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<P>Christian Science Monitor

August 6, 1999

Pg. 10

Colombia: Another Vietnam?</P>

<P> Attacking narcotics at their origin has been a tactic in the US "war against drugs" ever since its inception in the 1980s. But the US is losing in its most important battlefield: the rural areas of Colombia that produce cocaine and heroin.</P>

<P> True, spraying has taken vast acres out of production. But farmers just relocate, often with the protection of Colombia's leftist guerrillas. The guerrillas earn some \$600 million a year "taxing" drug production and guarding cartel labs and airstrips.</P>

<P> As Colombia's war turns nasty, can Washington separate fighting drug traffickers from fighting an insurgency against a weak government?</P>

<P> The prospect of the United States being sucked into another civil war raises red flags. Memories of Washington's controversial role in Central America's conflicts during the cold war resurface. A Vietnam-like quagmire could loom if missteps are made.</P>

<P> Increased aid to Colombia's Army, as distinct from the police forces that do most antinarcotics work, would raise an outcry, given the Army's ties to vicious paramilitary forces.</P>

<P> Yet the US clearly has an interest in helping Colombia settle its civil conflict, curb drug production, and preserve its frail democracy. A continued slide toward lawlessness will only increase the drug flows northward.</P>

<P> A breakdown of civic order, exemplified by frequent kidnappings by both paramilitaries and guerrillas, is teaming with a diving economy to drive Colombians from their country. In the first four months of this year, an estimated 65,000 fled, and the ultimate destination for many, of course, is the US border.</P>

<P> Under these circumstances, US aid to Colombian security forces should increase, but the focus should stay on narcotics. One innovative step is the recent creation of a small, elite Army unit, with US-provided training and equipment, devoted to antidrug work.</P>

<P> If the unit strengthens the offensive against drug producers, good. But any pressure on the guerrillas should be indirect. We don't want another incident like that in Somalia where US soldiers were killed in 1993 after overreaching their mission.</P>

<P> Attacks by the two main guerrilla armies have intensified of late, even as President Andrés Pastrana has tried to open negotiations with the larger of the two. The guerrillas' ample drug income and the government's tactic of virtually ceding them a chunk of the countryside give them little incentive to talk. A more effective antinarcotics campaign, threatening their financial lifeline, could change that.</P>

<P> As Washington rethinks its actions toward Colombia, it shouldn't neglect that other front in the antidrug war: reducing the demand for illicit drugs at home. A greater investment in drug education, antidrug advertising, and treatment in US communities could have a payoff as far away as Bogotá.</P>

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<P>Defense Information And Electronics Report

August 6, 1999

DOD Looks To Reinvigorate Flagging Counterintelligence Capabilities

Goal is to protect critical research programs

Pentagon officials are considering plans to bolster the department's counterintelligence capabilities in an effort to better protect the military's critical technologies and important research programs from foreign threats, according to internal budget documents.

In particular, DOD has an eye on a "data correlation" system that models and maps current and prospective threats in a way that allows military officials to better concentrate CI resources on the most serious problems.

Without the improvements being debated, defense officials believe they will be fighting a 21st-century battle with outdated equipment.

The deliberations come at an especially sensitive time. Congress continues to pound the Clinton administration for failing to provide proper security at the Energy Department's nuclear weapons labs. And since February 1998, two celebrated computer warfare incidents, Solar Sunrise and Moonlight Maze, have underscored the challenges the Pentagon faces in protecting information on its far-flung networks.

The documents, obtained by Inside the Pentagon, note that DOD's leadership, especially Deputy Defense Secretary John Hamre, is fully aware of the challenge.

"The [deputy secretary] has orally and in writing stated his concern that at the department's capability to protect its technology programs, as well as recognize and respond to consistently evolving vulnerabilities, threats and exploitation attempts from foreign sources, is not adequate in the face of increased globalization, civil-military integration, and international cooperation," the documents read.

The documents also make clear additional money is required to solve the problem. Tradeoffs within the CI account will not work because "we are also trying to enhance resources for support to force protection and to support critical infrastructure protection while not further denigrating our ability to directly combat foreign intelligence services and terrorist organizations with classical CI efforts, including espionage investigations and clandestine operations," the papers state.

According to the documents, prepared for DOD's Program Review Group, \$10.6 million is available for fiscal years 2001 through 2005 for the Defense Joint Counterintelligence Program/Military Intelligence Program. This pays for nine Air Force, Army and Navy CI civilian analysts and nine contractor CI analysts at the Joint CI Assessment Group (JCAG) "for the horizontal protection of DOD critical technology."

The JCAG is described as "a small, but critical CI center" that, once

established in FY-00, will "form the nucleus of Defense CI's support of the department's research and technology protection program."

However, as the papers indicate, \$10.6 million is not nearly enough. Specifically, current spending levels do not allow the department "to operationalize a functioning prototype of a data correlation model for CI and export control at the JCAG." Data correlation involves integrating and exploiting existing databases from various federal agencies for CI and security purposes.

Further, there is insufficient funding to buy the hardware and software necessary for "JCAG data correlation, analysis, and decision support activities." Finally, the documents reveal, DOD lacks the money needed "to develop and maintain a database that documents and tracks the department's critical technologies in a dynamic manner."

As a result, the PRG is examining alternatives that would pay for the data correlation and threat mapping capabilities. An option listed as alternative two adds \$64.3 million to the future years defense plan for systems support.

"Without the funding provided by Alt 2, the JCAG will be unable to access extremely important databases within and outside of DOD, will be overwhelmed by the data to which it does get access due to lack of automated data manipulation tools, will be unable to leverage technology to correlate threat data with vulnerability data and protection capabilities data, and will be unable to adequately support decisionmakers with dynamic decision support tools," the PRG papers read.

"In other words, the JCAG would be a 1980s center in a 21st century information environment."

An option listed as alternative three builds on alternative two by adding another \$22.8 million for analytical support. This money would provide for 30 additional CI operational and analytical personnel, which in turn would allow the Defense Intelligence Agency, the Defense Security Service, and the Defense Threat Reduction Agency to participate in the JCAG.

"Defense leadership has recognized that simply shifting resources to the crisis du jour (Khobar towers/force protection following a terrorist attacks, technology protection following the DOE experience) does not provide adequate protection nor recognize the growing threats/challenges the department's CI program must address," the documents read.

Hamre, the papers add, has indicated on several occasions "that the country in general and DOD in particular has allowed its CI resources to be inappropriately reduced as a result of the end of the Cold War."

The documents, crafted by Office of the Secretary of Defense staff, avoid making specific recommendations. Final decisions are left to the PRG as well as the Defense Resources Board. However, the papers note that only by adopting alternatives two and three will DOD be able to take "advantage of both the available expertise and leading edge analytical technology to protect the multibillion dollar investments it makes in equipping its forces."

<I><P>-- Richard Lardner </P></I>

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<P>Birmingham (AL) News

August 5, 1999

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<P>McClellan To Be Donated</P>

<I><P>Riley says closed fort will go to Calhoun </P>

</I><P>By Michael Brumas, News Washington correspondent</P>

<P> WASHINGTON - Congress has tentatively agreed to hand over the soon-to-be closed Fort McClellan to Calhoun County at no cost to the community, U.S. Rep . Bob Riley of Alabama, R-Ashland, said Wednesday. </P>

<P> "Not only will they receive the base free of charge, the community won't spend the next two years negotiating with bureaucrats from the Department of Defense," Riley said. "Now they can concentrate their time and energy toward developing the post and replacing lost jobs." </P>

<P> Riley said that congressional negotiators had reached agreement this week on the matter, and that it would be included in next year's defense spending bill. </P>

<P> The proposal was included in the Senate defense bill, but was not in the House passed version, even though Riley had pushed for it. The Clinton administration also supports the idea. </P>

<P> "I was initially skeptical of Congressman Riley's proposal," said Rep. Joel Hefley, R-Colo., chairman of the Armed Services Subcommittee on Military Installations. "But his perspective and tenacity on this issue convinced me that providing closed military facilities to communities at no cost is the right thing to do." </P>

ing to do." </P>

<P> Under the agreement reached by the congressional conferees, property at closed-down military bases would be returned to the local community at no cost if the land is used for economic development and job creation. </P>

<P> Fort McClellan will close in September as the result of a Base Realignment and Closure Commission decision in 1995. </P>

<P> Prior to the agreement, the Defense Department required local communities to pay for property on military bases that were closed during the decade-long realignment of America's fighting forces. </P>

<P> "We would not have had the resources to both buy the property and develop the property," Anniston Mayor Gene Stedham said in a telephone interview Wednesday. "This is tremendous news for the local reuse authority. This means we can go ahead and make plans to budget funds to redevelop the property." </P>

<P> Stedham said the community is interested in attracting "skilled" rather than minimum wage jobs to the fort land "to replace the jobs we're losing which paid really good salaries." </P>

<P> The agreement won't be official until the congressional conference committee completes action on the defense bill for the fiscal year that begins Oct. 1. </P>

<P> At that point, both houses of Congress will vote on the reconciled defense bill. The measure then will go to the White House for President Clinton's signature. </P>

<P> But Riley said he's been assured that the agreement on Fort McClellan is secured and he predicted the legislation would become law sometime next month, after Congress returns from its August recess.</P>

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<P>Colorado Springs Gazette

August 5, 1999

Home, Sweet Home On The Post

Fort Carson gives barracks new look

By The Gazette

Pfc. Doug Furlan is living the luxurious life at Fort Carson.

For the past five months, hes had his own bedroom, a new refrigerator and microwave, and shared a bathroom and kitchenette with another soldier.

It may seem modest, but compare his new digs with the barracks down the block where he lived for six months.

"I didnt have any privacy. The floors werent carpeted. Everything was falling apart," said Furlan, 23. "That place was like a prison. Compared to that, this is the Hilton."

Furlans testimonial portends good news for the Army, which intends to spend \$65.9 million to renovate all 36 barracks at Fort Carson. The plan, similar to others across the country, is meant to improve living standards for soldiers and help the Army compete with private-sector employers.

A booming economy buttressed by rising wages and an unemployment rate near a 29-year low is proving a formidable challenge to the armed forces. This year, the Army is projecting an 11 percent shortage in active-duty recruits and 24 percent falloff in enrollment in the National Guard and Reserve, said Maj. Gregory Julian, a Fort Carson spokesman.

"A lot of that is due to the outstanding economy were having in the U.S.," he said. "To offset that, weve got to provide better quality of life."

To accomplish that, the armed services in 1995 adopted a policy dubbed "1+1." It called for unmarried enlisted personnel not assigned to ship, boot camp or initial skill training to live in a private, 118-square-foot or larger room and share a bathroom and kitchenette with a maximum of one other soldier. Before the 1+1 policy, most soldiers lived two or four to a room.

The Army began renovating Fort Carson barracks a year ago. One barracks can be renovated every four months. Once the renovation is complete, scheduled for 2004, the capacity of Fort Carsons single-soldier housing will drop from about 3,000 to 2,200 because the buildings will have more spacious rooms. To make up for lost capacity, the project includes a new barracks that opened earlier this year.

The first renovated barracks at Fort Carson was finished four months ago.

The makeover features peaked roofs and translucent glass blocks surrounding stairwells. The steel roofs, no longer flat, were designed to cut back on

leaks.</P>

<P> Most concrete block walls have been replaced with painted Sheetrock, which improves acoustics. Hallways that used to run the length of the building have been cut in half to reduce foot traffic and noise.</P>

<P> Leftover hallway space now accommodates a bathtub in each bathroom instead of just a shower. New multicolored carpets help camouflage dirt and stains.</P>

<P> A new sprinkler system and fire alarms have been added.</P>

<P> Each renovated bedroom, accented with teal green trim, comes with color-coordinated curtains and bedspreads, a walk-in closet, and a new wooden desk and TV stand.</P>

<P> Air conditioning can now be adjusted in each room instead of at one central control unit.</P>

<P> The renovation project has its logistical problems. As each barracks undergoes construction, soldiers awaiting their new rooms must live in temporary housing, often sharing a room with up to eight others. But the wait is usually worthwhile.</P>

<P> "I've heard guys say, I should get married just so I could get out of this place," said Furlan, referring to his previous living quarters. The Army gives married soldiers a housing allowance to live off post if they choose.</P>

<P> Furlan, who coincidentally became engaged last month, (July 21), has filled his room with a stereo system on his desk, TV and VCR on a smaller table and a bounty of civilian and military clothes in his closet. That wasn't possible in the old barracks, said Pfc. Chris Jacka, 20, a friend of Furlan's.</P>

<P> "In the old rooms, I saw guys who had to set up their TV and VCR on milk crates," he said.</P>

<P> The biggest improvement is the increased privacy, Furlan said. Everything's dandy now, with a private room.</P>

<P> "No one complains about this place."</P>

<P> Across the street, in the barracks scheduled to be renovated last at Fort Carson, not everyone is grumbling.</P>

<P> "It's not that bad," said Spc. Shaun Linster, 28, showing off his second-floor room, which looks about 50 percent larger than Furlan's. It includes a couple of large wall lockers that separate his bed and a good-size hand-me-down couch. His roommate tries to sleep on a bed in a far corner of the room.</P>

<P> "It's just like living in a college dorm, except there are less parties here," Linster said. "I've seen the new (barracks). They're nice. If I moved over there I wouldn't complain. But I deal with what I have." </P>

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<P>Aerospace Daily

August 6, 1999</P>

<P>Navy, Lockheed Martin Unveil First Prototype Of SH-60R</P>

<P> OWEGO, N.Y. - The U.S. Navy and Lockheed Martin Federal Sys
tems unveiled the first prototype of the SH-60R helicopter yesterday at the com
pany's facilities here.</P>

<P> The aircraft is the centerpiece of the Navy helicopter master plan, aim
ed at reducing the number of airframe models in the fleet, said Jim Hargrave, p
resident of helicopter programs at Owego.</P>

<P> The airframe, originally an SH-60B delivered in 1987, was remanufacture
d by Sikorsky and loaded with the first H-60 common cockpit orchestrated by Loc
kheed Martin. The digital cockpit is set to be the standard for Navy multiple m
ission helicopters and integrates on- and off-board sensors, including forward-
looking infrared and advanced radar detection systems. The main feature of the
cockpit is the advanced processing capability which will handle increased sonob
ouy and acoustic signals. It is also capable of laser designating targets for o
nboard Hellfire missiles.</P>

<P> The first SH-60R has been in the works for almost six years, and the ro
llout marks the beginning of the six-month flight test period to concentrate on
the common cockpit. A low rate initial production decision is expected in Marc
h 2000, with the first operational unit slated to join the fleet in 2002.</P>

<P> Sikorsky and Lockheed Martin will begin working under separate contract
s after production is approved, said Navy Capt. Dale A. Minton, program manager
. Lockheed Martin won a Phase II contract in June to continue work on the produ
ction version of the cockpit software which will be installed in time for opera
tional and test evaluation in 2003.</P>

<P> Initial production of the helicopters was scaled back in the Pentagon budget last year to free up more funds for upfront development, but the program seems to be maintaining the new plan, according to Rear Adm. Jim Robb, head of Navy aviation plans and requirements.</P>

<P> Five aircraft will be bought in 2000 and another five in 2001, Milton said. In 2002, production begins ramping up to 14, and then 24 to 27 helicopters for the remaining years. The Navy intends to convert 243 helicopters to the R model, including all of the SH-60B and E models and most of the Hs. The work is potentially worth \$2.5 billion.</P>

<P> The service continues to contemplate a special variant for close-in carrier support. Potential sensors for the role have been under study for a couple of years, but Milton said no decisions have been made. He indicated the standard R equipment may be adequate for the mission.</P>

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<P>Albany Times Union

July 31, 1999</P>

<P>Island Bombing, Cancer Link Probed</P>

<P>By Stewart M. Powell, Washington bureau</P>

<P> WASHINGTON -- A federal cancer-monitoring agency has opened an investigation into Puerto Ricans' allegations that U.S. bombing exercises have caused high levels of cancer on the Caribbean island of Vieques, officials said Friday.
</P>

<P> The action by the Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry could delay a White House decision on the fate of a bombing range that the Navy and Marine Corps have used for 58 years to prepare Atlantic-based forces for deployment to Europe and the Persian Gulf. </P>

<P> Some Puerto Rican-born politicians, including Rep. Jose E. Serrano, D-N.Y., and Delegate Carlos Romero-Barcelo, D-Puerto Rico, say the White House decision could influence Puerto Rican political support for Vice President Al Gore in his 2000 presidential campaign and for First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton in her anticipated U.S. Senate campaign from New York.</P>

<P> On Friday, Rear Adm. Andrew A. Granuzzo, the Navy's top environmental protection officer, disclosed the Vieques cancer inquiry in testimony before a Pentagon panel appointed at the request of President Clinton to weigh continued live-fire training on the island. Roughly 9,300 civilians live there adjacent to a 22,000-acre military bombing and ground maneuvers site.</P>

<P> Citing "allegations of an increased rate of cancer for Vieques citizens," Granuzzo said the Navy will work with the federal cancer-monitoring agency to "support their independent investigation regarding this allegation even though there is no reason to believe that Navy actions are involved."</P>

<P> Bombing and other combat-style exercises have been suspended on the island and since a Puerto Rican civilian employee of the Navy was killed and four others were injured when a Marine pilot mistakenly dropped two 500-pound bombs on an observation post. Navy and Marine Corps' officials insist that there is not a scientific proof to support claims of high rates of cancer. But members of the panel who visited Vieques last week said they heard vivid testimony about such illness.</P>

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<P>Inside The Air Force

August 6, 1999

Pg. 7</P>

<P>Prowler Community Was Well Equipped For Kosovo, Participants Say</P>

<I><P>Jamming shortages did not hamper conduct of Allied Fo

rice </P>

</I><P> ANDREWS AFB, MD -- An overall shortage of jamming capability was not a problem during Operation Allied Force because of steps the Defense Department took to ensure the capability was present to support the air campaign. Extra EA-6B Prowlers were called in from the Navy Reserve unit stationed here, even before the presidential call up of reserve forces took place.</P>

<P> Because DOD "needed the aircraft," two available EA-6Bs were ordered to the theater to support the air campaign less than three weeks after the bombing began in late March, Navy Lt. Scott Laedlein told Inside the Air Force Aug. 4.</P>

<P> Laedlein is an EA-6B electronic countermeasures officer with the only Navy Reserve squadron of Prowlers, VAQ-209, at Andrews. He has spent his entire 10-year active duty career with EA-6 aircraft, and explained that the squadron is especially well prepared compared to an average reserve squadron because of the additional proficiency needed to perform the Prowler mission.</P>

<P> VAQ-209 was ordered deployed to Aviano Air Base, Italy, for an April 12 departure. The EA-6Bs were fully integrated into the air tasking orders to support Air Force and Navy aircraft during their strike missions against Yugoslav targets, Laedlein said, and went into combat within 24 hours of their arrival. Prowlers performed both standoff jamming missions for strikes and attacks of their own against radar installations using High Speed Anti-Radiation Missiles, sometimes on the same sortie, Laedlein explained.</P>

<P> The goal was to turn enemy radars off, he said, and whether that was done through jamming, HARMs, or merely the threat of missiles, was irrelevant. They all result in "mission accomplished," no Yugoslav radar tracking of attacking U.S. warplanes.</P>

<P> Like other EA-6B squadrons, VAQ-209 actually has four Prowlers, but two of its planes are currently in St. Augustine, FL, undergoing extensive maintenance work and overhaul. DOD is in the process of upgrading and pulling into service every available EA-6B to address the shortfall in jamming capability that has arisen with the retirement of the Air Force's EF-111 jamming platform.</P>

<P> With the various operations being supported, "the Prowler community is spread pretty thin," he said.</P>

<P> But, there was no shortage of in-theater jamming aircraft during Allied Force, Laedlein said.</P>

<P> "Sometimes it seemed like more than enough," for Allied Force. On occasion one EA-6B could perform the jamming role for a mission that included two Prowlers, and a second plane could be held in reserve because of possible contingencies or rules of engagement, he explained.</P>

<P> The Prowlers flew missions daily, with crews rotating and getting every sixth day off, on average, other Prowler officers said. The high number of sorties required an exemption from normal limits on flying hours.</P>

<P> It was "a huge step up in flying hours," Laedlein said, noting that he flew more than twice as many hours per month during the operation as he would in a typical month.</P>

<P> Although this clearly put more stress on the Prowler airframes, Laedlein said there were no readiness problems during the conflict. "Maintenance was stepped up," he said, but his squadron alone deployed over 100 enlisted support personnel "who know their planes inside and out."</P>

<P> "We did not have a problem with aircraft availability," he said, but training and maintenance were concerns, as they have been with the Air Force following the operation. And although it never resulted in operational problems, the supply chain made maintenance teams nervous, he said, because they were relying on an unfamiliar, long-distance logistics tail for spares.</P>

<P> The Prowlers returned to Andrews June 27, and have gone into a recovery cycle not unlike the reconstitution effort the Air Force is trying to implement for its overworked units.</P>

<I><P>-- Adam J. Hebert </P></I>

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<P>Inside The Air Force

August 6, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>B-1 Fleet Pays Price For Maintaining Readiness During Allied Force</P>

<I><P>Air Force defends sending one bomber as parts source</P>

</I><P> Operation Allied Force has taken a toll on Air Combat Command B-1 bomber readiness, with Lancer mission capable rates falling to 48 per

cent in June, the lowest level in nearly a year. This comes after the bomber consistently posted MC rates near or above 50 percent from October 1998 through May 1999.

The B-1s forward deployed to Fairford Air Base, England, to support Allied Force "were ready 100 percent of the time for on-time takeoff," Maj. Patrick Penland, ACC B-1 program element monitor at Langley AFB, VA, told Inside the Air Force Aug 4. In fact, any ineffective missions due to equipment problems in bomber strike packages were the result of failures of other aircraft, but not the B-1s.

The need to keep front-line aircraft at peak readiness has apparently taken a toll on stateside readiness levels, however. Data provided by ACC spokeswoman Lt. Jessica Smith shows B-1 MC rates have steadily degenerated from nearly 56 percent as Allied Force wore on (see graph accompanying article).

MC rates for the inconsistent Boeing B-1B remain far short of ACC's goal of 67 percent mission capability, the lowest target MC rate of the 19 types of aircraft for which ACC has established goals. A mission capable rate of 50 percent, for example, means that exactly half the B-1 fleet would be able to perform wartime missions at a given time.

Average B-1B readiness for fiscal year 1999 is currently 52 percent, still an improvement over the 50.7 percent MC rate for FY-98.

MC rates for the smaller Air National Guard fleet of 20 B-1s have traditionally been higher, but no Air Guard B-1s have completed Block D upgrades at this time.

Penland defended a move the Air Force made to deploy one less-capable Block C Lancer to Fairford as a source of spare parts, along with four combat-ready Block D units. He said the Block C plane "got parts over there immediately, and crew over immediately."

Block D refers to the most current upgrade to the B-1 as part of its 15-year Conventional Mission Upgrade Program which is transforming the bombers from their original mission of nuclear weapon systems to more versatile conventional weapons platforms.

Currently, only 12 B-1s have completed Block D upgrades, which adds Joint Direct Attack Munition capability, Global Positioning System guidance, an upgraded communications package, and updated anti-jam radios relative to Block C Lancers.

Several congressmen have criticized the readiness level of the B-1 in the past week. "The cannibalization rate for the B-1B is 99 [percent] -- virtually every aircraft that flies a mission has a part cannibalized from another B-1B," Rep. Floyd Spence (R-SC) noted last week in Military Readiness Review, which is published by the House Armed Services Committee.

"One of the five B-1Bs forward-deployed to Operation Allied Force was deployed only as a source of spare parts for the other four aircraft," Spence continued.

<P> The same argument was made, almost verbatim, by Reps. Jerry Lewis (R-CA) and Jack Murtha (D-PA), in an Aug. 2 Washington Post editorial criticizing the F-22 procurement plan. Spence is chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, while Lewis and Murtha are members of the House Appropriations defense subcommittee.</P>

<P> "That was our intended plan," Penland explained, saying the technique is a "valuable tool" used by every weapon system. Air Force Mobile Readiness Spare Packages that accompany deploying aircraft are designed to include parts that "historically fail the most," but cannot include every possible part -- only a complete aircraft can provide that.</P>

<P> "Having a flyable spares jet covers unexpected failures," Penland continued, providing immediate access to a replacement pilot control stick if one failed, for example. The Block C spares jet also brings an additional crew with it, enabling greater crew rotation among the other bombers.</P>

<P> Penland said he was not aware of any major failures on the operational B-1s used during Allied Force, but the spares plane was still used as a parts source. It was flying again by the end of the operation, however, and accompanied the Block D Lancers home to Ellsworth AFB, SD, at the end of the deployment.</P>

<P> ACC has stated previously that B-1 MC rates should rise throughout 1999 because a new engine repair facility has been stood up at Dyess AFB, TX, and funding for spare parts has been increased (Inside the Air Force, Jan. 8, p5; Jan. 29, p1). Furthermore, several long-term fixes should yield significant B-1 reliability improvements, which will be most visible after 2003.</P>

<I><P>-- Adam J. Hebert </P></I>

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<P>Washington Post

August 6, 1999

<P>Marines To Probe Youth Harassment Charges</P>

<P> A Marine Corps base in North Carolina has launched an investigation into the alleged racial harassment of a group of Young Marines from the District, officials said yesterday.</P>

<P> The base inspector for Camp Lejeune initiated the investigation after a report in The Washington Post that described vandalism, including written racial epithets and trashed property, directed at a group of black District children who participated in the youth program's encampment at the military base last month.</P>

<P> Young Marine officials have expressed dismay over the behavior, which they said may have been the work of a group of Young Marines from a Florida unit. Michael Kessler, the national director of Young Marines, said yesterday that his group is continuing to investigate the incident to try to find the culprits. Parents of some of the D.C. children are upset that the organization did not do more to prevent and respond to the vandalism.</P>

<P> A Camp Lejeune spokesman said yesterday that Young Marine leaders had not informed them of any problems during the week-long encampment July 18-24. "We had no knowledge," Capt. James Rich said. "The adult chaperones didn't raise any of those issues with their liaisons." </P>

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<P>Birmingham (AL) News

August 5, 1999</P>

<P>State Guard Probes Rebel Flag Report</P>

<P>By Kent Faulk, News staff writer</P>

<P> The Alabama National Guard is investigating whether the Confederate flag

g was displayed on guard vehicles during a recent training exercise, a guard spokesman confirmed Wednesday. </P>

<P> Lt. Col. Bill Atchison, public affairs officer for the Alabama National Guard, said the Guard received information in the past month that the Confederate flag had been displayed during the training exercise on at least one Guard vehicle. </P>

<P> The incident is said to have occurred during a training exercise that included Company C, First Battalion, 167th Mechanized Infantry, an 85-member unit based in Cullman, Atchison said. </P>

<P> Maj. Gen. Willie Alexander, adjutant general of the Alabama National Guard, asked the commander of the 31st Armored Brigade, which is over the Cullman unit, to investigate, Atchison said. The investigation is nearing completion, he said. </P>

<P> Efforts to reach a commander with the Cullman unit were unsuccessful Wednesday. </P>

<P> Atchison could fill in few details about the training exercise or how it came to be investigated. But he did say, "We have had no Alabama National Guard soldiers to complain or come forward to say they were offended." </P>

<P> The First Battalion traces its history to the Fourth Alabama Regiment, which served in the Confederate Army under Gen. Robert E. Lee, Atchison said. The name of the Fourth Alabama Regiment is part of the patch that goes on First Battalion uniforms. </P>

<P> Still, Atchison said, "This headquarters does not condone the display of the Confederate flag on military vehicles." </P>

<P> In fact, the guard does not allow the display of any personal or non military items on its vehicles, he said. </P>

<P> "The soldiers have the right to do those kind of things on their own in a civilian status, but certainly not while in a military status," Atchison said. </P>

<P> "If inappropriate display of the Confederate flag or any other inappropriate actions occurred, the Alabama National Guard will take appropriate disciplinary actions." </P>

<P> Atchison said he couldn't speculate on the severity of possible disciplinary action. </P>

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<P>Defense Daily

August 6, 1999

Pg. 4</P>

<P>Costello Confident JROC To Name Army Lead Service For NMD</P>
>

<P>By Hunter Keeter</P>

<P> At the end of this month the Joint Requirements Oversight Council (JROC) will give Army the nod as lead service for executing the National Missile Defense (NMD) mission, according to a top Army official.</P>

<P> The JROC is expected to meet Aug. 30 to determine the lead service for NMD, Space and Missile Defense Command (SMDC) chief Lt. Gen. John Costello told an Association of the United States Army breakfast audience yesterday.</P>

<P> "The Army has said it would be the lead service. There's been years controversy over this but I think that on the 30th of Aug. the Army will be designated the lead service for NMD," he said. </P>

<P>But that won't happen without a fight, according to sources.</P>

<P> The Ballistic Missile Defense Organization, leading the development of NMD, remains a joint entity outside the auspices of individual service commands. The Air Force, which plays a key role in North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD), continues to maintain a strong desire to manage NMD. The JROC, which is chaired by the Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Air Force Gen. Joseph Ralston, is made up of the service vice chiefs.</P>

<P> Meanwhile, the Army has already developed a plan for its role in NMD, Costello said. That includes having Army National Guard personnel manning the system with contractor support from Boeing [BA], NMD's lead system integrator (Defense Daily, May 7). </P>

<P> In anticipation of a positive answer from the JROC, Costello said he has begun setting up an administrative infrastructure to manage the program.</P>

<P> "I have contacted Gen. John Abrams, [commander of Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC)] to ask him to designate a TRADOC System Manager for Nat

ional Missile Defense because I need someone in the Army familiar with the system and able" to integrate the complex elements of NMD, he said. "I anticipate Gen. Abrams signing that charter. I have stood up an office as of Monday to be able to work that for me."

Costello said he believes that SMDC provides the Army and the nation the right range of capabilities to best take on the NMD mission, especially with regard to countering the development of world missile threats. He noted that the Army would be watching North Korean preparations "very closely" for a launch of the Taepo-Dong expected to occur soon.

The National Intelligence Estimate that includes an analysis of ballistic missile threats to the United States is expected to be released by the intelligence community later this month.

"This will set the debate for National Missile Defense in the year to come," Costello said.

Besides planning for a greater role in NMD, Costello said SMDC has completed the development of its vision statement for the future of Army involvement in the wider area of space-based technology.

"The Army Space Master Plan is the first space master plan that the Army has had since 1984," he said of the recently approved document. "It will be the roadmap for the overall space community as to where we want to go and what we want to do."

High technology theater ballistic missile defense is featured prominently in SMDC's master plan, Costello noted. The Army has recently enjoyed a series of successful theater missile defense tests, including this week's intercept flight of the Lockheed Martin [LMT] Theater High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) system (Defense Daily, Aug. 3).

"I am anxiously awaiting the next PAC-3 [Patriot Advanced Capability-3] firing on the 17th of this month and hopefully that will be as successful," he said.

Directed Energy the Wave of the Future

SMDC is funded at about \$1 billion per year for its technology development initiatives, missile defense and space management duties. Among the new technologies being supported by SMDC's budget is the use of directed energy as weapon systems. Costello would like to see the Army more involved in this area.

"Many of us feel as though directed energy is the wave of the future and that we need to invest in directed energy technology as much as some of the other services," he said. "We are on the verge of doing that. I think we will make great strides as we look to the Army of the next century."

Of particular interest to Costello is the U.S.-Israeli Tactical High Energy Laser (THEL) program.

<P>THEL is due to move this month to the DoDs High Energy Laser Systems Test Facility (HELSTF) at White Sands, N.M., for additional testing. TRW [TRW] is the prime contractor for THEL.</P>

<P> "We will shoot down a Katyusha rocket out at White Sands Missile Range," he said. "That system will [later] be deployed to northern Israel to protect settlements [there]. It will be the first deployment of a tactical laser and is very important to the U.S. government and the government of Israel."</P>

<P> Costello believes that there are further applications of laser technology that could be exploited for tomorrow's warfighters.</P>

<P> "We are now looking at a program to examine other laser technologies," Costello said. "I was out at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, Calif., to look at solid-state laser technologies and see how much money, in the right places, [it would take] to get something developed. Industry has got some ideas for directed energy. It will initially have a ground-to-air application and the Army is looking into other applications as they develop."</P>

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<P>Washington Post

August 6, 1999

Pg. 8</P>

<P>House Votes Down U.N. Payments</P>

<P> The House last night narrowly defeated an effort to speed up payment of U.S. debts to the United Nations, which Democrats said were an embarrassment that weakened Washington's role in the world body.</P>

<P> But Republicans insisted the back dues should not be paid until the United Nations makes progress in streamlining its unwieldy, expensive bureaucracy.

</P>

<P> The 221 to 206 vote against freeing \$244 million to pay down Washington's roughly \$1 billion debt to the United Nations came as part of \$36 billion legislation to fund the Commerce, Justice and State departments next fiscal year starting Oct 1. The overall measure passed, 217 to 210, but the White House threatened a veto because it said the bill would shortchange a range of law enforcement, technology and international programs by nearly \$3 billion.</P>

<P> The Senate last month passed its version of the bill, which the White House also criticized for providing too little funding for its priorities.</P>

<P> In other action last night, the \$2.5 billion measure financing Congress's own operations was approved, 367 to 49, by the House and by voice vote in the Senate.</P>

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<P>BMD Monitor

August 6, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>THAAD Hits Saves Lockheed Martin From \$20 Million Penalty</P>
>

<P>By Ann Roosevelt</P>

<P> For the second time, the THAAD weapons system successfully intercepted a target, which means prime contractor Lockheed Martin, under the gun to perform two successful intercepts within a specified period of time, avoided a \$20 million penalty.</P>

<P> Before the first successful hit-to-kill intercept on June 10, there were six successive intercept flight test failures, all for different reasons. Those failures caused a revision in the contract, and the company incurred a \$15 million

illion penalty for a failed intercept flight test March 29.</P>

<P> The company agreed in July 1998 to a contract modification with BMDO and the Army calling for cost sharing of up to \$75 million over the remainder of the Program Definition and Risk Reduction phase of the contract. The contract also allows the company to win back part of the fee schedule by achieving successes.</P>

<P> A further \$20 million is on the line if the contractor fails to complete three successful target interceptions by October, as required by law.</P>

<P> "We've always been evaluating our acquisition strategies," BMDO Director Lt. Gen. Ronald Kadish said, briefing defense reporters Aug. 2, and would not be pinned down on whether or not the program needed to achieve three flight test intercepts before moving on into engineering, manufacturing development. "What we've got to do is look at the entire criteria that we've set up for making such a large investment," he said.</P>

<P> The Army wants to see the program move into EMD sooner rather than later, said Lt. Gen. Paul Kern, military deputy to the assistant secretary of the Army for acquisition, logistics, and technology.</P>

<P> But will the word "troubled" be dropped in connection with the program? "Developmental programs are never out of trouble," Kadish said, in part because of the technology and complexity of the system.</P>

<P> "I can see a clear change in the attention of management," Kern said, "but we still have a big challenge to get into EMD. We are still firing old missiles, and we want to get into the next production version."</P>

<P> New phases of development bring their own special problems, he added, such as building the production line capability.</P>

<P> The next flight test could be ready to go in as soon as 30 days, Kadish told defense reporters Aug. 2. This test would again push the envelope examining THAAD capabilities, this time aiming for an intercept in the low endoatmosphere. This would add data to that collected from two regimes, from the exoatmosphere here from the Aug. 2 test, which Kadish characterized as in excess of "50 miles" in altitude, and from the high-endoatmosphere from the first flight test interception, June 10.</P>

<P> Budget issues</P>

<P> The two successive intercept flight tests may relieve congressional concerns about the program, reflected in the authorization and appropriation bills. Authorization conferees continue to work as BMD Monitor went to press, while appropriators were not expected to go to work until after Labor Day.</P>

<P> The House authorization bill would cut THAAD funding by \$105 million. Of this amount, \$15 million represents an amount equal to that Lockheed Martin must reimburse the government because of the flight test failure. A transfer of \$90 million would be put into a new program element used to fund future tests by either THAAD or Navy Theater Wide, depending on which program demonstrates success.</P>

<P> Senate authorizers would cut THAAD by only \$15 million the reimbursable amount.</P>

<P> Both House and Senate appropriations bills decrease THAAD funding to \$527.9 million, eliminating the \$83.8 million requested for THAAD engineering, manufacturing development.</P>

<P> The Senate Appropriations Committee recommended reducing THAAD EMD by \$83M, but identified \$83 million from the emergency supplemental appropriations bill only for THAAD EMD only after successfully completing all Dem/Val exit criteria and two successful intercepts. Thus, after the successful Aug. 2 test, it is possible for THAAD to move to EMD. </P>

<P> The House Appropriations Committee recommended no EMD funds, and said in their report that the committee "believes that THAAD should not proceed to the next phase of acquisition until all exit criteria have been met and that senior acquisition officials are confident that the proposed system design will meet the needs of the military."</P>

<P> Kadish said he didn't want any "rush to failure," and will be looking to put the THAAD program and other missile defense programs on event based schedule, to get the capability as soon as possible.</P>

<P> Test success</P>

<P> The Aug. 2 intercept occurred outside the Earth's atmosphere, over the central portion of White Sands Missile Range, N.M. The HERA target simulated a Scud with a separating warhead.</P>

<P> All segments of the THAAD weapon system were used, including the radar, battle management command, control, communications and intelligence (BM/C3I), launcher and missile.</P>

<P> "This was a watershed event in the history of our country," said Kadish, "for today, for the second time, we hit a bullet with a bullet. We were able to discriminate a 13-foot-long reentry vehicle and hit." The test involved a complex series of interactions, he added, across the system and including people.</P>

<P> The radar is so powerful, Kadish said, that "you can see a basketball over Washington National Airport from Huntsville, Ala."</P>

<P> While all the analysis is not complete, "basically we not only hit a bullet with a bullet. I think it went tip-to-tip, and if you look at the closing velocities required to make that happen, the technological challenge is very clear. We were covering a distance with closing velocities [like] traveling from New York to Washington in less than two minutes, and it all had to happen in real time, with a very complex system," Kadish said.</P>

<P> Flight Test 11 was delayed for several days because of unacceptably high winds over the test range. There is a safety concern associated with debris blowing off the range. Flight Test 10 was an endoatmospheric intercept, while Flight Test 11 was conducted in the exoatmosphere. Where Flight Test 10 was again

st a single unitary target, the HERA target Aug. 2 had a separating target, where the reentry vehicle separated from the HERA booster in the exoatmosphere. This is caused the THAAD system to track multiple objects through space, which means the system had to find cool targets against a cold background, subject of much BMDO and SDIO research. This tests the sensitivity of the interceptor seeker to "see" the colder object. The test also examined the guidance commands of the entire system to intercept the reentry vehicle.</P>

<P> "I have great confidence now after the second flight, that we're well on our way to proving that technology," Kadish said.</P>

<P> Showing a video, Kern said, "I was told that it was such a clean hand-off [from the radar to the missile seeker] by the program office that they could have done it again. That's a significant improvement over some months ago."</P>

<P> For both Kadish and Kern, the test meant another step toward a near-leakproof defense against ballistic missiles. The Patriot PAC-3 had a successful shot earlier this year, a step toward integration of missile defense. Another shot is coming in the next few weeks. The THAAD shot at high altitude offers the second shot capability. If THAAD missed, the radar and battle management could provide data for a second shot to shoot, look and shoot again if necessary, with Patriot as the point defense, Kern said.</P>

<P> Technology and data is transferred to other missile defense programs, including NMD. Without touching on classified areas, Kern said. "The capability demonstrated today works against medium range ballistic missile category, it will not take care of the entire class of vehicles required to be countered by NMD. It should be able to take on the No-Dong," Kern said, and wouldn't elaborate.</P>

<P> "What's changed is two successes...[before] people were doubting the technology would work, they doubted that we were capable of making this technology work. We demonstrated that the technology works in the endoatmosphere and the exoatmosphere, but that doesn't mean all the testing is done," Kern said.</P>

<P> The THAAD program is managed by the BMDO and is executed by the Army Program Executive office, Air and Missile Defense, and the Army THAAD Project Manager in Huntsville, Ala.</P>

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<P>Washington Times

August 1, 1999

Pg. C2</P>

<P>For Soldiers, Aid Workers, A Course In Peacekeeping</P>

<P>By Deborah Straszheim, Charlottesville Daily Press</P>

<P>WILLIAMSBURG - A retired Coast Guard commander at the College of William and Mary is helping train thousands of humanitarian workers and soldiers for peace keeping missions in areas such as Kosovo.</P>

<P>Harvey Langholtz, assistant professor of psychology, takes the writings of military specialists from around the world and edits their work to turn out training manuals that soldiers and workers can use. Mr. Langholtz edited a series of nine courses used thus far by 3,000 diplomats, workers and soldiers in 62 countries.</P>

<P>"I'm a college professor. My job is to know how to teach,"says Mr. Langholtz, who served as a delegate to the United Nations from 1991 to 1993. He retired as a commander in the Coast Guard in 1993 after 23 years.</P>

<P>Mr. Langholtz is writing manuals for a branch of the United Nations called the Institute for Training and Research. About a half-dozen William and Mary students have helped him with the work.</P>

<P>The courses are aimed at helping people in times of peace and helping them rebuild after war. For example, Mr. Langholtz helped edit a course on land mines written by a German humanitarian worker and a British colonel.</P>

<P>The course does not teach people how to disable a mine. Rather, it teaches peacekeepers where to expect mines after war (along trails, streets and streams), what to do if they find themselves in a minefield (retrace steps backward) and how to educate civilians about the mines.</P>

<P>Courses are not taught in a classroom. They are all in writing. Lectures are replaced by assigned readings. Tests are given by mail.</P>

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Washington Post

August 6, 1999

Pg. 17

From The Ruins Of Kosovo, A City Is Reborn

Pec, Once a Candidate for Bulldozing, Is Being Swiftly Rebuilt by Returning Citizens

By R. Jeffrey Smith, Washington Post Foreign Service

PEC, YugoslaviaGjeladin Sahatsiu pointed to a roofless, blackened three-story brick shell and explained that the house and four of his family's shops were burned as part of the Belgrade government's campaign of destruction that left this once picturesque city the most heavily damaged and looted in Kosovo.

His tour of the ruins was repeatedly interrupted by the sound of workmen heaving new roofing timber into the courtyard of his home and by the comings and goings of 13 relatives, who sleep in two rooms that survived the fires set by Serb-led Yugoslav forces before their departure from the city.

Sahatsiu is but one of many ethnic Albanians who have recently returned to Pec, an urban center that was largely a desolate ruin when Western officials and soldiers arrived seven weeks ago to take up peacekeeping duties after the NATO-Yugoslav war. Some aid workers said then that bulldozing much of the city seemed the only realistic solution.

Now, in what is perhaps the most impressive sign of Kosovo's capacity for resurgence, Pec is a place where the sound of hammering pierces the chatter of men clustered in coffee bars and outdoor cafes; children roller-blade in heavy traffic on its main streets; where hundreds of teenagers throng downtown squares at night; where scores of small businesses sell locks, pipe fittings, electrical wiring, appliances and other items essential to reconstruction.

"Industry and enterprise are flourishing; there are shops everywhere," said Nigel Pont, a local coordinator for the humanitarian aid group Mercy Corps International. "The bars are like Oxford Street [in London] on New Year's Eve."

Although residents of many of Kosovo's smaller villages are finding the first two months of postwar life complicated by poisoned wells, shattered homes

and a lack of electricity, Pec and other urban centers in Kosovo--a province of Serbia, Yugoslavia's dominant republic--are flickering back to life. Tens of thousands of displaced and ethnic Albanians and refugees have flooded back to Kosovo's cities and towns, looking eagerly for work so they can pay to repair their homes and replace what government forces looted.

But the transformation of Pec has not been founded simply on goodwill and hard work. Virtually all of the Serbs who once made up nearly a third of Pec's population have left the city. Some evidently withdrew because they did not want to live with ethnic Albanians, but many more fled because they feared revenge attacks.

Roughly a dozen Serbian homes in Pec and surrounding towns are torched on an average night, according to a recent estimate by Gen. Mauro del Vecchio, commander of the Italian brigade responsible for peacekeeping in western Kosovo. The arson attacks are spurred in part by the anger of ethnic Albanians, who say they lost in 2 1/2 months of war what they had built over decades.

By a U.N. estimate, 70 to 80 percent of the housing, shops and factories in and around Pec were seriously damaged or destroyed in the offensive by Yugoslav troops and Serbian special police units, which NATO officials say was aimed principally at the expulsion of all ethnic Albanian residents of the city--formerly one of the five largest in Kosovo.

Del Vecchio said refugees and war crimes investigators have told him that "atrocities were an everyday fact" here from March 28 to the end of May--brutality meant to speed the expulsions. At least 580 people in the city and surrounding villages are known to have been killed, and 250 ethnic Albanian residents of the city are missing.

Those who returned were alarmed to hear about the 205 fresh, unmarked graves in the city's main cemetery. "We have found bodies in wells, fields, rivers, streets and mass graves. We've had bodies burned in houses," said Barry Hoggan, chief investigator in this region for the U.N. war crimes tribunal. "There are killing sites all over." He said 10 to 15 new burial sites are being reported daily.

But Belgrade's attempt at "ethnic cleansing" failed decisively here. More than two-thirds of Pec's prewar population of 100,000 has returned, and scores more are streaming in daily, planting Albanian flags everywhere and setting up small grills to cook and sell cevapi--the Balkan hamburger--or trade in cigarettes, gasoline, clothing and, above all, brooms.

Most people live in apartments or in first-floor or basement rooms in houses that largely survived the burning; a smaller number are sheltered in tents they brought with them from refugee camps. During the day, they clean the debris from their yards and await promised housing reconstruction aid.

"The return has been massive and fast. It caught us by surprise," said James Kovar, an official of the U.N. refugee agency in Pec.

But for Western officials who hoped the city's multi-ethnic character could be preserved, the prospects are bleak. Most of the city's Serbs have fled over the past six weeks to central Serbia or to the neighboring Yugoslav republics.

c of Montenegro, but some migrated to the Kosovo village of Gorazdevac, four miles east of Pec. Roughly 1,000 Serbs are hunkered down there within a ring of Italian armored vehicles, meant to protect them from ethnic Albanian retribution that has already claimed dozens of victims in western Kosovo.</P>

<P> The Serbs are anxious partly because members and surrogates of the Kosovo Liberation Army, the ethnic Albanian militia group that waged a 16-month war against government forces, have attained substantial political power here. Dozens of former government-owned shops have been marked by KLA administrators with signs declaring them to be property of the new ad hoc administration.</P>

<P> The Italian peacekeeping brigade has drawn criticism from aid workers and U.N. officials because it has not made a more aggressive effort to halt the house burnings or rein in the KLA. They say that NATO should not have sent an armored brigade here, but a unit of light infantry with soldiers skilled at street patrol to deter crime.</P>

<P> Vedat Nalbaum, 33, is one of the thousands of ethnic Albanians who returned to Pec to find only Serb-owned homes standing. He said he has no regrets about moving his family of six into the former home of a Serbian policeman. "You should see my place," he said. "It's just flattened. Burned totally. This house was empty, and we didn't have anywhere to go. [The Serbs] went away." </P>

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<P>New York Times

August 6, 1999</P>

<P>Afghanistan: Taliban Foes Strike Back</P>

<P> In what appeared to be a stunning counter-attack, opposition forces of Ahmad Shah Masood said they had recaptured Bagram air base from the Taliban militia and advanced to within 30 miles of the capital, Kabul. The opposition further claimed to have killed more than 500 of the Taliban in the recent fighting, a toll that independent sources have yet to confirm.</P>

<I><P>Barry Bearak (NYT)</P></I>

[s19990806iraq.htm](#)

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**<P>New York Times
**

August 6, 1999</P>

<P>Iraq: High-Level Retort</P>

<P> The country's most influential newspaper ridiculed a press report this week that said that President Saddam Hussein had granted his youngest son, Qusay, wide powers that would allow him to act as president in an emergency. The paper, Babel, which is owned by Qusay's elder brother Uday, said the report in the Saudi-owned Asharq al-Awsat was issued by Iraq's enemies.**</P>**

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

[s19990806barak.htm](#)

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<P>Washington Times

August 6, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Barak Wants CIA Out Of West Bank, Gaza</P>

<P>By David R. Sands, The Washington Times</P>

<P> Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak, as part of his push to revive direct peace talks with the Palestinians, is pressing to end the CIA's controversial role as security watchdog on the West Bank and Gaza Strip.</P>

<P> Mr. Barak, elected in May, urged U.S. officials during a visit last month to consider scaling back the CIA's security-monitoring role, established under the U.S.-brokered Wye River agreement signed in October by his predecessor, Benjamin Netanyahu, and Palestinian Authority leader Yasser Arafat.</P>

<P> A reduced CIA role fits into Mr. Barak's larger strategy of direct Israeli-Palestinian negotiations, with the United States acting less as a mediator and more as a "facilitator." </P>

<P> "I don't think the CIA should be involved in counting the number of policemen on the Gaza Strip," Mr. Barak observed.</P>

<P> In an ironic twist, Palestinian Authority leaders who reluctantly agreed to the CIA role during the Wye River negotiations have come to be the arrangement's biggest backers, saying the U.S. intelligence agency has helped it counter Israeli claims that Mr. Arafat's government was not doing enough to prevent terrorist attacks.</P>

<P> "We needed the CIA as judge, since the Israelis were using the security issues to delay implementation of the interim agreement," a senior Palestinian security official told the Jerusalem Post last week.</P>

<P> Palestinian police and security forces have also received training and equipment from the CIA. Under Mr. Netanyahu, the arrangement served as a concrete example of U.S.-Palestinian cooperation at a time when the United States and Israel often found themselves at odds over the peace process.</P>

<P> "The reason the CIA was brought in was because Netanyahu was so suspicious," said Vincent Cannistraro, a former CIA counterterrorism official and now a private consultant on anti-terrorism. "But it turned out that the Palestinians grew to like the arrangement."</P>

<P> The issue is likely to come up again when Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright visits the Middle East later this month to gauge regional sentiment for far-reaching peace talks.</P>

<P> Even with the surge of optimism over new peace talks following Mr. Barak's election, the negotiating agenda is dominated by Israel's security needs and the ability of Mr. Arafat to contain violent Palestinian factions.</P>

<P> Just Thursday, Israel accused the Palestinian Authority of tacitly supporting attacks on Jewish settlers in the West Bank after two Israelis were wounded in a shooting Tuesday in Hebron. Jibril Rajoub, chief of the Palestinian Preventive Security agency, denied the charges.</P>

<P> The dispute has left the CIA and the United States just where Wye River critics predicted last October -- intimately involved in a dispute between the two principals with no easy way to back out.</P>

<P> The surprise enlistment of the CIA in a very public role to monitor the Wye River accords raised criticisms on Capitol Hill last October, as well as fears that U.S. agents on the ground could become targets.</P>

<P> Ismail Abu Shanab, a leading figure in the terrorist Hamas organization, warned in December that the CIA's role in the process could spark violence.</P>

<P> "I cannot assure the safety of the CIA people who come here to implement Wye," Mr. Shanab said. "They are not welcome here."</P>

<P> But while Israel continues to press for a reduced CIA role, fears of violent reprisals have not come to pass.</P>

<P> A CIA spokesman declined to comment on the agency's role this week, passing along instead an unusual New York Times op-ed piece by agency Director George J. Tenet in October defending the CIA's role.</P>

<P> "The CIA is not making policy, but helping carry it out," he wrote at the time.</P>

<P> "Some have said the CIA is exceeding the limits of its charter," he added. "But fighting terrorism is our charter."</P>

<P> During Mr. Barak's visit here last month, President Clinton endorsed the Israeli leader's call for a less-commanding U.S. role in the Middle East peace process. Now that Israel is talking directly again with many of its adversaries, Mr. Barak argued, the United States should step back.</P>

<P> Mr. Barak "has publicly committed to honoring the agreements made at Wye, including the security provisions, but he has also argued very clearly that the CIA idea was a Band-Aid solution," said an Israeli official in Washington, speaking on the condition of anonymity.</P>

<P> "All of the past major breakthroughs in the peace process were achieved by Israelis and Palestinians talking directly to each other," he said.</P>

<P> The official said Mr. Barak did not demand an end to the CIA's role during his five-day trip here last month.</P>

<P> "But if Barak succeeds in his basic game plan," he said, "the expectation would be that the CIA's role would become less important."</P>

<P> State Department spokesman James P. Rubin took a similar position Thursday.</P>

<P> "The CIA and many people in our government got involved very heavily in the details of the peace process because the two sides were unable to accomplish those details themselves through direct action," Mr. Rubin said, adding that the United States had assumed that role "reluctantly."</P>

<P> He said: "We'll have to see what the direct contact that has now been occurring so regularly between the Israelis and Palestinians yields and make our decisions about our involvement based on these discussions."</P>

<P> The subject of changes to the Wye accords -- whether in the security field or in promised Israeli land withdrawals -- has become extraordinarily sensitive. While saying he won't make any unilateral moves, Mr. Barak has angered Palestinian leaders by suggesting some pullbacks be delayed by mutual consent while the sides move directly to final peace talks.</P>

<P> And some fear that terrorist attacks, which have been cut sharply in recent years in Israel, may flare up if the peace talks show promise.</P>

<P> Mr. Cannistraro said the CIA's argument that its Wye River role was nothing new was "more than a little disingenuous," but said the arrangement had worked out well on the whole.</P>

<P> "The CIA is a tool. It should be used," he said. "And as soon as it's not needed anymore, it should get out."</P>

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<P>New York Times

August 6, 1999</P>

<P>Congo Cease-Fire Imperiled As Rebel Charges Bomb Raid</P>

<P>By Norimitsu Onishi</P>

<P> ABIDJAN, Ivory Coast -- The leader of one of the two main rebel forces

in Congo appeared ready Thursday to call off a cease-fire accord he signed just days earlier, in what would be another blow to the already shaky process of bringing peace to Africa's third-largest country. </P>

<P> Jean-Pierre Bemba, the leader of the Movement for the Liberation of Congo, which occupies the northern parts of Congo, said two airplanes belonging to an ally of Congo President Laurent Kabila bombed two towns held by the movement Wednesday, killing more than 500 civilians and soldiers. </P>

<P> Bemba's assertion, which could not be independently confirmed, was denied by Kabila's government. The high number of reported deaths also raised doubts among Western diplomats, who noted that Bemba had signed the accord reluctantly in Lusaka, Zambia, on Sunday and might have been seeking an excuse to resume fighting. </P>

<P> "For me, I consider the cease-fire is broken," Bemba said, according to Reuters. "It has been broken by Kabila himself while all my troops were on the defensive." </P>

<P> In June, Kabila's government and five nations openly involved in the one-year-old war signed a cease-fire agreement in Lusaka, Zambia. But Bemba, who is supported by Uganda, and the Congolese Rally for Democracy, which is backed by Rwanda, refused to endorse the document. </P>

<P> Western diplomats have been pressing Rwanda and Uganda to put pressure on the two rebel groups to sign the accord. But it is unclear how hard the two nations have been pressing the rebels, whose organizations would not survive long without their sponsors. </P>

<P> The rebel groups have also been under intense pressure by the West, the United Nations and other international organizations to stop fighting. The Congolese Rally for Democracy has yet to sign the accord. </P>

<P> And so Bemba's report of an attack might be, as one Western diplomat in Kinshasa said, "an attempt to garner international diplomatic sympathy and support." </P>

<P> Washington and the United Nations on Thursday warned the warring parties to stick to the accord. </P>

<P> "We are calling on every party not to allow what happened or did not happen to become a pretext to back away from the Lusaka accord," a Clinton administration official said, speaking on the condition of anonymity. </P>

<P> In New York, U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan said that unless all sides respected the cease-fire, the United Nations would not send an observer mission to Congo, a prelude to possibly sending peacekeeping troops there. </P>

<P> According to Bemba, Russian-built Sudanese planes dropped 18 bombs on the towns of Makanza and Bogbonga at 10 a.m. Wednesday. If the casualty figures are confirmed, the death toll would be one of the highest recorded in a single incident in this war. </P>

<P> Sudan has never acknowledged its involvement in the war, and did not ta

ke part in the talks that produced the Lusaka accord. But it is widely believed that Sudan's government, which for historical reasons has been at odds with Uganda's government, has helped Kabila as have Zimbabwe, Angola and Namibia. </P>

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<P>New York Times

August 6, 1999</P>

<P>Tangled War In Congo Now Snares Namibians</P>

<P>By Donald G. McNeil Jr.</P>

<P> JOHANNESBURG -- Militarily, the brief battle on Monday in Katima Mulilo, a small town in the Caprivi Strip in Namibia, did not mean much, but it was an example of the domino effect of the war in Congo. </P>

<P> The battle seems to have stemmed from a combination of ethnic separatism and the personal ambitions of the rebel leader, Mishake Muyongo, but there are charges that the Unita rebel movement in Angola is supplying the separatists and perhaps fighting with them. </P>

<P> Unita's suspected motive is to punish the Namibian government for its role in the Congo war and to tie up its small army. Namibia sent troops to Congo to help President Laurent Kabila, who is fighting Uganda and Rwanda in the east but has also allowed Unita to keep bases in Congo and smuggle diamonds out across his territory. </P>

<P> Thirteen people -- five rebels and eight government troops -- were killed Monday when an outfit called the Caprivi Liberation Army attacked a military base, a radio station and an airport. Namibia closed the borders around the strip, imposed a curfew and evacuated foreign aid workers. </P>

<P> Muyongo, a former leader of the opposition in the Namibian Parliament, confirmed on Wednesday that his men had carried out the attack, saying President

t Sam Nujoma had maltreated his people, whom he called Caprivians. </P>

<P> But other reports have emerged that Muyongo's movement was being helped by the even less-known Barotse Patriotic Front in Zambia. The Lozi-speaking Barotse, of which Muyongo is a member, are in much the same plight as the Kurds split between Turkey, Iraq and Iran: they once controlled their own territory, Barotseland, which was under British protection, but up to two million are now scattered, mostly in western Zambia but also in Namibia, Botswana and Angola. </P>

<P> "We don't want to be an appendix to Namibia," Muyongo told a South African radio station from his exile in Denmark. "We've been marginalized, unemployment is high, our schools are destroyed and the only thing we're getting is brute force from Sam Nujoma's army and police. We can't take it any more." Nujoma is an Ovambo, the dominant tribe in Namibia. </P>

<P> Muyongo was once a member of Swapo, the ruling party of Namibia, but was ousted because of suspicions of his secessionist tendencies. He joined the opposition Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, a conservative anti-Swapo party with many white backers that needed black faces in its leadership. But nearly two years ago he was ousted from it, too, again suspected of fomenting secession. </P>

<P> Last year, when the Namibian Army scoured the strip, hunting for military training camps, 2,000 of Muyongo's followers, some heavily armed, fled with him into Botswana. Many returned, but he was granted asylum in Denmark. </P>

<P> The Caprivi Strip, which sticks out like a saucepan handle, is an appendix to Namibia. During Europe's scramble for African colonies in the 19th century, the strip was granted to Germany, Namibia's ruler, as a corridor to the Zambezi River, which flows east and would theoretically let German gunboats cross Africa to the Indian Ocean. However a problem just downstream remained unsolved: Victoria Falls, the Niagara of Africa. </P>

<P> In the 1980s, when Namibia was a colony of South Africa, Caprivi was the staging ground for South Africa's campaign against Angola, a secret war that apartheid South Africa carried out at Washington's request and that is considered here the same kind of military and political disaster that Vietnam was for the United States. </P>

<P> Many Caprivi residents helped the South Africans, leaving the "Caprivians" unloved by the victorious governments of Angola and Namibia. </P>

<P> Now, although Muyongo denies it, South African political and military analysts suspect Unita is helping him and the Barotse. Witnesses said they had seen men in the uniforms and red headbands of Unita rebels from Angola in the area two days ago, and the government reportedly captured a soldier who spoke only Portuguese, the language of Angola. Unita's arms-smuggling network goes through western Zambia, so it would have been simple to have delivered arms to the Barotse. </P>

<P> Asked if he thought slim Caprivi could survive as a separate country, Muyongo cited an island nation -- he could not recall the name -- that he said has as only 80,000 people but is a member of the British Commonwealth. Caprivi has r

ich soil and safari tourism, he said, while now "even if we work until doomsday
, Sam Nujoma will do nothing for us." </P>

<P> Muyongo, a colorful, undiplomatic speaker, ended a brief, angry interview in an odd way: "We don't even eat dogs in the Caprivi," he insisted, an obvious reference to the reputed taste for dogs among the Ovambo. "Dogs to us are pets."</P>

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<P>New York Times

August 6, 1999</P>

<P>Sierra Leone: U.N. Workers Seized</P>

<P> Rebels took hostage a group of United Nations military observers, West African peacekeepers, reporters and aid workers in the Okra Hills, about 40 miles from the capital, Freetown, where the rebels had been expected to hand over children abducted during the country's civil war. One released hostage said the soldiers felt sidelined by a July 7 peace deal.</P>

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

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<P>Washington Times

August 1, 1999

Pg. C11</P>

<P>Germans Struggle To Reform Military With Little Funding</P>

<P>By Douglas Busvine, Reuters News Agency</P>

<P>BONN - Reforming Germany's bloated armed forces is such a daunting task that Defense Minister Rudolf Scharping may rue turning down the chance to succeed Javier Solana as secretary-general of NATO.</P>

<P>British Defense Secretary George Robertson has emerged as the leading candidate for the NATO job after German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder informed President Clinton that Mr. Scharping was not available. Mr. Solana is stepping down in October and the United States had been pushing strongly for Mr. Scharping as his replacement, despite the German's frequent statements that he was not interested in the career shift.</P>

<P>Mr. Scharping says he would rather stay home to finish the job of modernizing the Bundeswehr, the federal government's armed forces, but experts say he may lack the money and political backing to do the job right.</P>

<P>His unwavering commitment to the Atlantic alliance's 11-week campaign of bombing Yugoslavia -- in which German Luftwaffe planes flew combat missions for the first time since 1945 -- won him many friends in the West.</P>

<P>The smooth and effective deployment of 3,500 German peacekeeping troops in Kosovo further enhanced the 51-year-old Social Democrat's international reputation.</P>

<P>But the operations mercilessly exposed the shortcomings of the Bundeswehr: few funds, lack of modern equipment, and an inability to field troops in numbers despite having 335,000 men in uniform. </P>

<P>"On paper, Germany has the largest armed forces in Western Europe. But of the main players, Germany is least able to commit itself in large numbers," said Terry Taylor of the Institute for International Strategic Studies in London.</P>

>

<P> If the price of freedom is eternal vigilance, then Germany has been trying to get a cut-price deal for years. In the decade since the Berlin Wall fell, it has halved the size of its armed forces and slashed defense spending. It now spends just 1.5 percent of gross domestic product on its armed forces, the lowest of any major NATO power. </P>

<P>Much of the post-Cold War period has been spent in the delicate task of purging and merging the East German Volksarmee, or "People's Army," and the western Bundeswehr. Former Chancellor Helmut Kohl's conservative government largely neglected structural reform.</P>

<P>That was all right as long as Bonn adhered to the dictum coined by NATO's first secretary-general, Lord Hastings Lionel Ismay, that the alliance's purpose was to keep the Americans in, the Russians out and the Germans down.</P>

<P>But now that Germany has overcome the inhibitions stemming from its role in provoking two world wars and is playing an active role within NATO, urgent action is needed to make the Bundeswehr a more effective fighting force.</P>

<P>"A reform of the Bundeswehr is long overdue. It is still a territorial army based on Cold War contingency planning," said security analyst Frank Umbach at the German Foreign Policy Society. "And the longer we wait, the more it will cost."</P>

<P>Mr. Scharping has ordered a comprehensive, two-year defense review to draw up a strategy for Germany to become a full-fledged partner in the NATO alliance. But time is not on his side: New Finance Minister Hans Eichel has ordered across-the-board spending cuts of \$15.7 billion next year to shore up federal finances.</P>

<P>Mr. Scharping is ready to bear his share of the burden, in the short term at least, but he warns that further cuts could put at risk Germany's ability to fulfill its military obligations.</P>

<P>"It is clear that everyone must do his bit to stabilize public finances," he said in an interview. "But we must not damage the effectiveness and the international reputation of the Bundeswehr."</P>

<P>A top army officer, Lt. Gen. Helmut Willmann, said reform cannot wait for the defense review to be completed.</P>

<P>"We will have to start a structural reform earlier than planned with the goal of saving personnel and operating costs," he said in a newspaper interview. "We have to create room for investments to remain an effective NATO member."</P>

<P>German soldiers plan a major demonstration in Berlin next month to protest the defense cuts, military base closures, and job losses that would inevitably result. Morale is at rock-bottom.</P>

<P>"First, they send us into a war, and then they kick us in the backside," said Col. Bernhard Gertz, head of the Bundeswehrverband, effectively the armed forces' trade union.</P>

<P>Security analysts say Germany needs to abolish the draft, further cut the size of its armed forces, and spend more on increasing its rapid-reaction capability to play a greater security role within NATO and the European Union.</P>

<P>But the political obstacles to such a move are huge. The ideal of the "citiz

en in uniform" -- the antithesis of the Prussian military elite that eased Hitler's rise to power -- has deep popular support and is seen as an anchor of stability.</P>

<P> Mr. Scharping is reluctant to contemplate abolishing 10-month mandatory military service, noting that the SPD made a pledge before last year's general election victory to keep it. Instead he has sought savings by increasing efficiency and dropping nonessential activities such as the air force's VIP airline, long treated by politicians as a personal travel agency.</P>

<P>Mr. Scharping has already increased the number of deployable German troops to 50,000 from 37,000. He also plans to change the role of the multinational Eurocorps based in Strasbourg, France, as part of efforts to build a European defense "pillar" to match the military might of the United States.</P>

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<P>New York Times

August 6, 1999</P>

<P>Swiss Prosecutor To Be Named To War Crimes Tribunals</P>

<P>By Barbara Crossette</P>

<P> UNITED NATIONS -- A Swiss lawyer with wide experience in fighting money laundering and organized crime is expected to be named chief prosecutor of the international war crimes tribunals for the Balkans and Rwanda. </P>

<P> The lawyer, Carla Del Ponte, Switzerland's attorney general and federal prosecutor, would replace Louise Arbour, a Canadian judge who has been appointed to Canada's Supreme Court. </P>

<P> Secretary General Kofi Annan met with Mrs. Del Ponte Thursday and was expected to forward the nomination to the Security Council overnight. U.N. officials do not expect opposition in the Council, which created the tribunals and formally appoints the prosecutor and judges, because members have been consulted

in advance. </P>

<P> Mrs. Del Ponte, 52, will be the first experienced prosecutor to hold the job on the war crimes tribunals. Her predecessors, Ms. Arbour and Richard Goldstone of South Africa, were both judges. The chief prosecutor is appointed for a four-year term and is based in The Hague, Netherlands. </P>

<P> Switzerland is not a member of the United Nations, but Swiss citizens often serve in professional U.N. jobs. In this case, Switzerland's neutrality -- it is not a member of NATO -- is considered an advantage for Mrs. Del Ponte, who will be working on cases involving the conflict in Kosovo. The Balkan tribunal has before it an indictment of Slobodan Milosevic, the Yugoslav president. </P>

<P> In Africa, Mrs. Del Ponte will be responsible for the separate Rwanda tribunal, which has been plagued by management problems at its headquarters in Arusha, Tanzania. The Rwanda tribunal has, however, a growing list of indictments and convictions of people involved in the mass killings of Tutsi and moderate Hutu in 1994. </P>

<P> In recent years, Mrs. Del Ponte became well known in Europe for breaking a Sicilian Mafia money-laundering operation in Switzerland, pursuing former Soviet bloc officials who may have been stowing illegal funds in Switzerland and investigating Swiss bankers suspected of misappropriating money, in some cases in collaboration with Latin Americans. She also produced the evidence for Pakistan to bring money-laundering charges against Benazir Bhutto, a former prime minister, and her husband, Asif Ali Zardari. </P>

<P> In the course of her international investigations, Mrs. Del Ponte has worked with American officials, including Louis Freeh, the FBI Director. </P>

<P> Mrs. Del Ponte suffered a setback last month when Switzerland's highest court overturned the confiscation by her office of \$90 million from Swiss accounts belonging to Raul Salinas de Gortari, the brother of a former president of Mexico. The court ruled that Mrs. Del Ponte had no authority to seize the \$90 million only on the suspicion that it included money from drug-trafficking. But the ruling did not absolve Salinas of the charges. </P>

<P> Born in Lugano on Feb. 9, 1947, Mrs. Del Ponte was educated in Geneva and Bern and in Britain. She began her career in a law firm in Lugano and three years later, in 1975, set up her own practice. In 1981 she was appointed investigating magistrate and then public prosecutor in the office of the Lugano district attorney. </P>

<P> In 1994, Mrs. Del Ponte, who speaks English, French, German and Italian, was named attorney general of Switzerland, and she has also served since then as the country's chief prosecutor. </P>

<P> In addition to aggressive investigations into money laundering and other economic crimes, she also turned her attention to arms trafficking and support for terrorist organizations. </P>

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<P>International Herald Tribune

August 6, 1999</P>

<P>Noisy Messages Aren't The Potion For North Korea</P>

<P>By Flora Lewis </P>

<P>PARIS -- The noise level about North Korea is rising ominously a gain. The focus now is on whether or not Pyongyang proceeds with another test of its new long-range three-stage missile. Top U.S. officials, including Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and Defense Secretary William Cohen, have warned of "serious consequences" if it does.</P>

<P>Pyongyang has responded, as usual, with huffy defiance.</P>

<P>"The further the United States escalates pressure upon us, the stronger our reaction will become to bring unpredictable consequences," its spokesman said. Mr. Cohen's recent visit to Tokyo and Seoul was "precisely aimed at finding a pretext to ignite a war." And deciding "whether we test-fire a satellite or a missile is a legitimate, independent right to be exercised by a sovereign state."</P>

<P>The crucial dates are apparently Aug. 15, V-J day of World War I, and Sept. 9. These are both big national holidays that North Korea likes to mark with something spectacular.</P>

<P>It is hard to sort out how much of the threats on each side are puffery and how much they represent a serious intention of action.</P>

<P>So far, the United States has spoken only of "diplomatic and economic" sanctions, but these things can get dangerously out of control.</P>

<P>Twice in the last year the Clinton administration has used increasingly urgent warnings of punitive action in an attempt to intimidate offending regimes. In each case the regime's refusal to comply created a credibility problem which practically compelled the United States to act militarily.</P>

<P> One case was Iraq last December, when the United States wound up bombing. It was ostensibly to enforce acceptance of more intrusive UN disarmament inspections, but in fact brought about withdrawal of the whole team and an end to all inspections.</P>

<P> The other case was Kosovo in March, when the United States wound up bombing to force Serbian troops to leave and cease "ethnic cleansing" of Albanian Kosovars. After two months of much greater destruction than had been envisaged, the troops pulled out but only after nearly a million Kosovars had been forced to flee. Many of their houses were deliberately destroyed by the Serbs in what proved to be a vain attempt to prevent their return.</P>

<P> The point is that a threat can cause more trouble than it prevents if it is not carefully calibrated to punishment that the United States is really prepared to apply with full consideration of the consequences for itself, as well as for the miscreant. It can be self-damaging if, in effect, it gives the power of decision on the use of force to the putative victim because Washington has gone too far to back down.</P>

<P> North Korea is particularly dangerous. It is presumed to have one or more nuclear bombs. It is not believed to be able as yet to make them small enough for long-range delivery with the new missile, but there is a menace. It is an almost totally opaque regime, immensely frustrating to all who would seek to understand its aims, its internal pressures, its reasoning.</P>

<P> In fact, it has repeatedly been so peculiarly provocative and unpredictable that it would be wiser not to expect rational reaction. As a senior Japanese diplomat says, "We have seen the stick doesn't work, but the carrot doesn't work, either." The people are starving. Some 50 percent of the budget (and the state owns everything) is said to go to the military.</P>

<P> Huge deliveries of food and fuel aid have made North Korea no easier to deal with. South Korea's policy of trying to encourage human relations, in place of the long-standing policy of total rejection, eases some tensions in the South but has had no noticeable effect on the North.</P>

<P> Former Defense Secretary William Perry recently completed a visit trying to improve relations. Essentially, he offered help for economic recovery and an end to political boycott exclusions if Pyongyang would abandon its missile and nuclear weapons programs. The only response so far has been a series of hostile actions.</P>

<P> China is about the only country which now has relatively easy access to North Korea and may have gained some influence in the last few years. It cannot be in China's interest for sustained violence and instability to break out again on the Korean Peninsula, but it is not clear what Beijing is willing or able to do about it. Its restraining counsel should be sought.</P>

<P> Outsiders just do not know what North Korea might do, but we have to be careful not to make the regime feel that it would have nothing more to lose by bringing disaster on everyone.</P>

<P> Threats are no help, and can launch the wrong action. If North K

orea wants a fight, it will get one whether or not we shout about it beforehand
. If not, we can wait for its own crazy policy to bring down the regime.</P>

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<P>Long Island Newsday

August 5, 1999

Pg. 48</P>

<P>Serbian Church Isn't A Promoter Of Aggression </P>

<P>By Sabrina P. Ramet</P>

<P> HAS THE SERBIAN Orthodox Church, which presumably should espouse Christi
an ideals of peace, been the handmaiden of Serbian aggression? In answering thi
s, I recall a June, 1987, meeting in Belgrade with Radomir Rakic, then the edit
or-in-chief of Pravoslavlje, the Serbian Orthodox Church's official news organ.
</P>

<P> Rakic told me, "We, in the Serbian Orthodox Church, think that nationalis
m is a good thing. We think it is good to be a nationalist." He had published,
five years earlier, an "Appeal for the Protection of the Serb people in Kosovo
and their Holy Shrines." The appeal made a contribution to the escalation of Se
rb nationalism in the early to mid- 1980s. It was then overshadowed by the Serb
ian Academy of Sciences and Arts' infamous "Memorandum" of 1986-which assailed
non-Serb peoples and said all Serbs should be able to live in Serbia, a demand
that entailed annexation rather than migration.</P>

<P> Rakic had no way of knowing that the brushfire of nationalism that he and
his fellow clerics were fanning would ultimately become a conflagration.</P>

<P> Because of this history, it would, indeed, be easy to write off the churc
h as the handmaiden of the Serb nationalist program. The specter of Serbian pri
ests blessing the banners of Bosnian Serb troops before battle in 1992-95 lends
itself to this kind of portrayal. But how then is one to explain Serbian Ortho

dox Patriarch Pavle's repeated calls on Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to step down from power-in 1992 and again this year -or the church synod's January , 1997, denunciation of the Milosevic regime as "Communist, godless and satanic ," when the church took the side of the Serbian opposition and condemned Milosevic's attempt to falsify election results? The fact is that the Serbian Orthodox Church's brand of nationalism is not the same as that of the Milosevic regime. While both church and regime have shared, to a considerable extent, a common hatred for Muslims-a hatred reinforced by manipulations of historical memory equating today's Muslims with the Ottoman overlords of the distant past-the church, if anything, has subscribed to a kind of "civic nationalism." This sort of nationalism mixes chauvinism with a flickering comprehension of the notion of human brotherhood and sisterhood. It was, indeed, in this spirit that Patriarch Pavle wrote to the leadership of the Albanian Students' Union of Kosovo in the winter of 1997-98. Serb police had attacked peaceful protests by Albanian students in Pristina in December, 1997. In response, Pavle criticized police violence against the students and, in his letter to them, drew their attention to the fact that Serb students had been beaten by Serbian police less than a year earlier.</P>

<P> Indeed, Pavle has, on several occasions, appealed to members of his Orthodox flock to think not only of the rights and interests of their own nation, but also of those of other national groups.</P>

<P> Twelve years ago, when Milosevic first seized power in Serbia, the Serbian Orthodox Church seemed destined to benefit from the demise of communism.</P>

<P> Milosevic received a high-ranking church delegation in July, 1990, and authorized the full rehabilitation of the church in the press. Milosevic also allowed the church to undertake a vigorous construction program, to celebrate Christmas publicly in downtown Belgrade for the first time in four decades and to play a prominent role in commemorating in 1989 the 600th anniversary of the never-to-be-forgotten Battle of Kosovo, which the Serbs lost to the Turks.</P>

<P> But the church was to be disappointed when Milosevic made no move to improve its legal status. Moreover, even now, the church still awaits the full return of properties confiscated by the Communists, including schools and hospitals.</P>

<P> During 1991, however, the Serbian Church gave solid backing to the Croatian Serbs in their insurrection against the new Croatian state. But when Milosevic and Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic set Bosnia ablaze in the spring of 1992, the church became divided. It was at that point that Pavle led a dramatic procession through Belgrade in June, 1992, demanding, for the first time, that Milosevic step down. Not all the Serb clergy supported Pavle in this, however.</P>

<P> Later, in 1993, the then-79-year-old Pavle and the fiery and articulate Serbian cleric, Metropolitan Amfilohije of Montenegro, supported Karadzic in rejecting a U.S.-British peace plan. In doing so, the prelates set themselves in opposition to Milosevic, who had endorsed it. But after the Dayton peace conference, the church elders split once more, with many bishops trying, without success, to eject Pavle from the leadership of the church.</P>

<P> Thus, as tensions in Kosovo rose, in the years after Dayton, the Serbian church appraised the situation neither as an ally of the Milosevic regime nor as its implacable foe. Church prelates drew up a detailed proposal for a peaceful settlement in Kosovo in 1998, only to find it ignored by both Milosevic and the leaders of the Kosovar Albanians. Last September, another cleric, Bishop Artemije, told the Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Senate that the church leadership wanted to see "a democratic Serbia, with ethnic, religious and cultural tolerance." In this context, it is not surprising that the Serbian church hierarchy has blamed Milosevic not only for the escalation of violence in Kosovo during 1997-99 but also for the mass flight of Serbs from several regions of the former Yugoslavia, including Kosovo.</P>

<P> Milosevic once promised that all Serbs would live in one state, but no Serbian nationalist ever imagined that promise would be kept in this way. On June 15 and on July 8, Serbian church elders called on Milosevic to step down. Pavle himself, speaking on the 610th anniversary of the original Battle of Kosovo, went so far as to distance himself and the church from the entire Serbian expansionist project.</P>

<P> "If the only way to create a greater Serbia is by crime," he told his listeners on that occasion, "then I do not accept that, and let that Serbia disappear.</P>

<P> And also, if a lesser Serbia can only survive by crime, let it too disappear." Like, perhaps, any church, the Serbian church seeks to protect its own flock in the first place. But that does not mean that the church identifies itself with the regime.</P>

<P> On the contrary, for the church, it has been the regime against whom it has, from time to time, been most necessary to protect the Serbian people. </P>

<P> <I>Sabrina P. Ramet is a professor of international studies at the University of Washington and the author of, among other books, "Balkan Babel: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia from the Death of Tito to the War for Kosovo.</P>></I>

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<P>Long Island Newsday

August 5, 1999

Pg. 47</P>

<P>A Rattled China Rattles Its Sabres </P>

<P>By Robert A. Manning</P>

<P> AT FIRST GLANCE, downgraded bonds, a nasty crackdown on a faith-healing sect and sabre-rattling over Taiwan may not appear to have much in common. But amid fears of an impending devaluation, China has become the wild card of global financial markets. All three developments reflect or are exacerbated by a shaky Chinese economy that heightens the concerns of an already nervous, insecure Chinese leadership and of the U.S. Treasury.</P>

<P> It was not dinner-table chat in Washington when Standard & Poor's lowered the credit ratings of China's near-insolvent financial institutions in July. But the move, occurring just as much of crisis-riven Asia had begun an economic recovery, is emblematic of a sputtering economy whose growth numbers are deceptive.</P>

<P> For the past 18 months Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji - much to his credit - has tried to accelerate market reforms, fearing that China would not be immune to all the economic maladies elsewhere in Asia. The weak financial institutions that triggered the Asian crisis are, if anything, more evident in China, where bad debt is well in excess of 25 percent of gross domestic product. China was insulated from the crisis because its currency, the renminbi, was not convertible, and thus, free from speculation.</P>

<P> But Zhu and his comrades picked a bad time to speed up reform. Foreign investment, mostly from overseas Chinese in the region, and export markets in Asia that have been key to China's dynamic growth have been greatly diminished by the crisis.</P>

<P> Moreover, China's economic problems are the legacy of 50 years of socialism.</P>

<P> They can't fix the banking system without privatizing state-owned enterprises.</P>

<P> And they can't fix these by creating an alternative social safety net, as state industries also provide health care, education and pensions. And they must do all three simultaneously, a massive - and unprecedented - undertaking.</P>

<P> Despite the reforms, some two-thirds of the urban work force, more than 100 million people, are employed by state-owned enterprises. Fearing mass unemployment, Beijing has proceeded gingerly, using Keynesian deficit spending and of ten directing banks to continue lending to state-owned enterprises, which absorb more than 60 percent of investment, though they produce barely 28 percent of

the gross domestic product.</P>

<P> Yet as reforms play out, many workers and their families are displaced. At the same time, the revolutionary spirit of Mao is long gone. Few believe in Marxist ideology. The Communist Party is viewed largely as an instrument of career advancement. This moral vacuum has generated growth in all sorts of religion in China - Christianity, Buddhism, Islam and not least, Falun Gong, the faith-healing sect with some 70 million estimated adherents (more than the Communist Party).</P>

<P> This is directly related to the insecurity of the Beijing leadership. Their legitimacy was initially based on Mao's triumph over Japanese invaders and overcoming 160 years of foreign imperialism. But five decades of Leninist rule have tarnished that image.</P>

<P> After the horrors of the Cultural Revolution, Deng Xiaoping's reforms appear to be legitimized in the performance of the economy, which has averaged some 8 to 9 percent growth since 1979. In the process, several hundred million people have been lifted out of absolute poverty, and the beginnings of a Chinese middle class are evident.</P>

<P> But the confidence of the booming 1980s has faded, and the momentum of Chinese export-led growth is faltering. Indeed, exports are down for the second year in a row, as is foreign investment-not to mention 21 straight months of deflation, a reflection of massive overcapacity that is in no small measure the result of state-owned enterprises.</P>

<P> In the face of all this, it is no surprise that the leadership has tried to gin up an old-time socialist campaign against Falun Gong. Though lacking any clear political agenda, the group, whose exiled leader, Li Hongzhi, lives in Queens, managed to mobilize 10,000 members to silently demonstrate in Chinese President Jiang Zemin's front yard last April. What really shocked the leadership was that Chinese security forces had no clue it was coming. Worse still, the group boasts many government officials (1,200 arrested) and even Communist Party members among its adherents.</P>

<P> Jiang and his comrades are keenly aware that such sects have a folk tradition in Chinese history. In the back of their minds is almost certainly the Taiping rebellion of the 1850s and the Boxer rebellion at the turn of the century, which brought down the Qing dynasty.</P>

<P> And if all this is not unnerving enough, there is Taiwan, the first Chinese democracy in 5,000 years, whose predicament is a complex legacy of Chinese civil war and the Cold War. It remains a dangerous flashpoint that could drag the United States and China into a military conflict. With Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui's recent remarks that he would now deal with Beijing on the basis of "special state-to-state relations," Taipei reinforced fears in Beijing that Taiwan, is seeking independence, not eventual reunification.</P>

<P> Ironically, Taiwanese businessmen have invested more than \$35 billion in the mainland along with \$20 billion in annual trade. Yet at the same time as economics is integrating China and Taiwan, buoyant Taiwanese seek international political recognition of their separate identity. The challenge ahead is to find a formula for Taiwan to get the international political space it seeks, yet th

at Beijing can live with.</P>

<P> Like Beijing's crackdown on Falun Gong, its sabre-rattling response to Taiwan's precocious behavior is hardly surprising. Both issues allow the Chinese leadership to play its nationalist card to reinforce its legitimacy as the economy struggles.</P>

<P> The \$64,000 question, however, is whether all these recent developments are yet more bumps in the road to a modernized, unified China or cracks in the armor of China's contemporary dynasty. </P>

<P> <I>Robert A. Manning, a former State Department adviser for policy, is senior fellow and director of Asian studies at the Council on Foreign Relations.</P></I>

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<P>Austin American-Statesman

August 4, 1999

Pg. 15</P>

<P>Reserves An Integral Part Of Today's Military</P>

<P>By Arnold Garcia</P>

<P> Most of the time, Alex Tafolla is director of the City of San Angelo's public housing program. But at least once a month and for a minimum of two weeks in the summer, he puts on a camouflage uniform and becomes Sgt. Maj. Tafolla.</P>

<P> He commands an artillery battalion based in New Braunfels and he delights in talking about how well the unit can shoot. His reasons for being a member of the Texas National Guard are complex, but he sure as heck doesn't eat dust and swat mosquitoes for lack of things to do.</P>

<P> He was on active duty in the Air Force in the late 1960s, joined the Guard in 1983 and worked his way up to the highest enlisted rank there is.</P>

<P> Tafolla is, as they say, thoroughly briefed and highly motivated. He is the kind of soldier they ought to put on a poster.</P>

<P> He comes to mind because I just saw him a couple of weekends ago when he stopped by my folks' house in San Angelo to say hello. He was just back from Annual Training, 18 days in the field, and still in his uniform.</P>

<P> He's my cousin.</P>

<P> And he comes to mind because service in the National Guard and Reserve has become something of a political football again. Press questions about George W. Bush's service in the Air National Guard in the 1960s center on whether he got special favors to get in. But the tone of the questions does collateral damage to Reserve and Guard personnel. As letter writer Ladd Patillo, a colonel in the Army Reserve, noted in a letter to the editor published Monday, an unflattering picture of Guard and Reserve service emerges from those questions.</P>

<P> Maybe Patillo is overreacting a bit, but he does have a point. In the late 1960s, service in the Guard and Reserve was a refuge from active duty. Because it was, getting in was rather difficult. The reserves weren't being called up, so, if you got in, chances were excellent that you wouldn't get any closer to the war than the evening news. The reserve components also had an image of being a bunch of beer swillin' good ol' boys who liked playing soldier once a month.</P>

<P> That's the one that haunts today's Guard and Reserve. It isn't your dad's Oldsmobile, it's not your same old Statesman and service in the Guard and Reserve today sure isn't whatever it used to be, either.</P>

<P> Today's reserves are pulling more of the weight as active duty components continue to shrink. Picking up that slack has costs, both financial and personal.</P>

<P> A 21-day deployment is plenty disruptive enough to families and careers. Longer ones, like the three to five month tours in the Balkans and elsewhere are tougher still on the part-time soldier. In January, a headquarters unit of Texas' 49th Armored Division -- complete with a general -- is to deploy to Bosnia for a nine-month tour.</P>

<P> They do it for whatever reason, but because they do it, somebody else doesn't have to. We could question, I suppose, whether anyone should have to do what a soldier does. But coffeehouse idealism and cocktail-party chatter is no basis for making foreign policy, much less enforcing it.</P>

<P> The national leadership is constantly renewing military commitments and adding new ones. Active duty personnel are stretched thin and getting thinner.</P>

<P> Today's reserve components are 50 percent of the country's military force

orces. You don't have to be Gen. George C. Marshall to figure out that these days Guard and Reserve troops are a safety valve for politicians and the public. Using Guard and Reserve personnel to fill in the ranks of the active duty is relatively cheap and holds at bay discussion of reviving a draft.

Ironical, no?

I'll thank my cousin for you the next time I see him.

Garca, who was a sergeant in the active Army and a captain in the Texas National Guard, is the editorial page editor of the Austin American-Statesman.

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Aviation Week & Space Technology

August 2, 1999

Pg. 66

No Russian Roulette For The F-22

By David M. North, Editor-in-Chief

This is not the time to cut funding for the U.S. Air Force F-22 Raptor, for many reasons. If the bid to delay production of the Lockheed Martin fighter is being used by the Republicans in the House of Representatives as a club to force the White House to support an increased defense budget, they are playing a potentially costly and divisive game.

There are two conflicting reasons given for eliminating the \$1.85 billion requested in the Fiscal 2000 budget for initial F-22 production. One is that since the F-22 has a strong congressional following because of where the jobs are located, it would be unthinkable to kill an aircraft, now in flight test, after \$20 billion alone has been spent on development. So, a political consensus would be reached to raise the defense budget cap. The other reason given is th

at without the Soviet threat, it does not make much sense to spend almost \$100 million per copy for 339 aircraft, especially since that cost has tripled since the F-22 was conceived in the mid-1980s. </P>

<P> But the fundamental question--for Congress, the Air Force and the Administration--is whether the U.S. really needs the combat capability of the Raptor at this time. My answer is yes. Recently, I flew the F-22 cockpit simulator in the unclassified, and less capable, mode in Arlington, Va. I was impressed with the integrated sensors and automated combat capability of the fighter in the air-to-air mode. But it was the difference of the F-22's advantage of stealthiness that was the most striking. With the flip of one switch, the instructor could shift the cockpit threat presentation from one that I would encounter if I were flying an F-15 to that seen in an F-22. The range at which a MiG-29 could detect me as an F-15 pilot was quite long. As an F-22 pilot, that range was far less than half that of the F-15. That meant I could launch missiles against the MiG-29 well before I was detected. </P>

<P> In June, I flew the Dassault Rafale. The French fighter has better stealth characteristics than the aircraft it is replacing, the Dassault Mirage 2000-5, and with planned system upgrades, it will be a formidable multimission aircraft. Both the Eurofighter and Saab Gripen are newer-generation aircraft than the F-15, but none is in the same air superiority category as the F-22. It would be wise to conclude that the U.S. might face one of these European aircraft as an adversary. Moreover, Russia is marketing fighters some say could better the F-15. </P>

<P> However, it is not just opposing aircraft that must be evaluated for their threat potential. Aircraft are merely the platforms, and advances in sensors, radar technology, electronic countermeasures and missile technology favor the Rafale and Eurofighter over the F-15. Improvements in ground-based radars and surface-to-air missiles also point to the need for a stealthy air superiority fighter that can penetrate enemy territory. </P>

<P> If it lives up to performance expectations, the F-22 also will feed stealth technology, propulsion improvements and integrated avionics to the Joint Strike Fighter (JSF), now under development. Looking at the three U.S. combat aircraft still under development--the Boeing F/A-18E/F, F-22 and JSF, the JSF should have the top priority because it melds stealth technology, advanced engines and integrated avionics for all of the services, at a price they can afford. </P>

<P> The \$1.85 billion should be reinstated to fund procurement of production F-22s. The Raptor should be bought at the most economical production rate possible. Stretching out production will only increase the cost. Once the JSF is flying, its performance is affirmed and the true program costs have been established, then cut off production of the F-22 at less than 200 aircraft. </P>

<P> For the short term, Congress should drop the additional Lockheed Martin F-16s and Boeing F-15s the House included in the budget for next year. The Air Force has not asked for them. The additional Joint-STARS aircraft also should be deleted. That would make up part of the money required for the F-22. One way not to save money, however, is to gut the budget for the Airborne Laser. That is one program offering great potential for ballistic missile defense, and it is on schedule. </P>

<P> The best solution, though, is for Congress and the Administration to work together and raise the defense spending caps. The services really need the additional funds to deal with readiness and personnel problems, as well as modernization. This is a good opportunity for the services and Congress to work together on what the U.S. military services need to be in 2020, and stop playing Russian roulette with individual programs.</P>

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<P>New York Times

August 6, 1999</P>

<P>Death Is The Winner In Africa's Wars </P>

<P>By Chester A. Crocker</P>

<P> WASHINGTON -- Recent months have brought hopeful signs in Africa, from elections in South Africa and Nigeria to budding peace initiatives in Congo, Ethiopia and Eritrea, and Sierra Leone. </P>

<P> But these positive steps aside, Africa remains torn by 11 wars involving 16 nations, and countless rebel and splinter movements. Largely internal in origin, these have a nasty habit of metastasizing into regional conflicts. Eight million refugees and uncounted millions more internally displaced people bear witness to the awesome toll of conflict. Africa's heartland, from the Red Sea to the South Atlantic, remains at war. </P>

<P> Consider the hard cases. </P>

<P> Sudanese have been fighting on and off since 1955, with an estimated two million dead from war or war-induced famine. </P>

<P> In Congo, the agreement signed by six governments last month is a noble list of aspirations, but its timetable is hopelessly ambitious, and it is unclear whether the foreign backers of President Laurent Kabila or the rebels are s

opposed to withdraw first. The leader of one rebel army who signed the accord last week apparently broke off the cease-fire yesterday. Without pressure and support from regional and outside powers, the accord could become simply a disguise for de facto partition and a protracted war. </P>

<P> But at least some agreement is on the table, giving the Congolese factions, the neighbors and the United Nations something to work with. </P>

<P> In Angola, a country that has seen little peace since an anti-colonial rebellion broke out in 1961, perhaps the most tragic scene is unfolding. On July 15, an impressively varied grouping of Angolan political, religious and civil leaders signed an appeal for peace and reconciliation. As if to underline what's at stake, the Unita rebel group responded several days later by launching a punishing attack on a town near the nation's capital. </P>

<P> No African nation is as sadly recidivist as Angola. Agreements to end the power struggle between the rebels led by Jonas Savimbi and the Government have been within reach in 1975, 1991 and 1994, but never successfully grasped. </P>

<P> What's the problem? </P>

<P> Most African and Western governments blame Mr. Savimbi, whose ambition is said to impede any deal that does not give him the presidency. His refusal to accept the outcome of the 1992 election and his return to armed struggle is a case in point. The rebels only went through the motions of carrying out a 1994 power-sharing arrangement in which they would join the government as a junior partner. </P>

<P> Today, Mr. Savimbi's forces have the military initiative in much of the country, and are pushing civilians they cannot feed into the Government-controlled cities, deliberately creating conditions for a popular explosion. Using guerrilla logic mastered during 35 years in the bush, Mr. Savimbi aims to isolate the regime in the cities, cut power and water supplies and sow panic. </P>

<P> The United States and other countries are now trying to isolate, punish and coerce the rebels, while stepping up support for the Government in Luanda. The Security Council is trying to cut off Mr. Savimbi's access to the billions in diamond revenue that has helped him to sustain a war against an oil-rich Government. </P>

<P> Earlier this year, Washington and Luanda set up a special commission to boost cooperation in various fields, from military to humanitarian. </P>

<P> But this approach is no more likely to bring peace to Angola than previous attempts. Despite massive military spending and imports of new artillery and aircraft, Angola's top soldiers have few illusions about winning: Angola is too big, the Unita guerrillas have too many advantages and are too skillful for that. The military's game is a long one, involving defense, containment and attrition. Over time, it hopes to wear the rebels down, raise their costs and bleed their forces, while squeezing their ability to sustain arms imports. It is the strategy of comfortable incumbents who know their limits and believe they can deny Mr. Savimbi victory. </P>

<P> On Unita's side, meanwhile, the war itself represents a tolerable definition of survival, and survival is a form of victory. The rebel group obtains external supplies through various networks and channels that flourish in a world of weak, destabilized states and porous borders. Ukrainians, South Africans, Ugandans, and Zambians among many others are mentioned as tacit or active partners. African airspace and ports are not difficult to move through. Moreover, Unita has always captured a big portion of its supplies from the Government itself . </P>

<P> Opportunists with a Leninist sense of power are in charge on both sides in Angola. Neither places a high priority on peace or people. Barring victory, they prefer war over peace. </P>

<P> But for the people of Angola the permanent war is intolerable. In some war zones, land mines are being planted faster than crops. The World Food Program regularly revises upward its estimates of emergency food requirements, but has received less than 40 percent of what it needs. Once eradicated diseases like polio are thriving once again in Angola's inaccessible areas. </P>

<P> Infant and child mortality rates are rising to appalling levels. </P>

<P> Perhaps, instead of debating which political bed to jump into tomorrow, the United States would be better advised to engage not only with the Government but with Angola's fragile civil society institutions, the churches, the humanitarian agencies and those "autonomous" leaders who are now speaking out against the unconscionable behavior of incumbent elites. </P>

<P> Kofi Annan is right to call for the real friends of Angola to engage in the search for peace, as he did last week. But one wonders if this is best done by having American military and diplomatic resources placed at the disposal of the recognized but unaccountable Government of Angola. We need a broader regional effort: the conflicts in the Congo and Angola have fed off each other and continue to do so. The drama in Central Africa requires more than picking a favored side. It demands a coherent strategy building on the recent Congo pact to create a fresh momentum for peace.</P>

<I><P> Chester A. Crocker, a professor of strategic studies at Georgetown University, was Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs in the Reagan Administration. </P></I>

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<P>Providence Journal-Bulletin

August 1, 1999</P>

<P>Don't Stint On Defense</P>

<I><P>Avoiding more Guadalcanals</P>

</I><P>By Theodore L. Gatchel</P>

<P> Next Saturday will mark the 57th anniversary of the landing of the First Marine Division on Guadalcanal, on Aug. 7, 1942. Popularized recently by Hollywood's rendition of James Jones's novel The Thin Red Line, Guadalcanal was one of the truly epic battles of World War II.</P>

<P> Among other distinctions, it was the first American offensive operation of the war. The U.S. naval victory at Midway had stopped further Japanese expansion into the Pacific, but the Guadalcanal operation was the first attempt to take back territory that had been seized by the enemy. The effort was eventually successful, but the great cost of victory reflected how ill prepared America was for war. Guadalcanal also demonstrated the difficulty of determining accurately where and when a nation will next have to fight.</P>

<P> American naval officers had been planning for a possible war against Japan for most of the century, but their plans had been based on certain widely held assumptions. One was that the Japanese would attack the Philippines, precipitating a race by the U.S. fleet to reinforce U.S. Army forces stationed in the islands.</P>

<P> Unfortunately, no one anticipated that the Japanese would start the war by destroying the American fleet at Pearl Harbor, an act that allowed them to conquer the Philippines and drive deep into the South Pacific before the Allies could react. Even when the Allies began to plan for an offensive in the Solomon Islands, however, Guadalcanal was not mentioned. Only after aerial reconnaissance revealed that the Japanese were building an airfield on Guadalcanal did the island become an objective.</P>

<P> Realizing that if the Japanese were able to complete the airfield they would have an almost insurmountable advantage, American planners made the island an objective and advanced the timetable for D-day from early 1943 to August 1942.</P>

<P> The latter change aggravated the problems of the First Marine Division as it prepared to go to war. When they landed, the Marines had neither maps nor aerial photographs of their objective. Instead, they had to make do with hand-drawn sketches from Australian planters who had lived on the island. The lack of maps caused some serious problems but also some amusing ones. After the Battle of the Tenaru River had gone into the annals of Marine Corps history as a great victory, historians discovered that it had actually been fought along the Il

u River. The hand-drawn maps were wrong.</P>

<P> There was nothing amusing about the lack of ammunition, aviation gasoline, tropical medicine, jungle uniforms, and even food. During the battle, Americans died needlessly because of those various shortcomings. Aviators died because the Japanese had more capable fighters. Sailors died because the Japanese Navy had better torpedoes and more effective tactics. More than 8,000 Marines contracted malaria because preventive medicine was inadequate. Because of the many shortages, Marines named the battle for Guadalcanal "Operation Shoestring."</P>

<P> In the three years that followed, the United States devoted to the war effort the resources needed to overcome the problems experienced on Guadalcanal. Unfortunately, the lessons learned there at such high cost did not survive to the end of hostilities. Five years after the victory over Japan, Americans were even less prepared to fight than they had been at Guadalcanal. Appreciating that weakness, and apparently taking at face value the State Department's announcement that Korea lay outside the area of U.S. interest, communist North Korea invaded the Republic of Korea to its south. The American troops that responded to the invasion were poorly trained and lacked weapons capable of stopping the Soviet-built tanks used by the North Koreans. American fighting men once again paid in blood for their country's neglect.</P>

<P> This pattern of neglect repeated itself in Vietnam. As a rifle company commander there in 1966, I experienced a variety of problems that resulted from inadequate peacetime military budgets, including uniforms and boots that weren't designed for jungle warfare and quickly rotted away, maps with large sections that were known to be inaccurate, and Korean War-vintage mortar ammunition that frequently failed to explode.</P>

<P> The U.S. military is in much better shape today than it was in 1942, 1950 or 1966, but serious problems are starting to surface. When the Soviet Union collapsed, American politicians encouraged the public to expect a "peace dividend" from money that would no longer have to be spent on the military. In reality, Americans had already received that dividend by virtue of having avoided an all-out shooting war with the Soviets.</P>

<P> The removal of the Soviet threat did not eliminate the need for a strong American military. Increasingly, President Clinton has based his military actions on what he perceives to be a moral imperative to right the world's wrongs through the use of American armed forces. Unfortunately, neither he nor the Congress has seen fit to keep the U.S. military manned, trained, equipped and compensated to a level commensurate with this new mission.</P>

<P> Six years of reduced defense budgets have proved popular with many Americans. As a result, they are now asking why the nation should spend more on the military when no obvious threat exists. The answer is: "So that other Americans won't have to endure another Guadalcanal."</P>

<I><P> Col. Theodore L. Gatchel (USMC, ret.), a monthly contributor, is a military historian and a professor of operations at the U.S. Naval War College. The opinions here are his own and do not necessarily reflect those of the Defense Department or the Naval War College. </P></I>

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<P>American Legion

August 1999

Pg. 26</P>

<P>War Without A Plan</P>

<I><P>The United States must pay closer attention to foreign policy and solve overseas problems before they become crises.</P>

<P>Sen. Richard Lugar, R-Ind., addressed the annual Armed Forces Day banquet in Indianapolis May 21. He discussed foreign policy as it relates to the Kosovo situation. Lugar wrote this commentary for The American Legion Magazine based on that speech.</P>

</I><P> The potential for conflict in Kosovo had been discussed by observers of the region for years. About 90 percent of the roughly two million people living in Kosovo were of Albanian ancestry. Only 10 percent were Serbian. But Serbia retained tight control over the province. Given the desire for a return to autonomy by the Albanian majority in Kosovo, the historic importance assigned to Kosovo by the Serbs and the demonstrated willingness of the Milosevic regime to use ethnic conflict to build domestic political support, a conflict was almost inevitable without imaginative and early international intervention. However, there was insufficient attention to the powder keg in Kosovo until it reached the crisis stage.</P>

<P> In recent years, little attention was paid to foreign policy by the president, Congress or the American people until a crisis was upon us. For years the administration gave insufficient attention to the root cause of the problem in the Balkans the lack of democracy in Yugoslavia and the presence of a regime with a history of aggression. The United States and NATO should have been working much earlier to support democratic forces in Serbia.</P>

<P> Involve Congress Sooner. As the war was about to start, members

of Congress were hurried to a Capitol Hill briefing March 18 by Secretary of Defense Bill Cohen, Secretary of State Madeline Albright, Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Gen. Hugh Shelton and National Security Advisor Sandy Berger. Many senators who had not been following the situation closely were visibly shaken and alarmed that the United States was about to launch a war.</P>

<P> I asked Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott, R-Miss., to ask the president to meet with the leadership of the House and Senate, and inform Congress of the administration's plans. The next day, the president and his advisors met with us in the living quarters of the White House. We met again the following Tuesday, March 22. By then the situation in Kosovo had deteriorated substantially and there was evidence that Serbian forces had crossed the border in large numbers. During that meeting we received word from Ambassador Holbrooke that Milosevic had rejected NATO demands, saying: "No! Never!"</P>

<P> We encouraged the president to ask Congress for authority and support for military action that appeared to be inevitable. He reluctantly sent a message asking for approval of a bombing campaign, and the Senate voted 58-41 to give him this authority. I voted for it.</P>

<P> A debate had occurred, but it was hardly an adequate execution of Congress's responsibility to declare war. The House, on March 11, had debated and voted on an unrelated resolution authorizing U.S. troops to participate in a peacekeeping mission in Kosovo. Even most senators who voted for the resolution to approve bombing were unsatisfied with the timeliness of the information provided by the administration and the explanations of how the war was to be prosecuted.</P>

<P> The president hoped to prevent, or at least deter, the Serbs from using ethnic cleansing to drive the Albanians from Kosovo, and that subsequently Kosovo would become an autonomous region of Serbia. Within the first few days, the world witnessed the failure of the first objective. Whether the second objective is possible over the long run, given the continued leadership of President Milosevic and other convicted war criminals, is subject to severe doubt.</P>

<P> Our objective might have been the end of the Milosevic regime, a democratic Serbia and an interim government for Kosovo and Serbia administered by NATO.</P>

<P> Contingency Plans. In each of the four congressional meetings I attended with the president, I asked: "What if your bombing plan doesn't work even for your limited objectives? What is plan B?" I pushed the point, along with other lawmakers, that he must prepare alternatives.</P>

<P> Milosevic did not back down when the NATO bombs began falling. He declared his objective was the removal of ethnic Albanians and the establishment of a Serbian Kosovo. His troops used terror to expel the majority of Albanian Kosovars, while destroying their houses, confiscating their bank accounts and seizing or invalidating their identification papers. They randomly massacred large groups of Kosovars and pledged to kill any Kosovo Liberation Army members that fell into their hands. A week into the fighting Milosevic had achieved his basic objectives.</P>

<P> Meanwhile, at least 850,000 Kosovars were housed in camps in Macedonia

, Albania and other countries. The refugees represented not only a huge expense, but also a potential source of instability for the countries keeping them. The United States and NATO were left to deal with these problems through hasty improvisation.

Decisive Leadership Needed. Being a member of an alliance brings certain limitations in exchange for the benefits of additional resources, manpower and moral credibility. The dynamics of the NATO operation, for example, required the assent of all 19 members for specific military actions. With 19 countries publicly debating the bombing target-by-target, surprise was impossible.

But the United States must recognize that it is more than just another member of the alliance. We are the leader of NATO, and as such, we must exercise effective persuasion. During previous diplomatic efforts regarding Bosnia and during the Kosovo operation, the Clinton administration has been prone to use alliance disagreement to avoid hard decisions.

The United States, as the alliances leader, must present a strong and coherent case backed by the weight of American diplomatic and military power. In most cases, alliance members welcome resolute leadership from the United States.

Greater Allied Contributions. When I addressed an assembly of NATO leaders in Washington April 23, I said, "Rough parity between the United States and European forces in the ability to project power and sustain these types of operations is a reasonable goal." Military strategists believe that the conflicts of the 21st century will require NATO members to rapidly deploy forces over long distances and sustain these operations for extended periods of time. While Europeans remain an integral part of European defense, however, their likely contributions to future wars are not commensurate with their responsibilities. The Clinton administration and its successor must press Europeans for a more equitable division of labor.

When military operations do occur, the president must be personally involved in securing foreign financial contributions, military commitments, humanitarian aid, homes for refugees, etc. Before the Gulf War, President Bush demonstrated how a president working the phones can bolster the international alliance and secure contributions from a wide array of nations, raising an astounding \$53.5 billion from allies to offset U.S. war expenses.

Many members of Congress have worried that Kosovo is a distraction from more fundamental foreign policy concerns, and that we should be reserving our military strength for other potential conflicts. Undoubtedly, any decision to use military force must take into account the wider context of our global commitments. But the fact is, in Kosovo, we have been engaged in the largest war we have had since 1991. The Clinton administration have stumbled into this war without a detailed plan.

Overwhelming Force Needed. One of the primary principles of attack taught in military schools is the use of overwhelming force. NATO's battle plan violated this principle from the outset. President Clinton, with full forethought, gave a speech on the first night of the bombing explaining that we would not use ground troops. He repeated this pledge again and again. When pressed,

he rejected even planning for the use of ground troops. These pledges relieved Milosevic from concern that he might face a NATO ground force that would win the war and threaten the existence of his regime.</P>

<P> Our battle plan was designed to force concessions through punishment, rather than to achieve objectives by using all military means at our disposal. As in Vietnam, we were seeking to find the "threshold of pain" of our enemy.</P>

<P> The Clinton administration's strategy expected that NATO bombing would quickly unnerve the Serbian leadership and force it to agree to NATO's terms. This was an unjustifiable leap of faith. Milosevic moved 40,000 of his best forces to the borders of Kosovo with the intent of ejecting by force the ethnic Albanian majority in Kosovo. Essentially this left the success of our military operations in the hands of the Serb leadership.</P>

<P> This principle is particularly important because democracies and alliances do not have an appetite for open-ended war, even one as limited as the air war in the Balkans. We worry about the expense, the potential for casualties and deployments that take our troops away from their loved ones. We also react with aversion to civilian deaths among our enemy's population. These reactions are evidence of the strength of our moral society, and none of us would wish for a more ruthless national conscience. But we must have a clear idea of their implications for how we make war. In most protracted conflicts waged on a limited basis, the terms of negotiations will shift against democracies as the war proceeds.</P>

<P> Force Objectives. The war surrounding Kosovo presented the incredible irony of two wars occurring simultaneously over the same object, but rarely intersecting. NATO's war took place mostly over Serbia where bombs were dropped on petroleum depots, military headquarters, bridges, rail lines and communication centers. Meanwhile, Milosevic's troops were fighting a ground war in Kosovo that in its decisive stages was neither deterred nor slowed by NATO air attacks. In early May, Milosevic welcomed back his victorious generals from Kosovo, who told him the war was won!</P>

<P> It was no accident that a more compliant negotiating stance on the part of Milosevic followed a Kosovo Liberation Army offensive that drew Serb forces into the open and subjected them to heavy losses from allied sorties. In other words, movement came after the two wars finally began to intersect and the force being applied had a direct impact on the main instrument of Milosevic's power.</P>

<P> Minimizing Casualties. NATO's "immaculate intervention" was designed to minimize allied casualties—a concern any good commander must have. But we must come to a national realization that wars produce casualties, and sometimes casualties are a tragic necessity of taking a stand against national security threats. Our natural aversion to casualties must not lead to future situations where we fail to deploy troops despite the fundamental urgency of doing so for our national security.</P>

<P> If a particular objective is deemed to be sufficiently important to national security to justify military action, then the war almost always should be prosecuted with overwhelming force. In most cases, overwhelming force will mi

nimize casualties more than a gradual, uncertain escalation.</P>

<P> Short Supply. Early in the bombing campaign, news organizations reported the United States was running low on cruise missiles. If such a vital weapon was in short supply, what other unseen deficiencies might crop up? More importantly, our military has been suffering from recruitment and retention difficulties. Because of a 14 percent pay differential with comparable civilian jobs, we are losing good people. No amount of sophisticated equipment will make up for a drain in talented and experienced military manpower.</P>

<P> Improvements are on the way. In May, Congress passed a \$14.5 billion supplemental appropriations bill that included approximately \$11 billion for operations in Kosovo, replacement of equipment and munitions, improvements in defense readiness and a 4.8 percent across-the-board military pay increase.</P>

<P> The war in Kosovo has underscored deficiencies that must be corrected. Its time for us to think about our readiness and the challenges we face as the most powerful nation in the world. </P>

<I><P>Sen. Richard Lugar, R-Ind., is the senior Republican member of the Senate Foreign Relations and Intelligence Committees.</P></I>

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<P>American Legion

August 1999

Pg. 18</P>

<P>Defining The Threat</P>

<I><P>The fall of the Soviet Union eliminated "the threat," yet unleashed new dangers which now fester in a more unstable world.
</P>

</I><P>By Fred Peck</P>

<P> Pity the poor Pentagon planners. In what some may now look upon as the "good old days of the Cold War," U.S. military planners were able to focus their efforts on the threat to our national security posed by the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. Our strategists formulated a defense policy aimed at deterring or defeating a Warsaw Pact offensive. Popular wisdom held, if we could do that, we could easily handle any lesser threats to our vital interests.</P>

<P> By the 1970s, the U.S. military lexicon no longer even referred to the Warsaw Pact by name. "The Threat" had become its own proper noun, understood to be the communist bloc and its allies. Our forces were robust, our investment in defense immense and our strong research and development efforts kept us out in front of our potential adversaries.</P>

<P> This policy was successful as the Berlin Wall fell, the Warsaw Pact crumbled and the Soviet Union ceased to exist. In the dust of their demise, however, we found that the world was not a safer place. Indeed, many have argued the opposite is true. There is greater instability in the world now that The Threat no longer looms so large. The old world order imposed a certain discipline that is absent in the post-Cold War era.</P>

<P> Looking Glass Lost. Threats to our national security, once seen so clearly through the prism of the Cold War, became much more nebulous. America, now the world's only superpower, found itself compelled to flex its military muscle around the globe.</P>

<P> The Balkans, Somalia, Haiti and the Persian Gulf were scenes where U.S. presidents decided to use force to protect our interests. Iraq, which only a decade ago was seen as a friendly counterweight to Iranian aggression, suddenly became the target of the largest U.S. military operation since Vietnam. Humanitarian and peace-keeping missions became the soup du jour for our military forces.</P>

<P> The dilemma for military planners: from where will future threats to America come, and in what form?</P>

<P> We are susceptible to isolated terrorist actions such as the botched attack on the World Trade Center in New York in 1993.</P>

<P> However, the most serious act of domestic terrorism was the bombing of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City, which was carried out by a disgruntled former U.S. serviceman with sacks of fertilizer, racing fuel and a rented truck. Attacks of this magnitude are great tragedies, but not threats to our existence.</P>

<P> More pervasive threats are capable of being made on our vital national interests. It was to protect such a vital national interest, the petroleum resources of the Arabian Peninsula, that we fought the Gulf War in 1991. Now the United States and our NATO allies are in Yugoslavia with an undefined mission.</P>

<P> NATO's intervention in Kosovo would have been unthinkable during the Cold War. The United States and its NATO allies stood by helplessly as the Soviet

Union brutally crushed a budding liberation movement in Czechoslovakia, a country closer to the heart of Europe and with much stronger ties to Western Europe than Serbia or its Kosovo province. We looked passively as a much bloodier repression was carried out by Pol Pot in Cambodia. Western Bloc versus Soviet Bloc tensions prevented us from taking action in those and many other areas. Conversely, iron-fisted communist rule by Marshal Tito in Yugoslavia kept nationalist aspirations of the Serbs, Croats and Albanians dormant throughout the Cold War.

Kosovo also illustrates the limits of our military superpower status. In his address to the nation, President Clinton said, "In the Balkans, inaction in the face of brutality simply invites more brutality." Yet he was unable to summon the will of either NATO or the American people to initially commit the ground forces. We are the world's only superpower, but we remain a reluctant one. We are willing to use limited force such as air strikes or peace-keeping troops, but we are very hesitant to spend the lives of our young men and women in uniform, as well as we should, unless there is a clearly defined threat to our national interests.

So, what specific threats should concern us?

Recalling our experience with Iraq, we must protect our interests in the Persian Gulf region. A change in philosophy, ideology or leadership could, overnight, pose a direct threat to the oil which is so vital to our economy. Our diplomats are reluctant to discuss it openly, but many of the countries in the region are unstable and have recently or soon will undergo crises in succession of their leadership.

During the Gulf War we were blessed with a dumb enemy. Had the Iraqis continued south across the Saudi Arabian border after rolling over Kuwait, they could have overwhelmed the Saudis and occupied their oil fields. They could have easily captured the airfields and port facilities we used as staging bases for our eventual air and ground campaigns in Kuwait and Iraq. In 1990, the Iraqis had the ability to quickly conquer Bahrain, Qatar and Oman had they made the decision to do so.

That would have greatly complicated the situation for us; without those turnkey facilities, we would have had to fight our way ashore and up the Arabian Peninsula. Saddam Hussein could have done much more damage to the world's oil production capability, and hence the world's economy, if he had done to the Saudi oil fields what he did to those in Kuwait.

Implausible? Not at all. That is why the Arab states in the region are reluctant to support any further destabilization of Saddam's regime. They prefer dealing with "the devil they know" rather than bet on what might emerge in Iraq in the wake of his rule.

There is a sizable Kurdish minority in northern Iraq, northwestern Iran and eastern Turkey which holds a serious potential for instability in the region. Although of late the Iranians have been seeking some rapprochement with the United States, Iran is gradually rebuilding its military and continues to support international terrorism.

The United States is a superpower because it can project its military

power far from its shores. Recapturing the Arabian Peninsula would be difficult and time consuming. But we, and only we, have that capability. Our power comes from our unmatched sealift and airlift resources. We also have a forcible entry capability through airborne and amphibious operations that no other nation can come close to matching. We have the air power, both land and carrier-based, that can rapidly gain and maintain air superiority in any corner of the world. Added the formidable firepower of our surface and sub-surface warships, and you have the formula which makes us the world's only superpower.

Dealing with the last great empire in the world, the Peoples Republic of China, is a vexing problem in that it appears we are our own worst enemy. By transfer, intellectual piracy or flat-out espionage, we have handed the Chinese an immense amount of nuclear and missile technology. Although China has a large military, it lacks any appreciable power projection capability: It has little airlift or sealift ability and is a threat only to places to which the Chinese can march. China has the resources to conduct a cross channel attack on Taiwan, but the U.S. Navy could check such a move.

However, CIA Director George J. Tenet testified in February before the Senate Armed Services Committee that, "China is also developing and acquiring air and naval systems intended to deter the United States from involvement in a Taiwan Strait crisis and to extend China's fighting capability beyond its coastline. Although China does not want a conflict over Taiwan, it refuses to renounce the use of force as an option and continues to place its best new military equipment opposite the island."

Some argue that the Chinese Empire will one day go the way of the Soviet Empire, although I think it will be later rather than sooner. The breakup of the Chinese Empire is nothing to be sanguine about. Such an unstable situation could easily spin out of control and the aftershocks would be felt over a wide area for a long time.

Fighting For Food. In North Korea, the regime of dictator Kim Jong-il often seems ready to collapse under its own weight. The North Koreans cannot even feed their people and something must give. Reunification of Korea may come sooner than expected, but at great cost. The possibility also exists for a violent disintegration across its border into South Korea.

Indeed, Lt. Gen. Patrick M. Hughes, director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, testified before the Senate Select Committee in January 1998: "Some form of significant perhaps violent change is likely in the next five years."

Many defense strategists cite the hostility between Greece and Turkey, two NATO partners, as a potential flashpoint. It is, but of even greater concern are events within Turkey. The growing pressure from Islamic fundamentalists on what is now a secular state, and the unresolved Kurdish problem in eastern Turkey are both causes for concern. This is a trouble spot where we have treaty obligations, military bases and important national interests.

As defense analysts survey the world, they note other countries and regions that also give cause for concern. Most notably is the instability in Central Asia among some Republics of the former Soviet Union, the continual friction between the two nuclear-capable powers of Pakistan and India, and sub-Saharan

Africa where many ethnic tribal conflicts continue to be a problem. These areas pose no direct threats to our vital national interests, but as we have seen in Somalia and Rwanda, they carry the potential for humanitarian or peace-keeping intervention if our political leadership so directs. Terrorist attacks on U.S. embassies such as those in Kenya and Tanzania are the object of constant vigilance, but no significant threat to our vital interests exists in these regions.

Terrorism is one of a few remaining "isms" against which we must remain on guard now that communism and fascism have largely disappeared. Of equal or even greater danger to our interests may be militant Islamic fundamentalism in Turkey, Egypt and Algeria and that old bugaboo, nationalism.

There are many on-going separatist struggles that could heat up and spill over to pose problems for the United States, just as they have in the Balkans.

Cyber attacks, the illicit drug trade and illegal immigration are threats or dangers to our well being; but in my opinion are better dealt with by our intelligence community, other federal agencies or even the National Guard. There is a role for the Defense Department to play in these, but taking a leading role would detract from the military's true mission, which is to fight our battles and win our wars.

Fred Peck, a retired Marine colonel, served as a senior spokesman for Operation Restore Hope in Somalia.

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<P>Washington Times

August 5, 1999

Pg. 17</P>

<P>Satellite Industry Ensnared</P>

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

<P> Today, the U.S. economy is the envy of the world. The unprecedented economic boom we are enjoying is driven by America's strong lead in information technologies. An important component of that lead is the U.S. space industry, which prospered as the revolution in information technologies created a growing global market for communication satellites.</P>

<P> American industry leads the world in satellite production, turning out 2 of every 3 satellites, worth more than \$30 billion a year, with annual exports of \$11.5 billion. But the United States does not have a monopoly. There are major competitors in Europe and growing competition in Asia, requiring U.S. companies to compete aggressively to hold their lead.</P>

<P> Yet, the Clinton administration is seriously damaging this booming U.S. industry to avoid annoying communist China. The administration was piqued last year when Congress passed legislation to tighten export controls on space technologies to prevent countries such as China from acquiring militarily useful technologies. Properly concerned about evidence of massive spying by mainland China that was later spelled out in the Cox Committee Report, Congress transferred export control responsibility for commercial satellites and their components from the list of exports managed by the Commerce Department to the munitions list handled by the State Department.</P>

<P> That put commercial communication satellites in the same category as arms, requiring close oversight and careful review before they can be exported. This is a wise precaution for satellites going to China, or any other country that is or may become hostile to the United States. But the Clinton administration does not want to distinguish between friendly countries and unfriendly ones. It continues to pursue a special relationship with the Beijing regime, as though Jiang Zemin were Winston Churchill.</P>

<P> What's more, the State Department is inadequately staffed to process satellite export licenses and has been slow to add staff despite congressional funding for that purpose. Export licenses, technical assistance agreements, and end use monitoring now are required even for satellites sold to or launched by our closest friends and allies, including NATO and Japan.</P>

<P> And there are delays and uncertainties. The State Department has no deadlines for processing export license requests, or for the related interagency clearance process. Foreign customers have no idea how long it will take to obtain approval to buy a satellite made in America.</P>

<P> Similar delays apply to the export of parts for foreign satellites, most of which include U.S. parts.</P>

<P> For satellite customers, time is money. The faster they can get a communication satellite launched and operating the quicker they can sell telephone, television and data transmission. Delays of many months in the approval of export licenses can mean losses of tens of millions of dollars.</P>

<P> German government and industry officials complain that strict U.S. control of satellite exports is forcing them to find alternate sources of supply. The European Telecommunications Satellite Organization and other European and Japanese

anese customers complain about delays and excessive paperwork to buy even low technology satellite parts from the United States.</P>

<P> This was not the intent of Congress. It is the result of the administration's stubborn refusal to treat Mainland China differently from America's friends and allies. The administration can solve the problem by following the intent of Congress. The law provides that its strictest licensing, monitoring and notification requirements shall not apply to satellites to be launched by NATO and major non-NATO allies. But this provision is not being implemented by the State Department.</P>

<P> Deputy Defense Secretary John Hamre and many members of Congress favor a two- or three-tier system that would expedite exports to America's allies while requiring longer reviews for others. The NATO countries that fought alongside the United States in Kosovo are especially annoyed that exports of satellites to them are given the same strict scrutiny and suffer the same long delays as those going to communist China, arguably the No. 1 threat to peace today as it menaces Taiwan with missiles and the neutron bomb, and issues daily threats of a blockade and even an invasion.</P>

<P> The administration should promptly take the steps needed to save the U.S. satellite industry. The State Department satellite export review process should be sensitive to the needs of the commercial marketplace, which requires quick decisions. While strict scrutiny is appropriate for exports to countries that are hostile or proliferators, friends and allies should receive special treatment, including an expedited review, reduced paperwork, and timely deadlines.</P>

<P> If the administration continues to refuse to operate satellite export controls as intended by Congress, then Congress should revise the law to require such action.</P>

<P> <I>James T. Hackett is a contributing writer to The Washington Times based in San Diego. </P></I>


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<P>Ft. Lauderdale Sun-Sentinel

August 2, 1999

Pg. 13</P>

<P>Formidable Comanche Helicopter Will Boost U.S. Military Capabilities</P>

<P>By Joseph L. Bergantz</P>

<P> Your July 24 editorial on the Army's Comanche helicopter is wrong and misleads your readers. The men and women working on this program also deserve better from the Sun-Sentinel. </P>

<P> Your editorial states that "the Comanche, (which you misspelled throughout) conceived 15 years ago as a low-cost troop carrier, morphed into a sophisticated tank killer." This is wrong. </P>

<P> Other than an error-laden New York Times article, no one has ever suggested that the Comanche replace transport helicopters. The Comanche has always been designed to be a reconnaissance and attack helicopter (RAH) designed to replace Vietnam-era AH-1 Cobra, OH-58A/C Kiowa and interim OH-58D Kiowa Warrior helicopters with leap-ahead technologies to overcome major warfighting deficiencies. </P>

<P> It will fly as the quarterback on the digital battlefield as it coordinates for air and artillery weapons' systems to engage enemy forces. It can fire 20mm canon, and air-to-air and air-to-ground missiles. It is lethal. </P>

<P> Your editorial says that "the Comanche is still on the drawing board." </P>

<P> Not true. Two prototype aircraft have been designed, built and flight tested. Since January 1996, the first prototype has completed more than 130 flights and 145 flight test hours. It has demonstrated a forward flight speed of 175 knots in level flight and 204 knots in a dive. </P>

<P> And we've done most of this flying right up the road from you at the Sikorsky/UTC facility in Jupiter. </P>

<P> You wrote that "a conservative cost estimate of \$37 billion for 1,300. The real cost is unknown, because the Comanche has yet to get off the ground." This is wrong. Two prototype RAH 66s are flying. The current fly-away cost for the Comanche is \$15 million per aircraft, comparable to the AH 64 Apache attack helicopter. Comanche's real cost savings are in operation and support costs. Comanche will cost roughly \$1,650 per flight hour to operate, whereas current attack helicopters cost nearly twice that amount. </P>

<P> Your editorial wrote that "Without a Soviet threat to justify acquisition of the Comanche, why does the Army still want it?" </P>

<P> The Cold War is over. We won. Today the Army is not fixated on any s

ingle threat; instead we keep our soldiers on the front lines in Korea, Kuwait, and Kosovo. We have forward deployed forces and we can rapidly deploy forces worldwide to respond to threats. </P>

<P> The Comanche will substantially increase our ability to fight and win, regardless of the threat, whether it is a tank-heavy force from North Korea or Iraq, or peacekeeping missions in Bosnia or Kosovo. </P>

<P> In December 2007, the 1st Air Cavalry Division at Fort Hood, Texas, will round out its first squadron of Comanches. America's First Team will have a first-class, world-class armed reconnaissance helicopter that is unmatched in the world. </P>

<P> This formidable helicopter will provide those American soldiers the capability to conduct stealthy, day and night, all weather, armed reconnaissance, with air-to-air combat capability and increased survivability for our crews. Those pilots will accomplish missions around the world at locations no one can foretell today. </P>

<P> But those American soldiers will accomplish their missions with their RAH 66 Comanche because of the research, development and acquisition efforts of the men and women in today's Comanche program.</P>

<I><P>The author is an Army brigadier general and program manager for Comanche, at Redstone Arsenal, Alabama.</P>

</I><P>Editor's Note: The editorial referred to appeared in the <I>Current News Supplement</I>, July 27, 1999.</P>

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<P>San Diego Union-Tribune

August 5, 1999</P>

<P>End The Senate Delay</P>

<I><P>It's time to ratify the nuclear test ban treaty </P>

</I><P> Three years ago next month, the United States signed the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, agreeing to end nuclear testing. Since then, 151 other nations have followed our lead as they unite in the view that nuclear testing is no longer necessary.</P>

<P> For two years, Republican leaders in the Senate have refused to bring the treaty to the floor of the Senate, where it is certain to receive the two-thirds vote necessary for ratification.</P>

<P> Their refusal harms U.S. interests, for America has no interest in more testing, which may not be the case for all nations.</P>

<P> Last week, a bipartisan group of top scientists and arms control experts urged the Senate to begin hearings on CTBT ratification without further delay. Their urging comes in the wake of the Cox report accusing China of stealing U.S. nuclear secrets.</P>

<P> "We may never know whether Chinese nuclear weapons development benefited significantly from espionage," these experts wrote. "But if China doesn't resume testing," they said, quoting Harold Agnew, former director of Los Alamos weapons laboratory, "no harm will possibly have been done other than to our egos."</P>

<P> China signed the test ban treaty in 1996, after it finished what it said were its final nuclear tests. But because the United States, the world's primary nuclear power, has not ratified the treaty, it has given other nations, both signatories and nonsignatories, reasons to backslide. That is the last thing we want to happen.</P>

<P> Senate ratification is important for a second reason. Paul Nitze and Sidney Drell, veteran arms control advisers in several administrations, have pointed out the importance of completing ratification prior to the opening of the first CTBT review conference. The conference, this fall, will bring together the world's 44 nuclear-capable nations.</P>

<P> Without Senate ratification, the United States, the father of the test ban (under President Eisenhower), and the treaty's first signatory (under President Clinton), will be denied a seat at the review conference. The father will have been rejected by his child.</P>

<P> A year ago, Trent Lott, the Senate majority leader, put off CTBT hearings following nuclear tests by India and Pakistan.</P>

<P> Both those nations now say they are ready to sign. As more nations sign, it becomes easier to isolate the few nonsignatories and those nations, such as Iraq, that have signed but violated the treaty.</P>

<P> The CTBT is a commitment to ban testing by the 44 nuclear-capable states (those with nuclear reactors for research or power) to the 185 signatories of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Without the CTBT, the NPT collapses. The NPT pledges non-nuclear states not to acquire weapons, and nuclear-capable state

s not to provide them.</P>

<P> Since Eisenhower, successive U.S. administrations have worked to create t
his intricate world architecture that reduces the dangers of nuclear testing an
d proliferation. The Senate's delay does not serve the national interest. It's
time for a Senate vote. </P>

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<P>St. Louis Post-Dispatch

August 5, 1999</P>

<P> Tiger Or Paper Tiger?</P>

<P> CHINA is acting the tiger these days, growling at Taiwan, rattl
ing new missiles, banning the Falun Gong and demanding that the United States "
correct" its mistake of providing Taiwan with military aid -- as if we're just
another dissident in need of a refresher course on the party line.</P>

<P> This belligerence reinforces the world view of those in Congress who see C
hina as a fitting antagonist for a 21st-century cold war. That view was reinfor
ced by the Cox committee, which was a little hysterical in its report raising o
therwise valid questions about security lapses at the Los Alamos national labs.
</P>

<P> New York Times correspondent Patrick Tyler recently put the Chinese threat
into perspective. He pointed out that China has fewer than 30 missiles capable
of hitting the United States (and they require so much warm-up time that our 6
,000 nuclear weapons could knock them out before take-off).</P>

<P> In addition, China never was able to successfully build the F-10 supersoni
c jet. Its troops have the same weapons they had 30 years ago. And its first st
rategic ballistic missile sub leaks so much radiation that it can't spend much
time at sea.</P>

<P> While the Chinese may have stolen secrets from Los Alamos, they have not b

uilt most of the weapons they are accused of stealing. China doesn't have the advanced industrial capacity to build the weapons right now and both its leaders and its people are more focused on developing the economy than the military.</P>

<P> In fact, one way to keep these weapons in the labs and out of the field may be for the U.S. to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty that bans future nuclear tests.</P>

<P> None of this means that China is just a paper tiger or that the United States should excuse its repression of dissidents and bullying tactics. China seems certain to pose the most important foreign policy problem for the United States for years to come and it could turn into a cold war-style belligerency -- particularly if Taiwan's leaders continue to play word games with the important diplomatic myth that there is just one China.</P>

<P> Whether we have an arms-length working relationship with China or a belligerent one, the United States must base its actions on fact rather than fiction. This means we need a more sophisticated understanding of China, so that we are not surprised when the Falun Gong turns out to be a greater force in China than pro-democracy dissidents.</P>

<P> Both China and the United States want good relations with each other. But we won't get there with belligerence and ignorance. </P>


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<P>Boston Globe

August 5, 1999

Pg. 24</P>

<P>A Warning About Iraq</P>

<P> If Saddam Hussein obtains nuclear weapons during the current absence of UN inspectors from Iraq, then allowing him to end the inspecting an

d monitoring of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction last December may become the most perilous failing of US foreign policy in the 1990s - and the most unpardonable act of appeasement by the UN Security Council.

Because the stakes are so high, it is crucial to understand how Saddam was able to keep his prohibited weapons while bribing or bluffing Security Council members into violating the terms of the UN resolutions of 1991, which required him to declare all his weapons of mass destruction within 15 days and destroy them within one year.

This is the desolating story told in the new magazine *Talk* by Richard Butler, former head of Unscm, the UN Special Commission established to carry out those unambiguous resolutions. Butler's account has been publicized for its damning charges about the role that the UN secretary general, Kofi Annan, played in permitting Saddam to break free of the weapons inspectors. Annan does look foolish or disingenuous in Butler's version of the UN capitulation to Saddam, and the secretary general needs to respond more seriously than he has to Butler's persuasive brief. But the import of Butler's indictment encompasses much more than incompetence in the UN's top bureaucrat.

Butler describes how Russian diplomats and ministers worked hand in glove with Iraq to thwart Unscm. France and China played supporting roles in the Security Council's rescue of Saddam. And although Butler defends the Clinton administration against charges that it permitted Unscm to be terminated, there is no doubting that Washington allowed its ally France, a bankrupt Russia, and a China that benefits from a \$70 billion trade surplus with the United States to help Saddam become the most dangerous terrorist in the world.

Butler's Cassandra-like warning about Iraq had better be heeded soon. Independent inspectors must return to locate and destroy all of Saddam's weapons of mass destruction, whether chemical, biological, or nuclear.

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Louisville Courier-Journal

August 4, 1999

<P>Glad About THAAD</P>

<P> NO DOUBT it was pure coincidence that both the United States and China reported the successful launch of military missiles on Monday.</P>

<P> China tested a new surface-to-surface ballistic missile - the Dong Feng 31 - with a range of about 5,000 miles. That means the mobile, single-warhead vehicle theoretically could hit some targets in the continental U.S.</P>

<P> The U.S. test involved an interceptor missile being developed by Lockheed Martin Corp. The interceptor is part of the Theater High-Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) system that the Pentagon hopes one day will protect U.S. troops and bases from short- and medium-range enemy ballistic missiles.</P>

<P> The program, dating back to 1992, has cost nearly \$4 billion. It had produced six straight test failures until a THAAD interceptor finally smashed into a target warhead over the White Sands Missile Range in June.</P>

<P> The latest test, the eighth, also succeeded. Lockheed Martin apparently learned from earlier mistakes, and the program may produce a workable anti-missile missile after all.</P>

<P> Excellent.</P>

<P> This newspaper has long been skeptical about the chances that the Pentagon could ever develop and deploy a ballistic missile defense system capable of protecting American cities from a massive, coordinated attack by Russia. But THAAD struck us as a feasible, affordable way to deal with a threat far more likely than a Russian gamble on World War III. That threat is a ballistic missile attack by a country like North Korea or Iraq, on a U.S. military base abroad or on a U.S. naval deployment.</P>

<P> North Korea has already tested a medium-range missile and is threatening to test one with a longer reach. If it were able to couple such a missile with a nuclear warhead that it developed itself or purchased from a third country, American forces in East Asia would be in danger. So would Japan.</P>

<P> The same sort of thing could happen in the Middle East if Iraq or Iran were able to develop a reliable medium-range missile.</P>

<P> THAAD, or something like it, is a far more urgent priority than the F-22 fighter that the Air Force wants.</P>

<P> We already have the world's best fighter jets - and pilots. What we don't have, yet, is an effective means of countering a ballistic missile attack by a country willing to risk national suicide. </P>

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<P>Sacramento Bee

August 4, 1999

Pg. B6</P>

<P>The Balkan Agenda</P>

<I><P>Integration With Europe Is A Daunting Task</P>

</I><P> Leaders of 39 countries met in Sarajevo last Friday to signal an ambitious plan for southeastern Europe, from rebuilding war damage to economic and political modernization to integration into modern Europe. But the hopes engendered by the summit meeting can be realized only with a sustained long-term effort involving America, Europe and, most critical, the Balkan peoples themselves.</P>

<P> President Clinton took the lead by pledging substantial U.S. assistance to former Yugoslav republics and four neighboring states and proposing trade and investment initiatives to spur economic development and expanded ties to the rest of Europe and America. That, it is hoped, will stimulate the growth of democratic institutions in a region with little experience of them. It's a daunting agenda that has thus far been sketched only in the broadest terms.</P>

<P> If it's to succeed, outside aid must be generous and sustained, and the peoples of the region must overcome ethnic antipathies that unscrupulous leaders have exploited since the collapse of communism in the Balkans a decade ago. Yet substantial progress will be all but impossible as long as Slobodan Milosevic, Yugoslavia's president and the instigator of four Balkan wars, holds power in Belgrade. Excluding this indicted war criminal from the Balkan Stability Pact makes sense; excluding his country, the largest of the six former Yugoslav republics, does not.</P>

<P> Washington is pledging funds to support anti-Milosevic forces within Serbia -- opposition parties, trade unions, independent media -- and to beam Voice of America and Radio Free Europe broadcasts into the country. But if Milosevic keeps the support of the army, which remains largely intact after 78 days of aerial bombardment, he could still be a formidable obstacle to regional recon

ciliation. An early test may come in his response to allied aid to Montenegro, still officially part of Yugoslavia but whose president, Milo Djukanovic, seeks to break free of Serbian control. If Milosevic unleashes repressive action against Montenegro, what will the allies do?

The European Union has pledged ample funds for rebuilding Kosovo, but the extent of its commitment to long-term regional aid is uncertain, given fiscal constraints and internal divisions over the pace of EU expansion, whose next phase will likely include Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic but not the Balkan states. The war over Kosovo revealed the extent of Europe's military weakness compared with the United States; the reconstruction era just ahead poses a challenge to Europe's political will as well.

Clinton and other leaders have acknowledged their mistakes in responding too cautiously in Bosnia, where peace came only after more than 200,000 deaths and the uprooting of some 2 million people, where bitter ethnic divisions remain, and where a shaky peace survives only because 30,000 foreign troops are there. Kosovo, it's said, must be different. Yet the standoff in Bosnia and the malevolent presence of Milosevic leave little hope that the region will soon be, as Finnish President Martti Ahtisaari said in Sarajevo last week, "part of a Europe ... at long last undivided, prosperous and free ... where war becomes unthinkable." Sadly, war is still all too thinkable in the Balkans.

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Dallas Morning News

August 5, 1999

Colombia In Crisis

Bogota Needs Help As Rebels Spurn Peace

In a high-stakes game not to be confused with trivial pursuit, "Colombia" has now emerged as the correct answer to the following questions: What country has the highest rate of kidnapping in the world? And which one

has the highest homicide rate?</P>

<P> President Clinton's drug czar Barry McCaffrey wants \$500 million in extra aid to help Colombia over the next two years. Congress should approve his request upon receiving it.</P>

<P> Peace in Colombia is overdue, and President Andrés Pastrana deserves credit for trying to end an insurgency that has lasted since 1964. But after extending an olive branch to the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, the rebels have apparently chosen to use Mr. Pastrana's good will for kindling.</P>
>

<P> The Colombian leader's attempt to mollify the rebels by ceding control of much of the countryside to them has boomeranged. No shows for scheduled peace talks, the guerrillas instead unleashed military offensives.</P>

<P> On Friday they overran a city in northwestern Colombia and killed 29 people, including four children. Rockets were used; buildings were destroyed. Meanwhile, ordinary citizens are being kidnapped right and left, raising the ire of Colombians against groups such as the National Liberation Army.</P>

<P> While U.S. forces should not become directly involved, more aid is in order. The financial assistance would help both Colombia and some key parts of Latin America.</P>

<P> Drug-fighting progress could unravel in Peru and Bolivia if Colombia crumbles. Oil-producing Venezuela and Panama also could be destabilized if Colombia falls prey to rebels bent on receiving protection money from drug traffickers.</P>

<P> These scenarios are unacceptable. The Clinton administration is right to lobby for additional aid for Bogota over the next two years.</P>

<P> But why has the administration waited so long in the budget process? The House International Relations Committee has yet to see anything in writing from the White House and the committee does not even know yet whether to call this a request for supplemental funding.</P>

<P> The White House needs to move on this issue fast. Colombia's crisis could now spread. Its economy is hobbled by its worst financial dilemma in 70 years, and increasing numbers of Colombians are abandoning their homeland. It is in the security vital interests of the United States that a catastrophe be averted - through the timely and serious cooperation of the White House and Congress.</P>

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Orlando Sentinel

August 4, 1999

Pg. 12

No Live Bombs On Vieques

Pilot error and negligence. That's the latest United States Navy explanation of what led to a tragic bombing accident at a Navy base on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques last spring. A civilian guard died and several other people suffered injuries.

Puerto Ricans, who have worried about safety at the base for years, understandably are incensed. Their concerns must be answered.

Still, the Navy shows no sign of backing away from its insistence on using live ammunition at the test range. That practice was suspended temporarily after the accident. The Navy appears eager to resume training with real explosives, and has shown considerable arrogance in signaling its intentions.

Why the hardheadedness? The situation on Vieques demands a reasoned approach, one that balances the interests of both sides.

The Navy and other elements of the U.S. military long have used Vieques for training - and for good reason. It provides a combination of amenities that would be extremely difficult and costly to duplicate: facilities built up during several decades, good year-round weather, easy access and a setting that allows the military services to train simultaneously.

Further, the Navy has argued persuasively that Vieques contributes to U.S. national security. The training area has played a vital role in every conflict since World War II that has involved the United States.

Thus, this issue shouldn't be pulled in the direction of having the Navy vacate Vieques, as many Puerto Ricans increasingly demand.

But there's something very important to consider: the 9,300 or so people who live near the base. They are entitled to live securely. And clearly, as the Navy now admits, safety was compromised.

Oh, it's well and good that the Navy has unveiled new guidelines at the base. Monday, it discussed changes in communications procedures, training and lighting, among others.

<P> That doesn't answer the central question, though: Can the Navy guarantee that live ammunition won't hurt people in the future? </P>

<P> Of course, the answer is no, which underscores why a ban on live ammunition is needed. Already about 80 percent of the training on Vieques is done using nonexplosive ammunition. That appears to get the job done properly. Why not 100 percent? </P>

<P> There's no sense in taking risks with the lives of innocent Puerto Ricans who live a short distance from the base. Remember, the combination of pilot error and negligence caused bombs to be dropped a mile-and-a-half off target. What if the pilot had erred further in his targeting and had hit civilian areas? </P>

<P> The Navy should have figured out the right course on its own. Now it's up to President Bill Clinton to decide this matter. The U.S. military belongs on Vieques. Its live bombs don't. </P>

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<P>Baltimore Sun

August 4, 1999</P>

<P>Really Old Navy</P>

<I><P>Licensing: If its name is popular on clothing, Naval Academy should reap benefit to support its programs.</P>

</I><P> If Donna Karan and Tommy Hilfiger can make millions by adorning garments with their names, why shouldn't the U.S. Naval Academy be able to cash in on the same thing?</P>

<P> Years ago, universities learned the power of their brand names. They know that their students, graduates and staff -- not to mention people who never stepped foot on their campus -- will often spend a little more to wear the scho

ol's name on their chests. They use the proceeds to support their teams or other programs.

The Naval Academy does the same thing as other schools with various sports teams. Eight cents of every dollar spent on Navy-licensed products -- up from 7.5 cents last year -- helps support academy athletic programs.

But some argue that a publicly funded institution is not entitled to the royalties, claiming it amounts to double taxation for the merchants who pay the licensing fees.

Nonsense. Merchants pay state taxes that support the University of Maryland and other public institutions, and still fork over licensing fees for their merchandise. That's just part of the game now that college logos mean as much to consumers as designer emblems. Why should the Navy be any different?

Besides, we recall an awful lot of carping years ago about public television's failure to capitalize on licensing children's characters such as Barney the dinosaur. The Navy should use its salable images to the same advantage, right?

The academy has made only about \$100,000 each of the past few years off its trademarks for the word Navy, Bill the Goat and other symbols, but the money helps.

If Navy remains a popular brand name, the academy should protect its interests and reap the benefits from its trademarks.

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Wall Street Journal

August 3, 1999

Bookshelf

The Battle Over The Balkans -- And America's Role In World

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<I><P>Kosovo Crossing

By David Fromkin, Free Press, 210 pages, \$21</P>

</I><P>By Brendan Simms</P>

<P>It is well-known that Bill Clinton's initial policy on Bosnia was heavily influenced by Robert Kaplan's 1993 book, "Balkan Ghosts: A Journey Through History." So haunted was the president by the picture of insoluble ancestral hatreds that he dismissed the Wars of the Yugoslav Succession as a "problem from hell" that warranted no American intervention. His secretary of state at the time, Warren Christopher, in an excruciatingly tin-eared piece of Chamberlainese, even spoke of the war as a "humanitarian crisis a long way from home, in the middle of another continent."</P>

<P>David Fromkin goes one better in "Kosovo Crossing" (Free Press, 210 pages, \$21). He resurrects Mr. Kaplan's predecessor, Rebecca West, particularly her famous celebration of the Serbian nationalist myth, "Black Lamb and Grey Falcon." Mr. Fromkin shares her view of Yugoslavia as a "metaphor for [political] evil." On this reading, the Balkans are locked in a never-ending cycle of bloodshed, which the West can only escape by strict nonintervention. Otherwise, we run the risk of a geopolitical "Y2K," in which the clocks turn back to 1900 and a preprogrammed path to Armageddon.</P>

<P>Since the implosion of communism and the microchip revolution, the barriers to American power are lower than they ever have been. But although Mr. Fromkin's outlook is humane and liberal, "Kosovo Crossing" is deeply ambivalent about the imposition of U.S. values world-wide. America, he argues, may be the home of the frontier myth, but U.S. power should be used only when national interests are at stake: Just because we can, does not mean we must.</P>

<P>The Kosovo conflict -- in Mr. Fromkin's view a purely "altruistic" humanitarian intervention -- therefore fills him with profound unease. He worries about the potential cost in American blood and treasure and about the embrace of yet another open-ended military commitment to join the long-standing garrisons in Germany, Korea and the Gulf. It would have been far more humanitarian, he argues, to have allowed ethnic cleansing to run its course and, if necessary, welcome the Kosovar refugees as immigrants to the U.S.: "Monstrous though it would have been to let the Milosevic regime profit from its crimes, it would all be over."
."</P>

<P>In general terms, Mr. Fromkin's words of caution are well-taken, but his view of the Kosovo conflict is fundamentally flawed. Properly understood, the Wars of the Yugoslav Succession, unlike Somalia or Rwanda, were never primarily humanitarian problems. Mr. Fromkin's policy of nonintervention was tried for three years. It failed because the war showed no signs of being "over" and undermined all schemes for collective security and disarmament in Eastern and Central Europe. It was not possible to ignore aggression and mass murder in the middle of the continent.</P>

<P>In the end, as Wayne Bert points out in "The Reluctant Superpower" (1997) -- not included in Mr. Fromkin's esoteric bibliography -- Bosnia became a nationa

I interest and should have been one from the beginning. American interests can never be entirely divorced from American values: It is no accident that the most avid proponents of Kosovo intervention were Cold War liberals from both parties and many neoconservative Reagan Republicans, whereas opposition came largely from isolationists of both stripes and conservative Kissingerian realists.

Moreover, there is no sign that Kosovo will contribute seriously to U.S. "imperial overstretch": The land forces deployed are relatively small and matched by much larger allied commitments. Indeed, what was remarkable about Kosovo was the high degree of trans-Atlantic political harmony within the NATO alliance and of military burden-sharing, at least on the ground if not in the air. To any body who witnessed the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s, the sight of German socialists and ex-peaceniks supporting a U.S.-sponsored NATO air campaign -- with French cooperation -- was nothing short of astonishing. Europeans know that there is only one thing worse than being led by the Americans, and that is not being led by them.

Part of the difficulty is generational. The overwhelming experience of Mr. Fromkin's early adulthood and political formation in the late 1960s was of American global decline. All of his injunctions to match ends to means, to "understand foreign cultures" and to beware the limitations of technology bear the imprint of Vietnam. But times have changed. The technological gap is wider than it ever was -- and widening. We are now able to understand a little less and intervene a little more.

None of this necessarily means that the "new world order" is back, or that a "doctrine of international community" will now replace the national interest. Air power will eventually get its comeuppance; and technology is famously only as smart as the people who direct it. Nevertheless, for (some) tyrants and enemies of the West the world over, Kosovo may mean never glad confident morning again. Thanks to the U.S. intervention, the world may not be a safer place, but it is certainly (becoming) a better one.

Mr. Simms is a lecturer at the Centre of International Studies, Cambridge University, and a fellow of Peterhouse.

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