its attention to defense issues, the Senate Appropriations Committee yesterday approved a \$267.6 billion defense spending bill for fiscal 2000, about \$4.3 billion more than what the administration sought.</P>

<P> The bill would boost spending for a national missile defense and for fighter aircraft and other procurement in the year beginning Oct. 1. In all, the Republican Congress plans to spend \$288.8 billion on defense next year, including funds for the Energy Department and nuclear weapons. That is \$8.3 billion above the administration's request.</P>

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<P>New York Times

May 26, 1999</P>

<P>G.O.P. Scrapes For Extra Money As Spending Bills Begin Movin
g</P>

<P>By The Associated Press</P>

<P> WASHINGTON -- Senate Republicans prepared to shift \$3.6 billion from de
fense to domestic programs Tuesday as they struggled to write spending bills th
at honor stringent limits required by Congress' budget. </P>

<P> As they did, the House moved toward approving a \$61 billion measure fin
ancing agriculture and food programs, the first spending measure of the year th
at has reached the full House. </P>

<P> Subcommittees of the Senate Appropriations Committee approved the first
two of the 13 annual spending measures for the coming fiscal year: a \$21.2 bil
lion measure for energy and water projects, and a \$48.9 billion transportation
bill. In each case, lawmakers grumbled they did not have enough money, and wate
r projects and Amtrak were among many programs cut from last year's levels. </P>
>

<P> "We could do better if we had more money," said Sen. Pete Domenici, R-N
.M. </P>

<P> Domenici chairs both the energy and water subcommittees of the Senate A
ppropriations Committee, which was chafing under the budget limits, and the Sen
ate Budget Committee, which wrote the budget that imposed them. At GOP leaders'
insistence, that budget honored spending reductions promised by the 1997 budge
t-balancing deal between President Clinton and Congress. </P>

<P> Appropriations Committee Chairman Ted Stevens, R-Alaska, said he would
ask his panel to take \$3.6 billion in unused 1999 defense money and use it for
the fiscal 2000 spending bills they are writing now. </P>

<P> But Stevens, who has said spending limits are too tight and will have t
o be eased, said the extra money would still leave his committee short of what
it needs. </P>

<P> "Oh, no, it won't solve it all," he said, "but it solves a portion of i
t." </P>

<P> Just last week, Congress approved a \$15 billion emergency spending bill
for the fight with Yugoslavia and other programs that included \$12 billion --
twice what Clinton requested -- for defense. </P>

<P> Asked why that bill contained so much extra defense money when he knew there were unspent 1999 defense funds, Stevens said, "because we had this in mind," the shift of defense spending to domestic programs. "I do think beyond the next job." </P>

<P> To give themselves extra money, Stevens' committee also is giving itself credit for \$2.6 billion by assuming the government will earn that by auctioning off parts of the broadcast spectrum next year. Clinton proposed billions in extra revenue from raising tobacco taxes and other fees, but most of these have little chance of becoming law. </P>

<P> The energy and water bill would spend \$100 million less in the fiscal year starting Oct. 1 than this year and \$400 million less than Clinton wanted. The transportation measure would spend \$1.6 billion more than this year, but that's \$1.3 billion less than Clinton proposed. </P>

<P> Amtrak, the nation's passenger railroad, would get \$571 million, \$38 million less than this year. Construction on Army Corps of Engineers water projects would get \$1.1 billion, a cut of \$318 million. </P>

<P> The transportation measure also places new requirements on how airlines treat passengers, said subcommittee Chairman Richard Shelby, R-Ala. </P>

<P> The bill would require an airline that knows a flight's arrival will be delayed to notify passengers before they board the plane. Airlines advertising bargain fares would have to specify the numbers of seats available at that rate. And passengers who don't use a portion of a ticket could not be penalized. </P>

<P> The House agriculture bill was \$500 million less than Clinton requested. Rep. Joe Skeen, R-N.M., chairman of the Appropriations agriculture subcommittee, said it was the best that could be done under a tight budget, but the bill drew fire from both sides. </P>

<P> The Clinton administration said in a statement the measure was "simply inadequate to make the necessary investments our citizens need and expect." It urged the House to increase spending for food safety, child nutrition, seafood inspection, conservation and agricultural research. </P>

<P> On the other side, conservative Rep. Tom Coburn, R-Okla., said the measure would spend too much and set Congress on course to violate spending caps. He said the extra spending would have to come out of Social Security's surplus, something both parties say they want to avoid. </P>

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Washington Post

May 26, 1999

Pg. 4

Senators Exonerate Pearl Harbor Chiefs

The Senate voted yesterday to exonerate two American military commanders accused of dereliction of duty in the bombing of Pearl Harbor. The vote followed a heated debate that divided the chamber's small band of World War II veterans.

By 52 to 47, the Senate approved an effort by Sen. William V. Roth Jr. (R-Del.) to restore the reputations of Adm. Husband Kimmel and Gen. Walter Short, the two senior commanders of U.S. military forces in the Pacific at the time of the December 1941 attack.

The new debate on an old military controversy came on an amendment to the defense spending bill.

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Washington Post

May 26, 1999

<P>For The Record</P>

<I><P> From a press conference at the Capitol yesterday on the War Powers Act lawsuit by Rep. Tom Campbell (R-Calif.) and Rep. Dennis Kucinich (D-Ohio):</P>

</I><P> Rep. Campbell: Today is the 60th day, plus 48 hours, since the bombing started in Kosovo. The 48 hours is important, because under the War Powers Resolution, the president is obliged to withdraw United States military from hostilities into which he has placed them 60 days after, plus 48 hours -- the 48 hours for notice . . . of the president to the Congress. Today the president is in violation of the law. That is clear. It does not require an interpretation of the Constitution. It is the War Powers Act, passed in 1973.</P>

<P> Here are the premises for that conclusion:</P>

<P> First of all, are we engaged in hostilities? Of course we're engaged in hostilities. . . . </P>

<P> I fear that the president . . . will put ground troops into Yugoslavia without the approval of the people's representatives. . . . He will then put us into a position of a fait accompli and perhaps then come to Congress, saying, "Now, give me the authority because we have already committed the ground troops"</P>

<P> Rep. Kucinich: As the No. 2 plaintiff in this lawsuit, I am here to say that the representatives of the American people voted against this war in the Balkans. [They] voted against a declaration of war. [They] voted against an air war. [They] voted against a ground war. Yet the war continues unauthorized, without the consent of the governed.</P>

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<P>The Retired Officer Magazine

June 1999

Pg. 67</P>

<P>Low Profile, High Impact</P>

<I><P>Air Force Gen. Joseph W. Ralston, vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, speaks about his job, the defense budget, and troop deployment.</P>

</I><P>By Tom Philpott</P>

<P> By mid-afternoon on March 23, a day before NATO began striking Yugoslav targets with bombs and missiles, Air Force Gen. Joseph W Ralston, vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), had spoken at least four times that day with Army Gen. Wesley Clark, NATO's supreme allied commander.</P>

<P> Their conversations touched on a range of issues. Should the aircraft carrier Enterprise<I> </I>steam into the Mediterranean from the Persian Gulf to support the Kosovo air operations?</P>

<P> Should EA-6B Prowlers, radar-jamming aircraft, be moved from Incirlik, Turkey, to Aviano, Italy, or would enough stateside aircraft arrive in time? Did it still make sense to send Marines vs. Army units into Kosovo as an initial U.S. peacekeeping force if and when Serbs signed a peace deal?</P>

<P> "There are pros and cons to all of these," says Ralston. "We work them with the CINCs [commanders in chief], the Joint Staff, and the services, and we provide the [JCS] chairman and the secretary of defense with recommendations."</P>

<P> Ralston, the nation's second-highest-ranking officer, is a pivotal figure across the spectrum of national security matters, from day-to-day decisions on contingency operations to shaping next-generation weapons programs as chairman of the Joint Requirements Oversight Council (JROC).</P>

<P> Despite the power he wields, much of it on behalf of JCS Chairman Army Gen. Henry "Hugh" Shelton, Ralston keeps a surprisingly low public profile. "That's a conscious decision on my part," he states. His job, according to the steadfast four-star, involves "harmonizing" service positions on issues and programs that will meet the nation's most pressing security needs yet still stay within budgets proposed by the administration and set by Congress.</P>

<P> That's easier to do behind closed doors, he claims. "Try to solve problems in the joint world in public and everybody gets firmly entrenched in their positions. If you work things off-line, behind the scenes, you can get a lot more done," Ralston says. "If the vice chairman takes too high of a profile, it doesn't work."</P>

<P> Ralston, 55, sees the vice chairman's job as having three parts. The first, which takes at least half his time, is to oversee day-to-day military operations. When Shelton is traveling or on leave, Ralston becomes acting chairman. But every day he must stay on top of current operations, which means frequent contact with the nine regional and unified CINCs. "You can't lay off four days

then kick back up," says Ralston.</P>

<P> His day typically begins with a Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) briefing at 5:45 a.m., followed by JCS meetings on current operations and revised intelligence assessments. A decision on whether to redeploy assessments. A decision on whether to redeploy assets like EA-6Bs is "minor" Ralston says, "but it's the type of thing you encounter" daily in the post-Cold War era.</P>

<P> By law, the chairman and vice chairman must hail from different services. "We bring our collective experiences, what we have done over the past 30-plus years, to the job," he says.</P>

<P> A second major responsibility of the vice chairman is the "interagency process, something not well understood by present or former military officers," Ralston explains.</P>

<P> At the top, the president's national security advisor Sandy Berger, coordinates the national security apparatus. He chairs the Principals' Committee, which includes the secretaries of state and defense, the JCS chairman, and the director of the CIA. Below that is the Deputies' Committee, chaired by the deputy national security advisor. Its members include the deputy secretaries of state and defense, the JCS vice chairman, and the deputy CIA director.</P>

<P> The Deputies' Committee reviews the most critical issues and makes recommendations to the Principals' Committee and ultimately to the president. On Kosovo, for example, it was the deputies who first tried to meld diplomatic, intelligence, and military assessments into a single set of recommendations.</P>

<P> "The vice chairman is key to the process," Ralston says, "because if you don't get the military viewpoint in early, by the time it gets to the president - with the interagency recommending something counter to good military advice - then it can be very difficult for the chairman to get things turned around at the last minute."</P>

<P> "We have three to four, sometimes more, deputies' meetings a week at the White House," says Ralston. "The meeting itself goes an hour and a half, and we've got to have at least an hour of preparation time and more time to debrief our staffs."</P>

<P> A third responsibility of the vice chairman is overseeing JROC, which is composed of the deputy chiefs of each service and has a robust charter. The group "makes sure the needs of our war-fighting CINCs are met, that service requirements and processes are harmonized, and that we adequately prioritize and make [budget] recommendations to the chairman and the secretary of defense."</P>

<P> To understand JROC's reach, one needs to understand its origin. The Goldwater-Nichols Defense Reorganization Act of 1986 revolutionized the way the military is organized and operates. It streamlined the chain of command to emphasize "jointness" among the services not only in fighting wars but in formulating budgets. Goldwater-Nichols made the JCS chairman, by law, the president's senior military advisor. It also established the position of vice chairman to serve as his deputy and to run JROC. To do that effectively the vice chairman outranks every service chief.</P>

<P> Goldwater-Nichols further required the chairman to submit to the secretary of defense each year an alternative budget to the one being developed by the secretary's staff working with the services. The alternative is called the Chairman's Program Assessment (CPA).</P>

<P> "We work very hard on CPA throughout the budget process with the services and with the CINCs," says Ralston. JROC shapes the CPA process. By the end of August, Ralston and the deputy chiefs of each service have sat face to face with each of the CINCs to set program priorities and resolve some tough issues.</P>

<P> "Ultimately, you have to sit down with the chairman and go through item by item where the issues are. The chairman makes his independent recommendations to the secretary on budget priorities, shifting funds from program A to program B. Sometimes that means [going] across service lines," Ralston says. In September, the CPA goes to the secretary.</P>

<P> In theory, the CPA can be quite different from the budget shaped by the defense secretary's own deputies, leaving him with some pretty tough decisions each fall. In practice, however the two budgets are worked simultaneously, so there are few surprises.</P>

<P> "It's far more effective to work it throughout the year than to come in at the last minute with something from Mars," Ralston says. But through the CPA, Shelton and Ralston have great influence over what the Pentagon proposes to the president.</P>

<P> "We have come a long way, with [JROC] playing a critical role," Ralston recalls. JROC drives decisions on "resource allocation." It helps decide what programs get funded and at what levels, given overall budget constraints.</P>

<P> "We interact continuously with the unified commanders and with the services trying to find the right balance between operational requirements and affordability," explains Ralston.</P>

<P> The degree to which the vice chairman focuses on any one of his responsibilities depends on the desires of the JCS chairman. Ralston claims that his job didn't change after Shelton succeeded now-retired Army Gen. John Shalikashvili as chairman in the fall of 1997. But it could have.</P>

<P> "The chairman and I stay in touch many times a day, as we're doing now [with the Kosovo operation]. Certain things I will work with the CINCs," he says. "If it's JROC-related, a resources issue, then I will work many of those."</P>

<P> On day-to-day operations, Ralston often will make a decision himself "and back-brief the chairman later. I have a good feel for what his priorities are. We spend quite a bit of time together every day, either in person or on the phone, so we can make sure we're getting the job done."</P>

<P> Frequent communication with the CINCs is critical, Ralston explains. "There's a special-operations deployment going on somewhere around the world - usually in about 70 countries - at any given time," says Ralston.</P>

<P> The most difficult current readiness challenge, Ralston says, flows from what clearly were underfunded defense budgets in 1996 and '97. "We are living now, in 1999, on spare parts [bought in] 1997. We plussed up in '98, even more in '99, and again in the 2000 budget" now before Congress. But shortages created by leaner spending years won't be gone for a few more. "How do you explain to the sergeant working on the flight line who doesn't have spare parts today, that in fact the funding is there? It's going to get better," assures Ralston. "He may like to hear that it's going to get better but he would rather see the parts this afternoon. Unfortunately, we're not going to have the parts this afternoon. We're still living with a two-year lead time between when funding is appropriated and when spare parts show up in the field."</P>

<P> The Joint Chiefs, meanwhile, are working hard to lessen the impact on personnel tempo of worldwide contingency operations. The JCS effort to reduce the size of deployments probably hasn't received enough attention, he suggests.</P>

<P> "I'd like to put that in perspective," he says. "When I arrived as vice chairman in March 1996, we had 20,000 troops in Bosnia, on top of what we had in Korea and all the other places around the world. We no longer have 20,000 in Bosnia. We came down to 13,500, then 8,500, then 6,900, and now we're going to 6,200. And we will go well below that," says Ralston.</P>

<P> That's "14,000 less than what we had three years ago. It doesn't mean troops aren't busy. They are. But we are trying to reduce some of the commitments," Ralston says.</P>

<P> "We're looking to see if we can take forces out of Haiti. We've had 1,000 troops in the Sinai Peninsula for the last 15 years as part of the Camp David Accords. Maybe it's time to bring some of those troops home."</P>

<P> The Joint Chiefs have cut the number of annual joint exercises by 30 percent since 1996. They aren't needed, Ralston says, given the "real world" training provided through contingency operations.</P>

<P> All too often these days Ralston's job involves managing shortages. "We pay the CINCs to worry about this afternoon," he says. "We need to make sure we give them the tools they need."</P>

<P> Currently, "we don't have enough U-2 pilots, enough rivet joints, enough EA-6Bs, enough Patriot missile battalions, enough combat search-and-rescue units for the requirements we have. The CINCs make their wish lists known. If we can support them, we do. Sometimes we have to go back and say, 'I'm sorry, but there's a higher priority somewhere else in the world.'"</P>

<P> According to the JROC head, the military is on a path to solve a severe underfunding in weapons modernization. The 1997 Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) set the ramp and gave it the right slope. "You can't just add \$20 billion to procurement in one year and use it efficiently," notes Ralston. "You've got to have the right program developed. As set by the QDR, the services needed \$49 billion for modernization in 1999, \$54 billion in 2000, and \$60 billion in 2001. They got \$48.7 billion in '99, are slated to get \$48 billion next year and will hit the \$60 billion target in 2001."</P>

<P> "We've made tremendous progress," he says. "When I first came to this job, no one thought we would be able to restore modernization to that point and do the other things we needed to do. So I'm very proud of the QDR and the willingness of the administration to fund it."</P>

<P> Ralston now is comfortable that future defense budgets not only will relieve near-term shortages in spare parts and personnel but "ensure our long-term readiness as well. Three years ago I couldn't say that." The QDR, which ordered deeper cuts in force structure in order to fund weapons modernization, "went a long way toward getting things back into balance," Ralston says.</P>

<P> Ralston, a command pilot who flew 147 combat missions during the Vietnam War, will complete his second term as vice chairman next February. So what's next for a 33-year veteran who has had a high-impact, low-profile role in shaping the U.S. military for the 21st century?</P>

<P> "I have no plans whatsoever."</P>

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<P>Wall Street Journal

May 26, 1999

Pg. B13A</P>

<P>Army Scratches Antimissile Test For Target Failure</P>

<P>WHITE SANDS MISSILE RANGE, N.M. (AP) - The Army scratched yesterday's test flight of an antimissile missile because of a problem with the missile that was to serve as its target.</P>

<P>It was not immediately known what the problem was, said Jim Eckles, a White Sands Missile Range spokesman.</P>

<P>A Hera target missile -- a modified Minuteman 2 -- was fired from a site nor

th of the range yesterday morning, but soon developed problems and the test was aborted. The Army had planned to launch a Theater High-Altitude Area Defense missile to knock the target missile out of the sky.</P>

<P>Mr. Eckles said he did not know when another test might be scheduled.</P>

<P>The THAAD missile had failed in six previous flights to hit flying targets. The system has cost at least \$3.8 billion.</P>

<P>The Pentagon charged Lockheed Martin Corp., maker of the antimissile system, a \$15 million penalty for not achieving a hit during a March 29 test as required by its \$15 billion contract.</P>

<P>Because the missile has repeatedly failed to hit its target, Congress revised its contract with Lockheed Martin last June, making the company financially liable for any misses.</P>

<P>Lockheed will have to achieve two successful hit-to-kill missile tests by June 30 or be penalized an additional \$20 million, according to the contract. In all, the company could face \$75 million in penalties by the end of 1999 if there are more failures.</P>

<P>Bob Hunt, spokesman for the Army's air and missile defense program in Huntsville, Ala., said he did not know whether Lockheed Martin would be granted an extension if it was determined that the Hera problem was not the company's fault.</P>

<P>The THAAD is designed to strike enemy missiles fired from at least 800 miles away -- the kinds of weapons nations such as Iran, North Korea and Pakistan are developing, raising the threat to U.S. troops and allies overseas.</P>

<P>In addition to the test in March, there were four THAAD missile-flight tests in 1995, two in 1996 and one each in 1997 and 1998. The first three of the nine tests were not designed to hit flying targets. They tested such things as the missile's navigation and control and were considered successful, Mr. Hunt said.</P>

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<P>Boston Globe

May 25, 1999

Pg. 12</P>

<U><P>CRISIS IN KOSOVO </P>

</U><P>Apache Pilots Practice In Case Of Real Thing</P>

<P>By Lynda Gorov, Globe Staff</P>

<P> RINAS, Albania - Lieutenant Matthew B. Holloway, an Apache helicopter pilot with the earnest manners and easygoing grin of a war movie ace, doesn't know what it feels like to fire rockets at real people.</P>

<P> And with Washington and NATO still debating when, and even whether, to employ the lethal, low-flying Apaches against the Yugoslav Army in Kosovo, he's wondering if he'll go home without finding out.</P>

<P> But Holloway, 25, did know one thing yesterday: He wasn't planning to be up in time for breakfast this morning. He was scheduled to fly another training mission last night - just in case his ground-hugging, heavily armed aircraft ever does get sent into combat. With post-flight analysis and the possibility of another good video (the Vietnam classic "Deer Hunter" was Sunday's choice), he knew he might not get to bed until 3 a.m.</P>

<P> "We're busy, but we're not exactly in a hurry," Holloway said, only half-joking. "We wait for the mail. We wander around. We do whatever needs to be done."</P>

<P> Holloway and the other Army pilots' lives have been like that for nearly a month. Sent to Albania in the glare of publicity, they have been left to wait in the heat for a decision, along with everyone else. Just yesterday, NATO's supreme commander, General Wesley K. Clark was on the sprawling Rinas base saying that more live-fire exercises are necessary.</P>

<P> For now, the 24 Apaches mostly sit idle on a runway at the airport just outside the Albanian capital of Tirana, on farmland and property that has been leased or purchased by the military. Intended to strike close up at Serbian targets in Yugoslavia, unlike the high-flying Navy or Air Force planes, the Apache was initially heralded as the war machine to halt Serb-led Yugoslavia's war on the ethnic Albanians.</P>

<P> But the Pentagon and President Clinton appear reluctant to test the Apache's prowess in combat and put American lives at risk. Two Apaches have crashed in nighttime exercises in Albania, the last time killing two pilots. Holloway, who flew over Bosnia but has never directly engaged the enemy in combat, says he is in no hurry to find out how he and his aircraft would do in Serbian airspace.</P>

<P> "No one in the military is going to tell you they want to go into a sit

uation where they may get killed," he said. "But that's my job and I don't have any qualms about doing it. I don't want to shoot anyone. But I do want to make sure this is over as soon as possible."

As Holloway explained between running a pre-flight check - kicking the tires, he called it - and practicing a hop over to Belgrade on a flight simulator that resembles an advanced video game, each Apache is assigned two pilots. One sits in back and flies the chopper. The front-seater fires the rockets. Holloway is the one who sits up front and does the shooting, though only over water during training exercises.

Holloway, who grew up in Flint, Mich., was 17 when he went to a West Point. He went on to major in civil engineering and insisted that building bridges wouldn't bore him if he decided to put his degree to use after his Army stint ends.

For now, though, he owes the military at least 3 1/2 more years and, despite the boredom at the Rinas base, he said he has no complaints. Unlike some of her pilots and crew members who have expressed frustration at their stalled status, he even said he was having fun. He is, however, a bit envious of pilots from other NATO nations, who can drink liquor on base and go off-base for recreation - both taboo for the American military.

"I've always wanted to fly, ever since I went to my first air show," said Holloway, the grandson of a Navy pilot who flew in World War II as well as a ringer for Tom Cruise in the movie "Top Gun." "I'm getting to do what I want to do, and it really doesn't matter where it is."

Stationed in Germany when he isn't stuck on the ground outside Tirana, Holloway described days that might be maddening to someone unfamiliar with the small routines of military life. Grab a banana and orange after opting for sleep instead of breakfast; shower, shave, pick up the day's mission order. Attend a briefing, study satellite imagery, cache cookies from a buddy's care package from home, and so on.

The Apache pilots and ground crew members are using the down time to make sure the aircraft are in flawless working order and to improve their knowledge of what and whom they may be up against. During each training mission, Holloway said, he studies the terrain, notes previously unseen transmission wires, hovers over anything unfamiliar to take a closer look. By now, he has seen the entire Albanian coast and is conversant with local architectural styles.

"The pilots are constantly updating maps," said Captain Martin Downie, an Army spokesman and a Springfield, Mass., native. "Each time they go up, they're maximizing their knowledge and making it safer and safer for the day they have to fly" into enemy territory.

Holloway's regular helicopter is back in Germany, since the Army brought only half the Apaches stationed there. Fortunately, most of his friends from that relatively small base of 600 or so came, too. Now, he said, they keep one another company.

They also try to remember how much money they are saving, since they are living tax-free while all of their expenses are covered. Still, he'd rather re

turn to Germany.</P>

<P> "Last year, we got back in time for Oktoberfest in October, and I've got my fingers crossed now," Holloway said. "Just imagine it. Guys who have been stuck in Albania for four months. Guys who have had to go that long without beer." </P>

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<P>Defense Daily

May 26, 1999

Pg. 6</P>

<P>Apache Role In Kosovo Illustrates Cracks In Joint Doctrine</P>

<P>By David Atkinson and Hunter Keeter</P>

<P> More than a decade after the Pentagon set out to bolster cooperation between the military services, a string of Air Force e-mail messages blasting the Army's plans to use AH-64 attack helicopters in Kosovo illustrates the problems still inherent in forging the type of united armed forces needed as the nation prepares to enter the 21st century, according to retired and active military officers and analysts.</P>

<P> "The story here is that joint doctrine is a colossal failure," ; retired Air Force Col. Bob Gaskin, who served as the services doctrine chief, told Defense Daily yesterday. "We've been working on joint doctrine for 15 years. The question to ask is what progress has been made? Smashing if you ask the bureaucrats, a colossal failure if you ask the operators."</P>

<P> Since Congress adopted the Goldwater-Nichols Act of 1986, the Defense Department has compelled the military services to increase cooperation to generate balanced military forces devoid of the bitter interservice rivalry that for decades poisoned relations and threatened military success. In fact, in its lon

g-range plans the Pentagon is counting on seamless cooperation between the Army, Air Force, Marine Corps and Navy to ensure military superiority.</P>

<P> Considerable progress has been made in adopting common doctrine, improving interservice training, and developing a "joint mindset," on the surface giving the impression of harmony between the services. </P>

<P>Operationally, however, major differences remain which have are glaringly illustrated in a series of e-mail messages last month from an Air Force officer in Albania to Air Force doctrine chief Maj. Gen. Tim Kinnan. </P>

<P> "In recent exercises we have introduced joint tools, logic of joint integration and how to do it," the officer, who is assigned to work with the Army's Task Force Hawk in Albania, wrote Kinnan in late April. "The problem is it was probably too late [before] TF Hawk to make it an integral part of their operational mindset and mission planning procedures. We have the aviators drinking from a firehose but now they have no time for education and training, only execution...I have been working hard since I arrived in November to get the helos to work in the Joint world--they desperately need to integrate and are far from ready to do so."</P>

<P> The heart of the matter is the dissonance between the way each service trains and equips to fight and the mindsets that are instilled in warfighters by that experience; differences that joint doctrine was intended to solve. In a major combined arms operation such as the Persian Gulf War, the services were all involved and a generally cooperative atmosphere allowed them to gloss over the gaps between their doctrines. In Kosovo, however, the services face a new and unique challenge that has exposed the wide gaps that still exist between the services. </P>

<P> The Air Force is bearing the brunt of the effort in Kosovo, providing the majority of the combat forces involved. Because of the nature of the war--a constrained bombing campaign backed by the threat of ground troops only at some future date and at high political cost--the Air Force's combat procedures, which are shared largely by NATO air components, have reigned supreme thus far in the conflict.</P>

<P> That is challenged, however, by the introduction of the Boeing [BA] AH-64 Apache attack helicopters of Task Force Hawk, which were dispatched to Kosovo ostensibly to provide the kind of close, accurate fire support NATO claims to need to force Serbian police and army units out of not only their positions, but out of Kosovo, without use of allied ground troops.</P>

<P> Army doctrine, however, is struggling with using the Apaches in the absence of a ground maneuver force, which is currently lacking in the theater.</P>

<P> "Yes, V Corps has a DOCC [Deep Operations Coordination Cell] (that's where I'm working) and they are desperately trying to get the square peg in the round hole--use the same Army doctrinal deep operations procedures always used in support of the ground force scheme of maneuver," the officer explained in an April 21 e-mail to Kinnan. "As a matter of fact, it was only in the last exercise (Desert Victory) that [we] were able to convince Lt. Gen. [John] Hendrix, the Corps CC, to put his attack aviation on the ATO [Air Tasking

Order]."

The Apaches were put on the ATO for the first time under Task Force Hawk (Defense Daily, April 7). That delay illustrates how long it has taken for joint concepts to take hold. The Army views the ATO as a threat to battlefield initiative while the Air Force sees it as a living document, a ballet that controls the flow of battle of an air battle.

"The Air Force uses the ATO as their synchronization document. The Army writes their operational order based on a synchronization matrix to orchestrate in time and space when and what assets will be applied to an operation. Don't [the ATO and the Army's operational plan] seem rather similar?" one former senior Army aviation planner told Defense Daily. "[But] from the Army cultural perspective the Air Force tries to follow the ATO lock-step to achieve whatever mission they have."

Confused perceptions have left joint-minded officers scrambling to make the system work. Problems with molding the Apaches into the air campaign include an inability to integrate with support assets such as the Northrop Grumman [NOC] E-8 Joint Surveillance Attack Radar System, the Lockheed Martin [LMT] EC-130 Compass Call, jamming aircraft and Lockheed Martin F-16CJs equipped to defeat Serbian air defenses.

The problems go deeper than that sources said. Army mission simulators and planning equipment cannot easily include air campaign threats and support assets.

"What I'm saying is they do not have a good training tool to train and practice joint air integration--the CBS [Corps Battle Simulation] is good for tanks but not for aircraft," the Air Force officer in Albania wrote in an e-mail message.

"It's a sad indictment that down at the individual soldier and officer level, the Army does not have a training method that forces them to integrate the other chess pieces into their game besides the bag of pieces that they are already playing with," the Army aviation planner added.

The problems are enhanced, analysts said, by an Army doctrine which sees aviation in all forms as support for a ground force. That is the kind of mindset that joint doctrine was intended to overcome.

In Kosovo, however, the inactivity of Task Force Hawk in the last few weeks has illustrated how difficult it is to make headway against such a problem.

"Because there aren't any ground troops in Kosovo, the Apache is really not being used in a combined arms operation," the Army aviator said.

"One important mindset I've noticed, they demand to be the supported service--period," the Air Force officer told Kinnan in April. "This is the way it is and I don't see them changing their view."

Pentagon efforts to force the services into closer cooperation have not

penetrated these kinds of service doctrines.</P>

<P> "Everybody trains, organizes, and equips to their service doctrine , " Gaskin said. "When the services come to a war, they come with their service doctrines, not a joint doctrine. What Goldwater-Nichols did is give the CINCs the power to do what they need to make the plan work. He has the authority. The CINC has to put his foot down."</P>

<P> Those individual procedures have also left the Air Force less than satisfied with the Kosovo operation. The political constraints of working in a coalition environment have left some senior Air Force leaders critical of targeting decisions and the use of gradual escalation, rather than a powerful, sustained blow against the whole infrastructure of Yugoslavia envisioned in Air Force procedures.</P>

<P> Air Force planning efforts for Kosovo before the operation began exposed some of the problems the service would face, even without the problems of integrating Army aviation assets (Defense Daily, April 7).</P>

<P> "If you think it will be different or doctrinally pure...think again," according to a briefing given in early March on the initial Kosovo planning by Maj. Gen. Tom Hobbins, USAFE's director of operations at a doctrine conference at Maxwell AFB, Ala.</P>

<P> "Joint air doctrine was envisioned only for the theater war air assets of each service. No one has ever seriously envisioned including army aviation into a theater strategic air campaign, although doing so would be relatively easy if the mindset was there," Gaskin said.</P>

<P> Changing that mindset was the goal of the joint doctrine envisioned by Gaskin and others in the late 1980s. </P>

<P>Ten years later, the services have yet to come together completely and so Task Force Hawk, which has not conducted any offensive action in three weeks on station, is being left out because of that failure.</P>

<P> Joint doctrine officials at the Pentagon declined comment on the contents of the messages.</P>


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<P>Jane's Defence Weekly

May 26, 1999</P>

<P>UAVs Will Target Serb Bases With Lasers</P>

<P> As part of a classified effort initiated soon after the start of NATO's air war over Yugoslavia, the US Department of Defense plans to deploy to the Balkans additional Predator unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) capable for the first time of directing laser-guided bombs to their targets, Jane's Defence Weekly has learned.</P>

<P> The US Air Force's General Atomics-built Predator UAV has been operating in the theatre to provide surveillance of Serb troops and equipment in the disputed province of Kosovo and conduct battle damage assessments of the NATO strikes.</P>

<P> Within days, the Pentagon hopes to send at least three additional Predators to the region equipped with targeting lasers, according to sources.</P>

<P> "The UAVs will have laser targeting very soon," said a senior military officer involved in Operation 'Allied Force'.</P>

<P> According to an industry source, "less than six weeks ago" the USAF awarded a "quick reaction" contract to an unnamed company to equip several Predators with a targeting laser. "This wasn't planned," the source said. The service, under certain conditions such as an ongoing conflict, can award a contract without going through the normal bidding process.</P>

<P> The decision to upgrade the Predators, sources said, came when it became almost immediately clear that bad weather such as cloud cover was hampering NATO pilots' ability to designate targets themselves for their laser-guided bombs. This has resulted in numerous strike sorties being called off to avoid civilian casualties.</P>

<P> UAVs, including the Predator, the US Army's TRW-built Hunter, the German Army's Bombardier/Dornier CL-289, the French Army's SAGEM-manufactured Crecelette and the Italian Army's Meteor-built Mirach 26, have been heavily used in the ongoing conflict (JDW 14 April). At least three US UAVs have been lost, either from engine failure or hostile action, in addition to one French UAV and as many as four German CL-289s.</P>

<I><P>- Bryan Bender, JDW Bureau Chief</P></I>

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<P>Charleston (SC) Post and Courier

May 24, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Value Of C-17 Jets Proved In Balkans</P>

<P>By Terry Joyce, Of The Post and Courier</P>

<P> The air war over Yugoslavia is still going full-tilt, but one winner may already have emerged - the relatively new C-17 cargo jets flown by Charleston Air Force Base crews.</P>

<P> The C-17's reputation has become so enhanced that Boeing, the firm that builds the plane, sees a chance to sell 60 more of the huge jets beyond the current order of 120 planes.</P>

<P> Better yet, the company says, the Air Force would get the new planes at a bargain price - barely \$149 million a copy.</P>

<P> If \$149 million seems like a lot of money, think back eight years ago to when the first C-17 rolled out of the McDonnell-Douglas plant in Long Beach, Calif. The story was a lot different then.</P>

<P> Never mind that the early price tag on any military system includes a host of one-time start-up costs. The first batch of 40 C-17s cost taxpayers \$500 million each, a price so high it nearly killed the deal.</P>

<P> And there were production delays. The first plane slated for Charleston arrived on Flag Day, 1993, roughly 18 months later than first planned. The government at one point nearly threw in the towel.</P>

<P> President Bush's defense chief, Dick Cheney, cut the purchase order from 210 planes to 120. That move alone guaranteed a higher per-unit cost.</P>

<P> Two years later, Les Aspin, President Clinton's first Defense secretary, agreed to pay \$20 billion for the first 40 planes but not before issuing a public rebuke to McDonnell-Douglas: Get the program back on track or else.</P>

<P> Work on the C-17 did improve. McDonnell-Douglas hired new managers and boosted production. The company also merged with Boeing, adding financial strength and experience.</P>

<P> Within three years, the price tag had been cut in half. At last reckoning, the cost had come down to about \$198 million a copy. And that was before the latest offer.</P>

<P> Cost, of course, isn't the reason the military likes the C-17. It's what the plane can do. And the cargo missions into Albania over the last several weeks seem tailor-made for the C-17.</P>

<P> Albania is the second "real world" test for the C-17. In 1995, Clinton ordered the Army into Bosnia, and much was made of the Army's problems in crossing a river in winter weather. It was C-17s that airlifted the bridges the Army needed to drive tanks into Bosnia.</P>

<P> And C-17s have been at the heart of the U.S. airlift into Tirana, Albania. This time, there was no overland trek. Every tank, truck and vehicle that has U.S. markings on it had to be flown in, and the C-17 was a key.</P>

<P> Only two U.S. airlifters - the C-17 or the venerable turbo-prop C-130 - could move cargo onto the postage-stamp-sized cargo ramp at Tirana at any given time. The C-17, with four times the load-carrying ability of a C-130, was clearly the airlifter of choice.</P>

<P> By mid-May, the 12 Charleston-based C-17s that had deployed to Europe in late March had flown more than 560 cargo missions, mainly for the Army's Apache helicopter deployment.</P>

<P> Moreover, nearly all the missions were flown on time. For instance, the Air Force used to brag about its high rate of on-time departures from "home stations" - such as Charleston - but said little about the on-time rate of its planes operating from en-route bases after they left home.</P>

<P> But this time, the Air Force claimed a departure reliability rate of 96.8 percent for the C-17s that were operating out of Ramstein Air Base, Germany. That rate's almost unheard of, especially for an en-route station like Ramstein.</P>

<P> According to one officer, the toughest problem Air Force maintenance crews faced for C-17s flying in and out of Albania were tire cuts caused by the crumbling ramp and runway surfaces at Tirana. The planes themselves performed remarkably well.</P>

<P> None of this means perfection; indeed, the C-17 still has some problems.</P>

<P> For instance, the Air Force still is running tests to determine the best formation a large number of C-17s should use for dropping paratroopers. The problem? Under some circumstances, troopers seem to run a greater risk of colliding in midair after they've jumped from a formation of C-17s.</P>

<P> Also, the plane's range is less than that of the older C-141s it is replacing.

eplacing.</P>

<P> Boeing has an answer for that problem - extended range tanks. The last 50 C-17s on the current 120-plane order will come with tanks holding an extra 67,000 pounds of fuel. That's a substantial boost over the plane's current maximum fuel load of 182,000 pounds.</P>

<P> The C-17's final testimonial may come from Britain's Royal Air Force.</P>

<P> The RAF is considering the purchase or lease of four airlifters with the capability shown by the C-17. That service currently relies on the much smaller C-130.</P>

<P> Boeing still would have to beat out the competition, in this case, a European consortium that builds the Airbus. But if the C-17 is selected, it would be the first major allied purchase of a U.S.-built heavy strategic airlifter since the 1940s. </P>

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<P>Washington Post

May 26, 1999

Pg. 25</P>

<P>NATO To Send 20,000 More Troops To Albania, Macedonia</P>

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

<P> BRUSSELS, May 25The NATO allies approved plans today to send more than 20,000 additional troops to Macedonia and Albania as part of a peacekeeping force that will await orders to move into Kosovo and help ethnic Albanian refugees return to their homeland.</P>

<P> The additional troops will bring the number of allied soldiers in

the area to nearly 50,000 within weeks, and would make it easier to launch an invasion of Kosovo if Russia's mediation efforts collapse and NATO's bombing campaign -- now entering its third month -- fails to dislodge more than 40,000 Yugoslav forces hunkered down in Kosovo.</P>

<P> While the allies say their soldiers will enter the rebellious Serbian province only to enforce a peacekeeping mandate, NATO's top political and military leaders have sought recently to foster ambiguity about the force's eventual mission in an effort to increase military and psychological pressure on Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic.</P>

<P> "All options remain open," said NATO Secretary General Javier Solana. "We are taking nothing off the table."</P>

<P> NATO would have to send still more troops, though, to mount a ground invasion. Estimates have ranged from a total of 75,000 to seize Kosovo alone, to 200,000 to occupy all of Serbia, the dominant republic in the Yugoslav federation.</P>

<P> NATO's decision came as aid agencies in Macedonia coped with a new surge of refugees. In the largest such influx since early this month, about 25,000 refugees have streamed into Macedonia in the last four days, raising fears that Serbian forces may have embarked on a new effort to force ethnic Albanians from Kosovo.</P>

<P> The New York-based International Rescue Committee will soon begin airdrops of food to displaced ethnic Albanians stranded inside the separatist province, diplomatic sources in Washington said.</P>

<P> Alliance warplanes kept up their attacks on Yugoslavia today, hitting Milosevic's villa just west of Belgrade for the third time as well as military barracks, fuel depots and television and radio relay stations. State-run media reported that a 5-year-old boy was wounded when NATO aircraft attacked Vucitrn, about 12 miles northwest of Pristina, Kosovo's provincial capital.</P>

<P> NATO officials said there are now about 14,000 troops deployed in Macedonia and 8,000 in Albania, where they have been helping care for nearly 80,000 refugees who have streamed out of Kosovo seeking safe haven in two of Europe's poorest countries.</P>

<P> The rapid expansion in allied ground troops along Kosovo's borders was requested two weeks ago by NATO's chief military commander, Gen. Wesley K. Clark, for the ostensible purpose of coping with the enormous logistical and resettlement tasks that will confront them if and when they enter territory that has been devastated by Serbian forces and NATO bombing raids.</P>

<P> But by raising the size of their ground forces to between 45,000 and 50,000, NATO spokesman Jamie Shea said, the allies want to ensure their contingent would have "big, sharp teeth" that could deal with any military challenge posed by the Yugoslav soldiers and paramilitary police in Kosovo.</P>

<P> Britain has been the leading advocate of boosting the alliance's ground presence so NATO troops would be in a position to enter Kosovo even without the consent of the Belgrade government, once Yugoslav forces have been suffi

ciently battered by NATO bombing.</P>

<P> Germany, Greece and Italy have objected to any consideration that the alliance might dispatch an invasion force into Yugoslav territory without permission from the Belgrade government or the U.N. Security Council.</P>

<P> In Washington today, Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright explained the increase in troops deployed in Albania and Macedonia as "planning for success" -- a phrase also used by Pentagon spokesman Kenneth Bacon and, on Friday, by British Defense Secretary George Robertson.</P>

<P> After meeting with German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer, Albright said such planning refers to the "preparations we are making to enable an effective international force to enter Kosovo when the conditions are right."</P>

<P> But many on Capitol Hill do not share the administration's confidence that NATO bombing will force Milosevic to knuckle under. Today, 26 members of Congress filed a motion in U.S. District Court to halt the U.S. role in the bombing campaign. They alleged that the 60-day period given the president under the War Powers Act of 1973 to engage U.S. troops in hostilities without congressional approval had expired.</P>

<P> "Our troops are in a state of war in Kosovo. To say anything else is sophistry," said Rep. Tom Campbell (R-Calif).</P>

<P> An official said the Clinton administration does not accept the constitutionality of the War Powers Act. President Clinton has largely avoided using the word "war" to describe the air campaign, which has involved raids by hundreds of U.S. warplanes over the past 63 days.</P>

<P> NATO military sources said Clark has insisted the alliance must be prepared for all possible military options if it hopes to ensure that the refugees start returning home before the first snows signal the arrival of winter in October. In that case, a decision to send in ground troops would be necessary no later than July.</P>

<P> Even if NATO governments remain split over the wisdom of a ground invasion in the future, the expansion of NATO's troop presence will serve a useful purpose if it intimidates Milosevic into bending toward accepting NATO's basic conditions for a settlement: the withdrawal of Serbian troops from Kosovo, the safe return of all refugees and the acceptance of an international security presence with NATO troops at its core.</P>

<P> NATO military sources said Clark has urged the alliance's 19 members to consider providing minesweeping teams to clear entry points booby-trapped by Serbian forces, construction engineers to help rebuild roads and infrastructure specialists to restore power, heat and electricity in the province so refugees can go home as quickly as possible.</P>

<P> NATO ambassadors, who approved the request presented by the alliance's military committee, are expected to hold further discussions next week to determine the distribution of additional tasks and soldiers. The United States, which now has about 4,500 troops in Albania, is expected to raise its share to

7,000.</P>

<P> With Britain, France and other allies already stretched by troop commitments in the Balkans and elsewhere, alliance military sources predicted there could be serious disputes over who should bear what share of the burden in bolstering the capabilities of the proposed Kosovo peacekeeping force, or KFOR.</P>

<P> Meanwhile, the new surge of refugees into Macedonia has strained already crowded camps and raised fears about the country's stability. Many of the arriving refugees told of food shortages in Kosovo and Serbian soldiers who robbed them and set villages on fire. The 4,000 who crossed the border by midnight tonight were among 10,000 who arrived Monday by trains and buses but did not make it across. One refugee said that several people were severely ill during the night, including a woman and two children who died.</P>

<P> What none of the refugees could say was how many more were behind them in line or whether any additional trains or buses arrived on the Kosovo side of the border today. However, relief workers at the border said they were told by Macedonian officials that as many as 10,000 people could be lined up on the Kosovo side waiting to cross.</P>

<P> Refugees arriving from Pristina, Kosovo's capital, told of police and soldiers moving through parts of the city block by block, and those arriving on trains told of station platforms crowded with thousands of people.</P>

<P> To cope with the influx, aid workers in Macedonia were scrambling to expand refugee camps and negotiating with the Macedonian government for permission to open two more sites that could accommodate another 15,000 people.</P>

<P> "The squeeze is really on," said Ron Redmond, spokesman for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees.</P>

<I><P> Staff writer Steven Mufson contributed to this report from Washington; staff writer David Finkel contributed from Macedonia.</P></I>

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<P>New York Times

May 26, 1999</P>

<P>NATO Says Bombs Hit Villa Used By Milosevic And Staff</P>

<P>By Elizabeth Becker</P>

<P> WASHINGTON -- With allied officials describing the Yugoslav air defense system as increasingly crippled, NATO planes bombed several targets overnight, including the villa and compound outside Belgrade, the capital, that is a head quarters of Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic and his leadership, Pentagon and NATO officials said. </P>

<P> NATO jets also hit the Sabac engineering depot in Serbia, the equivalent of the Army Corps of Engineers, the Pentagon added. </P>

<P> A one-ton bomb hit the presidential compound at Dobanovci, which houses a command center for the Yugoslav war effort in Kosovo, and an underground bunker designed to protect the senior leadership, said Maj. Gen. Charles Wald of the Air Force. </P>

<P> "A penetrating bomb hit that last night, and we know it was struck," said Wald, who showed a photograph of the strike and a videotape taken from the plane. "We're not sure if the capability has been destroyed. But it was hit exactly where they wanted to hit it." </P>

<P> The Sabac depot has been critical for Yugoslavia's repairing and replacement of bridges destroyed in more than two months of bombing. The compound has buildings to store equipment and construction and repair areas. </P>

<P> Poor weather continued to hamper many missions on Monday and Tuesday, the allies said, with fighters and bombers hitting 21 targets. Those included Yugoslav troops in Kosovo, airfields in Serbia, electrical plants and the Internal Affairs Ministry, according to Pentagon and NATO officials. </P>

<P> Of particular importance, Wald said, was a successful strike against an early-warning radar in Montenegro that is a crucial part of Yugoslav air defenses. </P>

<P> Pointing to photographic evidence that a NATO fighter had struck the radar, Wald described the attack on the "flat-faced radar in Montenegro one of the most important radars they've had for the early warning of the aircraft coming and going from the coast." </P>

<P> As the weather improved throughout the day, NATO planners scheduled hundreds of sorties over Serbia and its province of Kosovo. </P>

<P> NATO planes continued bombing through Tuesday evening, hitting Yugoslav barracks, ammunition depots and Yugoslav forces in the field, as well as tanks and artillery, a Pentagon official said. NATO plans also called for attacks on air defenses. </P>

<P> The Pentagon continued to defend the NATO decision this month to attack the electricity complexes across Serbia. Since Sunday evening, sections of Belgrade and other cities have been without electricity, as well as without water, because electricity powers the water pumps. </P>

<P> Military and human rights critics have questioned attacking the electricity plants, saying any military benefit is outweighed by the disruption to Serbs' daily lives. </P>

<P> At the Pentagon, a spokesman for the Defense Department, Kenneth Bacon, said NATO was attacking the electrical plants for the reason that it had bombed Yugoslav fuel supplies. </P>

<P> "Modern militaries cannot run for long without oil, gas and electricity, and this is a way to cut down their ability to operate and to weaken the military further until Milosevic decides that he's had enough," Bacon said. </P>

<P> Bacon also disputed contentions that NATO was causing blackouts in Belgrade and much of the rest of Yugoslavia to create civilian dissatisfaction and increase pressure on Milosevic to end the war.</P>

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<P>New York Times

May 26, 1999</P>

<P>German Pegs Quick Peace To The Role Of Russians</P>

<P>By Jane Perlez</P>

<P> WASHINGTON -- German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer said here on Tuesday that Germany was counting on a diplomatic outcome to the war in Kosovo, with the backing of Russia, in the next several weeks. </P>

<P> Echoing strong statements by the German Chancellor, Gerhard Schröder

er, Fischer stressed that Germany opposed NATO forces entering Kosovo unless a settlement was first reached with President Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia. </P>

<P> Germany supported a NATO plan approved today to enlarge a security force outside Kosovo to about 50,000. But Germany insisted that the force be deployed to escort Kosovar Albanian refugees back to their homes in the wake of a political settlement, not as any kind of invasion force, he said. </P>

<P> Fischer -- the second NATO foreign minister in less than a week who felt the need to personally explain his point of view to the State Department -- expressed the strong hope that a solution would be ready by June 18, when the Group of Seven industrialized nations and Russia meet in Cologne, Germany. President Clinton and the Russian President, Boris N. Yeltsin, will attend along with other leaders. </P>

<P> By that time, Fischer said, Germany would like to have a Security Council resolution endorsing the expanded security force that NATO's 19 ambassadors approved Tuesday in Brussels. </P>

<P> "We are in a very decisive situation of the conflict because within the next two weeks, we will see whether we get a political solution or not," Fischer told reporters at a breakfast meeting at the German Embassy. "In the next two weeks, we will know whether we are successful at the Security Council." </P>

<P> But to achieve this rapid timetable, Fischer acknowledged, Russia would have to agree to the NATO force without the acquiescence of Milosevic, a scenario that Clinton Administration officials believe to be desirable, but a long shot. China is another possible obstacle at the Security Council, because diplomats say it may delay passage of the resolution. </P>

<P> Fischer cited constitutional and political reasons for Germany's opposition to the use of an invading ground force. It would not be possible to get the parliamentary vote necessary to overcome the constitutional barriers to ground forces, he said. </P>

<P> Further, the Christian Democrats, the party of former Chancellor Helmut Kohl, has accused the current "Red-Green" coalition of being too pro-NATO. The party has said it would oppose a ground war. </P>

<P> German public support for the war has declined, according to one recent poll, to 51 percent from 61 percent last month. </P>

<P> In contrast, French public opinion has remained solidly behind the air strikes, with about 70 percent support. Opinion polls in France show that about 60 percent of the public support the use of combat troops, if NATO deems them necessary. </P>

<P> Fischer's remarks Tuesday morning, and later as he stood beside Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright before a State Department lunch, were in contrast to those of Foreign Secretary Robin Cook of Britain, who came here last Friday. </P>

<P> Cook said the NATO security force had to be prepared to go into Kosovo without a formal agreement with Milosevic. </P>

<P> The Greek Foreign Minister, George Papandreou, whose Government faces a almost total opposition to the NATO air strikes from the Greek public, is due here this week, as well. </P>

<P> If a diplomatic solution envisioned along the lines he outlined failed to materialize, Fischer said, this would be a "new situation" requiring more discussion within NATO and requiring "a new decision." </P>

<P> Strobe Talbott, the Deputy Secretary of State, arrived in Moscow Tuesday for a resumption of talks with the Russian envoy to the Balkans, Viktor S. Chernomyrdin. But the outlook for closing the wide gaps between the NATO position and that of Moscow on a Kosovo agreement did not appear promising. </P>

<P> Clinton Administration officials said there was little cohesion in the Government of the new Prime Minister, Sergei V. Stepashin, on the Kosovo question. Chernomyrdin, an appointee of Yeltsin, was essentially opposed by the new Government, including Foreign Minister Igor S. Ivanov. </P>

<P> Russian public opinion and sentiment in the Duma is strongly pro-Serbian and anti-NATO. Further inflaming the situation is the fact that an expanded NATO -- an expansion that Russia opposed -- is bombing a fellow-Slav nation. </P>

<P> Russia continues to demand that NATO stop the bombing before Milosevic is required to pull out any troops from Kosovo, the obverse position to one of NATO's five demands on how to end the war. </P>

<P> "Unfortunately, it is premature to speak of any progress" in the talks on Kosovo, Ivanov said Tuesday. </P>

<P> Talbott, who spent days in Moscow last week, will be concentrating on the composition of the security force, which NATO insists be an operation with NATO command and control. </P>

<P> The Russians are insisting that the force have a higher concentration of troops under United Nations control rather than NATO control, officials said. So far, Milosevic has said he would only accept a United Nations presence comprising men with side arms. </P>

<P> Fischer, however, suggested that the Russians might decide to abandon Milosevic and side with the West. </P>

<P> "I think there is a possibility where the Russians say to Milosevic: 'We can't help you anymore,'" he said. The Russians, he said, did not have a lasting interest in having their relationship with the West sidelined by the Kosovo war. </P>

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<P>European Stars And Stripes

May 26, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Building Of Camps Off Schedule</P>

<I><P>Pressure mounts as refugee numbers rise</P>

</I><P>By Cory Lancaster, Staff Writer</P>

<P> FIER, Albania As pressure mounts to relocate Kosovo refugees from northern Albania, the United States is finding itself behind schedule and facing obstacles in opening three refugee camps in this southern coastal region.</P>

<P> The first U.S.-built camp, Camp Hope, was supposed to accommodate 20,000 refugees by June 1, but is several weeks behind schedule. The camp filled its first 2,500 beds in nine days and began accepting more refugees Tuesday after turning them away for four days.</P>

<P> Construction on the other two camps has yet to begin.</P>

<P> Aid groups, NATO and the Albanian government are trying to move 100,000 refugees away from overcrowded Kukes near the Albania-Yugoslavia border because of concerns about Serbian artillery fire and overburdening of the local water supply.</P>

<P> Many of those refugees would be sent 11 hours south by train and bus to the three U.S. camps under development here. But despite an intense effort by the U.S. military and civilian contractors, progress has been slow.</P>

<P> Camp Hope fell behind schedule because the site needed more gravel and fill dirt than originally expected to make sure it drained properly in Albania's frequent rain storms, said Army Col. Carol Miller.</P>

<P> Gravel deliveries take time given Albanians notoriously poor roads, which become more rutted every day under the weight of so many trucks.</P>

<P> Workers still are working on a permanent water supply for the camp, and until one is in place, probably in early June, camp capacity will be limited.</P>

<P> A stream runs near the camp, but its badly polluted with raw sewage and petroleum from nearby refineries.</P>

<P> Workers are trying to drill a deep-water well or they may have to lay a bout 10 miles of pipe to bring in water.</P>

<P> Currently, water for up to 5,000 refugees is being trucked in from Fier, a few miles away.</P>

<P> With the setbacks, military officials now project Camp Hope will house 17,500 refugees by mid-June and expand to its intended 20,000 refugees sometime after that.</P>

<P> A proposed site for the second site, Camp Eagle, has been found an hour east of here, outside Roskovec. But the site also may need extensive engineering work to ensure good drainage and would take almost three months to complete for 10,000 to 15,000 refugees. </P>

<P> Joint Task Force Shining Hope, the U.S.-led humanitarian aid effort, will decide in coming days whether to start construction on the site. The land, provided courtesy of the Albania government, isnt ideal, but with the pressure to relocate refugees from the north, it may have to do.</P>

<P> "Unfortunately, theres no other free land," said U.S. Marine Brig. Gen. Samuel Helland, deputy commander of Shining Hope, who toured the site Monday. "Thats it. Public land is so hard to come by."</P>

<P> Added Camp Hopes Miller: "Were late in the camp building. A lot of prime real estate has been selected already" by other countries, which have built more than 30 refugees camps in Albania for an estimated 430,000 refugees.</P>

<P> The military has looked at leasing more suitable land from private land owners, but, so far, has sought publicly owned land, which doesnt require contracts and fees.</P>

<P> The search is on for land for the third camp, Camp Liberty, in the same region because the area is considered ideal due to its milder winters. Rarely does it freeze here. Even still, the military has plans to fortify the tent cities for winter putting down wood floors, using lined tents and making room for stoves inside.</P>

<P> The three camps would be the only U.S.-built ones in Albania or Macedonia. Civil contractors are building the camps costing about \$48 million each, and have hired 400 Albanians for much of the work at Camp Hope.</P>

<P> Because of that, local officials have welcomed the camps and the economic boon they will bring. Albanians can earn in a day up to \$75 what they once earned in a month. And with the official unemployment rate at 28 percent, many are thankful to find work at all.</P>

<P> Once the camps are built, they are turned over to the relief agency CARE International to operate. U.S. Marines from the amphibious assault ship Kearsage, just off the Albanian coast, are providing security during construction and then will be replaced by a private security force.</P>

<P> Also working at Camp Hope are a dozen members from the Army's 96th Civil Affairs Brigade based in Fort Bragg, N.C., and from U.S. Air Forces in Europe civil engineer units from bases in Germany and the United Kingdom.</P>

<P> Helland acknowledged that camp building hasn't gone as smoothly as hoped. The problems are unavoidable given that infrastructure, drainage, water lines and sanitation needs must be built for 20,000 in remote fields that have one bumpy dirt road for as many as 200 trucks a day.</P>

<P> "It's got to be done well," Helland said. "Anyone can throw up a bunch of tents in a big, open area. If you walk around, you'll find some places in Albania where camps were started and now abandoned because they didn't put in the infrastructure to support them. You have to do it right to begin with."</P>

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<P>New York Times

May 26, 1999</P>

<P>NATO TV Is Sent To Serbs, Who Are Harsh Critics</P>

<P>By Carlotta Gall</P>

<P> BELGRADE, Yugoslavia -- The picture is grainy, the sound poor, but if people here really want to, and if they have electricity, they can tune into NATO TV, beamed into Serbia on Channel 21 every evening from an American Hercules plane. </P>

<P> A colored map of Yugoslavia appears on the screen, and alongside it, th

e NATO logo. "The Voice of NATO," it reads. Cheerful pop music plays in the background. </P>

<P> "How can they play cheerful music when they are bombing us," one of a group of Serbian college students watching said angrily the other day. The students had gathered to watch the video, taped by a friend, since few of them have managed to tune into NATO TV themselves. </P>

<P> NATO's broadcasts, apparently aimed at countering the Serbian government's monopoly on television news and information, are falling pretty flat. They are difficult to find in the first place and seem to arouse more irritation than a positive response. Serbian citizens, already fed up with NATO bombs, are in no mood to listen to NATO's point of view. </P>

<P> The students were willing enough to come to see the broadcast. But within seconds, they tore into the program with hostile, and sometimes humorous, criticism for its style and content. "I am being bombed so I do not appreciate their lies," said Jelena, a biology student. </P>

<P> The others began discussing the accent of the announcer, picking up his pronunciation mistakes and trying to figure out where he was from. Was he a Croat, they wondered, or was an emigre Serb brought up in the West? They mimicked the next speaker, who had a strong foreign accent -- probably American, they said, or was he French? </P>

<P> They barely listened to the first item, a message to the people of Yugoslavia from the NATO secretary-general, Javier Solana, saying the intervention was not aimed against the people of Serbia but against President Slobodan Milosevic. They had heard it all before, they said. </P>

<P> "This is your station for news and information," the announcer said. He began reading reports from the world's press about the Chinese Embassy bombing. "Only certain papers do not believe it was a mistake, namely Serbian, Chinese and Korean papers," he went on. </P>

<P> The students groaned as he read comments from European papers. "This is the same as our television," Jelena said. "They are quoting foreign newspapers, but they are choosing what they like to choose." </P>

<P> People in Serbia are used to hearing government propaganda, and so they are particularly sensitive about having opinions thrust upon them, said Marija, an architectural student. "When you are used to not believing, you know what is the truth and what they are trying to push on you," she said. </P>

<P> The announcer moved on to read Western news agency reports of the news of the day, saying the program would now show pictures from Kosovo and the refugee camps in Albania and Macedonia. The pictures never appeared, though, and the same pink, yellow and blue map of Yugoslavia sat on the screen. </P>

<P> "This is boring and badly done -- it is miserable," Marija said. </P>

<P> Djordje, a mechanical engineering student at Belgrade University, said: "I cannot understand how such an organization with so many analysts and brains can transmit something like this to Serbs. They should at least broadcast our

folk music. It is completely unconvincing." </P>

<P> NATO TV probably could not hope for an impartial viewing from Serbs while its parent organization continues to bomb their country. The fliers NATO has dropped from planes over the city in recent weeks have not been much of a hit either. They are well designed and understated, but the students were quick to find fault. NATO has again failed to understand the Serbian mentality, they said. </P>

<P> One flier says Milosevic has betrayed his people in embarking on wars in Croatia and Bosnia that led to the loss of Serbian lands. Serbs see it differently, they said. Most Serbs see his betrayal in the signing of the Dayton peace accords, which ended the fighting there. </P>

<P> For all their sophistication, and their access to the Internet and satellite television, the Belgrade students apparently are susceptible to government propaganda and often repeat its arguments. They know it themselves, but when faced with NATO propaganda, they say they prefer their own. </P>

<P> "We hate Milosevic, but at least he's ours," Jelena said. </P>

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<P>European Stars And Stripes

May 26, 1999

Pg. 4</P>

<P>NATO Exercise May Be Dry Run</P>

<I><P>Cooperative Guard Begins</P>

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

<P> MONS, Belgium Overshadowed by the air war in Yugoslavia, a NATO exercise that started this week in the Czech Republic may be a dry run for deployment

of a multinational peacekeeping force in Kosovo.</P>

<P> Cooperative Guard 99 is a North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Partnership for Peace exercise that will try to maximize the alliances command and control flexibility in a fictitious peacekeeping operation.</P>

<P> In the planning stages for 18 months, the exercise in Vyskov, Czech Republic, has no direct relation to the events in Yugoslavia, said Cmdr. Per Jonsson of the Danish navy.</P>

<P> "It's a coincidence," said Jonsson, the chief spokesman for the exercise.</P>

<P> But Jonsson said the exercise could help in the case of a possible peacekeeping mission involving many countries in a joint task force headquarters. The exercise involves militaries from 14 NATO member nations, 12 nations in Partnership for Peace—a cooperative military relationship between NATO and nonmember countries—and the Eurocorps, a multinational army composed of troops from five European countries that are also NATO members.</P>

<P> "We are exercising in a multinational setting just to be better," Jonsson said about the exercise that is being conducted by NATO's Allied Forces Central Europe based in Brunssum, Netherlands. AFCENT is a major subordinate command that is responsible to the supreme allied commander Europe, U.S. Gen. Wesley K. Clark.</P>

<P> In the exercise, 2,000 military personnel from 26 countries will train to improve their ability to work together. The exercise involves a simulated geopolitical scenario that deals with a United Nations-mandated, NATO-led peacekeeping operation outside the alliances area of operations.</P>

<P> The exercise parallels a report in Tuesday's London Times, which said NATO is to ask non-member countries to contribute troops to the peacekeeping force needed to secure Kosovo so that ethnic Albanian refugees can return to the Serbian province.</P>

<P> One NATO diplomat said exercises such as Cooperative Guard 99 help the alliance rely on partner countries when they need them for a peacekeeping situation. "NATO gets a broader base out of it," the diplomat said on the condition of anonymity. "So it (the exercise) is intended to build more of reliance on our partner countries."</P>

<P> But what might become the practice session for a Kosovo peacekeeping mission was nearly canceled because of NATO's focus on the air war in Yugoslavia, Jonsson said. He said the alliance went ahead with it because it is the first exercise conducted in the Czech Republic after it became a NATO member in March.</P>

<P> "It was important to a new member to hold it because so much planning went into the exercise. To cancel it would have been a disaster."</P>

<P> The exercise is the first time the Eurocorps falls under NATO command. The Eurocorps is an attempt by NATO's European members to create an identity with

hin the alliance and take on missions declined by the United States. When conducting those missions, the United States would loan the Eurocorps equipment and provide intelligence.

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Wall Street Journal

May 26, 1999

Pg. 17

Belgrade Strikes At Dissidents Amid Calls To End The War

By Robert Block and Carla Anne Robbins, Staff Reporters of The Wall Street Journal

Yugoslavia's military and political leadership, battered by widening North Atlantic Treaty Organization airstrikes and nervous about growing signs of public fatigue, is clamping down on dissent against the war and ratcheting up its rhetoric of defiance against the West.

The Yugoslav army Tuesday threatened to court-martial army reservists who refuse to serve in Kosovo, banned antiwar demonstrations in parts of central Serbia, and arrested and fined six antiwar activists from the town of Cacak for taking part in an "illegal movement."

The clampdown came as NATO signaled its own resolve to carry on the fight, approving a plan that would quickly deploy up to 50,000 peacekeepers to Kosovo's borders.

Britain, the most hawkish member of the alliance, is expected to announce Wednesday that it will send some 18,000 troops to form the core of the new peacekeeping force, in a move that would nearly triple the British presence in the region.

<P> Beyond the psychological message to Belgrade, Britain's commitment is a n effort at pump-priming troop contributions from its allies. For now, U.S. off icials say they expect to contribute around 7,000 troops, and there are questio ns about whether NATO can meet its 50,000-member target or quick-deployment sch edule.</P>

<P> There are questions, too, on Capitol Hill. During debate on a defense b ill Tuesday night, the Senate only narrowly tabled an amendment that would have barred the president from deploying U.S. ground troops in Kosovo without prior congressional authorization. Late votes by Democrats as time was running out o n the motion were decisive, but Minority Leader Tom Daschle of South Dakota had to struggle to hold his party in line.</P>

<P> Belgrade's hardening stance comes amid new pessimism that Yugoslav Pres ident Slobodan Milosevic can find a face-saving way out of the war. It's becomi ng increasingly clear to Serbs that NATO won't compromise over its demands for a Serb troop pullback from Kosovo and the deployment of a NATO-led peacekeeping force in the province.</P>

<P> In a rare public appearance, Maj. Gen. Vladimir Lazarevic, the commande r of the Yugoslav Army's Pristina Corps, told Serbian television Tuesday that Y ugoslavia had "a historic chance for a glorious victory over the greatest power in the world" despite being in the worst situation in its history.</P>

<P> 'Regime Is Getting Tougher'</P>

<P> Diplomats in Yugoslavia say Belgrade seems to be preparing for at l east three more months of war. "As the bombing gets harder, the regime is getti ng tougher. NATO is only pushing the government to suicide," one diplomat said. </P>

<P> Western diplomats from countries sympathetic to Yugoslavia believe the situation is much worse than Yugoslav officials admit. They also say Mr. Milose vic and his inner circle are increasingly nervous.</P>

<P> NATO attacks Monday left large areas of the country without electricity and created a shortage of water, which is delivered by electric pumps. A third of Belgrade received only intermittent water service. Earlier strikes on the e lectric grid used "soft bombs" made of carbon filaments to temporarily halt pow er; the latest strikes destroyed transmission stations and will be harder to re pair. NATO isn't bombing power-generating plants, which could take months to re pair.</P>

<P> Late Monday and early Tuesday, NATO hit targets across the region, incl uding the Batajnica military airfield and a weapons depot built into Strazevica hill near the Belgrade suburb of Rakovica. Media reports said two or three mis siles hit the Serbian interior ministry, which was gutted in earlier raids. NAT O warplanes attacked for the third time one of Mr. Milesovic's homes on the out skirts of Belgrade. Pentagon officials said it was unknown whether Mr. Milosevi c or any of his family were there at the time.</P>

<P> NATO also approved a modest "visit and search" regime aimed at deterrin g oil shipments by sea into Yugoslavia. Far less vigorous than the embargo prop osed by NATO military commander Gen. Wesley Clark, the approach is binding on s

hips from NATO nations, but voluntary for others, a Pentagon official said.</P>

<P> Protests sprang up in parts of central and southern Serbia last week after the bodies of local soldiers were brought back from Kosovo. The Cacak peace movement emerged last week when town mayor Velimir Ilic, a longtime critic of Mr. Milosevic, inaugurated the Civil Parliament, an ad hoc body of about 100 supporters. They called for an end to the NATO air attacks and the return of all ethnic-Albanian Kosovar refugees to their homes. Mr. Ilic has been in hiding for days.</P>

<P> Reservists Leave Units</P>

<P> Also last week, parents from the towns of Krusevac and Aleksandrova c demanded that their sons and husbands serving in Kosovo be discharged and allowed to return home. Upon learning about the protests, hundreds of reservists from the region managed to leave their units and go home after negotiating a deal with their commanders. Military leaders then visited the area, about 112 miles south of Belgrade, and calmed the situation.</P>

<P> But the protests started again Sunday and Monday, when reservists were told to return to their units. Their grievances were met with a decree banning demonstrations and threatening deserters. People from Krusevac contacted by telephone said the town was calm Tuesday but didn't know whether men were obeying their call-up orders.</P>

<P> Diplomats say that in spite of the antiwar protests, they see little sign of any popular uprising against Mr. Milosevic while NATO continues its airstrikes.</P>

<P> NATO officials say they expect the air campaign to intensify over the next two weeks, as more planes are sent to the region and air bases in Hungary and Turkey are brought into use.</P>

<P> Inside the alliance, questions are growing about whether the air campaign or parallel diplomatic efforts will work. Tuesday's authorization of a larger peacekeeping force was intended in part to keep open the option of a ground combat force, should NATO decide to shift strategy.</P>

<P> In Washington, German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer praised Russia's efforts to help negotiate a settlement but also suggested NATO's patience has its limits. "You cannot go 10 times to Belgrade and say each time we must meet again," Mr. Fischer said. The remarks were particularly notable coming after Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder's warnings last week that he would block any alliance effort to invade Kosovo. Mr. Fischer also appeared to soften that line, telling reporters, "It's not a question of opposing. We cannot take part" in any invasion force.</P>

<I><P>Thomas E. Ricks in Washington contributed to this article.</P></I>

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<P>New York Times

May 26, 1999</P>

<P>A Refugee River, Dammed At The Border</P>

<P>By David Rohde</P>

<P> BLACE, Macedonia -- More than 4,500 ethnic Albanians fled into Macedonia on Tuesday, including hundreds of women from the town of Kacanik in southeastern Kosovo, many of whom accused Serbian forces of separating hundreds of fighting-age men from their group before expelling them. </P>

<P> Almost no men between the ages of 15 and 50 were among the group from Kacanik that arrived at a remote border crossing in the village of Jazince. The Kosovo Liberation Army, the separatist guerrilla force fighting for Kosovo's independence, has been active in villages around Kacanik. Serbian forces have been particularly brutal in areas with KLA activity, in some cases executing all the men of fighting age who they capture. A busload of refugees from Pristina who also arrived on Tuesday at Jazince reported that Serbian paramilitaries are continuing to terrorize and expel ethnic Albanians from the provincial capital, a once bustling, cafe-filled city of 250,000. </P>

<P> In the largest influx of refugees in three weeks, nearly 25,000 refugees, most of them from Pristina, have poured into Macedonia in the last five days, filling refugee camps to near capacity and exacerbating tension in Macedonia. </P>

<P> At the main border crossing here in the village of Blace, more than 3,000 refugees crossed the border on Tuesday and newly arriving refugees reported that there are thousands of other ethnic Albanians just behind them, aid workers said. Many of the people who crossed from Yugoslavia were members of a group of several thousand men, women and children from Pristina who had actually arrived at the other side of the border on Monday and spent a miserable night sleeping outside in drizzling rain, spread across roads and sidewalks. At least one elderly man died in the cold during the night, refugees said, and an elderly woman and two children died on a sweltering, overcrowded train from Pristina on Monday. </P>

<P> Exactly what was happening on the other side of the border in the town of Deneral Jankovic, a normally sleepy settlement of roughly 7,000 people, was unclear. Some refugees said they had heard that no trains and buses arrived from Pristina on Tuesday, which might indicate an attempt by Yugoslav officials to allow the refugees clogging Deneral Jankovic's streets to move on before others arrive. </P>

<P> But other refugees said they heard that trains and buses had arrived, indicating that thousands more refugees would spend another night exposed to the elements. </P>

<P> "There have been reports that as many as three more trains came today," Ron Redmond, a spokesman for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, said Tuesday night. "But we really don't know what is going on in there." </P>

<P> Fatmir Zenjullahu, 26, who slept outside with his wife and three children, 5, 3 and 1, on the main asphalt road leading out of Kosovo Monday night, said conditions in Deneral Jankovic were "horrible." He and other refugees said the few houses in the town were packed with up to 100 refugees each and they dared not sleep in nearby fields because of rumors of mines. </P>

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<P>Washington Post

May 26, 1999

Pg. 24</P>

<P>Training, Arms, Allies Bolster KLA Prospects</P>

<P>By R. Jeffrey Smith, Washington Post Foreign Service </P>

<P> KUKES, AlbaniaKosovo Liberation Army recruits have flocked from Croatia, Macedonia and Western Europe to a sprawling training camp here, where they learn Western-style military discipline and test fire mortars and anti-tank weapons that they soon hope to carry into battle in Kosovo.</P>

<P> No one would compare the month-long training regime to the punishing routine of U.S. military boot camps. But the increased emphasis on physical conditioning and weapons training by the ethnic Albanian rebels offers one explanation for recent assessments by some Western officials that the KLA stands a chance of turning its fortunes around after being pummeled by Serb-led Yugoslav forces in Kosovo over the past two months.</P>

<P> "The KLA has bottomed out . . . and is clearly in the ascendancy right now," said a State Department official who watches the Balkans closely and just returned to Washington from a week-long visit here.</P>

<P> Western officials also cite the recent appointment of Agim Ceku, a battle-tested former Croatian army general, as the rebels' senior commander, and their access to fresh arms. </P>

<P> "The [military] image they have in the world . . . is incorrect," said Lt. Gen. John W. Hendrix, the commander of U.S. forces in Albania. "They have some limitations for sure, but they are getting better all the time."</P>

<P> Although NATO has maintained a public distance from the rebels on grounds that it opposes their goal of a Kosovo independent of Yugoslavia and its dominant republic, Serbia, here in Kukes there is ample evidence that the KLA's recruitment activities, training and field operations are receiving at least tacit allied military assistance.</P>

<P> The subject of NATO's cooperation with the rebels is sensitive, and details are not volunteered. But sources say that NATO war planners have been relying on scouting reports by KLA fighters inside Kosovo to direct airstrikes, and that members of the alliance have ignored some recent arms shipments to the KLA.</P>

<P> "We think that Americans . . . support us. . . . They find a way to tell us the truth and give their advice on what to do," said a KLA commander in Kukes known as "Tomorri."</P>

<P> The rebel force has not persuaded Western governments to lift an arms embargo -- imposed on Yugoslavia at the beginning of the decade -- that has blocked its access to the Swedish-made BILL-2 anti-tank missile, the Carl Gustav M2 missile, Western-made heavy artillery and other sophisticated weaponry.</P>

<P> That means the KLA cannot expect to achieve more than a stalemate in the coming months against more numerous and heavily armored Serb-led Yugoslav troops in Kosovo unless NATO ground troops also join the battle, according to U.S. and NATO officials.</P>

<P> But one top KLA officer said the imbalance had been partially corrected because NATO countries are "closing one eye" when the rebels make black-market purchases -- funded by the Albanian diaspora in Europe and the United States -- of relatively unsophisticated armaments.</P>

<P> Mortars, submachine guns and sniper rifles are being shipped here from Bosnia, Croatia, Germany, Switzerland and Italy. Uniforms, boots, field ra

tions, satellite phones and radios come from Western Europe, while Chinese-made rocket-propelled grenades, anti-tank cannons and AK-47 assault rifles are shipped to the border by the Albanian army.</P>

<P> "They seem to have an endless supply of weapons and ammunition," Hendrix said.</P>

<P> KLA commanders claim a series of recent victories, which cannot be independently confirmed. Coordinated action by two brigades -- still a relative novelty -- killed scores of government soldiers near the town Padesh last week, they say, and other units achieved an important victory near the city of Suvreka. KLA officials also report capturing a Praga anti-aircraft cannon near Drenas and a cache of anti-tank weapons near Pristina, the Kosovo capital.</P>

<P> NATO bombing of Yugoslav army positions in Kosovo has helped by suppressing the movement and massing of heavy weaponry, such as artillery and tanks, near the Albanian and Macedonian borders, said a top KLA officer.</P>

<P> Several KLA commanders report that Yugoslav troops are having increasing trouble communicating with each other and are running short of food, cigarettes, alcohol and ammunition. Government troops now rarely travel more than a few miles at a time in convoys of more than five vehicles. "When Serbs fight, they fight from inside their vehicles," a KLA commander said. "They even scoop up bodies" without stepping outside.</P>

<P> But rebel political leader Hashim Thaqi, the prime minister of an interim Kosovo government-in-exile, said he worries that the KLA will not be able to carry on its fight successfully without additional assistance. If NATO continues only with airstrikes, the crisis in Kosovo will get deeper," he said.</P>

<P> On a planned trip this week to Washington, where he is slated to meet with Clinton administration officials, Thaqi said he plans to make "a big and urgent request: send ground troops to Kosovo. We will repeat this message; we will ask them to be more determined, to get involved more quickly."</P>


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<P>London Daily Telegraph

May 26, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Kosovo Capital Faces New Wave Of Serb Terror</P>

<P>By Julius Strauss in Blace </P>

<P> Serb authorities have launched an operation to rid Pristina of tens of thousands of ethnic Albanians still living in the city, former residents and aid workers at the Macedonian frontier said yesterday as thousands more refugees streamed out of Kosovo.</P>

<P> About 30,000 ethnic Albanians have crossed into Macedonia in the past three days in the largest exodus for weeks and aid officials say there is no sign that the flow will stop. They say Serb "ethnic cleansing" squads appear to be gaining a second wind after a few weeks of relative calm.</P>

<P> Macedonian officials said that around 150,000 refugees are now on their way out of Kosovo headed towards their country. They did not say how they arrived at their estimates but it is understood that Macedonia and Serbia have open channels of communication.</P>

<P> Most new refugees interviewed on the Macedonian border yesterday came from Pristina, the capital of Kosovo. After a few hours at a transit camp they were ordered to move into single file. Slowly, haltingly they boarded buses commandeered to take them on to other, more permanent camps in the interior.</P>

<P> Independent accounts suggested that Pristina was now in the grip of a second wave of terror aimed at flushing out those ethnic Albanians who refused to go or could not leave during the first heavy push two months ago.</P>

<P> Shehrije, a 27-year-old woman from the suburb of Vranjevc, said: "For two months the police played cat and mouse with us. First they told us to go to the bus station and leave and then when we got there they told us to go back home. But last week that all changed. They said if we didn't leave in five minutes we would be killed. This happened to all our neighbours, too, and from what we saw the same was going on all over the city."</P>

<P> An aid worker who interviews arrivals at the Blace refugee camp said: "There seems to have been a policy change in Pristina some time around the middle of last week. Just when it seemed that life was settling down a bit, a fresh outburst of evil was let loose." In one area, aid workers say, young girls were taken away and held until ransomed by their families.</P>

<P> The latest wave of terror stalking Kosovo and the availability of daily bus convoys and trains to the border means that even the more resilient ethnic Albanians are leaving their homes. By some estimates there are 100,000 residents left in Pristina, but with almost no reliable reports coming out of the city the picture is murky.</P>

<P> The flow of ethnic Albanians into Macedonia is threatening to overwhelm facilities and is testing the patience of the Skopje government, which is already reluctant to accept refugees.</P>

<P> Ron Redmond, spokesman for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, said yesterday: "This could well be the last push. Everybody is being expelled now. We are seeing the arrival of very old people. If the influx continues, if we have 8,000 to 10,000 a day, this will put a severe strain on our capacity in camps. They are once again going to be overstretched."</P>

<P> The UN said 8,500 refugees entered Macedonia on Monday and a similar number was expected by last night. There are now about 250,000 refugees in Macedonia, of whom 100,000 are in camps and the rest with friends or relatives.</P>

<P> Anton La Guardia in Podgorica writes: The Yugoslav army separated dozens of Kosovar men from their families as hundreds of refugees sought shelter in Montenegro.</P>

<P> The move stands in contrast with the army's decision elsewhere to free thousands of ethnic Albanian men after weeks of brutal imprisonment, allowing them to travel to Macedonia and Albania. It has also escalated tensions between the army and Montenegro, Serbia's sister republic in the Yugoslav federation.</P>

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<P>Janes Defence Weekly

May 26, 1999</P>

<P>Way Could Be Open For F-16 Sale To Emirates</P>

<P>By Ed Blanche, JDW Correspondent</P>

<P> Beirut -- US defence authorities have agreed to provide the United Arab Emirates (UAE) with the source codes for weapons systems aboard the F-16C/D Block 60 combat aircraft, according to military sources in Abu Dhabi.</P>

<P> Transfer of the codes would remove the final obstacle to the \$6 billion sale of the aircraft.</P>

<P> Final details of the contract between the UAE's Defence Ministry and Lockheed Martin are being worked out, but a target date for signing has reportedly been set for August, but no later than October. "The main obstacle for finalising the contract has been settled", a senior UAE Air Force officer said. "The contract will be signed soon. The United States has agreed to communicate to the Emirates the codes of the software programmes in the computers."</P>

<P> Once officially confirmed, this would mark the first time the USA has agreed to release the source codes for advanced combat aircraft acquired by an Arab state.</P>

<P> It could open the way for similar moves with Saudi Arabia, which plans to acquire up to 100 new US aircraft.</P>

<P> The codes have so far only been provided to the USA's closest allies and enable the F-16s to be configured for a variety of missions that are not possible without them.</P>

<P> Although there was no confirmation of the UAE reports from Washington, the disclosures could well be linked to a 12 May offer by the UAE chief of staff, Gen Mohammed ibn Zayed al-Nahayan, to send 1,000 troops equipped with Leclerc main battle tanks to join a planned NATO-led international peacekeeping force in Kosovo a move of considerable political significance. The UAE troops will be trained in France.</P>

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<P>Washington Post

May 26, 1999

Pg. 21</P>

<P>U.S. Planes Reportedly Bomb Buildings In Iraq</P>

<P> BAGHDAD, Iraq -- Iraq said buildings were damaged yesterday when U.S. warplanes hit targets in the Western-imposed northern "no-fly" zone.</P>

<P> "Hostile formations bombed some service installations in Mosul, and the bombing led to damage of buildings," the official Iraqi News Agency quoted a military spokesman as saying. Mosul is 250 miles north of Baghdad.</P>

<P> The news agency did not say whether the buildings were civilian or military.</P>

<P> A statement from the base in southern Turkey where the U.S. planes are stationed said they bombed an Iraqi communications site after being fired on by antiaircraft artillery in the no-fly zone.</P>

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<P>New York Times

May 26, 1999</P>

<P>Iraq: U.N. Tells Of Drought</P>

<P> The worst drought on record in Iraq has cut crop yields to half of last year's totals, a U.N. report said. The Iraqi Government usually refuses to give figures or estimates on agriculture, making the U.N. report particularly significant. The report predicts that feed will become more expensive, affecting livestock and poultry production. It also expected further increases in consumer prices of dairy and meat products.</P>

<I><P>(AP)</P></I>

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New York Times

May 26, 1999

Turkey: 8 Rebel Kurds Reported Slain

Security forces killed eight Kurdish guerrillas loyal to the captured rebel leader Abdullah Ocalan in clashes in eastern Turkey, officials said. Three soldiers also died. More than 29,000 people have been killed in the 14 years of conflict with rebels of the Kurdistan Workers Party fighting for self-rule in the mainly Kurdish southeast.

(Reuters)

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Washington Times

May 25, 1999

Pg. 19

<P>U.S. Troops Rebuilding Haiti Watch Their Backs</P>

<P>By Jennifer Bauduy, Reuters News Agency </P>

<P> PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti - The preoccupation with American forces' safety that is shadowing debate about a ground war in Kosovo has meant a life behind barbed wire and sandbag walls for hundreds of U.S. troops in Haiti. </P>

<P> There are about 500 U.S. soldiers remaining in Haiti, the impoverished Caribbean nation that the United States occupied in 1994 in one of the last major deployments of U.S. forces before NATO attacks on Yugoslavia began two months ago. </P>

<P> Though on a mission to provide a stabilizing presence and conduct humanitarian projects as Haiti struggles to build democracy, the troops here live under security as tight as any in a war zone. </P>

<P> "In light of the current situation in Haiti, we have enhanced our already robust force-protection posture," said the support group commander, Col. Walton Walker. </P>

<P> Haiti in recent months has been rocked by political assassinations, police shootings and violent, tire-burning street demonstrations stemming from the desire of some political groups to bring down the police leadership. </P>

<P> U.S. military officials acknowledge that gunshots are fired with some regularity near Camp Fairwinds, the American military compound near Port-au-Prince's international airport. </P>

<P> On April 23, soldiers were preparing for a morning jog around the camp when shots were fired near the barracks. U.S. officials have given conflicting reports about whether the shots seemed directed at the troops. </P>

<P> No one was hurt, but the group canceled its run, and troop movements have been scaled back. </P>

<P> There have been other shooting incidents in recent months. </P>

<P> In one, patrolling U.S. soldiers woke up sleeping Haitian airport guards, who fired at them, grazing one with a shotgun pellet and prompting them to return fire. The Haitians were not injured. </P>

<P> Camp Fairwinds is surrounded by sandbags and barbed-wire. The troops were recently barred from recreational excursions and allowed to leave camp only for "mission-essential tasks." </P>

<P> They have constructed nearly 50 schools, drilled 30 wells and built several roads. But those who carry out the projects travel in Humvees with machine-guns mounted on top, and there are often nearly as many guards as workers. </P>

<P> At Hope Mission, some 10 miles north of Port-au-Prince, U.S. Army e

ngineers built two schools last week while almost as many infantrymen stood guard. </P>

<P> The Clinton administration clings to Haiti as a foreign-policy success amid strong opposition from Republicans, who object to the \$22 million annual cost of the continued U.S. presence. </P>

<P> U.S. troops arrived in Haiti in September 1994, when 20,000 landed to end a military dictatorship and restore Haiti's first freely elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, ousted in a 1991 coup. </P>

<P> In February, Southern Command Gen. Charles Wilhelm recommended at a closed congressional hearing that U.S. troops leave Haiti. </P>

<P> "As our continuous military presence in Haiti moves into its fifth year, we see little progress toward creation of a permanently stable internal security environment," Gen. Wilhelm said in testimony obtained by Reuters.</P>

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<P>Washington Times

May 26, 1999

Pg. 17</P>

<P>Panama Canal Transfer Moved Up To Dec. 10</P>

<P> PANAMA CITY The Panama Canal will officially pass from the United States to Panama on December 10, 21 days before the date set out in the 1977 treaty, Panamas foreign minister said yesterday.</P>

<P> "The change in date was made to guarantee the participation of heads of state and foreign officials," said Foreign Minister Jorge Ritter. "On December 31, they'll be celebrating the millennium."</P>

<P> President-elect Mireya Moscoso who takes office in September will tak

e possession of the canal for the Central American nation.</P>


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<P>New York Times

May 26, 1999</P>

<P>Panama: A U.S. Pullout</P>

<P> The U.S. withdrew the 400-soldier 245 Support Battalion, bringing the number of U.S. military personnel in Panama to about 3,200, officials said. The troops will be redeployed in the U.S. and Europe as part of Washington's efforts to comply with the 1977 Panama Canal treaty, under which the U.S. will hand over control of the waterway by Dec. 31.</P>

<I><P>(Reuters)</P></I>


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<P>Washington Post

May 26, 1999

Pg. 22</P>

<P>China May Add 100 Missiles Over 15 Years</P>

<I><P>Report Says Beijing Could Build More Than 100 Missiles, Alter Deterrence Policy</P>

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

<P> A 700-page report released yesterday by a select House committee investigating Chinese espionage estimates that China, possibly helped by purloined U.S. secrets, will take 15 more years to modernize its intercontinental ballistic missile force, deploying up to 100 new ICBMs based on land or submarines.</P>

<P> The new Chinese strategic nuclear force, which U.S. intelligence sources say already has been some 12 years in development, may benefit in particular from nuclear warhead information and missile technology stolen from the United States, according to an analysis by the House Select Committee on U.S. National Security and Military/Commercial Concerns with the People's Republic of China. The panel, which carried out a year-long investigation, estimates the new arsenal, once deployed, will double Beijing's current 30 silo-based ICBMs and 12 intermediate-range missiles based on a single strategic submarine and be "a credible direct threat against the United States."</P>

<P> The panel, headed by Rep. Christopher Cox (R-Calif.), focused its major findings and recommendations on espionage at the nation's nuclear research laboratories and technology transfers to China through commercial satellite and other sales, emphasizing the harm these activities may have caused to national security. But spread through its voluminous report are other wide-ranging and previously undisclosed conclusions, several controversial even among the panel members who voted unanimously for its publication.</P>

<P> "Keep this report in perspective," warned Rep. Norman D. Dicks (D-Wash.), ranking minority member of the panel. "The United States still possesses overwhelming nuclear superiority over China, with more than 6,000 nuclear warheads currently in our inventory."</P>

<P> Dicks also pointed out that "it remains to be seen what use the PRC [People's Republic of China] can make of the information it has acquired. Even testing a nuclear device does not ensure its successful mating with a delivery vehicle."</P>

<P> The Cox committee recognizes that China up to now has followed a strategic policy of deterrence, which means it has maintained a small nuclear force, but one that could inflict unacceptable damage on an enemy in a retaliatory strike. The roughly 10 strategic ICBMs aimed at the United States, for example, have thermonuclear warheads in the megaton -- or 1 million tons of TNT -- range that could destroy any American city.</P>

<P> However, the panel hypothesizes that China in the future could change its strategy, deploy many more than the 100 intercontinental missiles than currently estimated, build multiple warheads for each one and finally, "develop an early warning system in order to support a launch-on-warning posture." That is the strategy by which a country that believes itself under attack launches its missiles before they can be destroyed by incoming missiles.</P>

<P> The report also suggests that Chinese strategy might change so radically that it would be the first country to prepare to use a nuclear weapon against invaders on its own territory. The panel cites the neutron warhead, designed to kill opposing forces without the widespread material damage caused by other nuclear weapons, the design for which it said China stole in the late 1970s.</P>

<P> China "probably originally developed the neutron bomb for use on its own territory against invading Soviet forces," the report says. It adds: "The neutron bomb would be useful in a conflict with Taiwan, since the PRC undoubtedly would intend to occupy the territory it was attacking."</P>

<P> Among the newer concerns mentioned in the report is "the possibility of cooperation between Russia and [China] on nuclear weapons." The panel sees Russian nuclear scientists helping Beijing exploit "stolen U.S. thermonuclear warhead design information," with Moscow assisting with nuclear weapons testing technology in an era where physical tests are prohibited.</P>

<P> Administration officials have been concerned that Russian scientists might help other nuclear powers. To make that less probable, they have relied on scientific exchange and support programs between the United States and Moscow. Some of these exchange programs, however, are under threat of being cut off by Republican legislators concerned that they have contributed to the alleged spying.</P>

<P> The report says China developed an ability to distribute multiple warheads from a single missile on its own. It was alleged, first to the committee and then in the press, that Motorola Inc. had helped the Chinese get this technology through its commercial plan for China to launch more than one of its communications satellites.</P>

<P> Rep. John M. Spratt Jr. (D-S.C.), a member of the Cox panel, suggested that the panel's criticism of the Clinton administration for failing to act quickly enough when first given information in 1996 about the alleged loss of data about the W-88 warhead should also be directed at Congress itself. Spratt said the House and Senate intelligence committee leaderships were briefed in the summer of 1996 by Energy Department officials about the alleged espionage at the suggestion of national security adviser Samuel R. "Sandy" Berger.</P>

<P> Sen. Bob Kerrey (D-Neb.), a member of the Senate intelligence panel at the time, said that on the Senate side there was "not a single request for a hearing, despite an understanding it could be a serious breach."</P>

<P> "There was no question national security damage had been done and we approved more money for counterintelligence," Kerrey said. "But now we are making it bigger and the facts don't allow you to reach that."</P>

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<P>New York Times

May 26, 1999</P>

<P>President's Sober Response Assures Public Of Security Measur
es</P>

<P>By John M. Broder</P>

<P> WASHINGTON -- The White House responded in a low-key and respectful man
ner to the release on Tuesday of the Cox Committee report on Chinese nuclear es
pionage, acknowledging that a serious security breach exists while assuring Con
gress and the public that the Administration is working hard to improve securit
y. </P>

<P> President Clinton said that he shared the concerns of the panel's nine
members about what the report described as a pattern of successful Chinese espi
onage against the nation's nuclear secrets and offered assurances that the Admi
nistration has been moving to adopt many of its recommendations. </P>

<P> "First, let me say that I am particularly appreciative of the careful a
nd bipartisan manner in which the committee did its work," said the President,
speaking at an unrelated domestic policy event in Texas. "Like many other count
ries, China seeks to acquire our sensitive information and technology. We have
a solemn obligation to protect such national security information, and we have
to do more to do it." </P>

<P> The accommodating tone of the White House reaction arises from the grav
ity of the charges in the Cox Committee report, signed by all the panel's Repub
licans and Democrats, including Representative Christopher Cox, a California Re
publican and the panel's chairman. The President's aides, who have known of the
panel's major conclusions for several months, concluded that challenging the c
ommittee's findings would not give sufficient weight to the seriousness of the
allegations and could be politically damaging. </P>

<P> In remarks to reporters and in a written response to the Cox Committee findings, Administration officials stressed that many of the suspected losses of sensitive technology occurred before Clinton took office, and repeated earlier assertions that the White House took swift and decisive action when it learned of the security breaches. </P>

<P> The White House's written response noted that security at the national weapons laboratories, where it is suspected that the most serious breaches occurred, "has been a long-term concern, stretching back more than two decades." </P>

<P> Bill Richardson, the Secretary of Energy, whose department oversees the weapons labs, said at a press conference Tuesday, "This Administration has acted on the problem; previous Administrations didn't act." He added, "Now, this is not a partisan issue; this is a bipartisan problem that we are trying to fix." </P>

<P> Richardson called the Cox report "an important, valuable, piece of work," yet noted that he had begun moving aggressively to improve security and counterespionage surveillance at the national weapons labs long before the report was released. </P>

<P> "We have undertaken a total overhaul of the Department of Energy counterintelligence program," Richardson said. </P>

<P> "I do take issue with one component of the Cox report," he added, "and that is that we have taken enormously aggressive action to deal with the problem. We are fixing the problem. I can assure the American people that their nuclear secrets are now safe at the labs." </P>

<P> The Administration response, fashioned over weeks of consultations among officials of the National Security Council, the White House counsel's office, Cabinet officers and the President's top political advisers, is in marked contrast to its handling of myriad other investigations launched by the Republican-led Congress. </P>

<P> The White House has responded to prior inquiries by attacking them as partisan and has accused Republicans of dredging up trivial matters to embarrass the President. </P>

<P> In this case, however, the White House has sounded a more conciliatory note, in part because the nine-member Cox Committee's four Democrats all endorsed its findings. </P>

<P> The Administration also does not want to turn relations between the United States and China into a political circus that could set back the President's policy of "strategic partnership" with Beijing for years. </P>

<P> Clinton said he will not allow reports of Chinese nuclear espionage to derail his policy of economic and diplomatic engagement with Beijing because his policy is in the United States' interest. He said the United States had strict controls in place to limit the transfer of sensitive technology to China, a statement at odds with many of the conclusions of the investigative committee. </P>

<P> "I strongly believe that our continuing engagement with China has produced benefits for our national security," the President said. </P>

<P> A White House official, speaking on the condition of anonymity, said that the allegations of Chinese nuclear spying were of a different nature than last year's impeachment charges and earlier investigations into Whitewater and other matters. </P>

<P> "There's a recognition that we are dealing with serious issues," the official said, "but we view them as issues that are longstanding ones and that require steps to deal with, and we're taking them." </P>

<P> Instead of mounting a hostile defense, the White House is pleading for understanding. </P>

<P> "We don't think it's valuable for anyone to point fingers in a way that detracts from work that should be done," the official said. </P>

<P> But the White House did not completely abandon the field to Cox and his conclusions. Included with the White House's written response was a sheaf of newspaper articles and opinion pieces that attacked the committee's findings and The New York Times's reporting on them. </P>

<P> Among them are two columns by Lars Erik Nelson of the New York Daily News, who accused The Times of conducting a "lynching" of Wen Ho Lee, the former Los Alamos laboratory worker still suspected of nuclear espionage. Nelson also wrote that Clinton has gotten a "bum rap" over the issue of the theft of nuclear secrets. </P>

<P> The clippings also include reports from The Washington Post and The Los Angeles Times, based on interviews with Administration officials and outside intelligence specialists, that question the severity of the technical losses. Other clippings include columns defending the Administration's policy of strategic partnership with China, including one by Henry Kissinger, the architect of American engagement with Beijing. </P>

<P> Clinton, seeking to tamp down the passions that debates on China always inspire, said Tuesday that he wanted to address the problem of nuclear security breaches without damaging relations with the most populous nation on Earth. </P>

<P> "I want to assure you and all the American people that I will work very hard with the Congress to protect our national security," he said in Texas, "to implement the recommendations and to continue our policy of engagement because both of them are in the national interest." </P>

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<P>Washington Post

May 26, 1999

Pg. 23</P>

<P>China Has Harsh Words For Report</P>

<I><P>Government Decries 'Cold War Mentality'</P>

</I><P>By Michael Laris, Washington Post Foreign Service</P>

<P> BEIJING, May 25China's government today said the release of a 700-page, bipartisan congressional report accusing China of stealing America's closely guarded nuclear secrets was meant to "disturb and destroy" Sino-American relations and to deflect attention from the U.S. bombing of China's embassy in Belgrade.</P>

<P> Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Zhu Bangzao said the select committee, headed by Rep. Christopher Cox (R-Calif.), was "clinging to the Cold War mentality" and had produced a rumor-mongering report intended to advance "the theory of a China threat." Zhu repeated the government's long-standing denial that it stole any U.S. nuclear technology.</P>

<P> The spokesman also lashed out at a resolution introduced in both houses of Congress last week that assails Chinese human rights abuses and calls on Chinese authorities to launch an official inquiry into the military crackdown on democracy demonstrators near Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989, in which hundreds died.</P>

<P> "The attempt of those anti-China U.S. congressmen to interfere in China's internal affairs under the pretext of human rights is doomed to failure," Zhu said.</P>

<P> China's reaction to the Cox report was consistent with its policy of denying any involvement in a variety of China-related scandals that have erupted in the United States. China has denied any knowledge of an alleged plot to funnel Chinese government funds to American political candidates. It has said it has not conducted any espionage operations in the United States and has not stolen nuclear-weapons related secrets.</P>

<P> Relations between the governments of the world's most powerful and most

populous nations have dropped off precipitously since Premier Zhu Rongji visited the United States last month and charmed politicians and ordinary Americans alike. NATO's deadly attack on China's diplomatic compound in Yugoslavia on May 7 has thrown relations into crisis.</P>

<P> China has suspended military ties with the United States as well as its cooperation on nuclear proliferation issues. It has also temporarily banned U.S. warships from docking in Hong Kong's ports. [The Pentagon announced today that Secretary of State William S. Cohen has postponed a June visit to China because of the tensions.]</P>

<P> Chinese authorities have repeatedly asserted that the embassy attack was part of a deliberate strategy to keep China weak, and have dismissed the American explanation that the bombing was a "tragic accident." </P>

<P> Allegations that Chinese spies have, over the course of several decades, pilfered top secret design information about every one of the nuclear warheads in America's stockpile have angered many in Congress. The hardened political atmosphere in Washington comes just as Chinese officials have been demanding that the United States be more responsive to its concerns about the embassy bombing. </P>

<P> One official said that relations are unlikely to improve before a senior U.S. envoy is sent to Beijing to present the results of a U.S. investigation of the embassy bombing. The official said the Chinese government is expecting documentary evidence that might explain the specific circumstances, not a mere written explanation.</P>

<P> Foreign Ministry spokesman Zhu said members of the Cox committee "harbor deep prejudice and hostility toward China. They have created a lot of rumors . . . to stir up anti-Chinese sentiment."</P>

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<P>New York Times

May 26, 1999</P>

<P>North Korea: Perry Pays A Visit</P>

<P> Former Defense Secretary William J. Perry arrived in Pyongyang, the capital, to discuss the Clinton Administration's aims of easing North Korea out of its isolation. Perry, who is reviewing North Korea policy on behalf of President Clinton, is the highest-ranking American to visit North Korea since the Korean War. Although North Korea honored him with an evening reception, the highest officials it sent were deputy ministers.</P>

<I><P>Nicholas D. Kristof (NYT)</P></I>

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<P>Washington Post

May 26, 1999

Pg. 29</P>

<P>Here's The Deal, Slobodan</P>

<P>By Jim Hoagland</P>

<P> President Clinton is using heavy diplomatic and military pressure on Serbia to get a message to Slobodan Milosevic: Now is the last best hope for a deal. You still have interests in Kosovo I can protect in a settlement. But that train leaves soon. Not even I know what will happen after it leaves.</P>

<P> This assessment does not come from a White House leak. I would place little faith in one right now. In war, politicians, diplomats and generals see the media as one more tool to mislead and pressure foes abroad and keep opinion supportive at home.</P>

<P> Watch the pattern of leaders' statements rather than their increasingly spongy individual words at this point. When that pattern overlaps with the military facts on the ground, as it did this week, trust the overlap, not the

verbal hopscotch.</P>

<P> The politics, military strategy and diplomacy of the moment point to Clinton's surreptitiously offering a deal to the man he has denounced as a modern Hitler. Less clear is whether Milosevic, seeing disagreement in NATO ranks on ground troops, will agree now to any settlement that Clinton could then present as honorable and likely to resolve the conflict's basic causes.</P>

<P> Politically, the sudden talk of ground troops at the White House has as a mystifying quality to it. But it makes sense as a last-ditch pressure tactic on Milosevic. It is a trial balloon a bureaucracy at war sends up rather than launch a truly divisive debate. Read my lips, Sloba: Save yourself -- and me -- from this terrible alternative.</P>

<P> Militarily, this week's bombing of Serbia's civilian water pumps and electricity grid fits the "now or never" pattern. This is serious state terrorism. It is not as wanton or cruel as Milosevic's barbaric assault on the unarmed Albanians of Kosovo. But it is still a deliberate targeting of national will and survival instinct rather than a dictator's fighting machine. It is not a tactic NATO, a democratically governed alliance, can pursue for very long in this war.</P>

<P> The punishing attacks on civilian targets could be effective, however, in focusing Milosevic's mind on what he is due to hear in Belgrade later this week from Russian envoy Viktor Chernomyrdin and Finnish President Martti Ahtisaari. They will convey Clinton's terms for halting the two disconnected wars -- NATO's air attack against Serbia and Milosevic's ground assault on Kosovo -- and then relay Belgrade's answer to Washington.</P>

<P> Ahtisaari's involvement as European Union representative is significant. He is an experienced negotiator who achieved an unexpected diplomatic triumph in winning Namibia's independence from South Africa a decade ago. He is also personally trusted by Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott, Clinton's point man on ending the war.</P>

<P> Clinton's decision to center the diplomacy of the conflict on Russia is also a telling signal of his willingness to live with Milosevic rather than go to a full-scale war. The president simultaneously avoids having to negotiate directly with the Serbian monster he has denounced and bolsters Boris Yeltsin's shaky regime in Moscow.</P>

<P> The stage has been set. But for this week's talks to produce a sustainable outcome, Clinton must draw red lines around these essential points:</P>
>

<P> (1) Milosevic cannot be seen to benefit from just agreeing to end the slaughter he began. Lifting existing economic sanctions or providing future reconstruction aid to Serbia from any NATO member while Milosevic is still in power are unacceptable rewards.</P>

<P> (2) NATO must command and control the international peacekeeping force that will deploy into Kosovo. The number of symbolic Serb troops left on the ground there cannot exceed a few thousand, as suggested in the Rambouillet framework. The departing Serb forces should be required to leave their tanks and

artillery behind, for destruction by NATO, rather than being pulled back into Serbia for future use.</P>

<P> (3) There must be no agreement that gives Serb civilians in Kosovo veto rights or parliamentary blocking mechanisms over the Kosovar self-governm ent Clinton has promised. Only by negating in practice Serbia's nominal soverei gnty over Kosovo can NATO fulfill its promise to create conditions that will al low all Kosovar refugees to return to their homes.</P>

<P> Anything less would be a betrayal of the Kosovars, of the European and American publics that have supported this war and of the NATO aviators who have fought it. Their interests must count for more than Milosevic's in any se ttlement Clinton accepts.</P>

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<P>USA Today

May 26, 1999</P>

<P>Bosnia's Refugees Hold Lesson For NATO</P>

<P>By David Rieff</P>

<P> The Kosovo crisis has now spiraled so badly out of control that any sol ution that would be fair and comprehensive - and also have a chance of actually working - may already be out of reach.</P>

<P> Still, in the absence of a NATO ground war that would drive the Serbs o ut of Kosovo, there will almost certainly be a deal between Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic and the Western powers that will not satisfy either side.</P>
>

<P> The fate of the refugees will ultimately determine the success or failu re of any settlement. If the bulk of the refugees feel that it is safe to retur n, it will mean that Milosevic's brutal war will have been a failure. But if th is does not happen, then it will have been a success no matter what else happen

s.</P>

<P> Obviously, the best way to ensure that the refugees return would be for Milosevic to be forced to accept NATO's five key demands and for Kosovo to be turned into a NATO or United Nations protectorate for the foreseeable future. Otherwise, refugees will not return home, and the region will be further destabilized.</P>

<P> But, assuming the NATO powers are not willing to make the sacrifices needed to secure that outcome, the realities of postwar Kosovo will be forged out of a deal rather than a NATO victory.</P>

<P> We have been here before.</P>

<P> The Dayton agreement that ended the Bosnian war also was the product of the West's unwillingness to reverse Serb aggression. Instead of rolling back the gains Milosevic made through his Bosnian Serb surrogates - lifting the siege of Sarajevo and making it possible for the more than 2 million refugees and internally displaced people to return to their homes - the United States and its allies chose a velvet partition.</P>

<P> Even this had to be accompanied by force, with NATO bombing from the air and the combined forces of Croatia and the Bosnian army advancing on the ground. But when it was all over, the Serbs still controlled 49% of the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the country was effectively divided into two self-contained areas.</P>

<P> Since then, a NATO-led force has ensured that the cease-fire holds. The troops patrol throughout Bosnia and have occasionally acted to arrest some of the lesser war criminals indicted by the international criminal tribunal in The Hague, Netherlands. </P>

<P> And in Sarajevo, international representatives are doing their best to help stitch Bosnia back together by setting up banking, postal and telecommunications structures and overseeing Bosnia's very partial and tenuous return to parliamentary democracy.</P>

<P> And yet almost nobody, either in Bosnia or abroad, believes this fragile peace would last for a week if those foreign soldiers were withdrawn. What rules in Bosnia is not peace, but an absence of war.</P>

<P> The reason for this is simple. Neither the major powers nor the forces they deployed in Bosnia after the peace accord paid enough attention to the return of the refugees. </P>

<P> It is true that many of those who fled Bosnia to Western countries never went back. But many more from this overwhelmingly Muslim population returned to their country, but not to their old homes. In fact, almost no Muslims at all have returned to areas now under Serb control. By coming home, they simply went from being refugees to being internally displaced, which at times can seem like a distinction without a difference.</P>

<P> Had NATO chosen to turn Bosnia into a protectorate, as even some Bosnians demanded at the time of the Dayton agreement, things might very well have turned

med out differently. But that would have entailed NATO-led forces guaranteeing the safety of returning refugees - something that there was no political will for either in Washington or in Western Europe.</P>

<P> A good case can be made that the failure to combat ethnic cleansing when it was happening or to reverse it after the conflict in Bosnia ended emboldened Milosevic to act in the way he has in Kosovo. And it suggests that unless Kosovo is turned into some kind of protectorate, any agreement will not last. If Bosnians were unwilling to return to their homes in areas where Serbs remain, why should Kosovars?</P>

<P> This is more than a question of justice. The return of the Kosovars is vital to stability in the region. For if the Kosovars remain in exile, the prophecy that they will become Europe's version of the Palestinians will almost certainly be fulfilled. For that reason, more needs to be done than simply escorting the refugees back to Kosovo. There have to be troops willing to protect them and to nip any renewed attempt by the Serbs to terrify them and again start driving them out.</P>

<P> There has been some talk that NATO soldiers are not needed for this function, that a U.N. peacekeeping force largely made up of troops from countries that were not party to the conflict will do just as well. The experience of Bosnia suggests a diametrically opposing conclusion.</P>

<P> Peacekeeping was the wrong tool then, because there was no peace to keep and because the U.N. commitment to peace at almost any price led it to submit again and again to Serb blackmail. Since Kofi Annan, the man who led U.N. peacekeeping in Bosnia, is now U.N. secretary-general, there is no particular reason to believe this institutional mind-set has changed much.</P>

<P> In Kosovo, like it or not, a durable peace will depend on an open-ended NATO-led deployment that will be focused on the security of the returning refugees. Anything short of this is a guarantee that any end to the Kosovo conflict will be little more than a Bosnia-style pause.</P>

<I><P> David Rieff is the author of Slaughterhouse: Bosnia and the Failure of the West.</P></I>

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<P>New York Times

May 26, 1999</P>

<P>America's Stolen Secrets</P>

<P> A devastating pattern of security lapses is laid out in the Congressional report on China's acquisition of America's most vital nuclear and missile secrets. Beijing remains far from nuclear parity with the United States. But a bipartisan House committee, headed by Christopher Cox, Republican of California, found that China has systematically exploited poor security at American nuclear weapons labs, lax satellite licensing and weak export control laws to speed work on a new generation of nuclear weapons and missiles. </P>

<P> Though some of the committee's findings have been outlined in news accounts over recent months, the report adds fresh detail and serves as a powerful indictment of failed security and law enforcement by Democratic and Republican Administrations dating back to the 1970's. The Clinton Administration, in particular, has a great deal of explaining to do about its anemic response when it first learned of possible Chinese espionage. The Cox committee has performed an invaluable public service with its unsparing investigation. </P>

<P> The committee found that China had obtained classified information on some of America's most modern thermonuclear weapons. These include the miniaturized bombs used in multiple-warhead missiles as well as in missiles launched from mobile platforms and from submarines. With this information, China may be able to produce similar weapons of its own. The stolen material, including computer codes that are essential to warhead design, most likely came from supposedly secure computers at America's nuclear weapons laboratories. </P>

<P> The report also found that Beijing had exploited commercial deals with American aerospace companies to learn how to avoid launch failures and design missiles more capable of delivering multiple warheads. The committee specifically found that two companies, Hughes Electronics and Loral Space and Communications, improperly advised the Chinese on rocket design in the mid-1990's without obtaining State Department licenses for such discussions. Despite these breakdowns, the Clinton Administration shifted authority for licensing satellite sales from the security-minded State Department to the business-oriented Commerce Department, a decision wisely reversed by Congress last year. Though earlier administrations also failed to secure America's nuclear secrets, the Clinton Administration's performance seems especially abysmal. </P>

<P> In particular, the failure of the national security adviser, Samuel Berger, to respond more vigorously when first briefed about possible nuclear espionage three years ago requires further inquiry. At a minimum Mr. Berger should have informed President Clinton and Vice President Gore, coordinated investigative efforts and made sure that his request for tightened security at the labs was carried out immediately. He also played an important role in the mistaken decision to give the Commerce Department lead authority in satellite licensing decisions. </P>

<P> Republican calls for Mr. Berger's resignation feel premature, but his fitness is in question and must be carefully weighed in the days ahead. </P>

<P> Similarly disturbing is the failure two years ago by Janet Reno's Justice Department to authorize Government investigators to pursue a wiretap of the principal suspect, Wen Ho Lee. Justice's handling of the Lee investigation was lackadaisical. This is but the latest in a series of law-enforcement lapses or political blunders that would have led to Ms. Reno's removal in any recent Administration other than this one. Serious lapses also occurred at the Energy Department, which, at least until Bill Richardson took over as Secretary last fall, failed to assert managerial control over the national weapons labs. </P>

<P> Congress must continue investigating these issues of responsibility, taking care, as the Cox committee did, to avoid sensationalism and undue partisanship. Together with the Administration, it should also move quickly to assure better protection of America's national security secrets. </P>

<P> Better coordination is needed among the various intelligence and law enforcement agencies in detecting, investigating and prosecuting nuclear espionage. The Energy Department must clearly demonstrate that it can manage the labs. Otherwise it may make sense to transfer them to Pentagon control. Whichever department is in charge, more rigorous security screening is needed for those engaged in the most sensitive weapons work. </P>

<P> Export-control laws, excessively relaxed at the end of the cold war and further loosened as part of the Clinton Administration's efforts to encourage commerce with China, must be significantly tightened, particularly with regard to satellites and supercomputers. </P>

<P> The Cox report makes clear the seriousness of Chinese efforts to acquire militarily sensitive technology and underscores America's vulnerability to such efforts. Stricter export laws and tighter security at nuclear weapons laboratories will help safeguard American secrets. But at least as important is a more careful approach on the part of the Clinton Administration to dealings with China. Beijing is worth cultivating as a diplomatic and commercial partner. But its potential threat to American national security should never be ignored or underestimated. </P>

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<P>Washington Post

May 26, 1999

Pg. 28</P>

<P>Nuclear Pickpocket</P>

<P> UNDER U.S. LAW, the administration must conduct "end-user" checks to ensure that high-powered computers exported to China are not used for military purposes. China, however, rarely consents to such checks, and when it does, insists that they be conducted by Chinese officials. Yet, a bipartisan House committee reported yesterday, "this obduracy has had little consequence." The Clinton administration has approved the export of more and more such computers; in the first three quarters of 1998, nine times as many were exported as during the previous seven years.</P>

<P> This is one of many fruits of the engagement policy that President Clinton again yesterday defended. It is a policy based on the premise that China is a strategic partner, not a potential foe, and that the best way to ensure its continuing friendship is to accommodate to a large extent its demands and requests. It is also a policy, pursued by Republican and Democratic administrations alike, that has been more responsive to U.S. commercial interests than to U.S. national security needs, according to an 872-page report published yesterday by the House Select Committee chaired by Rep. Christopher Cox (R-Calif.). Mr. Cox, Democratic Rep. Norm Dicks of Washington and their seven colleagues assert that the damage to the United States is serious and ongoing.</P>

<P> The report maintains that China during the past 20 years has "stolen" information on the design of every nuclear warhead currently in the U.S. ballistic missile arsenal. It also has illicitly obtained classified technology useful for building missiles, attacking submarines and conducting other military tasks that could threaten the United States, Taiwan or U.S. forces in Asia. Virtually every one of the 80,000 Chinese visitors to the United States each year is told to collect some kind of information, the report says. So are many of the 100,000 students and academics based in this country and the 3,000 corporations with open or concealed Chinese connections. "No other country has succeeded in stealing so much from the United States," Mr. Cox says.</P>

<P> When a senior bureaucrat first tried to warn Congress of a possible security leak from a nuclear weapons lab, he says he was told not to testify. Later the administration suggested that any serious damage had occurred under previous presidents. When that assertion proved untenable, the administration insisted that it had reacted to the risk alertly and resolutely. But in fact its response was halting.</P>

<P> Ineptitude may have played a part in this apparent laxity. So, perhaps, did pressure from the business community, forever urging looser controls on exports lest other nations' companies get a leg up in the Chinese market. But it seems likely that Mr. Clinton's view of China as a relatively benign strategic partner also played a role. "Engagement," the report makes clear, is not o

ne decision but dozens: to liberalize export controls, to allow the Commerce Department rather than the State Department to oversee satellite exports, to permit corporations to police their own security, to allow the Defense Department to sell high-tech military goods as "scrap" to Chinese companies, and so on. All of these decisions flow from a mind-set that the best way to keep China from turning hostile in the future is to show no signs of suspicion now.</P>

<P> Finding a balance between openness and caution will never be easy. Those same thousands of Chinese who represent an alleged security threat while here also offer hope for warmer U.S.-Chinese ties and better understanding in the future. Clamping down on information flows within U.S. nuclear labs might stymie some Chinese spies but would also slow American scientific progress. And the Chinese threat should not be overestimated; its arsenal of two dozen strategic nuclear missiles is no match for America's 6,000 strategic warheads.</P>

<P> But the nuclear modernization that China is likely to accomplish in the next few years, to which the United States is depicted as unwitting patron, could significantly affect the regional balance of power, especially for Taiwan. China's long-range goals, including the annexation of Taiwan and becoming the predominant power in Asia, do not coincide with U.S. interests, the committee report argues. It does not follow that the United States should treat China as an enemy. But neither does it make sense for the United States to open its strategic pockets and allow China to help itself.</P>

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<P>Grounded In Kosovo

<I><P>If NATO can't win from the air and won't go in on the ground, it has to find a diplomatic way out </I>

<P>By Mark Thompson/Washington

<P> War is hell, but it turns out that some parts burn hotter than others. Only one picture frightens the White House more than televised images of the Chinese embassy aflame from an errant NATO bomb. That is a rerun of the scene from Mogadishu in 1993, when Somalis dragged a G.I.'s body through the streets of their capital. The searing footage, the result of a helicopter assault gone awry, turned Capitol Hill and the American public against the humanitarian Somalia mission overnight. That's what haunts the Clinton team as it struggles to attain victory in Kosovo. "Downed helicopters and dead pilots," an Army officer said last week, "scare this Administration to death."

<P> As the war enters its third inconclusive month, political and public battle fatigue is setting in. Washington and NATO insist their bombing crescendo is slowly but perceptibly sapping Slobodan Milosevic's power and will to fight. Their spokesmen point daily to encouraging signs: last week it was word of soldiers' desertions and scattered antiwar protests inside Yugoslavia. Allied military briefers called the strife the most interesting battle damage they have seen in weeks. Belgrade, spared bombing for days in the wake of the mistaken attack on Beijing's mission, is once again blackened by flames from allied fire.

<P> Yet a growing array of critics contend that the air campaign is doing too little too slowly. The allies, they warn, must fight harder if they are to prevail before NATO unity collapses under a crush of divergent political pressures. Statistically, U.S. pilots were in greater danger of dying during peacetime flights last year than while bombing Serbia last month. Too many laser-guided bombs are going astray and killing innocent civilians. Just last Friday, NATO mistakenly hit a Kosovo rebel base near the capital, Pristina. Washington is not leading the war but shying away from winning it. "If NATO wants a military victory in Yugoslavia, the only way to get it is to risk pilots now," says Maurizio Cremasco, a former general in the Italian air force. "They don't do this for the same reason the Apache helicopters haven't been utilized--because low-altitude flying still involves the risk that pilots and crews will get shot down and killed."

<P> Therein lies the crux of NATO's dilemma. Except for Britain, no other nation has seemed willing to sacrifice its soldiers to this cause, in the skies or on the ground. Yet this week the U.S. will urge NATO to send 50,000 ground troops to the region, either to escort the Kosovars home with Milosevic's assent or to threaten an invasion without it. The war could succeed faster if the allies risked their own troops more, but political leaders fear the first body bag would destroy the public support they need to keep the confrontation going. But the slow and uncertain progress from 12,000 ft. is eating away at popular approval anyhow. Pit that against the prospect that if the air strikes fail to move Milosevic, ground troops might have to step in, and what's a poor NATO leader

r to do? Scramble for a diplomatic way out--the faster, the better.

<P> A diplomatic phalanx went into furious motion last week as Washington stewed over martial means and ends. Colin Powell, the former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff whose Gulf War success carries great weight, spoke up on Kosovo after weeks of silence. A foreign policy imbroglio that requires military force needs clear, precise goals if that force is to be used wisely, advised the retired Army general. "You have to have pretty solid political objectives, and then apply decisive force to them," he said. "Nothing in the Powell doctrine says no casualties." He pointedly noted that the Gulf War planners kept all their options open from the start. "We had a ground force waiting," he said, "when air power had gone as far as we could take it."

<P> But NATO continues to shrink from any change in its carefully calibrated "Goldilocks" air campaign--not too hard, not too soft. The chief culprits appeared to reside in Washington, where "there are people in the military who are putting the brakes on," says a U.S. diplomat.

<P> Nothing illustrated Washington's hesitancy more than the Apache debate that burst into the open last week. Just 48 hours into the war, NATO Commander Wesley Clark called on Washington to send in the state-of-the-art AH-64 helicopter gunships as the best weapon against Milosevic's ferocious ground-level cleansing of Kosovo. After a week of backroom debate, a deeply reluctant Pentagon and White House agreed to deploy the Army's premier tank killers--but not to use them in battle. More than two weeks later, to great fanfare, the first of 24 began arriving in Albania along with their 5,350 attendant soldiers, where two aircraft crashed, killing two pilots in practice exercises. Top Pentagon officials oppose putting the gunships into the skies over Kosovo. "We're not going to trade two Apaches for six Serb tanks," a U.S. military officer said, explaining the fear of losses if the Apaches go into battle. Now it appears they may never see action. Last week Clinton said the Army's Apaches may not be needed because the Air Force's A-10 attack planes could do the same job of killing tanks and armor "at less risk."

<P> It's true the Apaches' mission raises the threshold of danger. They would fly at night with their lights out. They'd skim less than 100 ft. over the mountainous terrain at only slightly more than 100 m.p.h. "There are a lot of individuals out on the battlefield carrying small arms and shoulder-fired weapons," says ex-Apache commander Colonel Mike Hackerson, now at the Pentagon. "It could turn into a bit of a knife fight, but that's part of the business." The grunts who fly the choppers say they're confident in their aircraft and their mission plan. "Some people have a perception that we are daunted by the threat posed by heat-seeking missiles, small-arms fire, radar systems and things like that," says Captain Mark Arden, with Task Force Hawk in Albania. "But enormous resources are put into this aircraft to defeat just those threats." The Pentagon isn't so sure. The brass are worried that the Serbs have moved hundreds of SA-7 shoulder-fired missiles toward Albania, lurking in the valleys the Apaches would follow into Kosovo, just waiting for the gunships to cross the frontier. "The Apaches are MANPADs magnets," an Army officer says, referring to the acronym for Man-Portable Air Defense System, used for the small-missile launchers. "W

e keep asking the Army," a Joint Staff officer says, "how many Apaches they think are going to come back." That's why the helicopters--initially heralded as saviors--still sit at their Albanian base, twiddling their rotor blades.

<P> Another reason officers give for grounding the Apaches is what might happen to the 400,000 Kosovars crowded into Albania if the choppers fly. "If we launch attacks from Albania, the Serbs aren't going to see it as a neutral country," a Joint Staff planner says. "And a lot of those refugees are in crowded camps within range of Serbian artillery." Already smarting over charges that the allied bombing accelerated Milosevic's ethnic cleansing, the Pentagon doesn't want to be blamed for triggering more civilian carnage.

<P> Military and political leaders probably wouldn't be agonizing over what planes to fly, and how high, if they could settle on an answer to the question of ground troops. The longer the air war drags on, the more frequently the ground issue pops up. Last week the alliance found itself in a new muddle as various capitals sent out contradictory messages. German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder called the use of ground troops "unthinkable" and pledged to block any alliance combat on land. From London came the opposite, a steady drumbeat of demands by the Blair government to start assembling a ground force that could go into Kosovo even without agreement from Milosevic. Long after the threat might have spooked the Serbian leader, Clinton for the first time last week reserved the right to send in ground troops. Two days later, NATO Commander Clark visited the Pentagon to push for deployment of the 50,000 ground troops, trying to make sure they'd be there before the snow flies. But Italy and Greece called for a bombing pause before addressing the ground-troops issue at all.

<P> Since the war's start, allied unity has been more important than lethality. Unless NATO reaches a credible consensus to gather a serious invasion force, the Tower of Babel talk won't do much to move Milosevic. Threatening to dispatch troops at the start might have given him pause, or at least forced some of his soldiers to stay home and protect Serbian borders instead of depopulating Kosovo. Had a relatively small ground force been deployed by now, it could have made the air war more lethal by spotting targets and flushing Serbian armor from hiding. But now the noisy, public ground-troops debates seem more likely to crack apart NATO than to cow Milosevic.

<P> While the Clinton Administration likes to lay responsibility on NATO for originally barring the use of ground troops, in reality the White House grabbed onto European reluctance as a handy way out of a thorny thicket. Ardor for a ground war is as lacking in Washington as in every NATO capital but London. "If the U.S. wants to do something in NATO, like send in ground troops, it happens," says Ivo Daalder, director of the European Affairs office of the White House's National Security Council during Clinton's first term. "We've been consistently hiding behind NATO to avoid doing what we don't want to do."

<P> Clinton's abdication of command on the issue leaves the alliance rudderless. "I think it is fundamentally dishonorable for a country which proclaims itself the world's leader to refuse to put soldiers on the line for its principle

es," says political science Professor John Harper of Johns Hopkins University. The resulting vacuum invites other NATO nations to float their own, conflicting proposals, to Milosevic's delight.

<P> A more sure-footed White House could take the lead in convincing the public that ground troops might be necessary. Indeed, one poll showed that 60% of 1,206 Americans surveyed last week by the University of Maryland would back the dispatch of troops if it were required to prevail, even at the cost of 250 American lives. But soldiers--and politicians with an eye on the next election--believe such numbers are thoroughly squishy. "The political support for this operation isn't so strong that it can tolerate high casualties," insists retired Army General John Shalikashvili, who succeeded Powell as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs. "You should avoid the casualties if you can, even if it takes a little longer."

<P> Or a lot longer. The diplomacy to end the war has been as slow to gather momentum as the air campaign itself. Although the pace quickened last week as an assortment of peace brokers jetted around Europe, they are producing about the same vague results. "We're creeping forward; we're inching forward," says a senior Administration official. "We're not taking great strides."

<P> Last week Belgrade was throwing out hints that Serbia is ready to cut a deal. The government's savvy, well-spoken Minister Without Portfolio Goran Matić predicted in a New York Times interview that "we can expect a political settlement" this week. But the only man whose word really counts is Milosevic, and the word he keeps using is Ne. Even if he is looking for an exit, says a Russian official privy to Milosevic's talks with Moscow mediator Viktor Chernomyrdin, he still believes he can pick and choose the parts he will accept from NATO's peace plan.

<P> That leaves the allies to dicker among themselves and with Russia over what bits might be negotiable. NATO has watered down slightly its original five cease-fire demands into an eight-point Group of Eight plan to win Russian participation, but important differences on key details remain. The biggest gap, though, may be Moscow's desire for a deal that lets Milosevic save face and keep control over Kosovo. Officials in Washington say their view is hardening: that Milosevic must no longer have that much power.

<P> Diplomacy is destined to pick up speed as both NATO and Belgrade begin to realize they don't want the air war to last many more months. If NATO is not ready to take risks to defeat Milosevic, it may have to prepare itself, and the wider world, for the least bad negotiated settlement.

<P> And winter comes quickly in Kosovo. Clinton pleaded for the allies to "stay focused and patient." But there are not many months left for the air campaign or the diplomacy to work in time for ethnic Albanians to be shepherded home to their charred villages before the autumn snows turn the battered province into a frigid moonscape. So too does the inflexible logic of winter force NATO to

o confront whether ground troops even remain a live option. As a State Department official noted, there's a lot of motion going on, but not a lot of change.

<P> <I> --With reporting by Massimo Calabresi/Vienna, James Graff/Brussels, Thomas Sancton/Paris, Jan Stojaspal/Tirana and Douglas Waller/Washington</I>
TOWER OF BABEL

<P> The question of using ground troops brings out the hidden disagreements inside NATO

<P> Germany Chancellor Schroder calls ground troops "unthinkable" and pledges to block any NATO combat on land

<P> U.S. Last week President Clinton said the "option" of using ground troops remained open, but he still stands opposed

<P> Britain Prime Minister Blair has been NATO's lone voice calling on the alliance to prepare to invade Yugoslavia

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<P>International Herald Tribune

May 26, 1999

<P>Is Serb Economy The True Target?

<I><P>Raids Seem Aimed at Bolstering Resistance to Milosevic

</I><P>By Joseph Fitchett, International Herald Tribune

<P> PARIS - Although NATO spokesmen deny it, military experts believe the alliance is hoping to intensify domestic opposition to President Slobodan Milosevic by using its air strikes to damage the Serbian economy.

<P> NATO has repeatedly said that it is not waging war on the Serbian people and planners have gone to great lengths in attempting to minimize civilian casualties. In practice, however, allied commanders have steadily widened their list of economic targets in a bid to raise the war's toll for Serbia.

<P> Increasingly, the impact of NATO air strikes has put people out of work and inflicted hardships in the daily lives of more Serbs. Allied bombing this week went further than ever in this direction by causing water shortages in Belgrade, Novi Sad and other Serbian cities.

<P> Denials came quickly that the alliance was deliberately trying to deprive Serbs of drinking water. NATO was simply hitting power grids, allied spokesmen said. But the effect was to shut down businesses, strain hospitals' ability to function and cut off water because pumping stations were paralyzed by the lack of electricity.

<P> "From the outset, it's been obvious that NATO's targeting included an economic dimension when you define as legitimate targets such dual-use facilities as car-making plants and urban power plants," according to a British strategic specialist who asked not to be named because of his government contracts. The car factory in Belgrade was hit early in the air war and other plants have followed in various cities.

<P> Economic warfare remains a divisive option for the 19-nation Western alliance, which has a consensus that air strikes can only target military or dual-use targets with a bona fide military role. The car plant, for example, allegedly made tank parts, too.

<P> "There is no real interest in moving away from the consensus," an official at NATO headquarters said Tuesday, noting the lack of real effort to fulfill

ill an alliance threat to hammer business interests belonging to cronies of Mr. Milosevic in an effort to jolt them into ending the war. Other officials rated as unlikely the U.S. intelligence intention, reported in Washington, to penetrate Serbian leaders' bank accounts electronically and pilfer their assets. "We just don't know enough for such fine-tuned operations," a U.S. official said.

<P> But the broader economic offensive, within its limits, has gained ground. Allied governments were going through the final phase at NATO headquarters Tuesday of agreeing to a plan for NATO warships to curb oil supplies to Serbia by searching private shipping from those Western nations that have agreed to an embargo against Belgrade.

<P> This falls short of an initial U.S.-backed call for a blockade in which the alliance would board any suspect tanker, but the plan, intensely debated since the NATO summit meeting in Washington last month, will now apply only to Western shipping. Nonetheless it will tighten the economic screws by creating complications, including higher insurance premiums, for tankers under flags of convenience.

<P> Even sticking to the dual-use guidelines, NATO attacks have gradually devastated Serbia's economic infrastructure, specialists said, citing the destruction of bridges and rail systems, communications and administrative facilities, heavy manufacturing and refining capabilities.

<P> "With fuel so tight, the army can still requisition supplies, but civilian activities must have been radically curtailed by the rationing that the Serbian authorities instituted a month ago and then had to lower the ceilings twice since then," said Helmut Sonnenfeldt, an expert at the Brookings Institution, a think tank in Washington.

<P> A NATO official said that "we see one-third of the normal bus service in Belgrade, very long lines at stations, reduction to agricultural support, reports of black market attempts across the Romanian and Bulgarian borders and other things like that as Serbia scrambles to meet fuel requirements."

<P> Western officials said that they had no meaningful numbers about the extent of damage sustained by Serbia, but they insisted that the impact was real and, inevitably in a way, mainly psychological so far.

<P> In this sense, NATO's self-imposed restrictions against civilian casualties could turn out to be an advantage in compelling Belgrade to bow to domestic criticism and change policy. Traditionally, strategic bombing to break a nation's resistance has usually backfired, hitting civilians just enough to anger them at their attacker or else hitting them so hard that they have to struggle for survival and are too stunned to revolt against their leaders, according to Robert Pape, author of "Bombing to Win."

<P> NATO's bombing has solidified support among Serbs for Mr. Milosevic so far, but U.S. officials said that now dissidence was starting to appear as the nonlethal economic war produced a steadily bleaker outlook in Serbia.

<P> While Belgrade's media monopoly means that Serbian forces' fate in Kosovo only filters back by word of mouth, Serbia's vulnerability is brought home to ordinary people when NATO air strikes cripple daily life. Enhancing this "demonstration effect," NATO has sought to underline Serbia's technical vulnerability by unsheathing especially sophisticated weapons, including so-called soft bombs. These previously undisclosed special munitions, dropped from F-117 stealth fighters, release clouds of graphite filaments that short-circuit power grids and instantly black out cities.

<P> The damage can be repaired, but with growing difficulty if these comparatively cheap raids are repeated. Serbs could find winter harsh with continuing power shortages.

<P> Seen in this light, NATO strategy has "quite a considerable economic element," according to Mr. Sonnenfeldt, who emphasized the potential long-run impact of devastating the civil infrastructure that will have to be rebuilt by postwar Serbia. A German official agreed, explaining that "no nongovernmental humanitarian agency has the kind of money that will be needed to rebuild bridges or even dredge the wrecks out of the Danube."

<P> Serbia's economic weakness could therefore provide major leverage for Western countries. Foreign investment, which would be crucial for Serbia's future growth, seems unlikely to be forthcoming if Mr. Milosevic manages to stay in power after a Kosovo settlement.

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<P>New York Times

May 26, 1999

<P>Kosovo Crisis Strains Already Struggling Albania

<P>By Anthony DePalma

<P> TIRANA, Albania -- As spooky reminders of a dark, suspicious, past, more than 500,000 Communist-era bunkers still poke through the ground throughout Albania.

<P> The mushroom-shaped pillboxes were built in the 1970s as a defense against foreign invasion. And some of them are finally being used -- as protective barriers around the NATO encampments that have been welcomed here during the campaign against Yugoslavia.

<P> The bunkers were once symbols of Albania's isolation and paranoia, but they had been reduced to mere curiosities, with cheap marble replicas sold in tourist shops.

<P> The transformation from communist outpost to a member of the European community of nations has not been easy. Albania remains Europe's poorest country and has suffered through one crisis after another.

<P> With its economy demolished and many of its roads and public buildings crumbling, the country slid into anarchy in 1997 following the collapse of a gigantic pyramid scheme in which huge numbers of Albanians had invested.

<P> And now there is a new crisis. Since March 24, more than half a million Kosovo refugees have flooded in, increasing Albania's population by 15 percent and placing enormous strain on its resources.

<P> "Everyone thought that Albania had reached bottom two years ago," said Piro Misha, a leading Albanian political scientist. "But now we are realizing that the bottom was actually much, much deeper."

<P> Government officials estimate that its cost for the refugee crisis so far

ar exceeds \$150 million, an enormous amount in a country where the average monthly salary of a government worker is \$71. With a war nearby and the government preoccupied, international commercial trade and privatization have ground to a halt, and budding private investments have dried up.

<P> But the crisis is also exacting a great price on Albania's fragile political system. The center-left government of Prime Minister Pandeli Majko has been roundly criticized by nationalist opposition forces for handing over control of Albania's air space and military bases to NATO.

<P> The government, elected last October with a reputation for not abiding corruption, has openly sided with the separatist Albanian rebel group from Kosovo, the Kosovo Liberation Army, and allows it to operate freely in Albania. Yugoslavia has retaliated with incursions across the northern border.

<P> The newspapers are filled with rumors that the political factions that attempted a coup last September will try again.

<P> "This government is so weak it could be overthrown by 200 people," said Fatos Lubonja, a prominent intellectual who spent 17 years as a political prisoner. But, he said, "If there is any stability here, it derives from the fact that there is no better alternative than the government we have now."

<P> During Albania's 50 years of communism, totalitarian control was more complete than in other communist state. "Albania was isolated for so long that it was left without immunization to corruption, political manipulation and the excesses of the open market," said Misha, the political analyst.

<P> Unlike in other communist countries, no dissident movement emerged, and after the collapse all the new parties were composed of disguised Communists.

<P> Former President Sali Berisha, whose government fell after the pyramid disaster, is believed to have been behind last September's attempted coup, and analysts say he could try again at any sign of instability in Tirana.

<P> There is an expectation here that the West will ante up substantial amounts of aid to help Albania and the entire Balkans region rebuild after the conflict in Kosovo ends. Such an effort, like the Marshall Plan for Europe after World War II, is seen as especially important to Albania because it could provide money and guidance for building democratic government structures.

<P> "If the West is serious about stability in the Balkans, it will have to get serious about stability in Albania," said Erin Saberi, an independent political consultant and former director of the Albanian office of the nonprofit Na

tional Democratic Institute for International Affairs, which is based in Washington. "There are signs that the West does see Albania as important, but there are also signs that it is still seen as a small, irrelevant, wild outpost."

<P> The primary concern about pouring aid into Albania would be to ensure that in a place known for criminal activity and corruption, the money would not be siphoned off.

<P> "Corruption is so widespread here that people think this is a normal part of life," said Lubonja, the former political prisoner. In a survey conducted for the World Bank last year, 40 percent of respondents here said it was necessary to bribe officials to get health care. And a recent study by the Albanian Center on Economic research found that the majority of companies spent more than 5 percent of revenues on corruption.

<P> But it is not just payoffs and bribes. Every apartment building has a field of satellite television dishes, but nobody pays fees for the signals. Water and electricity bills routinely go unpaid.

<P> Stolen luxury cars are sold openly, and markets across Albania carry cheap knock-offs of brand names, such as Panper's diapers, with packages made to resemble those of Pampers, and Cola-Cola bottles that are hard to tell from Coca-Cola.

<P> When the pyramid schemes collapsed, images of Albanian mobs armed with automatic rifles stolen from state armories were seen around the world.

<P> But the country's unconditional acceptance of Kosovo Albanian refugees is softening that image. In contrast, neighboring Macedonia has repeatedly closed its border with Kosovo and threatened to ship out the refugees because the government fears their presence will disturb the country's delicate ethnic balance.

<P> Albania is one of the newest countries in Europe -- it emerged from 400 years of Turkish rule in 1912 -- but its people are among the oldest. Albanians are descendants of the ancient Illyrians, here before the Roman conquest.

<P> The Albanian-speaking Muslims of Kosovo share a common language and substantial cultural bonds with the 3.3 million people of Albania. But after two months, some of the initial generosity and brotherhood have started to fade.

<P> Six weeks ago, Ermal Shllaku, an unemployed 29-year-old miner in the northern city of Kukes, took in Gani Berisha and his family when they arrived, penniless, from Kosovo. Fourteen people now live in Shllaku's two-room apartment.

<P> He has not charged Berisha rent, but he knows that other Albanians have demanded up to \$700 a month. "We Albanians want to get rich in an instant," he said.

<P> Ilber Shaku, a plumbing inspector in Kukes, sees nothing wrong with charging refugees rent, although he does not do so himself.

<P> "People here had almost nothing," he said. "This is a chance to make money. But if you look at all of Albania, everyone steals, from the government on down. So really, this is nothing."

<P> Albania is a small country, accustomed to living with big powers. Italy occupied it in 1939, then German forces in 1943. Communists seized power in 1944, but in 1968, it broke with the Soviet Union and turned to China. In 1972, Albania severed ties with China and withdrew into almost total isolation.

<P> Now it has applied for membership to the World Trade Organization, and the great majority of Albanians fully support NATO and want the alliance to remain after the Kosovo conflict ends.

<P> For many of them, accepting another power, personified in ordinary conversation as "Boba" -- or father -- Clinton, is not a threat but a chance to set things straight.

<P> "The image of Albania in the world is of poverty, corruption and illegality," Misha said. "We want to create something different but we know that we need some help to make the change."

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<P>New York Times

May 26, 1999

<P>Civil Action Accuses Yugoslavs Of War Crimes

<P>By Raymond Bonner

<P> WASHINGTON -- Two Kosovar Albanians filed a lawsuit Tuesday in a U.S. District Court charging President Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia, his wife and senior members of his government with genocide and other war crimes.

<P> In their civil action filed in Boston, the plaintiffs say that as part of a "deliberate campaign of 'ethnic cleansing' " the defendants, including Zeljko Raznjatovic, the paramilitary commander known as Arkan, violated laws of the United States as well as international law.

<P> A lawyer involved in the case, Paul Williams, said the lawsuit was intended in part "to send a message" to the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, sitting in the Hague, that it was possible, and relatively easy, to lay out a case against Milosevic.

<P> "You don't need all these highly sophisticated intelligence intercepts," said Williams, a former State Department lawyer and now a professor of law at American University.

<P> Under pressure from the NATO countries since the bombing began, the war crimes tribunal has been gathering evidence against Milosevic and it is widely assumed that it will hand down an indictment of Milosevic in the next few weeks.

<P> The State Department had no comment on the lawsuit.

<P> A lawyer for the plaintiffs, Abram Chayes, said that he did not expect Milosevic or any of the other defendants to appear to present their side of the case or answer the charges.

<P> "My expectation is we will get a default judgment," Chayes said. The challenge then would be to find assets belonging to the defendants to be used to satisfy any monetary award the court might make.

<P> The legal basis for the lawsuit is found in a law passed more than 200 years ago, the Alien Tort Claims Act, which was intended to punish piracy on the high seas.

<P> The act was invoked in 1980 against a foreigner when the family of a man tortured to death in Paraguay successfully sued a Paraguayan police inspector.

<P> In recent years there has been a proliferation of similar suits, among them actions against the Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos as well as against an Argentine general and an Ethiopian military commander.

<P> The wartime leader of the Bosnian Serbs, Radovan Karadzic, was charged with war crimes and genocide in a lawsuit filed in U.S. District Court in Manhattan in 1993. He initially asked a lawyer to appear on his behalf to contest the court's jurisdiction but Karadzic has since declined to participate, and the case is now in fact-finding stages.

<P> The lawsuit against Milosevic and the others does not identify the Kosovo plaintiffs by name, in order to protect their family members, who are still in the region, from retaliation, their lawyers said.

<P> One of the plaintiffs is described as a 32-year-old Yugoslav citizen who has been granted political asylum in the United States.

<P> The lawsuit says that on March 27, Serbian policemen wearing blue uniforms and masks, along with members of the "White Tigers," the paramilitary unit headed by Arkan, burst into the family house in the city of Pec, and ordered everyone outside.

<P> They separated the men from the women and then shot the plaintiff's 30-year-old brother, 64-year-old uncle and 22-year-old cousin on the front lawn, the complaint says.

<P> The plaintiff's parents, sister and sister-in-law were forced to watch, according to the complaint.

<P> The second plaintiff is identified as a man, 47, who fled Yugoslavia in 1972 and was granted political asylum in the United States.

<P> On the same day, in the same village, Serbian policemen and members of Arkan's paramilitary unit killed the second plaintiff's 79-year-old father, the lawsuit says.

<P> The plaintiff's mother recognized one of the policemen as a neighbor, the lawsuit says and she, along with her other sons and a daughter-in-law were forced to flee to Albania. The family's home and motel, built near hot springs, were destroyed.

<P> The defendants include the foreign minister, the minister of information, a former Yugoslav diplomat in Washington who is now spokesman for the foreign ministry, the chief of staff of the Yugoslav army and several military and police commanders.

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<P>London Daily Telegraph

May 26, 1999

<P>On The March With KLA's Rag-Tag Band Of Rebels

<P>By Michael Smith

<P>AS the KLA commander got out of the small four-wheel-drive vehicle to talk t

o one of his "sergeants" on the border between Albania and Kosovo, two Serbian shells landed within a few yards of the frontline position.

<P>"This is one big racket," he said. "The Serbs are really hitting us heavy. They attacked a supply column that was taking ammunition to Ramush, the commander of this whole region. We still don't know how many are dead."

<P>The photographer Paul Grover and I had joined the convoy last Friday north of Papaj, the Kosovo Liberation Army's main base in northern Albania. We were to be guided by a team of eight black-uniformed KLA special forces "sergeants" behind the Serb lines, to the main command post of Ramush Haradinaj, the commander in western Kosovo. The group was to travel by night and hide by day, reaching Ramush's command post, 30 miles deep inside Kosovo, within two, maybe three days.

<P>It started off well, assisted by pack horses which carried the heavy rucksacks for much of the trek up the mountains. But once the horses left and the KLA men had to carry the supplies themselves, the group began to run into trouble. While most of the guerrillas appeared to be fit, experienced soldiers, around a dozen recruits had had only a few weeks' training and were clearly neither fit nor properly disciplined.

<P>There were breaks in the forced march up the mountains every 10 minutes. But many of the youths were stopping after five. Faced with this difficulty, the group commander, one of the eight special forces men, adapted his schedule. As a result, the first night was spent up on the mountains in the bitter cold with only two small tents for more than 70 men.

<P>Most huddled around camp fires, the smoke giving the Serbs the first sign that something was happening. The second was the discarded wrappings and tins from the night's rations, a sight that would have sent a British infantry sergeant into a blue fit. "Never leave anything behind you" is an order drummed into every British Army recruit. Dig a hole and bury your rubbish rather than let the enemy know you were there.

<P>Many members of the supply column had experience not just of several missions "inside" but also from their time as conscripts in the Yugoslav Army.

<P>Apollon was typical. Like most of the column he came from Gjakova in southern Kosovo and his aim was to go back to liberate the town. "It is where I come from, where I belong," he said. "If I die there, at least I die in my home."

<P>Next evening the column started out again. Tonight it was to enter Kosovo. "Stay in line," the commander ordered. "If we stop, you crouch down, but you still stay in line. You keep quiet." The column seemed to heed the advice. It moved through woodland, up into Kosovo. But then a reconnaissance party came back. There were

e too many Serbs ahead. It was impossible to get through. The group would have to climb much higher through the forests to cross the border elsewhere. A second night was to be spent in the open with only flimsy sleeping bags for protection.

<P>The next morning, under pressure to deliver the much-needed supplies to Ramush, the commander made a major tactical error. He abandoned the decision to travel only at night. The column climbed up a long gorge, with the mountains on the northern side marking the border with Kosovo. It was then that one of the sergeants saw the Serb observation post, high up in the mountains, watching the column's every move. "Never mind, we go on," the commander insisted.

<P>Concerns over what the Serbs were doing were temporarily swept away by a flash storm, with driving rain coming at an angle into the path of the column. Demoralised by the drenching they were getting, the guerrillas made their way to some shepherds' huts where they were to stay until dark and the final move over the top into Kosovo. That was to be a long slog up to 7,000ft, helped again by pack horses, but with some of the newer recruits dragging behind and stopping for ever more frequent breaks.

<P>The pack horses left just 200 yards from the border. The final ascent was up a steep snow-covered slope. Faced with having to lug a 50lb load up there, one of the recruits from Gjakova became hysterical. The commander shouted that he would shoot him if he did not shut up. "I don't care," the recruit said. "I would rather die from your bullets than from the cold."

<P>Not only had the shouting match ensured the Serbs' attention but the treatment of the recruit had incensed the rest of the Gjakova youths. There was a near mutiny and for more than an hour the column waited there, one part of the group wanting to get into Kosovo then and there, the other insisting that they were close to exhaustion and anyway the Serbs must now be waiting.

<P>Eventually the commander gave up and allowed them to dump the supplies, covered in ground sheets, and to return to the shepherds' huts.

<P>By now the column was out of control, plunging helter-skelter down the gorge into the darkness, leaving it split and with many of the guerrillas in danger of becoming lost on the mountain. The torchlights on the Yugoslav side of the mountains were threatening. The Serbs shouted insults as they counted the numbers of soldiers dashing down into the gorge.

<P>Next morning I said we had to leave as pack horses arrived with cakes and soft drinks for the soldiers, the equivalent of a Naafi wagon. There were embraces from some of our new-found friends, with a promise that we would all meet again in Gjakove when it was liberated.

<P>Barely an hour later a series of mortar grenades was fired at the shepherds' huts. It was a softening up process, scarcely needed, which left two KLA men seriously wounded. As twilight fell and the commander gathered his men to enter Kosovo, a Yugoslav infantry unit attacked.

<P>Quite what happened and how many died is impossible to tell. It seems that the Gjakova reunion may be off.

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<P>Baltimore Sun

May 25, 1999

<P>NATO Sees Signs Milosevic Is 'Cracking' Under Attacks

<I><P>Secretary-general says NATO airstrike strategy works, shouldn't change

</I><P>From Wire Reports

<P> BELGRADE, Yugoslavia -- As air attacks entered their third month, NATO pounded power plants and airfields yesterday, and its leader said there were signs that Yugoslavia's President Slobodan Milosevic was "cracking" after two months of airstrikes.

<P> Air raid sirens sounded after sundown in Yugoslavia's three largest cities -- Belgrade, Novi Sad and Nis -- and elsewhere.

<P> Ten strong explosions rocked Novi Sad near a refinery and power station, and four missiles fired by NATO jets struck civilian targets around Glogovac, 15 miles southwest of Kosovo's provincial capital, Pristina, the state-run Tanjug news agency reported.

<P> The private Beta news agency reported an attack late yesterday on Nis but provided no details, except to say a "big flash" could be seen on the city's horizon.

<P> Belgrade was down to its last 10 percent of water reserves because of damaged pumping stations and a power outage, media reported.

<P> Two missiles targeted the Kostolac power plant, 20 miles east of Belgrade, yesterday.

<P> A Serb media report claimed 100 people were killed in strikes Friday and Sunday on a prison in Istok in northwestern Kosovo.

<P> There was no independent confirmation of the Radio Belgrade report; earlier, 19 had been reported killed.

<P> At NATO headquarters in Brussels, Belgium, Secretary-General Javier Solana said Milosevic's international isolation and increasing internal dissent strengthened Solana's conviction that NATO should stick with the air campaign instead of considering a ground invasion.

<P> "We want to maintain the strategy at this very moment which is producing results rapidly," Solana said.

<P> German Defense Minister Rudolf Scharping said the air campaign was proving successful and NATO should keep open the option of stepping it up.

<P> "I think we must have this possibility to escalate the military action in order to reach a political settlement," he told reporters.

<P> "The air campaign is successful and if we are a little bit more patient we will reach our objectives, I'm sure."

<P> Solana insisted NATO unity remained strong despite British calls to send in ground troops if necessary, and said Milosevic "is cracking. No question about it."

<P> While Milosevic's power remains unchallenged, there were new reports of war protests.

<P> Two opposition parties urged Milosevic to strike a deal over Kosovo to end the bombing, while an independent newspaper reported thousands of people had demonstrated in three towns to demand the withdrawal of reservists from the strife-torn southern province.

<P> And police in Cacak detained three leaders of an anti-war movement in the central Serbian town for questioning, according to the Montena-fax news agency in Yugoslavia's junior republic, Montenegro.

<P> On the diplomatic front, Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott was to leave Washington yesterday for Moscow and a new round of talks with Viktor S. Chernomyrdin, Russia's special envoy on the Balkans.

<P> Talbott returned from Moscow late last week after meeting with Chernomyrdin, who had held talks in Belgrade with Milosevic.

<P> "These have been very constructive talks," White House Press Secretary Joe Lockhart said of last week's diplomatic efforts, which also involved Finnish President Martti Ahtisaari.

<P> "There is no particular breakthrough, but we continue to work with Mr. Chernomyrdin and President Ahtisaari to find a way to meet the NATO conditions" to end the conflict, Lockhart said.

<P> In Albania yesterday, NATO Supreme Commander Gen. Wesley K. Clark said his forces still have the option of using the Army's Apache attack helicopters in Kosovo, despite signs the plan has been shelved.

<P> In a visit to Task Force Hawk, an American base established seven weeks ago, Clark shrugged off suggestions that remarks by President Clinton last week had squashed prospects of the low-flying tank-killers seeing action against the Serbs.

<P> "That's a decision that has to be made," Clark said.

<P> "We've said they'll be used at a time and place that's appropriate and

of our own choosing, and I think that's how you have to look at it."

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<P>London Daily Telegraph

May 25, 1999

<P>Defence Cuts Leave Army Short Of Troops

<P>By Tim Butcher, Defence Correspondent

<P> ARMY manpower shortages caused by badly planned defence cuts at the end of the Cold War are causing significant problems for Ministry of Defence planners preparing British troop deployments to the Balkans.

<P> As senior officers struggle with a shortfall of 5,000 troops, or five per cent of the Army, manning problems have dogged every stage of the Kosovo crisis and promise to limit commitments if a ground war develops. The problems are causing the Army to scrutinise deployments in Cyprus, Bosnia, Northern Ireland and the Falklands to see if any of them can be reduced to free soldiers for Kosovo.

<P> In December, when Britain sent an armoured infantry company to Macedonia from the King's Own Royal Border Regiment, it was so understaffed that it had to be augmented from other regiments. There were similar problems in February

when the main infantry component of Britain's lead battle group, elements of the 1st Battalion Irish Guards, had to be supplemented with troops from the Green Howards.

<P> Now the 1st Battalion Parachute Regiment, which is earmarked for deployment in Kosovo, is more than 120 men short, and needs a boost of an entire company of soldiers from outside the Paras. Critics have blamed the manning problems on the cuts to the Territorial Army announced by the Government last year as part of its Strategic Defence Review. But most observers accept that the TA reforms only exacerbated an existing problem dating from the end of the Cold War when the Tory government took too large a peace dividend by cutting the Army by about a third.

<P> The Conservatives put great emphasis on the fighting effectiveness of the Armed Forces being maintained, even calling one round of reforms Frontline First - arguing that the cuts would have a minimal effect on the front line. But while Britain was able to deploy a full armoured division of around 30,000 ground troops to the Gulf in 1990 it is now accepted that a similar deployment would no longer be possible.

<P> George Robertson, the Defence Secretary, has overseen a number of initiatives since Labour came to power in 1997 to improve recruitment, retention and resettlement in the Army. Those have been largely successful, but it takes time to reverse the manning problems caused in the early 1990s and Mr Robertson admitted that the additional deployments to Kosovo would not be painless.

<P> "There will be substantial strain," he said. "But, at the same time, the Army is there for operations and it has never been more necessary than it is today." For years senior officers have been saying the Army can bear no additional deployments because of a 5,000 shortfall in its trained strength, which is meant to be about 105,000.

<P> The planning assumption on which the Strategic Defence Review was made last year was that no additional operational commitments would be made. It was this promise that led the Armed Forces to accept the 600 million-a-year cuts in defence spending. It has now been breached as Britain commits more and more troops to Kosovo. At present 5,600 British troops are in Macedonia and about 120 are in Albania. By the end of the month the total in Macedonia should rise to 6,200 with an additional 2,300 committed to the region - though held back in Britain on reduced notice to move.

<P> At a time when British troops are potentially about to go into combat, no defence sources want to be seen to criticise the operation. But Bruce George, the chairman of the Commons Defence Select Committee, said manning problems would need delicate handling by MoD planners. He also promised that the subject would be looked into by the committee when it holds an inquiry into the Kosovo crisis, as it does whenever British troops are in a combat situation. He said: "We will have to meet our self-imposed commitments but it may need some creati

vity and adjustments."

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<P>Washington Times

May 25, 1999

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<P>Bombing Utilities Could Backfire, Experts Warn

<I><P>NATO tactics may harden Serbian citizens' resolve

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

<P> NATO's new bombing strategy to cut off electric power and water carries the risk of hardening defiance among average Serbs who blame their troubles on the alliance, not their political leaders, say military experts.

<P> U.S. and allied jets this weekend took Operation Allied Force to a new level of intensity that directly inflicted hardship on civilians. Bombs smashed power stations in Belgrade, Novi Sad and other Yugoslav cities, and, according to state-run news services, also blasted water-pumping facilities.

<P> It is NATO's biggest gamble since bombs started falling March 24. The West hopes that Serbs, seeing hospitals and businesses without water and electricity, will turn their wrath on Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic. But the strategy could backfire, air-power experts warn, just when Belgrade seemed to be inching toward a peace deal.

<P> Karl Mueller, a teacher at the Air Force's School of Advanced Air Power Studies, recently delivered a briefing on the campaign to Checkmate, a unit within the Air Force staff that maps strategies.

<P> "Attacks on electric power may have value for temporarily disrupting air defenses and communications, but will mainly serve to damage the economy," Mr. Mueller wrote.

<P> "It is not at all clear that this is a goal worth pursuing because damage to electric power has very serious collateral-damage effects due to its impact on medical care, sanitation and other essential services for civilians. . . . Whether this will make such attacks worthwhile in light of the costs is very questionable."

<P> James Anderson, a former Marine officer and analyst at the Heritage Foundation, said that by destroying power transformers, NATO risks losing the moral high ground it has sought by avoiding civilian targets.

<P> "Knocking out power grids for the entire population is not particularly precise or discriminate," Mr. Anderson said. "NATO will lose whatever it gained previously with its promise to be discriminate."

<P> "If history is any guide," he added, "the likelihood is that Serbs are going to blame NATO more than they blame Milosevic."

<P> Stephen Larrabee, a military analyst at the Rand Corp., said that until NATO puts an invasion force on the Kosovo border, he sees no sign that bombing electrical plants will force Mr. Milosevic to give in.

<P> "From his perspective," he said, "time is running out on the NATO alliance, given the fact they've got to get the refugees back in by winter. And secondly, I don't think you can sustain the bombing for two more months. I don't think there's enough support from within the alliance."

<P> Mr. Larrabee said the strikes may well be degrading Serbian forces in Kosovo, as NATO says, but "it's a race against time, and in lots of ways he has more time."

<P> Retired and active-duty officers have roundly criticized the 2-month-old air campaign for several reasons, chief among them that air strikes alone will not guarantee victory. Officers also have criticized the small size of the original target list, as the alliance's political leaders hoped a few days of bombing would convince Mr. Milosevic to bend.

<P> Now, however, some experts wonder whether taking the air war to the ultimate level by destroying electricity and water supplies is the proper route.

<P> "It's hard to make the connection how this gets at the forces in Kosovo," Mr. Larrabee said.

<P> Serbian media reported yesterday that NATO bombs destroyed several water-pumping stations, the Associated Press says. NATO officials in Brussels denied this, saying the pumps were not working because they have been denied electricity.

<P> "We have not targeted - and I think we've been very clear about that - the power plants per se," said NATO spokesman Peter Daniel. "We have targeted the transformers and the edges, so to speak, of the electricity-generating system. And it is mainly to cause difficulties to the military complex in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."

<P> Mr. Anderson said that if NATO had planned all along to turn out the lights in Belgrade, the attacks should have come in the first days of bombing.

<P> "The fact is, coming in the second month will diminish the impact of the shock value because it appears the Serbs have been making all sorts of preparations - storing water and candles and all the rest," he said. "They have had time to psychologically prepare for things of this nature."

<P> Pentagon spokesman Kenneth Bacon defended the campaign's gradual buildup.

<P> "The goal of the NATO campaign was not to crush Yugoslavia," he said. "It was to degrade their force enough so that they would go to the negotiating table. And some members of NATO said, in order to do that, you don't have to go in and on the first few days of the campaign demolish the country, because that's not the goal."

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<P>St. Louis Post-Dispatch

May 25, 1999

<P>Yugoslavia Falls Well Short In Meeting NATO Conditions To Stop The Conflict

<P>By Harry Levins, Post-Dispatch Senior Writer

<P> NATO has insisted on five conditions for ending its conflict with Yugoslavia. Here are those five conditions - and a scorecard of how much progress has been made on each.

<P> 1. Yugoslavia must end the violence against the Albanian Kosovars.

<P> The ethnic cleansing of Albanians has abated somewhat - but only because so few Kosovars remain on hand to be cleansed.

<P> Even after NATO bombs started falling on March 24, more than 800,000 people have left Kosovo, the United Nations says. Perhaps 600,000 of the Kosovars still inside their homeland have been pushed from their homes and villages.

<P> Many of those still trickling into Albania and Macedonia are bearing horror stories of abuse and atrocities.

<P> And even before the bombing began, 100,000 of the 1.8 million Albanian Kosovars had sought asylum in European countries.

<P> 2. Yugoslavia must pull its 40,000 soldiers and paramilitary police officers from Kosovo.

<P> Despite some reports of desertions among Yugoslavian soldiers in Kosovo, The New York Times reported Monday that Yugoslavia was sending reinforcements to dig in along Kosovo's border with Albania.

<P> The Times quotes a NATO spokesman, German Maj. Gen. Walter Jertz, as saying, "We have seen no sign of withdrawal."

<P> In recent weeks, NATO has turned much of its bombing effort away from Yugoslavia's major cities and onto the Yugoslav forces in Kosovo. The aim is to kill as many soldiers as possible and chase the rest out.

<P> In a phone interview from the Department of Defense on Monday, Air Force Capt. Sandra Allen said that through Sunday, NATO's planes had destroyed 550 pieces of "major equipment" - tanks, artillery pieces and trucks - in Kosovo.

<P> She said that number represented a third of the total on hand there. Nobody in NATO has numbers on how many Yugoslavian soldiers have been killed or wounded, and the Yugoslavs aren't saying.

<P> The scale of the bombing is impressive. On Monday, NATO's strike force welcomed its 1,000th warplane, triple the fleet on hand when the air war began. Over Kosovo and Serbia proper, the planes have flown more than 25,000 sorties and dropped more than 15,000 bombs and missiles.

<P> The Air Force's Allen said NATO had destroyed 100 Yugoslav military aircraft (half the Yugoslav air force), three-quarters of the fixed sites for anti-aircraft missiles and half the ammunition storage depots, among other targets.

<P> But the bombing has failed to oust the Yugoslavs from Serbia - and NATO has refused to countenance a ground invasion to that end.

<P> 3. Yugoslavia must allow the Albanian Kosovars to return to their homes.

<P> Today, the Kosovar refugees are scattered in 31 countries, in numbers large (430,000 in Albania, 237,600 in Macedonia) and small (70 in Iceland, 41 in R

omania).

<P> Refugee workers fret that time is running out to get the Kosovars back in to repaired homes before winter, which comes as early as October to the high country of Kosovo.

<P> At this point, the Yugoslavs show no sign of either opening Kosovo to the refugees or ceding it to NATO bombing.

<P> 4. Yugoslavia must permit an international military force to supervise the return.

<P> At first, NATO said this force would be all-NATO. Yugoslavia balked, calling any such force an affront to its sovereignty.

<P> Since then, NATO has backed off a bit. In more recent statements, NATO's leaders have said they'd be open to a force that included outside soldiers-from Russia, say, or even from China.

<P> Even so, NATO says, its own military muscle would be at the core of the force, and NATO would have the final say.

<P> Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic is holding out for command to go to the United Nations, which NATO bypassed when it started the bombing. Also, Milosevic wants some sort of armed Yugoslav presence inside Kosovo.

<P> The Albanian Kosovars are leery about returning behind any soldiers but NATO's. They fear that U.N. control would be a muddled affair, with the Yugoslavs pouring through loopholes.

<P> There is behind-the-scenes diplomacy on this question, with much to-and-fro-ing between Belgrade and Moscow by Russian envoy Viktor Chernomyrdin. But his efforts have been as fruitless as the bombing.

<P> 5. Yugoslavia must start restoring the autonomy that Kosovo enjoyed from 1974 to 1989.

<P> Kosovo is a province within a republic (Serbia) within a nation (Yugoslavia). For an American parallel, think of a county within a state within the United States.

<P> When Kosovo had autonomy from 1974 to 1989, the province enjoyed something

g close to home rule. It could enact its own domestic laws, for example, and run its own courts. Given that Albanian Kosovars made up 90 percent of the population, autonomy had a distinctly Albanian accent.

<P> But Kosovar is sacred soil to the Serbs. It houses their holy places - ancient Orthodox Christian monasteries and seminaries - and holds the site of the Serbs' national legend, the loss of the Battle of Kosovo to the invading Ottoman Turks in 1389.

<P> To Serbs, Kosovo is what Jerusalem is to Israelis, or the Alamo to Texans. Persuading them to hand over control to the Muslim Kosovars would be tough at best.

<P> The Rambouillet accord that the Serbs rejected called for putting off any final decision on Kosovo's final status until three years down the road.

<P> Given the strong feelings let loose among Serbs and Kosovars by the bombing and ethnic cleansing, a definitive answer is surely no closer now. In fact, it's probably been moved farther down the road.


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<P>National Journal

May 22, 1999

The Ground-War Feint

By James Kitfield

Even as President Clinton hinted for the first time this week that sending ground troops into Kosovo was an option, the window of opportunity for backing up Clinton's words with action was rapidly closing. Privately, Pentagon and Administration sources expect that this window--determined by the length of time needed to deploy ground troops before the onset of the Balkan winter--will shut long before the consensus within NATO changes from the present conviction that ground combat is simply too risky.

"I and everyone else has always said that we intend to see our objectives achieved and that we have not and will not take any option off the table," Clinton said on May 18, after meeting the previous evening with senior national security advisers. According to a National Security Council source, the group discussed what the ground-war options would be, should diplomacy fail despite the continued air bombardment.

Yet sources say Clinton's fighting words were designed more as a signal of diplomatic resolve than a declaration of military intent. Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic has recently shown signs that he is looking for a deal, and the Administration wanted to send the message that he cannot "outwait" the alliance.

But time is not necessarily on NATO's side. Given that it would take eight to 12 weeks to deploy a viable ground force to the region, then more time to train the troops in that terrain, the alliance must begin deployment next month at the latest if it is to mount a successful ground invasion before the bitter Balkan winter sets in. The low clouds and deep snow typical of the region's winters--which can begin as early as October--would greatly complicate a ground operation and deny NATO forces their key advantage in airpower.

Politically, a series of three high-level meetings, culminating on June 18 in Bonn, Germany, with a summit of the Group of Eight countries--seven industrialized democracies plus Russia--represents the last realistic chance to forge an alliance consensus behind a ground operation.

"The G-8 meeting in mid-June will mark a key turning point because by that time, it will be clear whether the current strategy of air bombardment is working, and, if not, whether a consensus exists for going to a limited ground option," said Simon Serfaty, director of European Studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. "Either way, I'm absolutely convinced that this bombing can't be sustained indefinitely. Given the increased civil

lian casualties, polls in the United States already show indications of a mood shift away from support for the air campaign. The bombing has also weakened coalition governments in Europe, especially in Germany and Italy."

<P>Indeed, a poll by the Pew Research Center for The People & The Press does show domestic support for the bombing fading from 62 percent in mid-April to 53 percent in May. On the other hand, an unusual alliance of opinion leaders and celebrities-- spanning the political spectrum from Bianca Jagger and Saul Bellow to Zbigniew Brzezinski and William Kristol--joined together in an advertisement in the May 13 New York Times urging the Clinton Administration to send in ground troops to save nearly one million displaced ethnic Albanians now facing starvation and death inside Kosovo. This week's Newsweek magazine reported that the Joint Chiefs of Staff "a few weeks ago" sent a letter to Defense Secretary William S. Cohen warning that only ground troops could guarantee fulfillment of NATO's political objectives. Three knowledgeable sources deny that the Joint Chiefs wrote Cohen such a letter.

<P>According to The Wall Street Journal, NATO's military committee is actively considering a plan to deploy 45,000 troops to Macedonia and Albania. Ostensibly, these troops would be deployed to serve as a peacekeeping force in the event of a negotiated settlement, but they could also be used to invade Kosovo after Serb forces have been weakened enough by the bombing to mount only moderate opposition.

<P>Any contemplation of ground troops takes place in a tense and unhappy environment. The early decision to publicly rule out ground forces continues to divide opinion within the alliance. The many critics of that decision argue that politically, it signaled uncertain alliance resolve, and militarily, it gave Belgrade more options. Instead of having to mass Serbian troops along the borders to repel a potential NATO invasion, Milosevic was free to disperse forces for his brutal campaign of ethnically targeted rape, murder, and pillage. And that dispersal of troops made them harder to hit in the bombing campaign.

<P>"It's dawning on a lot of people that NATO may soon confront a choice between a ground invasion or letting 'ethnic cleansing' stand," said Dana Allin, a research fellow with the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London. "I also fear that this moral indignation against ethnic cleansing that has held the alliance together is a perishable commodity, and that President Clinton better use it to lead NATO while he can."

<P>Faced with a wave of criticism on the eve of last month's NATO summit, Clinton Administration and alliance officials began carefully retracting their rhetorical opposition to a ground war, insisting that no option was off the table. Plans for a possible ground operation were being dusted off and updated, NATO officials stated with much fanfare at the time, and the U.S. Army's lethal, ground-hugging Apache attack helicopters were sent to the Balkans.

<P>But in reality, Pentagon and NATO officials remain deeply ambivalent about a

ground-force option, with its inherent risk of more casualties and its potential for escalating the conflict and even fracturing the alliance consensus behind the air campaign. "There is no consensus for a ground force," Cohen said last weekend.

<P>Indeed, German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder drove that point home unequivocally this week when he issued what amounts to a public veto of a ground war. "(We) reject the sending of ground forces," said Schroeder. "That is the German position, supported unanimously by the German parliament. If I understand NATO strategy correctly, that is also the present position of the alliance, and I am against any change in that strategy."

<P>Defense officials also concede that NATO's stated intention last month to update invasion plans was largely a diplomatic feint, designed to sidestep the issue at the NATO summit in Washington. When asked this week about the ground-war review, the commander of the Kosovo operation, Gen. Wesley K. Clark, replied that his planners had instead focused on preparing a peacekeeping plan that would go into effect only after the fighting had stopped.

<P>This week also revealed a rare rift between Clark and his senior Army colleagues in the Pentagon; it involves the use of the Apaches. Though reportedly anxious to employ the attack copters, which have languished in Albania for nearly a month, Clark has not requested the necessary approval from the Pentagon for fear that the Army senior leadership would oppose the Apache mission as too risky. "The Army leadership is definitely concerned that the Apaches might be sent in prematurely and get their asses shot off," which could reveal vulnerabilities to future adversaries who might face Apaches, said a knowledgeable military source in the Pentagon.

<P>In denying the Newsweek report that the Joint Chiefs had sent Cohen a letter asserting that ground troops would be required for victory, one Pentagon source said: "That's not true, and it implies that the chiefs are united behind the wisdom and need for a ground-force option, which they are not. The United States and NATO are not contemplating the possibility of defeat, but I can also tell you that we are not seriously contemplating the prospect of a ground-force invasion, either."

<P>One reason for the generals' reluctance to contemplate a ground war is that, according to military experts, any effective invasion would need to threaten all of Yugoslavia, forcing Belgrade to prepare defenses in both the north and the south.

<P>"If you invade only south, through Kosovo, fighting entrenched Serb forces one meter at a time even as you clear land mines, it's going to be slow and bloody," said Lt. Gen. Terry Scott, a veteran of the Persian Gulf War's famous Left Hook flanking maneuver and now head of national security studies at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government. "You need to threaten Belgrade from the north, so that Milosevic has to reposition his defensive forces and

d put troops on the roads, where they are vulnerable. I don't see how you could position a credible force for such an operation in less than 90 days, nor can I come up with a credible scenario that gets the ethnic Albanian Kosovars back into their homes with a roof over their heads before winter."

<P>Nor has the Clinton Administration laid the political and diplomatic groundwork to prepare Congress, the NATO alliance, or the American people for a ground-force option. The Clinton national security team may yet be proved right in their view that Milosevic will succumb to air strikes alone; they also fear that getting into a debate within NATO on ground forces would paralyze the alliance. But, so far, the alliance's words have been notably more dramatic and determined than its deeds.

<P>"From the beginning, there's been a terrible mismatch-- between our rhetoric of Milosevic being another Hitler perpetrating genocide in the center of Europe, and our goals and course of action," Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., said in an interview. "That's a stain on our honor, because if Milosevic had to contemplate the threat of ground forces from the beginning, he could not have dispersed his forces for the efficient ethnic cleansing of innocent people. As for whether the NATO allies would have held together in backing us in a ground-force option, I have a five-word answer: The United States must lead."


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<P>London Times

May 25, 1999

<U><P>Balkans War: On The Front Line

</U><P>Serb Soldiers Refuse To Go Back To The Front Line

<I><P>Troops from town that sent an army to fight the Turks do not want to go to war in Kosovo, writes Eve-Ann Prentice

</I><P> THOUSANDS of Yugoslav reserve troops have rebelled against the Milosevic regime by refusing to return to the front from home leave, according to reports reaching Belgrade yesterday.

<P> Between 2,000 and 3,000 reservists from Krusevac, and 1,000 from nearby Aleksandrovac, joined relations who were demanding an end to the fighting and said that they would not return to Kosovo, the independent VIP newsagency said. There were also reports of unrest in two other towns.

<P> The reserve troops and their families are due to gather in Krusevac again today when they will meet army officials who have promised to address their grievances.

<P> The demonstrators demanded that no more troops from the area be sent to Kosovo, VIP reported. They said the region has sent more than its fair share of men, and that local officials have kept the sons of influential families out of the fighting.

<P> It was from Krusevac, the Serbian capital in medieval times, that King Lazar set off to fight the Turks at Kosovo Polje in 1389, still seen by Serbs as a symbol of their heroism, despite his defeat.

<P> The wave of anti-war protests began more than a week ago, but seems to have abated from the middle of last week. The new demonstrations began on Sunday, according to VIP and the Montenegrin newspaper, Vijesti.

<P> There were also reports of growing unrest in the towns of Prokuplje, near Nis, and Raska, close to the Kosovo border. General Nebojsa Pavkovic, commander of the Yugoslav Third Army, was due to meet protesters in Krusevac at the weekend, but was unable to do so because he was quelling a "minor protest" in Raska, the report said.

<P> He is said to have persuaded reservists there to go back to Kosovo. There was no sign of unrest in Raska when I drove through on the way from Kosovo to Belgrade at the weekend. However, I did see a bus and lorry carrying about 80 blank-faced soldiers heading towards Kosovo.

<P> Raska has been badly damaged by Nato bombing and a makeshift gravel bridge has been built to bypass the bombed crossing of the River Ibar. The troop bus had difficulty at a tight corner on the bomb-damaged road and we had to reverse to let it pass.

<P> Neither the Government nor independent newspapers yesterday made any mention of the anti-war protests.

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<P>Los Angeles Times

May 25, 1999

Pg. 4

<P>Lack Of Water, Power Disrupt Life In Belgrade

<I><P>Yugoslavia: Air attacks lead to prolonged outages. Residents learn to cope.

</I><P>By Richard Boudreaux, Times Staff Writers

<P> BELGRADE, Yugoslavia--After 2 days without water and electricity, residents

ents of a 10-story apartment complex on the edge of Belgrade descended darkened stairwells late Monday with as many empty plastic containers as they could carry.

<P> A municipal water truck, the Yugoslav and Serbian capital's latest defense against NATO, had lumbered into the parking lot and opened its tap.

<P> As children scampered in and out of the truck's cabin, adults took turns at the thick black hoses protruding from the back. Then they headed back upstairs, treading carefully to avoid spilling any of their precious cargo.

<P> This city of 2 million people was down to a few hours of water reserves Monday in its seven reservoirs that don't require electric pumps, officials said, after NATO bombs damaged pumping stations and cut electricity to the few water pumps still working.

<P> With about a week's worth of water in the 12 reservoirs that must be pumped, City Hall dispatched 50 tanker trucks normally used for street cleaning to take water from these sources and spread it around town. The water went first to hospitals and bakeries, then to residential areas beyond the reach of those pipes where the water is still flowing.

<P> Not since the North Atlantic Treaty Organization began bombing Yugoslavia two months ago have so many Serbs felt the war so directly for so long.

<P> The last big blackout, three weeks ago, hit most of Serbia for about 16 hours. This one began early Saturday with attacks on a power station near Belgrade and continued with bombings Sunday and early Monday, causing a near-continuous outage in more than two-thirds of Yugoslavia's dominant republic.

<P> By Monday evening, power had been restored to about 30% of Belgrade, but far fewer people had running water, according to Deputy Mayor Milan Bozic. He said he fears that more damage in coming days could lead to prolonged water shortages and disease. Radio bulletins warned Belgraders not to drink untreated well water.

<P> "I can see a small village surviving months or years in these conditions, but in such a big city--I simply cannot imagine it," Bozic said. Referring to the Khmer Rouge's emptying of the Cambodian capital two decades ago, he added: "This is not Phnom Penh. We cannot force-march everyone to the countryside."

<P> The city's major hospitals continued to perform emergency surgery and deliver babies Monday with the help of emergency fuel-powered generators, but medical personnel had to haul water around in buckets or soft-drink bottles.

<P> Some smaller clinics had no power until Monday afternoon. For Dr. Alexander Savic, who treats 30 children for cerebral palsy, this meant those suffering epileptic seizures could not be hooked up to electronic monitors that help determine what kind of medication they need. He recorded four such seizures during the blackout.

<P> Belgraders took the disruption stoically.

<P> Around water trucks and in the few bakeries selling bread, one couldn't tell from most conversations that the country was under attack. People gossiped about their neighbors and politely lectured those who were trying to cut into line. A woman ridiculed her husband for bringing a bucket with a hole in it to fetch water.

<P> . People here complain that decade-long Western sanctions, like the bombing that aims to halt the crackdown on ethnic Albanians in Serbia's Kosovo province, hurt them, not Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic.

<P> "Do they really think that dying Serbs can challenge the regime?" asked Bojan Nikolic, 34, an electrical engineer.

<P> Around a charcoal fire in his backyard, Nenad Davinic, a 40-year-old civil engineer, said the bombs were "uniting all Serbs into one hard fist that will strike back at America."

<P> Inside the house, his 71-year-old mother, Nendelka, was staring at two days of dirty dishes.

<P> Her son "sounds tough, but all he does is talk," she said. "Meanwhile, we're living like gypsies. We're living from one day to the next praying that this will end tomorrow. Then we want to move to America."

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<P>Christian Science Monitor

May 25, 1999

Pg. 9

<P>Serbs' Bunker History Helps Them Stand Up To Bombs

<P>By Peter Ford, Staff Writer of The Christian Science Monitor

<P> BRUSSELS -- When a small, broke, pariah state in southeast Europe takes on the most powerful military alliance in world history, it naturally resorts to every ruse in its military manual.

<P> Sometimes, military sources at NATO headquarters say, the tricks are simple but effective: cardboard cutouts of tanks, dummy planes, and other decoys to fool pilots into thinking they have destroyed more than they really have.

<P> Sometimes they are more high-tech, such as the Army command's use of standard cell phones to stay in touch with the troops when NATO bombs destroy their radio links.

<P> But the way the Serbian forces have ducked and dodged and held together is a reminder that the Yugoslav military, descended from an anti-Nazi guerrilla army, had always planned dogged resistance to the overwhelming air power of an invading enemy - only they expected the enemy to be the Soviets.

<P> Serbian commanders also had plenty of time to study NATO habits in Bosnia, and time to hide many of their assets in the first, relatively quiet, few days of the war.

<P> "They have been very clever in their ability to conceal themselves," says a senior NATO diplomat.

<P> That means that many Serbian weapons systems are simply hidden somewhere and switched off, so as not to emit the electromagnetic signals that NATO planes can detect.

<P> It means that the Yugoslav Air Force has repositioned some of its planes near straight stretches of road that can be used as runways.

<P> It means that ammunition has been taken out of easily identified bunkers and stored in the woods.

<P> It means too that Serbian soldiers are parking their tanks and artillery near civilian homes or mosques, knowing that NATO pilots will not attack them for fear of "collateral damage."

<P> Though major roads and railways have been destroyed, there is always another way around; though fuel dumps have been hit, the Yugoslav Army, like NATO armies, is assumed to have stockpiled enough diesel to fight for three to six months.

<P> With Army headquarters located in caves or specially dug hardened bunkers in the mountainsides, and a network of thousands of radio transmitters and relay stations, "their command and control capability remains pretty robust," the senior NATO diplomat acknowledges.

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<P>Federal Computer Week

May 24, 1999

<P>DOD Expands Net For Ground Forces

<P>By Daniel Verton

<P> STUTTGART, Germany -- In anticipation of using ground forces as either peacekeepers or in a tactical offensive against Serb forces, the Defense Information Systems Agency has started a massive program to expand communications services throughout the European theater.

<P> Although the Clinton administration has not yet made a decision to deploy ground forces to put an end to the 3-month-old conflict in Yugoslavia, for the past several weeks DISA has been installing additional communications pipes to the Defense Information Systems Network.

<P> DISA is expanding the DISN backbone from Europe to the continental United States and to tactical locations throughout the Balkans and Europe, including from the United Kingdom to Germany and Germany to Italy, said George Uriona, chief of the plans division for DISA's European Field Office. When completed, DISA expects to increase the DISN infrastructure throughout the U.S. European Command (Eucom) by 30 percent, he said.

<P> "We're preparing to move DISN downrange" to undisclosed deployed locations throughout the Kosovo, Albania and Macedonia area of operations, Uriona said.

<P> The network expansion could support a peacekeeping mission or a ground attack on Serb forces. "Planning is going on for every eventuality, whether it is peacekeeping or a forcible-entry operation," said Marine Lt. Col. James Poleto, a senior staff officer assigned to DISA-Europe's plans division.

<P> Another sign that the Defense Department may be preparing for the use of ground troops was the conclusion last week of a NATO exercise. Combined Endeavor '99, held in Lager Aulenbach, Germany, brought together military computer and communications specialists from 32 nations for a two-week experiment that tested interoperability among a vast array of information technologies.

<P> "It certainly seems to be a potential indicator that things are going to happen," said Daniel Kuehl, chairman of the Information Operations Department at the School of Information Warfare and Strategy at the National Defense University. However, laying in additional tactical communications and holding the e

xercise "could also be use as a deterrent," he said.

<P> As was the case during the allied intervention in Bosnia, DISA is planning to extend a commercial type of DISN to users, including services of the secure and non-secure versions of DOD's Internet Protocol Router Network (SIPRNET and NIPRNET), videoconferencing, the Joint Worldwide Intelligence Communication System and other data services.

<P> In addition, the expansion should help alleviate critical bandwidth shortfalls throughout the theater that make it difficult to support real-time video feeds from unmanned aerial vehicles flying reconnaissance missions over Yugoslavia and Kosovo, Uriona said.

<P> The central focus of the expansion effort includes adding wideband communications capability to the existing infrastructure where forces are deployed. DISA currently runs E-1, T-1 and DS-3 communications pipes and plans to expand the network with additional DS-3s. DISA also is deploying OC-3 links from the theater back to the states, Uriona said.

<P> However, Uriona said the possibility exists that DISA will have to extend services to locations where there is little or no existing infrastructure, which is a complicated process.

<P> For example, DISA is installing communications pipes at what Uriona described as various Air Force "bed-down locations," which are launching points for fighter aircraft throughout Europe that have no access to DISN services. Because of security concerns, Uriona would not comment on the exact locations of these not-yet-built Air Force bases, but he did say that they are locations where "there is no backbone."

<P> Unlike Eucom's experience in Bosnia, DOD's military operations in and around Kosovo have benefited from a more mature commercial vendor support model, according to senior officials here. "The day we walked into Albania, the Italians were there to sell us [communications services]," said Navy Capt. Arthur Cooper, the deputy J-6 for Eucom. In contrast, "when we first went into Bosnia, there was absolutely no interest by any commercial vendor whatsoever to provide any services."

<P> It took three years for the various communications services in Bosnia to shift from military operation to commercial control, according to officials here.

<P> Regardless of whether a political settlement or an increased use of force brings ground troops into Kosovo, the level of information services required will depend on the number of troops deployed and their final locations, Uriona said.

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<P>Federal Computer Week

May 24, 1999

Pg. 1

<P>DOD Buried Under

<I><P>Software snafus bog down the Pentagon's high-profile
initiative to shift to paperless contracting

</I><P>By Bob Brewin and Colleen O'Hara

<P> Software problems have delayed the full-scale deployment of a computer
system that the Pentagon plans to use to buy everything from staples to subma-
rines in an electronic, paperless environment -- an initiative that top Defense D
epartment officials want functional by January 2000.

<P> The \$326 million Standard Procurement System, which DOD envisions procu-
rement officers using to manage the process of writing, awarding and managing c-
ontracts electronically, has been plagued by problems ranging from printing to
generating simple updates of electronic documents.

<P> SPS is designed to automate the often laborious steps that a DOD procurement shop needs to go through to issue a solicitation based on the Federal Acquisition Regulation and the Defense Federal Acquisition Regulations. DOD plans to deploy the system to 44,000 users at 860 locations worldwide.

<P> SPS is designed to help DOD move to a totally paperless contracting environment by Jan. 1, 2000, a target publicly and repeatedly backed by John Hamre, deputy secretary of Defense.

<P> American Management Systems Inc., which won the SPS contract in 1997, developed the system around a version of its commercial Procurement Desktop software, modified to serve the DOD contracting community.

<P> Complaints From the Field A database of user comments on the SPS World Wide Web site lists hundreds of concerns with the system, including problems printing all the lines on a page, difficulty adding a contract line item to an award and inconsistent contract-clause generation. For example, in one case SPS generated different contract clauses when two people entered the same contract information into the system, according to the Navy.

<P> Also, a 1998 report from DOD's Office of Test and Evaluation found vulnerabilities in the system's security. "Security deficiencies allowed unauthorized users to access and alter solicitation and contract documents," according to the report.

<P> Elliott Branch, the Navy's project officer for business-related systems, confirmed that the current version of SPS, known as Version 4.1, which the Defense Logistics Agency and AMS released this year, cannot support basic documents of major acquisitions, such as requests for proposals.

<P> However, DOD maintains that SPS does support RFPs.

<P> Branch was so concerned with the SPS Version 4.1 problems in January that he halted installation of the version at all Navy and Marine Corps sites. In a memo sent to DLA, Branch said the Navy had concluded that SPS "has significant difficulties delivering the stated functionality in a reliable manner."

<P> In the memo, Branch cited software problems that included:

<P> *Extensive workarounds, creating an inefficient working environment as well as substantial training problems.

<P> *Unpredictable and erratic performance in a multiuser operational environment.

<P> *An AMS-furnished automated tool that was needed to install the upgraded version resulted in a catastrophic loss of transaction history.

<P> Branch called inconsistencies in the system and the inability to easily upgrade the software "show-stoppers."

<P> Nonetheless, Branch, who pronounced himself satisfied with the DLA and AMS response to his memo, said the Navy is testing the newest SPS software release. "When we think the time is appropriate, we will turn it back on," he said. "We intend to fully go forward with it."

<P> While the Navy cannot use SPS "to buy a new attack submarine" yet, Branch said the system can support what he called simple contracting at Navy bases or Marine camps, both of which support the bulk of Navy contract transactions.

<P> Gary Thurston, the SPS program manager at DLA, said a major challenge that DOD faces with SPS is bringing procurement shops in all four military services onto a common procurement system that in some cases operates differently than the older legacy systems. For example, some users are accustomed to printing a back page to a contract, which SPS does not do.

<P> Software problems have delayed delivery of the final software version of SPS, which originally was scheduled for February 1999. DOD also has delayed complete installation of SPS across the military services and the Defense agencies from its original target date of 2001, Thurston said. He said DLA will know by the end of the summer the new schedule to complete the full rollout of SPS and its additional costs.

<P> As it exists now, Thurston said SPS suits the needs of smaller contracting shops but not those shops that write more complex contracts. However, services that do not have SPS by the 2000 deadline can modify their legacy systems to meet the paperless goals, Thurston said.

<P> SPS software eventually will meet users' needs, Thurston predicted. "Not a lot of users understand the incremental nature of the [software development process]," he said.

<P> At the direction of DOD, AMS officials declined to answer any questions from FCW.

<P> Problems with SPS may force Army contracting organizations to seek alte

rnatives as the paperless-contracting deadline approaches, service officials said recently.

<P> Kevin Carroll, program executive officer for standard Army management information systems, said the Army has "put a hold in fielding SPS" to some sites. "We don't know when we will get SPS out there. It's back to the drawing board on when to get SPS out there."

<P> Despite these concerns, Carroll said SPS is "a key solution that would bring paperless contracting to DOD."

<P> The Air Force also identified deficiencies in its test of SPS last November but is now "aggressively moving" to deploy the system, according to a statement. "We are not looking at other options," the statement noted.

<P> SPS has proven to be a challenge, said Michael Mestrovich, president of Unlimited New Dimensions LLC and a former DOD electronic commerce executive. Some DOD users have decided "that there may be quicker paths to achieving their paperless-contracting goals and objectives than the one SPS is following," he said.


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<P>Janes Defence Weekly

May 26, 1999

US Blueprint For Future Weapons Systems Is Outlined

By Bryan Bender, JDW Bureau Chief

Washington -- A senior advisory panel to the US Department of Defense (DoD) has recommended the development of new weapons and technologies required for the US military to realise "full spectrum dominance" in 21st century operations.

Backed by a series of military studies, the Defense Science Board (DSB), in a recently released report, identified new advanced weapon systems and technologies that will be needed for operations in 2010 and beyond.

Entitled "Joint Operations Superiority in the 21st Century Integrating Capabilities Underwriting Joint Vision 2010 and Beyond Volume II", the report recommends a number of future warfighting capabilities.

It highlights the need for early, continuous and effective combat operations, responsive global targeting and new strategies and tools for operating in shallow water, or the littoral.

In order to deliver effective military force within hours anywhere in the world, followed up within 24 hours by additional forces, including ground troops, and sustain and augment those forces with minimum infrastructure, the DSB recommends the Pentagon now consider researching, developing and fielding a series of new capabilities. These include:

- *two-stage intercontinental ballistic missile-launched precision weapons for attacking high-value, fixed and limited area targets using Global Positioning System (GPS) satellites for guidance and both kinetic energy or conventional penetrator projectiles;

- *undersea strike modules, or stealthy submarine payloads that could include tactical strike weapons, vertical gun canisters, fuel, water and ammunition supplies to support Marines, an elaborate system of sensors to monitor littoral waters, mine warfare systems and a special operations force underwater habitat or command centre;

- *a constellation of space-based lasers to provide global coverage and defend against hostile space launches and missiles in their boost phase;

- *a family of small, powerful, precision bombs, in the range of 250lb (113kg), to multiply by factors of four to nine the number of precision-guided bombs

mbs current and future fighters and bombers can carry on a single sortie;

<P> *a constellation of space orbiting vehicles carrying rods of heavy material in highly elliptical orbits to re-enter and transit the atmosphere, striking targets at hypersonic speeds of 10,000ft/s (M10);

<P> *families of both light armoured vehicles and light infantry vehicles which are highly deployable and survivable.

<P> The DSB, describing precision targeting on a global scale as one of the critical operational challenges facing the US military, recommends that the DoD develop a "common geolocational referent".

<P> This could be a space-based interferometric synthetic aperture radar (IFSAR) serving as both mapper and imager. The Secretary of Defense and Director of the Central Intelligence Agency are also urged in the report to establish a specialised group to provide detailed intelligence preparation of the battlefield information.

<P> The senior advisory panel highlighted the need to address littoral warfare and several critical weapons and technologies. They include:

<P> *offensive sea-mines capable of long-range detection, classification and tracking of surface and sub-surface targets, co-operative engagement and battle damage assessment prior to re-engagement. (An investment of \$50 million beginning in Fiscal year 2000 is required, according to the DSB report.);

<P> *development of an undersea version of the Co-operative Engagement Capability (CEC), currently being pursued for surface vessels, consisting of a comprehensive network of sensors capable of mapping the oceans, providing an integrated, undersea picture and optimising effects by linking weapons delivery platforms for rapid attack; and

<P> *an offensive ballistic missile system, possibly based on the US Navy's submarine-launched C-4 missile, deployed on both surface and sub-surface vessels to defend against littoral threats such as enemy anti-ship ballistic missiles expected to be widely available by 2015.

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Aviation Week & Space Technology

May 24, 1999

Pg. 27

Washington Outlook

Flip-Flop

Edited by James R. Asker

The war in Yugoslavia has accelerated wear and tear on tactical aircraft. Ironically, Air Force and Navy officials are hinting that they would like to see the next generation of tactical aircraft, the Joint Strike Fighter, slip a year or two. Instead, the Air Combat Command is pushing for the Air Force to increase its planned purchase of 30 new Block 50 F-16s to 100 airplanes. Here's the logic: the brass doesn't want to wait for JSF before they retire older F-16s from the reserves and Air National Guard.

Meanwhile, the Navy is expressing satisfaction with its new F/A-18E/F strike aircraft. Only the Marines are pressing for a quick start of the JSF program-- so that the short takeoff and vertical landing (STOVL) version of the new fighter could replace aging AV-8B Harriers. Pentagon officials say they may consider flipping the JSF program around to produce the STOVL aircraft first instead of the Air Force's conventional design, even though it would be more expensive for the Marines.

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<P>San Antonio Express-News

May 21, 1999

<P>Future Military Missions May Utilize Space Shuttle

<P>By Sig Christenson, Express-News Staff Writer

<P> Rocked by a series of rocket failures, the Defense Department has turned to NASA in hopes of using the space shuttle to ferry some payloads into orbit a move that would mark an abrupt turnabout in Pentagon policy.

<P> The Air Force Space Command's Lt. Gen. Lance Lord said Thursday in San Antonio that the Pentagon and NASA have begun informal talks about using the shuttle for military missions, a statement NASA officials later confirmed.

<P> Neither Lord nor NASA spokesman James Hartsfield could say exactly when the shuttle might be used for launching such Pentagon payloads as spy satellites.

<P> But both seemed to think it's a can-do proposition for NASA.

<P> "I think Mr. (Daniel) Goldin (NASA administrator) would work hard with us to meet the needs, should we choose to do that," he said, describing the talks with NASA as "low-level discussions."

<P> Lord, vice commander of the Air Force Space Command in Colorado Springs, Colo., made his comments in an interview after an Armed Forces Week speech to the Air Force Association.

<P> The decision to use the shuttle to deploy spy satellites and other military hardware would mark a major change in policy that dates to the deadly 1986 Challenger explosion.

<P> In revising a policy on U.S. military use of space, then-Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger on Feb. 4, 1987, ordered the services to use unmanned launch vehicles whenever possible.

<P> The Defense Department stopped relying exclusively on the shuttle after the Challenger accident, and last launched a satellite from the reusable craft in 1992.

<P> Seven of the space agency's 93 shuttle missions since the program began in 1981 have been primarily dedicated to Pentagon payloads, NASA's John Ira Pettit said.

<P> The Pentagon's talks with NASA, though, come in the wake of six rocket failures over the past nine months that have cost \$3.5 billion. President Clinton has ordered an investigation, as has acting Air Force Secretary F. Whitten Peters.

<P> "Presidential inquiries and commissions don't happen without a reason, so there is concern at the highest levels," said Al Thomas, deputy director of the Spaceport Florida Authority, a state agency that promotes government and commercial space ventures.

<P> Four of the six rocket failures occurred in a three-week period this spring. They included a failed upper-stage rocket in a Titan launcher April 9 and a Delta III on May 4. The payloads, among them an \$800 million communications satellite, failed to reach their proper orbits.

<P> Delta and Titan rockets exploded over a 14-day period in August, one of them claiming a \$1 billion classified military satellite. Thomas characterized the string of launch failures as the worst since the early 1960s.

<P> A return to the shuttle is rooted both in cost savings and the likelihood of successful flights, said John Pike, director of space policy with the Federation of American Scientists, a Washington think tank.

<P> The shuttle's civilian contractor, United Space Alliance, would like to increase the flight rate in a bid to cut the \$4 billion annual cost of flying the craft, he said. Moreover, the odds of unmanned boosters failing are one in every 10 or 20 flights, Pike continued, while estimates for a disastrous shuttle flight range from 1 in every 80 missions to 1 in 400.

<P> "With throwaway rockets you assume they do blow up, and with the shuttle you assume it does not, because the expendables blow up regularly and the shuttle, fortunately, doesn't blow up that often," he said.

<P> Despite that, Pike said only a handful of the Defense Department's 12 to 20 two dozen yearly satellite launches might be flown by the shuttle.

<P> NASA's Hartsfield said the agency has a "crowded" schedule thanks to the international space station, which will account for all but five or six of the next 45 scheduled shuttle flights, including one next Thursday.

<P> Though the space station is a top priority, he described the shuttle as "a national resource" that could be used for other missions, too.

<P> Lord said NASA and the military were "working hard to take a look at each other's capabilities."

<P> "The basic message on that is the partnership that exists between the United States Air Force and NASA has never been better," he said.


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<P>San Antonio Express-News

May 20, 1999

<P>Military Recruiters Confront Age Gap

<P>By Tom Bower, Express-News Staff Writer

<P> All branches of the military are rethinking their recruiting strategies in order to attract Generation Y, the group of youngsters now graduating from high school, a top Defense Department official said Wednesday.

<P> New role models as diverse as the World Wrestling Federation and the National Association for Stock Car Auto Racing or NASCAR are being used to enlist members of the next generation, Undersecretary of Defense Rudy de Leon said during an Armed Forces Week speech.

<P> "Many of the issues we're facing today in this country are generational, because, while we know a lot about the Baby Boomers and we know a lot about Generation X, we don't know that much and we're only really beginning to understand and appreciate Generation Y (or Generation Millennium or Generation Echo), a generation that will be as large as the Baby Boomers," he said.

<P> Speaking at the Rotary Club's annual Commanders Recognition Luncheon at the Bright Shawl, de Leon noted that Generation X members grew up with Nintendo and other computer games.

<P> Marketing studies show the latest round of high school graduates are growing up with e-mail addresses, computers in the elementary grades and daily use of pagers and cellular phones.

<P> "As the century turns and as Americans are shaping the world for the 21st century, one of our responsibilities as Americans is to stay connected our society to its armed forces," he said.

<P> De Leon, the undersecretary for personnel and readiness, noted the Navy will meet its 1999 recruiting goal of 67,000.

<P> The Air Force probably will come up 3,000 short of its goal to enlist 33,800, and the Army will end up 3,000 to 8,000 recruits short of its goal of 74

,500.

<P> To counter the trend, he said the Clinton administration is proposing a 4.4 percent across-the-board pay raise for members of the military and significant pay raises to retain midcareer noncommissioned officers and officers with eight to 12 years of service who are increasingly being lured away by a national unemployment rate approaching 4 percent.

<P> "These midcareer people are critical. . . . These people are leaders. They have used opportunities to acquire an education. They are highly disciplined and drug-free, and they are the envy of every corporation out there that is recruiting in the marketplace right now," de Leon said.

<P> Another key component of the administration proposal is to restore retirement pay to 50 percent of salary after 20 years of service. Congress in 1986 changed the policy to allow for only 40 percent retirement pay after 20 years. Under the president's proposal, the change would be retroactive.

<P> While no one disputes that service personnel deserve a pay raise, several other proposals are being debated on Capitol Hill that would give higher across-the-board pay raises, but would be difficult to reconcile under the Balanced Budget Amendment.

<P> "What Congress is going to probably add is, they are going to take that 4.4 percent and make it a 4.8 percent raise, and then I think they are going to add a thrift savings program," de Leon said, explaining that negotiations to resolve the differences are continuing.


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<P>Charleston (SC) Post & Courier

May 23, 1999

<P>General Lauds Charleston's Military Role

<I><P>Is the military transportation system stretched too thin?

</I><P>By Terry Joyce

<P> In a speech last week, Army Lt. Gen. Roger G. Thompson stopped short of saying the military can't haul the cargo it needs. But he made it clear the military has its hands full with hot spots like Kosovo soaking up a lot of resources.

<P> Thompson visited Charleston Air Force Base to speak to the local chapter of the National Defense Transportation Association. In addition to being the Army's senior transportation officer, he is the deputy commander-in-chief of the U.S. Transportation Command at Scott Air Force Base, Ill.

<P> Charleston, he said, "is a great contributor to the nation's military transportation system." The Air Force, with its C-17 jet transports, is perhaps the most visible transportation asset, but the Army and Navy have roles as well.

<P> For example, the Army's 595th Transportation Terminal Group, at the Charleston Naval Weapons Station Southside, plans and supervises the shipment of military cargo that leaves Charleston by ship. The 595th's workload hasn't increased much yet on account of the campaign in Yugoslavia, but that could change overnight.

<P> The Military Sealift Command is the Navy's transportation outfit. The command operates those large roll-on, roll-off cargo ships that keep Army equipment afloat overseas. The equipment is refurbished at the Army's Combat Equipment Group Asia, a logistics base located at the former Polaris Missile Facility, Atlantic, in Goose Creek.

<P> Afterward, I asked Thompson whether the Transportation Command, if ordered, could move enough equipment and troops into Albania to dislodge the Serbs from Kosovo and return the refugees to their homes before winter sets in.

<P> Thompson finessed that one, saying the answer would depend on a number of variables, such as the exact nature of the request and the definition of our priorities. Still, he saw reason for hope.

<P> "I believe there is a rising realization (in Washington) that more must be done" to boost the nation's military transportation resources, he said.

<P> Between the end of the Korean War and the beginning of the Persian Gulf War, Thompson said, the U.S. had 10 crises to deal with that called for the rapid deployment of military forces overseas.

<P> "From Desert Storm up to now, we've had about 30. And that's with a Department of Defense that is 36 percent smaller than during the Cold War," he said.

<P> In other words, just about everyone in the military is stretched thin.

<P> Folks at the Beaufort Marine Corps Air Station are looking forward to the arrival of two squadrons of Navy F/A-18 fighters that will transfer in from Florida over the next 12 months.

<P> "We're expecting about 500 military arrivals and about 400 to 600 family members," said Marine spokeswoman Capt. Whitney Mason.

<P> The military members are naval aviators and support specialists who make up Navy squadrons VFA 82 and VFA 86. The squadrons are stationed at the soon-to-be-closed Cecil Field Naval Air Station, near Jacksonville.

<P> The full impact of the move won't be felt until next spring.

<P> That's because the squadrons will remain in Jacksonville until fall when they will deploy aboard an aircraft carrier for six months. When the carrier returns home next spring, the two fighter squadrons finally will arrive at Beaufort.

<P> "We really don't know yet when to expect the influx of families into the area," Mason said. "Some may wish to remain in Florida until the deployment is completed; others may move to Beaufort this summer."

<P> Cecil Field spokesman Chuck Underwood said he believes the big push will

It come this summer, once the area's schools finish up.

<P> "The base will close on Sept. 30," Underwood said, and most of the families who want to move must do so before the end of the current fiscal year.

<P> The two squadrons will operate temporarily out of the Jacksonville Naval Air Station before they deploy onto the aircraft carrier.

<P> In 1995, the Pentagon's base closures commission ordered Cecil Field to close. Most of the base's fighters were ordered to Oceana Naval Air Station, Va. But the commission left it up to the secretary of the Navy to decide where two of the units should go.

<P> Beaufort won out, thanks in part to U.S. Sen. Strom Thurmond and Rep. Floyd Spence, both Republicans. Thurmond was chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee when the decision was made and Spence heads the House National Security Committee. Beaufort is in Spence's district.

<P> Asked where he thought most of the F/A-18 crews would like to be, Underwood had a quick answer.

<P> "Right here," he said, speaking from Jacksonville. "We have everything we need right here."

<I><P> Terry Joyce covers military affairs. </I>


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