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<center><H1>September 20, 1999</H1></center>

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

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<H3>TOP STORIES</H3>

U.N. Force Arrives In E. Timor

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(Washington Post)....Doug Struck

The vanguard of an international peacekeeping force arrived in East Timor today on a mission to end the 2 1/2-week rampage of bloodletting and destruction that erupted in the territory after residents voted overwhelmingly for independence from Indonesia.

<p>

Russian, Chechen Forces Mass At Mutual Border

(Los Angeles Times)....Robyn Dixon

In a tense standoff, Russian and Chechen forces confronted one another along their mutual border Sunday, as Russian Prime Minister Vladimir V. Putin told a national television audience that the Kremlin's 1996 peace deal with Chechnya was a mistake.

<p>

The Commanders War: The Plan To Invade Kosovo

(Washington Post)....Dana Priest

A decisive battle that never was. (First of three articles)

<p>

The Commanders War: Bombing By Committee

(Washington Post)....Dana Priest

France acted as group skeptic. (Second of three articles)

<p>

Target Selection Was Long Process

(Washington Post)....Dana Priest

NATO began the war over Kosovo with a one-volume Master Target File containing 169 targets. It ended with more than 976, filling six volumes.

<p>

Danzig To Cohen: Defense Budget Increase Has Been Largely Eroded

(Inside The Navy)....Peter J. Skibitski

Navy Secretary Richard Danzig has told Defense Secretary William Cohen the service's portion of the Clinton administration's \$112 billion budget increase put forth last January has been eroded considerably, due to the rising costs of maintaining current readiness.

<H3>CONGRESS</H3>

Congressional Time Crunch Will Play In Decisions Regarding Spending Bills

(Wall Street Journal)....David Rogers

As Republicans prepare for a year-end confrontation with President Clinton regarding budget priorities and tobacco taxes, they are trying to clear the decks this week of spending bills affecting everything from Lockheed Martin Corp.'s F-22 to emergency farm aid.

<p>

GOP Leaders Agree To Restore F-22 Funds

(St. Petersburg Times)....Bill Adair

The controversial F-22 Raptor fighter plane has been salvaged. Rep. C.W. Bill Young said Saturday that Republican leaders have agreed to buy an unspecified number of F-22s next year.

<H3>DEFENSE DEPARTMENT</H3>

Pentagon Needs To Issue Clear Merger Guidance, Report Says

(Defense Week)....Tony Capaccio

The Defense Department has failed to issue clear policy guidance on transatlantic defense consolidations and has been slow to adapt to the new international marketplace, a new report said.

<p>

**New Inscription Dedicated On Tomb Of Vietnam Unknown
**

**(Philadelphia Inquirer)....Robert Burns, Associated Press
**

In a gesture of respect for the 2,054 U.S. servicemen missing from the Vietnam War, Defense Secretary William S. Cohen dedicated a new inscription yesterday at the Tomb of the Unknowns.

<H3>NAVY</H3>

**From The Study Of A Sailor's Illness, A Potentially Costly Battle
**

**(New York Times)....Eric Schmitt
**

When Dr. Philip G. Jajosky took a phone call from an ailing former sailor seven years ago, he never suspected that the conversation would catapult him into a national uproar over the federal medical bureaucracy's resolve to find out what is afflicting hundreds of Navy veterans.

<H3>ASIA</H3>

**End To Jakarta Military Aid Urged
**

**(New York Times)....Elizabeth Becker
**

As international peacekeepers arrive in East Timor, members of Congress are questioning the value of years of United States military training for an army whose officers supported the destruction there, and demanding tighter restrictions on relations with the Indonesian military.

<p>

**Clinton's Decision To Ease Sanctions On North Korea Sparks Policy Debate
**

**(Wall Street Journal)....Neil King Jr.
**

President Clinton's decision to ease sanctions on North Korea has sparked another round of debate over an old question: Is it better to reward your potential

foes for good behavior or to isolate them until they shape up altogether?

<H3>BALKANS</H3>

NATO, Rebels Fail To Reach Accord On Kosovo Force

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

Top officials from NATO and the Kosovo Liberation Army were unable to agree to day on the terms of a pact that would transform the ethnic Albanian rebel force into a peacetime civil defense organization, and they broke off negotiations.

<p>

Serbs Mass Near Border With Kosovo

(London Sunday Times)....Tom Walker and Alex Todorovic

The Yugoslav army has taken up forward positions in southern Serbia amid increasing concern in western intelligence circles that it may attempt to reoccupy part of Kosovo.

<p>

Belgrade May Have Sold Downed Stealth Fighter

(Philadelphia Inquirer)....Robert Burns, Associated Press

Yugoslavia may have sold the wreckage of the U.S. Air Force F-117A stealth fighter that it shot down near Belgrade early in the Kosovo war, the Air Force chief of staff said yesterday.

<H3>IRAQ</H3>

U.N. Official In Iraq Calls For Lifting Of Sanctions

(New York Times)....Douglas Jehl

Weighing in ahead of renewed discussions among Western powers on Iraq, the senior U.N. official here called Sunday for an immediate and unconditional lifting of many sanctions that would open the way to bigger flows of food, medicine and most other imports.

<p>

Cook Plea On Iraq Embargo

(London Daily Telegraph)....Christopher Lockwood

Robin Cook, the Foreign Secretary, is to press the UN Security Council this week to end sanctions against Iraq as a way of getting arms inspectors back into the country.

<p>

Little-Noted War Is Played Out In Skies Over Iraq

(San Diego Union-Tribune)....James W. Crawley

While the world and the media have focused on crises in Kosovo and East Timor, the United States has been waging a little-noticed air war over Iraq -- bombing nearly 400 military targets during the past nine months.

<H3>RUSSIA</H3>

Russia Says It Will Not Go To War Against Islamic Militants

(New York Times)....Michael Wines

Russia has no plans to wage another war in its secession-minded Chechnya region to suppress Islamic militants who are mounting attacks from bases there, Prime Minister Vladimir Putin said Sunday night.

<p>

U.S. Downplays Incident With Jets, Russian Bombers

(Washington Times)....Joyce Howard Price

The United States views as "militarily insignificant" an incident Thursday in which U.S. jets intercepted two Russian bombers off the coast of Alaska, a National Security Council official said yesterday.

<p>

Moscow Assails Interception Of Bombers

(Washington Post)....Unattributed

Russia's armed forces expressed "surprise and regret" that U.S. jets had intercepted two Russian bombers off Alaska, and said the American planes should not have done so in international air space.

<H3>COLOMBIA</H3>

Colombian Rebels Warn Against U.S. Aid

(Washington Post)....Unattributed

Colombia's peace process could collapse and open the way to civil war if the government draws on more military aid from the United States, Marxist rebel leaders said.

<H3>OPINION</H3>

Sen. Helms's Choke Hold - (Letter)

(Washington Post)....William E. Jackson Jr.

The Sept. 7 editorial "Why a Test Ban Treaty?" correctly points out that the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty "is hung up in the Senate by Republicans desiring to use it as a hostage for a national missile defense of their particular design."

<p>

An F-22's Worth Of Education - (Letters)

(New York Times)....John Comings; Michael O'Hanlon

To the Editor: Jack Shanahan's suggestion (Op-Ed, Sept. 17) that financing for

unnecessary Pentagon programs be transferred to support education is a good one, but he left out the most direct way for the military to address both its recruitment problems and our country's need for a better-educated work force.

<H3>EDITORIAL</H3>

The U.N.'s Dirty Word

(Wall Street Journal)....Editorial

We wish the men in the blue helmets luck. But we can't help thinking it might never have come to this had some brutal interests been taken into account earlier.

<p>

Doing Deals With N. Korea

(Christian Science Monitor)....Editorial

Last week, with the US lifting many economic sanctions against North Korea, the war didn't officially end. But with Americans now allowed to do business with the Communist "hermit" nation, peace may be at hand.

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<P>Washington Post

Sept. 20, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>U.N. Force Arrives In E. Timor</P>

<I><P>Peacekeepers Ready To Reply if Attacked</P>

</I><P>By Doug Struck, Washington Post Foreign Service</P>

<P> DARWIN, Australia, Sept. 20 (Monday)The vanguard of an international peacekeeping force arrived in East Timor today on a mission to end the 2 1/2-week rampage of bloodletting and destruction that erupted in the territory after residents voted overwhelmingly for independence from Indonesia.</P>

<P> A Hercules C-130 transport plane carrying mostly Australian troops landed this morning at the airport in Dili, East Timor's capital, and was followed by four more within two hours. Nine more flights are scheduled to ferry troops, vehicles, weapons and other equipment to Dili today, and by this evening leaders of the U.N.-sponsored mission say they expect 2,500 soldiers -- about a third of the authorized 7,000-member force -- to be in place around Dili.</P>

<P> Troops from Australia, Britain and New Zealand who were on the first aircraft quickly secured the perimeter of the small airfield, while others headed for the city's port facilities to clear the way for the imminent arrival of nine warships carrying troops from more than a half-dozen nations, along with armored vehicles and helicopters. Several hundred U.S. troops will take part in the operation, chiefly to provide logistical support and intelligence gathering.</P>

<P> Leaders of anti-independence militia groups responsible for most of the killing and devastation in East Timor had threatened to oppose the peacekeepers, but most of them are said to have been withdrawing from Dili in recent days, and the first peacekeepers were met cordially by about two dozen Indonesian troops.</P>

<P> Australian Maj. Gen. Peter Cosgrove, who met with the Indonesian military on Sunday to coordinate the landings, said before that meeting that his forces would "respond robustly" to any armed threat by the militias. And U.N. Secre

tary General Kofi Annan, who has warned the militias not to confront the peacekeepers, said the force is prepared to strike back if attacked. "I would hope the militia will not try to take them on, because they will defend themselves," Annan said on CNN's Sunday news program "Late Edition."

Cosgrove conferred in Dili with Maj. Gen. Kiki Syahnakri, the Indonesian commander there, who said he expects his forces to hand over formal control of the territory to the U.N. force by Saturday. Cosgrove said that he would "relay back to my higher authorities that the cooperation has been first class."

The Indonesian military opposed East Timorese independence and recruited and supplied the militias with weapons to try to disrupt the vote. But Indonesian troops have been ordered by President B.J. Habibie to make way for the international force, and Syahnakri said his forces also will help in a cleanup operation in the ruined city.

As they broaden their zone of control, the largely Australian peacekeeping contingent will find a devastated landscape in which thousands of homes have been destroyed, their occupants nowhere to be found, and virtually every business vandalized or burned.

The arrival of the full peacekeeping complement will clear the way for a massive humanitarian effort to bring food, medical aid and security to the hundreds of thousands of East Timorese who fled the violence that began after the Aug. 30 independence vote. There is said to be no food, water, electricity or sanitation service in East Timor, and thousands of displaced people are hiding in the mountains, scavenging for whatever food they can find.

Refugee accounts that have emerged from Dili and the countryside include allegations of massacres by the militias of people suspected of favoring independence, and there have been calls for prosecution of those responsible.

Arriving with the rest of the peacekeeping force will be officials of the U.N. Assistance Mission in East Timor, who were evacuated last week after enduring a siege at their compound in Dili, where nearly 1,500 displaced local people had sought safety. Those people also were airlifted to Australia.

Australian Prime Minister John Howard said in a televised address Sunday that the peacekeeping mission "could be long and protracted . . . and the conditions could well be violent and dangerous. There is a risk of casualties."

Howard took note of Indonesian objections to Australia's leading role in the multinational force, stemming from the Jakarta government's belief that A

ustralia promoted the independence of East Timor and is not a neutral party. "Our soldiers go to East Timor as part of a great Australian military tradition, which has never sought to impose the will of this country on others but only to defend what is right," he said.

The multinational force is expected to stay in East Timor until the United Nations can establish some form of local civil administration and the territory can provide its own security. With a voter turnout greater than 98 percent, East Timorese voted overwhelmingly to end Indonesia's 24-year rule over the territory and its 800,000 people.

East Timor -- which constitutes half the island of Timor, about 1,600 miles from Jakarta -- was a Portuguese colony until it was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and incorporated into that country a year later, an action that is not recognized by most nations.

[e19990920russian.htm](http://ebird.dtic.mil/Sep1999/e19990920russian.htm)

http://ebird.dtic.mil/Sep1999/e19990920russian.htm	RETURN TO TOP
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Los Angeles Times

September 20, 1999

Pg. 1

Russian, Chechen Forces Mass At Mutual Border

<I><P>Caucasus: As tensions mount, Putin says '96 peace deal with republic was a mistake and rebels must be crushed.</P>

</I><P>By Robyn Dixon, Times Staff Writer</P>

<P> MOSCOW--In a tense standoff, Russian and Chechen forces confronted one another along their mutual border Sunday, as Russian Prime Minister Vladimir V. Putin told a national television audience that the Kremlin's 1996 peace deal with Chechnya was a mistake.</P>

<P> In heated language reminiscent of the kind used by Russian officials at the height of the 1994-96 Russian war with the separatist republic, Putin said that Chechnya is a criminal state and that Russia must crush its bandit gangs decisively.</P>

<P> Russian warplanes have been pounding Chechnya in recent days, and 30,000 Russian troops moved into positions along the border Sunday. Up to 2,000 Chechen fighters were massed on the other side.</P>

<P> In the aftermath of a series of terrorist bombings of apartment buildings in Moscow and southern Russia, which authorities have blamed on Chechen rebel leaders, the public mood for revenge against the Chechens is high. More than 300 people were killed in the bomb attacks. The most recent, in the city of Volgograd on Thursday, killed 17.</P>

<P> Putin made no mention of a ground attack by Russian forces against Chechnya but said that intensive air attacks would continue. It was not clear whether the Russian forces closing in on Chechnya would blockade its border or whether a ground attack was being contemplated, as some Russian media have speculated.</P>

<P> In a lengthy interview on the RTR television network Sunday, Putin said that Russia must either subdue bandits in Chechnya or face new terrorist attacks. He said Chechnya has carried out genocide, pogroms and rapes against Russian people.</P>

<P> "These people must be destroyed. There simply is no other response," Putin said.</P>

<P> While that rhetoric is strikingly similar to what Russian officials used during the war, there is an important difference: This time, there appears to be no opposition to fighting. Grigory A. Yavlinsky, leader of the moderate Yabloko party, was a main opponent of the Chechen war because of the high civilian casualties. But Sunday, he backed the current military campaign.</P>

<P> "We should be prepared for a long and difficult resistance to militarized criminals," Yavlinsky said, reflecting the growing nationalist mood in Russia.</P>

<P> Fueling the strong anti-Chechen sentiment, Russian television has been airing brutal footage in recent weeks of such incidents as kidnappers in Chechnya maiming and executing victims.</P>

<P> Chechen officials claim that Russian airstrikes have killed more than 200 civilians and driven 30,000 people from their villages. The Russian side denies any civilian casualties and claimed Sunday that 140 rebels were killed in 50 bombing raids Saturday.</P>

<P> Authorities accuse two Chechen rebel leaders, Shamil Basayev and Khattab, of ordering the wave of terrorist bombings in Moscow and southern Russia. The two are leading a guerrilla campaign to split the neighboring republic of Dagestan from Russia.</P>

<P> Putin said the two are being backed by international Islamic groups that aim to form an independent Islamic state in southern Russia, stretching from the Caspian Sea to the Black Sea.</P>

<P> The tough rhetoric from Putin, President Boris N. Yeltsin's chosen successor, comes as he faces enormous political pressure, with the main suspects in the terrorist bombings still on the loose. Adding to his troubles, Putin promised in August that it would take just two weeks to defeat Basayev's militants in Dagestan, but fighting there has continued.</P>

<P> After Chechnya declared itself independent in 1991, Russia waited until December 1994 to attack in an effort to quell that move. The war lasted almost two years and cost an estimated 80,000 lives, including those of tens of thousands of civilians. In early August 1996, Chechen rebels launched an audacious attack on the capital, Grozny, fighting the Russians to a standstill.</P>

<P> It was an ignominious defeat, and Basayev played a key role in the Chechen victory.</P>

<P> The peace deal forged later that month provided for the withdrawal of Russian forces from Chechnya and for joint Russian-Chechen patrols, but it left the question of Chechen independence to be resolved after five years.</P>

<P> Now, Putin says Russia made a mistake in signing the pact.</P>

<P> "This is not a proper legal agreement because it was signed outside the framework of Russia's legal authority," he said Sunday.</P>

<P> In Putin's telling, Chechnya created a criminal economy after the war, setting up narcotics factories and kidnapping people for ransom. The prime minister said Russia did nothing to stop that because of the Russian "syndrome of defeat after the war."</P>

<P> But Putin insisted Sunday that the nation cannot afford to give up Chechen territory.</P>

<P> "If we leave [Chechnya], the aggression will continue. I'm completely convinced that if we allow this to happen, the tragedies that occurred in Moscow and in the Rostov region [in southern Russia] . . . will seem like child's play to us," he said, referring to the recent bombings and the fighting in Dagestan.</P>

http://ebird.dtic.mil/Sep1999/e19990920theplan.htm
RETURN TO TOP

</HEAD>

<P>Washington Post

Sept. 19, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<U><P>The Commanders War: The Plan To Invade Kosovo</P>

</U><P>A Decisive Battle That Never Was</P>

<P>By Dana Priest, Washington Post Staff Writer</P>

<I><P>First of three articles</P>

<P>About this series: NATO launched its first war as an alliance on March 24 after Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic refused to restore autonomy to Kosovo, a province the size of Connecticut. About 90 percent of its 2 million people were ethnic Albanians, and they chafed under the control of Serbs, Yugoslavia's dominant ethnic group. As NATO began airstrikes, Yugoslav soldiers and paramilitaries accelerated a brutal campaign to crush ethnic Albanian rebels, driving more than a million civilians from their homes. After 78 days of bombing, Milosevic capitulated on June 9, agreeing to withdraw forces from Kosovo. There are now nearly 50,000 NATO peacekeeping troops in the province, which is under U.N. administration but still legally part of Yugoslavia.</P>

</I><P> Early on the morning of May 27, German police blocked every autobahn ramp and side street along the route from the Cologne airport to the Bristol Hotel in Bonn. Even the few people who happened to be up at 3 a.m. could not possibly catch a glimpse of the man inside the motorcade whizzing by.</P>

<P> The war over Kosovo had been dragging on for nine weeks, and Defense Secretary William S. Cohen had flown in secretly to discuss a possible NATO invasion of Yugoslavia. The meeting also brought together the defense ministers of Britain, France, Germany and Italy. After 6 1/2 hours of debate, the five ministers reached a momentous conclusion: Their governments must decide whether to assemble ground troops, and they must make the choice within days.</P>

<P> From the start of the 78-day air war in the Balkans, President Clinton publicly ruled out a ground campaign. Nevertheless, secret preparations for an invasion of Kosovo were extensive, and progressed much further than has been previously disclosed. Relying in part on a clandestine relationship with the Kosovo Liberation Army, NATO's leadership was probing Yugoslav defenses. NATO engineers were reinforcing a vital roadway for use in an armored thrust. Allied capitals were considering commitments of troops -- including nearly half of Britain's standing army -- when Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic unexpectedly capitulated.</P>

<P> Clinton and the leaders of NATO's other member states never gave the final political go-ahead for an invasion. But Milosevic may have believed otherwise.</P>

<P> Despite public denials throughout the war, the CIA worked closely with

the KLA to glean intelligence about the disposition of Yugoslav troops in Kosovo. When the ethnic Albanian rebels launched a major offensive in late May -- with NATO's full prior knowledge and active air support -- Milosevic and his generals seem to have concluded that NATO was on the brink of an attack. That, NATO commanders now believe, was an important factor in the Yugoslav leader's sudden retreat.

The ground war planning was one key thread of the Kosovo campaign as it unfolded inside the headquarters and secure communications bunkers of NATO's high command. During the conflict, much that happened within the top military and political leadership was muffled or kept secret: There was intricate diplomacy among NATO capitals, frequent argument over highly secure video links, and remarkable last-minute improvisation. There were powerful tensions between military commanders and civilian politicians, and also sharp disputes over tactics among the generals. This series, based on documents and dozens of interviews with senior officials, will chronicle those behind-the-scenes events -- beginning with the plans and preparations for an offensive that was never launched and yet may have triggered NATO's victory.

Invasion Plans

On March 24, the first day of the war, Clinton promised in a television address from the Oval Office, "I do not intend to put our troops in Kosovo to fight a war." But only a few weeks later, in mid-April, Gen. Wesley K. Clark, the supreme allied commander in Europe, called together British and U.S. officers at NATO headquarters in Mons, Belgium, to poll their views on various ground options -- "what-ifs, about what is feasible and what is not," according to one observer at the meeting.

Although NATO's political leaders had not authorized any invasion planning, Clinton's national security adviser, Samuel R. "Sandy" Berger, persuaded NATO Secretary General Javier Solana to authorize Clark's secret talks. Part of Clark's goal was to build support among American generals for his strongly held view that an invasion plan should be developed. It was a hard sell; the Pentagon never was enthusiastic about a ground option, and Clark's advocacy of it became a persistent source of friction.

Yet Clark was not alone in his opinion. Shortly before NATO's 50th anniversary summit in Washington, according to a senior presidential adviser, Clinton decided that he would send in U.S. troops if the air campaign failed and an invasion was the only way to win the war. In Mons, the senior military staff gave Clark a stark assessment: "If you want to induce the Serbs to leave Kosovo, you are going to have to use ground forces to do it," in the words of one officer. "We all felt very strongly we would have to go to a ground option, and that we needed to begin deployment of U.S. and allied forces for that purpose as soon as possible, knowing what the timelines were" for an invasion before winter.

<P> On the eve of the April 24 summit, Clinton urged British Prime Minister Tony Blair to stop talking publicly about an invasion because it caused domestic problems for allies and made the Russians unwilling to help out diplomatically. In return, Clinton agreed to allow NATO to update old contingency plans.</P>

<P> Shortly thereafter, several dozen officers in a grass-covered bunker in Mons and 60 other military personnel at the U.S. Army's European headquarters in Heidelberg, Germany, started work on top-secret invasion options.</P>

<P> By mid-May, Clark had come up with a preliminary plan for an attack from the south by 175,000 troops, mostly through a single road from Albania. At the White House, it was called "the Wes plan." NATO charts called it the "B-Minus" option, reflecting its position on a hypothetical scale that began with an all-out invasion of Belgrade.</P>

<P> Clark went to Washington in May hoping to get approval from Clinton by June 1 and to have troops on the ground by Sept. 1. But the White House wanted to put off a decision as long as possible, banking on good weather and more aircraft to increase the chances of victory by airpower alone. Clark and Berger, in a long phone call, came up with a way to push back the deadline by at least 10 days.</P>

<P> They bought the extra time by speeding up repairs to the main access route through Albania, a muddy, slippery road from Tirana to Kukes. Officially, Clark had been authorized to repair the road for refugee travel. But U.S., German and Italian military engineers simultaneously made it strong enough to support the weight of Bradley Fighting Vehicles.</P>

<P> Clark asked for another engineering battalion to ready it for the even heavier tanks and artillery needed for a ground invasion. Meanwhile, Germany and Britain were standing by with pontoon bridges and other equipment that could be used on navigable waterways to bring in NATO's armor.</P>

<P> The bigger problem was that B-Minus had received a cool reception when Clark briefed the Joint Chiefs of Staff in "the tank," the Pentagon's high-security conference room, on May 19.</P>

<P> "All the people that looked at it had genuine skepticism that it was feasible," said one official who attended the session. Clark was given the vague, kiss-of-death suggestion to study the issue some more.</P>

<P> Defense Secretary Cohen and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. Henry H. Shelton, conveyed their apprehension to the president and reiterated their reluctance to send in troops. "I think it's safe to say the Joint Chiefs did not want to have to launch a major ground campaign, and we had said thi

s early on," said one of the chiefs. "By this time, we saw the air campaign working, we really did."

Clinton's national security team, including Berger, was far more interested in a ground plan than were Pentagon leaders. White House officials say they asked the Pentagon to look at other entry points -- through Bulgaria from the east, Bosnia from the west, and even Hungary from the north, which would mean rolling into Serbia proper.

The Allies

The main instigator of Cohen's May 27 secret rendezvous in Bonn was British Defense Secretary George Robertson. In the session at the German Defense Ministry, which lasted from 10 a.m. until 4:30 p.m., Robertson argued that NATO should prepare immediately to send ground troops into Yugoslavia, and he committed 50,000 British troops.

Robertson's government was the main advocate for an invasion and had lobbied U.S. officials on the subject at every turn, contending that it would be unprofessional not to prepare for the worst-case scenario, a failure of NATO airpower to drive Yugoslav troops out of Kosovo.

Even before the secret meeting, Clinton agreed in a May 23 telephone conversation with Blair to give Solana, the NATO secretary general, approval to formulate a detailed plan for ground operations.

British officials were well aware of the deteriorating relations between Clark and Cohen, who adamantly opposed an invasion. The British even slipped Clark their notes on Clinton's conversation with Blair. They wanted to make sure that Clark did not get a diluted account of the phone call through the U.S. chain of command.

In Bonn, the German and Italian defense ministers seemed more open than ever to the idea of ground troops. But they still expressed serious reservations. The French, while not flatly opposing an invasion, argued that there wasn't time to prepare for one before winter. Cohen argued that it was safer to stick with the air campaign than to risk division over ground troops.

"It was clear from that meeting that a consensus for ground forces was not going to materialize," Cohen said later. "I argued for intensifying the air war and for streamlining and broadening the target selection process."

In the end, the defense ministers agreed that NATO could not afford to lose the war, and that their five governments needed to reach a consensus on ground troops within the next week. They also agreed that the issue was so urgent

that they should convene an emergency meeting of all NATO defense ministers. But their schedule was overtaken by events.</P>

<P> The CIA's Role</P>

<P> In Albania, meanwhile, U.S. and European special forces at a secret operations center in the border town of Kukes were discussing how to turn the Kosovo Liberation Army into a light-infantry force that would be "at the enemy's rear blowing up bridges," said one U.S. official involved in the planning.</P><P>

<P> "Let's just say there was a growing appreciation for what the KLA could do for us," he said.</P>

<P> In fact, the CIA and NATO had been working with the KLA since late April.</P>

<P> By then, the CIA station in Tirana, Albania, and 24 U.S. Army Special Forces troops in Kukes and Durres were helping the disjointed, ill-equipped rebels to pass on useful information about Serbian positions, according to U.S. military and administration officials.</P>

<P> To avoid working directly with the KLA, however, the U.S. military used the Albanian 2nd Army as an intermediary, according to the U.S. European Command.</P>

<P> KLA representatives met daily with Albanian officers at the Albanian Defense Ministry in Tirana, often in the presence of a CIA officer and an Army captain who worked for Task Force Hawk, the U.S. Army contingent in charge of the Apache attack helicopters stationed at the Tirana airport. American officials who had been part of the Kosovo Verification Mission, the U.N. observer force that was forced to leave Kosovo before the war, also maintained close relations with rebel leaders.</P>

<P> Most of the KLA liaison work was done at the operations center in Kukes, where CIA officers and special forces troops gathered intelligence.</P>

<P> But U.S. officials say they were reluctant to become deeply involved with the KLA. The rebels allegedly had committed atrocities and were involved in drug smuggling, according to intelligence reports. In February 1998, Clinton's special envoy to the Balkans, Robert S. Gelbard, had even called the KLA "terrorists," though the Clinton administration quickly backed away from that term.</P><P>

<P> Mount Pastrik</P>

<P> On May 26, the KLA launched a major offensive, with artillery support by the Albanian army, to secure a supply route into the embattled province. "This is the beginning of a new phase of aggression, the so-called land operation," said Maj. Gen. Vladimir Lazarevic, commander of the Pristina Corps.</P>

<P> Within three days, however, the rebels were losing badly, and 250 of their best fighters were pinned down by more than 700 Yugoslav soldiers on Mount Pastrik.</P>

<P> "That mountain is not going to get lost. I'm not going to have Serbs on that mountain," Clark told his subordinates in a video conference. "We'll pay for that hill with American blood if we don't help [the KLA] hold it."</P>

<P> On June 7, a pair of B-52s rumbled to the rescue, dropping their heavy payloads on what appeared to be two battalions of Yugoslav troops caught in the open. NATO believed that hundreds had been killed in the most devastating single strike of the war, a possible turning point toward victory.</P>

<P> But after the war, U.S. airmen who flew over Mount Pastrik found no sign of a slaughter on that scale. NATO commanders were surprised to see the robust columns that eventually withdrew from Kosovo, and they concluded that the Yugoslav 3rd Army could have held out for weeks or even months.</P>

<P> That realization has only heightened an enduring mystery of the war: What caused Milosevic to stop the fighting and suddenly agree to withdraw all of his troops from Kosovo in June?</P>

<P> One factor undoubtedly was the devastation wreaked by NATO bombs on Serbia proper. The air war ravaged Yugoslavia's lifelines -- its roads, bridges, railways, factories, airports, TV towers, fuel depots and power plants -- shutting down the economy and hurting businesses controlled by Milosevic and his associates.</P>

<P> NATO also succeeded in assembling a powerful diplomatic coalition, persuading the Kremlin to put pressure on Milosevic to end the war even though Russia was generally sympathetic to Serbia. Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Greece, Macedonia, Romania and Turkey helped the trans-Atlantic alliance by granting overflight rights, troop-basing arrangements or temporary housing for refugees.</P>

<P> In hindsight, though, the battle of Mount Pastrik does seem to have been a turning point -- if not the kind commanders thought at the time.</P>

<P> "I think President Milosevic had plenty of intelligence and all of the indicators that would have made him conclude that we were going in on the ground," Clark said at a Washington think-tank in September.</P>

<P> End Game</P>

<P> Whatever Milosevic's calculations, it is clear in retrospect that at the very moment the Serb leader was preparing to capitulate, Clinton was thinking seriously about the ground option.</P>

<P> At noon on June 2, Berger, the president's national security adviser, met with several foreign policy experts who had publicly advocated that NATO consider sending in ground troops, including former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, former NATO commander George Joulwan, former U.S. ambassador to NATO Robert Hunter, and former National Security Council staff member Ivo Daalder.</P>

<P> According to a participant, the group was surprised to hear Berger hint strongly that the administration was prepared to back a ground invasion, if that was what it would take to win the war.</P>

<P> Berger made four points, according to notes from the meeting. The first was: "We're going to win." The fourth was: "All options are on the table." Asked directly whether Clinton would support ground troops, he replied: "Go back to point one."</P>

<P> That afternoon, Clinton's national security staff stopped short of recommending an invasion but urged swift planning. "We had to prevail, even if it meant preparing for a ground option. We all recognized this," Berger recalled in an interview last week. Clinton's aides outlined several options, such as carving out "safe havens" within Kosovo, arming the KLA or launching a full-scale invasion through Albania, Bosnia, Bulgaria and Hungary.</P>

<P> The following morning brought a surprise: At 6:30 a.m. on June 3, White House Situation Room operators began tracking down Clinton's national security team to relay reports that the Yugoslav government was giving in. In Belgrade, Milosevic had unexpectedly told the European Union's envoy, Finnish President Martti Ahtisaari, and Viktor Chernomyrdin, the former Russian prime minister, that he would accept the peace deal they had put to him.</P>

<P> But Washington feared a ruse, and that afternoon, Clinton sat down with the Joint Chiefs of Staff to talk about sending combat troops into Kosovo.</P>

<P> Clark also reacted skeptically to the message from Belgrade, insisting in a video conference among commanders that work continue on the Albanian road. He referred, as he had often, to Milosevic's "talk/fight, fight/talk strategy."
</P>

<P> Bombing continued even as British Lt. Gen. Michael Jackson, NATO's ground commander in Macedonia, began technical talks on a pullout with officers of the Yugoslav high command at a portable hangar in Kumanovo.</P>

<P> On June 7, a hitch in the peace talks developed as Yugoslav commanders refused to agree to NATO's terms for a pullout. The talks were suspended and bombing intensified. The possibility of a ground invasion remained very much on Clark's mind. "Every day that is lost is critical to the B-Minus trajectory," he told his commanders, according to meeting notes.</P>

<P> That evening, U.S. B-52 pilots dropped their bombs on Mount Pastrik. And the following day, Western countries and Russia reached a landmark agreement on a draft U.N. resolution for peace, cornering Milosevic diplomatically. Two nights later, Milosevic signed an agreement allowing the invasion of 50,000 NATO soldiers -- but as peacekeepers, not warriors.</P>

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<P>Washington Post

Sept. 20, 1999

<U><P>The Commanders War: Bombing By Committee</P>

</U><P>France Acted As Group Skeptic</P>

<P>By Dana Priest, Washington Post Staff Writer</P>

<I><P>Second of three articles</P>

</I><P> Before U.S. warplanes fired missiles into Belgrade's 23-story Socialist Party headquarters in late April, NATO planners bluntly spelled out the risks in a document circulated to President Clinton, British Prime Minister Tony Blair, and French President Jacques Chirac.</P>

<P> Next to a photograph of the party headquarters, the document said: "Collateral damage: Tier 3 -- High. Casualty Estimate: 50-100 Government/Party employees. Unintended Civ Casualty Est: 250 -- Apts in expected blast radius."</P>

<P> In short, NATO anticipated that the attack could, in the worst case, kill up to 350 people, including 250 civilians living in nearby apartment buildings.</P>

<P> Officials in Washington and London approved the target, but the French were reluctant, noting that the party headquarters also housed Yugoslav television and radio studios. "In some societies, the idea of killing journalists -- well, we were very nervous about that," said a French diplomat.</P>

<P> One of the myths of the war is that the leaders of NATO's 19 member countries ran the air campaign by committee. But that is not the way the decision-making looked to the alliance's generals and political leaders. Inside the alliance, it was clear that the important choices -- such as whether to bomb targets that had a largely civilian character -- were made by the leaders of three countries: the United States, Britain and France.</P>

<P> And only one of them, France, regularly played the skeptic.</P>

<P> France's veto power was one of the unwritten codicils to Operation Plan 10601, the military blueprint for Operation Allied Force. When bombs accidentally hit Albanian refugees or Serbian civilians, the international outcry was swift, and popular support for the war waned. So political leaders became deeply involved in the nitty-gritty of targeting decisions, and NATO planners routinely gave them casualty estimates.</P>

<P> In many of these decisions, there was an underlying tension. NATO commanders were never sure exactly what it would take to break the will of Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic. Over time, they became convinced that it was necessary to target not just military bunkers, barracks and ammunition depots but also factories, bridges, TV stations and power plants. While avoiding civilian deaths, they were trying to inflict a certain amount of pain on the Serbian people. NATO wanted, in the words of White House spokesman Joe Lockhart, to "turn on the lights on Belgrade." But carefully.</P>

<P> How to accomplish this was one of the overarching moral, political and military questions of the war -- and a source of dissension among the allies.</P>

<P> The French Connection</P>

<P> The first time President Chirac of France realized how fast and far the air campaign had moved from its original, modest size was when he watched the Yugoslav Interior Ministry erupt into a fireball on April 3, day 11 of the war.</P>

<P> "Paris was pretty shocked," a French diplomat recalled. Chirac requested an urgent telephone call with Clinton to discuss the strategy being pursued by Gen. Wesley K. Clark, the supreme allied commander in Europe.</P>

<P> It was Easter weekend, and Chirac was at his government's medieval castle in Bregancon on the French Riviera, which did not have a secure line to Washington. White House officials immediately dispatched a communications team from the U.S. European Command in Germany to put in a "Stu 3" phone, the most secure equipment.</P>

<P> To NATO officers, the phone's installation was a sign that the presidents were going to interject themselves into the minutiae of the war, which the alliance had hoped would be over in two or three days. "We were just discovering," said a French military official, "that maybe the war would last a long time and we'd have to have discussions about it."</P>

<P> That day, Chirac told Clinton he wanted a say, along with the American president and the British prime minister, in all crucial decisions about the war. Clinton told Chirac the target approval process was already too slow. He agreed to include the Frenchman but proposed that they agree in advance on the kinds of airstrikes over which each leader would reserve a veto.</P>

<P> Chirac asked to review any targets in Montenegro, a small republic of Yugoslavia that had remained democratic and was trying to stay out of the war. B

Blair wanted a veto over all targets to be struck by B-52 bombers taking off from British soil. And all three leaders wanted to review targets that might cause high casualties or affect a large number of civilians, such as the electrical grid, telephone system and buildings in downtown Belgrade.</P>

<P> All agreed on the new guidelines.</P>

<P> Still, Clark continued to be peppered with calls from the French chief of staff and other European officials.</P>

<P> "We need to help Wes Clark, who has to spend half of his time schmoozing with the allies," Clinton told Blair in a phone call, according to White House notes of the conversation.</P>

<P> To help out, Washington created "a management committee," as one senior administration official called it, to smooth over disagreements about the military campaign. The core of the committee was the so-called quint: Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright and the foreign ministers of Britain, France, Germany and Italy. They held a five-way conference call almost every day.</P>

<P> The calls helped maintain unity. If Italy's Lamberto Dini was apprehensive about accelerating the bombing, as he often was, Albright would call first to the German and British foreign ministers and arrange for them all to reassure the Italian.</P>

<P> Occasionally even the British wavered, as when Foreign Secretary Robin Cook questioned strikes on power lines affecting a large hospital in Belgrade. But the group brought him around.</P>

<P> During the May 26 call, German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer let out a loud shriek. "Are you all right?" Albright asked, worried. In a sheepish voice, Fischer admitted that he was watching a championship soccer game between Manchester United and Bayern Munich. The Brits won the game, 2-1, with two goals in the final 30 seconds.</P>

<P> At times, political leaders in Italy and Greece publicly voiced strong misgivings about the bombing campaign. But all 19 delegates to the North Atlantic Council (NAC), the alliance's defense committee, agreed in the first week of the war to give their proxy on sensitive targeting decisions to the alliance's secretary general, Javier Solana.</P>

<P> Solana, in turn, took his cues from the United States, Britain and France -- though he also made sure that none of the 19 countries turned their sometimes bold public pronouncements into actual roadblocks at NAC meetings in Brussels. None did.</P>

<P> The Devil's Advocate</P>

<P> In the second week of April, the Yugoslav military began hiding helicopters and fighter jets in bunkers at an air base near Podgorica, Montenegro's capital. For the first time, radar there and on Yugoslav ships at the Montenegrin port of Bar also began tracking NATO warplanes.</P>

<P> Arguing that Milosevic was trying to use Montenegro's neutrality as a shield, NATO commanders wanted to destroy the Podgorica air base. But first, they had to get past France's opposition to bombing Montenegro.</P>

<P> At a morning intelligence briefing, Clark was informed that Yugoslav artillery in Montenegro was shelling northern Albania.</P>

<P> Forget the French! Clark thundered, according to participants. "No, no, no, wait! Hold off on that," he said. "I'll get French permission. I'll get it."
."</P>

<P> Within hours, Clark and three of the Clinton administration's top players -- Albright, national security adviser Samuel R. "Sandy" Berger and Defense Secretary William S. Cohen -- dialed their counterparts in Paris. By the next morning, Clark had political approval for the strike.</P>

<P> France also reluctantly agreed in mid-April to airstrikes on Belgrade's two main TV towers, one of which was atop the Socialist Party headquarters. The Pentagon warned Western reporters to stay out of those buildings. But as warplanes streaked toward the kill on April 12, the Pentagon got word that some journalists were inside. Air Force Gen. Joseph Ralston, acting as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff because Gen. Henry H. Shelton was traveling, ordered the jets to turn around.</P>

<P> By April 18, Clark was pushing to reschedule the strike, and Western journalists were warned again.</P>

<P> Two days later, French officials declared that the decision needed "more study." Washington went into a full-court press, arguing that the Socialist Party headquarters was really an alternative headquarters for the Milosevic regime and providing videotapes to show that Serbian TV was broadcasting nationalist propaganda.</P>

<P> "It was tough," said Shelton of the negotiations with the French. "We kept after it. Persistence wore them down, and I think they eventually saw exactly what we were talking about."</P>

<P> Still, Chirac floated the possibility that he might show up for only part of NATO's 50th anniversary summit in Washington. Clinton got on the phone again. "Glad you can stay," he told the French president, according to administration notes of the call. "Your early departure would have been perceived as dishonour and would encourage Milosevic."</P>

<P> As NATO dignitaries rolled into Washington's red-carpet hotels on April 21, rescue workers were digging through the rubble of the Socialist Party headquarters, struck by four cruise missiles at 3:15 a.m. Two days later, NATO bombed the Yugoslav state TV and radio building, collapsing the top two floors. While no authoritative casualty figure exists, Yugoslav reports indicate that 10 people died in the twin attacks, far fewer than NATO's worst-case estimate.</P>

<P> France had quit NATO's integrated military command in 1966 and acted aloof toward the alliance ever since. But with 60 planes involved at the start, and 100 by the end, France had the second largest air force in Operation Allied Force. Despite frictions, both Paris and Washington considered the joint effort a quantum leap in their political-military relations. And the alliance's cohesiveness was strengthened at the summit by the prospect that it might lose its first war.</P>

<P> With Clinton at the helm, NATO leaders quashed British moves to press for a ground invasion. But they agreed at the summit to take two other big steps: training NATO's might on the personal property and businesses of Milosevic and his cronies, and striking targets that affected large numbers of civilians by disrupting not just TV broadcasts but also transportation, water and electricity.</P>

<P> Lights Out</P>

<P> U.S. commanders and political leaders had wanted to strike Yugoslavia's electrical system in the first week of the war, but the French were opposed. To try to break the stalemate, French and American military officials exchanged ideas on how to bring down the grid. The United States proposed a strike on transmission lines that would take days or even weeks to repair. The French called that unacceptable.</P>

<P> So the Americans offered up a top-secret weapon, the CBU-94, which would turn the electricity off for just a few hours. Shelton showed his French counterparts how it would work. He even described what kind of backup electricity would be available to hospitals.</P>

<P> When the French still balked, the discussions became heated. "Okay, what's your alternative?" Ralston asked, according to a participant. "You want to back away?"</P>

<P> Finally, Paris agreed. And in the post-midnight darkness of Sunday, May 3, dispensers the size of a can of tennis balls dropped from the sky, each with its own parachute. As they reached Yugoslav power grids and transformer yards, spools of specially treated carbon-graphite thread unraveled into a web, causing instant short circuits.</P>

<P> The "rubber duckies," as the military dubbed the weapon, knocked out power to 70 percent of Yugoslavia. Most of it was back on within a day. But the strike pushed NATO over a threshold it had avoided for 40 days: bringing the war to the Serbian people.</P>

<P> Three weeks later the French agreed to more severe strikes on the power system, disabling it for days and disrupting water supplies.</P>

<P> The only target the French refused to allow NATO to strike was the so-called Rock 'n' Roll bridge over the Sava River in Belgrade, where scores of Serbian volunteers stood as human shields. "That was the one that was obvious. Don't waste your time trying to get approval to do this one," recalled Shelton.</P>
>

<P> The Death of Innocents</P>

<P> Not only in France, but throughout the alliance, a portion of the public criticized NATO for keeping its pilots safe at 15,000 feet while causing civilian casualties on the ground.</P>

<P> The Geneva Conventions prohibit the bombing of civilian buildings or even dual civilian/military sites if the "incidental loss of civilian life . . . would be excessive in relation to the concrete and direct military advantage" of the attack. Citing those rules, human rights groups questioned the legality of attacking party buildings, TV studios and power stations.</P>

<P> "Our concern is that the NATO campaign crossed what should be a very clear line between military targets and civilian structures," said Kenneth Roth, executive director of Human Rights Watch in New York.</P>

<P> While there are no reliable, official statistics on the number of civilian and military deaths, it is likely that NATO killed about as many civilians as military personnel. Yugoslav officials report that approximately 600 soldiers and special police were killed, though the Pentagon suspects the number may be higher. International organizations and journalists in Yugoslavia during the war estimate that 500 to 1,000 civilians died from errant NATO bombs or the fallout of accurate ones.</P>

<P> For a month, beginning in mid-April, mistakes seemed to be an almost daily occurrence. Seventeen civilians were killed in the mining town of Aleksinac ; a passenger train was blown apart on a railroad bridge; dozens of refugees were annihilated in a convoy headed for the Macedonian border; more than 20 people were killed by a laser-guided bomb in Surdulica; 47 died in a bus incinerated on a bridge.</P>

<P> And, finally, came the fateful day of May 7. First, cluster bombs and a missile struck a marketplace and hospital in Nis, killing at least 15 people. Then, U.S. B-2 bombers hit the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade, killing three Chinese citizens and injuring more than 20 others.</P>

<P> The CIA, which does not usually develop targets in the midst of a war, had been asked to help out. Agency employees meant to target the Yugoslav Directorate of Supply and Procurement, an arms agency. But they picked the wrong building on a map, and the mistake was not caught because U.S. computer databases still showed the Chinese Embassy at the location in another part of the city that it left three years ago.</P>

<P> "Is it really the Chinese Embassy?" Clark asked the next morning in the video conference. "I want to make sure that the building we targeted was, in fact, the Chinese Embassy."</P>

<P> "Sir," said the chief of intelligence, "I take personal responsibility for the error . . . and we're working to re-scrub each of the remaining targets ."</P>

<P> Stacks of taunting faxes came into Clark's office that day. "Dear Gen. Clark," many of them began. "We've moved. Our new address is . . . "</P>

<P> While NATO planners double-checked other targets, it appeared that the alliance had imposed a moratorium on bombing Belgrade. In fact, after the May 7 strikes, there was hardly any important target left in the capital to hit.</P>

<P> On May 11, Clark went to Brussels to brief the North Atlantic Council, NATO's standing political body, on the embassy disaster and to listen to complaints.</P>

<P> "There was contradictory guidance," he told commanders at the video conference the next morning. "They don't like collateral damage. Some don't like attacking Belgrade. I want them to get in the boat on targeting. I told them, 'Give us targets and no-strike areas.' "</P>

<P> But, he concluded optimistically, "The Chinese Embassy problem is behind us."</P>

<P> It was not behind NATO's pilots. Many had become demoralized by the accidents and nonstop demands for detailed information about each mishap. Colonels who were supposed to be directing daily missions found themselves reconstructing cockpit video and audio tapes, looking for errors in judgment.</P>

<P> The mood got to Brig. Gen. Randall C. Gelwix, director of the operations center in Vicenza. On May 13, he wrote a new battle cry on a white easel in his office: "We Are the Good Guys." It remains there to this day.</P>

<P> "At one point you got the sense NATO would quit" because of the run of civilian deaths, he said. "We were over here feeling, 'We're going to lose the will to beat this bad guy.' "</P>

<P> NEXT: The battle inside headquarters</P>


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<P>Washington Post

Sept. 20, 1999

Pg. 11</P>

<P>Target Selection Was Long Process</P>

<I><P>Sites Were Analyzed Again and Again</P>

</I><P>By Dana Priest</P>

<P> NATO began the war over Kosovo with a one-volume Master Target File containing 169 targets. It ended with more than 976, filling six volumes.</P>

<P> "Producing" targets fell mainly to the U.S. Joint Analysis Center in Moolsworth, England. There, U.S. intelligence was brought together, analyzed and transmitted over the classified Siprinet computer system to targeteers at the U.S. European Command. It also went to U.S. targeting cells in Vicenza and Aviano, Italy, where blue folders stuffed with maps, satellite photos and "aim points" made up a pilot's recipe for demolition.</P>

<P> Locating underground bunkers, storage sites, command posts and the like was only the first step in producing targets. Analysts then checked all sources of timely intelligence--satellite imagery, human sources, electronic intercepts of phone conversations--to make sure the buildings were still being used by the military as close to the scheduled strike as possible.</P>

<P> On orders from Gen. Wesley K. Clark, the supreme allied commander, the targeteers also had to work and rework the attack plan--the specific "aim point" of each missile, the angle of attack, the kind of weapon used--for any target where more than 20 civilians might be killed.</P>

<P> This time-consuming process threw targets back into the loop over and over again. By late April, NATO had more combat planes than it did targets to hit. Both Clark and the airmen putting together each day's tasking orders were frustrated.</P>

<P> To speed up the system, officers began 11 p.m. nightly sessions in which lawyers, targeteers and intelligence analysts--as many as nine participants at nine locations--joined in a kind of classified chat room on the Siprinet system.</P>

<P> By May, the group was churning out 25 targets a day, up from five a day at the start of the war.</P>

<P> Among the key participants were lawyers such as Lt. Col. Tony E. Montgomery, deputy staff judge advocate at the U.S. European Command, whose job was to ask: "What is the military value of this?" Over and over again, he referred to

o his softcover, dog-eared "Law of War," which he kept near the computer in his office.</P>

<P> Yet only once--in the case of an electronic plant in the Serbian town o
f Nis--did the group reject a target for lack of a sufficient military link.</P>
>

<P> After the internal military review, the target approval process passed
through the White House, the British prime minister's office and the French pre
sidential administration. During the first 45 days, Gen. Henry H. Shelton, chai
rman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, was at the White House every day, seven days
a week, with targets that needed the president's approval.</P>

<P> From Shelton's perspective, the White House process was expeditious, Cl
inton and his top advisers were quick to make decisions, and there was never a
logjam of targets waiting to be approved. In the field, though, the wait someti
mes seemed long and mystifying.</P>

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<P>Inside The Navy

Sept. 20, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Danzig To Cohen: Defense Budget Increase Has Been Largely Eroded</P>

<P> Navy Secretary Richard Danzig has told Defense Secretary William Cohen the service's portion of the Clinton administration's \$112 billion budget increase put forth last January has been eroded considerably, due to the rising costs of maintaining current readiness. Additionally, Danzig has called upon top administration officials to meet and discuss the erosion to determine if it is consistent with administration goals.</P>

<P> According to sources, Danzig stated in a Sept. 15 letter to Cohen the rising costs of maintaining current readiness via accounts such as fuel, manning, pay, spare parts and maintenance, have eroded the January budget increase and forced the Navy to make difficult trade-off decisions, including deep cuts to ship and aircraft construction plans. The letter was sent along with the Navy's fiscal year 2001 program review, a profile of its budgets from FY-01 to FY-05.</P>

<P> Danzig also says further budget erosion is likely and sources say he tells Cohen the time is ripe to discuss the program setbacks with the Office of Management and Budget, in order to examine any possible alternatives that could maintain the positive direction the president's increase had begun.</P>

<P> The budget pressures put on the service have forced it to cut three ships and 42 aircraft to save \$4 billion in the FY-01 to FY-05 time frame, sources say.</P>

<P> The shipbuilding cuts include the removal of one of three DD-21 destroyers programmed for FY-05 and the elimination of one Virginia-class attack submarine in FY-03. The plan also proposes cutting two ADC(X) logistics ships in FY-01 and FY-02 and adding one back in FY-05.</P>

<P> All of the money for those ships and nearly all of the money for the aircraft identified as billpayers was part of the president's January budget adds.</P>

<P> Danzig also states he regrets the cuts, stating the decreased building rates run counter to plans to recapitalize the Navy's fleet and sustain the industrial base.</P>

<P> The cuts to such major platforms could be a nascent sign of further political wars in the future, as congressional Republicans criticized the \$112 billion budget measure as smoke and mirrors as soon as it was announced, saying it relied on uncertain budget assumptions.</P>

<P> Sen. John Warner (R-VA), chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, said of the increase during a spring hearing, "It appears that the majority of new spending will be in the out-years of the future years defense plan."</P>

<P> Other critics have lamented a relatively flat budget in the face of the increasing frequency of deployments.</P>

<P> Congressional proponents of shipbuilding remain skeptical of the service's ability to maintain a 300-ship Navy, authorized in the 1997 Quadrennial Defense Review. Even with the ships part of the Navy's budget, the fleet was expected to drop below the magic mark by 2008. Navy shipbuilding analyst Ron O'Rourke, of the Congressional Research Service, noted in testimony before Congress this spring that the Pentagon would have to maintain a 35-year steady-state build rate of 8.6 ships per year to maintain a 300-ship fleet.</P>

<P> After the \$112 billion increase, the new ship plan was set at 7.8 ships per year over a six-year period, dropping the fleet to 274 in the far future. With the latest subtractions the new average is 7.6 per year over the five years from FY-01 to FY-05.</P>

<P> However, even those numbers could be rosy projections, as still greater financial challenges face the service just outside the current budget review.</P>

<P> Vice Adm. Conrad Lautenbacher, the Navy's top requirements and resource official, testified to Congress this spring that FY-06 would be an "interesting" year because the service would have to fully fund a new aircraft carrier and also get its submarine build rate up to two per year, in order to maintain a fleet of 50 boats. Further, the service's original five big-deck amphibious ships, of the LHA-1 Tarawa class, are expected to reach block obsolescence around 2006.</P>

<P> The shipbuilding rate is weighted to the outyears, as seven ships per year will be built from FY-01 to FY-03, down from eight per year previously. Eight are planned in FY-04 and the plan ramps up to nine in FY-05, according to sources.</P>

<P> Despite the major platform reductions, Danzig does note some good news concerning the budget, officials say, as readiness is maintained, particularly in the key areas of flying hours and ship depot maintenance.</P>

<P> Funding has also been added for recruiting and retention.</P>

<P> OSD typically will take the next four months to scrutinize and make ad

justments to all the services' budgets before submitting its FY-01 plan to Congress in February of next year.</P>

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

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<P>Wall Street Journal

September 20, 1999</P>

<P>Congressional Time Crunch Will Play In Decisions Regarding S
pending Bills</P>

<P>By David Rogers, Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal</P>

<P> WASHINGTON -- As Republicans prepare for a year-end confrontation with President Clinton regarding budget priorities and tobacco taxes, they are trying to clear the decks this week of spending bills affecting everything from Lockheed Martin Corp.'s F-22 to emergency farm aid.</P>

<P> Under a revised spending plan adopted Friday, Senate Republicans agreed to billions more for defense in anticipation of the House restoring funds for the purchase of F-22 fighters as test planes for the Air Force. Senate Appropriations Committee Chairman Ted Stevens (R., Alaska) wants the full complement of six aircraft under contract with Lockheed. F-22 critics want fewer, but some purc

hases seem certain and GOP opponents in the House are being undercut by their own leaders, who are anxious to move bills.</P>

<P> Toward that end, the GOP hopes to complete negotiations tomorrow night on an emergency farm-aid bill that has grown to nearly \$8 billion. The House is retreating from deep Energy Department cuts opposed by Senate Budget Committee Chairman Pete Domenici (R., N.M.). And hundreds of millions of dollars more will be restored for space-science programs cut by the House less than two weeks ago.</P>

<P> The targets would lift spending above what either chamber has approved. The GOP no longer appears to be clinging to the pretense of staying within prescribed budget caps and instead would allow spending to go about \$14.5 billion higher.</P>

<P> That number matches the on-budget surplus projected by the Congressional Budget Office, although there is serious doubt it still exists. CBO's estimates show the surplus has been exhausted, given spending commitments by Congress. But by keeping what amounts to two sets of books, Republicans have clung to the claim that excess spending under \$14.5 billion won't require borrowing from the Social Security trust fund.</P>

<P> The collapse of the budget caps and shift of focus to Social Security changes the technical nature of the spending debate. The multiyear caps -- first adopted as part of the balanced-budget plan in 1997 -- govern the level of appropriations, which may be spent out during several years. By comparison, the claims and counterclaims about Social Security focus more narrowly on the direct outlays that result from these bills only in the 12-month period that begins Oct. 1.</P>

<P> To the extent Republicans ignore CBO as Congress's scorekeeper, the GOP becomes that much more dependent on the Office of Management and Budget, which is allied with the president. Yet the two sides also have common interests at times in playing down the costs of their actions.</P>

<P> A case in point is the farm package, which would lift total aid to agriculture to more than \$20 billion this calendar year. Republicans are desperate to see the money distributed before Oct. 1 so it won't appear to come from Social Security funds. While that seems unrealistic, it might be to the president's advantage to score the costs as committed in fiscal 1999, so as to minimize any threat to Social Security in fiscal 2000.</P>

<P> The reason why is that Mr. Clinton wants to keep the numbers manageable himself. He will want more spending, for everything from foreign aid to education. But the administration wants to keep the total in add-ons to less than \$8 billion so it can pay for the costs and protect Social Security with tobacco taxes. The chief accomplishment of the GOP plan is to minimize House and Senate differences.

erences. The goal is to produce passable bills: between \$9 billion to \$11 billion is allocated to try to expedite committee action this week on a long-delayed bill funding the departments of Labor, Education, and Health and Human Services. But by pumping so much into defense -- about \$6 billion over Mr. Clinton's request -- the plan doesn't leave enough for other priorities to receive the president's signature. </P>

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<P>St. Petersburg Times

Sept. 19, 1999</P>

<P>GOP Leaders Agree To Restore F-22 Funds </P>

<I><P>Rep. Young says money will now be made available to buy the fighter planes next year. </P>

</I><P>By Bill Adair</P>

<P> ST. PETERSBURG -- The controversial F-22 Raptor fighter plane has been salvaged. </P>

<P> Rep. C.W. Bill Young said Saturday that Republican leaders have agreed to buy an unspecified number of F-22s next year. </P>

<P> Young, an Indian Rocks Beach Republican who heads the House Appropriations Committee, said House and Senate leaders decided Thursday that the next-generation stealth fighter was crucial to the nation's defense. </P>

<P> "There's no question we need the capability the F-22 gives us," Young told the St. Petersburg Times. "It would be crazy to start with a new airplane because we've gotten so far with the F-22." </P>

<P> The GOP agreement effectively reverses a decision by the House of Representatives, which voted July 22 to cut \$1.8-billion from the \$3-billion F-22 program and use the savings for other planes. House members had complained about cost overruns with the F-22 and said the Air Force needed to pause the program for a year to get the program in order. The remaining \$1.2-billion would have been used to continue research and development on the F-22, but no planes would have been purchased. </P>

<P> On Thursday, while Congress was largely shut down because of Hurricane Floyd, Republican leaders decided to go forward with buying F-22s, although the details still must be worked out. Rep. Jerry Lewis, R-Calif., the chairman of the House Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, and Sen. Ted Stevens, R-Alaska, who chairs the Senate Appropriations Committee, will work out plans on how many of the \$200-million-plus planes to buy. </P>

<P> Republicans have more money to spend next year because they agreed last week to raise the budget caps that were required under the 1997 Balanced Budget Act. </P>

<P> A month ago, Young had complained that the Air Force was too focused on the F-22 and had neglected other needs. He said money from the F-22 program should be diverted to other planes and used for retaining fighter pilots. </P>

<P> But with the budget caps lifted, Young said on Saturday that Congress can now go forward with the plane. </P>

<P> "The F-22 will be superior to anything else for a generation at least," Young said. </P>

<P> Congress had been the target of an intense lobbying effort. Lockheed Martin, the prime contractor for the plane, and other key suppliers have said the plane was vital to maintain the nation's air superiority. The Air Force also wanted the plane, saying it was needed to replace aging F-15s. </P>

<P> Lockheed calls the F-22 "the anti-war plane" because it is so advanced that it will supposedly dominate the sky. It has a stealth design to evade rada

r and "supercruise" capability to fly at supersonic speeds with less fuel. </P>

<P> To evade detection by the enemy, the plane is covered with radar-absorbing surfaces and carries its weapons internally. That eliminates surface features that might be detected by radar. </P>

<P> Lockheed says the plane "will be able to control the air and penetrate the heart of even the most sophisticated enemy air defense environments now, and in the future." </P>

<P> Lockheed's main partners in the plane are Boeing, which is responsible for the wings and the rear fuselage, and Pratt & Whitney, which is building the engines. </P>

<P> The new agreement to buy F-22s is likely to please President Clinton, who had criticized the House for cutting the program. He had said Congress could fund the F-22 "without compromising the basic priorities of our national defense." </P>

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<P>Defense Week

Sept. 20, 1999

<P>Pentagon Needs To Issue Clear Merger Guidance, Report Says</P>

<P>By Tony Capaccio</P>

<P> The Defense Department has failed to issue clear policy guidance on transatlantic defense consolidations and has been slow to adapt to the new international marketplace, a new report said.</P>

<P> ``The Department of Defense has not been aggressive in taking advantage of the benefits of globalization," said a summary of the report by the Defense Science Board, an independent group that reviews Pentagon programs and procedures.</P>

<P> The Pentagon should set up teams of specialists to coordinate and implement policy on transatlantic defense mergers, said the summary, a copy of which was obtained by Bloomberg News.</P>

<P> The report recommends, for example, that the Pentagon create a database of globally available technologies and capabilities that would help focus Pentagon and State Department policy-makers on which technologies should be subject to export controls and which are simply too widely used to control.</P>

<P> The report, which is to be released next month, will likely become the centerpiece of Pentagon efforts to encourage transatlantic consolidation -- an effort that's stalled in spite of nearly a year of U.S. statements promoting mergers.</P>

<P> ``Should the U.S. not take advantage of what the global marketplace has to offer, America's military capabilities could erode," the summary said. ``While there will be risks, they can be managed."</P>

<P> The Pentagon won't comment on the report until it's published, said Cheryl Irwin, a Pentagon spokeswoman.</P>

<P> The report should jump-start the transatlantic merger debate, analysts said.</P>

<P> ``What's critical about the DSB effort is that it tries to suggest some concrete steps that have to be taken regarding technology security, information security, export regulatory regimes and other 'infrastructure' issues," said

Pierre Chao, a defense analyst for Credit Suisse First Boston, who tracks merger trends.</P>

<P> "Without solving these issues, 'globalization' is a non-starter," Chao said. "Investors and others would love to see a leaner, more efficient and more competitive industry that operates on a global basis but globalizing the defense industry however, is an extremely complex and politically charged effort."

<P> Globalization refers to the increased purchases for military use of widely available commercial components and technologies, some produced overseas. It also refers to transformation in the defense industrial base where suppliers are often located off shore or are owned in whole or part by overseas firms.</P>

<P> One lesson from NATO's war against Yugoslavia is that certain transatlantic defense company mergers in the electronics, communications and air defense areas ought to be encouraged, Pentagon officials have said.</P>

<P> Still, "in many cases, change has come slowly due to cultural impediments, legal regulatory obstacles and restrictive and unclear policies," the report said.</P>

<P> The final DSB report will be published before a scheduled Oct. 25 dinner at the Pentagon sponsored by Defense Deputy Secretary John Hamre with the armaments directors of the U.K., France and Germany and up to 50 U.S. and European defense company leaders, including British Aerospace PLC., Thomson-CSF and DaimlerChrysler Aerospace, Lockheed Martin Corp. and Raytheon Co.</P>

<P> They will discuss issues surrounding defense globalization, consolidations and mergers, according to the dinner invitation.</P>

<P> Hamre, the Pentagon's No. 2 defense official, is the most influential senior U.S. defense official on merger activity. The Pentagon also has appointed an official to head its office of industrial affairs, which reviews merger policy.</P>

<P> Jeffrey Bialos, a former State Department official with extensive experience in economics policy, trade and anti-corruption issues, will be coordinate the Pentagon's transatlantic merger guidance, said spokesman Glenn Flood.</P>

<I><P>Capaccio is Pentagon correspondent for Bloomberg News, where this story first appeared.</P></I>

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http://ebird.dtic.mil/Sep1999/e19990920new.htm	RETURN TO TOP
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Philadelphia Inquirer

Sept. 18, 1999

New Inscription Dedicated On Tomb Of Vietnam Unknown

By Robert Burns, Associated Press

WASHINGTON - In a gesture of respect for the 2,054 U.S. servicemen missing from the Vietnam War, Defense Secretary William S. Cohen dedicated a new inscription yesterday at the Tomb of the Unknowns.

"The words that now grace the Vietnam tomb - 'Honoring and Keeping Faith with America's Missing Servicemen' - are carved in stone," Cohen said as dozens of veterans, former prisoners of war, and families of missing servicemen sat silently at the Memorial Amphitheater in Arlington National Cemetery.

"Their permanence, like our remembrance of America's fallen soldiers, sailors, airmen and marines, will be a measure of this nation's profound reverence and respect," he said.

The nation must also aim at "restoring peace of mind to those who still struggle with a grief born of uncertainty" about what happened to the men unac

counted for from Vietnam and other wars of the 20th century. </P>

<P> "So to the families and friends of those still missing we renew our oath: Without rest or reservation, we will strive to account for every warrior who has fought to preserve the freedoms that we cherish and enjoy this day," he said. </P>

<P> The Pentagon decided earlier this year to place the inscription on the tomb of the Vietnam unknown after the department removed the remains in May 1998 and positively identified them as those of First Lt. Michael Blassie, an Air Force pilot who was shot down in 1972. He was reburied by his family in St. Louis in July 1998. </P>

<P> This summer, the Pentagon announced that the Tomb of the Unknowns would never again contain a symbolic victim of the Vietnam War because advances in forensic science - particularly the use of DNA technologies - make it at least theoretically possible that all war remains eventually can be identified. </P>

<P> When Blassie's remains were placed in the tomb in 1984, they were thought to be unidentifiable. The World War I remains in a grave below the main sarcophagus were dug up from an American cemetery in France and entombed on Veterans Day 1921. The World War II and Korean War unknowns were added in 1958. The Pentagon says 529 U.S. servicemen have been identified and accounted for from Vietnam since the end of the war, leaving 2,054 MIAs. About 8,200 are missing from the Korean War and more than 78,000 from World War II.</P>

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<P>New York Times

Sept. 19, 1999</P>

<P>From The Study Of A Sailor's Illness, A Potentially Costly Battle</P>

<P>By Eric Schmitt</P>

<P> MORGANTOWN, W.Va. -- When Dr. Philip G. Jajosky took a phone call from an ailing former sailor seven years ago, he never suspected that the conversation would catapult him into an uproar over the federal medical bureaucracy's resolve to find out what is afflicting hundreds of Navy veterans. </P>

<P> Navy doctors had discharged the sailor, Jerry Cochran, in 1975, telling him he had sarcoidosis, a rare and potentially fatal lung disorder with no known cause. But other federal physicians later diagnosed silicosis, a fatal job-related illness caused by airborne silica. Cochran's job in the 1970s involved grinding anti-skid adhesive off the decks of aircraft carriers, a messy task that sent clouds of silica dust into the air. </P>

<P> Was it possible, Cochran asked Jajosky, that hundreds of similarly stricken shipmates had also been given a misdiagnosis? </P>

<P> Since then, Jajosky, a medical investigator with the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, has overcome institutional delays and resistance to spearhead efforts in his agency to produce two medical papers suggesting that Cochran's suspicions may be valid. </P>

<P> If they are, that could cost the Navy millions in reparations. </P>

<P> The research has persuaded the Department of Veterans Affairs to recommend that its 172 medical centers perform detailed medical histories on afflicted sailors. </P>

<P> But Jajosky could be paying a steep price for his persistence: He is on the brink of losing his job after more than 20 years in the Public Health Service. Jajosky, 52, says the move to oust him is payback for his outspoken advocacy on the lung disease case; his superiors say it is because of poor job performance and repeated insubordination. A federal health panel will hold an unusual two-day hearing starting on Monday to decide the physician's fate. </P>

<P> "The guy is someone who is concerned about the truth, who is very concerned about health issues and who tends to be on the intense side," said Dr. J. Donald Millar, director of the safety and health institute from 1981 to 1993. </P>

<P> Jajosky and his colleagues found that sailors, especially black sailors, who served on aircraft carriers had a greater likelihood than sailors on other ships of being diagnosed with sarcoidosis. Jajosky further found that sailors who served on vessels with few or no industrial jobs, like hospital ships or tugboats, had a lesser likelihood of having the disease diagnosed. </P>

<P> But Jajosky and other medical experts differ on what to do with this information. Jajosky and his supporters say the findings, while not definitive, are compelling enough to prompt more government study. Some senior epidemiologists disagree. </P>

<P> "Jajosky uncovered an observation worthy of pursuit, and I applaud him for that," said Dr. Mark R. Cullen, director of occupational and environmental medicine at Yale University's School of Medicine and a member of an outside scientific board that reviewed the agency's work. "But frankly, his judgment about what to do after that was flawed. There was no more to be done." </P>

<P> Jajosky's plight and the underlying case have polarized his colleagues and, at one point or another, seized the attention of the secretary of the Navy, the U.S. surgeon general, influential members of Congress and the inspector general of the Department of Health and Human Services, who is investigating the doctor's complaints. </P>

<P> It has also cast a spotlight on the safety and health institute and the delicate line it must walk between dispassionate science and advocacy for worker health and safety. </P>

<P> Institute officials insist they did everything possible -- within scientific reason -- to address the issue before handing it off to the Veterans Affairs Department. "We aggressively pursued the lead as far as we could," said Dr. Linda Rosenstock, the institute's director. "Advocacy, if it's not science-driven, is where we get into trouble." </P>

<P> Institute officials say Jajosky ignored warnings -- from bad evaluations to the withholding of \$40,000 in incentive pay -- to improve his performance, leaving them little option but to force him to retire early. </P>

<P> Jajosky says he knows he infuriated his supervisors by going over their heads, a violation of agency rules, but he insisted that he had no choice. </P>

<P> "If I hadn't screamed bloody murder, we wouldn't have accomplished what we have," Jajosky said in a sometimes emotional two-hour interview here. "Why be a physician if you can't communicate and do the right thing?"</P>

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<P>New York Times

Sept. 20, 1999</P>

<P>End To Jakarta Military Aid Urged</P>

<P>By Elizabeth Becker</P>

<P> WASHINGTON -- As international peacekeepers arrive in East Timor, members of Congress are questioning the value of years of United States military training for an army whose officers supported the destruction there, and demanding tighter restrictions on relations with the Indonesian military. </P>

<P> Congressional leaders suggest that East Timor shows the futility of any more American training for the Indonesian forces, some of whose officers armed and backed the anti-independence militia in the territory. </P>

<P> The Pentagon counters that on the contrary this is the moment to educate

e Indonesian officers and their units in the principles of democracy and respect for human rights, and to nurture crucial personal relations with them. </P>

<P> Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and a long-time critic of extensive international obligations, is joining with Democrats in the Senate to recommend cutting off relations with questionable foreign militaries. </P>

<P> On Wednesday, Senator Helms became a sponsor with Senator Russell D. Feingold, a Democrat of Wisconsin, of legislation that would freeze President Clinton's suspension of all military relations with Indonesia. Only when East Timor is safe, the refugees have returned to their homes, and the Indonesian Army has ended its support for the militias and begun to withdraw would the ban on military relations be lifted. </P>

<P> At the same time, Senator Patrick J. Leahy, a Democrat of Vermont, will ask this week that the Clinton Administration investigate which Indonesian military officers and units were responsible for supporting the militias in East Timor. </P>

<P> "It is clear that the Indonesian Army was deeply involved in the atrocities in East Timor," Senator Leahy said in an interview. "A lot is going to have to change before United States military aid or training resumes there." </P>

<P> This is an old debate with new urgency. For more than 40 years, the Indonesian military has received American training. Some of the officers involved in the bloody 1965 uprising that led to President Suharto's repressive 32-year rule had been trained in the United States. But in those days defeating Chinese and Soviet Communist influence in Southeast Asia was seen as more important than teaching democracy and human rights to foreign armies. </P>

<P> Since the end of the cold war, however, the Pentagon has promoted military assistance in dozens of former Communist or authoritarian nations as education in democracy, human rights and civilian control of the military. </P>

<P> If those foreign armies get embroiled in nasty civil wars, the Pentagon says, the contacts it made with foreign officers will benefit the United States Government. </P>

<P> During the East Timor crisis, General Henry H. Shelton, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, spoke regularly with General Wiranto, his Indonesian counterpart, to try to stem the violence. In testimony before Congress at the start of the conflict, General Shelton argued that contacts between the officers of the two militaries were beneficial. </P>

<P> But there are skeptics who question whether any message about respecting human rights can get across to the armed forces of countries that are stumbling toward ethnic or civil warfare. </P>

<P> "I have seen no evidence in my 24 years in Congress of one instance where because of American military involvement with another military that the Americans have stopped that foreign army from carrying out atrocities against their own people," said Senator Harkin. </P>

<P> "No evidence, none." </P>

<P> Since the Berlin wall fell almost 10 years ago, the Pentagon has adopted a policy toward training foreign militaries that goes by the guideline of "shape, respond, prepare." "For example, the Army is in about 70 different countries today -- on exercises, on mobile training teams, and doing things that could potentially preclude us from having to be involved with that country in a crisis," said General Shelton. </P>

<P> Last year, Congress enacted the Leahy law, which bars military assistance to units with an unreformed record of human rights abuses, like some of units of the Indonesian Army. But since the leaders of the Indonesian armed forces respected the Constitution in 1998 during the transformation to democracy following the ouster of President Suharto, the Pentagon was able to keep a limited education program with that army. </P>

<P> The Pentagon points to Lieut. Gen. Muhammad Yunus Yosfiah, who as an up-and-coming young officer went through training at Fort Leavenworth where he wrote his thesis on freedom of the press in an emerging democracy. Now retired, he was chosen by Indonesia's new civilian President to become the Minister of Information and has overseen the new policy of full freedom of the press. </P>

<P> Sydney Jones, the Asia director of Human Rights Watch, acknowledges that there is a role for the Pentagon in educating foreign military officers but says that the rewards may be more modest than the Pentagon advertises, especially in the case of Indonesia. There, the army under President Suharto was a political power in its own right, and retains influence beyond the military sphere under President B. J. Habibie. </P>

<P> "There is no way that the American military can argue today that going through military exchanges turned these Indonesian officers into human rights paradigms," Ms. Jones said. "It was a mistake on the part of both the State Department and the Pentagon to argue that exposure to the West, especially the United States, would have a significant impact on how these people would behave, completely ignoring the particular role of the army in Indonesian society." </P>

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<P>Wall Street Journal

September 20, 1999</P>

<P>Clinton's Decision To Ease Sanctions On North Korea Sparks P
olicy Debate</P>

<P>By Neil King Jr., Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal</P>

<P> WASHINGTON -- President Clinton's decision to ease sanctions on North Kore
a has sparked another round of debate over an old question: Is it better to rew
ard your potential foes for good behavior or to isolate them until they shape u
p altogether?</P>

<P> The argument reaches well beyond U.S. policy toward North Korea, coming at
a time when the administration is reviewing its approach to other so-called ro
gue states such as Libya, Syria and Sudan. There is also rising distaste in Was
hington for sanctions as a foreign-policy tool.</P>

<P> In announcing Friday that it was lifting part of a decades-old embargo, th
e administration said it was merely trying to create "a positive atmosphere" to
help coax North Korea toward a comprehensive arms-control agreement that would
freeze the country's nuclear program and eliminate its long-range missile prog
ram. Better relations with the staunch communist state, officials said, could d

efuse tensions on the Korean peninsula and help end one of the last standoffs of the Cold War.</P>

<P> Drawing GOP Fire</P>

<P> Yet no sooner had the White House declared its new policy of engagement than several key Republican members of Congress let loose a barrage of criticism. "We are on the verge of becoming the foreign-aid benefactor to the most extreme communist country in the world," said an aide to Sen. Jesse Helms (R., N. C.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. "And for what? The administration has nothing to show but a spoken promise."</P>

<P> The move to allow the mutual trade of consumer goods and raw materials with North Korea came less than a week after the government in Pyongyang gave an oral promise to refrain from test-launching any long-range missiles so long as negotiations continue with Washington. For months, Pyongyang had appeared ready to launch the Taepodong II missile, capable of hitting Hawaii and Alaska.</P>

<P> Sen. Helms and a smattering of other Republicans in Congress think the U.S. would be better served if it maintained a tough policy of containment toward North Korea. Still, the administration's new approach toward North Korea appears unlikely to run into serious problems on Capitol Hill. Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R., Miss.) responded to Friday's decision with at least lukewarm approval, while Sen. John Warner (R., Va.) said the strategy should be given some time to play out. A number of key Democrats spoke out in favor of the new policy, including Sen. Joseph Biden (D., Del.), the senior Democrat on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.</P>

<P> Possible Policy Failure</P>

<P> The administration acknowledges that its friendlier approach toward North Korea could easily fail if Pyongyang reverts to a pattern of provocations that have gone on for years. Yet the old policy of matching each threat with a counterthreat had run out of steam, officials said. The two countries were now traveling down "a new and more hopeful road," said Secretary of State Madeleine Albright.</P>

<P> The sanctions that were lifted Friday probably won't amount to much. Officials portray the move as an important political gesture but largely symbolic economically. Stricken by famine and deeply impoverished, North Korea has little money to spare to buy American toasters or new cars. Nor are U.S. businesses likely to seek out opportunities.</P>

<P> "In effect, they get Coca-Cola, we get a temporary ban on their missile program," said U.S. National Security Adviser Samuel Berger on NBC's "Meet the Press."

ess" Sunday.</P>

<P> Yet if future talks bear fruit, and North Korea agrees to sign an arms-control deal, the White House says it is prepared to lift other sanctions and to open diplomatic relations with Pyongyang, even if the current hard-line government remains in power. </P>

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<P>Washington Post

Sept. 20, 1999

Pg. 9</P>

<P>NATO, Rebels Fail To Reach Accord On Kosovo Force</P>

<I><P>Talks on New Civil Defense Corps Called Off</P>

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

<P> PRISTINA, Yugoslavia, Sept. 20 (Monday)Top officials from NATO and the Kosovo Liberation Army were unable to agree today on the terms of a pact that would transform the ethnic Albanian rebel force into a peacetime civil defense organization, and they broke off negotiations.</P>

<P> The divide prompted British Lt. Gen. Mike Jackson, NATO's top military official in Kosovo, to issue a sharp rebuke to the rebel leaders and warn that they were "in danger of unsettling the future of the vast majority of [the KLA's present members] and indeed perhaps Kosovo's future as a whole." He did not elaborate.</P>

<P> The key issue in dispute was how many weapons can be carried by members of the new civil corps for self-defense. NATO officials insisted through a long night of negotiations that the number of armaments that can be carried at any one time be no greater than 200, for an organization with a full-time membership of 3,000.</P>

<P> NATO officials said they were concerned that permitting any more weapons would allow Yugoslav officials to claim that the new organization possessed military capabilities, something NATO has said it wants to prevent. Kosovo remains officially a province of Serbia, Yugoslavia's dominant republic, but all Yugoslav forces withdrew in June as NATO peacekeepers arrived after a 78-day bombing campaign by the western alliance.</P>

<P> According to the terms of an agreement signed three months ago, the KLA was to have ceased to exist at midnight Sunday, and by that time, NATO and the KLA were to have formally certified that the rebel group had turned in all of its weapons. But as the deadline passed, most of the rebel army's senior leadership--wearing uniforms and carrying sidearms--remained in talks with their NATO counterparts at the alliance's headquarters atop a hill overlooking this provincial capital. "You can make the rules and deadlines as needed," one NATO official said, and indeed, the demobilization deadline was extended for 48 hours.</P>
>

<P> After the talks broke off, Jackson noted pointedly that the KLA leaders would retain their posts for only another two days, until 1 a.m. Wednesday Eastern Daylight Time, under an extension approved by NATO and the chief U.N. official in Kosovo, Bernard Kouchner.</P>

<P> NATO already has said it accepts the KLA's assurance that its official arsenal of weaponry has been surrendered, although a spokesman affirmed today that no one knows for sure how many weapons might remain in the hands of Kosovo's ethnic Albanian and Serb citizens. "It's part of the culture in this part of the world" to have a gun, said British Lt. Col. Robin Clifford, a NATO spokesman.</P>

<P> The new peacetime corps being established to replace the KLA is officially charged with civilian and humanitarian tasks, such as firefighting, rescue missions and helping the citizens of Kosovo in the event of natural disasters. But KLA leaders have said openly that they regard the new corps as the centerpiece of a military defense against a future invasion by Yugoslav troops. </P>

<P> On Saturday, KLA political leader Hashim Thaqi told a crowd at a ceremony marking the guerrilla group's transformation that the new corps "won't be called KLA, but will be a defense force of the citizens and territory of Kosovo. I'm convinced the international community will respect the democratic right for self-declaration and referendum," he said, referring to the possibility of a plebiscite that would sever Kosovo from Serbia. "And I am convinced that you will vote for the independence of Kosovo."</P>

<P> An independent Kosovo is strongly opposed by Russia and the Yugoslav government. Neither the United States nor its Western allies has called openly for an independent Kosovo.</P>

<P> Under NATO's plan for the peacetime group, it would have no more than 3,000 active members and 2,000 reservists. But some KLA officials have opposed placing fighters in a new force with purely civilian tasks and have demanded a force with more weapons. Also in dispute is whether the unit would be described in Albanian, the language spoken by most Kosovo residents, as an "army corps"--as the KLA insists--or just a "corps," as NATO prefers. </P>

<P> NATO officials said the talks were not helped by recent demands from Yugoslav leaders, who have been insisting that Yugoslav troops be allowed to return to the province immediately to help protect its dwindling population of ethnic Serbs against harassment by the ethnic Albanian majority.</P>

<P> The agreement NATO reached with Yugoslavia in June calls for the eventual return of hundreds of Serbian troops to guard borders and monuments, but a NATO spokesman said Friday that "the time is not right yet" for this to happen.</P>

<P> To ward off a flare-up of violence, NATO forces in northern Kosovo have been placed on higher alert to guard against a military provocation by Serbs in the wake of the KLA's demilitarization, NATO officials said. NATO searches of homes and businesses in Serbian areas also have been stepped up in an effort to confiscate illegal weapons before they can be used. Submachine guns, automatic rifles, bayonets, grenades, mines and night vision devices have been seized in recent days.</P>

<P> "There are some people who are determined to destabilize Kosovo," Cliff Ford said. NATO's Kosovo force is prepared to deal with this, he said, but he warned KLA officials that any deliberate acts of noncompliance with the demobilization agreement will be "dealt with swiftly and robustly."</P>

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<P>London Sunday Times

Sept. 19, 1999</P>

<P>Serbs Mass Near Border With Kosovo</P>

<P>By Tom Walker and Alex Todorovic</P>

<P> The Yugoslav army has taken up forward positions in southern Serbia amid increasing concern in western intelligence circles that it may attempt to reoccupy part of Kosovo.</P>

<P> Nato sources confirmed this weekend that satellite imagery was being studied to establish the scale of a build-up of troops between the towns of Nis and Prokuplje, less than 40 miles from the Kosovo border.</P>

<P> Under the agreement that ended Nato's campaign of airstrikes last June, the Serbs will be permitted to return about 800 soldiers and police to the province for border patrols and the protection of religious and cultural monuments.</P>

<P> General Sir Mike Jackson, commander of the Nato-led peacekeeping force Kfor, has indicated that this will happen only at his discretion.</P>

<P> However, President Slobodan Milosevic may not wait for Kfor's invitation. A series of bellicose speeches by Serbian generals has intensified speculation.

ion in Belgrade that with opposition protests due to resume this week and likely to grow over the coming months, it may suit Milosevic to whip up nationalist sentiment by provoking a clash with Nato.</P>

<P> Military commanders in Belgrade have repeatedly denounced Kfor's apparent inability to protect Serbian civilians in the province from revenge attacks by ethnic Albanians.</P>

<P> With the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) blamed for the deaths of more than 300 Serbs since Kfor moved in, there is a growing sense within the regime that public opinion would support an initiative. Military leaders have been incensed by reports that the KLA will miss tomorrow's deadline for surrendering its weapons.</P>

<P> General Nebojsa Pavkovic, head of the Yugoslav army, said last week that Kfor had failed to fulfil its obligations. "If international forces aren't capable of carrying out their assignment, they should ask the Yugoslav army to help protect non-Albanian residents," he said.</P>

<P> The West is being accused by other senior figures in Yugoslavia of allowing the annihilation of the Serbian way of life in parts of Kosovo. Aleksander Djilas, a Serbian historian, said: "This helps the regime because it compromises the reputation of the West and weakens the influence of Milosevic's pro-western opponents."</P>

<P> Although most analysts believe that the Yugoslav army would make little impact if confronted by Kfor, they say instability resulting from renewed tension with the West could work to Milosevic's political advantage. "There is a serious school of thought that there are too many things happening around Milosevic for comfort," said one diplomat monitoring events in the Balkans. "He could do with a skirmish."</P>

<P> Kfor said little about Yugoslav army manoeuvres just across the Kosovo border. At Nato headquarters, however, a spokesman admitted that troops had been seen "in some forward positions that lead to concern."</P>

<P> A shortage of petrol in Serbia has suggested that supplies are being diverted to the military, and well-armed paramilitaries are known to be operating in Kosovo. According to one source, Belgrade's priority is a "destabilisation programme" focused on northern Kosovo, where the remaining Serbs, recently estimated by the United Nations at 100,000 rather than 20,000 as previously thought, are concentrated.</P>

<P> When a Russian minister visited Belgrade last week, he was reported to have asked Milosevic about recent troop movements around Nis, an important centre for the army. Kfor's state of alert remains unchanged, but it has mounted c

ombined air and land exercises near the border to demonstrate its readiness to respond to any threat. </P>

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<P>Philadelphia Inquirer

Sept. 18, 1999</P>

<P>Belgrade May Have Sold Downed Stealth Fighter </P>

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

<P> WASHINGTON - Yugoslavia may have sold the wreckage of the U.S. Air Force F-117A stealth fighter that it shot down near Belgrade early in the Kosovo war, the Air Force chief of staff said yesterday. Speculation centers on Russia or China as the likely buyer. </P>

<P> The downing of the F-117A on March 27 was the first loss of a stealth aircraft in combat and confirmed that although stealthiness is an asset, it does not make an airplane invisible to enemy radar. </P>

<P> The Air Force has long worried about the spread of stealth technologies to potential enemies, but a senior aide to Gen. Michael Ryan, the Air Force chief of staff, said there had been "no wringing of hands" over the F-117A wreckage because it represented an older generation of stealth technology that curren

t radar-evading technology surpassed years ago. </P>

<P> "This is really a kind of antique stealth technology," said Loren Thompson, a defense analyst at the Lexington Institute think tank. The F-117A was developed in great secrecy in the 1970s. It entered the fleet in 1983 but was not revealed officially until 1988. It saw its first combat in the 1989 invasion of Panama and was a star of the 1991 Persian Gulf war. </P>

<P> The B-2 bomber, which saw its first combat in the war against Yugoslavia, uses stealth technologies that are more advanced than the F-117A's. An even newer version of stealth is used in the F-22 fighter now in development. No other country has stealth aircraft in active use, although Russia and others have researched it. </P>

<P> At the least, acquiring substantial pieces of the wrecked F-117A might help a country develop a more effective means of detecting and tracking the plane on radar, said retired Marine Corps Lt. Gen. Bernard Trainor. </P>

<P> But in terms of reproducing the aircraft, "it's of absolutely no value," Trainor said in an interview. </P>

<P> Ryan said he was not certain what became of the F-117A wreckage, but he said that "anecdotal hearsay said they probably sent it to somebody who would pay for it because [the Serbs] are cash-strapped." He said he did not know who might have bought it. </P>

<P> Trainor said that likely purchasers ranged from Iran or Iraq to Libya, North Korea, Russia or China. </P>

<P> The Pentagon came under criticism from some for deciding not to bomb the F-117A wreckage to destroy it immediately after the plane went down about 25 miles from Belgrade. It was shown on Serb TV even before a team of Air Force helicopters swooped in and rescued the pilot, who has never been publicly identified. </P>

<P> "It would have been inhumane, I think, to go in and bomb the airplane at that point," Ryan said. "There were a lot of civilians around it." </P>

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New York Times

Sept. 20, 1999

U.N. Official In Iraq Calls For Lifting Of Sanctions

By Douglas Jehl

BAGHDAD, Iraq -- Weighing in ahead of renewed discussions among Western powers on Iraq, the senior U.N. official here called Sunday for an immediate and unconditional lifting of many sanctions that would open the way to bigger flows of food, medicine and most other imports.

The official, Hans von Sponek, said a still-unresolved dispute over plans to revive international weapons inspections in Iraq now posed increasing risks to the social fabric in a country that has already borne more than nine years of U.N. sanctions.

"Don't play the battle on the backs of the civilian population by letting them wait until the more complex issues are resolved," Sponek, a German who is the U.N. humanitarian coordinator for Iraq, said in an interview here.

Sponek and his predecessor, Denis Holliday, have long tried to turn international attention toward the suffering of ordinary Iraqis, even as the United States and Britain have focused on the intransigence of the Iraqi government, and have blamed that government for the travails of its citizens.

But on Sunday, on the eve of expected talks about Iraq at the United Nations, Sponek spoke in unusually impassioned terms about what he called the dangers of "using the human shield" in hopes of coaxing Iraqi concessions on arms

issues. </P>

<P> "Please remove the humanitarian discussions from the rest in order to really end a silent human tragedy," Sponek said. </P>

<P> The remarks seemed intended at least in part as a reply to a State Department report issued last week that held the Iraqi leader, Saddam Hussein, wholly accountable for the suffering of the Iraqi people. </P>

<P> The talks at the United Nations, among the five permanent members of the Security Council, are intended to seek agreement on a plan that would ease sanctions on Iraq in exchange for Baghdad's submission to a new system of weapons inspections to replace the one that collapsed late last year. </P>

<P> The collapse was caused by bitter disputes between Iraq and the United Nations over access to suspected weapons sites, and it was followed last December by four days of heavy punitive airstrikes by the United States and Britain. Airstrikes have continued sporadically in the nearly 10 months since. </P>

<P> In that time, members of the Security Council have been unable to agree even among themselves over how any new system should function and on what terms it should be introduced. And throughout, the Baghdad government has turned a deaf ear to all proposals, insisting instead that the time had come to lift all the U.N. sanctions, which have been in force since the Persian Gulf war of 1991. </P>

<P> The stalemate has left a U.N. special monitoring commission, known by the acronym UNSCOM, unable to carry out its work. Reviled by the Iraqi government for its intrusive methods, the commission is now paying the price: In Baghdad, its headquarters at a U.N. compound remain padlocked and shuttered. </P>

<P> France, Russia and China, among the five permanent Security Council members, have been sympathetic to Iraq's contention that its government has essentially carried out its obligations to the weapons inspectors. Those governments now appear to support a plan that would allow an immediate end to the sanctions in return for Iraq's agreement to a new and less intrusive system of weapons inspection. </P>

<P> But the United States and Britain, which believe that Iraq may still be concealing an illicit weapons program, have argued for tougher terms. Together with the Netherlands, Britain has called for a plan that would allow only a moderate easing of the sanctions -- and only after a test period of several months that would be intended to gauge Iraq's cooperation with a new inspection regime. </P>

<P> The United States is seen as likely to support such an approach, but so far it is still opposed by the other three Security Council members. Senior officials from the five countries, who met in London last week, have reported progress toward a deal, but they have also cautioned that an agreement might not be possible. </P>

<P> Sponek, the U.N. representative here, has responsibility only for humanitarian issues, and not the arms inspections. But even among those who disagree about weapons inspection, he noted, there is a consensus that ordinary Iraqis have suffered under the embargo; all, he argued, should move now to halt what he called their "continuing deprivation." </P>

<P> In the last two years, the health of many Iraqis has improved under a U.N. plan that allows the government to sell more than \$11 billion worth of oil each year and sets aside some of the revenues for food and other goods, but only under contracts approved by the United Nations. </P>

<P> But Sponek and others here point to other, less-tangible indications as signs that Iraq remains in difficult straits. Pointing to increases in crime, including prostitution, and the deteriorating quality of education, the U.N. official said that he believed that Iraq should be given broad latitude to import any goods that did not also have military use. </P>


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<P>London Daily Telegraph

Sept. 20, 1999</P>

<P>Cook Plea On Iraq Embargo</P>

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

<P> Robin Cook, the Foreign Secretary, is to press the UN Security Council this week to end sanctions against Iraq as a way of getting arms inspectors back into the country.</P>

<P> Under the British plan, to be discussed by foreign ministers from the five Permanent Members of the UN Security Council in New York this week, in return for allowing inspectors to resume their work, the UN will suspend the sanctions that have crippled Iraq's economy since the 1990 invasion of Kuwait.</P>

<P> Diplomats hope that the plan will be approved by the UN before the end of this month, bringing an end to nine months in which all attempts to remove the remnants of Saddam's arsenal of weapons of mass destruction have been blocked.</P>

<P> Britain has won the support of America for its plan, despite Washington's reservations over the fact that it would lift sanctions before the work of disarmament was fully completed. Under the original UN resolutions, passed after invasion of and eviction from Kuwait, trade sanctions should only be suspended once the UN's teams have certified that Iraq no longer possesses any form of weapon of mass destruction, or the long-range missiles needed to deliver the warheads.</P>

<P> Since the UN's inspectors were withdrawn in December last year, just hours before American and British planes and missiles bombed Iraq for four days, Saddam has been free to rebuild his weapons programs far from the eyes of the international community.</P>

<P> The latest British proposal, if it succeeds, could break this logjam. It would permit the return of a "United Nations Commission for Inspection and Monitoring" (UNCIM), with broad powers to enter and inspect any building its suspects of harbouring weapons secrets, on demand and without prior notification.</P>

<P> UNCIM would replace the original mission UNSCOM, which became an object of hatred to the Iraqis and with which it vowed never again to co-operate. Accusations that UNSCOM was riddled with US spies, made by a US member of the team, heightened the confrontation.</P>

<P> Hawks in America have bitterly opposed the British plan because it offe

rs to the Iraqis the carrot of sanctions relaxation before the work of the inspectors is complete. Instead, Iraq has to agree to UNCIM's terms, allow its inspectors to enter the country, and grant them the access they require. At the end of a "confidence-building period", most sanctions would be lifted, though checks would remain in place to attempt to ensure that Iraq does not import weapons or dual-use items, which would remain blocked.</P>

<P> The length of this confidence building period is still being disputed, with the Americans demanding that it be as long as possible, and others like the Russians, wanting sanctions relaxation to take place almost immediately.</P>

<P> The plan aims to allay US fears by allowing sanctions to be automatically reimposed immediately if UNCIM certifies that it is being hampered in its work. Also, the sanctions suspension is to be only temporary. It will have to be renewed every 100 days, so any of the five Permanent Members, America included, could effectively reimpose sanctions simply by using their veto power to block adoption of the renewal.</P>

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<P>San Diego Union-Tribune

Sept. 18, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Little-Noted War Is Played Out In Skies Over Iraq</P>

<P>By James W. Crawley, Staff Writer</P>

<P> While the world and the media have focused on crises in Kosovo and East Timor, the United States has been waging a little-noticed air war over Iraq - bombing nearly 400 military targets during the past nine months.</P>

<P> Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps jets have flown about 24,000 sorties - two-thirds as many as over Yugoslavia during the 78 days of Operation Allied Force -- and dropped more than 1,300 high-tech smart bombs and missiles, all since last December.</P>

<P> During the past week, American fighter-bombers, including some based at Miramar Marine Corps Air Station, have struck five targets in northern and southern Iraq in response to anti-aircraft artillery fire and violations of two no-fly zones.</P>

<P> Pentagon officials say all the Iraq bombings are in self-defense and occur only after Iraq provokes U.S. and British forces by violating the no-fly zones, firing anti-aircraft artillery or surface-to-air missiles, or illuminating coalition aircraft with radars.</P>

<P> "If (Saddam Hussein) stops shooting, we'll stop dropping weapons," said Air Force Brig. Gen. David Deptula, who commands Operation Northern Watch, based in Incirlik, Turkey.</P>

<P> On average, every 2 1/2 days, American and British jets drop laser- and TV-guided bombs and missiles on Iraqi targets. Surface-to-air missile launchers, anti-aircraft guns, radars and command centers have been struck.</P>

<P> On Tuesday, a Navy fighter, flying off the San Diego-based carrier Constellation, fired a missile at an Iraqi MiG fighter that was approaching several Navy, Marine Corps and Air Force jets that were bombing two radar sites in southern Iraq. Several Marine F/A-18 Hornets from Miramar-based squadron VMFA-323 were involved in the strikes.</P>

<P> The Iraqi jet turned and eluded the long-range Phoenix missile. It was the first aerial combat over Iraq since Jan. 5, soon after the Iraqis started shooting at coalition aircraft.</P>

<P> All American jets returned safely either to the Constellation or an air base in Saudi Arabia. The Constellation and its battle group are halfway through a six-month deployment to the Persian Gulf.</P>

<P> The airstrikes started Dec. 28, 1998, days after the end of the four-day Desert Fox bombing campaign that attacked Iraq's weapons programs. Iraqi President Saddam Hussein had announced that U.S. and British jets would be challenged while flying over Iraq and followed up the threat by firing surface-to-air missiles at aircraft patrolling northern and southern no-fly zones, created after the 1991 Persian Gulf War.</P>

<P> Since then, on nearly a daily basis, anti-aircraft fire has greeted patrolling U.S. and British jets.</P>

<P> In retaliation, 380 targets have been bombed, military sources said.</P>
>

<P> Those targets have been pounded by more than 1,300 bombs and missiles - all high-tech weapons that use lasers, TV or radar for guidance. Some targets have been struck by brand-new TV-guided 2,000-pound missiles, which were combat tested in Iraq. Later, the new AGM-130 missiles were used against Serb targets during Operation Allied Force.</P>

<P> Bombers and support aircraft, such as aerial tankers and radar-jamming planes, have flown more than 24,000 sorties over Iraq since December.</P>

<P> Although precise statistics have not been released by Pentagon officials, more than 100 large-caliber anti-aircraft guns and 20-plus surface-to-air missiles have been destroyed in northern Iraq, Deptula said during a telephone interview.</P>

<P> In southern Iraq, bombs have destroyed radar, missile and anti-aircraft facilities.</P>

<P> "We've seriously degraded his integrated air defense system," said Air Force Maj. Joe LaMarca, a military spokesman.</P>

<P> At the same time, military officers familiar with the situation say, U.S. and British pilots have orders to patrol at high altitudes and take other measures to minimize the risk of being shot down.</P>

<P> "My biggest concern is complacency, that we don't drop our guard," said Deptula, who has flown 80 missions over northern Iraq.</P>

<P> In recent months, Iraqi tactics have included attempts to bait coalition jets into flying into barrages of surface-to-air missiles -- so-called SAM buses -- and placing missile and gun sites in civilian areas.</P>

<P> And a \$14,000 bounty has been offered to any Iraqi who shoots down an American jet, according to the Iraqi News Agency.</P>

<P> The raids have killed 187 civilians and wounded nearly 500, according to an Iraqi news report yesterday, but no mention was made of military casualties. There was no way to independently confirm the Iraqi casualty report, the first given since the bombing started.</P>

<P> American pilots have instructions to avoid populated areas.</P>

<P> "He doesn't play by the rules," said Deptula, saying Saddam has no respect for international law or the well-being of the Iraqi people.</P>

<P> To compensate for the new Iraqi tactics, pilots are now given "response options," preplanned strike missions that target radar sites, communications facilities and command centers, all away from populated areas. And instead of attacking a target immediately, raids may occur days later and miles away from the provocation.</P>

<P> San Diego sailors and Marines joined the fight last month when the Constellation and its air wing arrived in the Persian Gulf. Besides the Marine jets, S-3 Vikings from North Island Naval Air Station provide aerial refueling to the strike aircraft.</P>

<P> After the carrier's first raid last week, the admiral commanding the Constellation battle group said the bombs dropped by Navy and Marine pilots were on target.</P>

<P> "Everything works the way it was supposed to," said Rear Adm. Timothy LaFleur, noting that months of training have made the strike missions come off flawlessly.</P>

<P> While agreeing that American and British pilots have caused significant damage to the Iraqi air defenses, some military analysts question the strategy and overall impact of the attacks.</P>

<P> The bombing has had little effect on Saddam, who maintains a tight grip on the nation and has survived nine years of economic sanctions.</P>

<P> After Desert Fox and Iraq's refusal to allow further U.N. arms monitoring, the United States has few options to contain Iraq, analysts said.</P>

<P> "It's a war that's easier to continue than to stop," said George Friedman, chairman of Stratfor Inc., a private intelligence firm. Washington has no strategy for ending nine-year military and economic blockade against Iraq and is unwilling to change its policy toward Saddam, he said.</P>

<P> If the bombing stops, U.S. and British leaders would have to contend with Saddam claiming victory, said Dan Smith, an analyst at the Center for Defense Information.</P>

<P> And, Smith said, the bombing campaign can't be intensified without attracting more public and international attention and risking a backlash from Arab nations.</P>

<P> "It's a strategy of frustration," commented Bernard Trainor, a retired Marine general.</P>

<P> The bombing raids have failed to garner much notice, either here or abroad, because Iraq has been overshadowed by the crises in Kosovo and East Timor.</P>

<P> That could change if a large number of civilians are killed or a U.S. jet crashes in Iraq, Trainor said.</P>

<P> The Pentagon's press machine, which ran in overdrive for Desert Fox and Kosovo, has been in low gear during the ongoing air campaign.</P>

<P> Since December, no bombing videos or satellite photos of the Iraqi targets have been shown. During the Kosovo crisis, videos and pictures were displayed at daily Pentagon briefings.</P>

<P> Some analysts say the ban on videos and photos is from concern that Saudi Arabia and Turkey might stop giving the United States permission to fly from their bases if the pictures are shown.</P>

<P> Pentagon spokesman Ken Bacon said during a recent conference with reporters that the video ban prevents Iraqi forces from gleaning American tactics by watching the televised Pentagon news conferences.</P>

<P> When asked if Saudi or Turkish concerns were a reason for the no-pictures policy, Bacon responded by folding his arms across his chest and remaining silent.</P>

<P> Two weeks later, Bacon's boss, Defense Secretary William Cohen, had a verbal answer to the same question: "No." </P>

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<P>New York Times

Sept. 20, 1999</P>

<P>Russia Says It Will Not Go To War Against Islamic Militants</P>

<P>By Michael Wines</P>

<P> MOSCOW -- Russia has no plans to wage another war in its secession-minded Chechnya region to suppress Islamic militants who are mounting attacks from bases there, Prime Minister Vladimir Putin said Sunday night. </P>

<P> But at the same time, Putin said the government has no intention of ceding anything to the Chechen militants, who have twice invaded the neighboring Russian republic of Dagestan and are widely blamed for terrorist bombings that have killed hundreds in Moscow and the southern region of Rostov. </P>

<P> "Could it be better to pay them off, quit and leave?" Putin asked during an interview on the state RTR television network. "I am absolutely convinced that if we allow this, the tragic events which we have suffered in Moscow and i

n the Rostov region, the fighting and losses which we incurred in Dagestan, would seem like a mere beginning." </P>

<P> Putin called for Russians to show resolve in the face of terrorist attacks, saying Russians "have no right to fail in uniting around the main objective of protecting our citizens against terrorism and preserving our country's integrity." </P>

<P> "We will do it if we stick together," he said. </P>

<P> Putin's appearance capped a weekend-long news media campaign by the government against the rebels, including the broadcast of a film said to depict atrocities by Chechen guerrillas and charges that the rebels were being financed by Islamic militants in Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. </P>

<P> After an initially tepid response to an invasion of Dagestan by thousands of rebels last month, the Russian military has lashed back, driving the rebels into Chechnya and massing thousands of troops along the Dagestan side of the border to try to prevent future incursions. </P>

<P> The Interfax news service said Russian aircraft had carried out 50 take offs and landings against rebel positions inside Chechnya on Saturday and more Sunday, killing about 20 people. The Chechen deputy prime minister charged in turn that Russian air strikes have killed 200 civilians, but no rebels. </P>

<P> In his television address, Putin tried to scotch suspicions circulating through Moscow's ever active rumor mill that he and President Boris N. Yeltsin would try to postpone December parliamentary elections by declaring a state of emergency in connection with the Dagestan conflict and the bombings. The prime minister specifically denied any such move was planned, and said the elections would go ahead on schedule. </P>

<P> Separately, a leader of the rebel forces asserted Sunday in written replies to questions from The New York Times that he views Dagestan as merely the start of an effort to establish a broader Islamic state in southwestern Russia. </P>

<P> The rebel leader, Shamil Basayev, commands the Chechen forces that invaded Dagestan and had declared plans earlier to establish a fundamentalist Islamic state there. Asked whether he would take his war beyond Dagestan, Basayev replied, "Caucasus is huge. Our goal is free Caucasus." </P>

<P> Basayev also repeated an earlier denial of any rebel involvement in terrorist bombings. And he denied specifically that an underling whom Russians view as a potential organizer of the bombings -- a Saudi-born rebel known as Khatt

ab -- had engaged in terrorist acts in Russia or Dagestan. </P>

<P> Khattab, now a key figure in Basayev's forces, fought against Soviet troops in Afghanistan in the 1980s. He has been linked in intelligence reports to Osama bin Laden, another Saudi militant who is accused of financing the bombing of American embassies last year in Kenya and Tanzania. </P>

<P> Sunday, replying in writing through a translator and intermediary, Basayev called Khattab his brother, and said that he holds the title of "commander of the Islamic Peacekeeping Army." He said the two had been acquainted since 1995. </P>

<P> Basayev said that he had never met bin Laden. His reply originally stated that Khattab had known Bin Laden during the time he fought in Afghanistan. </P>

<P> But in a subsequent message, the intermediary said that that was a transcription error, apparently occasioned by the fact that Basayev's answer was written on a piece of paper that already contained bin Laden's name. </P>

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<P>Washington Times

Sept. 19, 1999

U.S. Downplays Incident With Jets, Russian Bombers

By Joyce Howard Price, The Washington Times

The United States views as "militarily insignificant" an incident Thursday in which U.S. jets intercepted two Russian bombers off the coast of Alaska, a National Security Council official said yesterday.

"Russia stayed well within international air space, and there was no danger of confrontation," said NSC spokesman Mike Hammer. He said it was "standard practice to scramble U.S. aircraft" when unidentified planes get close enough to the United States to enter what's known as the air defense identification zone.

He pointed out that Defense Secretary William S. Cohen "was just in Russia" for what was a "very productive" engagement. "Military to military, the relationship between Russia and the United States is back on track," Mr. Hammer said.

This is the first time in six years that Russian bombers have approached the Alaskan coast. Mr. Hammer said "it was training-related."

However, the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) Regional Air Operations Center at Elmendorf Air Force Base in Anchorage did not know what it was dealing with when radar "picked up two unidentified aircraft in international air space approaching the Alaskan coast" Thursday at 4:10 p.m. Alaskan time, or 8:10 p.m. Eastern time, said Maj. Les Kodlick, NORAD spokesman.

The planes were "heading east about 200 miles from the Alaskan coast, 625 miles away from Anchorage," when they were detected, Maj. Kodlick said in a telephone interview.

He said NORAD wanted to find out whose planes they were, and it unsuccessfully tried to "raise the aircraft on the Guard frequency" used by the military. It also was working with the Federal Aviation Administration to try to get answers, Maj. Kodlick said.

"To make sure this was not a potential threat to North America, we scrambled two F-15" fighter jets, "which are used in aerial combat," toward the mystery aircraft, he said.

<P> The F-15s were supported by what he called a "tanker," a Boeing 747 with aerial refueling capability, which was dispatched by the Air National Guard at Fairbanks. </P>

<P> In the meantime, Maj. Kodlick said, "we positively identified the aircraft as Russian Bear TU-95 bombers." </P>

<P> The F-15s approached the Russian planes, and when they got within 90 miles of them, "the bombers turned around and headed south," said Maj. Kodlick. The Russians "did not establish communication." </P>

<P> Maj. Kodlick said the U.S. planes continued the interception flight although the Russian aircraft "stayed in international airspace the whole time." </P>

<P> "For us, this was a routine response. They were approaching our coastline . . . and we followed normal procedures to make sure there was not a potential threat," he said. </P>

<P> Asked if the response was warranted, when the Russian bombers were 200 miles from Alaska, Maj. Kodlick said, "When planes are traveling at 300 knots 345 mph, it doesn't take long" for them to travel that distance. </P>

<P> Mr. Hammer said it has not been determined whether U.S. military officials will discuss the incident with Russia to see if some communication could be established in similar situations in the future. </P>

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<P>Washington Post

Sept. 19, 1999

Pg. 28</P>

<P>Moscow Assails Interception Of Bombers</P>

<P> MOSCOW--Russia's armed forces expressed "surprise and regret" that U.S. jets had intercepted two Russian bombers off Alaska, and said the American planes should not have done so in international air space.</P>

<P> U.S. officials said Friday the jets turned back the bombers after the Russian aircraft approached the Alaska coastline this week for the first time in six years.</P>

<P> Russia said the planes were on their way to Ukrainka and Anadyr in the Russian Far East. Anadyr is on the far northeastern tip of Russia, opposite Alaska. The Russian spokesman did not give the location of the bombers at the time of the incident.</P>

<P> U.S. officials conceded that the Russian bombers, known to NATO as the Bear-H, had stayed in international air space but said they had entered an "outer defense identification zone," about 200 miles off the Alaskan coast.</P>


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<P>Washington Post

Sept. 20, 1999

Pg. 11</P>

<P>Colombian Rebels Warn Against U.S. Aid</P>

<P> BOGOTA, Colombia--Colombia's peace process could collapse and open the way to civil war if the government draws on more military aid from the United States, Marxist rebel leaders said.</P>

<P> The rebel communique came as President Andres Pastrana traveled to New York to address the United Nations and lobby U.S. officials for more anti-drug and military assistance.</P>

<P> The statement by the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia appeared to rebuff Pastrana's weekend bid to kick-start peace negotiations, stalled since mid-July. Before leaving for New York, Pastrana dropped his demand for the creation of an international team of monitors to oversee talks--a condition the rebels had fiercely opposed.</P>

http://ebird.dtic.mil/Sep1999/e19990920helms.htm
RETURN TO TOP

</HEAD>

<P>Washington Post

Sept. 20, 1999

Pg. 14</P>

<P>Sen. Helms's Choke Hold</P>

<P> The Sept. 7 editorial "Why a Test Ban Treaty?" correctly points out that the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty "is hung up in the Senate by Republicans desiring to use it as a hostage for a national missile defense of their particular design." Sen. Jesse Helms and others are spreading the false idea that Americans must choose between a test ban treaty and a missile defense. In doing so, they promote a fundamental crisis of governing in U.S. foreign policy: the paralysis of the treaty-making power shared by the executive and legislative branches.</P>

<P> The chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is the major culprit behind the choke hold that prevents all 100 senators from exercising their constitutional obligation to give advice and consent in making treaties. Since January, he has refused even to hold hearings on any other pacts until the State Department submits a revised Limitations on the Anti-Ballistic Missiles (ABM) treaty -- any version of which he opposes -- so that he can work to kill it.</P>

<P> The ABM treaty stands in the way of the notion that the United States should make yet one more attempt to deploy a budget-busting "Star Wars" national missile defense system. Mr. Helms and "backdoor isolationist" Republicans are holding hostage a comprehensive nuclear test ban to their own competing defense agenda. </P>

<P> Alas, Majority Leader Trent Lott has made it clear that he will not buck Chairman Helms and either force the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty on the Foreign Relations Committee's calendar or relieve the committee of responsibility, as he did in the case of the chemical weapons ban in 1997. The Foreign Relations chairman is making the preposterous claim that the test ban would interfere with "the right of the United States to deploy its nuclear defense capability when necessary to protect the American people" [Raleigh News & Observer, Aug. 26]. This is a red herring.</P>

<P> The only realistic solution to breaking the paralytic grip of Senate isolationists on American foreign policy is to strip the ailing Mr. Helms of his chairmanship and install second-ranking and former chairman Sen. Richard Lugar

of Indiana. He understands and practices a bipartisan approach in an interdependent world.</P>

<P>William E. Jackson Jr., Davidson, N.C.

<I>The writer served as executive director of the U.S. General Advisory Committee on Arms Control under President Carter.</P>

</I><P>Editor's Note: The editorial referred to appeared in the <I>Current News Early Bird</I>, September 7, 1999.</P>

http://ebird.dtic.mil/Sep1999/e19990920f22.htm
RETURN TO TOP

</HEAD>

<P>New York Times

Sept. 18, 1999</P>

<P>An F-22's Worth Of Education</P>

<P> To the Editor: Jack Shanahan's suggestion (Op-Ed, Sept. 17) that financing for unnecessary Pentagon programs be transferred to support education is a good one, but he left out the most direct way for the military to address both its recruitment problems and our country's need for a better-educated work force. </P>

<P> The Defense Department could use its education and training capacity to upgrade the skill of unqualified recruits. Why not provide the military with the funds and the mandate to recruit and train undereducated young people?</P>

<P>John Comings, Cambridge, Mass., Sept. 17, 1999

<I>The writer is director, National Center for the Study of Adult Learning and Literacy, Harvard University.</P>

</I><P> To the Editor: Jack Shanahan argues (Op-Ed, Sept. 17) that the money for the F-22 fighter would be better spent investing in the country's schools, thereby producing a stronger recruit pool. The logic is good, but the math is off. </P>

<P> Mr. Shanahan claims that canceling the F-22 and a new submarine and reducing the nuclear arsenal to 1,000 warheads would save \$23 billion a year, but the savings would total less than \$10 billion a year. Moreover, that would be needed to finance more mundane defense equipment, since today's military hardware is wearing out fast after a decade of low Pentagon procurement budgets. </P>

<P> Today's defense budget need not go up -- and Mr. Shanahan is right to criticize Pentagon officials for weapons modernization plans that would require it to do so. </P>

<P> But the budget is already \$100 billion a year less in inflation-adjusted terms than in the 1980's and probably should not go down any more, either.</P>
>

<P>Michael O'Hanlon, Bethesda, Md., Sept. 17, 1999

<I>The writer is a fellow in foreign policy studies, Brookings Institution.</P>

</I><P>Editor's Note: The op-ed referred to appeared in the <I>Current News Early Bird</I>, Sept. 17, 1999.</P>

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Wall Street Journal

September 20, 1999

The U.N.'s Dirty Word

If it is indeed true that nothing helps concentrate the mind like being shot at without success, then the debate that opens today in the U.N. General Assembly ought to be more on point than usual. For at about the same moment its distinguished representatives gather to discuss the state of the world, the first installment of what is to be a 7,500-strong, Australian-led U.N. peacekeeping team will reach East Timor.

Clearly the Timorese are in desperate straits. After the results of a referendum in which they rejected an offer of autonomy from Jakarta, the 800,000 inhabitants of this former Portuguese colony have seen their capital looted and their homes destroyed by militias armed and allied with the Indonesian military.

What makes it worse is that it was all so predictable, given the two decades the Indonesian armed forces spent trying to subdue the territory. And it points to a fatal flaw in most such U.N. missions: they get their priorities backward. Holding a vote is easy. Making it stick is the hard part.

Thus 7,500 U.N. peacekeepers are to be sent into a province where as many as 300,000 Timorese have already been made homeless, where there is a well-armed pro-Indonesian faction and where, truth to tell, some Timorese leaders are not exactly the sainted democrats they would have the world believe. We wish the men in the blue helmets luck. But we can't help thinking it might never have come to this had some brutal interests been taken into account earlier.

Now, the U.N. fancies itself as untainted by grubby interests. And theirs is an attitude unfortunately shared by a Clinton White House. For it is precisely the U.N.'s antipathy to interests that explains why U.N. military forays are

so associated with failure. This is not to say that there is no role for multi lateral intervention. It is to emphasize, however, that such efforts require there be a clear definition of victory and they be fought by someone who has a stake in realizing it.</P>

<P> This, of course, was the model in the 1992 Gulf War, waged by the U.S. with U.N. approval and cooperation. Though it stopped short of what we would like to have seen, the removal of Saddam Hussein, it did accomplish what it set out to do: take a bite out of Saddam's war machine and boot him out of Kuwait. And the people of Kuwait can thank America's vital interests in Middle Eastern stability and access to oil for that.</P>

<P> By contrast, missions where U.N. troops doing the fighting had no stake in victory have not done well. In the former Yugoslavia, Bosnian-Serbs quickly seized up the situation and used captured U.N. peacekeepers as hostages to prevent NATO strikes. In Cambodia, meanwhile, the U.N. held elections without first disarming the Khmer Rouge. When a French general, Michel Lorrion, proposed doing just that, he was given the sack. Come to think of it, it was not the U.N.--which recognized the Khmer Rouge--but a Stalinist government in Hanoi that put an end to the killing fields. It did so because it had a strong interest in thwarting an aggressive Cambodia busy murdering ethnic Vietnamese.</P>

<P> The good news is that the Australians do have an interest in preventing more bloodshed in Timor and sending hundreds of thousands more Timorese to their own shores. At the least, this means that they will take their task seriously. But after a pogrom that saw Indonesia's military incite violence against Indonesia's ethnic Chinese population during riots last year and the obvious fragility of the Habibie government now sitting in Jakarta, the Australian initiative deserves a like acknowledgement from the U.N. that the mission's ultimate success cannot be had without achieving some stability in Jakarta. It would help if the U.N. would recognize that no one has a more vital interest in this than the Timorese themselves. </P>

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<P>Christian Science Monitor

September 20, 1999

Pg. 8</P>

<P>Doing Deals With N. Korea</P>

<P> It sounds odd in the 20th century, but the Korean conflict has been a 50-year war. Only an oft-broken truce keeps it from flaring up again full-force.</P>

<P> Last week, with the US lifting many economic sanctions against North Korea, the war didn't officially end. But with Americans now allowed to do business with the Communist "hermit" nation, peace may be at hand.</P>

<P> We can only hope. An armed-to-the-teeth North has been fickle about peace overtures for a decade. And this latest step is just a big US carrot for a North Korean promise not to test-launch a long-range missile capable of hitting the US - it can still deploy or export the missile. A previous US carrot was given in 1994 to mothball the North's nuclear-weapons program.</P>

<P> Rather than play tough with wily North Korea, the Clinton administration instead offers incentives, hoping to play to reformers in the cloistered regime and to appease China. Beijing, ever since it recognized South Korea in 1992, has wanted Washington to cozy up to its Communist ally.</P>

<P> President Clinton may also be buying time just to avoid a confrontation with the North on his watch. Dealing with a regime that's let up to 3 million of its people die from famine in recent years is not easy. And why push the North when the South is not as eager as it once was to reunite with its poorer cousins?</P>

<P> Republicans may hype the potential of a North Korean missile threat or claim Clinton is caving in to extortion. Both may have some truth. But the latest deal allows time for the US to develop a missile defense shield for itself and its friends in Asia.</P>

<P> By temporarily muzzling the North's missiles, the US also deters Japan from developing weapons-carrying missiles. Such a step could ignite an arms race with China.</P>

<P> Once again, Uncle Sam must be the benign arbiter of Asia's security.</P>
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<H1>September 20, 1999</H1></center>

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

Title

(Publication)....Author

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Title

(Publication)....Author

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<H3>DOD</H3>

Biological Warfare

(USA Weekend)....Dennis McCafferty

<p>

DOD Is Game For Teaching Crisis Strategy

(Government Computer News)....Patricia Daukantas

<H3>AIR FORCE</H3>

WWII-Era Training Program Being Reactivated
At Offutt

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

<H3>ARMY</H3>

For Many, Its Help From Above

(Fayetteville (NC) Observer-Times)....Tanya S. Biank

<p>

Bridging The Divide

(Armed Forces Journal International)....Jason Sherman

<H3>NAVY</H3>

Shot By A Laser

(Readers Digest)....J. Michael Waller

<p>

Four-Star Admiral Reason Retires From Fleet

(Norfolk Virginian-Pilot)....Jack Dorsey

<p>

Navy Department Cuts 42 Aircraft From Long-Range Budget Plan

(Inside The Navy)....Christopher J. Castelli

<p>

Navy Helicopter Crews Work Long Hours To Hoist People To Safety

(Norfolk Virginian-Pilot)....Dave Mayfield

<p>

Navy Squadrons Are Controlling Air Traffic Of Rescues

(Norfolk Virginian-Pilot)....Jack Dorsey

<p>

Navy, Marines Hold Y2K-Ready Exercise

(San Diego Union-Tribune)....Associated Press

<p>

Navy Buys Computers To Boost Accuracy Of Hurricane Forecasting

(San Diego Union-Tribune)....Martha Mendoza, Associated Press

<H3>NATIONAL GUARD</H3>

S.C. Guard's Top General Takes Floyd By Storm

(Columbia (SC) State)....Henry Eichel

<H3>CONGRESS</H3>

Capitol Hill Is Unimpressed With Patchwork Policy In Asia

(Congressional Quarterly Weekly)....Miles A. Pomper and Mary S. Dalrymple

<p>

Despite Albright's Pressure, Congress Reluctant To Fulfill Clinton's Foreign Aid Pledges

(Congressional Quarterly Weekly)....Miles A. Pomper

<H3>FEDERAL GOVERNMENT</H3>

Second Opinion

(U.S. News & World Report)....Paul Bedard

<p>

Costs To Rise 9% In Federal Health Plan

(Washington Post)....Stephen Barr

<H3>ENERGY DEPARTMENT</H3>

UC Hires Ex-Military Security Expert To Protect Weapons Labs

(San Francisco Chronicle)....Tanya Schevitz

<H3>TERRORISM</H3>

Flight 800 Theorists Stick To Their Guns

(Baltimore Sun)....Tom Bowman

<H3>NATIONAL SECURITY</H3>

The Spook Spat: Paranoid Suspicions?

(National Journal)....Neil Munro

<H3>BUSINESS</H3>

Northrop Gets Contract Of Up To \$2.7 Billion

(Los Angeles Times)....Bloomberg News

<H3>ASIA</H3>

The Hunters And The Hunted

(Newsweek)....Jeffrey Bartholet and Ron Moreau

<p>

Seoul Drawing Closer To Tokyo As Anger Fades

(New York Times)....Howard W. French

<p>

Japan To Give Funds, But No Troops, To E. Timor Peacekeeping Force

(Washington Post)....Kathryn Tolbert

<p>

Critics: N. Korea Is Extorting U.S.

>

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

<p>

Okinawans Are Divided On Clinton's G-8 Visit

(Washington Times)....Takehiko Nomura

<p>

Relocating U.S. Forces Would Be Difficult

(Washington Times)....Takehiko Nomura

<H3>EUROPE</H3>

Russia's War Hits Home

(Newsweek)....Bill Powell

<p>

Russians Try Out Spy Plane

(Defense News)....Simon Saradzhyan

<p>

Britain Powerless Over Jet Delivery

>

(London Times)....Michael Binyon

<p>

In Remote Dagestan, Moscow Wages A High-Stakes War

(New York Times)....Michael Wines

<p>

There Will Be More Bombs, Says Chechen Rebel Chief

(London Sunday Telegraph)....Petra Prochazkova

<p>

Russia Deploys Troops In Battle To Control Oil-Pipeline Cartel

(Wall Street Journal)....Jeanne Whalen

<p>

The Accidental General

(Armed Forces Journal International)....Jason Sherman

<H3>BALKANS</H3>

The Next Balkan War?

(U.S. News & World Report)....Philip Smucker

<p>

FBI's Expertise Gets Emotional Test In Kosovo

(Washington Post)....David A. Vise and Lorraine Adams

<p>

U.S. Confident Of Peaceful KLA Disarmament

(European Stars and Stripes)....Sally Roberts

<p>

Kosovo's Ex-Rebels In No Man's Land

(Los Angeles Times)....Scott Martelle

<p>

For Embattled Serbs, Living With Albanians May Mean Living Apart

(Washington Post)....Daniel Williams

<p>

Popular Kosovar Politician Calls For U.N. Representation

(New York Times)....Barbara Crossette

<p>

Enfeebled Currency Could Bring Down Milo sevic

(Los Angeles Times)....Paul Watson

<H3>AMERICAS</H3>

Chemical Threat From Weapons Haunts Panama

(Dallas Morning News)....Tod Robberson

<p>

Rebel War In Colombia Widening, Pulling In Neighbors

(New York Times)....Larry Rohter

<p>

Plan To Strengthen Colombia Nudges U.S. For \$ 3.5 Billion

(New York Times)....Larry Rohter

<p>

U.S. Effort Has Yet To Rescue Haiti

(Dallas Morning News)....Associated Press

<H3>IRAN</H3>

Officials Unveil Paramilitary-Built Copter

(Chicago Tribune)....Tribune News Services

<H3>OPINION</H3>

Remembering Soldiers In Peacetime

(Chicago Tribune)....Jim Turnbull

<p>

Playing The Guilt-And-Get Game

(Washington Times)....Georgie Anne Geyer

<p>

F-22 Is About Jobs, Not Military Readiness

(Dallas Morning News)....George Palmer

<p>

U.S. Responsibility In Indonesia

(San Diego Union-Tribune)....William D. Hartung

<p>

Straits Jacket

(New Republic)....Robert A. Manning and James Przystup

<p>

Mission Implausible

(Washington Post)....Robert P. DeVecchi and Arthur C. Helton

<p>

Why It's Wrong To Right Off Russia Now

(Washington Post)....David Hoffman

<p>

Putting A Doctrine To The Test

(Washington Post)....Charles Trueheart

<p>

Try Standby Force To Get U.N. Peacekeeping Act
In High Gear

(Minneapolis Star-Tribune)....Andrew J. Glass

<p>

U.S.'s Role In Other Backyards

(Detroit Free Press)....Joe H. Stroud

<p>

The Kosovo Result

(Armed Forces Journal International)....General Merrill A. McPeak, US
AF (ret.)

<p>

Billions For Bombs; Pennies For Peacekeep

ing

(Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists)....William D. Hartung

<p>

Comanche On Budget (Letter)

(Defense News)....Brig. Gen. Joseph Bergantz, USA

<p>

Military Medical Staffs Thanked For Service (Letter)

(Washington Times)....Maj. Gen. Herbert G. Sparrow, USA (Ret.); Maj. Marvin J. Hout, USAF (Ret.)

<H3>EDITORIAL</H3>

Russian Terrors, New And Old

(New York Times)....Editorial

<p>

The Russian 'Menace'

(Washington Post)....Editorial

<p>

A Step Forward With North Korea

(New York Times)....Editorial

<p>

Panama Canal

(Dallas Morning News)....Editorial

<p>

A Morally Unsustainable Iraq Policy

(Chicago Tribune)....Editorial

<p>

East Timor -- The U.N. Peacekeepers' Daunting Task

(Minneapolis Star Tribune)....Editorial

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<P>USA Weekend

Sept. 17-19, 1999

Pg. 22

<U><P>National Debate

</U><P>Biological Warfare

<I><P>Fighting a controversial, newly required anthrax vaccine, hundreds put their military careers on the line.

</I><P>By Dennis McCafferty

<P> One battle the U.S. military continues to fight is right here at home, over the controversial anthrax vaccine. Since the military began its program early last year to thwart the No. 1 biological-warfare threat, more than 200 servicemen and -women have refused orders to take the vaccine, saying not enough is known about it. USA WEEKEND readers overwhelmingly agree, voting that military personnel should have the right to refuse the vaccine.

<P> While the Defense Department considers the vaccine vital in arming troops against the nearly always fatal bacterium, those refusing it largely object to taking a required six shots over 18 months.

<P> Congress may soon intervene. One pending bill calls for a halt to the shots until safety concerns are sorted out. Another wants to make the vaccine voluntary.

<P> At least 10 countries, including Iraq, are known to possess anthrax, which occurs naturally and is harmless in animals. But in concentrated powder form, a five-pound bag could wipe out the entire population of metro Washington, D.C. -- 4.5 million people.

<P> Defense officials deny that the vaccine, approved by the FDA in 1971 to protect sheep farmers, carries chronic side effects besides temporary flu-like chills, fever and fatigue. They say the anti-diphtheria shot commonly given to children has greater reactions.

<P> So far, more than 1 million shots have been given to 326,084 military personnel in hot spots such as northeastern Asia and the Persian Gulf. All 2.4 million members of the armed forces are to be inoculated by 2003.

<P> Those who refuse risk their military careers. Some already have been subject to courts-martial, jail time or demotions. Why the unprecedented insubordination? Though military personnel routinely are inoculated against everything from cholera to the plague, the aftermath of Agent Orange-related ailments and "Gulf War syndrome" has left many service members wary.

<P> Mark Zaid, a lawyer who has defended service members opposed to the vaccine, says the military ignored federal testimony of adverse reactions in up to 44% of people given the vaccine: "Time and time again, we found that the Defense

se Department's public statements contradicted what they knew internally." Ex-Marine corporal Jason Austin, 24, is paying a high price for saying no. Austin, who balked at the number of shots, was among five Marines in Twentynine Palms, Calif., court-martialed for refusing the vaccine.

<P> Military officials "know good and well that a lot of controversy surrounds this shot," says a disillusioned Austin. "But their feeling is, 'Take this shot or else.' "

<P> Austin was found guilty for refusing an order, sentenced to 30 days in a military jail and given a discharge for bad conduct. He has since returned home to Fritch, Texas, and hopes to study criminal justice in college. Amid the heightened publicity, defense officials are considering reducing the amount of shots to five. But making it voluntary is not an option. An exception: pregnant women.

<P> For now, the battle continues.

<P>What You Said

<P>Should military personnel have the right to refuse anthrax vaccinations?
Yes: 83%, No: 17%

<P>(7,799 readers responded by phone or at our Web site, to USA WEEKEND's July 9-11 National Debate.)


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<P>Government Computer News

September 13, 1999

Pg. 1

<P>DOD Is Game For Teaching Crisis Strategy

<P>By Patricia Daukantas, GCN Staff

<P> If a military crisis occurs today, intelligence strategists must sort through reams of e-mail, intercepted phone calls and rapidly changing maps, while an all-news television channel blares in the background.

<P> To streamline the data gathering skills of its intelligence students, the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, part of the National Defense University, is putting some of them through a multimedia test that draws them into a fast-changing mock-up of international turmoil.

<P> In a demonstration for the news media late last month, officials of the Defense Modeling and Simulation Office and Paramount Digital Entertainment showed off the StoryDrive Engine. It uses storytelling techniques such as plot twists and compelling characterizations to enliven standard Defense Department role-playing games.

<P> "In the world of DOD tabletop demonstrations, the standard medium is paper," said scriptwriter Larry Tuch of Paramount Digital Entertainment, a division of Viacom Inc. of New York. "But that doesn't give you the emotional charge."

<P> --Design team

<P> With DMSO funding, Paramount and the University of Southern California's Information Sciences Institute developed the multimedia engine using off-the-shelf tools: Director Multimedia Studio software from Macromedia Inc. of San Francisco, a network of notebook computers and a videodisk player.

<P> The total cost was under \$1 million, DMSO chief scientist Judith S. Dahmann said.

<P> The StoryDrive Engine grew out of a 1997 National Research Council study

of the synergy between entertainment and defense technologies, Dahmann said.

<P> A team from DMSO and Paramount looked at a number of paper-based crisis simulations before settling on Final Flurry, ICAF's seminar-style exercise. Over the years, ICAF political science professor Alan G. Whittaker had written a large body of material for the annual exercise, Dahmann said.

<P> After a dry run in February, the team decided to try the multimedia simulation on four groups of ICAF students.

<P> During Final Flurry, which lasts four or five days, the students work from networked notebook computers over a simulated National Security Council intranet with links to incoming e-mail messages, an extensive reference library of biographies and maps, and a communications channel for reporting results.

<P> "We don't volunteer this information," Tuch said of the deep-background data.

<P> Students must take the initiative to drill down into the library and glean nuggets that could be useful as events in the storyline heat up, he said.

<P> At any time, the teacher can change the situation by sending the students e-mail, voice mail or video mail fake footage from a fictional ZNN news network.

<P> The team filmed actors portraying fictional reporters and world leaders and edited them together with stock footage to create the ZNN video clips, said Nick Iuppa, Paramount Digital Entertainment's vice president and creative director.

<P> The instructor can crank up the tension in the room and test the students' crisis-management skills by throwing in a report of some new international problem - a complaint to the United Nations or a terrorist bombing, for instance.

<P> Tuch and DMSO officials stressed that the Final Flurry scenarios, which involve imaginary American and foreign leaders in such trouble spots as the India-Pakistan border and the Middle East, do not represent DOD predictions of events. Instead, the developers drew on recent international events to create a realistic though fictional environment for the students.

<P> The StoryDrive Engine does not lock instructors into the given storyline.

<P> By deciding what happens next, an instructor can close down one crisis scenario and turn up the pressure in another area of the world.

<P> The students' late-afternoon video briefing often shows Final Flurry's fictitious U.S. president holding a news conference. Students frequently get a pleasant surprise when they see how many of their intelligence recommendations make it into the news conference, Tuch said.

<P> "They never used to get a payoff," he said.

<P> Whittaker and Tuch said ICAF faculty members have reported that the story engine gives the students a greater sense of realism.

<P> ICAF intelligence students are a select group of commissioned officers and civil servants whose average age is 41. Whittaker said the simulation aims to give them a realistic crisis experience, encompassing many forms of electronic communications, from databases to TV news. "The students need to learn how to triage their time" and make good decisions, he said.

<P> The StoryDrive team is considering next dramatizing DOD acquisition problems to instruct managers involved in procurement issues, Dahmann said.

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<P>Omaha World-Herald

Sept. 17, 1999

WWII-Era Training Program Being Reactivated At Offutt

By Mike Sherry, World-Herald Staff Writer

A training unit whose history dates to World War II will be reactivated Monday at Offutt Air Force Base.

The 338th Combat Training Squadron will provide advanced schooling to pilots, navigators, in-flight maintenance technicians and electronic warfare officers.

The squadron will allow pilots and navigators to skip the three months of training they do at Altus Air Force Base in Oklahoma and come directly to Offutt from flight school, said Lt. Col. Ricky McMahon, who will command the unit.

The 338th was part of the 55th Fighter Group in World War II and continued in the Cold War as part of the 55th Strategic Reconnaissance Wing. The squadron was deactivated in 1967.

A reactivation ceremony will be held at 2 p.m. Monday at the Officers Club. McMahon said the 338th will provide standardized combat training.

Currently, he said, training is conducted in separate squadrons that fit combat schooling in as they perform their day-to-day missions. McMahon said the training varies somewhat among squadrons.

Under the new program, students will learn the procedures and systems of the reconnaissance planes flown by the 55th Wing, the host unit at Offutt.

Classes will start about every five to six weeks, with roughly 40 to 60 students in the program at any given time. Training for pilots and navigators will be 120 days, and electronic warfare officers and in-flight technicians will train for 180 days.

The squadron will have 60 to 65 instructors. About half of them will be civilian contractors who will handle the academic work and simulator exercises. The other teachers will be active-duty personnel already at Offutt.

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<P>Fayetteville (NC) Observer-Times

Sept. 19, 1999

Pg. 1

<P>For Many, Its Help From Above

<P>By Tanya S. Biank, Staff writer

<P> TARBORO -- During the last two days in flooded eastern North Carolina, Fort Braggs 57th Medical Company has helped rescue the sick, the hysterical and the grateful.

<P> The Black Hawk air ambulance company has pulled 61 people from flooded cars, houses, roads and tree tops in rural Tarboro, Rocky Mount, Kinston and Greenville.

<P> The crews will continue their round-the-clock missions for as long as they are needed. Chief Warrant Officer Michael Turner and his Black Hawk crew have done most of their missions in darkness.

<P> At 3 a.m. on Saturday, Turner, the 37-year-old pilot in command, and his three crew members flew above a watery world where roofs in trailer parks look like stepping stones and sections of major highways have disappeared.

<P> With night-vision goggles strapped to their flight helmets, they look for signs of life in the flicker of a car's headlights or the blinking of a flash light.

<P> The flooding is so bad they are not sure where the highways end and the Tar River begins.

<P> Ya know, right now we're looking at people's livelihoods totally destroyed, said 25-year-old 1st Lt. Frederick Stauffer, who is the crew's other pilot.

<P> In times of war, these soldiers are trained to evacuate soldiers wounded on the battlefield. In peacetime, they evacuate injured paratroopers from Fort Bragg drop zones and transfer patients from Womack Army Medical Center to other hospitals.

<P> We're like firemen waiting for the bell, Stauffer said. The difference is, you're not driving anywhere -- you're flying.

<P> But this search and rescue is a new mission for many. And with it comes an added danger.

<P> They call it the hoist, the most dangerous mission for an aeromedical evacuation crew, soldiers said. Since Thursday, the 57th Medical Company has performed the hoist mission 15 times.

<P> When there is no safe place for the Black Hawks to land, a flight medic sits on an anchor-shaped piece of foam hooked to a cable inside the aircraft. The cable is lowered to the ground by the crew chief.

<P> If the cable or anchor gets tangled in a tree or a telephone wire, the choices of what to do next are grim. Cut the cable, and the medic will die. Do nothing, and the helicopter could crash.

<P> Staff Sgt. Raymond Arnold, the crew's flight medic, has dangled his 6-foot 1-inch, 230-pound body on the cable's anchor six times this week.

<P> Arnold's life is in the hands of Spc. Larry O'Neal, the crew's 26-year-old crew chief. O'Neal sits in the doorway with his feet dangling and operates the

hydraulic hoist.

<P> The perfect spot to land? Dry and big, ONeal said.

<P> On this mission, that has not been the case. Arnold has landed in back yards, on pool decks, and porches. And he has seen it all: leery dogs, residents who don't speak English and people who want their cats hoisted up the cable.

<P> Arnold has had to calm petrified people whose legs were straddled over his as they dangled high above the water. He even strapped a paralyzed man on a litter to the cable's anchor. But residents have a choice. They can either stay, or they can go up with Arnold.

<P> I don't debate, he said. That's wasting time. That's someone else not getting our help.

<P> Most opt to go.

<P> Turner's crew rescued 13 people Friday. Half were elderly or had medical problems, including a man on crutches recovering from knee surgery and a woman suffering from shortness of breath.

<P> Also on Friday, another 57th Medical Company crew rescued a mother and her 2-year-old daughter who was recovering from a heart transplant. They were two of 32 people the crew rescued that day.

<P> They saw the red crosses and they knew they would be safe, said Capt. Chris Colacicco, the crew's pilot, referring to the crosses painted on the aircraft.

<P> Saturday morning was relatively quiet for aerial crews scanning flooded areas. But as the sun rose, so did the calls for help. People were stranded on roadways. And in Princeton, there was a report of people yelling.

<P> At 6:45 a.m., the 57th Med spotted a man and his black dog in his flooded front yard.

<P> Turner, the pilot, lowered the chopper into a cotton field. Arnold, the medic, jumped out -- and sunk above his waist in water.

<P> Arnold waded toward Mike Scruggs, who was trying to keep the head of hi

s black Lab, Annie, above water. He had heard the choppers all night long, but waited until daybreak to call for help from the cell phone in his truck. The two were loaded onto the Black Hawk and evacuated to a staging area at Tarboro High School. Soldiers say the rescues make the hours worth it. Mountain Dew, doughnuts and adrenaline rushes keep them alert. And so does something else.

<P> Hes got a brand new child, Stauffer said, referring to ONeals 16-month-old daughter, Mariah. Thats my motivation right there.

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<P>Armed Forces Journal International

September 1999

Pg. 72

<P>Bridging The Divide

<I><P>Two years after relations between the Army and its reserve components bottomed out, things between the two are looking up

</I><P>By Jason Sherman

<P> An Army divided against itself will not stand, especially if its war pl

ans are predicated on a cohesive force. But two years ago, that's just where the US Army was--locked in a bitter and embarrassingly public feud among its active-duty component, Reserve, and National Guard forces that placed the Service's plans to fight as a "seamless" force in jeopardy. So serious was the divide that Defense Secretary William Cohen two years ago this month intervened by issuing guidance to the service secretaries directing more comprehensive integration of part-time soldiers with the full-time force. Soon thereafter, the Pentagon's second-in-command, John Hamre, stepped in to mediate discussions between the Army leadership and heads of the Reserve and National Guard.

<P> Since then, the Army leadership has mended fences with its reserve component counterparts and kicked off initiatives that promise to have the active and reserve components working more closely than they have in the recent past. At the same time, the Defense Department has explored new missions for the reserve component. And the Army's new Chief of Staff, General Eric Shinseki, has announced that fully integrating the reserve components with the active force will be a top priority during his tenure.

<P> "Things have been moving extraordinarily fast over the past two years compared to the pace that they moved before," Terrance O'Connell, the chairman of the Reserves Forces Policy Board, a congressionally appointed advisory panel, told AFJI.

<P> That's the good news. The not-so-good news is that the Army is now weighing how to implement the remainder of the controversial force structure reductions recommended by the 1997 Quadrennial Defense Review (June 1997, February 1998 AFJI). The QDR recommendation to reduce the size of the Army's National Guard force structure by 38,000 was the very issue that sparked the dispute between the Army and its reserve components and ended up being postponed--until now. Also, plans to convert combat units of the National Guard to combat service and combat service support remain on the books--but the Army has not earmarked resources to pay for these transformations.

<P> This year the Army completed drawing down its forces to the smallest size that the Service has been since the early days of the Cold War. At the same time, the number of deployments has steadily increased since the fall of the Berlin Wall, greatly increasing the operational tempo of the force. Given the reduced size of the active-duty force, the Army is more dependent than ever on support from Reservists and National Guardsmen to carry out the national military strategy, especially in missions such as the Bosnia peacekeeping operation and, now, the follow-on mission in Kosovo.

<P> "We simply cannot undertake sustained operations anywhere in the world without the Guard and Reserve--we really depend on them to help us meet the goals of the national military strategy," said Acting Assistant Secretary of Defense for Reserve Affairs Charles Cragin in June.

<P> Closer Missions

<P> There have been both small gestures and sweeping initiatives undertaken over the past two years to construct a cohesive force. Among the small (but very important to the reserve component) changes are the new policy of issuing identification cards that no longer indicate whether the bearer is active-duty or a reservist. In the past, reservists had a different-color ID card than active-duty personnel, and many reservists felt their IDs singled them out as second-class soldiers. Another small but important gesture is the new policy doubling the number of visits reservists are allowed at military PX shops annually, from 12 to 24.

<P> Small gestures have been paralleled over the last two years by bigger pushes to work more closely with the active component. Recently retired Army Chief of Staff General Dennis Reimer set in motion many initiatives to bring the reserve component closer to the active force, beginning with a 1998 white paper, "One Team, One Fight, One Army." From this text sprang the idea of teaming active-duty divisions with National Guard divisions for operational support. Last October, the 1st Cavalry Division at Ft. Hood, TX, teamed with the 49th Armored Division, also of the Lone Star state, and the 4th Infantry Division (Mechanized) teamed with California's 40th Infantry Division (Mechanized). In June, the 3rd Infantry Division (Mechanized) teamed with Pennsylvania's 28th Infantry Division (Mechanized), and the 10th Mountain Division (Light) teamed with Virginia's 29th Infantry Division (Light).

<P> Through such teaming, active and National Guard divisions offer operational support to one another. "What this does is give the Army a better way of manning forces," Bill Dalton, with the Army's Forces Command, told AFJ. If an active division deploys and, for instance, has a gap in its force structure, it can draw on its National Guard partner to fill the void. Likewise, if a National Guard division mobilizes to respond to a natural disaster in its state, it can draw on the resources of its active-component partner for assistance.

<P> To the extent that this mutual support involves training, elements of the National Guard might accompany their active counterparts to a brigade rotation at the National Training Center. Likewise, active component soldiers may take part in Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) exercises.

<P> Close coordination between the active component and the National Guard will be evidenced early next year in Bosnia. The Army has tapped the 49th Armored Division of Texas to assume responsibility for the Stabilization Force mission in Bosnia in March 2000--the first such large-scale deployment since readiness concerns on the part of some Army leaders kept National Guard combat brigades from deploying during Operation Desert Storm. The citizen-soldiers of Texas are squeezing three years worth of training into 12 months, and will anchor the multinational division headquarters that the United States oversees in Bosnia.

<P> Brig. Gen. Robert Halverson, commander of the 49th, said that he plans

to take about 1,200 Guardsmen for the mission. These soldiers will be joined by elements of the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment, an active-duty unit from Ft. Carson, CO, that will man the base camps in the US sector.

<P> Given the recent history between the active and reserve components, Halverson told AFJI that he's keenly aware of the attention that the 49th Armored Division's rotation will receive. "Yes, I do feel added responsibility to make sure that we succeed," he said. "But I will tell you that, over the last several months, as I have watched my soldiers perform during most-stressful exercises, they've done admirably. And I have no doubts at all that we can do this mission--I know that we can do this mission."

<P> Halverson, who has been selected for promotion to the rank of major general, said he hopes the 49th's mission in Bosnia will build a strong case for modernizing the National Guard at a quicker pace. "I hope that there will be more parity in the equipping of our force, in the modernization of our force. The 49th Armored Division is fortunate that it has modernized systems such as the Abrams [tank] and the Bradley [infantry fighting vehicle]. But other stuff is coming down the road. I should hope, because we've proven that we're relevant, that our soldiers will have the best equipment available to train on."

<P> New Missions

<P> In addition to encouraging closer coordination with the active component, the Defense Department over the last two years has carved out new missions for the reserve component. For instance, the Pentagon has approved the creation of National Guard units dedicated to responding to incidents involving the use of weapons of mass destruction. It has established 10 Rapid Assessment and Initial Detection (RAID) teams to assist local and state authorities in dealing with chemical or biological weapons, and has laid plans for every US state and territory to have access to such a Guard unit.

<P> While senior Defense Department officials have touted this new mission for the Guard, the General Accounting Office noted that "there are numerous local, state, and federal organizations that can perform similar functions to the RAID teams," and generally questioned what value the National Guard brings to an emergency response. The Senate, however, was unmoved by the GAO's skepticism and has provided funding in its version of the Fiscal Year 2000 Pentagon budget to increase the number of RAID teams from 10 to 27.

<P> As the RAID teams take part in incident-response exercises around the nation, the Defense Department has conducted a sweeping study investigating other ways of putting the reserve component to work in the next decade. In July, the Office of the Secretary of Defense completed the Reserve Component Employment 2005 study that aims to identify new and better ways to use Reservists and the National Guard in homeland defense, small-scale contingencies, and major theater wars.

<P> The study's recommendations are all aimed at fostering better integration of the different components. Among these are proposals to: develop post-mobilization training requirements for Army National Guard divisions; create a 400-person joint Reserve "virtual organization" for information operations; and determine the optimum ways for the reserve components to participate in managing the consequences of an attack using weapons of mass destruction. The study also calls for National Guardsmen and Reservists to play a role in manning a national missile defense system, should the US successfully develop and deploy such a capability. The study also calls for the Joint Staff to examine rotational requirements currently stipulated by regional commanders-in-chief to determine whether shortening tours for reserve personnel might allow for their more effective utilization in operations other than war.

<P> "The study was truly a catalyst for cooperation within the Department of Defense, and particularly between the active and reserve components," said a ssistant defense secretary Cragin.

<P> Two-, Three-Stars

<P> During the last year, as the Pentagon leadership crafted its modernization budget, the National Guard and Army Reserve had more visibility and access to the Joint Staff than ever before. In response to congressional direction, two new positions for major generals from the Reserves and the National Guard were established on the Joint Staff to serve as permanent advisors to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs. While this gives the Guard and Reserve components a direct line to the military's top office, it doesn't necessarily give them a seat at the table when major resource decisions are being made--in the Pentagon, those most often occur at the three-star level.

<P> National Guard proponents in the Senate have, accordingly, proposed boosting the chief of the National Guard Bureau to three-star rank, a move that would improve the Guard's footing in the Pentagon and bestow recognition on the importance of some of the reserve commands. The House made no

<P> similar provision in its mark-up of the FY 2000 defense bill, leaving the final decision open to negotiation in congressional conference this month.

<P> The Difficult Stuff

<P> In 1997, the National Defense Panel called for a more "active" reserve component, and subsequent integration and deployment plans have all the makings of new activity. What the reserve component does, however, is closely linked to the composition of its force structure. And, for the last two years, the Army set the controversial QDR-recommended cuts in abeyance.

<P> At the same time that progress has been made in integration, the leadership of the Army is now contemplating making decisions on what to do with those 1997 QDR-recommended force-structure reductions, which called for eliminating 38,000 National Guard positions, 15,000 from the active component, and 7,000 reservists. Following the QDR, the Guard agreed to cut 17,000 slots by Fiscal Year 2000, and the Reserves pledged to trim its ranks by 3,000 by the same date.

<P> A decision on how to implement the remaining 25,000 reserve component reductions has now come due. This spring the Army began looking for ways to implement these reductions. That action prompted friends of the reserve components to line up support on Capitol Hill against the cuts.

<P> Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-MS) has cast his lot in support of the National Guard. "Considering our current military commitments worldwide, I am against any additional cuts to our military," Lott wrote to Defense Secretary William Cohen in March. "We are already stretched too thin, and recruiting, retention, and readiness are suffering as a result. We need to stand firm on the Army's current force structure levels until the number of contingencies decreases, particularly the Guard's force structure level of 385,000."

<P> The QDR analysis on which the force-structure cuts were predicated was completed before the Clinton Administration acknowledged that the Bosnia mission would, effectively, be open-ended, and before the mission to Kosovo. The cost of not making a decision, and leaving the matter of force-structure cuts to be decided in the next Quadrennial Defense Review, would be millions of dollars a year--a price the Army might consider a reasonable investment for maintaining internal peace.

<P> Those costs, however, would come in addition to the cost of converting 45,000 National Guard combat slots into combat service and combat service support positions. The active component has vowed to see this conversion through to completion, but in March the GAO reported that the Army has not adequately funded the conversion in its long-term spending plans. And the National Guard wants to see the Army match with dollars its enthusiasm for restructuring the Guard into combat support and combat service support units.

<P> During testimony before the Senate Armed Services Airland Forces Subcommittee this spring, Maj. Gen. Roger Schultz, the director of the Army National Guard, embraced General Reimer's vision for a seamless force, but made clear that that vision required funds to back it up. "We have a long road to travel before we can achieve the degree of parity in combat, combat support, and combat service support systems required to fully support the Army Modernization Plan and, by extension, the national military strategy. ... While we have great expectations for each of the [integration] initiatives, none will be fully realized without necessary equipment modernization."

<P> Cooperation between the active Army leadership and the reserve components

nts on integration matters during the past two years should provide a reservoir of good will for hammering out the difficult issues that remain, such as resources allocation and force-structure size.

<P> General Shinseki, the new Chief of Staff, has thus far demonstrated he's got the rhetoric to carry this mission forward. Upon taking his new job in June, he declared: "We are The Army--totally integrated into a oneness of purpose--no longer the Total Army, no longer the One Army. We are The Army, and we will march into the 21st century as The Army.

<P> We acknowledge the components and their varying organizational strengths. We will work to structure the Army accordingly." And how do the reserve components view such rhetoric? With guarded optimism.


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<P>Readers Digest

October 1999

Pg. 125

<P>Shot By A Laser

<I><P>An invisible beam flashed up from the Russian ship and into the eyes of the helicopter crew

</I><P>By J. Michael Waller

<P> THE SEA WAS CALM on Friday, April 4, 1997, as a Canadian Armed Forces CH-124 Sea King helicopter skimmed across the 15-mile-wide strait separating Washington State from Canada's Vancouver Island. "Looks like we've got a boomer on the surface," pilot Capt. Patrick Barnes announced on the intercom.

<P> Sitting on the flight deck, U.S. Navy Lt. Jack Daly radioed back, "Let's take a look." Barnes swung the Sea King toward the "boomer"--the Trident submarine USS Ohio, armed with 192 nuclear warheads and headed toward the Pacific Ocean.

<P> THEN, IN THE DISTANCE, Barnes spotted a suspicious freighter. Leaning out the Sea King's open door, Daly looked through the viewfinder of his powerful digital camera. He recognized the white-and-sky-blue insignia of the Far East Shipping Company (FESCO), on the smokestack. The ship's name was painted on the stern in Cyrillic characters. "That's her, all right."

<P> Daly was directing a joint U. S.-Canadian mission to monitor Russian spy ships, and Kapitan Man was one of several vessels suspected of tailing American submarines and aircraft-carrier groups in the Pacific. (FESCO denies Kapitan Man is a spy ship.) In the event of war, sinking those subs and carriers would be a top Russian priority.

<P> Daly aimed his surveillance camera at unusually large antenna arrays above the ship's bridge. As he began squeezing the shutter, there was a flash from below the bridge that was captured on his film: a red halo with a yellow ring inside, and a white center.

<P> The helicopter took a few passes over the ship, then returned to a nearby airfield before heading to Esquimalt, a military base on Vancouver Island. Daly handed the camera to Chief Petty Officer Scott Tabor, a highly trained imagery analyst, to process and interpret the photos. He went to his office to prepare for an upcoming conference, then returned to see the pictures.

<P> Tabor rushed out of his lab. "Lieutenant, are you having any problems with your eyes?"

<P> "Well, yeah," Daly replied. "My right eye is sore."

<P> "Do you have a headache?"

<P> "Actually, I do--on the right side of my head. Why?"

<P> Tabor showed him one of the pictures--the one with the halo. "The signature of this light doesn't look right. I think you may have caught a laser. Get your eyes examined."

<P> Lased: the high-tech terror of all airmen. A laser beam passing through the lens of the eye can burn the retina just as sunlight focused through a magnifying glass burns a hole in a leaf. Daly knew that the Russians had developed lasers to disable or destroy the eyesight of enemy pilots.

<P> Even so, Daly was doubtful. The Russians would never try that in peacetime. The U.S. government wouldn't stand for it. But as he drove home that night, oncoming headlights shot needles of pain through his eyes. He made it to a local hospital, where a doctor instructed him to see a specialist the following day.

<P> Daly awoke to intense pain the next morning, and in the bathroom mirror saw that the bottom of his swollen right eyeball had been bleeding. Later helicopter pilot Pat Barnes called. "Jack, my right eye is all screwed up!" Daly felt a wave of dread as Barnes told him, "I found a blob of blood in the white of my eye."

<P> "Pat," Daly replied, "get to a doctor. I think we've been lased."

<P> The Canadian and American military chains of command were notified of a possible hostile lasing. A secret message to the Pentagon contained these words: "Impact: incident took place inside U.S.A. territorial waters." Canadian authorities were warned that, "given the nature of incident, media interest could be high if details were to become public knowledge."

<P> At the Pentagon, the Operations Directorate of the Joint Chiefs of Staff quickly handed the matter to the State Department and the National Security Council (NSC). But White House policy was apparently to avoid embarrassing Russia. James Collins, a career State Department official whom President Clinton would name ambassador to Moscow, along with the NSC, spearheaded the effort to come up with a response. Collins personally delivered a diplomatic protest--but verbally, in secret.

<P> BY THIS TIME the U.S. Coast Guard had tracked the Kapitan Man to the port of Tacoma. The State Department was reluctant to detain the ship; only under Pentagon pressure did it agree to a search. But according to testimony by Lieutenant Daly and Canadian military documents, the Russian embassy in Washington was notified that a search party would board the vessel the following afternoon, giving the Russians nearly 24 hours' warning.

<P> The Kapitan Man is 570 feet long, 80 feet wide and 35 feet deep, and the Coast Guard told the Pentagon that a complete search would take two to three days. Nevertheless, according to Congressional testimony, State gave the Navy and Coast Guard two hours--with all but the ship's "public areas" off limits to the search party. The State Department denies that any restrictions were imposed.

<P> On board, the crew refused to open the ship's locked library. The second mate claimed he couldn't find the key. Following a confrontation with the crew, the chief inspector, a lieutenant, gave up.

<P> After the "search," the Pentagon wanted the Kapitan Man detained until tests were completed on the helicopter crew. The State Department and NSC overruled the military, ordering that the ship be allowed to return to Russia with no further inspections. After midnight, Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott, Collins and two other Administration appointees had a private teleconference "to decide the issue," according to a secret memorandum. Talbott and Collins won't say what they decided, but the result was clear: the Russians would not be publicly accused of lasing.

<P> The Navy, meanwhile, had rushed Daly and Barnes to the U.S. Army Medical Research Detachment at Brooks Air Force Base in San Antonio, Texas; a team headed by Dr. David Scales, one of the world's top laser eye injury experts, was waiting.

<P> The initial exam found a string of tiny dotlike lesions across Daly's retina--evidence, in the words of the medical report, that there was a "high probability" of "multiple laser exposures." A follow-up evaluation found that Daly's complaints of eye and head pain "are consistent with those reported following laser exposure during flight." After more tests Dr. Scales found "the injury is permanent and may be progressive as well." Barnes, too, was found to have been lased.

<P> Later Daly read the Coast Guard/Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI) boarding report. He was shocked that critical areas of the Kapitan Man had not been searched. In a heated conversation, one officer told him, "You don't know the pressure I'm under just to sweep this thing under the rug." The officer denies saying this.

<P> BUT THE MATTER could be kept under wraps for only so long. Six weeks after the episode, someone leaked the news to Washington Times national-security correspondent Bill Gertz, who later published the telltale State Department documents in his book Betrayal.

<P> As CNN, newspapers and wire services jumped on the story, Clinton Administration officials applied "spin": the Russians could not be blamed. One NSC

spokesman told reporters, "There is reason to believe that a laser was pointed at them and they suffered temporary eye damage." Temporary? Other officials speculated that the laser was a range finder to help the Kapitan Man crew determine how far the helicopter was from the ship.

<P> State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns admitted that a medical report on Daly and Barnes "determined that there was a laser shot at the helicopter, " but "we don't know from whom."

<P> Pentagon spokesman Kenneth Bacon told reporters that "upon examination, many naval and intelligence officers believe the red dot is the port running light." But a military memorandum to the Canadian Minister of National Defense obtained by Reader's Digest states unequivocally, "The analysis eliminated the possibility that the light source was benign, e.g., port running light, and suggests a red laser produced the flash shown on the photo."

<P> And other ambiguities were suggested. Two anonymous Pentagon officials, for example, expressed their view that the Kapitan Man's presence so close to an American nuclear submarine "was probably just a coincidence." A nameless White House source insisted that the Kapitan Man wasn't a spy ship at all: "It's a normal cargo vessel. It's absolutely legitimate."

<P> In fact, the vessel had long been suspected of espionage. And a few years earlier, an unrelated search by U.S. Customs and Immigration authorities discovered hidden caches of equipment that could be used for submarine detection.

<P> In response to unwelcome press attention, the Pentagon readied its own report. According to Daly's testimony, the head of the team writing the report had no experience in lasers, but ONI's sole analyst with laser expertise was told to stay out of the investigation. Key witness Patrick Barnes was not interviewed. The Navy says the team was qualified.

<P> The report's concluding statement, released to the press in June 1997, was blunt: "ONI cannot link the eye damage to the surveillance of the Kapitan Man." The red light "has been conclusively established to be the port running light." In broad daylight? Buried in the text, in a paragraph not made public, the report said the laser "cannot be conclusively ruled out."

<P> Then Pentagon spokesman Bacon released a copy of Daly's photo of the Kapitan Man. Blurry and darkened, the running light no longer had the telltale yellow ring and white center. Now it looked like a running light.

<P> DALY WAS ORDERED to see more doctors. One Navy physician said the pain in his head and eyes was caused by migraines, diagnosing him incorrectly with Graves' disease. Daly says he was ordered to lie to another doctor--telling the man he didn't know how he got his eye injury. The Navy denies this.

<P> None of the physicians had the expertise of Dr. Scales and his team at Brooks Air Force Base. But the other medical opinions allowed the Pentagon to tell the press that doctors just couldn't agree on what caused the officers' eye injuries. And so, even today, some officials continue to insist the laser was probably a harmless range finder.

<P> Nevertheless, according to a secret Canadian military communication obtained by Reader's Digest, the Kapitan Man incident demonstrated the "high vulnerability" of the military to laser threats, "even in our own back yard." With no way to defend their helicopter crews, the United States and Canada terminated the joint surveillance program.

<P> AND WHAT OF the two men who were injured? A Canadian Armed Forces spokesman initially reported, "Capt. Patrick Barnes has no medical injury from the laser or potential laser exposure on that mission on that day." Barnes was ostracized, even had his integrity questioned. The Canadian military downplayed the severity of his condition, but recently a medical spokesman told Reader's Digest he suspects Barnes was shot with some type of laser device.

<P> Barnes, who in 20 years as a Sea King pilot had saved the lives of more than three dozen people aboard stricken ships, has lost his flight qualifications, ending his plans to become a civilian helicopter pilot. He will never fly again.

<P> As for Jack Daly, his career has nose-dived. Year after year his fitness reports had been outstanding: "One of the premier aviation intelligence officers in the Navy today." "Honest, forthright. Superlative naval officer with a brilliant future." Repeatedly he was recommended for promotions.

<P> Since the Kapitan Man episode, Daly's performance reviews declined. One supervisor complained he took too much time off for medical exams; another said he was not being cooperative enough with the extra exams designed to refute the diagnosis of laser injury. He was accused of leaking classified information to the press. To protect himself, Daly retained a lawyer, 24-year Navy veteran Robert B. Rae.

<P> Because he has spoken about a coverup, Daly has been pressured to have a psychiatric evaluation--"a tool to do him in," according to his attorney. On Rae's advice, Daly refused. Now, just three years from retirement, he's been passed over twice for promotion, and under standard Navy policy must leave the service. Without a medical discharge, the Navy won't have to treat him any longer for his condition.

<P> Daly, like Barnes, is plagued with eye pains and headaches. "Some days he feels like he's been hit in the right side of his face with a baseball bat,"

says his wife, Wendy. On other days "the pain is like someone stabbing him in the eyeball with an ice pick."

<P> AND SO, EVERY FIVE WEEKS the Kapitan Man sails into Puget Sound, past the Navy's carrier base in Bremerton and the Trident submarine base in Bangor. After a day or so it steams back to Russia, passing the routes of American submarines. FESCO says the Pentagon's investigation found nothing to support the allegations against its ship.

<P> In any event, our vulnerability to espionage should be apparent. But as Rep. Duncan Hunter (R., Calif.) notes, the Clinton Administration "does not concede the obvious: Russian anti-submarine-warfare ships have the run of U.S. territorial waters near some of America's most important submarine bases."

<P> Meanwhile, the American and Canadian militaries have left Daly and Barnes to twist in the wind. "You know you might take one for the home team someday," Daly told Readers Digest. "But you don't expect the team to leave you alone on the field."


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<P>Norfolk Virginian-Pilot

Sept. 18, 1999

<P>Four-Star Admiral Reason Retires From Fleet

<P>By Jack Dorsey, The Virginian-Pilot

<P> NORFOLK -- As the son of two college professors, neither of whom really encouraged him into a military career, J. Paul Reason is the first to admit he never thought he would make it this far.

<P> Born and reared in Washington, D.C. in the 1940s, the youngster more likely was headed toward academia.

<P> His father held a doctorate degree in romance languages and taught at Howard University. His mother was a science teacher who taught chemistry, physics and biology in D.C. high schools for 35 years. His parents met at Florida A&M University in Tallahassee where they also taught.

<P> But military service as a career had never touched the Reason family -- none of the 13 brothers and sisters on his mother's side, nor the five on his father's side, seemed interested, he said.

<P> Apparently, it simply wasn't that appealing to an African-American family at the time.

<P> Reason retired Friday as a four-star admiral and commander of the Atlantic Fleet for the past three years. He had commanded a nuclear-powered guided-missile cruiser and a destroyer and was a military aide to President Jimmy Carter.

<P> "It's been a wonderful ride . . .," he said, "and it is nice to know that the Navy really is an equal opportunity employer.

<P> "I never would have thought when I was a kid, or even when I went to the Naval Academy, that I would be a four-star admiral. . . .

<P> "My transition through the Navy is as much a testimony to the Constitution of the country as anybody else who has come through the Navy, and probably more than most.

<P> "An African American from Washington, D.C. winds up as fleet commander. That is not a bad deal."

<P> Reason hopes he has provided some inspiration for those who serve in the Navy to realize they are not limited by their background, -- "that they are promoted on merit, get to advance to the full reach of their capabilities."

'All of this is good American stuff, and it is very nice to have been one of the few people that could live it in such a graphic way that many others, thousands of others, get to observe, and hopefully get some inspiration that they too can go just as far," he said.

<P> Reason's change of command and retirement ceremony, planned aboard the amphibious assault ship Saipan, had to be streamlined considerably when all 80 ships in Norfolk were ordered to sea in advance of Hurricane Floyd.

<P> Instead, Reason turned over the reins of his command to Adm. Vern Clark in a small 9 a.m. ceremony outside his fleet headquarters.

<P> Chief of Naval Operations Adm. Jay Johnson, on behalf of Navy Secretary Richard Danzig, presented Reason with the Distinguished Service Medal. Reason's staff was presented with the Navy Unit Commendation and his wife, Dianne, was presented with the Distinguished Public Service Award for her 34 years of supporting the naval service.

<P> The Reasons will head to Maryland this week, where they have purchased a home at Chesapeake Beach and await word on his next move.

<P> He has been nominated by President Clinton to become ambassador to Brazil. But confirmation has not been announced.

<P> "If asked to serve there, I would be more than happy," he said in an interview this week.

<P> It would cap an interest begun more than 40 years ago when he studied Portuguese at the U.S. Naval Academy, taught to him by a visiting Brazilian naval officer.

<P> "That generated my initial interest in Brazil," he said. "Future cruises took me to Rio de Janeiro, and I've been back many times since."

<P> While working for President Carter as a naval aide, he traveled to Brazil to arrange for a state dinner and traveled through the Amazon River to Manaus in the heart of the country, probably the most inland naval base in the world at nearly 700 miles.

<P> "It really is an exciting part of the world that is expanding at a tremendous pace," he said. "Not unlike the U.S. at the turn of the century, it is expanding to the west, having a frontier there. It's a different century, but the same concept and they have the same problems that must be solved."

<P> If that post doesn't come about, Reason said he most likely will develop his own consulting company. At the very least, he'll enjoy his 38-foot, twin-engine Bayliner boat, which his wife captains.

<P> "It's named the Sea Dog, and I'm the first mate and do all the labor," he said.

<P> They also will be able to keep tabs on their children's careers from there. Their daughter, Rebecca, is an accountant in Washington for XM-Radio, a new venture satellite radio system coupled with General Motors. Their son, Joseph, is a Naval Academy graduate who was recently selected for promotion to lieutenant commander. He works at Groton, Conn., for the Supervisor of Shipbuilding as an engineering duty officer.

<P> Asked about what he'd like to see for his sailors in the future, Reason said he is well aware of the pressure they have faced.

<P> "I sure wish I could unequivocally say they will be happier tomorrow than today," he said. "But sailors have a lot of hurdles. We are operating at quite a tempo and that is tough on families. I have personally experienced that, and I can identify with family separations 100 percent.

<P> "Yes, the pay is going up, which is very good. But there are several other hurdles we still have to leap."

<P> One is to provide sailors with better living conditions aboard ship.

<P> "I would really love to see habitability aboard ship greatly improve," he said. "When it comes to habitability over the last 50 years we have put a lot of conditioning into ships and put in bunk curtains. But that's about it," he said.

<P> "That is not much to show for 50 years when we had new materials and all sorts of ways to enhance the quality of people's living environment. We have not taken those steps in any great measure in the Navy. We have gone to smaller berthing compartments, and that is a step in right direction. But still, the basic living space hasn't been enhanced very much, and it is time we did something about that."

<P> Reason doesn't agree that the Navy today is short-handed because of its decision to reduce forces over the past few years.

<P> "If we cut too deep, if we cut the muscle, if we nicked the bone, then

fortunately we can still deliver our product and do so in the most professional way I know," he said.

<P> "The problem we face is one of accurate metrics. How many sailors do you really need on an aircraft carrier to operate that carrier in combat, in peacetime, in heavy seas or any one of those environments?

<P> "We have an answer to that question. It was answered 25 years ago.

<P> "What we haven't been able to adjust are those changes that a computer has made, that will allow one sailor to do what three once did by hand, or the hydraulic lift in the storage room that now allows one sailor to carry an entire pallet of supplies.

<P> "We haven't reflected those. Until we do, we will be a little off the measure of what our true manning requirements are.

<P> "We do have ready forces, and with that caveat, I am not willing to say we cut too far. Our Navy is ready to fight today and tomorrow. I don't think we are short handed."

<P> With all his prestigious assignments -- from commander of the Seattle Naval Base, responsible for naval activities in Washington, Oregon and Alaska, to command of a cruiser/destroyer group and battle group in the Pacific, there was one job Reason still remembers as perhaps the most difficult in his 34-year naval career.

<P> When he was a three-star vice admiral and commander of the Atlantic Fleet Surface Force in Norfolk -- in charge of everything that floats except submarines and aircraft carriers -- Reason was in his heyday, having nearly 200 ships under his command.

<P> But then-Chief of Naval Operations Adm. Frank Kelso called Reason in the wake of the 1991 Tailhook scandal, telling him he would head a consolidated disposition authority that would try to resolve all the legal cases in the matter.

<P> "He didn't ask me. He called me on a Saturday morning and said, 'I have a very difficult task for you'. . .

<P> "In retrospect that was probably one of the toughest things I have ever been asked to do, that includes wartime and everything else. Mostly because I had to sit in judgment of fellow naval officers, many of whom were very young. They were naval officers the age of my son. They were in front of me facing ch

argues . . . in some significant measure because they were following their leaders.

<P> ``Because they were following their leaders doesn't make them guiltless . But it doesn't make it any easier to find them at fault either.

<P> ``It is a tentative leadership -- you are a leader and a follower. But to have to settle charges against young officers who had their whole lives ahead of them, who did some things that they in retrospect regretted, but they thought at the time they were doing what they were supposed to do, makes it a very difficult decision to make.

<P> ``I found that a quite hard undertaking doing what was right. You had to get through it. You couldn't sweep it under the rug. You had to work through it.

<P> ``I'm glad it is behind me."


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<P>Inside The Navy

Sept. 20, 1999

Pg. 1

<P>Navy Department Cuts 42 Aircraft From Long-Range Budget Plan

<P> In order to grapple with unexpected bills nearing \$1 billion in fiscal years 2001-05, the Navy removed 42 aircraft buys from the future years defense plan before submitting the department's fiscal year 2001 and later budgets to the Office of the Secretary of Defense last week.

<P> The plan submitted to Pentagon budget officials includes procurement of 122 aircraft in FY-01, including F/A-18E/F Super Hornets, MV-22 Osprey tiltrotors, E-2C Hawkeyes, AV-8B Harrier remanufactures, the Marine Corps' 4BN/4BW helicopter upgrades and CH-60 helicopters, among others.

<P> The budget information contained in the Navy's submission to OSD is closely guarded, especially details about funding for individual programs. At this point, the budget plan is not considered final, given that OSD and Congress still have an opportunity to make changes in the coming months. Sources provided inside the Navy with a general picture of the Navy Department's investment plans.

<P> Three F/A-18E/F aircraft in FY-02 were cut from the budget and a substantial number of T-45 Goshawk trainers were removed across the future years defense plan. The budget plan provides for 15 T-45 aircraft in FY-00, 12 in FY-01, and four in FY-02, said a source familiar with the subject. Last February, the Navy's budget included plans to buy 15 T-45 aircraft per year over the FYDP. Asked about cuts to the T-45 program, a Navy official predicted the service might not need the aircraft cut from the program, adding that the service could likely use a service life extension program in the future to make the most of the Goshawks it buys.

<P> The Navy has included funding for the unitary variant of the Joint Stand-Off Weapon, among other aviation weapons. Compared with the Navy's FY-00 budget, the service is now looking at cutting procurement numbers for the Standoff Land Attack Missile-Expanded response by some eight missiles per year over the FYDP, and also reducing procurement plans for the Advanced Medium-Range Air-to-Air Missile by some 25 missiles per year.

<P> The budget plan continues to include multiyear buys for the F/A-18E/F, E-2C, CH-60 and AV-8B programs, though there has been some debate about the future of multiyears on Capitol Hill this year.

<P> Procurement of the F/A-18E/F and MV-22 are still scheduled to begin in FY-00 and FY-01, respectively, once the aircraft complete operational testing.

<P> The budget includes money for the initial full-rate production of the C

H-60S program, as well as research and development dollars in FY-01 for the SH-60R remanufacture effort.

<P> The Navy has also budgeted money to support research and development in FY-01 for the EA-6B Prowler improved capability upgrade. Improving the jamming aircraft -- among so-called "high demand, low density" units -- has strong support on Capitol Hill, given the important role the Navy and Marine Corps planes played in Operation Allied Force.

<P> Also in the budget is procurement money for a "universal exciter upgrade," for the Prowler that is 30 percent more reliable than what it replaces, and money for training equipment associated with the Prowler.

<P> Looking to the future, the Navy is investing R&D dollars in the Shared Reconnaissance Pod (SHARP) and the Actively Electronically Scanned Array radar, which the Navy plans to install in Super Hornets.

<P> Funding is also included for the P-3 Orion Service Life Assessment Program, anti-surface warfare improvements, and the Joint Helmet Mounted Cueing System.

<I><P>-- Christopher J. Castelli </I>

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<P>Norfolk Virginian-Pilot

Sept. 19, 1999

<P>Navy Helicopter Crews Work Long Hours To Hoist People To Safety

<P>By Dave Mayfield, The Virginian-Pilot

<P> As they swept over a wasteland of flooded trailer parks, graveyards and church grounds, the crew of the Navy H-3 helicopter spotted a man waving from waist-deep water below. Nearby, a car door cracked open against the rising tide, and a woman clutching a baby stepped out into the surging current.

<P> With no place to land, rescue swimmers Patrick Schatzlein and Steven Shiner readied the hoist. Eighty feet below, the first evacuees desperately waited to be lifted, one by one, to safety.

<P> So began a day of heroism in the North Carolina town of Tarboro for members of Norfolk-based Helicopter Combat Support Squadron 2.

<P> Over 10 hours Friday, two helos from the squadron carried more than 100 people to safe ground -- 71 on the aircraft of Petty Officers Schatzlein and Shiner alone. They plucked folks from back yards and cemeteries, dodging power lines and treetops. They even rescued three dogs and a cat.

<P> A few times, the helicopters were so jammed that when they landed, "it looked like a clown car unloading," a grimy Shiner said late Friday night, minutes after his helo's return to Norfolk Naval Station.

<P> They would have rescued even more -- but not everybody wanted to go.

<P> Schatzlein sloshed door to door in a trailer park, pleading for residents to leave as the water climbed the porch steps. One man slammed a door in his face. A woman said she was afraid of heights.

<P> Others said they would take boats out. One of his helicopter's trickier rescues was of a family that tried just that, only to run aground.

<P> Most people were thankful for the Navy's heroics.

<P> "It was heart-wrenching," Shiner said. "Some of these people lost everything."

<P> The H-3s, among eight Navy aircraft from Hampton Roads involved in the first day of the rescue effort, stopped only a couple of times to take on fuel and Egg McMuffins.

<P> Then it was back to the air.

<P> Three times, pilots Cmdr. Gil Birklund and Lt. Cmdr. Kris Croeber put their helicopter down in the steadily dwindling island of a church yard. In each case, a dozen people piled in.

<P> The flood was so fast that when the helo returned a few hours later to a cemetery where eight people had clambered aboard, the gravestones had been completely swallowed by water.

<P> Schatzlein said he "literally had to peel" one elderly man from his porch to put him into a hoist. After touching down near a stranded ambulance, the helo took over the job of hurrying another man to a hospital emergency room.

<P> The first rescue may be the most memorable. First, the mother was lifted to safety. Then, the baby, in an equipment bag that Schatzlein had hurriedly emptied. Finally, the father.

<P> Schatzlein rode the hoist up with each. The mother was just "incredibly happy" that her baby was saved, he said.

<P> After the helicopter dropped off the family and whisked away for another rescue, Schatzlein reached inside the equipment bag. "I found this inside," he said, fishing into the pocket of his flight suit.

<P> In his hand, he held out a pacifier.

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<P>Norfolk Virginian-Pilot

Sept. 19, 1999

<P>Navy Squadrons Are Controlling Air Traffic Of Rescues

<P>By Jack Dorsey, The Virginian-Pilot

<P> The Navy called upon three of its airborne early-warning squadrons to maintain air traffic control over the numerous rescue helicopters flying above North Carolina floodwaters.

<P> ``We're the dome in the sky," said Navy Reserve Lt. Cmdr. Rick Sanford, operations officer for Carrier Airborne Early Warning Squadron 78 (VAW-78), based at Chambers Field at the Norfolk Naval Station.

<P> ``There are helicopters everywhere -- Navy, Army, Coast Guard and civilians," he said.

<P> Sanford, who in his civilian job is Sen. John W. Warner's aide in Hampton Roads, said another Reserve squadron, VAW-77, and an active-duty squadron, VAW-126, have been alternating flights over the flood region since Friday, and most likely will continue throughout the weekend.

<P> The ``Hawkeye" squadrons are flying at 12,000 to 14,000 feet, lower than normal, to keep the estimated 50 rescue helicopters separated.

<P> ``Because they are so low, we are having to relay some of their radio traffic and pass it along to others who might miss it," Sanford said.

<P> Cmdr. Robert Jackson, commanding officer of VAW-78, and a civilian test pilot for the Navy at Patuxent River Naval Station in Maryland, said his squadron has been eager to help with the rescue missions. They have done search-and-

rescue operations in the Atlantic, and it is always gratifying to be able to help, he said.


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<P>San Diego Union-Tribune

Sept. 18, 1999

<P>Navy, Marines Hold Y2K-Ready Exercise

<P>By Associated Press

<P> TOKYO -- U.S. jets roared over Japanese beaches and amphibious assault vehicles stormed ashore yesterday as the Navy and Marines tested their readiness for the so-called Y2K computer glitch.

<P> In the drills, which go until Sept. 26, the forces will advance the data inside computers running ships, airplanes and other equipment, the U.S. 7th Fleet said.

<P> As the reset clocks roll over from Dec. 31 to Jan. 1, Marines will be besieging beaches in Okinawa, the Navy said. More than 50,000 U.S. troops are stationed in Japan.

<P> The exercise will also involve destroyers, helicopter carriers, and food and oil supply vessels, said fleet spokesman Lt. Jeff Davis.

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<P>San Diego Union-Tribune

Sept. 17, 1999

<P>Navy Buys Computers To Boost Accuracy Of Hurricane Forecasting

<I><P>System is intended to pinpoint where they'll come ashore

</I><P>By Martha Mendoza, Associated Press

<P> MONTEREY -- In a sterile, brick basement vault near California's central coast, a Navy weather forecaster checks rows of monitors and points at the swirls that are hurricanes Floyd and Gert.

<P> "These are impressive storms, and with these computers we can tell you with great accuracy where they're going to be for the next few days," Petty Officer 2nd Class Jason Barzo says with some excitement. "When we get our faster, more reliable computers, we'll be looking at a week."

<P> While Floyd slammed the East Coast this week, some of the country's top forecasters in bucolic Monterey were buying a new system that will power the most accurate weather forecasts possible.

<P> The U.S. Navy Fleet Numerical Meteorology and Oceanography Center, which was working overtime while the National Weather Service computers crashed this week, yesterday announced that it has signed an \$18 million contract for supercomputers, which are 33 times faster than the center's current models. The new computers are expected to be ready by 2001.

<P> The system will increase accurate hurricane, typhoon and cyclone forecasts from the current four days to almost a week, said Fleet Numerical's scientific director, Paul Moersdorf.

<P> In addition, the system, made by Mountain View-based SGI, will increase resolution, so that forecasters can say where a hurricane will hit within just a few miles, compared to current forecasts that give about a 100-mile range.

<P> "This week the whole eastern seaboard has been evacuating," Moersdorf said. "With our new system, we hope to be able to forecast with much greater accuracy, which in turn could save many people the time and expense of leaving if it's not necessary."

<P> The Navy usually leaves forecasting for U.S. citizens to the National Weather Service, focusing instead on weather that might adversely impact Defense Department assets. The Navy's Fleet Numerical also provides forecast information to the Air Force Weather Agency, national nuclear laboratories and the CIA.

<P> The two agencies work in tandem when major disasters are brewing offshore. And in Floyd's case, the Navy had an interest in keeping its ships out of dangerous waves and winds.

<P> In addition, they back each other up if computers crash.

<P> That's what happened Sunday evening and again Tuesday, when the National Weather Service called the Navy's operations center and asked that it immediately begin feeding forecasts and analyses to the National Hurricane Center in Florida.

<P> "We didn't ask any questions," said Capt. Joseph Swaykos, commanding officer of Fleet Numerical. "We just switched it over and got them the information."

<P> Back in the basement operations center, which is staffed around the clock, Chris Haight was monitoring surface pressure off the coast of New York.

<P> "We're talking huge swells, up to 39 feet. It's exciting to see the forces of nature at work," he said, pointing to a red circle on his screen. "Especially when we can see what's going to happen next."

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<P>Columbia (SC) State

Sept. 19, 1999

<P>S.C. Guard's Top General Takes Floyd By Storm

<P>By Henry Eichel, Knight Ridder Newspapers

<P> Maj. Gen. Stan Spears enjoys telling people he is the only elected military officer in the world.

<P> As a general rule, Spears, a 62-year-old Clover native who is serving his second term as S.C. adjutant general, is one of the most obscure statewide elected officials. The office's main function is to command the state National Guard. In every other state, it is an appointed position.

<P> But at times like last week, with Hurricane Floyd taking aim at the state, Spears gets to step into the spotlight. Once Gov. Jim Hodges declared a state of emergency, Spears managed the dispatch of 3,700 Army National Guard troops -- more than one out of every three Guard members in the state -- to the coast to help direct traffic and prevent looting.

<P> Called back from a meeting in Washington early Tuesday morning, Spears slept in his office for the next three nights after 18-hour days. "We had to make decisions of which units to call up, when to call them up, and where to place them," he said.

<P> Wednesday, Spears spent the day flying with the governor to Myrtle Beach, Charleston and Hilton Head to meet with local officials and survey the coastal evacuation.

<P> The adjutant general's office also includes the state Emergency Preparedness Division, which coordinates disaster planning and relief efforts among state and local agencies. But, Spears acknowledged, Stan McKinney, the division's director since 1993, "pretty much controls it."

<P> However, Spears added, "I know everything that Stan knows. I get reports on a daily basis."

<P> Former USC quarterback. Spears reached his position after a 35-year National Guard career that began in 1959, the year he graduated from the University of South Carolina.

<P> A two-year football letterman, he was the Gamecocks' starting quarterback in 1956 until injuries sidelined him. At Clover High, he had been such a star player that the school retired his number, 37.

<P> "He's been successful in the Guard, but he's also been very successful in the business world" as a Columbia insurance broker, said Mackey Norman of Rock Hill. Norman served in the National Guard with Spears in a Rock Hill-based tank unit in the 1960s.

<P> Colleagues have described Spears as hard-working, compassionate and dedicated. But not everyone likes him.

<P> After less than five years in office, Spears said, he is No. 11 in seniority among all state adjutants general. During that time, the Guard in South Carolina has shrunk from 14,000 members to 11,700, of which 90 percent are Army and the remainder Air Force.

<P> There was some grumbling in the ranks almost as soon as Spears took over in 1995. Some Guard members were critical of two senior officers who Spears chose as his deputies. At the time, Spears dismissed the criticism as professional jealousy.

<P> Spears had been elected adjutant general after a bitter 1994 campaign against Republican Tom Hendrix, who at one point claimed Spears was responsible for the deaths of several Guard members during a training exercise. Hendrix later apologized.

<P> Nine months into his first term, Spears switched to the Republican Party, drawing criticism from Democrats who had helped him get elected. The episode also renewed calls to remove the office from party politics by making it appointed.

<P> Spears disagrees. He said last week that other states' adjutants general constantly tell him, "For goodness sake, don't y'all ever change your system."

<P> South Carolina's unique system is superior, he said, "because I'm elected for four years. The Defense Department knows they can count on me, whereas other states have a tremendous turnover."

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<P>Congressional Quarterly Weekly

Sept. 18, 1999

Pg. 2177 </P>

<P>Capitol Hill Is Unimpressed With Patchwork Policy In Asia </P>

<I><P>As events have directed attention eastward, broad Clinton strategy appears lacking </P>

</I><P>By Miles A. Pomper and Mary S. Dalrymple, CQ Staff Writers </P>

<P>The Clinton administration has been redefining U.S. policy toward Asia in recent weeks, with at best lukewarm support from Capitol Hill and apparently without an overarching strategy. </P>

<P>*Lawmakers are skeptical about a Sept. 17 White House announcement that the United States will lift half-century-old economic sanctions on North Korea as long as the Pyongyang government refrains from testing a missile capable of hitting the United States. </P>

<P>*U.S. negotiators are hoping to reach a groundbreaking trade agreement in the next few weeks that would allow China to join the World Trade Organization (WTO) and permanently receive the same U.S. trade benefits as other nations. But it appears increasingly doubtful that Congress will consider granting China those benefits this year. </P>

<P>U.S. relations with China are complicated by the fallout from allegations that China spied at U.S. nuclear facilities and by tensions between Beijing and Taiwan. </P>

<P>*Congress is more likely to take up and approve an agreement that would give Vietnam trade benefits similar to those that China is seeking. But a powerful lobby and its congressional supporters want to halt any further normalization of relations until Vietnam accounts for all U.S. soldiers taken prisoner or missing in action from the Vietnam War. </P>

<P>*Lawmakers appear to support President Clinton's decision to send 200 U.S. troops to troubled East Timor in Indonesia as part of a U.N. peacekeeping force, as long as Australia takes the lead. </P>

<P>The confluence of these events has shifted the administration's focus from Europe to the Far East, but experts see little coherent strategy or purpose behind U.S. policy in Asia. </P>

<P>"It's in-box diplomacy at its finest," said Robert A. Manning, senior fellow and director of Asian Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations. "It's pretty much putting out fires." </P>

<P>China First </P>

<P>Key lawmakers and foreign policy experts such as Zbigniew Brzezinski, the national security adviser to President Jimmy Carter, say China should be at the top of the administration's agenda because its dominance in Asia makes it critical to the region's security. </P>

<P>U.S.-China relations have been on the mend in recent weeks, with both sides increasing informal conversations, sometimes over meals between formal negotiations. Clinton has gone out of his way to reinforce support for the "one China" policy -- acknowledging that China and Taiwan are part of one country without saying which should dominate -- helping to ease Beijing's fears that the United States would back Taiwanese independence. (CQ Weekly, p. 1743) </P>

<P>On Sept. 15, the United States broke its longstanding silence on whether it would support Taiwan's admission to the United Nations, telling a U.N. committee it opposed putting the issue of Taiwanese membership on the General Assembly's agenda, to avoid conflict with the one-China policy. </P>

<P>Meanwhile, U.S. and Chinese negotiators have been trying to close the WTO deal before a November ministerial summit in Seattle. Some lawmakers hope Congress can find time to vote on permanent normal trade relations with China. But Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott, R-Miss., told Reuters it was unlikely Congress would act, given its busy schedule. </P>

<P>Congressional inaction this year could push the debate into the 2000 election season, where it might be a prime target for critics of China. </P>

<P>On the Taiwan issue, Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Jesse Helms, R-N.C., and House International Relations Committee Chairman Benjamin A. Gilman, R-N.Y., have offered rhetorical support for the island, but they have held off moving legislation designed to bolster Taiwan's defenses at a time when it has called for essentially discarding the one-China policy. </P>

<P>Rep. Doug Bereuter, R-Neb., who heads the House International Relations Committee's Asia and the Pacific Subcommittee, has pressed the issue by holding hearings on legislation (HR1838) that would bolster U.S. sales of defensive weapon

s systems to Taiwan. But he has so far only asked for advice. </P>

<P>Korean Missiles </P>

<P>Republicans are decidedly unhappy with the administration's policy toward North Korea. </P>

<P>At the suggestion of former Defense Secretary William J. Perry, Clinton's special coordinator for North Korea policy, the White House announced an easing of trade, travel and banking restrictions. </P>

<P>The move followed talks with Pyongyang. "On the basis of these discussions, it is our understanding that North Korea will continue to refrain from testing long-range missiles of any kind as both sides move toward more normal relations," White House Press Secretary Joe Lockhart said Sept. 17. </P>

<P>The move will allow "most consumer goods to be available for export to North Korea and will allow the importation of most North Korean-origin goods into the United States," he added. </P>

<P>But lawmakers are skeptical of the proposals. </P>

<P>After meeting with Perry, Helms said the proposals were "unacceptable" and "put us on a slippery slope to being the biggest foreign aid benefactor of one of the last Stalinist states," according to Helms' spokesman, Marc Thiessen. </P>
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<P>In the House, Speaker J. Dennis Hastert, R-Ill., asked an advisory panel led by Gilman to pull together a common approach on North Korea for House Republicans. The group met Sept. 15 with Perry but rebuffed many of his proposals. In a Sept. 15 news release, Gilman said he was not comfortable lifting sanctions against North Korea "until we fully understand how lifting sanctions might increase North Korea's ability to threaten American interests." </P>

<P>Sen. Pat Roberts, R-Kan., a member of the Armed Services Committee, expressed similar sentiments. Roberts, soured by an experience several years ago when he visited North Korea to discuss exchanging U.S. farm products for minerals, said, "I would be very careful in dealing with them. . . . I just don't trust them." </P>

<P>On the other hand, Sen. Carl Levin of Michigan, the ranking Democrat on Armed Services, favored the administration's approach. </P>