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

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<H3>TOP STORIES</H3>

Accord With NATO Lets Moscow Add Troops In Kosovo

(New York Times)....Steven Lee Myers with Michael Wines

NATO and Russian military commanders resolved their differences over Russia's role in the peacekeeping operation in Kosovo Monday, clearing the way for about 3,600 more Russian troops to arrive in the Serbian province after weeks of wrangling.

<p>

Display Of U.S. Might Makes Allies, Adversaries Doubt Their Relevance

(Wall Street Journal)....Carla Anne Robbins

Can America be too powerful? That is the question the U.S. is facing in the wake of Kosovo.

<p>

After Scotland Yard Inquiry, A Kosovo Village Buries 64

(New York Times)....John Kifner

...Sixty of the 64 people laid to their final rest on a sun-baked hilltop had been hastily, furtively buried at night by other villagers near where the victims were reportedly shot dead by Serbian forces early on the morning of March 25, hours after the NATO bombing began.

<p>

Yugoslav City Battling Toxic Enemies

(Los Angeles Times)....Mark Fineman

...Within seconds, they demolished a refinery, a fertilizer plant and an American-built petrochemical complex that released a toxic cloud so dense and potentially lethal that its effects can be felt here even today--and will be, perhaps, for decades.

<p>

Colombia's U.S. Connection Not Winning Drug War

(Washington Post)....Karen DeYoung

Andres Pastrana became president of Colombia last year amid high hopes here and in Washington that he could bring an end to years of violence, drug trafficking and government red ink. But by most measurements, things have only gotten worse.

<p>

Army May Need Dedicated Peacekeeping Units, Senator Says

(Defense Week)....Vince Crawley

With U.S. troops facing long-term commitments in the Balkans, it may be time for the Army to expand its ranks and create special peacekeeping units, the chairman of the powerful Senate Appropriations Committee said last week.

<H3>PENTAGON</H3>

Balkans Task Force Catches Its Breath

(Washington Post)....Bradley Graham

When Yugoslav authorities finally agreed to NATO's withdrawal terms last month after 78 days of allied airstrikes, Army Col. Greg Kaufmann and his team of Balkans experts at the Pentagon broke open a case of Samuel Adams beer.

<p>

US Arms, Training Aided Milosevic

(Boston Globe)....David Abel

Following a pattern of supplying future foes with high-tech weapons, the United States furnished Yugoslavia with nearly \$1 billion in arms during the past five decades, according to the Pentagon's Security Cooperation Agency.

<H3>ARMY</H3>

Army: Kosovo Costs Approaching \$2 Billion As Peacekeeping Begins

(Inside The Army)....Kim Burger

As Army troops in Kosovo have become a primary component of the peacekeeping force, the service has presented the Pentagon with a new \$1.7-billion price tag for its operations, according to budget officials and documents.

<p>

U.S. Soldier Killed In Crash

(European Stars And Stripes)....Kevin Dougherty

A U.S. Army soldier and a Macedonian civilian died Sunday in a highway accident involving a NATO military convoy that was driving north from Salonika, Greece, to Camp Able Sentry, Army officials said Monday.

<H3>MARINE CORPS</H3>

A Marine Officer Dispenses Her Legal Advice In Kosovo

(Wall Street Journal)....Glenn Burkins

...Call it a sign of the times or just common sense, but even the Marines don't travel far these days without a lawyer to consult.

<H3>NAVY</H3>

Puerto Ricans Demand U.S. Pullout

(Orlando Sentinel)....Ivan Roman

Under a sea of Puerto Rican flags, more than 50,000 people marched to the gate

s of a U.S. Navy base Sunday to demand that it stop bombing exercises and leave the nearby island of Vieques.

<p>
Boorda's Decorations Not Earned, Navy Says

(Washington Post)....Associated Press

The Navy has decided that the official record of Adm. Jeremy "Mike" Boorda, who committed suicide amid questions about Vietnam combat decorations he had worn, should continue to show he did not earn them.

<H3>AIR FORCE</H3>

AF Recruiting May Miss By 2,500

(San Antonio Express-News)....Sig Christenson

...The Air Force said Thursday it expects to fall 2,500 people short of its recruiting goal in the fiscal year ending in September something that hasn't happened since 1979.

<H3>CONGRESS</H3>

Hill Auditors: Sensitive Military Parts Missing

(Defense Week)....John Donnelly

Hundreds of millions of dollars worth of "sensitive" military components considered excess by the services are shipped off yearly for disposal but are never received where they are sent.

<H3>NATO</H3>

A Kosovo Numbers Game

(U.S. News & World Report)....Richard J. Newman

...So far, their reports suggest, in 11 weeks of bombing, NATO jets may have destroyed fewer than 20 Serbian tanks, a similar number of artillery pieces, and fewer than 10 armored personnel carriers.

<H3>BALKANS</H3>

Cities Clamor For West's Aid In Yugoslavia

(Washington Post)....William Booth

The most potent opposition to President Slobodan Milosevic has emerged not in the capital but in cities around Serbia where dissident mayors and local officials say they can topple the Serbian leader.

<p>
KLA Leadership's Resistance To The U.N. Gains Momentum

(Wall Street Journal)....James M. Dorsey

The rebel-led provisional government of Kosovo refuses to acknowledge unconditionally the legal authority of the United Nations civilian administration in the

e region, and warns that it could revert to armed struggle if the U.N. administration fails to lead Kosovo toward independence.

<p>

NATO Link To KLA Rebels May Have Helped Seal Victory

(Wall Street Journal)....Matthew Kaminski and John Reed

...Now that the fighting is over, a different picture is emerging of the role the guerrilla army played in helping NATO to evict Serb forces from Kosovo.

<p>

Bosnia Peace May Become Kosovo Casualty

(Baltimore Sun)....Tom Bowman

As international troops stream into Kosovo, plans are under way to pull thousands of U.S. and allied soldiers out of Bosnia and Herzegovina, prompting fears that a tenuous peace and unfinished business in the former Yugoslav republic may be sacrificed on the altar of a new peacekeeping effort.

<p>

Another Map, Another Mistake

(Newsweek)....Unattributed

...But it turns out that Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and Defense Secretary William Cohen, who negotiated the plan with the Russians, were using a 1991 map of Kosovo.

<p>

Bambipark: A Young Milosevic's Field Of Dreams

(New York Times)....Blaine Harden

Neither war against the Western world, nor missiles in his father's house, nor scurrilous rumors that he skipped the country to avoid fighting in Kosovo have kept President Slobodan Milosevic's only son, Marko, from realizing his theme park dream.

<H3>RUSSIA</H3>

U.S. Claims Russia Broke Rules In Expelling Attache

(Washington Times)....Bill Gertz

U.S. intelligence officials believe Moscow's recent expulsion of a U.S. military attache was in retaliation for the ouster of a Russian agent and violated unwritten rules of the spy game.

<H3>MIDEAST</H3>

Experts To Assess Iraqi Factory Rebuilding

(Washington Post)....Unattributed

The U.N. Security Council has agreed yesterday to send a team of experts July 15 to assess whether a vaccine factory here ordered destroyed by U.N. weapons inspectors should be reconstructed, an official for the world body said.

<p>

Iraq Finds Oil-For-Food Goods Substandard

(New York Times)....Associated Press

Large amounts of food and medicine arriving in Iraq under a United Nations oil
-for-food program are substandard, damaged or unusable, a United Nations offici
al said Monday.
<p>
Syrian Leader In Moscow, Seeking Weapons

(Washington Post)....Unattributed

Syrian President Hafez Assad came to Moscow yesterday for talks on upgrading h
is military with Russian weapons.

<H3>ASIA</H3>

Pakistani's Pullout Vow Is A Very Har
d Sell At Home

(New York Times)....Celia W. Dugger

Once he gets home from his Washington tete-a-tete with President Clinton, Paki
stani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif is likely to find it difficult to deliver on
his pledge to the Americans that he would seek to withdraw Pakistani-backed for
ces from the Indian side of the cease-fire line in the disputed territory of Ka
shmir.

<p>
Domestic Pressures Imperil Kashmir Pea
ce Deal

(Washington Post)....Pamela Constable

A U.S.-brokered breakthrough that could end the six-week border war between In
dia and Pakistan has put the governments of both countries in an awkward positi
on at home, raising fears it could still fall apart under domestic political pr
essure.

<p>
In Pakistani Village, Distrust Of India
ns As Raw As Ever

(New York Times)....Celia W. Dugger

...But the gaiety with which the villagers greeted the monsoon contrasted with
their grim fatalism about the fighting that has raged for two months between P
akistan and India in Kashmir, the Himalayan land just to the north of Punjab th
at both nations want for their own.

<p>
A Report That North Korea Has Plans To T
est-Launch A Missile

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

North Korea has confirmed that it is prepared to test a missile, a prominent J
apanese visitor to the country said Saturday.

<p>
Clinton Responds Coolly To South Korean
Request To Boost Missile Range

(New York Times)....Agence France-Presse

President Clinton has responded frostily to South Korean President Kim Dae-Jun
g's request that Seoul be allowed to boost the range of its missiles to 500 kil
ometers, reports said Monday.

<p>
Japan Says It Will Freeze Funds If NK Mis
sile Tests Proceed

(Pacific Stars And Stripes)....Jim Lea

South Korea and Japan have agreed to provide most of the \$4.6 billion required for the construction of two light-water nuclear reactors for North Korea, but Japan is warning that it may freeze payments if Pyongyang test launches another missile.

<H3>OPINION</H3>

Enter Gen. Jones

(Washington Times)....Tod Lindberg

There is an antidote for Washington in Washington -- and that is the parade ground of the U.S. Marine Barracks at Eighth and I Streets, SE.

<p>

Salute To Our Everyday Heroes

>

(Washington Post)....Eric K. Shinseki

...And as tough as this phase of peacemaking has been, the hard, dangerous work of peacekeeping has just begun. Paratroopers from the U.S. Army's 82nd Airborne Division led deploying NATO forces as the peacekeepers began establishing themselves in the bombing range that was Kosovo.

<p>

Time For Serbian Self-Examination<

BR>

(International Herald Tribune)....Larry Hollingworth

...Who are the Serbs who committed these crimes?

<p>

A Place For Croatia In The Euro-Atlantic

Community

(International Herald Tribune)....Franjo Tudjman

A decade after the collapse of Communism and the end of the Cold War, Europe's economic, political and security landscape has been fundamentally transformed, reflecting the paradox that as the world is increasingly integrated, Europe is simultaneously becoming more individuated nationally.

<p>

Peace Through Justice

(Washington Post)....Kingsley Chiedu Moghalu

Now that NATO has fought and won the war in Kosovo, will peace be established with justice?

<p>

From Gunboat Diplomacy To Gunpoint Democracy

(Washington Times)....Kay Bailey Hutchison

U.S. foreign policy since the end of the Cold War has been freed of the discipline imposed by the superpower conflict. This has permitted a much bolder use of American military power, increasingly in ways that diverge from the defense of national security interests as traditionally defined.

<p>

Serbian Recalcitrance -- (Letter)

(Washington Post)....Dimitrij Rupel and Miomir Zuzul

...Mr. Morgan seems to forget that by its constitution, Yugoslavia was a country comprising six nations, and Serbs were only one of those six.

<p>

**Bombing Serbia: A New Era? -- (Letter)
**

**(New York Times)....William D. Hartung and Brad R. Roth
**
Tina Rosenberg (Editorial Observer, July 2) sounds an increasingly familiar but flawed theme: that the NATO bombing campaign in Kosovo was a legitimate intervention that may herald a new era in international relations in which intervention to stem large-scale human rights abuses may take precedence over issues of national sovereignty.

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**<P>New York Times
**

**July 6, 1999
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Pg. 1</P>

<P>Accord With NATO Lets Moscow Add Troops In Kosovo</P>

<P>By Steven Lee Myers with Michael Wines</P>

<P> WASHINGTON -- NATO and Russian military commanders resolved their differences over Russia's role in the peacekeeping operation in Kosovo Monday, clearing the way for about 3,600 more Russian troops to arrive in the Serbian province after weeks of wrangling.</P>

<P> The first planeloads of Russian paratroopers could begin arriving as soon as Tuesday at Kosovo's main airport west of the capital, Pristina, alliance and Russian officials said. There they will join several hundred Russian troops who have hunkered down there since they entered Serbia on June 12, beating NATO peacekeepers by hours. </P>

<P> In the last four days, NATO had in effect grounded the next incoming Russian paratroopers by persuading Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania to deny Russia permission to fly through their air space, a move that rattled the already uneasy relations between the alliance and Moscow. </P>

<P> The United States and Russia signed an agreement in Helsinki, Finland, on June 18 to integrate the Russians into NATO's operation. But the precise manner of how and where they would operate and how they would report to NATO commanders became mired in confusion, dispute and, some NATO officials suspected, intrigue in the Kremlin. </P>

<P> The military issues were settled today after two days of talks in Moscow involving senior officers for each side, led by Vice Adm. Valentin Kuznetsov of the Russian Defense Ministry and Gen. Dieter Stöckmann of Germany, who is chief of staff to NATO's commander, Gen. Wesley K. Clark of the United States. </P>

<P> The text of Monday's agreement was not made public but General Clark said the accord reflected the broad terms reached in Helsinki. "All of the issues have been clarified just as was required by the Helsinki agreement," he said in an interview with The Associated Press. </P>

<P> A NATO official in Brussels said today, "Now, there are absolutely no military obstacles for the deployment of the Russians." </P>

<P> The final disputes involved the Russians' place in NATO's chain of command and the exact areas in the American, German and French sectors in Kosovo where the Russian troops would operate. </P>

<P> The Russians agreed -- with great reluctance, officials said -- to serve under the nominal control of the allied commanders of each sector where they will operate, but they reserved the right to refuse to carry out orders. </P>

<P> Russian commanders also sought but did not get permission to send troops into the Italian sector, which would have altered boundaries that had been negotiated in painstaking detail. </P>

<P> Part of the difficulty in the talks stemmed from the fact that after the Helsinki agreement, for reasons that are not clear, each side had different maps showing different areas of operations for Russia's troops, a Clinton Administration official said. </P>

<P> "We had the sense they were trying to reopen the Helsinki map, but they essentially agreed to the map," the official said. "There was just a little bit of confusion over what map." </P>

<P> For Russia, the involvement of its troops in making peace in Kosovo has considerable significance, at home and abroad. After Russia could do little to stop NATO's air war against its traditional ally Yugoslavia, the Russian deployment, beginning with the surprise occupation of the airport, was seen as a boost to the military's standing. </P>

<P> The Russians are also eager to do what they can to help the Serbs, who have cultural, religious and historic links to Russia. The areas in Kosovo where the Russians are to patrol include those where there have been concentrations of Serbs, many of whom have fled in the wake of violent retribution by Kosovo's Albanian majority. </P>

<P> Russia is ultimately to send up to 1,000 troops to the German sector in the southwestern part of Kosovo, 600 to 800 to the American sector in the southeast, and 600 to 800 to the French sector in the north. </P>

<P> In the French sector, the Russians wanted to operate in the northern city of Mitrovica, where Serbs are trying to declare a "Serbian zone" to block the return of Albanians. NATO's negotiators rejected that, the alliance officials said. </P>

<P> A contingent of 750 Russians will occupy the province's main airport in Slatina, near Pristina, providing maintenance and security; NATO forces will control air traffic. </P>

<P> With the Russians, the total peacekeeping force in Kosovo will eventually total nearly 59,000. More than three weeks into the peacekeeping mission, the NATO allies, along with a handful of other nations, have sent in only about 29,000. </P>

<P> The talks in Moscow dragged on for seven hours Monday after seven hours on Sunday. And Russian and NATO officials said that despite their agreement, they were likely to encounter more differences in operational details in the weeks ahead. </P>

<P> On the important issue of command, the Russians agreed to serve under the nominal control of the allied commanders for each of the sectors where they will operate: American, German and French generals and, in the case of the airport, a British one. But the Russians said they could refuse to carry out orders. </P>

<P> There will also be a parallel Russian chain of command that includes liaison officers in each sector, at NATO headquarters in Kosovo, in Italy and at NATO's military headquarters in Mons, Belgium. </P>

<P> While having dual commands could well create disputes, the officials said the structure was not all that different from the arrangement for American troops, who operate under the British officer in charge in Kosovo, Lieut. Gen. Sir Michael Jackson, but ultimately answer only to the American commander in chief, President Clinton. </P>

<P> At NATO's insistence, the agreement specifies that any sector commander can send other peacekeepers into the Russian areas of operation to carry out any order the Russians refuse to follow, the officials said. NATO feared that otherwise the Russian areas could be seen as de facto enclaves for the Serbs. </P>

<P> Asked for an example of the type of order the Russians might not carry out, the Administration official cited the arrest of Serbs accused of committing war crimes. "If the Russian refuse an order," the official said, "the commanders will be able to order somebody else to do it." </P>

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<P>Wall Street Journal

July 6, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Display Of U.S. Might Makes Allies, Adversaries Doubt Their
Relevance</P>

<P>By Carla Anne Robbins, Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal<
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<P> WASHINGTON -- Can America be too powerful? That is the question the U.S
. is facing in the wake of Kosovo.</P>

<P> Americans aren't feeling victorious, either about Washington's ambivale
nt leadership of the war or its still-dangerous aftermath. But the display of A
merican military might -- shattering Serbia from the air without suffering a si
ngle North Atlantic Treaty Organization casualty -- is changing the way the res
t of the world looks at the U.S.</P>

<P> In Moscow and Beijing, warnings of a new American hegemony have replace
d earlier paeans to a strategic partnership. Wounded pride and big-power jockey
ing can be seen in everything from the Russian Army's mad dash last month to be
at NATO troops to the Pristina airport, to floundering negotiations over China'
s entry into the World Trade Organization.</P>

<P> For America's European allies -- co-victors in a war completely dominat
ed by American technology and firepower -- Kosovo has sparked renewed soul-sear
ching about their stark dependence on the U.S.</P>

<P> American officials are hopeful that rogue nations such as North Korea a
nd Iraq will be more cautious now about directly confronting American power. Bu
t they also worry the rogues may try to even the odds by stepping up clandestin
e efforts to acquire nuclear, chemical or biological weapons. Officials in Pyon
gyang told U.S. negotiators last month that one reason North Korea wouldn't giv
e up its long-range missiles is the fear that without them, the country could b
ecome "another Yugoslavia."</P>

<P>Decade of Dominance</P>

<P> Added to the Gulf War, the Internet, and U.S. dominance of the global economy, Kosovo is seen by adversaries and allies alike as the culmination of a decade of unrivaled American power. Americans aren't so certain.</P>

<P> While a full 74% of Americans approved of U.S. involvement in the Gulf War, only 58% thought Kosovo was worthwhile, according to a Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll. President Bush's approval ratings soared after the Gulf War; Bill Clinton's percentages barely moved after Kosovo.</P>

<P> The war's many horrors -- the expulsion of hundreds of thousands of ethnic Albanians in its first days, the mass executions now being uncovered -- have raised agonizing questions about President Clinton's tardy involvement and his decision to rule out the use of ground troops at the start. And Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic is still in power. </P>

<P>Where Are the Fireworks?</P>

<P> But then, so is Saddam Hussein. That didn't stop the post-Gulf War explosion of fireworks or victory parades. Those celebrations were so jubilant and so prolonged -- top commander Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf addressed a joint session of Congress and even served as Grand Marshal for the Kentucky Derby parade -- that commentators complained they were lasting far longer than the war.</P>

<P> Even without the parades, the Kosovo war's most basic aims have been achieved. Serb troops are out of Kosovo, NATO is in, and in the nearly four weeks since the war ended, about 400,000 ethnic Albanians have gone back home.</P>

<P> Why the country doesn't feel victorious about Kosovo is a complicated question. The fact that the U.S. is still at war with Iraq, eight years after the parades ended, may explain part of that skepticism. Postimpeachment doubts about President Clinton's leadership may also have tempered the public reaction.</P>

<P> A related explanation is that many American experts and pundits were expecting the U.S., and particularly Mr. Clinton, to fail in Kosovo, and some have been extremely grudging about acknowledging the victory.</P>

<P>No Emotional Commitment</P>

<P> A lead article in the summer edition of the prestigious journal Foreign Affairs, sent to the printers before Yugoslavia's capitulation, is based on a presumption of, if not outright defeat, some unsavory compromise with Yugoslav President Milosevic to halt the war. The cover of the June 28 New Republic magazine, published as the war was ending, reads: "Winning Ugly."</P>

<P> Peter Rodman, author of the Foreign Affairs piece and a former top Reagan national-security aide, now says, "It was a victory, you can't deny that. Everyone expected Clinton to lose."</P>

<P> The simplest explanation for American indifference, however, is that neither President Clinton nor the American public ever emotionally committed to a

war waged from 15,000 feet and fought mainly for humanitarian principles. "Americans never really believed that their lives would be changed" by either defeat or victory in Kosovo, says Democratic pollster Stan Greenberg of Washington.

For Russia and China, by contrast, the stakes in Kosovo always looked a lot higher. Both countries had strong cultural and historical reasons to oppose the NATO bombing campaign. The precedent of the international community intervening to stop internal repression cut far too close for comfort, given those nations' own brutal histories in Chechnya and Tibet.

More than anything, Kosovo reinforced fundamental suspicions in Moscow and Beijing about America's ambitions for global power at their expense. Russian and Chinese political leaders were infuriated by NATO's willingness to bypass the United Nations Security Council, where the two countries would certainly have vetoed the war. As the bombing progressed, Russian and Chinese generals were dazzled by how far American high-tech weaponry had advanced since its dramatic debut in the Gulf War.

According to a Western diplomat, Chinese President Jiang Zemin raged at his advisers in the midst of the Kosovo crisis: "We're irrelevant. We're supposed to be a big power."

For Moscow, the perceived loss was intensely personal: Its longtime rival NATO, within weeks of adding three former Soviet satellites, was waging an offensive war in Russia's own backyard. "Russia has lost more than it won," including "influence in the Balkans and the world over," lamented a page-one commentary in the daily Nezavisimaya Gazeta soon after Russian envoy Viktor Chernomyrdin helped negotiate Mr. Milosevic's capitulation.

Beijing's Suspicions

For Beijing, the Kosovo conflict became intensely personal after NATO bombed the Chinese embassy in Belgrade midway through the war. Washington insists the bombing was an error, the result of outdated maps. Beijing remains officially unpersuaded. The precision of the errant strike has further fueled Beijing's suspicions that the attack was intentional: U.S. officials say they now believe the bombs shattered, among other things, the embassy's intelligence and communications center, and killed two Chinese intelligence officers.

U.S. officials believe they can weather the Kosovo storm with Russia so long as Boris Yeltsin is in the Kremlin. Presidential elections are next June. In recent days, Mr. Yeltsin has shown a desire to, in his words, "mend ties" after the Kosovo fight: dropping his demand for a separate Russian peacekeeping sector in Kosovo and agreeing to begin negotiations on revising the 1972 Antiballistic Missile Treaty with the U.S. As ever, the West is ready to reward Mr. Yeltsin by pledging new financing and debt relief.

Less certain is Mr. Yeltsin's ability to control his own military leadership, which has been both humiliated and emboldened by Kosovo. The U.S. and other NATO countries temporarily blocked the dispatch of additional Russian peacekeepers to Kosovo after Moscow's generals tried to revise the terms of their participation in the NATO-led force. Monday, the two sides appeared to have settled their differences, and Russian troops could begin arriving as early as Tuesday.

ay. Late last month, a Russian military exercise brought Russian and NATO warplanes, flying near Iceland, face to face for the first time since the end of the Cold War.

Pessimistic Outlook

U.S. officials are more worried about China, where anti-Western forces are capitalizing on the Kosovo crisis. They are particularly pessimistic about the prospects for an agreement this year on China's entry into the World Trade Organization.

Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji's push for economic reform, already unpopular domestically, was hobbled after Mr. Zhu made major trade concessions during an April visit to Washington but still failed to win President Clinton's support for China's entry. Kosovo, and particularly the embassy bombing, have given anti-reform forces in Beijing even more firepower against Mr. Zhu and his reforms.

It isn't clear who will win the power struggle, or even when it will be settled. One likely outcome, however, is a significant increase in Chinese military spending -- which spiked after the Gulf War -- to build more high-tech conventional weaponry.

It is even harder to predict the reaction in shuttered societies like Iraq and North Korea. But both were watching the Kosovo war closely. According to U.S. intelligence officials, the Serbs sent a high-ranking military delegation to Baghdad in February, before the NATO bombing began, in an effort to learn Iraqi air-defense techniques. Those lessons may have helped the Serbs hold off NATO bombers in the first weeks of the campaign. The North Koreans, meanwhile, sent their own delegation to Belgrade during the war to assess American firepower firsthand.

Aggression Deterrent?

Optimistic analysts say they hope America's show of force will deter future aggression by Iraq and North Korea. After watching NATO come to the defense of the Kosovars, for instance, the Iraqis may be less tempted to go after their Kurdish or Shiite minorities.

But a more chilling view suggests that the display of American conventional military superiority will only feed Baghdad's and Pyongyang's appetites for unconventional weapons. In the near term, hopes that North Korea might give up its long-range missile program in exchange for a partial lifting of economic sanctions -- a proposal carried to North Korea last month by former Defense Secretary William Perry -- are dwindling. In addition, one analyst suggests, after watching U.S. firepower in Belgrade, the North Koreans -- already master tunnelers -- will likely decide to bury even more military installations.

Even though they were fighting on the same side, the U.S.'s European allies also came away from the war dazzled by America's military might and frustrated by their own lagging capabilities.

The disparity was enormous. American planes, loaded with sophisticated electronic defenses and an arsenal of laser- and satellite-guided weaponry, fle

w more than three-quarters of the strike missions. American satellites and electronic eavesdropping systems provided most of the intelligence and targeting data. Most of the smart bombs dropped or launched during the war were American.

Low-Tech Warfare

Some European fighter jets didn't even have gear to scramble their pilots' radio transmissions. According to one U.S. intelligence officer, every European strike sortie required an average of three American support planes to suppress enemy radar, refuel and direct the air battle.

Those stark facts have renewed Europe's longstanding debate over how much political and military independence they want from the U.S. and a U.S.-led NATO.

U.S. officials insist that the war has done wonders for U.S.-European relations. NATO's ability to hold together and prevail in its first hot war in 50 years has given European leaders a new confidence in themselves, their relations with Washington and in the value of the alliance.

Secretary General Javier Solana, who will leave NATO later this year to direct the European Union's new common defense and foreign policy, vows that his goal will be to upgrade European military capabilities -- but while working with the alliance, not against it.

With the euro struggling, no clear external threat and European voters fiercely opposed to increased defense spending, it isn't likely Europe will go AWOL from the alliance. Just keeping the peace in Kosovo -- the Europeans are providing three-quarters of the troops -- will be full-time occupation and financial strain for years to come.

European Repercussions

Still, some Europe-watchers are nervous. "Europe's leaders may have come out of this feeling good about the U.S. But there is a fierce political resentment of our power throughout much of the [intellectual] elite," says Mr. Rodman, the former Reagan national security aide, who is now with the Nixon Center, a foreign-policy studies organization in Washington.

He predicts that the carefully crafted political consensus that made Kosovo possible may not be easy to replicate. In particular, he expects European leaders to join with China and Russia in a bid to strengthen the U.N. Security Council, as a counterbalance to the U.S. In coming months, he says, the U.S. will have to pick its way more carefully through trade and other politically sensitive disputes with Europe that could feed post-Kosovo resentments of American dominance.

"It's not just the Chinese and Russians who are thinking geopolitically," Mr. Rodman says. "Many Europeans came out of the war asking 'What can we do to counterbalance the American superpower?'"

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<P>New York Times

July 6, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>After Scotland Yard Inquiry, A Kosovo Village Buries 64</P>

<P>By John Kifner</P>

<P> BELA CRKVA, Yugoslavia -- This ruined little village buried its dead Monday in a bitter, tearful ceremony. </P>

<P> Reburied them, actually. </P>

<P> Sixty of the 64 people laid to their final rest on a sun-baked hilltop had been hastily, furtively buried at night by other villagers near where the victims were reportedly shot dead by Serbian forces early on the morning of March 25, hours after the NATO bombing began. The bodies of four other people who had been killed elsewhere were also buried Monday. </P>

<P> The well-documented account of a massacre here that day, along with reports of other massacres in a chain of villages along the main road running southeast from Djakovica, marked the beginning of the violent Serbian campaign that seemed designed to purge Kosovo of its Albanians, 90 percent of the province's population. </P>

<P> The bodies of the victims in Bela Crkva (pronounced BELL-a SER-ka) were carried from a makeshift morgue set up by war crimes investigators in a winding caravan of farm tractors and trucks. </P>

<P> It was a ceremony so emotional that the local custom banning women from funerals was set aside by a village decision. And the crowd of thousands was packed with weeping, wailing women in white head scarves of mourning. </P>

<P> For six days, Chief Superintendent John T. Bunn of Scotland Yard had be

en digging up the first, rough graves. He was camped in a white tent down a nearly impassable mud track in a field by a river where villagers say most of the killings occurred. </P>

<P> The "crime scene," as Bunn called it, where the river runs under a railroad bridge, is one of six murder sites listed by the International War Crimes Tribunal in its indictment against Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic and four of his top associates for crimes against humanity. </P>

<P> The British detective climbed up the railroad embankment the other day and pointed out a big trench where 32 bodies had been exhumed and other, smaller graves among the bushes, trees and hedges. He described how villagers had turned out to help and had driven the bodies to the morgue in a procession of tractors. </P>

<P> He finished his investigation for the war crimes tribunal on Saturday evening and turned the bodies over to the villagers for burial. </P>

<P> Monday, Bunn stood quietly to the rear of the ceremony with a few of his team members and summed up his findings briefly. </P>

<P> "There were 60 bodies, all shot," he said. "There were seven children under 12, including a 4-year-old. There were three women, one over 60. They were killed in individual little groups along the river. It was all quite deliberate." </P>

<P> Professionally, he said in a matter-of-fact tone, the investigation had been "quite satisfying." Then, with a bit more emotion, he added that he was pleased that "these people, whose relatives have been shot and taken away from them, can grieve in a proper fashion." </P>

<P> The day began with a line of tractors and trucks pulling up to the makeshift morgue the British had set up in an empty warehouse on the highway intersection at the village of Zrze. </P>

<P> The bodies were taken out of the morgue in black plastic body bags -- with evidence tags marked "Metropolitan Police" still attached -- and loaded on to rough pine pallets, for Muslims are not buried in coffins. A small red-and-black Albanian flag with a double-headed eagle was placed on each body bag. </P>

<P> The villagers gathered in the yard of the local school throughout the morning. A line of men stretched along the fence at the entrance, solemnly greeting each visitor with a right hand across the chest, along with a short bow or a handshake. </P>

<P> A group of older men -- local dignitaries, most wearing the traditional white conical hat of the Albanian mountains -- sat on a row of benches and desks from the school. Beside them, on lower benches, was a row of children, each holding a framed photograph of one or more of the dead, the kind of stiff, formal portraits people put in their living rooms. </P>

<P> As more and more people drifted in, wailing women clustered in the shade of a row of trees, their cries splitting the air. </P>

<P> Like most villages here, Bela Crkva is a close-knit group of extended families, where relationships run long and deep. The printed list of victims contained 21 people with the family name of Popaj and 24 with that of Zhuniqui, along with four from the Fetoshi family and seven from the Spahiu family. </P>

<P> Among the people gathered here Sunday was Isuf Zhenigi, who first gave an account of the massacre to The New York Times in April, describing how he had been saved by falling under the bodies as men were machine-gunned into the river. </P>

<P> "This is the most terrible, black day I ever had," he said as he looked around the mourners and the portraits of the dead people he knew so well. He lost his uncle and 23 other relatives in the massacre. </P>

<P> Asked if he had returned to the riverbank to see the scene of the killings, Zhenigi, who had appeared composed, at first nodded. Then, suddenly, he began crying, leaned against a building, then slumped to the ground. Other men from the village squatted down with him, patting his shoulder, giving him a cigarette. </P>

<P> "All my best friends were killed," he said finally. "They killed 12 children." </P>

<P> And the future? he was asked. </P>

<P> "What can I do?" he said. "I had two buses. They burned them. I had a home. They destroyed it." Now, he said, he must figure out how to provide for his family: "I have two children. They are sleeping in the yard." </P>

<P> At noon the procession of close relatives, carrying mourning wreaths that are a custom here, began filing along the main dirt road of the village, and the schoolyard emptied out as people joined them. </P>

<P> The procession wound past the village's burned-out houses -- nearly every one destroyed -- and the mosque, scorched, its dome full of holes, its minaret gone. Past the ruins, the throng of mourners mounted a steep hill, known locally as Paskiddle. </P>

<P> They were accompanied by a small honor guard of soldiers from the rebel Kosovo Liberation Army in a mixture of camouflage outfits, including six with Kalashnikov rifles with fixed bayonets. </P>

<P> The group is no longer supposed to wear uniforms or carry guns, under the peacekeeping agreement for Kosovo. German NATO troops on the scene did not interfere, though, except -- briefly and unsuccessfully -- to try to keep out foreign journalists. </P>

<P> Under a burning sun, the procession reached the crest of the hill, and eight trucks and 11 tractors groaned into the field with the bodies. The graves had already been dug, and a long process began of unloading each body, the grave surrounded by mourners, while thousands of other people sat silently around the hillside and men of the village pushed dirt into the grave. </P>

<P> The graves were marked with simple wooden stakes bearing the name of the

e deceased and a birth date. Each stake also bore the date 25-3-99. </P>

<P> Finally, the honor guard fired a volley of three bursts of automatic weapons in honor of the dead, and the people of Bela Crkva began drifting down the hill. </P>

<P> Bunn, later in the afternoon, set up his white investigation tent in the village of Celina, a few miles across the rolling hills to the southeast. </P>

<P> Villagers there say they have 88 bodies. </P>

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<P>Los Angeles Times

July 6, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Yugoslav City Battling Toxic Enemies</P>

<I><P>Balkans: NATO strikes on chemical sites leave environmental nightmare.</P>

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

<P> PANCEVO, Yugoslavia--They call it "The Night of the Witches," those horrible hours that began at precisely 1 a.m. April 18, when NATO bombs and missiles rained in force on this Serbian city. Within seconds, they demolished a refinery, a fertilizer plant and an American-built petrochemical complex that released a toxic cloud so dense and potentially lethal that its effects can be felt here even today--and will be, perhaps, for decades.</P>

<P>The sun never shone here on the morning after, according to detailed municip

al health department logs and video footage.</P>

<P>A thick, grayish-white fog containing concentrations of carcinogenic vinyl chloride monomer that were 10,600 times above human-safety limits had settled over the city at dawn and finally cleared at nightfall on a day of horror that the townsfolk have named for the Serbian equivalent of Halloween.</P>

<P>But Monday, nearly three months after NATO's devastating attack on Pancevo--and almost a month after it dropped the last bomb of its air war on Yugoslavia--here's a glimpse of the enduring environmental and human nightmare the alliance left behind:</P>

<P>* Physicians in this city 10 miles northeast of the Yugoslav and Serbian capital, Belgrade, have privately recommended that all women who were in town that night avoid pregnancy for at least the next two years. Women who were less than nine weeks pregnant in mid-April were advised to obtain abortions, and doctors say most have complied.</P>

<P>* The canal leading from Pancevo's South Zone Industrial Complex is still awash with vinyl chloride, even after much of the 100 tons of cancer-causing chemical released from the Petro Hemija factory that night already has mixed into the waters, the riverbed and most likely the food chain of the mighty Danube River just downstream.</P>

<P>* And still, the ground in and around Pancevo is saturated with ammonia, mercury, naphtha, acids, dioxins and other toxins that leaked and burned out of the factories that night, raising yet-unanswered questions about the long-term impact on a city struggling to survive day to day.</P>

<P>"Only in the next two years or 20 can I tell you what the full consequences of that night will be," Pancevo's pro-democracy mayor, Srdjan Mikovic, said Monday.</P>

<P> "I'm afraid you will find a lot of our people in the oncology ward fighting cancer, or perhaps in the hematology department or centers for respiratory diseases, or perhaps in the morgue. But for today, it's enough to worry just how to get through the summer and the cold winter that lies ahead," Mikovic said.</P>

<P>Although perhaps the most dramatic, Pancevo is one of many environmental disasters that are legacies of NATO's war on Yugoslavia and its dominant republic, Serbia--78 days of aerial assaults on power plants, factories, fuel refineries and storage tanks. The alliance said these attacks were intended to degrade Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic's nation and war machine.</P>

<P>On Monday, the phones still were ringing wildly in Dr. Slobodan Tosovic's office at Belgrade's Public Institute of Health, where the chief ecotoxicologist was fielding questions and complaints from throughout this war-damaged land. </P>

<P>Municipal officials in the opposition-ruled town of Kragujevac to the south were begging for permission to flush out a lagoon poisoned by PCBs, which were released from a power plant that NATO bombed there toward the end of the war.</P>

<P> Officials phoned in from the opposition-led city of Novi Sad in the north, appealing for the federal government to speed up its study of their underground water reservoir--an ongoing effort, Tosovic said, to determine whether PCBs or other poisons had polluted the city's entire drinkingwater supply. </P>

<P> "It's enough to make me believe the Americans and NATO were making a biochemical experiment with us," said Tosovic, who wrote a paper during the war titled "Aggression on Yugoslavia: Indirect Chemical Warfare." </P>

<P>But Monday, Tosovic downplayed the short-term toxic impact of the war. </P>

<P>"The fact is, we were quite lucky," he said. "We have the capacity to clean up the channel in Pancevo, and already we've cleaned up the worst-hit areas of the Danube and other rivers. There are no lasting air pollution problems. And last week, we lifted the fishing ban on the Danube." </P>

<P>The Serbian Health Ministry, which includes Tosovic's department, also has issued an urgent advisory to physicians, urging them to stop recommending abortions and birth control--an issue with broad political and sociological implications in a nation where 10 years of war-induced poverty among delicately balanced ethnic groups already have sent Serbian birthrates plunging. </P>

<P>"We begged these women not to stop their pregnancies because we didn't want a biological war on top of a chemical one," Tosovic said. </P>

<P> Initial tests of crops and farm animals, he asserted, have shown only marginal levels of toxicity, although he cautioned that ongoing DNA testing of seeds and embryos to determine the longer-term genetic impact of dioxins and other pollutants on the food chain will not be completed until this fall. </P>

<P>But Tosovic and other Yugoslav scientists concede that some of the greatest environmental effects may have yet to be felt. </P>

<P>Facing a winter in which heat and electricity will be in short supply in a nation where most power plants and oil refineries were crippled, many of Yugoslavia's 10 million people are scraping together what little money they have to buy stoves that burn wood. And the demand for that fuel, the scientists say, will threaten Serbia's forests and national parks, which already have been emptied of several endangered species that fled during the war. </P>

<P>"Everyone here is buying a Smederevac," said Nena Simendic, news editor of Pancevo's opposition-run local television station, citing the name of Yugoslavia's most popular woodburning stove. </P>

<P>"Of course, it's going to ruin the environment even more, but who here has the luxury to worry about that?" she said. "For us, it's survival--in the here and now." </P>

<P>For Simendic and her mayor, who fiercely guarded the independent voice of TV Pancevo throughout the NATO war, the fact that this town may have suffered some of the longest-term damage of the U.S.-led air war represents far more than a single irony. </P>

<P>First, Mayor Mikovic produced municipal records documenting that the petrochemical plant that opened in 1978 was built by three American companies and a German firm. Two other U.S. corporations, along with a French concern, built the oil refinery. And the fertilizer plant was a joint venture by the U.S., Spain and the Netherlands.</P>

<P>"The Americans built that factory, so they knew precisely what was inside when they bombed it," Mikovic said of the petrochemical plant where a NATO bomb ripped apart the storage sphere containing the vinyl chloride monomer-- a raw material for plastic products.</P>

<P>Then there was Pancevo's political and philosophical past. It was just a year ago, Mikovic recalled, at a time when NATO already was threatening to bomb Yugoslavia, that the city hosted an international women's water polo tournament that the American team won.</P>

<P>"You should have heard the crowd cheer when they raised the American flag and played your national anthem," Mikovic told a visiting American on Monday.</P>

<P>And historically, Pancevo has been one of Serbia's fiercest bastions of anti-Milosevic activism--right in the backyard of the nation's capital, the center of the Yugoslav president's regime.</P>

<P>"It is very difficult now to explain to my people why Pancevo should have been so victimized by this war," Mikovic said. "And I don't think the people here will applaud the American flag again for some time to come."</P>

<P>A handful of private, nonprofit Western aid agencies concerned about Yugoslavia's postwar environment already have visited Pancevo and other heavily bombed Yugoslav cities and towns in recent weeks, and a multinational, nongovernmental conference on the issue is scheduled to take place in Belgrade on July 15.</P>

<P>"But if the Western countries and their private investment do not open now to these opposition towns they bombed throughout Serbia," the mayor said, "Mr. Milosevic and his Socialist Party of Serbia will be able to keep saying the whole world is against us. And that, I'm afraid, will make them stronger.</P>

<P>"I'm speaking personally now. I have many cousins in the United States. My sister is now in Los Angeles. We have had so many connections with America through the years. And now, we have been left like this, feeling utterly alone."</P>

<P>Asked about his concerns for his own health after 11 weeks of visiting the sites of each NATO strike in Pancevo and of living under the vinyl-chloride cloud for an entire day, Mikovic shrugged.</P>

<P>"Living through this war," he said, "has taught me to believe in destiny."</P>

<P>Simendic, who covered the city's environmental disaster for her TV station April 18 and throughout the war, was even less sanguine.</P>

<P>"First, we have to rid ourselves of Milosevic," she said, "and then we can worry about everything else we've got."</P>

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<P>Washington Post

July 6, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Colombia's U.S. Connection Not Winning Drug War</P>

<P>By Karen DeYoung, Washington Post Staff Writer </P>

<P> BOGOTA, Colombia Andres Pastrana became president of Colombia last year amid high hopes here and in Washington that he could bring an end to years of violence, drug trafficking and government red ink. But by most measurements, things have only gotten worse.</P>

<P> Although Pastrana kept his pledge to begin negotiations to end a 40-year war with Marxist guerrillas, progress at the bargaining table has been slow. As the guerrillas battle -- and beat -- the Colombian army, drug cultivation in territory they control has continued to increase.</P>

<P> For the Clinton administration, Pastrana's leading foreign backer, the belief that peace was achievable and would provide a victory in Washington's drug war has descended into gloomy uncertainty. The administration continues to support the negotiations -- set to begin this week -- as the best long-term anti-drug strategy. But it has largely lost control of its Colombia policy to a small group of conservative House Republicans who charge Clinton with "coddling narco-terrorists."</P>

<P> The partisan feuding in Washington, according to Pastrana's government, has only exacerbated Colombia's problems.</P>

<P> "It's very difficult for us," said a senior Colombian diplomat. "It rem

inds us of Central America. To make peace doable, in today's world you need the support of the United States, and the fact is that every day" the Washington policy war "draws attention away" from the peace process.</P>

<P> "We are the ham in the [U.S.] sandwich," said Pastrana, whose election ended years of U.S. ostracism of Colombia under his allegedly corrupt and drug-tainted predecessor. Today, Pastrana said in a recent interview, Colombia policy has become more useful as a tool "for hitting your government than for helping or hurting our government."</P>

<P> Meanwhile, as Pastrana frets and Washington quarrels with itself, Colombians long used to living on the edge now fear they are about to fall off.</P>

<P> Cocaine production is up 28 percent, and the diversification of drug mafias into heroin has made Colombia the biggest supplier to the U.S. East Coast.</P>

<P> Despite its agreement to come to the negotiating table, the biggest of Colombia's three rebel groups -- the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, FARC by its Spanish initials -- is bigger, richer and better armed than ever before. FARC and two smaller insurgent groups together took in an estimated \$900 million in "taxes" imposed on drug traffickers for protecting cultivation zones. The rebels and the army are accused of widespread human rights abuses.</P>

<P> Kidnapping for ransom -- the rebels' second biggest income source -- has reached terrifying proportions, with a dozen American victims and many more Colombians this year. Many of the victims have been killed, even after ransom is paid, and the State Department last month strongly warned all U.S. citizens against traveling here.</P>

<P> International organizations estimate that as many as a million Colombians have left their homes, fleeing the fighting or fearing reprisals from one rebel group for alleged sympathy with another -- a number exceeding the exodus from Kosovo.</P>

<P> Refugees, drug lords and warfare have begun to spill across Colombia's borders into Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Brazil and Panama, threatening to destabilize the region.</P>

<P> Just as ominously, at least for Colombia's monied elite and sophisticated business community, the economy has gone from bad to worse. The only country in Latin America to have consistent economic growth over recent decades, Colombia this year moved into the negative column. Last month, its credit rating was downgraded in New York, making it more difficult to try to recover from a major January earthquake that decimated the main coffee-growing region.</P>

<P> Pastrana has now met three times with FARC leaders. Negotiating teams have been named, a joint agenda established, and the first negotiating session is set for Wednesday -- far more than any other Colombian government has achieved. The rebels, he said, are tired after four decades of inconclusive fighting, and want to be part of modern Colombia.</P>

<P> But in the absence of tangible results from the talks, many Colombians,

even among the majority who strongly support Pastrana's initiative, are worried that their president is giving up far more than he is getting.</P>

<P> In a bold but risky move that ultimately cost the resignation in May of his defense minister and threats of a walkout by most of the army's generals, Pastrana agreed to a FARC demand to withdraw the army from an isolated, Switzerland-size zone of south-central Colombia where the guerrillas had long prevailed.</P>

<P> Although the army is gone, Pastrana insisted that the government has more presence there than ever before. "Practically every senior official of the government has been there. American congressmen have even been there," including a June delegation of House staffers led by Rep. William D. Delahunt (D-Mass.).</P>

<P> Late last month, Pastrana persuaded Richard Grasso, chairman of the New York Stock Exchange, to travel to the area to impress on FARC that, without their cooperation, there may not be much of Colombia left to fight over. Grasso told reporters he had stressed "the opportunities capital markets will present to Colombia when a peace is achieved."</P>

<P> But FARC has rejected a cease-fire, continued fighting, and done little of substance other than show up at the negotiating table.</P>

<P> "We need some kind of gesture from the guerrillas for us to start to believe" in the negotiations, said Juan Manuel Santos, an opposition leader.</P>

<P> Pastrana said he recognizes time is running out, and has told FARC "many times" they need to build public "confidence in the process." A useful first step, he said, would be "to pledge their respect for international humanitarian law. Give up kidnapping and terrorism -- that would be a gesture to start the talks off right."</P>

<P> Meanwhile, mere launching of the peace initiative with FARC appears to have made the security situation worse, as both the guerrilla National Liberation Army and a powerful right-wing paramilitary army -- originally formed by landowners to combat the guerrillas but now deeply involved in drugs and terror itself -- have stepped up operations out of what is seen here as fear they will be left out of any new political arrangement.</P>

<P> "I am skeptical of a Colombian peace process that results in 16,000 square miles of territory being given to narco-guerrillas, who work hand-in-hand with the world's most dangerous drug dealers," Rep. Benjamin A. Gilman (R-N.Y.), chairman of the House International Relations Committee said Thursday in the latest of a year-long drumbeat of statements opposing the Colombian peace process.</P>

<P> As they continue to oppose administration policy in Colombia, Gilman, along with Rep. Dan Burton (R-Ind.), House Speaker J. Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.), and a few others, have instituted their own anti-drug policy. Last fall, they spearheaded an effort to triple the administration's military aid request for Colombia to \$300 million -- making it the world's third largest recipient, surpassed only by Egypt and Israel.</P>

<P> The House Republicans have put their money on Gen. Rosso Jose Serrano, chief of the Colombian National Police and, in the words of one senior Republican aide, "the best cop in Latin America." Nearly all the additional funds were earmarked for high-tech equipment to help the police spray fungicide on the coca fields that provide the raw material for cocaine and the opium poppies used to make heroin.</P>

<P> While aerial fumigation is his principal weapon against drugs, Serrano also has had some success in finding and destroying the labs that process drugs for export and arresting traffickers. He is credited with dismantling the powerful Medellin and Cali drug cartels, although Serrano himself admits that as a result, the drug trade here has exploded into hundreds of smaller groups that in some ways are more difficult to crack than the big cartels.</P>

<P> Serrano hopes to expand his fumigation efforts this year to the high mountain areas where opium poppies are grown. The six new U.S. UH-60 Black Hawk helicopters scheduled to arrive in September thanks to Congressional largess will carry more police farther distances to secure guerrilla-guarded areas and allow the spray planes to operate. Once he begins the assault against an estimated 15,000 acres of poppies, Serrano said in an interview, he should be able to eliminate them within three years.</P>

<P> Although the White House and the Pentagon thought sending the Black Hawks unwise, Republicans saw it as a "no-brainer" way of getting rid of all Colombian heroin in a short time, said the Republican aide.</P>

<P> Judging by the recent past, however, cutting narcotics production by fumigating drug crops is a Sisyphean task. According to a June 22 report prepared for Congress by the General Accounting Office, cocaine cultivation in Colombia has increased 50 percent during the past two years of intensive fumigation, as the guerrillas have expanded their areas of control and the traffickers have developed higher-yield plants.</P>

<P> Many Colombians -- including Pastrana -- worry about the long-term effects of spraying large amounts of poison on ever-larger swaths of Colombia's most environmentally sensitive regions. They say that without a well financed development program to give peasant farmers another way to make a living, it is a short-term strategy at best.</P>

<P> For the Clinton administration, the concentration on fumigation by police as the most vocal and visible part of U.S. policy has other complications.</P>

<P> Because the guerrillas and their paramilitary rivals control virtually all of the drug cultivation areas, it is usually impossible to spray the fields without first battling the rebels, a job assigned to the army.</P>

<P> In the view of the White House and the Pentagon, the police -- no matter how many helicopters they have -- are limited in their fighting ability. By giving them ever-more sophisticated equipment, the administration believes Congress is weakening the morale and fighting effectiveness of the army, and thus undermining Pastrana's bargaining position with the guerrillas and ultimately the drug war itself.</P>

<P> "We're not against counternarcotics," said a senior administration official. "But in the end it only works if the people in the country buy it. This is not some kind of 21st-century imperialism."</P>

<P> The Colombian military, according to the GAO report, "lacks a long-term strategy and effective leadership; suffers from poor morale; and has inadequate equipment, logistics, and training." Unlike the police, the army also has a long and dismal record of human rights abuses that restrict the amount of U.S. aid it can receive.</P>

<P> The army has been defeated in virtually every large-scale encounter with FARC, which pays its 15,000 troops three times what army conscripts make, according to U.S. and Colombian government sources.</P>

<P> But the Colombian government and the Pentagon maintain that only by trying to make the army better -- rather than largely ignoring or castigating it -- can both the counterinsurgency and counternarcotics battle be won. It is a problem that occupies more Pentagon attention than those anywhere else in the hemisphere -- "much of my waking and some of my sleeping hours," Marine Gen. Charles E. Wilhelm, head of the Miami-based Southern Command, said last month.</P>

<P> The Pentagon and the State Department note that, under Pastrana, human rights violators have been purged from the army's senior level, which they say is now committed to extending the purge down the line and punishing violations. But they acknowledge it is a slow process.</P>

<P> Although it is hard to quantify the exact division of U.S. aid between the police and the Colombian military, the Pentagon estimates the ratio at 10 to 1 in favor of the police. It would like to bring the two more in balance.</P>

<P> For the moment, with little money and a relatively small pool of human-rights vetted Colombian troops available, the Southern Command is training a 950-soldier counternarcotics army battalion it expects to be ready by December, and construction is nearly finished on a U.S.-funded, army-police intelligence center at Tres Esquinas in southwest Colombia. Although the counternarcotics and counterinsurgency wars are sometimes difficult to tell apart, Wilhelm insists that army use of U.S. equipment and training will be restricted to known drug-producing areas.</P>

<P> Meanwhile, Serrano, who frequently flies to Washington to consult with Gilman and others, has already faxed his fiscal 2000 police request for \$51 million in aircraft and other supplies the administration did not ask for.</P>

<P> Last Tuesday, a bipartisan group of House members introduced a resolution commending Pastrana's peace efforts and reaffirming U.S. support. Although Gilman declared the proposed resolution "dead on arrival" in his committee, it was seen as a step forward in the Pastrana and Clinton administrations' efforts to "broaden" congressional interest in Colombia.</P>

<P> Both governments acknowledge it is an uphill fight. A fledgling administration effort to nudge the peace process along was quickly extinguished last December, when congressional critics learned of a secret preliminary meeting bet

ween FARC representatives and a State Department official. Less than three months later, the FARC ensured there would be no further contact when they kidnapped and killed three Americans.

For now, said Pastrana's planning director, Jaime Ruiz, the administration could help Colombia return to fiscal health by supporting government's economic initiatives and putting in a good word with the international financial community.

With the White House unwilling to invite a high visibility partisan battle over an issue as sensitive as the drug war, there is little indication it is prepared to do more. It has argued that the stakes are high in Colombia, and that "you cannot solve this problem only by giving [the police] a bunch of guns and helicopters," in the words of the senior administration official. But as the stated goals of its policy seem ever more distant, he said, "the difference in approach between us and Congress becomes more difficult."

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Defense Week

July 6, 1999

Pg. 1

Army May Need Dedicated Peacekeeping Units, Senator Says

By Vince Crawley

With U.S. troops facing long-term commitments in the Balkans, it may be time for the Army to expand its ranks and create special peacekeeping units, the chairman of the powerful Senate Appropriations Committee said last week.

"I think its probably time that we put a portion of the Army into peacekeeping training if this is going to be our national function," Sen.

Ted Stevens (R-Alaska) told defense writers Thursday in Washington. "And if you're going to do that, you have to have more people."

Stevens views on this and other issues are important because he, more than any other single legislator, controls the Pentagon's purse strings. Stevens also told reporters that the recent air victory against Yugoslav Serbs appeared unique and so would not result in substantial changes to strategies or weapons programs in any of the services. As for the Army, Secretary Louis Caldera has on occasion suggested the Army may need to look at increasing the size of its force in order to meet its global responsibilities.

At the same time, however, the Army, like the other services, has had difficulty retaining and recruiting people. Likewise, Gen. Eric Shinseki, sworn in last month as the Army chief of staff, has told reporters he plans to focus on making heavy forces more mobile and lighter forces more lethal. This modernization push, he said, may cause the service to rethink its current size of 480,000 active soldiers and 530,000 in the Guard and reserve.

"I think Shinseki's right about the [Army] end-strength," Stevens said Thursday. "It's too low." The 7,000 U.S. peacekeepers making their way into Kosovo are in addition to the 7,000 U.S. troops in nearby Bosnia.

Long haul in Balkans

"I expect an expanded Bosnia-Kosovo type of command structure that's going to be our basis for consolidation of that peacekeeping effort, and it's going to go on and on," Stevens said. "I don't think anybody believes we can leave Bosnia without that conflict erupting again. And I think we're going to be in Kosovo for a substantial period of time."

Stevens has been a senator for 30 years and became chairman of the Appropriations Committee in 1997. He also chairs the committee's Defense Appropriations subcommittee. During World War II he was a decorated pilot in Burma, China and India. Stevens said he worries about the morale of young Americans who join the services to be warriors and end up pulling peacekeeping stints.

"They volunteer for combat. They're warriors, and we end up putting them at intersections in Haiti, the Balkans, Kuwait and now Kosovo," Stevens said. "You really don't need the guys who are Rambos walking around on the streets of Bosnia and Kosovo."

U.S. peacekeepers are now drawn from combat units. Some in the Army have floated the idea of separate peacekeeping units, but resistance is strong.

"Sometimes the best way to ensure the peace is to go in looking like you're ready for a fight," said Thomas McNaugher, a retired Army officer who is now a military analyst with the RAND corporation. "In Bosnia, that's what the 1st Armored Division did."

In late 1995, 20,000 soldiers with the Germany-based 1st Armored Division entered Bosnia in full combat regalia, a posture widely credited with helping ensure the end of the three-and-a-half-year war that killed at least 200,000 people.

eople.</P>

<P> Bombing into submission</P>

<P> McNaugher said that, after the Cold War ended a decade ago, he originally favored creating separate peacekeeping units but has since changed his mind. "I think the Army's argument that it's easier to make a warrior into a peacekeeper than a peacekeeper into a warrior is true."</P>

<P> On a separate issue, Stevens told defense reporters Thursday that he thinks the Army suffered no long-term damage as an institution as a result of the Kosovo air campaign, where it was not a major player.</P>

<P> "We just bombed the hell out of 'em until we signed an agreement," Stevens said. "What's the precedent of that? ... I don't see it having any relationship to the ability of the Army on the ground in a war."</P>

<P> While the Air Force is re-examining its roles and missions in light of the air victory, Stevens said he saw little likelihood the scenario would be repeated any time soon.</P>

<P> "I guess if you can find another country that's located like Serbia was where it was completely surrounded by people who were friendly to us, where we would have free access all the time, I guess you could bomb almost anyone into submission," he said. "But defeating 20 million people the way we defeated them, I don't think that's something [to make Americans] all go around holding our heads high in the air."</P>

<P> The High Price Of War And Peace</P>

<P> The 78-day air Kosovo air campaign that ended last month cost the United States \$1.8 billion, according to a preliminary estimate by the Senate Appropriations Committee. The figure is in-line with an estimate of \$1.8 billion to \$3 billion by the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments.</P>

<P> In addition, U.S. taxpayers will pay \$1.5 billion for the U.S. share of the Kosovo peacekeeping force called KFOR through the end of this year, according to the committee. The U.S. portion of KFOR would cost \$2.5 billion to \$3 billion for a full 12 months of peacekeeping next year.</P>

<P> "The trouble with rough estimates," committee chairman Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska) said Thursday, is "they're always too conservative."</P>

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<P>Washington Post

July 6, 1999

Pg. 13</P>

<P>Balkans Task Force Catches Its Breath</P>

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

<P> When Yugoslav authorities finally agreed to NATO's withdrawal terms last month after 78 days of allied airstrikes, Army Col. Greg Kaufmann and his team of Balkans experts at the Pentagon broke open a case of Samuel Adams beer.</P>
>

<P> Not so much in celebration as relief.</P>

<P> The war had kept Kaufmann's 11-member task force working late most nights and through weekends, monitoring developments in the Balkans and drafting policy options for the Pentagon's top civilian officials. With the end of hostilities, some of the pressure has eased.</P>

<P> "The intensity is down," Kaufmann said, noting that urgent cables are no longer streaming in from NATO headquarters in Belgium requiring immediate action.</P>

<P> Marshall Smith, an intelligence analyst on loan to the task force from the Defense Intelligence Agency, had found the nearly nonstop pace more demanding than anything he had experienced in 16 years as a civil servant. He joined the team in February, a month before the airstrikes began.</P>

<P> "It was kind of culture shock for me," he said. "In my old job, I came in at 8 o'clock and went home at 16:30 [4:30 p.m.]; that's a normal civil service routine. Here, I was coming in quite a bit earlier, and at 16:30, we were just warming up here. I also had a beeper, which I never had before."</P>

<P> But the task force, in existence since 1995 when NATO peacekeeping troops moved into Bosnia, is hardly about to disband. If Bosnia is any example, Kaufmann's group expects to continue putting in long hours for months to come, given how shaky things remain in Kosovo.</P>

<P> "The whole region is still very unstable," Kaufmann said. He added that the United States and its European allies are beginning to take a more comprehensive approach to the region in hopes of breaking the recent cycle of conflict and peacemaking.</P>

<P> "Instead of always piecemealing everything, what Kosovo has finally done is driven home the point that we need to engage the region. We can't have these independent separate issues like Bosnia and Croatia and Kosovo and think we can keep them independent of each other," the colonel said. "We need to take a step back."</P>

<P> CRISIS ACTION: The Balkans task force wasn't the only Pentagon group spun up during the war. The Air Force doubled the size of its "crisis action" center, drafting an additional 60 military and civilian personnel from jobs elsewhere in the Pentagon.</P>

<P> Huddled in a newly renovated complex of computer terminals located deep in the Pentagon's basement, the Air Force team monitored the flow of aircraft to and from the war, gathered reports on airstrikes and prepared daily briefings for senior Air Force officials.</P>

<P> With most of the 500 Air Force aircraft involved in the air campaign now back at their home bases, the crisis center cut back its operations this past weekend from 24 hours a day to 12 hours.</P>

<P> Col. David P. Jones, head of the center, said expanding the hours and staff had put a strain on the Air Force's other business. "For next time, we're looking at how better to manage crisis duty with regular jobs," Jones said. "No one had envisioned this time that the operation would go as long as it did. Many people ended up having to put their day jobs on hold."</P>

<P> UNEXPECTED ROLE: Talking about putting day jobs on hold, the Joint Staff's second-ranking policy planner was among those who found himself playing an entirely unexpected role during the conflict. Two weeks into the war, Air Force Maj. Gen. Charles Wald was recruited to deliver daily updates on the action to reporters, after Pentagon officials concluded they needed to augment NATO's briefings earlier in the day.</P>

<P> A pilot who had flown combat missions over Bosnia, the general frequently opened his briefings with silent gun camera footage from strikes against Yugoslav targets. Now back in his post as vice director for strategy and policy, Wald acknowledged the fleeting, soundless images tended to give the war an unreal quality and failed to convey the anti-aircraft fire that many pilots were encountering.</P>

<P> "There was just no emotion to many of the films," Wald said. "We need to figure out some way to put the human element back in--to have more [pilot] voices because after a while, people become a little bit callous to the fact that film is almost like a video game."</P>

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Boston Globe

July 4, 1999

Pg. 10

US Arms, Training Aided Milosevic

Nearly \$1b in weapons shipped

By David Abel, Globe Correspondent

WASHINGTON - Following a pattern of supplying future foes with high-tech weapons, the United States furnished Yugoslavia with nearly \$1 billion in arms during the past five decades, according to the Pentagon's Security Cooperation Agency.

After Slobodan Milosevic came to power in 1987, the United States continued the flow of weapons, including fighter aircraft, tanks, and artillery. In all, \$96 million in arms and training was provided for the Milosevic government before 1991, when war in the Balkans brought the program to a halt.

The United States, which dominates the world's arms trade, sold or gave away more than \$21 billion in weapons to 168 nations in 1997, the last year statistics were available, according to Demilitarization for Democracy, a group in Washington that advocates arms control.

"President Clinton justifies today's record arms exports to dictators as a way to gain influence and encourage reform," said Caleb Rossiter, director of Demilitarization for Democracy, saying that at least 52 recipients of US arms are nondemocratic nations. "But the billion-dollar military investment in Yugoslavia's dictators was justified in the same way. Kosovar civilians suffered from this policy and US forces were placed at risk."

US officials have long claimed the lucrative arms sales have a purpose beyond profit.

During the Cold War, the prime justification was that by providing arms to countries such as Somalia or Iraq, both of which later used US weapons against American soldiers, the United States ensured their clients would be under US influence instead of that of the Soviet Union. Furthermore, officials argued that recipients of arms from America were more likely to promote US interests and contribute to regional stability.

<P> But since the fall of the Soviet Union, a significantly new justification for continued arms sales has emerged: maintaining the US military's industrial base in a decade of declining defense budgets.</P>

<P> "This is not a black-or-white issue," said Wade Boese, a senior research analyst at the Arms Control Association, a Washington think tank. "Money is definitely a factor, and arms sales provide the United States with influence on the way militaries develop. But the key point is that weapons outlast the regimes they're intended to support."</P>

<P> Examples abound of US arms sales to friendly governments turned unfriendly. In Iran, the United States had helped prop up an autocratic ally during the 1960s and 1970s with the latest F-14 fighters, Hawk missile batteries and modern destroyers. But when the shah's corrupt regime was toppled by Muslim fundamentalists led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, the new regime usurped the modern weapons, instantly becoming a powerful enemy of the United States.</P>

<P> Similar examples can be found in many countries, including Panama, Haiti, Liberia and Afghanistan. And in some cases, weapons supplied to countries still close to the United States have been used for purposes the US government later condemned. In Turkey, arms provided by the United States have been used to repress the country's Kurdish minority.</P>

<P> The United States first began supplying Yugoslavia with arms in 1950, after the nation's leader, Josip Broz Tito, refused to join the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact. US military exports to Yugoslavia that decade included 15 F-84G Lockheed Thunderstreak fighters, 60 M-47 tanks and hundreds of artillery pieces and anti-aircraft guns, valued then at more than \$723 million.</P>

<P> Military sales fell off in the next two decades but picked up again after Tito's death in 1980. In the 1960s and 1970s, the United States sold Yugoslavia a mine countermeasure ship and millions of dollars worth of sophisticated electronic equipment. In the 1980s, the US government and US companies sold the Balkan nation \$193 million in air-to-surface missiles and air defense radar systems, some of which may have been fired at NATO planes during the 11-week air campaign that ended in June.</P>

<P> "It doesn't help to just slap on an embargo after you provide all these arms," said Anna Rich, a researcher at Washington's Federation of American Scientists' Arms Sales Monitoring Project.</P>

<P> The best way to make sure this kind of thing doesn't happen again is by Congress passing a general code of conduct.</P>

<P> A bill was introduced on the floor of the House last month that would prohibit arms sales to nondemocratic governments that fail to protect human rights, engage in armed aggression and do not fully participate in the UN Register of Conventional Arms.</P>

<P> As the bill has so far been drafted, there would be two exceptions: The president could request Congress to exempt a country if it is in the national security interest to provide military support to that nation or if there is an emergency and a vital interest of the United States is threatened.</P>

<P> Many longtime weapons specialists, such as retired Admiral Eugene Carrol, said a code of conduct is long overdue. He said US weapons have been turned against US diers too many times, he said. He also indicated US arms may have been used in war crimes such as those committed by Serbian forces in Bosnia and Kosovo. "The solution is to quit leading the world in the arms trade," said Carroll, now deputy director of the Center for Defense Information, a Washington think tank. "The fewer arms in the world, the better for the United States. There is just less potential for violence."</P>

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<P>Inside The Army

July 5, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Army: Kosovo Costs Approaching \$2 Billion As Peacekeeping Begins</P>

<I><P>Services jockeying for supplemental money </P>

</I><P> As Army troops in Kosovo have become a primary component of the peacekeeping force, the service has presented the Pentagon with a new \$1.7-billion price tag for its operations, according to budget officials and documents.</P>

<P> That includes \$1.2 billion for the Army's role in the peacekeeping mission, which the service is counting on funding with money from the emergency spending bill initially drafted to sustain an air campaign through the fiscal year , a service budget source told Inside the Army.</P>

<P> But the Army is not alone in eyeing the Kosovo supplemental -- Pentagon officials say all the services are vying for what remains of the emergency funds. Chief Pentagon spokesman Ken Bacon said at a press briefing last week that the Defense Department comptroller did not yet have final figures for the cost

of involvement in Kosovo, but that DOD expects it will be enough to cover the peacekeeping mission through the end of the fiscal year.</P>

<P> The revised Army estimate, submitted to the DOD comptroller late last month, includes \$537 million for Task Force Hawk -- a unit consisting of Apache helicopters and associated equipment, according to a budget office chart obtained by Inside the Army. That's \$140 million below an initial estimate of \$676 million. The Army also spent \$14.6 million assisting the State Department in the diplomatic observer mission conducted early in the fiscal year, a source said.</P>

<P> The new costs of the Army's Task Force Falcon, which will be the primary U.S. contribution to the peacekeeping mission, raise estimates for Kosovo about \$1 billion over those included in the supplemental.</P>

<P> The Defense Department so far has released \$385 million to the Army for its Kosovo operations. The Pentagon still owes the Army about \$167 million for Task Force Hawk alone, a document states.</P>

<P> "Bottom Line: Need \$1.3 billion from OSD Contingency Transfer Fund in July 99," states a service paper. The total includes the Task Force Hawk shortfall as well as peacekeeping.</P>

<P> Officials said much of the jockeying over the supplemental will involve readiness and procurement money included in the supplemental but not directly related to the campaign.</P>

<P> But what the Army is seeking are the dollars saved when the air campaign ceased months before the end of the year, the service source said.</P>

<P> If the other services -- particularly the Air Force -- do not produce enough savings to cover Task Force Falcon, then the Pentagon may have to dip in to the other funds in the supplemental, the source said. The Army hopes that can be avoided, because it, too, would like a share of those monies, the source said.</P>

<P> Defense Department officials said it is reasonable for the Army to expect the supplemental to support its new mission, though Congress will have the final say.</P>

<P> But it is the rest of the bill that is up for grabs, they said. One official characterized it as "like setting up a buffet table at the prison," with each of the services rushing to make their case, and Senate appropriators effectively taking back \$3 billion by cutting operations and readiness funding in their mark of the FY-00 defense spending bill.</P>

<P> Sen. Ted Stevens (R-AK), chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee and the defense subcommittee, discussed the anticipated price tag of involvement in Kosovo at a defense writers group breakfast last week. A "rough estimate" of the air campaign alone has been put at \$1.8 billion, said a committee staff member.</P>

<P> The cost of Operation Joint Guardian Kosovo Force, or KFOR, which also includes the Marine Corps entry forces, is estimated at \$1.5 billion through t

he fiscal year. In FY-00, the cost is expected to grow to as much as \$2.5 billion to \$3 billion.

However, Stevens said, "Those estimates are always too conservative."

Stevens added that it has yet to be seen whether European nations will bear the brunt of the costs for the Kosovo operation, as they have said they would. He said he anticipates the U.S. force in Kosovo will become part of an ongoing presence in the Balkans.

"Clearly I expect an expanded Bosnia-Kosovo type of command structure that's going to be our basis for our consolidation of that peacekeeping effort, and it's going to go on and on," Stevens said. "I think we're going to be in Kosovo for a substantial period of time," he added.

Kim Burger

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European Stars And Stripes

July 6, 1999

Pg. 1

U.S. Soldier Killed In Crash

Victim directing traffic in Macedonia

By Kevin Dougherty, Staff writer

SKOPJE, Macedonia A U.S. Army soldier and a Macedonian civilian died Sunday in a highway accident involving a NATO military convoy that was driving north from Salonika, Greece, to Camp Able Sentry, Army officials said Monday.

<P> The soldiers death marks the first fatality of a U.S. servicemember serving in the multinational Kosovo peacekeeping mission. Army officials would not release the name of the soldier or his unit until they notified his family.</P>
>

<P> According to an Army news release, the accident occurred around noon southeast of Skopje. Another civilian was injured in the crash. The Macedonia newspaper Vecer had a detailed description of the accident. The paper, whose name means "Night," identified the civilian fatality as a 9-year-old boy from the town of Radovis, Macedonia. No names were provided.</P>

<P> According to the newspaper, the soldier was struck and killed by a nonmilitary, medium-size truck while trying to direct traffic following a convoy accident that occurred in a highway tunnel. The tunnel, which is named Katlanovo, is situated between the town of Veles and Skopje, the capital city.</P>

<P> The first accident apparently occurred when one transport truck in the convoy attempted to pass another truck in the procession, the newspaper said. One of the vehicles bumped the other, setting off a series of events that blocked the roadway. A bulldozer being hauled by one of the two trucks apparently slipped onto the road.</P>

<P> According to a witness at the scene, the passing truck may have been driving too fast for conditions 25 to 40 miles per hour especially in the narrow tunnel.</P>

<P> The soldier was standing near the mouth of the tunnel when a civilian truck that couldnt stop hit him, according to the paper. The 9-year-old boy was a passenger in the truck, and apparently was not wearing a seatbelt. The boy flew through the windshield and died immediately, as did the soldier. The driver of the truck was injured. U.S. military officials are investigating.</P>

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<P>Wall Street Journal

July 6, 1999</P>

<P>A Marine Officer Dispenses Her Legal Advice In Kosovo</P>

<P>By Glenn Burkins, Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal</P>

<P> CERNICA, Kosovo -- For Elizabeth Crail, an Ally McBeal in combat boots, it is time to dispense some quick legal advice.</P>

<P> A group of rebel Albanians has arrested two Serbian men, accused them of vague war crimes and handed them over to the U.S. Marines, beaten, bound and blindfolded, for disposition. "Do we have the right to keep them?" Chief Warrant Officer Gary Schmidt demands to know.</P>

<P> "If it were my call, I'd say let them go," Ms. Crail responds.</P>

<P> Call it a sign of the times or just common sense, but even the Marines don't travel far these days without a lawyer to consult.</P>

<P> Here in Kosovo, where the 26th Marine Expeditionary Unit is part of a NATO peacekeeping force, legal advice often comes in the form of Ms. Crail, a 29-year-old captain who sports a Demi Moore haircut and a 9mm pistol strapped to her chest. Her official title is Marine Corps JAG, short for "judge advocate general."</P>

<P>Hollywood Material</P>

<P> But don't assume you know her work based on the CBS television drama called "JAG," which features a group of elite military lawyers who investigate high-stakes military crimes. "That's Hollywood," Ms. Crail says of the show. "A lot of what I do isn't Hollywood material."</P>

<P> Or is it? When troops march off to war, or are deployed on training missions, JAGs are sometimes called on to settle liability claims if private property is damaged. Already, Ms. Crail's Marine unit has parked in two privately owned wheat fields; and on a slow-moving convoy from Greece, a Humvee with a big, green TOW missile atop, struck and killed a village dog, flipping the animal in cartwheels into a ditch.</P>

<P> Nobody filed a complaint. And under the North Atlantic Treaty Organization accord that allowed the peacekeepers to enter Kosovo, none of the participating countries can be held liable for property damage anyway. But Ms. Crail has been called on to make on-the-spot legal rulings, as with the Serbian prisoners.</P>

<P> Accused of no specific crimes, the detainees are alleged to be members of a Serb paramilitary group that killed thousands of ethnic Albanians during Kosovo's four months of murder and mayhem. And now, at the Marines' base camp here, the two are being held in isolated confinement as Ms. Crail and Mr. Schmidt, their boots mired with thick mud after several days of rains, ponder the legal possibilities.</P>

<P>Opinions Are Opinions</P>

<P> In such matters involving international law, Ms. Crail's legal opinion

ions are often just that: opinions. The real decisions usually rest with her superiors. And indeed, after listening to Ms. Crail's reasoning, higher-ranking officers decide to keep the suspects overnight and then turn them over to even higher officials in NATO.

"I just wish I had more law to go by," Ms. Crail later laments. In the end, her view is confirmed, and the prisoners are released for lack of evidence.

As for investigating war crimes in Kosovo, Ms. Crail doesn't get involved. But if a local crime is committed and the Marines apprehend a suspect, she might be called on to offer legal advice. Whenever possible, she says, the NATO peacekeepers are supposed to apply Kosovo law, a tough assignment since few civilian structures are up and running.

On this peacekeeping mission, one of Ms. Crail's most important duties involves briefing the Marines on NATO's rules of engagement, which spell out the terms and conditions under which they are allowed to use force. Not all of the Marines are happy to see a woman -- barred from combat under U.S. law -- telling them when they can and cannot shoot.

"I guess I can see their point," Ms. Crail says, after initially rejecting that argument. "But if they have legal problems, they have no trouble running up saying 'help.'"

Iowa Recruiting Station

All of this is far from what Ms. Crail had in mind when she accompanied her younger brother to a Marine Corps recruiting center in Mason City, Iowa, in 1992. She had tagged along simply to lend moral support. Her brother, who has a mild skin condition, was ultimately rejected. But Ms. Crail, about to enter Drake University law school, was quickly signed up, though she was allowed to complete her studies before going on active duty.

Much of her work is hardly glamorous. Indeed, a typical day is likely to find Ms. Crail advising a young Marine about the finer points of writing a will, or issuing power of attorney to a spouse back home. She has even been called on to proffer legal advice to crestfallen colleagues hit out of the blue with divorce petitions. As a military lawyer, though, she isn't allowed to practice in civilian courts.

Even her overseas mission is sometimes more frustrating than exhilarating. Before the Marines arrived in Kosovo, Ms. Crail's entire unit was camped on a dust-covered hill in northern Macedonia. Late for a meeting one day with some NATO officials, she can't find a truck or driver to get her there; all of the unit's vehicles are either in use or low on gas.

Not Even a Cell Phone

Dressed in her camouflage fatigues, she paces for hours before finally giving up for the day. "I don't even have a cell phone," she grouches. "So it would certainly be big news if I could get a truck."

Ms. Crail's only professional luxury is what she calls her "JAG in a bag

," a leather case stuffed with a laptop computer, a small scanner and a few other high-tech accoutrements more typical of her profession.</P>

<P> What she doesn't have, at least on this particular day, is a tent to sleep in. Scanning the nearby hills, she points to a small clump of pines some 50 yards away. "I guess I'll drop my sleeping bag between a line of those trees," she says. "But I don't see a bucket or a spot secure enough to strip down and bathe." Out in the field without so much as a law clerk, Ms. Crail often goes days without bathing.</P>

<P> Later that day, a young corporal rushes up with some welcomed news: He has found a tent big enough to sleep four -- Ms. Crail and three other female officers.</P>

<P> Ms. Crail confides that this Kosovo mission is her first real deployment, and she's not exactly sure how to pitch the tent. But with the help of another female captain, she eventually figures it out.</P>

<P>Slow Court-Martial</P>

<P> Days later in Kosovo, Ms. Crail is rushing to assign someone to investigate why the military has been slow in court-martialing a young sergeant who tested positive for LSD back in March. The sergeant, confined to a ship just off the coast of Greece, has complained to his congressman, and the congressman, in turn, is demanding answers.</P>

<P> She explains later that the court-martial was slow in coming because much of the evidence against the sergeant had been left back home when the unit set sail for Kosovo. "I can't blame the Marine for being upset," she says. </P>

<P> For her efforts, Ms. Crail earns about \$30,000 a year, peanuts, she says, compared with what some of her law-school pals are making in their mahogany-paneled suites. But money, she says, isn't what drives her.</P>

<P> "I wanted to go off and do something different," she says. "Something that would be kinda cool."</P>


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<P>Orlando Sentinel

July 5, 1999</P>

<P>Puerto Ricans Demand U.S. Pullout</P>

<P>By Ivan Roman of The Sentinel Staff</P>

<P> CEIBA, Puerto Rico -- Under a sea of Puerto Rican flags, more than 50,000 people marched to the gates of a U.S. Navy base Sunday to demand that it stop bombing exercises and leave the nearby island of Vieques.</P>

<P> Gathered in front of the gates of the Naval Station Roosevelt Roads, which includes the Vieques training grounds, Puerto Ricans of every ideological bent came together to endorse the cause that has taken hold since a wayward target-practice bomb killed a security guard April 19.</P>

<P> The event held on Independence Day got an extra push this week when Gov. Pedro Rossello adopted as public policy the Special Commission on Vieques' conclusions that the Navy should stop bombing, clean up and leave the 52-square-mile island it has used for nearly 60 years.</P>

<P> "That is not a guarantee; that just gives us hope," Lizamarie Serrano Rodriguez, 22, of the United Youth of Vieques told the cheering crowd at the rally, called All of Puerto Rico with Vieques. "Now is when we must really fight so they can get out and leave us alone."</P>

<P> Fishermen and activists from Vieques, who since 1941 have done everything from write letters to the White House to confront the Navy in the high seas, got the biggest applause. For them, the event offered a new source of support.</P>

<P> "All we want is to live in peace like you do," said Alba Encarnacion, who heads the Committee to Reclaim Vieques, a group that blames the Navy and the Puerto Rican government for what they call the poor quality of life in Vieques. "That's enough! Not one more shot! Not one more shot! Enough already!"</P>

<P> Other activists showed up with 20 bullets and shell casings in a wicker basket to hand over to the Navy. They placed the basket under the no-trespassing sign at the main gate.</P>

<P> "We don't make these bullets. These are not part of our natural habitat," said Carlos Ventura, president of the Southern Fishermen's Association in San Antonio Express-News. Vieques, who served on the special commission. "When they leave, they're going to have to take them with them."</P>

<P> The march, which yielded no arrests, is the latest in a series of events and civil disobedience that have grown in number and intensity since the accident. In Vieques, San Juan, Washington, and now in the United Nations, the call for the Navy to leave Vieques has continued to gain converts.</P>

<P> When the Navy expropriated the land to establish the training grounds as the United States headed into World War II, some of the people displaced ended up moving to the main island of Puerto Rico, St. Croix and New York. Those who remained in the one-quarter of the island left for civilians were sandwiched between the munitions-storage area on the west and the bombing and target range on the east.</P>

<P> The current crisis is part of a long struggle, mostly by those who want an independent and demilitarized Puerto Rico.</P>

<P> The wayward bomb that hit an observation post and killed security guard David Sanes Rodriguez brought the issue to the forefront again.</P>

<P> Rossello, who wants statehood for Puerto Rico, fired off a letter to President Clinton the day after the accident requesting that the bombing stop immediately. Clinton answered last month, establishing a four-member Presidential Review Panel scheduled to report to him on alternatives in August.</P>

<P> Lobbying began in Washington immediately by Puerto Rico and some members of Congress.</P>

<P> Navy officials, who say they are cooperating with all investigations and inquiries on the issue, maintain that the Vieques grounds are essential to training troops, including those deployed most recently in Kosovo. It is unique in that its geographic location and support facilities allow amphibious, air and ground training to happen simultaneously with submarines, aircraft carriers and other support equipment relatively close offshore.</P>

<P> However, the special commission stated that it defies logic for the Navy to say there is no other place the Navy can conduct this training.</P>

<P> Rep. Luis Gutierrez, D-Ill., a Puerto Rican who was at Sunday's march, said the consensus reached across party lines on this issue will help in Congress.</P>

<P> "I think they'll be receptive to this now," Gutierrez said after speaking to the crowd. "This time, I don't have to go to my colleagues in Congress and say, 'We have to get the Navy out of Vieques,' and have the lobbyists from Puerto Rico saying the contrary.</P>

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<P>Washington Post

July 4, 1999

Pg. 2</P>

<P>Boorda's Decorations Not Earned, Navy Says</P>

<I><P>Review Board Rejects Family's Petition</P>

</I><P>By Associated Press</P>

<P> SPRINGFIELD, Ill. The Navy has decided that the official record of Adm. Jeremy "Mike" Boorda, who committed suicide amid questions about Vietnam combat decorations he had worn, should continue to show he did not earn them.</P>

<P> A board of three civilians recommended last month that the official record remain unaltered, Navy spokesman Capt. Mark Van Dyke said Friday. The ruling was upheld by Carolyn Becraft, who has the final say as assistant secretary of the Navy for manpower and reserve affairs.</P>

<P> Boorda, who joined the Navy at 16 and became the only enlisted man to rise to chief of naval operations, took his life in 1996 after 40 years of service. He was about to be asked by Newsweek reporters about why he wore Combat V's --tiny bronze letters standing for "valor."</P>

<P> The decorations were attached to a Navy Achievement Medal awarded in 1968 and a Navy Commendation Medal awarded in 1973.</P>

<P> In a suicide note "to my sailors," he said he felt disgraced.</P>

<P> Last year, then-Navy Secretary John Dalton placed a memo in Boorda's file--backed by another memo from Adm. Elmo R. Zumwalt Jr., the Vietnam War-era chief of naval operations--that declared Boorda eligible to have worn the decorations.</P>

<P> Dalton said that only the Navy review board could officially change the record to say Boorda had the right to wear them. Boorda's family petitioned the Board for Corrections of the Naval Records last September to change the record to show he was entitled to wear the decorations.</P>

<P> "The final decision was there was no error or injustice in Adm. Boorda's record and the panel was unanimous in their recommendation," Van Dyke said.</P>

<P> He provided the information after an inquiry prompted by the state of Illinois' decision to award a \$20,000 grant for a memorial in Boorda's hometown, Momence, about 50 miles south of Chicago.</P>

<P> Boorda removed the decorations from his medals in 1995, on the advice of the Navy's Office of Awards and Special Projects.</P>

<P> Dalton's memo said the citations justifying the awards "plainly state they were awarded for service including combat operations." Zumwalt's memo said it was "appropriate, justified and proper" for Boorda to have the decorations.</P>

<P> Wearing an unauthorized decoration is a severe breach of military protocol.</P>

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<P>San Antonio Express-News

July 2, 1999</P>

<P>AF Recruiting May Miss By 2,500</P>

<P>By Sig Christenson, Express-News Staff Writer </P>

<P> For the first time since Jimmy Carter was president, the traditionally recruit-rich Air Force won't find enough men and women to fill its enlisted ranks. </P>

<P> The Air Force said Thursday it expects to fall 2,500 people short of its recruiting goal in the fiscal year ending in September something that hasn't happened since 1979. </P>

<P> U.S. Rep. Solomon Ortiz warned that not only could readiness be jeopardized if the recruiting woes aren't reversed, but a revival of the draft could be needed. </P>

<P> "There will be a good possibility that, if this trend continues, we're going to very seriously look at the draft, at reviving the draft again," said Ortiz, a Corpus Christi Democrat and member of a House panel on military readiness. </P>

<P> The service has been in a prolonged recruiting slump. It has lagged behind its 1999 goal, falling 2,578 recruits short of its year-end target of 33,800 airmen in May, the San Antonio-based Air Force Recruiting Service said Thursday.</P>

<P> Despite the recruiting decline, training at San Antonio's Lackland AFB, home of Air Force basic training, won't be significantly affected, a spokesman said. </P>

<P> Smaller classes are expected at most of the Air Force's advanced schools, where technical training is given, said Dave Smith, a spokesman with the Air Education and Training Command at Randolph AFB. </P>

<P> AETC oversees all Air Force training. </P>

<P> The Pentagon blames the strong economy for the shortfall, which has hampered the Army as well. </P>

<P> The Army missed its recruiting goal by 7,639 soldiers as May ended. </P>

<P> The Navy and Marine Corps exceeded their quotas. </P>

<P> "We have a booming economy, which we are grateful to see, but it does mean we have the lowest unemployment in about 30 years and fierce competition for talented young people," said Lt. Col. Tom Begines, a Pentagon spokesman.</P>

<P> "There are lots of opportunities in today's job market," acting Air Force Secretary F. Whitten Peters said. "Competition is tough." </P>

<P> Ortiz and U.S. Rep. Ciro Rodriguez, D-San Antonio, see a continued recruiting slump as a threat to readiness. </P>

<P> Rodriguez predicted more reserves would have to be called to active duty, while Ortiz noted it would take time to train new airmen. </P>

<P> Rodriguez, an ardent opponent of the draft, doubted it would be a cure-all for what ails the military. </P>

<P> Sara Lister, former assistant secretary of the Army for manpower and reserve affairs, concurred and warned conscription likely would draw a constitutional challenge if women aren't drafted. </P>

<P> "I think there are other answers," she said. </P>

<P> The Air Force met its recruiting goal last year by accelerating the introduction of enlistees in the delayed entry program, said Sgt. John Hancock, a spokesman with the Air Force Recruiting Service. </P>

<P> This year it's begun a first-ever paid television ad campaign. </P>

<P> The 18-month, \$54 million broadcast campaign will run through September

2000. </P>

<P> A series of 30-second spots produced by a Dallas advertising firm will air in large media markets starting July 12 and be broadcast in San Antonio this fall. </P>

<P> To slow the exit of service members, the Air Force has limited the amount of time anyone can be deployed overseas to 120 days. </P>

<P> It also has dangled cash incentives to keep airmen in uniform, offering re-enlistment bonuses in a wide number of job specialties. </P>

<P> Meanwhile, the Senate has approved a 4.8 percent pay raise for the nation's 1.4 million active-duty personnel. </P>

<P> The Defense Department has offered a maximum 5.5 percent pay increase to all services, which could result in some airmen getting raises of up to 10 percent. </P>

<P> Rodriguez, a member of the House Armed Services Committee, said he'd like Congress to approve an additional pay raise of 8 percent. </P>

<P> He also wants the Air Force to sign up more Hispanics with General Educational Development diplomas. </P>

<P> The service allows only 1 percent of its recruits to hold GEDs. </P>

<P> "Some of the people with GEDs are sharper than the ones who graduated from high school," said Rodriguez, who dropped out in the ninth grade but later graduated. </P>

<P> Hancock said the Air Force's problem is rooted less in recruiting than retention woes. </P>

<P> He said Air Force recruiters are doing as well as they did last year but can't keep up with the loss of veterans. </P>

<P> The Air Force so far this year, however, has met its monthly recruiting goals just twice, in October and June. The shortfalls have been on the rise since December. </P>

<P> Both Begines and Peters saw silver linings in the recruiting downturn, emphasizing the Pentagon isn't lowering standards. </P>

<P> Hancock, in turn, said the service isn't giving up. </P>

<P> "You're not going to see a white flag from us," Hancock declared. </P>

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<P>Defense Week

July 6, 1999

Pg. 2</P>

<P>Hill Auditors: Sensitive Military Parts Missing</P>

<P>By John Donnelly</P>

<P> Hundreds of millions of dollars worth of "sensitive" military components considered excess by the services are shipped off yearly for disposal but are never received where they are sent.</P>

<P> The Pentagon says its a case of missing paperwork, not missing weapons parts. But in 40 percent of the cases the auditors looked into, they learned no one knew where the weapons parts are, according to a General Accounting Office report released Friday.</P>

<P> The GAO auditors also learned that in not a single case had anyone investigated to find out where the components might be. Among the missing parts were "sensitive items such as a wiring assembly used for encrypted electronic communications, optical magnifying devices for 25-millimeter guns and assorted components for the Bradley fighting vehicle and other weapons systems," the GAO says in its report.</P>

<P> Every year, the military services ship about \$20 billion worth of excess materials to be disposed of. And each year, a couple of billion dollars worth of equipment is not recorded as received. In fiscal 1998, more than 16,000 shipments worth \$339 million and considered "sensitive military items" were not recorded as received, the report says.</P>

<P> The GAO defined sensitive military technology as "military parts and equipment that have capabilities and technologies involving weapons, national security or military advantages."</P>

<P> The new report, done at the request of the House Armed Services Committee, provides the latest documentation of a military inventory system that has so far resisted the most earnest attempts to control it. The lack of control brings with it greater potential for waste, fraud and abuse.</P>

<P> Paperwork or weapons?</P>

<P> Last month, Defense Week disclosed a Navy audit revealing that the sea service had no record of receiving about \$1 billion worth of arms and explosives. The Navy, like the Pentagon, says the paperwork was missing, not the weapons. But the Navy, like the wider military, concedes it does not always follow its own procedures for investigating missing weapons. The service only knew for sure that weapons were not in fact missing when it belatedly looked into the matter. And it looked into only a fraction of the cases.</P>

<P> Similarly, the new GAO report depicts a military-wide system in which, if weapons components containing critical technology and slated for disposal are missing, they are not investigated. Here, too, the components whereabouts are not known. And the policies and procedures to monitor inventories of weapons and weapons components are not being adhered to.</P>

<P> \$2.2 billion not recorded</P>

<P> Specifically, in fiscal 1997, the services shipped \$19.9 billion of excess property to the Defense Logistics Agency's Defense Reutilization and Marketing Service offices around the nation where the stuff can be redistributed where it's needed or donated to state and local governments. But of that total, \$2.2 billion "was not recorded as received by disposal offices." In fiscal 1998, the numbers were \$20.5 billion shipped and \$2.7 billion not received.</P>

<P> In fact, in fiscal 1998 no record existed that the Pentagon agency had received about a quarter of what the Army had sent for disposal.</P>

<P> When the GAO selected 191 missing shipments of sensitive military items to investigate, it found that, contrary to regulations: "Although the property we selected for review had military capabilities, technologies or value that warranted protecting, ... no investigations had been made for any of these shipments."</P>

<P> The service that sends the parts for disposal is responsible for investigating any discrepancies between records of materials shipped and materials received. Second, and significantly, the auditors said, "we were unable to trace the actual disposition of" 40 percent of the shipments. The investigators had no dollar value for the missing military components.</P>

<P> Sensitive technologies</P>

<P> Included in this missing 40 percent were:</P>

<P> *27 shipments of sensitive parts from the Army to the Texarkana, Texas, disposal office, including optical magnifying glasses for 25-mm guns and Bradley armored vehicle components;</P>

<P> *48 shipments of sensitive property sent by the Air Force to the Oklahoma City office, including "aircraft lighting panels that displayed nameplates or tags identifying the panels as part of a specific weapon system" parts that are supposed to be removed or destroyed prior to disposal;</P>

<P> *two shipments by the Navy to San Diego, including a "sensitive wiring assembly used for encrypted electronic communications."</P>

<P> The July 1 report is titled, "Defense Inventory: Property Being Shipped to Disposal Is Not Properly Controlled," and was requested by Rep. Floyd Spence, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee. The problems, the GAO said, are caused not because systems are not set up to catch them, but because personnel are not always following procedures. The report recommended greater attention to training, among other changes. </P>

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<P>U.S. News & World Report

July 12, 1999

Pg. 36</P>

<P>A Kosovo Numbers Game</P>

<I><P>So where are all the tanks NATO killed? </P>

</I><P>By Richard J. Newman </P>

<P> Of the many discoveries NATO troops have made on the ground in Kosovo, one is beginning to cause a bit of heartburn at alliance headquarters in Brussels and back at the Pentagon: NATO jets appear to have done little damage to Serbian forces in the field. Analysts with the Kosovo Force, known as KFOR, have traversed the province and found surprisingly few traces of the destruction they expected. So far, their reports suggest, in 11 weeks of bombing, NATO jets may have destroyed fewer than 20 Serbian tanks, a similar number of artillery pieces, and fewer than 10 armored personnel carriers. "The numbers," says a NATO official, "are quite low at this point." </P>

<P> The on-the-ground reports are at sharp variance with estimates NATO and the Pentagon released immediately after the bombing stopped. On June 10, for i

instance, Gen. Henry Shelton, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said NATO had destroyed 122 tanks, 222 armored personnel carriers, and 454 artillery pieces and mortars. Top officials repeatedly cited such damage as evidence that NATO was winning the war, even as Serbs continued to harass and murder ethnic Albanians in Kosovo. </P>

<P> Decoys and double counting. Could NATO have overstated its effectiveness by such a wide margin? Even air-power advocates say that it's possible. "Attacking fielded forces is the least effective thing you can do," says one Air Force official. Some NATO experts now believe allied jets bombed far more decoys in Kosovo than once thought, or racked up several "kills" on the same target. And the Serbs evidently took some evidence with them, perhaps thinking damaged equipment could be repaired. Sabri Rashiti, a farmer who lives in southern Kosovo, says that when Serbian forces left the area they trucked out several damaged tanks. Gen. Wesley Clark, the top NATO commander, says cockpit video and reconnaissance photos support the alliance's claim of 110 tanks destroyed. Still, NATO and the Air Force plan to send teams to Kosovo this week to address the divergent estimates. </P>

<P> If Serbian forces sustained as little damage as some in NATO now believe, it raises another question: Why did Yugoslav leader Slobodan Milosevic finally cave? Some speculate that damage to Serbia's infrastructure was greater than expected. British press reports have raised the possibility that Russia threatened to cut off its supply of natural gas to Serbia. For now, NATO is working on one mystery at a time.</P>


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<P>Washington Post

July 6, 1999

Pg. 9</P>

<P>Cities Clamor For West's Aid In Yugoslavia </P>

<I><P>Dissidents Seek Help to Oust Milosevic</P>

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

<P> NOVI SAD, YugoslaviaThe most potent opposition to President Slobodan Milosevic has emerged not in the capital but in cities around Serbia where dissident mayors and local officials say they can topple the Serbian leader. But they need help from the West, they say, and now.</P>

<P> They don't want guns. They want bridges. And transmitters, cement, transformers, ferries and, most important of all, oil and diesel fuel to keep their citizens from freezing next winter.</P>

<P> "You Americans want to get rid of Milosevic? So do we," said Nenad Canak, a leader of the League of Social Democrats in Novi Sad, 50 miles northwest of Belgrade. "You get me a bridge."</P>

<P> By this, Canak and the other urban opposition leaders mean they need to show their voters that the West does not hate them and that they do not need Milosevic to rebuild their bombed bridges and ruined economy, in which average salaries have plummeted to about \$50 a month.</P>

<P> But Europe and the United States have declared that, while they will provide humanitarian aid, they will not spend any money rebuilding Serbia as long as Milosevic remains president of the Serb-dominated Yugoslav federation, which comprises tiny Montenegro as well as Serbia.</P>

<P> Canak, and the mayors of some of the largest cities in Serbia, say the West is missing an opportunity to challenge Milosevic. Seven years of sanctions did not work, but "strategic help" could. They say the West should find a way to funnel money directly to opposition-run cities--through humanitarian groups, Montenegrin banks or simply by sending materials--bypassing the central government in Belgrade and its banks.</P>

<P> "I'm thinking of something like a sister cities program," said Zoran Zivkovic, the mayor of Nis, another major Serbian city 120 miles southeast of Belgrade, the capital of both Serbia and Yugoslavia.</P>

<P> Zivkovic, who wants Milosevic gone, has a list of what he wants. At the top is 20,000 tons of heating oil. Without it, about a third of his city, 90,000 residents who rely on "remote heat" from city steam plants, will be without. He estimates the heating oil would cost about \$1 million.</P>

<P> Zivkovic said that since NATO was spending about \$50 million a day to bomb Serbia, "this is a reasonable request." He suggested that some city in Europe or America donate it. It would be a lifesaver, Zivkovic says, and a powerful political tool.</P>

<P> Goran Matic, a government minister close to Milosevic, called the opposition scheme "pure stupidity" and an attempt by the West to blackmail Serbia by dangling offers of aid if only the people remove Milosevic. The opposition leaders are dreaming, he added, if they really believe the West will help them.</P>

<P> Some European governments have shown signs that they find the policy ag

ainst rebuilding Serbia too Draconian, especially countries such as Hungary, Germany and Austria. In addition to their willingness to help Serbian citizens in distress, these countries want their goods and services to pass again through Yugoslavia and down the Danube River, a major commercial thoroughfare now blocked by bridges bombed by NATO planes. But so far, they have not broken ranks with the United States and their European allies.</P>

<P> Just as in the United States, where local politicians can amass power and support by mending potholes, the opposition in Serbia wants to prove that the West supports those who question Milosevic.</P>

<P> "We're not asking for help ousting him, that is our job," said Vuk Obradovic, a former Yugoslav army general and now leader of a small opposition party. "But we need to show the people something real, something they can see with their own eyes."</P>

<P> Ognjen Pribicevic, a strategist with the on-again, off-again opposition Serbian Renewal Movement, was more straightforward: "We can't rebuild the country with shovels and slogans. We need foreign money and investment. Lots of it. The longer we remain in a cage, the worse for us."</P>

<P> Milan S. Protic, an intellectual who also wants to see Milosevic removed from power, said city halls around Serbia have tremendous power. "These people made a difference under most difficult times and they're going to win again," he said. "The West should show them a sign."</P>

<P> The NATO alliance and much of the Western media have often portrayed the Serbian republic as united in antipathy toward the West. But most of the major cities, including Belgrade, are run by politicians from opposition parties that call for the resignation of Milosevic, creation of a transitional government and new elections.</P>

<P> In the last elections, opposition parties won control of 38 cities, including the largest--Belgrade, Nis, Novi Sad, Cacak, Kraljevo and Kragujevac. The first mass rallies have already begun, in Cacak and Novi Sad. Two or three are scheduled in other cities in the coming week.</P>

<P> The pro-Milosevic Serbian president, Milan Milutinovic, was booed when he appeared in Kursumlija last week. During the weekend, about 500 army reservists staged a protest and blocked the roads outside Raska, demanding back pay. And in Leskovac, a producer at the local TV station locked himself in the studio during the broadcast of the Yugoslav-German basketball semifinal in France Sunday and urged the resignation of the district administrator, a member of Milosevic's party. On Monday, thousands of chanting protesters took to the streets to support the technician. Police made no attempt to stop the march.</P>

<P> Milosevic has been calling for national unity for reconstruction and is promising, for example, to rebuild a bombed-out bridge over the Danube in the next 30 days. But Canak and his allies want to beat him to the punch--and snatch the credit.</P>

<P> Forgoing the stiff rhetoric of some of his more academic colleagues, Canak sat late one recent night in the city hall of Novi Sad, dreaming of his bridge. He said he was promised a temporary bridge by "people in Vienna, and I can

't say exactly who," with a crew of Austrian engineers and about \$10 million to do the job.</P>

<P> At a rally in Novi Sad on Friday night, Canak told several thousand protesters that the Austrian engineers were denied visas by the government. The crowd hooted, whistled and chanted, "Dump Milosevic."</P>

<P> The opposition mayors and leaders say they do not think their citizens would begrudge getting assistance from the countries routinely dubbed "the NATO aggressors" in the state-run media.</P>

<P> "All our cities were bombed, especially the cities where the opposition is greatest, like Nis and Novi Sad," said Zivkovic, the mayor of Nis. "Now, how do you explain to the people, who voted for democratic reforms, who rallied against Milosevic, how do you explain that, well, the Western democracies bombed and killed you and now they don't want to help you rebuild?"</P>

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<P>Wall Street Journal

July 6, 1999</P>

<P>KLA Leadership's Resistance To The U.N. Gains Momentum</P>

<P>By James M. Dorsey, Special to The Wall Street Journal</P>

<P> PRISTINA, Yugoslavia -- The rebel-led provisional government of Kosovo refuses to acknowledge unconditionally the legal authority of the United Nations civilian administration in the region, and warns that it could revert to armed struggle if the U.N. administration fails to lead Kosovo toward independence.
</P>

<P> Senior rebel leaders said the relationship between the U.N. administration and the provisional government of Kosovo formed by Kosovo Liberation Army commander Hashim Thaci had yet to be determined. Their words came as U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan named French Health Minister Bernard Kouchner a U.N. adm

inistrator tasked with rebuilding Kosovo.</P>

<P> "It is not quite clear yet who has what authority," Mr. Thaci, a 29-year-old history graduate turned guerrilla leader nicknamed "The Snake," said in his new headquarters in the offices of the Kosovo Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Thaci also hedged his bets on an agreement he signed last month with the commander of North Atlantic Treaty Organization peacekeeping troops in Kosovo, Lt. Gen. Michael Jackson, under which the KLA would disarm within a period of 90 days.</P>

<P>Disputing Disarmament</P>

<P> "We turned in some weapons today, but will see how things go," Mr. Thaci said, adding that the agreement with NATO didn't stipulate that KLA members were no longer allowed to carry arms. </P>

<P> British NATO troops on Friday killed two KLA members and wounded two others during mass demonstrations in Pristina to denounce Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic and celebrate the KLA that took both NATO and Mr. Thaci by surprise.</P>

<P> The rebel leader initially said the demonstrators were refugees celebrating their return from Macedonia. But once he realized the magnitude of the outpouring, Mr. Thaci, surrounded by his bodyguards, rushed down to the street from his second-floor office to shake demonstrators' hands. </P>

<P> Mr. Thaci, who has emerged as the main Kosovo Albanian interlocutor for NATO and the embattled remains of the Serb community in the region, has spent much of the last three weeks positioning his army to form the backbone of a U.N. administration. He has moved quickly to appoint senior KLA military commanders as mayors in major cities in western Kosovo such as Pec, Djakovica and Decani, and has formed a full-fledged provisional government based on agreements between the Kosovo political parties at the failed Rambouillet peace talks earlier this year. "The U.N. administration cannot work without a structure. Kosovo citizens will be that structure," said Mr. Thaci's information minister, Bajram Kosumi.</P>

<P> Government spokesmen warned that they do not recognize the June agreement between NATO and Mr. Milosevic that ended three months of NATO bombing. That agreement formed the basis for both the U.N. Security Council resolutions that put Kosovo under international administration during a three-year transition period. </P>

<P>'Nobody Asked Us'</P>

<P> "We accept no agreement of Belgrade," Mr. Thaci said. "Nobody asked us about the agreement, it does not oblige us to anything," added Jakup Krasniqi, a former KLA spokesman and Mr. Thaci's minister of reconstruction.</P>

<P> Apparently oblivious to Kosovo's needs for Western aid in rebuilding its badly damaged infrastructure and its deeply wounded society, Mr. Krasniqi warned that the KLA could again take up arms if the U.N. administration failed to lead Kosovo toward independence.</P>

<P> The administration's mandate is to rebuild Kosovo, not to determine whether it remains part of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or achieves independence.</P>

<P> "Either the U.N. administration works toward independence or there will be conflict," Mr. Krasniqi said in a bare office in the Chamber of Commerce, where only Serb-language books recalled its former Serb occupant. Insisting that Mr. Thaci's provisional government would retain some degree of authority in Kosovo, Mr. Krasniqi added: "If we can't cooperate with the U.N. administration in the cities, we will again have the mountains and the villages," a reference to the countryside from where the KLA waged its guerrilla war against Serb military forces.</P>

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<P>Wall Street Journal

July 6, 1999</P>

<P>NATO Link To KLA Rebels May Have Helped Seal Victory</P>

<P>By Matthew Kaminski and John Reed, Staff Reporters of The Wall Street Journal</P>

<P> Throughout its 11-week air war against Yugoslavia, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization said it had no formal contacts with the spirited but loosely organized Kosovo Liberation Army.</P>

<P> Now that the fighting is over, a different picture is emerging of the role the guerrilla army played in helping NATO to evict Serb forces from Kosovo.</P>

<P> KLA leaders and NATO officials say they worked more closely together than previously admitted, especially in the last days of the conflict before Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic threw in the towel. By supplying NATO with coordinates of enemy positions and flushing Serb forces out into the open, the KLA helped the alliance hit the mark in some of the most devastating bombing attacks.

cks of the war's final days.</P>

<P> For two months after the alliance launched its air campaign, the Albani an irregulars and NATO's million-dollar jets fought two separate battles against Yugoslav forces. Their tactical goals converged on May 23, when the KLA launched an offensive into Kosovo. Dubbed Operation Arrow, the campaign aimed to open a salient into Kosovo from Albania and resupply its guerrillas deeper in the province.</P>

<P>Out of Hiding Places</P>

<P> As the KLA pressed its campaign in western Kosovo, it forced Serb troops out of their hiding places and into the open in the Mount Pastrik area. KLA intelligence operatives also gave NATO fighter pilots the coordinates for Serb infantry and artillery positions.</P>

<P> NATO confirms its raids against Yugoslav ground forces were more effective in the two weeks before Mr. Milosevic sued for peace than at any other time in the conflict. On June 7, three days before the Serb forces started their withdrawal from Kosovo, NATO said several hundred Serb soldiers were believed to have been killed, when U.S. B-52 bombers caught them out in an open plain near Mount Pastrik.</P>

<P> Only weeks before, the KLA started to systematically provide NATO with intelligence, according to KLA fighters. Working with NATO officers in northern Albania, the KLA's general headquarters, led by Chief of Staff Agim Ceku, told the alliance the whereabouts of Serb weaponry and troops, members of the guerrilla army say. </P>

<P> KLA leaders, citing military secrecy, won't elaborate on the specifics of their contacts with officers from NATO member countries. They will confirm that Mr. Ceku, who participated in Croatia's 1995 Operation Storm offensive that drove out Krajina Serbs and helped to end the war in Bosnia, acted as the KLA's main liaison with the alliance.</P>

<P> NATO spokesmen say the KLA and NATO never coordinated their actions, nor even had any formal contacts. But they acknowledge the KLA gave information to officials from individual countries.</P>

<P> Some contacts were quite informal. For example, Uk Lushi, a 28-year-old KLA volunteer who resides in the U.S., recalls sharing beers with three uniformed U.S. soldiers posted in northern Albania near the Kosovo border.</P>

<P>Network of Fighters</P>

<P> In supplying intelligence to NATO, the KLA was aided by a network of fighters and informers inside Kosovo. Faton Mehmetaj, a 35-year-old former journalist, headed the intelligence effort for Ramush Haradinaj, commander of the KLA for the Dukagjin region of southern Kosovo.</P>

<P> Mr. Mehmetaj says the KLA started giving NATO information on May 10 at the alliance's request. Cobbling together information from reconnaissance units in the field, Mr. Mehmetaj compiled the reports while Fitnete Ramosaj, a female KLA recruit and fellow ex-journalist, phoned in the coordinates via satellite

phone to the KLA's central command in northern Albania.</P>

<P> Leafing through a school notebook scrawled with daily intelligence reports and hand-drawn maps, he cites examples of some of the reports that helped NATO out. On May 28, he says, the KLA told NATO that Serbs were holding tanks, artillery and bulletproof vehicles from its Pec barracks in a pump factory in Decani. NATO bombed the factory three days later. Also in May, civilians tipped off the KLA about a Serb tank and artillery emplacement in a mountain canyon near the village of Zagremlje. The KLA's own reconnaissance units confirmed the report and passed it on to NATO, who Mr. Mehmetaj says bombed the position June 1 .</P>

<P> A senior official at NATO, who asked not to be named, says the KLA stayed in close touch with certain member nations, principally the U.S., whose planes flew the bulk of the missions over Yugoslavia. This official confirms that rebels would call in by cellular telephone the positions of Serb troops and their movements.</P>

<P> "It was in their interest to do so and in NATO's interest to know," he says. "We said, 'OK, if you want to give it to us, we'll hand it over to some nation for strategic planning.'"</P>

<P>Dispute Over Death Toll</P>

<P> However, NATO officials don't consider Operation Arrow a military success for the KLA. The rebels suffered heavy losses and didn't come close to opening a corridor, officials at the alliance believe. But Mr. Lushi says only 17 KLA fighters were killed and another 23 injured during Operation Arrow, compared with several hundred Serb soldiers believed killed by NATO bombs and KLA assaults in the last days of the war, according to KLA figures which can't be independently confirmed.</P>

<P> Another point of controversy relates to exactly why Mr. Milosevic gave up. NATO argues the KLA's role in pushing the Yugoslav president to the negotiating table was minimal, and play down their military role. NATO officials, who now acknowledge the bombings destroyed fewer Serb tanks and armored vehicles than they claimed during the conflict, cite the diplomatic pressures put on Belgrade by the West and Russia as having forced the Serb leader's hand. The alliance's ability to turn the lights out in Belgrade when NATO hit electric power plants is "what really counted," another senior NATO official said.</P>

<P> "That's when we brought the war home to Milosevic," this official adds. "The KLA also played a role, if not a determining one." </P>

<P> Fighters in the guerrilla army, the only fighters other than Serb forces to have observed the war from the ground, give Operation Arrow more due. With the KLA pushing into western Kosovo in the last days of the war, NATO's bombing campaign took 11 weeks in all. No one in the KLA suggests that the world's most powerful military alliance would have vanquished Mr. Milosevic's military and police forces sooner or later.</P>

<P> But without the KLA's help, it might have taken twice that time to bring the war to an end, says Mr. Haradinaj, the commander in southern Kosovo. "NATO could have won this war without us," he says, straddling a chair in a KLA bar

racks on the site of an abandoned Serb housing development in Baballoq, western Kosovo. "But it was our war in the first place," he adds. "We had to fight."

Good Ties Strengthened

While alliance members play down the KLA's military role, they say that good ties with the rebel army, which claims to have 20,000 members, were greatly strengthened during the conflict. NATO officials say the U.S., which originally cultivated KLA leaders during the failed peace talks in Rambouillet, France, told its European allies to allow the KLA along with British officers in KFOR, the Kosovo peacekeeping force -- to handle negotiations for June's landmark agreement to demilitarize the rebel force.

Some diplomats grumble that the U.S.'s close ties with the KLA softened its treatment of the KLA. These diplomats say that the agreement, which allows for some of the rebel force to be transformed into a local militia along the lines of the U.S. National Guard, will leave the KLA with the means to press for independence by force if the United Nations-run administration continues to oppose that goal in the future.

Meanwhile, many KLA fighters feel NATO owes them a debt of gratitude, at very least, for helping turn the tide of the war. "We acted as the ground troops of NATO in the last days," says Lirak Celaj, a public-information officer for the region of Kosovo's capital city of Pristina. "If the KLA hadn't been there, maybe NATO wouldn't be here."

[e19990706bosnia.htm](#)

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Baltimore Sun

July 6, 1999

Bosnia Peace May Become Kosovo Casualty

Fragile nation to lose peacekeepers as allies turn to new hot spot

</I><P>By Tom Bowman, Sun National Staff </P>

<P> WASHINGTON -- As international troops stream into Kosovo, plans are under way to pull thousands of U.S. and allied soldiers out of Bosnia and Herzegovina, prompting fears that a tenuous peace and unfinished business in the former Yugoslav republic may be sacrificed on the altar of a new peacekeeping effort.</P>

<P> About 34,000 NATO-led troops -- including 6,200 Americans -- are patrolling in Bosnia, enforcing the Dayton peace accords that four years ago halted fighting between Serbs, Croats and Muslims that cost 250,000 lives and produced 2.7 million refugees and displaced persons, nearly a million of whom have not returned to their homes.</P>

<P> NATO military planners are looking at "very substantial" reductions in allied troop levels, said a senior Pentagon official, noting that the numbers may be decided by late summer. They will likely be more than the 10 percent reduction last December, officials said.</P>

<P> "It's a drain on our resources and we'd like to reduce as much as we can," said one Defense Department official, pointing to the \$2 billion-a-year price tag for the American contingent.</P>

<P> Military officials say it's time for civilian administrators to resolve the refugee problem and encourage the reluctant parties to work harder toward forging a multiethnic society.</P>

<P> When the peace deal was signed in 1995, a 60,000-member peacekeeping force was assembled for Bosnia that included 20,000 U.S. troops. The numbers have been pared down since then.</P>

<P> Said one top Army official, "We've pretty much completed our military mission in Bosnia."</P>

<P> But Balkans experts and some administration officials say it is not the right time to make further cuts in the number of troops.</P>

<P> The United States and its North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies must redouble their efforts, they argue, concerned that international fatigue and lethargy are hampering efforts in Bosnia as a new mission begins in Kosovo.</P>

<P> Tensions are still running high in Bosnia and fighting could break out in disputed areas, they argue. Troops should assist in helping the nearly 1 million refugees who are afraid to return to their communities where they are a minority. Indicted war criminals remain at large while peacekeepers have done little to apprehend them.</P>

<P> Jim Hooper, executive director of the Balkan Action Council, a nonpartisan education group, said cutting back on the troops "would send the wrong signal." The allies must work harder to get the refugees back home, he said, a point administration officials concede is key to a lasting peace.</P>

<P> While ethnic Kosovar Albanians are returning home in large numbers, the refugee problem in Bosnia "sticks out like a sore thumb," said Hooper.</P>

<P> "People are ignoring Bosnia. Bosnia's been a failure," argues Bill Steubner, a retired U.S. Army major who served in Bosnia and is now at the U.S. Institute of Peace, an independent group financed by Congress to promote the peaceful resolution of international conflicts.</P>

<P> Unkept promises</P>

<P> "We never carried out the real promise of Dayton to get people home again. We never created the security environment they have to have," he said.</P>

<P> Under the accords, Bosnia was divided into two entities, one controlled by the Muslim-Croatian Federation and the other by Republika Srpska (Serb Republic). Bosnia and Herzegovina has a tripartite presidency and a central legislature in which each ethnic group is represented.</P>

<P> Pentagon and State Department officials, while conceding progress has been too slow and much work remains to be done, point to some encouraging developments in Bosnia.</P>

<P> Milorad Dodik, the Serb Republic's new prime minister, is a moderate who has pledged to work with the West to rebuild the economy and create a multiethnic society. He replaced the republic's hard-line president who was fired in March by the senior Western diplomat overseeing the implementation of the accords.</P>

<P> Ante Jelavic, a Croat who last month became chairman of the tripartite presidency of Bosnia, also has promised stronger ties with the West. "Will he take the high road?" wondered a Pentagon official. A few days after he posed that question, Jelavic was denounced by the top Western representative for attending a fund-raiser for Croats indicted for war crimes.</P>

<P> The allies are also working to create a multiethnic police force and hope to forge a "permanent secretariat" for the Serbian, Croatian and Muslim armed forces for better communications and possible military exercises.</P>

<P> Some minority refugees are returning, said a Pentagon official, noting that Serbs by the hundreds are going back to the Croatian-controlled town of Drvar in southwest Bosnia, though the Pentagon official conceded that the return of the hundreds of thousands of refugees would take time.</P>

<P> "You cannot force refugees back into communities that are extremely hostile to them coming back," said the official, dismissing the suggestion that NATO soldiers could assist in those efforts. "I don't think more troops is the answer. It's a question of will."</P>

<P> As for apprehending indicted war criminals, Pentagon officials and retired officers talk about a reluctance to endanger troops or civilians in pursuit of suspects.</P>

<P> "We always take into account whether we have the right kind of intellig

ence, the right kind of force, so that they can be apprehended with a reasonable risk to the people in the region as well as to our own forces," Defense Secretary William S. Cohen told reporters recently.</P>

<P> But many of the Bosnian war criminals, including such "big fish" as Gen. Ratko Mladic and Radovan Karadzic, were indicted four years ago and remain at large, serving as a roadblock to a multiethnic state and a rallying point for ultranationalist elements, noted a State Department official.</P>

<P> Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman, a Connecticut Democrat and member of the Armed Services Committee and a leading voice on Balkans policy, said he is "not satisfied" with the lack of arrests. "I think we should redouble our efforts," he said.</P>

<P> "We did something fundamentally wrong with the war criminals," argues Ken Allard, a retired U.S. Army colonel and now a senior associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), saying the Pentagon's high concern for troop safety is "contradicting the military ethos."</P>

<P> Partitioning favored</P>

<P> The continuing challenges in Bosnia, four years after the fighting stopped, are causing some observers to argue that the multiethnic state called for in the Dayton accords has proven unworkable. They say the only alternative is to reopen the accords and partition the country along ethnic lines.</P>

<P> "We tried for 3 1/2 years to provide a new leadership," says Ivo H. Daalder, a Balkans expert at the Brookings Institution. "I don't think it's in our interests to expend more resources if they're not willing to go down this path."</P>

<P> The concept of a multiethnic state "is ridiculous," says Allard, of CSIS. "It bears no relation to the situation on the ground," he says. "Every chance they've been given, they've ratified division."</P>

<P> Hooper, of the Balkan Action Council, would also like to see the accords reopened -- not to partition but to strengthen the central government and abandon a tripartite presidency that doesn't work. Each of the three ethnic groups is "acting as if they're a separate country," he said, creating a "de facto partition."</P>

<P> But few think there is the political will or interest to reopen the Dayton accords. Administration officials believe a more concerted effort is needed to create a multiethnic state. "We're only four years out at this point," said a State Department official.</P>

<P> `Not going to leave'</P>

<P> A Pentagon official said that while troop reductions will occur this summer, "We're not going to leave."</P>

<P> Lieberman said that as the West focuses on Kosovo, attention must also be paid to the stability of Bosnia. "It's time for the Congress, the Pentagon and NATO to stop and take a look at where we are in Bosnia and where we want to

go," the senator said.</P>

<P> Retired U.S. Army Gen. George A. Joulwan, who oversaw the implementation of the Dayton accords as NATO's supreme commander, said it's time to "put some heat" on civilian administrators to get the refugees home and build a civil society.</P>

<P> While acknowledging the slow process in Bosnia, Joulwan dismissed the idea of abandoning the accords in favor of partition.</P>

<P> "The easy way is to say partition and let's get the hell out of here," he said. But the allies must work to "break the cycle of violence" in the Balkans, and partitioning would only play into the hands of ultranationalism and religious hatred, he said. "That's unacceptable in the Europe of the 21st century," he said.</P>

<P> Jakob Finci, head of the Soros Foundation's Open Society Fund, which is promoting democracy and civil institutions in Bosnia, agreed with Joulwan that partitioning the country is not the answer and more time is needed.</P>

<P> "Just four years is not enough," he said. Part of the problem is the lumbering bureaucracy of the myriad international organizations involved in the country, from the European Union to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe to the Office of High Representative.</P>

<P> But Finci praised the work of the NATO forces and said U.S. troops are vital to maintaining peace.</P>

<P> Finci says the three ethnic groups in the country are like the yeast, flour and water that are needed to make bread.</P>

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<P>Newsweek

July 12, 1999

Pg. 6</P>

<P>Another Map, Another Mistake</P>

<P> Outdated U.S. maps, the main cause of the mistaken bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade in May, are a problem again. The zones for the deployment of Russian troops in Kosovo were drawn to coincide with the boundaries of local counties. But it turns out that Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and Defense Secretary William Cohen, who negotiated the plan with the Russians, were using a 1991 map of Kosovo. The county boundaries have been redrawn since then, and one county allocated to the Russians has disappeared. The Russians are now demanding that their zones be redrawn, but so far NATO is resisting .</P>

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<P>New York Times

July 6, 1999</P>

<P>Bambipark: A Young Milosevic's Field Of Dreams</P>

<P>By Blaine Harden</P>

<P> POZAREVAC, Yugoslavia -- Neither war against the Western world, nor missiles in his father's house, nor scurrilous rumors that he skipped the country to avoid fighting in Kosovo have kept President Slobodan Milosevic's only son, Marko, from realizing his theme park dream. </P>

<P> The dream goes by the name of Bambiland. </P>

<P> At least that was the original name chosen by Marko, a high school dropout who has become Serbia's best connected and perhaps least loved 25-year-old entrepreneur playboy. </P>

<P> The pounding that Serbia took during the Kosovo war from American bombs -- his father's presidential mansion in Belgrade was hit by cruise missiles --

soured Marko on the Disneyesque connotations of "Bambiland." At some point during the 11-week war, he reportedly decided that the name did not sound sufficiently Serbian. </P>

<P> So when the park, actually more of a sports area, had its grand opening on Sunday night -- with Marko's mother, Mirjana Markovic, the feared wife of the Yugoslav president, in attendance along with a crowd of several thousand -- it was christened Bambipark. </P>

<P> Opposition newspapers have pointed out that "park" is no more Serbian than "land." </P>

<P> The name Bambi is another matter. Although it does echo the beloved Disney film of the same name, it has a Serbian link. Bambi is the name of a large government-owned food processing company based here in Pozarevac, the childhood home of both of Marko's parents. </P>

<P> Bambipark is a six-acre recreation area, costing about \$380,000, for basketball, volleyball, skateboarding and in-line skating. It costs about 70 cents to get in. </P>

<P> Marko was offered a chance Monday to explain the business venture to a reporter. Dressed in a black T-shirt and black slacks and talking intermittently on a tiny cellular phone, he happened to be sitting inside Bambipark at the noon hour beside a kiddie pool and beneath a Coca-Cola umbrella. He was drinking juice and did not seem in a particular rush. </P>

<P> But meeting the press is not a simple matter for Marko. Newspapers and magazines in Serbia have often teased him for his habit of wrecking other people's expensive cars, for dying his black hair a punk white, for occasionally bullying people in bars in Belgrade and for having used daddy's connections to become rich. </P>

<P> He owns Madona, which advertises itself as the largest discotheque in the Balkans. American intelligence officials say he is a major cigarette smuggler. He also owns a radio station licensed to him by his father's government. </P>

<P> He has found ways of getting even with hurtful reporters. He sued an opposition newspaper in Belgrade for making fun of him, using draconian press laws passed last year. In January a court ordered the newspaper to pay him \$15,000 for "inflicted moral damage." </P>

<P> As for the question of whether he evaded risky military service in Kosovo, a matter that generated many disparaging comments among Serbs who had to fight, the young Milosevic was defended by his mother. </P>

<P> She wrote an open letter to the British foreign secretary, Robin Cook, denying press reports that Marko or her daughter Marija had fled the country during the bombing. </P>

<P> Marko, she said, "is in uniform and cares about his small new family." The state television later showed Marko here in Pozarevac in a sort of military uniform. </P>

<P> Since the end of the war, Marko has told sympathetic newspapers and the state television that he never let anxiety about NATO bombing interfere with the construction of Bambipark. It represents, he told reporters, "the proof of care for the young generation." </P>

<P> As a break from the rigors of supervising the building of Bambipark, he also became deputy chairman of the horse show organizing board in the Serbian town of Ljubicevo. He has changed the opening ceremony of the horse show to make it less "stereotyped," Radio Pozarevac reported. </P>

<P> As he sat drinking his juice near the kiddie pool, the evidence of what he and other investors have accomplished with Bambipark was all around him, though there were only a few children playing there, since it was uncomfortably hot at noon. </P>

<P> Marko was asked if he would like to explain why he felt the need to build this place. "You are the aggressor," he replied. "You burned down my house, and I am not going to speak with you or give you any interview, even about Bambipark." </P>

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<P>Washington Times

July 6, 1999</P>

<P>U.S. Claims Russia Broke Rules In Expelling Attache</P>

<P>By Bill Gertz, The Washington Times</P>

<P> U.S. intelligence officials believe Moscow's recent expulsion of a U.S. military attache was in retaliation for the ouster of a Russian agent and violated unwritten rules of the spy game.</P>

<P> "The standard procedure for expulsions is that if one side is caught red-handed, there should be no retaliation," one official said. "The Russians di

d not observe that in this case."

Army Lt. Col. Pete Hoffman, the assistant Army attache, was notified by the Russian Foreign Minister two weeks ago that he was no longer welcome in Russia. It could not be learned whether he has left the country.

Clinton administration spokesmen repeatedly have refused to comment on the Russian expulsion order, first disclosed Friday in The Washington Times, in an effort to keep the incident quiet and avoid highlighting the growing tensions between Washington and Moscow.

Privately, two national security officials said the expulsion was the result of Russia's increasingly aggressive intelligence activities in the United States.

"This was an attempt at retaliation for the guy expelled from New York," one official said of the Russian demand that Col. Hoffman leave Moscow. The official said Washington protested the expulsion as unfair, and efforts are being made to prevent it from being carried out.

The demand that Col. Hoffman leave Russia coincided with provocative Russian strategic nuclear exercises, including sending two Tu-95 bombers near Iceland and Norway. The action prompted the scrambling of U.S. and Norwegian interceptor jets.

Russia and NATO also remain at odds over Moscow's participation in the Kosovo peacekeeping operation despite an agreement signed last month by Defense Secretary William S. Cohen that was supposed to have resolved the differences. NATO recently blocked Russian military efforts to reinforce the several hundred Russian troops holding Pristina airport with additional soldiers. A U.S. diplomatic delegation is in Moscow to discuss the matter.

Russia was angered when The Washington Times reported May 21 that a Russian intelligence officer, working undercover at the United Nations, had been ousted, the officials said.

The Russian agent tried to gain access to classified U.S. documents, and the case was handled "politically" outside the United Nations, the officials said.

The Russian agent left the United States on May 1 after a senior State Department official told a Russian Embassy official that "aggressive" Russian spying was upsetting already strained relations.

It was the second incident of Russian spying in six months. Earlier, a Russian intelligence officer who had gone on vacation was barred from returning to the United States because of spying allegations.

A military source said Col. Hoffman was involved in Helsinki talks on the Kosovo peace deal and may have been kicked out because of Russia's anger at its limited role in peacekeeping operations. But other administration officials said the primary reason was retaliation for the New York expulsion.

The U.S. intelligence community has noted other indications that Russia

a is turning away from the West:</P>

<P> *A report in March by the National Counterintelligence Center revealed that Russia is spying in the Balkans while using its role in international organizations as cover.</P>

<P> "On past missions, Russians engaged in intelligence-collection activities, cooperation with Serbs and subtle sabotage, which reduced the effectiveness of the international effort and increased the risks to other observers while advancing Moscow's interests," it said.</P>

<P> *A cable in May from the top U.S. military attache in Moscow, Brig. Gen. Keith Dayton, said Russia was sharply curtailing contacts between current and former Russian military officers with Western attaches. The cable said the GRU military spy service was harassing Russians who stayed in touch with Western officials.</P>

<P> *Russia dispatched two AGI intelligence-gathering ships during the Balkans conflict to the Adriatic Sea, where they spied on NATO military operations.</P>

<P> *Moscow recalled students at U.S. military schools and demanded that the Pentagon foot the bill for their airfare home.</P>


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<P>Washington Post

July 4, 1999

Pg. 18</P>

<P>Experts To Assess Iraqi Factory Rebuilding</P>

<P> DAURA, Iraq -- The U.N. Security Council has agreed yesterday to send a team of experts July 15 to assess whether a vaccine factory here or dered destroyed by U.N. weapons inspectors should be reconstructed, an official

for the world body said.</P>

<P> U.N. arms inspectors had the factory's equipment destroyed in 1996 after concluding Iraq had used the facility for the production of biological weapons. However, the loss of the factory's vaccine-making capability meant the country was ill prepared to handle an outbreak of hoof-and-mouth disease last year, which infected at least 1 million farm animals. At least 400,000 animals have died for lack of the vaccine.</P>

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<P>New York Times

July 6, 1999</P>

<P>Iraq Finds Oil-For-Food Goods Substandard</P>

<P>By The Associated Press</P>

<P> BAGHDAD, Iraq -- Large amounts of food and medicine arriving in Iraq under a United Nations oil-for-food program are substandard, damaged or unusable, a United Nations official said Monday. </P>

<P> Iraq is under an oil embargo and other sanctions imposed after it invaded Kuwait in 1990. The United Nations program allows it to export \$5.2 billion in oil every six months and use the money to buy food and other goods needed for the well-being of Iraqi civilians. </P>

<P> The program's director, Benon Sevan, said after a tour of the country that many of the complaints about the program were legitimate. </P>

<P> But several Security Council members say Iraq caused its own problem by granting contracts to companies from friendly countries, regardless of the quality they offer.</P>

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<P>Washington Post

July 6, 1999

Pg. 10</P>

<P>Syrian Leader In Moscow, Seeking Weapons</P>

<P> MOSCOW -- Syrian President Hafez Assad came to Moscow yesterday for talks on upgrading his military with Russian weapons.</P>

<P> Assad will discuss the possible purchase of Su-27 fighter jets, T-80 tanks and antitank and antiaircraft weapons, the Interfax news agency reported. Syria was a major market for Soviet weapons during the Cold War. </P>

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<P>New York Times

July 6, 1999

Pakistani's Pullout Vow Is A Very Hard Sell At Home

By Celia W. Dugger

LAHORE, Pakistan -- Once he gets home from his Washington tete-a-tete with President Clinton, Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif is likely to find it difficult to deliver on his pledge to the Americans that he would seek to withdraw Pakistani-backed forces from the Indian side of the cease-fire line in the disputed territory of Kashmir.

Few in Pakistan saw Sharif's sudden decision to call on Clinton on Sunday -- and his promise to take "concrete steps" to restore the cease-fire line -- as a breakthrough that would help end a limited, undeclared war with India. Rather, the moves were viewed by most Pakistanis either as a sell-out of the Kashmir cause or another ill-fated move in a diplomatic game of chess.

Opposition political parties sharply criticized Sharif on Monday for apparently giving away what they believe to be hard-won military gains in Kashmir for nothing much in return.

The main Islamic opposition group, the Jamaat-e-Islami party, which is known more for its street power than its voting strength, called for rallies all over the country on Tuesday to protest what it called the prime minister's treasonous behavior.

Islamic militants fighting in Kashmir -- whom Sharif has all along said Pakistan does not control -- denounced the deal and vowed that they would not withdraw from the mountain peaks on the Indian side of the line.

"I'm not sure whether Nawaz Sharif or even the military have the influence to get the mujahedeen to withdraw," said Rifaat Hussain, a professor of international relations at Quaid-I-Azam University in Islamabad. "They do get support from Pakistan, but that doesn't mean they're willing to do Pakistan's bidding."

Political experts also questioned whether Sharif, who has quickly backed away from other unpopular decisions, would have the political will to insist on a withdrawal if it cost him dearly with the powerful military establishment, Islamic fundamentalist groups and the Pakistani people, who for the most part revere the forces in Kashmir as freedom fighters battling for the rights of Kashmir's Muslim majority.

The promise of a visit to Pakistan by Clinton would not be enough to sell a pullout, the experts said. Rather, Sharif would need a reciprocal withdrawal of Indian forces from the Kargil and Dras sectors of Kashmir, where fighting has raged for two months, or the strong prospect that India -- under pressure from the United States -- would seriously talk about settling the Kashmir conflict once and for all.

But India, which maintains that Pakistan has been a devious aggressor in this conflict, reiterated Monday its unequivocal position that the invaders must

ust withdraw before India will talk about any issue. </P>

<P> And a day after its military triumphantly claimed victory in recapturing the strategic Tiger Hill ridge, an observation point overlooking a crucial supply route, India was in no mood for compromise. Asked if there was an acceptable timetable for a Pakistani pullout, Raminder Singh Jassal, spokesman for India's Foreign Ministry said, "Yes, there is a time frame, which is immediately." </P>

<P> India, whose army turned to another large operation in Kashmir on Monday, attacking positions in the Batalik sector, also plainly stated that there is no role for the United States in settling the dispute. And Washington, for its part, has reaffirmed its long-held position that it cannot serve as a mediator on Kashmir until India requests American help. </P>

<P> The festering, periodically violent conflict over Kashmir dates to 1947, when the two nations were created from the British Raj. Predominantly Hindu India claims Kashmir as one of its states, while Pakistan says the Muslim-majority territory should have the right to choose whether to be part of Pakistan or India. </P>

<P> The two nations have fought two wars over Kashmir, in 1947 and 1965, and the fighting this year is the most serious in almost 30 years. It is the first that has threatened to explode into full-fledged war since India and Pakistan became declared nuclear weapons states a year ago. </P>

<P> Already Monday, Pakistani Foreign Minister Sartaj Aziz seemed to be giving Sharif a way to avoid withdrawal. He told the BBC that it would be difficult for Pakistan to persuade the Islamic militants to pull out of Indian-held Kashmir unless the status of Kashmir was put back on the international agenda. </P>

<P> India scoffs at such statements because it says the men fighting in Kashmir are mainly Pakistani army regulars. But even if the fighters are Pakistan-backed militants who refuse to leave, it seems that the Sharif government could eventually force them to do so by cutting off their food and ammunition. </P>

<P> Majid Nizami, 70, chief editor of the Lahore newspaper The Nation as well as a friend and sometimes critic of the Sharif family, said he believed that there would be no withdrawal because the Kashmir cause is too close to the heart of most Pakistanis. </P>

<P> "I think it won't be implemented because it would be political suicide for Nawaz Sharif," he said. "He will come home and say, 'I'll try to persuade the mujahedeen to come back.' After a month or two, there will be the rainy season in Kargil. In areas the mujahedeen have held, they will stay if they can. If not, because of weather, they will retreat." </P>

<P> It remained unclear whether Pakistan's military, which has repeatedly usurped civilian authority in the last 50 years, would back Sharif's withdrawal plan. Some experts believe he consulted top military officers about his Washington strategy. </P>

<P> But others worry that powerful elements in the military will not tolerate a unilateral withdrawal from Kashmir and fret about the possibility of a coup. </P>

<P> "The international community has to be very careful about the demands it makes on Nawaz Sharif at this time," said one political expert, who spoke on condition of anonymity. </P>

<P> Several retired senior military officers lashed out Monday at Sharif's government. </P>

<P> "They simply succumbed and surrendered to the U.S. and to India and deprived the mujahedeen of whatever advantage they had hitherto gained," said the former army chief of staff, Gen. Mirza Aslam Beg. </P>

<P> Lt. Gen. Hameed Gul, also retired, said, "It is a total sell-out." </P>

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<P>Washington Post

July 6, 1999

Pg. 9</P>

<P>Domestic Pressures Imperil Kashmir Peace Deal</P>

<P>By Pamela Constable, Washington Post Foreign Service </P>

<P> NEW DELHI, July 5A U.S.-brokered breakthrough that could end the six-week border war between India and Pakistan has put the governments of both countries in an awkward position at home, raising fears it could still fall apart under domestic political pressure.</P>

<P> Nawaz Sharif, the Pakistani prime minister, who met with President Clinton in Washington on Sunday, essentially has agreed to withdraw Pakistan's support

ort for armed rebels who have occupied strategic heights in the Indian part of Kashmir since April. But any move to do so is likely to be strongly opposed inside Pakistan by large segments of the armed forces and by fundamentalist Islamic groups.

"There is going to be tremendous pressure inside Pakistan now. Either Nawaz [Sharif] will have to go or the army chief of staff will have to go," said one Pakistani source close to a major fundamentalist Islamic group, speaking from Islamabad. Other sources there said tonight that protests and strikes are being planned for Sharif's return this week.

For his part, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the Indian prime minister, who has repeatedly vowed never to accept "third-party mediation" in India's long-running dispute with Pakistan over who should control Kashmir, has now done just that. Although India is the obvious beneficiary of the agreement signed by Clinton and Sharif, Indian officials insisted the high-profile White House role in trying to end the war was not foreign mediation at all.

"I do not accept this as mediation or even as playing the role of an intermediary," Jaswant Singh, India's foreign minister, said tonight. "We have consistently said no mediation is necessary. We don't need interpreters, because we speak the same language."

The unexpected joint statement from Clinton and Sharif effectively said Pakistan will respect the Line of Control dividing the Indian part of Kashmir from the part controlled by Pakistan. This would seem to represent an Indian victory, since it corresponds to Indian demands. But instead of exulting, officials here warned sternly that they will not let up on their assault on rebel positions until the fighters are dead or have fled Indian territory.

"Our military actions are making steady progress, and we will continue in full force until the aggressors are cleared out," said Raminder Jassal, the spokesman for India's Ministry of External Affairs. So far, he added, there is "no evidence on the ground that Pakistan is taking steps to withdraw . . . we will only go by the evidence on the ground."

In addition, both major political parties in India sought to play down the significance of the Washington agreement. A spokesman for the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party said Pakistan only "succeeded in internationalizing its own position as an aggressor. . . . This statement is not enough. One still has to wait and see."

For India, the sudden involvement of Washington in the Kashmir dispute is a double-edged sword. If it leads to Pakistan's pulling back the armed Islamic militants and army troops occupying strategic ridges inside Indian Kashmir, it will achieve India's immediate goal without further bloodshed. Already, 265 Indian troops have been killed and 451 wounded, along with what India claims are 486 Pakistani troops.

On the other hand, Clinton's meeting and agreement with Sharif would seem to have "internationalized" the Kashmir issue, which is precisely what Pakistan has long sought and India has desperately wanted to avoid.

India insists that the southern part of Kashmir is rightfully India's a

nd should remain that way. Pakistan contends it was stolen from Pakistan in an unfair 1947 treaty, concluded as the two nations gained independence from the British Raj, and that foreign mediation is needed to settle the issue.

For Pakistan, the stakes are far more delicate and volatile. By seeking Clinton's support, analysts said, Sharif has enlisted an ally in opposing the powerful Pakistani army, which views the Kashmir cause as a sacred patriotic issue. Yet by apparently agreeing with Washington to back off, the prime minister has automatically engendered the wrath of military and Islamic groups at home, which have threatened to bring him down if he betrays their cause.

"Clinton has got Nawaz in a jam. He has committed a crime against the nation and everyone is condemning him," said Hamid Gul, a retired Pakistani general, hard-line Muslim and former intelligence chief, speaking from Rawalpindi, Pakistan. "People are getting more and more angry, and soon it will be Nawaz on one side and the nation on the other."

In Lahore, Pakistan, a leader of the major Islamic militant group now fighting in Indian Kashmir said today that the military situation is under the "complete control" of the rebels and that India will ultimately suffer a "humiliating defeat." India says it has made significant military strides in the past two weeks, culminating over the weekend in the recapturing of a strategic Kashmiri peak known as Tiger Hill.


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<P>New York Times

July 6, 1999</P>

<P>In Pakistani Village, Distrust Of Indians As Raw As Ever</P>

<P>By Celia W. Dugger</P>

<P> GANDA SINGHWALA, Pakistan -- The rains came on Sunday to this parched Punjabi village, pelting the shiny black hides of water buffalo and the barefoot

boys who joyously stretched out their arms to welcome the drenching coolness.

But the gaiety with which the villagers greeted the monsoon contrasted with their grim fatalism about the fighting that has raged for two months between Pakistan and India in Kashmir, the Himalayan land just to the north of Punjab that both nations want for their own.

History lies heavy in Ganda Singhwala, two to three miles from the Indian border. Here the distrust of Pakistanis for Indians, of Muslims for Hindus, is as raw as a fresh stab wound.

The old men, toothless and stooped, tell and retell grisly stories of Partition in 1947, when India and Pakistan were carved from the British empire, and Hindus and Sikhs on the one hand and Muslims on the other slaughtered each other by the hundreds of thousands. Punjab, too, was divided, into Indian and Pakistani states.

Khushi Muhammad, 94, has raised children and grandchildren on his bitter memories. A Muslim, he fled predominantly Hindu India for the new Islamic nation of Pakistan and recalls the caravans of ox carts that passed through his new hometown, stacked with the dead bodies of Muslim men, women and children.

"I cannot forget it," he said, hands resting on a wood cane. "This fire can never be extinguished."

The next generation has its own harsh memories of the wars that these closest of enemies waged in 1965 and 1971, with fighting along the border that moved perilously close to this village.

"When the heavy shelling and bombing started in 1965, we had to leave," said Nazir Begum, 60, who is married to a shopkeeper who repairs bicycles. "I am fearful there will be another war. But I pray Allah will be with the Pakistani army."

Although Ganda Singhwala seems ordinary in most every way, these are not ordinary times. Situated so close to the Indian border, it was crawling with men who work for civilian and military intelligence agencies. Some carried Kalashnikov rifles. Others had walkie-talkies. More than 12 tramped along behind visitors, monitoring the questions asked and answers given.

This region is unusual in another way. An embankment studded with concrete bunkers runs along the Pakistani side of the border, and is matched by a floodlighted fence on the Indian side. The bunkers serve as a Berlin wall between the two countries. The people on each side live parallel lives that do not intersect.

Yet despite having been cut off from each other for more than 50 years, Ganda Singhwala bears a haunting resemblance to most any northern Indian village.

In the afternoon, after the rains stopped and 110-degree heat rose again from the labyrinthine brick lanes, men dressed in loose tunics and undershirt

s gathered on wood cots to pass the time. Ox-drawn carts rolled down the rutted muddy main street. In small internal courtyards, women hospitably poured cups of tea for visitors. </P>

<P> People described themselves as having almost nothing in common with Indians. "We are Muslims, so there's a big difference between the two cultures," said Muhammad's granddaughter Riffat Yasin, 22. "We worship only one God. They have several idols, and they call them gods."</P>

<P> Each day, Miss Yasin and her mother, Nasreen, who has just one name, turn on their aging television set with the broken knobs to watch the news on Doodarshan, the Indian government station. "It's all fabricated," Miss Yasin said. </P>

<P> They and other villagers offered the official Pakistani version of events as their description of reality. They said the men who were fighting in majority Muslim Kashmir were not Pakistan army soldiers who had invaded Indian territory, as the Indians contend, but indigenous freedom fighters who are trying to win Kashmir's right to be part of Pakistan, created as a homeland for the subcontinent's Muslims. </P>

<P> Nasreen, who estimated that she was 45, said she believed that Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee of India wanted to win a war with Pakistan to help his party win the national election in September. </P>

<P> "Pakistan wants peace," Nasreen said. "It is India that wants war." </P>

<P> A couple of miles away, near the border, several farmers sat in the shade on their cots, musing on India's motives. They said they felt that a grave injustice was committed at the time of partition, when Kashmir should have become part of Pakistan. </P>

<P> "Kashmir belongs to the Muslims," said Sardar Said Muhammad, 65, who owns 400 acres of fertile land and 50 head of water buffalo. "The Hindus have nothing at stake there." </P>

<P> The farmers had more recent grievances, as well. They said Indians had sneaked through the gates of the fence that India built along the border to steal hundreds of their water buffalo. </P>

<P> Muhammad and another farmer, Muhammad Ali, 60, agreed that the Indians were up to no good. </P>

<P> "The Hindu mentality is that no single Muslim should survive and all of Kashmir should be captured by India," Muhammad said. "The Hindus and Americans are on the same side. They are supporting each other, because they are both big powers." </P>

<P> Ali offered his opinion about India, saying: "They're powerful. They're bullying. They have a greed for territory. They don't want Pakistan to exist. They want to obliterate us."</P>

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<P>New York Times

July 4, 1999</P>

<P>A Report That North Korea Has Plans To Test-Launch A Missile</P>

<P>By Nicholas D. Kristof</P>

<P> TOKYO -- North Korea has confirmed that it is prepared to test a missile, a prominent Japanese visitor to the country said Saturday. </P>

<P> Yasushi Akashi, a former U.N. undersecretary general who has completed a private trip to North Korea, said at a news conference in Beijing that a North Korean foreign ministry official had advised him that the country is ready to fire a missile, Kyodo News Service reported. </P>

<P> North Korea launched a rocket last August, sending it soaring over Japan and into the Pacific Ocean, in what it says was a satellite launch but just about everybody else says was a test of a new class of missile. That rocket launch created a wave of alarm across East Asia and has encouraged Japan to move toward developing a greater military capability. </P>

<P> Another North Korean launch would have even greater ramifications, possibly destroying the 1994 "Agreed Framework" that is the basis of relations between North Korea and the West. Fearful of the consequences of another North Korean missile launch for stability in East Asia, President Clinton and South Korean President Kim Dae-jung, who is now visiting the United States, delivered a joint warning Friday to North Korea not to fire a missile. </P>

<P> American and Japanese officials have said that they have detected signs that North Korea may be preparing to launch a missile, but until now North Korea has not commented. Akashi said that Song Il Ho, the director of Japanese affairs in the North Korean foreign ministry, had said that the North was "ready" to fire the missile but did not specifically say that it would launch it. </P>

<P> Song reportedly said that North Korea was besieged by threats from surrounding countries, so that there was no reason for other countries to protest North Korea's taking a "countermeasure." </P>

<P> A missile test would also create concern in the United States, because North Korea is developing its new Taepodong missile, which eventually may be able to threaten the continental United States. The test last August was apparently of a Taepodong that might have the ability to deliver a very small payload just about as far as Alaska. </P>

<P> The next test may be of Taepodong-2, which might be able to reach as far as the West Coast of the United States. Moreover, Aviation Week and Space Technology, a weekly magazine, has reported that North Korea is developing a Taepodong-3 that could hit nearly all parts of the United States. </P>

<P> The North Korean missiles are believed to be fairly inaccurate and thus would not be very useful militarily. But Japan has had the jitters about being in the sights even of inaccurate North Korean missiles. </P>

<P> A North Korean missile launch would come at a critical time, for William Perry, a former defense secretary, has been trying to develop a new Clinton administration policy toward North Korea. The new approach seems to involve an offer of a considerable expansion of Western ties with the North if it will curb its missile program and adopt more conciliatory policies. North Korea has not responded so far. </P>

<P> Hopes for a broader conciliation between North Korea and the West have been in doubt partly because of recent naval battles between North and South Korea in the Yellow Sea. The ill will from those battles led to the suspension on Friday of talks between North Korean and South Korean officials in Beijing. </P>

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<P>New York Times

July 5, 1999</P>

<P>Clinton Responds Coolly To South Korean Request To Boost Missile Range</P>

<P>By Agence France-Presse</P>

<P> SEOUL - President Clinton has responded frostily to South Korean President Kim Dae-Jung's request that Seoul be allowed to boost the range of its missiles to 500 kilometers, reports said Monday. </P>

<P> Kim asked Clinton to consent to massively extending the range limit, currently set at 180 kilometers (113 miles) under a security agreement with Washington, to counter threats from communist North Korea. </P>

<P> The US leader reportedly balked at the proposal, which came during Friday's summit between the two presidents, a meeting which focused on reports North Korea is planning a fresh long-range missile launch. </P>

<P> "President Clinton expressed concern over missile proliferation in Northeast Asia following President Kim's suggestion that Seoul extend its missile range capability," Seoul officials were quoted by the press as saying. </P>

<P> Kim told journalists at a briefing for South Korean reporters in Washington that he told Clinton Seoul needed to develop new missiles with a range of 500 kilometers (300 miles) to counter the threat from communist Pyongyang. </P>

<P> Seoul officials say Washington has privately agreed to allow Seoul to boost its missile range to 300 kilometers. </P>

<P> "I delivered our position that because the two sides had already consented that we could develop a 300-kilometer range missile, we should also be allowed to develop and test-fire one with a range of 500 kilometers," Kim told reporters. </P>

<P> US officials have refused to comment on the discussion between the leaders over South Korea's missile ambitions, saying only that the subject had been raised in the third summit between the presidents. </P>

<P> The discussions over Seoul's missile programme come amid persistent reports that rival North Korea is on the verge of test-firing a new missile with a range of up to 1,600 kilometers which could hit Alaska or Hawaii. </P>

<P> Clinton and Kim formed a united front during their summit, warning Pyongyang that a fresh missile launch -- following its last test-firing in August -- would "pose a serious obstacle to peace." </P>

<P> Seoul had for years been pressuring Washington to increase its own missile reach, but US officials are worried such a move could start a Northeast Asian missile race.</P>

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<P>Pacific Stars And Stripes

July 6, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Japan Says It Will Freeze Funds If NK Missile Tests Proceed</P>

<P>By Jim Lea, Stripes Osan Bureau Chief</P>

<P> OSAN AIR BASE, South Korea South Korea and Japan have agreed to provide most of the \$4.6 billion required for the construction of two light-water nuclear reactors for North Korea, but Japan is warning that it may freeze payments if Pyongyang test launches another missile.</P>

<P> The South Korean and Japanese governments signed the financing agreement late last week, with Seoul promising to pay an estimated \$3.22 billion and Tokyo paying \$1 billion. Other countries have also agreed to contribute.</P>

<P> Under the 1994 agreement signed in Geneva, Pyongyang agreed to shut down its old graphite-based nuclear reactor in return for two light-water reactors that produce less plutonium, a key ingredient in nuclear weapons. Washington pressed North Korea to sign the agreement after the Central Intelligence Agency and other Western intelligence agencies said they had proof Pyongyang was using plutonium reprocessed from spent uranium to develop nuclear weapons.</P>

<P> The Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization generally known by its acronym, KEDO was formed by the United States, South Korea, Japan and a number of European countries to provide the light-water reactors. Under the agreement, the United States is to provide 50,000 tons of low-grade oil annually to fuel the North's conventional power plants until the reactors begin running.</P>

<P> The North has complained that Washington has been slow in providing that oil. That has resulted from suspicions in the Republican-controlled Congress that Pyongyang is conducting a clandestine nuclear weapons program. Pyongyang s

ays it is not, and so far no proof that it is has been found.</P>

<P> Both the Senate and House have passed resolutions, however, which delay money for the oil unless President Clinton certifies that the North is not engaged in a weapons development program.</P>

<P> The Japanese government was preparing to sign the financing agreement last August, but parliament held up its approval after Pyongyang conducted an unannounced test of a Taepodong missile that flew across the northern tip of the main Japanese island of Honshu.</P>

<P> That event caused such anger and consternation in Japan that Tokyo and Washington also agreed to discuss development of a theater missile defense system to protect Japan from possible missile attacks from North Korea.</P>

<P> The North is believed to be ready to fire another Tae-podong, which it has been warned against by the United States, South Korea and Japan. Leaders of all three countries have told Pyongyang another missile test would significantly affect their relations with the Stalinist state. Kyodo News agency reported Sunday that Japanese foreign ministry officials are considering measures to protest if North Korea goes through with the new missile test, for which it reportedly has said it has finished preparations.</P>

<P> One of the measures would be the freezing of \$1 billion by Japan to KEDO, Kyodo said. Ministry officials were not immediately available to confirm the report because of weekend holiday. Pyongyang is known to possess Rodong missiles domestically modified, Soviet-developed SCUDS which can reach the Japanese islands.</P>

<P> The Taepodong has a significantly longer range than the Rodong, and the North is believed to be developing a version of that missile that could reach targets over much of the Pacific and in some parts of the United States. Site preparation for the reactors, to be built on North Korea's east coast, began two years ago. Work for the reactors themselves, which will be built by South Korea, has not begun.</P>


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<P>Washington Times

July 6, 1999</P>

<P>Enter Gen. Jones</P>

<P>By Tod Lindberg</P>

<P> There is an antidote for Washington in Washington -- and that is the parade ground of the U.S. Marine Barracks at Eighth and I Streets, SE. I visited last week to attend the passage of command of the Marine Corps from Gen. Charles C. Krulak to Gen. James L. Jones, who became the 32nd commandant July 1.</P>

<P> I first met Gen. Jones at Camp Lejeune, N.C. in 1995, where he was commander of the 2nd Marine Division, Marine Forces Atlantic. Before that, he was chief of staff for our operations in Bosnia and Macedonia. His military career began with combat in Vietnam. Most recently, he has been Defense Secretary William Cohen's military advisor.</P>

<P> I left Camp Lejeune, where I was part of a group of civilians hosted by each branch of the services for a day, with the firm impression that I had just gotten acquainted with a likely future commandant. Gen. Jones is one of the most impressive military officers I've met, beginning with his imposing size and perfect physical condition, extending to his sharp intelligence and impressive analytical skills, finishing off with a ready wit. Our conversations then and on a couple of occasions since have never been on the record, so I won't characterize his comments except to say that Gen. Jones has been illuminating on subjects ranging from the conflict in former Yugoslavia to civilian military relations.</P>

<P> If Washington is, in general, a place of political infighting and untrammeled ambition, cynicism and back-room deal-making, then ceremonies at the Marine Corps barracks are the opposite. They are genuineness itself: the single slap of the butts of a hundred rifles touching concrete at the same time; the Commandant's Own drum and bugle corps striking up the familiarly haunting strains of "The Minstrel Boy the War Has Gone"; eyes right as the company passes in formation before the watchful eyes of the outgoing commandant for the last time; the permission the new commandant begs of his audience to turn his back to them in order to speak to his Marines, symbolized by the company that stands at attention behind him; the 18-gun honors to the commandant, the first report of which makes the audience jump.</P>

<P> Is this not purest artifice and curiosity, particularly in this day and age? Well, no, it is not. The outgoing commandant, Gen. Krulak, who was well-known for a certain succinct eloquence, famously said that the purpose of the Marine Corps is "Making Marines and winning battles." It is, of course, the former that leads to the latter. And drill of the most rudimentary sort, of the kind leading directly to the precisely disciplined motions on display on the parade ground last week, is the start of the making of Marines. Anyone who harbors fashionably world-weary doubts on this point ought to take a look at the book, "Making the Corps," by Thomas E. Ricks of the Wall Street Journal; it is the story of one platoon at the Marines' Parris Island boot camp.</P>

<P> Much has been made of the disconnection of military and civilian culture in the United States, especially since the end of the draft a generation ago. The military is more separate now, less a thing with which most Americans feel a direct connection. This is especially true given that the civilian decision makers of Washington who have come of age in the era of the all-volunteer force are unlikely to have served in the military, and their children are perhaps less likely still. (Gen. Jones, who comes from a distinguished military family, dramatically took occasion at the ceremony to remind his two 24-year old sons in the audience, who are pursuing careers in business, that the Marine Corps commissions new officers up to the age of 28.)</P>

<P> This sense of distance is surely reinforced by the tendency of the press to concentrate on military scandal, often in the self-righteous spirit of shining a light on benighted barbarism. On top of that, there are those officials, elected and appointed, who seem to have decided that their main engagement with the military will be to press its culture into conformity with civilian norms. Our secretary of the navy, for example, Richard Danzig, recently bemoaned the white maleness of the submarine community -- a charming poke in the eye for those who might be proud to have made it through "nuke school," famously the hardest academically in the navy. Indeed, Mr. Danzig managed to inject the only inappropriate note into last week's ceremony, noting that Mrs. Krulak has married the Marine Corps as well as her husband, the outgoing commandant: "So far as I know, it is the only menage a trois that the Marine Corps approves of," he said, evidently quite smitten with his wit. Gen. Krulak seemed dumfounded.</P>

<P> The military is not blameless with the regard to the disconnection. Its officers are famously reluctant to engage with the public through the press. (The Marine Corps, by tradition, has the best PR department.) The hope seems to be that the civilians will be satisfied short of the destruction of something essential in military culture.</P>

<P> Because, note well, this culture works. We may well have the finest military in history. And really, who should be more plagued with self-doubt here, the military folks who consistently deliver the goods, or their political leaders, who often seem not to know what to ask of them?</P>

<P> In his remarks, Gen. Jones referred to his audience as Marines, former Marines, and friends of Marines. I'm happy to be a member of the latter corps. Godspeed, general, to you and your Marines. </P>

<I><P>Tod Lindberg is editor of Policy Review.</P></I>

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<P>Washington Post

July 5, 1999

Pg. 21</P>

<P>Salute To Our Everyday Heroes</P>

<P>By Eric K. Shinseki</P>

<P> The bombing has stopped. The negotiations are over. And as tough as this phase of peacemaking has been, the hard, dangerous work of peacekeeping has just begun. Paratroopers from the U.S. Army's 82nd Airborne Division led deploying NATO forces as the peacekeepers began establishing themselves in the bombing range that was Kosovo.</P>

<P> Within hours, tensions between Serbian and Albanian Kosovars flared into scattered bloodshed. Three German journalists were killed. In the weeks and months to come the likelihood of violence is as high as the time, location and provocation for such acts are unpredictable.</P>

<P> American soldiers are accustomed to these trials -- 34 times in the past 10 years. Yes, 34 times since the Berlin Wall fell, and we began to determine what to do with the "peace dividend," U.S. Army soldiers have deployed into harm's way around the world. Usually those missions required less than full-scale combat. As a result, they received little attention. They were not, however, less dangerous for that. Peacekeeping operations in Haiti, Somalia, Macedonia, the Sinai, Bosnia and now Kosovo are fraught with complexity. </P>

<P> Our objectives often require us to deploy soldiers with sophisticated weapons under rules of engagement that constrain their employment. It doesn't take long for the civilian populace to figure out what our rules of engagement are and to develop tactics that push right up to, but not past, our "red lines" for the use of force.</P>

<P> And who are the expertly trained soldier-statesmen contending with these provocations and confronting the complexity of these situations? They are 20-year-old volunteers, active and reserve, from Newark or Flint, Mich., Laredo, Tex., or Fairbanks, Alaska. Most enlisted in the Army for a few years to gain some life experience and to earn money for college. Initial entry training qualified them to deploy with their units to places with unpronounceable names. </P>

<P> Their mission is to keep people from killing one another and, secondarily, to protect themselves and their fellow soldiers. Back home, they left young spouses with small children who can scarcely comprehend they are gone, much less

ss the complex foreign policy situations that take them away. For many, their paychecks barely cover monthly expenses, and there is little discretionary income for entertainment, savings or investment.

American soldiers in the field constantly amaze us with the strength of their dedication and morale. Despite danger, hardship, and separation from family, they enjoy their work for two fundamental reasons. First, they know they are doing something important. The U.S. Army is a potent symbol of liberty, justice and hope. Everyone can understand that there is no moral comparison between U.S. soldiers and their adversaries, be they Saddam Hussein or Slobodan Milosevic. Thus, it is easy for soldiers to believe in the rightness of what they do.

Second, no one does it better. American soldiers are the best-led and the best-trained war-fighters in the world. And they take great pride in their professional excellence and selfless service to the nation.

We have a covenant with these soldiers. They owe us their fealty, their commitment and their dedication to duty. We, in turn, owe them the best equipment we can provide. We owe them the most challenging and rigorous training imaginable. We owe them a living wage and a decent home and a good school for their kids. We owe them an opportunity for self-betterment and a chance to compete. When we send them to some far-off place that we would have been hard-pressed to locate on a globe a week before, they must know that we will never abandon them, or squander their sacrifice or commit them to battles that cannot be won. And when they are still there years from now, we owe it to them to remember all that they have done and are doing on our behalf.

As we celebrate our freedom this Fourth of July weekend, we need to pay attention not just to the 38,000 U.S. soldiers "on point" for the nation in 78 countries around the world but to all the soldiers, sailors, airmen and Marines serving our country here and in faraway places such as Bosnia, Macedonia, Haiti, Honduras, Panama, Kuwait, the Sinai and Korea. Remember their sacrifices and take pride in their service. I am proud to serve with them.

The writer is the Army chief of staff.


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<P>International Herald Tribune

July 6, 1999</P>

<P>Time For Serbian Self-Examination</P>

<P>By Larry Hollingworth </P>

<P> NEW YORK - The death toll in Kosovo is still being defined. There are three kinds of victims: those of NATO, those of the Kosovo Liberation Army and those of the Serbs.</P>

<P> Death by NATO was swift and impersonal; there was no direct torture, no deliberate mutilation. Victims of the Kosovo Liberation Army probably numbered not many. They may have been subjected to torture and mutilation, although as yet there is no evidence of this. What is indisputably true, however, is that a number of Serbs committed inhuman acts. Ethnic Albanians were tortured, raped and murdered.</P>

<P> Who are the Serbs who committed these crimes? Are they the conscripts, the young men sent to Kosovo from universities, schools and workplaces? Are they the professional military, the trained soldiers? Are they the paramilitary, those who volunteered to fight and to kill? Are they the police, the principled upholders of law and order? Are they the scum of the jails, the dregs of society, released or rounded up to fight? Are they the neighbor, the Serb who lived next door to the Albanian? And are they to return to their society, to their friends and to their families with impunity?</P>

<P> In the media, Serbian apologists have denied Serbian involvement in these crimes and have issued counterclaims, some valid, some spurious.</P>

<P> But as NATO and the world's press corps advances and discovers mass graves, torture chambers, dried blood and dried bones, as human rights experts listen to and record stomach-turning interview after interview of intimidation, separation and liquidation, the question again must be asked: Can faces and names be put to the Serbs who committed these acts?</P>

<P> This process of identification is not solely the task of officials from The Hague or Geneva or New York. Surely first it is the task of the Serbian people. I cannot believe that any Serbian mother, wife or sister would welcome home from the front a son, husband or brother who has raped, mutilated, murdered or violated Albanian civilians.</P>

<P> Serbs are proud people. They are nationalists who do not readily mix and mingle. Most are militarists, praising past battles and glories. Many are religious, with a deep if inconsistent attachment to the Serbian Orthodox Church. They are at their best when the odds are against them; often the odds are self-inflicted.</P>

<P> They are not a nation of rapists and murderers. The few have besmirched the image and the name of the majority. Many of the Serbs know who committed the vile acts - they witnessed the fear, they heard the screams, they saw the bo

dies. They did nothing about it because they feared for their own lives or for their standing among their peers. How do they feel now? </P>

<P> As the true story of the horror of Kosovo unfolds, have these witnesses the courage to look in the mirror and examine themselves? Have the Serbs as a nation the courage and the honesty to discuss with each other what they see? If they begin such a dialogue, can they do so without making comparisons? In Bosnia, the Serbian reply to every outrage they committed was, "But look what they have done to us." In Kosovo, it began as "But look what the Kosovo Liberation Army has done to us," and now it is, "But look what NATO has done to us."</P>

<P> The Serbs, too, should have a Truth and Reconciliation Commission where the majority - the honorable Serbs - would be able to prosecute the small minority who have so stained the Serbian reputation. Would it not be better if the Serbs washed their own dirty linen and hung out their own sheets of shame, instead of a few alleged criminals being arrested by foreigners, taken to the distant and sterile courtrooms at The Hague and eventually punished?</P>

<P> The faces and the voices of the guilty must be seen and heard by their own nation. The prosecution of war criminals is neither an exercise in appeasing the deeply offended international community, nor a means of compensating the ethnic Albanian community. It is as much an examination of how and why and by whom the atrocities were perpetrated as it is a process of law. </P>

<P> It is for the Serbs to hold up a mirror and to examine their reflection. What future is there for the region if they do not? </P>

<P> <I>The writer, an adviser to Christian Aid and project director at the Center for International Health and Cooperation, previously served as chief of operations for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in Sarajevo. He contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.</P></I>

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<P>International Herald Tribune

July 6, 1999

A Place For Croatia In The Euro-Atlantic Community

By Franjo Tudjman, International Herald Tribune.

ZAGREB, Croatia - A decade after the collapse of Communism and the end of the Cold War, Europe's economic, political and security landscape has been fundamentally transformed, reflecting the paradox that as the world is increasingly integrated, Europe is simultaneously becoming more individuated nationally.

For many new nations in Central and Eastern Europe, inclusion is the best guarantee of fulfilling a vision of Europe that many shared before us and that our children expect from us. We stand at the brink of a new century, a new millennium and a new set of challenges to promote fairness and social justice, liberty and equality at home and abroad.

A new chapter in modern European history is being written as the emerging nations encounter the challenges of integration. Croatia's birth as a modern nation was extremely painful, and it made every effort to avoid a bloody confrontation to win independence. But there were forces intent on carving out a Greater Serbia by aggression in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and recently in Kosovo, defying the will of the international community, flouting international law and the norms of international civility.

Despite the obstacles, Croatia was cognizant that progress toward full integration in European and international political and economic institutions required it to be sovereign over all of its territory and to work toward further democratization of society. Croatia's contribution to the European architecture has been to provide a firm foundation of economic and political stability in a turbulent region.

The strategic concept underlying Europe's vision of the future rests on the inclusion of Central and East European nations into the main institutions and processes of its democratic order. Indeed, the European Union's stability pact for southeastern Europe is a concept that endeavors to harmonize the aspirations of new nations to join the prestigious clubs of Europe.

Croatia believes that its sovereignty and independence can only be preserved if it has the opportunity to chart with Europe an individuated approach to cooperation and finally to membership in the European Union and NATO. Keeping this dialogue open on a country-by-country basis will be crucial to luring the countries of Central and Eastern Europe into a common European home. There are clearly unresolved issues, however, about certain efforts directed at establishing a new Yugoslavia, Balkan federation or the like that would place Croatia in a nebulous "Western Balkan" region.

The international community has been slow in coming to understand that recent events in former Yugoslavia are not only the consequence of a conscious policy pursued by Slobodan Milosevic. Rather, the causes behind these events must also be sought in the unresolved questions of our historical heritage - in the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the Habsburg Empire, former Yugoslavia, as well as in the traditional rivalry between Western Europe and Russia.

<P> For the first time in modern history, the international community has a n opportunity to transform this region from a zone of instability into an area of order and prosperity. Southeastern Europe requires a process resembling the experience of the Scandinavian countries, in which commonality and shared interests are recognized, but more fundamentally, differences are respected. </P>

<P> The structure of stability in international affairs in the future rests on three planks: the continuation of the unique relationship within the trans-Atlantic alliance; the inclusion of Central and Eastern Europe into the Euro-Atlantic community, and the definition of a manageable structure of understanding and cooperation between the West, Russia and China. </P>

<P> Small nations like Croatia, for the first time in history, have a chance not only to play a positive role in maintaining order, but also to feel secure that their identity and cultural heritage will remain intact within the broader European democratic order.</P>

<P> <I>The writer is the President of Croatia.</P></I>

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<P>Washington Post

July 6, 1999

Pg. 15</P>

<P>Peace Through Justice</P>

<P>By Kingsley Chiedu Moghalu</P>

<P> ARUSHA, TanzaniaNow that NATO has fought and won the war in Kosovo, will peace be established with justice?</P>

<P> The Yugoslavia war crimes tribunal's indictment of Slobodan Milosevic, a sitting head of state, is part of a revolutionary trend in international law.

It builds on precedent established by The Hague's sister court, the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, sitting in Arusha, Tanzania. In September 1998 the Rwanda tribunal sentenced Jean Kambanda, former prime minister and head of the Rwandan government, to life imprisonment for genocide and crimes against humanity.

Kambanda's conviction marked the first time in history that any individual, in this case a former head of government, had been punished for genocide by an international court. It is against the backdrop of this groundbreaking success that the Milosevic indictment has raised the stakes for the enforcement of international justice for war crimes.

Granted, bringing Milosevic before The Hague court may not be an immediate prospect. But when Kambanda and his fellow criminals rallied extremists to exterminate Rwanda's Tutsi, they could not have imagined that they would one day face justice in the dock. Today, 37 other ranking Rwandan political and military figures, including nine ministers in Kambanda's government in 1994, are in the Arusha tribunal's custody. No statute of limitation applies to crimes against humanity. The status of a head of state confers no immunity from prosecution for genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes.

If Milosevic is brought to trial, it may not be enough to show the horrors that the Kosovar Albanians experienced. Milosevic could argue that NATO's bombs were to blame. Proof that the Serb leader gave orders for the perpetration of the murders, deportations and persecution of the victims would make this an open and shut case.

Also, if prosecutors can show conclusively that Milosevic knew or should have known that his subordinates committed these crimes and did nothing to stop or punish them, the Serb leader could be convicted. This would be the most problematic issue for a Milosevic defense team. The legal principle of "the superior's command responsibility" is entrenched in the statutes of the two international criminal tribunals and has been invoked in judgments by both courts.

Given the similarity in the status of Milosevic and Rwanda's Kambanda, judges in a Milosevic trial would look closely at the Kambanda case. The former Rwandan leader pleaded guilty, admitting that the 1994 genocide and crimes against humanity in Rwanda were sponsored by his government. Yet his level of responsibility as a head of government was considered by the judges a strong aggravating factor in sentencing him to life in prison (Kambanda has appealed his sentence). As the tribunal judges put it, "Jean Kambanda abused his authority and the trust of the civilian population. . . . He failed to take necessary and reasonable measures to prevent his subordinates from committing crimes against the population."

In a Milosevic trial, the burden on the judges and the prosecution to respect his fundamental rights would have to be transparently discharged. It would be crucial to show that the proceedings are not a kangaroo court with a politically predetermined outcome. Many countries would have a vested interest in the result.

The indictment of Milosevic is an important signal that international justice for crimes in which humanity is the victim is a reality of our time. It

also demonstrates that justice and diplomacy are not incompatible, though each may have its own dynamic. Rather than complicating the outcome of the latest Balkan war, the indictment of Milosevic has clarified things in a manner that diplomacy sometimes cannot. The indictment has left Milosevic with no hand to deal and ultimately, perhaps, no place to hide.</P>

<P> <I>The writer is a legal adviser to the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda.</P></I>

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<P>Washington Times

July 6, 1999

Pg. 12</P>

<P>From Gunboat Diplomacy To Gunpoint Democracy</P>

<P>By Kay Bailey Hutchison</P>

<P> U.S. foreign policy since the end of the Cold War has been freed of the discipline imposed by the superpower conflict. This has permitted a much bolder use of American military power, increasingly in ways that diverge from the defense of national security interests as traditionally defined. Nowhere was this more evident than in the recent conflict in Kosovo, where, in the name of restoring democracy and preventing humanitarian chaos, NATO -- a formerly defensive alliance -- bombed a sovereign nation that posed no external threat.</P>

<P> American foreign policy was once called Gunboat Diplomacy; the new policy of applying military solutions to humanitarian and political problems could be described as "Gunpoint Democracy."</P>

<P> After missteps, first in Somalia and then Haiti, where chaos reigns despite direct U.S. military involvement that continues to this day, President Clinton has found his stride. He stated his new policy with clarity in a recent speech to U.S. troops in Macedonia: "Whether you live in Africa or Central Europe

or any other place, if somebody comes after innocent civilians and tries to kill them en masse because of their race, their ethnic background or their religion and it is within our power to stop it, we will stop it."

The policy is unfolding in real-time in the Balkans. More than 6,000 American troops are in Bosnia on an open-ended commitment to guarantee democracy among people who refuse even to live next door to one another. A similar number are headed to Kosovo, where their presence will guarantee political autonomy of a province in a sovereign country.

The policy into which we've drifted runs the risk of expanding our military obligations abroad at great cost to our treasury, our world leadership, and our long-term strategic interests. With some two dozen major civil conflicts around the world, it is legitimate to wonder whether the armed pursuit of democracy is a suitable foundation for a superpower foreign policy. Eventually, the wear and tear on our troops and equipment could stretch us to the breaking point and force a retreat from places in the world where the risks to our national security are more immediate and direct.

A better policy would be one that draws distinction among humanitarian emergencies, political realignments, civil wars and real dangers to U.S. national security. It would provide for more logical burden-sharing with our allies, in a way that is fair to all and preserves the unique strengths and capabilities of each. The basic elements of such a policy would include the following principles:

*Help those willing to fight for their own freedom. There is something between doing nothing and bombing a country into rubble. In Bosnia and in Kosovo, we ignored or even opposed local forces who were willing to fight for their own freedom.

The Serbs committed massive atrocities against Muslims and Croats in Bosnia for three years while the United States was enforcing a U.N. arms embargo on the region. Helping those who are prepared to fight for their freedom can create a more lasting and balanced peace.

*Do not get involved in civil conflicts that make us the enemy. We cannot declare war against every dictator in the world; it upends the lives of innocent civilians and turns them against America. The United States must preserve the impartiality needed to be a peacemaker.

*Military action should be the last resort, not the first threat. In these days of laser-guided bombs and stealth aircraft, it seems the course of least resistance is to threaten force. We are avoiding the hard work of negotiations and diplomacy. When we threaten, we must be prepared to follow through. Using force when the threat to our own security is vague leads to a halfhearted war absent the will to do whatever is necessary to win. This can draw out the operation and lead, ultimately, to greater numbers of innocents killed or displaced.

*The United States does not have to commit troops to be a good ally. We should focus on those global security challenges where American forces are uniquely capable, especially where air power may be required. In more localized regional conflicts, where our allies are often just as militarily capable as we

are, the United States can offer them intelligence support, or airlift, or protection of non-combatants. A foreign policy developed around these principles would represent a sensible division of the labors of freedom between the United States and its allies. It would allow us to sustain a global presence without dissipating our resources.

The president has said he acted in Kosovo because he didn't want this century to end as it began, with a war that started in the Balkans. I agree, but in that conflict the U.S. -- a global neophyte -- could do little but react to global events as they occurred. With core guiding principles behind its foreign policy, the U.S. will not react to world events -- we will shape them.

Kay Bailey Hutchison, Texas Republican, is a member of the U.S. Senate, where she serves on the Appropriations Committee. She was appointed this year to the Helsinki Commission. This article was adapted from a speech delivered to the Heritage Foundation.


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<P>Washington Post

July 3, 1999

Pg. 20</P>

<P>Serbian Recalcitrance</P>

<P> Dan Morgan's June 16 op-ed column, "One Nation Under Tito," said that when the "big Yugoslavia . . . was thriving economically and, in many ways, politically too," Serbs were at ease. Reading his article one gets the impression that it was the freedom and equality of others that caused the comfort level of Serbs to decline." Therefore -- as we interpreted his column -- to boost their sense of security, the Serbian military and paramilitary forces engaged in atrocities in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo.

<P> Mr. Morgan seems to forget that by its constitution, Yugoslavia was a c

country comprising six nations, and Serbs were only one of those six. Yugoslavia was supposed to be a federation of equals. However, soon after its creation in 1918, it became clear that Yugoslavia had little chance of becoming a happy affair. The main reason was the Serbian perception of Yugoslavia as a Greater Serbia.

It was the very nature of democracy that proved that Yugoslavia was not a sustainable construction. After the fall of communism, all the other nations of the former Yugoslavia opted for multiparty systems and market economies, but Serbia decided that such a choice was a direct threat to its perceived national interests. Slovenes, Croats and other peoples in the former Yugoslavia knew what it took eight years for the West to realize: Slobodan Milosevic and his chauvinistic regime were unacceptable company for peace and prosperity.

The author's claim that the declaration of independence by Slovenia and Croatia "stranded Serbian minorities without providing any guarantees of their future status" is untrue. The West recognized Slovenia and Croatia as independent and sovereign states only after the Badinter Commission declared that their constitutions provided adequate guarantees to minorities.

The author also proposed that a "Yugoslavia as a structure for the integration of economic and security interests that could heal wounds and contain Serbia's demons" would be a good "old-new" option. However, other nations of the former Yugoslavia, which tried to share a state with the Serbs, would disagree.

Southeastern Europe has for too long been hijacked by the Serbian inability to accept democracy and should not be used as a testing ground to see when and whether the Serbs want to be a democratic society. If Serbia eventually decides to accept the criteria and standards of behavior of the Western world, both Slovenia and Croatia will be happy to have friendly relations with Serbia, as we already have with the rest of the countries in the region.

As for the Slovenes and Croats, they made their choice a long time ago: democracy, market economy, NATO and European Union -- and a future for their children in a world of free and prosperous people.

Dimitrij Rupel and Miomir Zuzul, Washington

The writers are, respectively, the ambassadors of Slovenia and Croatia to the United States.

Editor's Note: The op-ed referred to appeared in the **Current News Early Bird**, June 16, 1999.

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New York Times

July 6, 1999

Bombing Serbia: A New Era?

To the Editor: Tina Rosenberg (Editorial Observer, July 2) sounds an increasingly familiar but flawed theme: that the NATO bombing campaign in Kosovo was a legitimate intervention that may herald a new era in international relations in which intervention to stem large-scale human rights abuses may take precedence over issues of national sovereignty.

Ms. Rosenberg's suggestion that sovereignty was a paramount consideration during the cold war doesn't hold up: the United States and the Soviet Union routinely and brutally intervened in the affairs of sovereign nations that fell within their presumed spheres of influence. Even now, the United States continues to arm regimes in Turkey and Indonesia that have bombed and burned villages and sponsored death squads.

Until the United States demonstrates a consistent interest in promoting human rights by stopping the flow of American weaponry to repressive governments, the action in Kosovo will stand as a monument to hypocrisy, not the beginning of a new era.

William D. Hartung, New York, July 2, 1999

The writer is a senior fellow at the World Policy Institute.

To the Editor: Tina Rosenberg (Editorial Observer, July 2) correctly notes a "shift toward respecting a nation's sovereignty only when it respects the rights of its people as international law defines them," but who decides?

Meddlers and predators, too, invoke humanitarian concerns, and rights violations under international law can be stretched to include almost any debatable policy.

In Yugoslavia there was a need to act. But a bad year for sovereignty will not be a good year for people without procedural safeguards and nonmanipulable standards to regulate foreign intervention. Right now, we have neither.

Brad R. Roth, Detroit, July 2, 1999

<I>The writer teaches international law at Wayne State University.</P>

</I><P>Editor's Note: The article referred to appeared in the <I>Current News Early Bird</I>, July 2, 1999.</P>

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<P>Time

July 12, 1999

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<P>Tearing Down Milosevic</P>

<I><P>Washington resorts to a bag of tricks to try to get Yugoslavia a new leader</P>

</I><P>By Douglas Waller/Washington</P>

<P> The CIA, to put it charitably, has a spotty record on overthrowing foreign governments. The times it has succeeded--in Guatemala, Iran and Chile, for example--it replaced fairly moderate governments with far more brutal regimes. And when dictators deserved the boot, the agency has been rather inept at toppling them. The CIA has been trying to oust Saddam Hussein ever since the Gulf War ended eight years ago, but he is more firmly entrenched than ever.</P>

<P> Now another American President has put his faith in the spooks from Langley to get rid of an unsavory leader, Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic. As NATO warplanes roared over Serbia this spring, Bill Clinton signed a secret presidential "finding" giving the CIA the green light to try to topple Milosevic's regime. The agency's covert operation, sources tell TIME, is part of a wide-ranging plan Clinton has approved to oust the Serbian strongman. On the record, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright says, "We are making it quite clear that we don't see Milosevic in the future." </P>

<P> The CIA's covert action plan has its exotic aspects. Agency computer hackers will try to disrupt Milosevic's private financial transactions and electronically drain his overseas bank accounts. (Intelligence officials suspect he has as much money socked away in Switzerland, Cyprus, Greece, Russia and China.) The CIA also hopes to funnel cash secretly to opposition groups inside Yugoslavia as well as recruit dissidents within the Belgrade government and the Yugoslav military. Last month roads in four Serbian towns and villages were blocked by young reservists protesting the army's failure to pay them for two months. </P>

<P> Though Milosevic still commands the loyalty of his generals, a Pentagon intelligence officer says many of the colonels and junior officers who were evicted out of Kosovo are grumbling, "Why did we do this?"--particularly after they saw the destruction back home. There's no guarantee, of course, that a military coup would produce a more liberal government. Once tanks roll in Belgrade, power could fall into the hands of even more nationalist, anti-NATO hard-liners.</P>

>

<P> Far more of the Clinton plan will be carried out overtly by diplomats, bankers and even disk jockeys. To compete with Milosevic's formidable propaganda machine, the U.S. Information Agency plans to ring Serbia's border with six radio transmitters that will beam Western news programs into the country 24 hours a day. Last month Robert Gelbard, U.S. special envoy to the Balkans, flew to Serbia's rebellious republic of Montenegro to meet with some 20 Serbian opposition leaders and plead with them to join forces against the regime. </P>

<P> Albright met with the German, French, British and Italian foreign ministers in New York City last week to plot how each country might exploit its ties with dissident elements in Serbia. She asked Italian Foreign Minister Lamberto Dini, for example, to place a phone call to the Vatican. The Serbian Orthodox Church last month demanded that Milosevic step down and instructed its priests to preach from the pulpit this past Sunday that Serbian forces are responsible for the atrocities in Kosovo. Washington wants Pope John Paul II, who helped engineer the toppling of Poland's communist regime, to join in taking a crack at Milosevic. </P>

<P> Money may be the most important weapon against Milosevic. The State Department is hatching a scheme much like the one a President uses to reward Congressmembers with federal pork when they vote his way. Clinton has told the Serbs that as long as they keep Milosevic in power, they won't get "one red cent" of the billions of dollars the West plans in economic reconstruction aid for the Balkans. But Washington has left open the possibility of sending some humanitarian aid to Serbia. The catch: Serbian municipal governments run by Milosevic's opponents, such as those in Cacak and Novi Sad, would get extra money for their local economies. </P>

<P> Nifty ideas, but will dollars and diplomatic maneuvers and CIA dirty tricks be enough to topple Milosevic? Serbia isn't a totalitarian state like Iraq, where Saddam puts a bullet into anyone who so much as whispers a complaint. Though Milosevic is a thug, he still has to keep the masses happy. And at the moment they're not. NATO warplanes caused almost \$30 billion worth of damage in Serbia and left a quarter of a million people jobless. Last week some 10,000 Serbs in Cacak and Novi Sad staged anti-Milosevic rallies that security forces did little to curb. The regime "destroyed us," Cacak's mayor, Velimir Ilic, shouted to the crowd from a podium in his city's main square. "They humiliated us. We are ashamed to say we are Serbs." </P>

<P> Albright believes that Milosevic "was shaken" by the war-crimes indictment issued by the Hague and the \$5 million bounty the U.S. offered for his capture. Some Milosevic backers in Belgrade's business community and even in his own Socialist Party have begun making private inquiries with intermediaries in Washington to explore what kind of deal the U.S. government might make for his graceful exit. Senior U.S. officials, for now, refuse to consider any comfortable retirement. </P>

<P> That hard line may change as Washington discovers Milosevic isn't a pushover. The CIA is having trouble just finding his bank accounts to tamper with, because most are under pseudonyms. The Serbian Orthodox Church is influential but not as powerful as the Roman Catholic Church was in Poland's revolution; most Serbs don't attend Sunday services. The U.S. radio transmissions are still being drowned out by regime-controlled media outlets, which flood the country with video and print propaganda. </P>

<P> Milosevic's biggest ally may end up being the opposition groups. "They call themselves zajedno, which in Serbian means 'together,' but they're not," Albright maintains. Instead, the coalition of some two dozen opposition parties is led by warring chieftains whose egos, says Serb Democratic Party vice president Slobodan Vuksanovic, have so far got in the way of mounting a credible political challenge. Gelbard left his Montenegro meeting with opposition leaders frustrated because their squabbling was squandering their best chance of unseating Milosevic. "They're all fighting over who will be President of Yugoslavia and not realizing that they're dealing with an extremely clever and ruthless adversary," says a senior U.S. diplomat.</P>

<P> Milosevic is an adversary who has faced worse odds and survived. More than two years ago, after hundreds of thousands of protesters took to the streets in Belgrade, Milosevic skillfully co-opted their leaders or intimidated the activists into submission. "He's an expert at dividing the opposition," says NATO's commander, General Wesley Clark. If his enemies again give him enough time to regroup, Milosevic could join Saddam, Libya's Muammar Gaddafi and Cuba's Fidel Castro on the growing list of dictators the CIA just can't seem to overthrow .</P>

<I><P>With Reporting By Gillian Sanford/Belgrade</P></I>

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<P>Los Angeles Times

July 4, 1999

Pg. 4</P>

<P>Kosovo Rebel Survived Serbs--But Not NATO's Bullets </P>

<I><P>Balkans: Peacekeepers shot at car in self-defense, alliance spokesman says. Family contends victim fired his gun in joy and posed no threat. </P>

</I><P>By John Daniszewski, Times Staff Writer</P>

<P> PRISTINA, Yugoslavia--As Fari Bici, a 20-year-old soldier in the Kosovo Liberation Army, prepared Friday to go out and mark Kosovo's first Freedom Day, he told his younger brother: "This is the night I have been waiting for all my life."</P>

<P> Before the night was finished, however, Bici was far from celebrating. Instead, he lay sprawled on the pavement, dead--along with a companion--from NATO bullets.</P>

<P> It was a sad, ironic end for a young man who, for the past three months, had dodged Serbian shelling and gunfire in the mountains north of Pristina, the provincial capital, winning the respect of his comrades when he vowed that he would surrender his life before he would surrender his unit's heavy machine gun.</P>

<P> According to his brothers and uncles, red-eyed from crying inside their house Saturday afternoon, no one in the province was happier than Bici when the North Atlantic Treaty Organization finally came to Kosovo.</P>

<P> The British paratroopers who killed Bici and his friend, Avni Dudi, 24, and wounded two others in their car said afterward that they had been forced to act in self-defense because the ethnic Albanians were shooting an automatic weapon as the car approached a government building where about 50 Serbs were being guarded by NATO forces.</P>

<P> "When KFOR soldiers feel their lives are in danger, they will respond quickly and robustly," said Maj. Jan Joosten, a spokesman for the international peacekeepers known as KFOR, for Kosovo Force. "It is best not to put it to the challenge."</P>

<P> Bici's grieving family members gave a different account. They said Bici was not out to hurt anybody, especially not NATO soldiers.</P>

<P> According to his brother Driton, 17, who was in the Opel Cadet that the British troops fired on, Bici was the only one of seven people riding in the car with a weapon, and that was only a handgun, a gift from his uncle. Bici had fired it into the air about three times before he was killed, said Driton.</P>

<P> The teenager said his brother and their friends were caught up in a contagious euphoria that swept through Pristina as tens of thousands of Kosovo Albanians took to the streets, reveling in their liberation from Serbian domination.</P>

<P> "We were so happy, we were tearing our clothes," Driton said. Since NATO arrived in Kosovo on June 12, its troops have shot and killed a handful of Serbs who dared to challenge them. But the shooting of Bici and Dudi was the first time that any of the province's majority ethnic Albanians have been killed by the peacekeepers.</P>

<P> It remains to be seen how the ethnic Albanians in the province will react to the shooting, but there were murmurs of complaint on the streets of Prist

ina on Saturday.</P>

<P> "If they start to shoot Albanians that way, then what are they here for ? Nothing," said Veliu Shukri, the proprietor of the Extra Hamburger restaurant , a few steps from where the shooting took place at midnight Friday.</P>

<P> "We were paving the way for NATO, so NATO should not be killing Albanians in this way," said Sylejman Gjonbalaj, a customer.</P>

<P> "I don't mean the links between Albanians and NATO are going to break up, but this case could cool feelings toward NATO," said Gjonbalaj, who expressed the gratitude of Kosovo Albanians to the Western alliance. "You have given us life."</P>

<P> Joosten, the NATO spokesman, said the actions of the British troops were under review, as happens whenever a civilian is shot.</P>

<P> But he stressed that any soldier has the right to self-defense and said it is difficult to dispute the split-second judgments made by troops on the ground.</P>

<P> Despite the passage of a deadline for KLA soldiers to surrender most weapons, Joosten acknowledged that in many cases during Friday night's celebrations, NATO troops did not intervene when revelers fired into the air because to do so could have sparked a confrontation that would have hurt bystanders.</P>

<P> KFOR does intend to disarm the populace, but gradually, as conditions permit, Joosten said.</P>

<P> Bici's family said that firing guns in the air is a traditional way to celebrate in the Balkans and that the British forces should have known they were in no danger from the ethnic Albanian population grateful for its liberation.</P>

<P> "They were shooting because they were happy, they were free," Driton said.</P>

<P> His brother and the others in the car had no sense of danger, he said.</P>

<P> "We weren't worried at all. . . . We understood that it would be OK."</P>

<P> At the scene of the shooting, there was a regular British checkpoint that had been augmented for the night by an extra patrol, for a total of eight troops, because Serbian civilians now living in a government building were afraid for their safety.</P>

<P> According to accounts by the Associated Press, the white Cadet in which Bici was riding had gone past the building three times emitting gunfire, and it was only on the third time that the British troops fired.</P>

<P> Bici and Dudi were on the hood of the car, while inside were five passengers. Bici's cousin Mohamet Bici was shot through the jaw and remained in Prison.

tina Hospital on Saturday in critical condition, said his father, Sabit.</P>

<P> After the shooting, the five survivors, including the bleeding Mohamet, were forced to lie on the ground for an hour with soldiers standing over them pointing guns, Driton said. He said he was kicked when he tried to beg them to get medical aid to his cousin.</P>

<P> Heartbroken at the death of his brother, who was married and had an 8-week-old son, Driton said he still could not believe what had happened to them.</P>

<P> "All through the war, I was too afraid to listen to the radio because I thought I might hear that he had been killed," he recalled of his brother. "Now, he has died in front of my eyes."</P>

<P> But Driton said he does not hate the soldiers.</P>

<P> "There is not a human being who does not make mistakes," he said.</P>

<P> "We hope and pray that these killings will be the last."</P>

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<P>Boston Globe

July 3, 1999

Pg. 9</P>

<P>US Peacekeepers Arrest 5 Serbs Soldiers In Kosovo </P>

<P>By Donna Bryson, Associated Press</P>

<P> PRISTINA, Yugoslavia - US peacekeepers arrested five Serb soldiers who said they had strayed across the border into Kosovo, and Dutch forces detained six armed Yugoslav police officers broadcasting clandestinely, NATO said yesterday.</P>

<P> The presence of Yugoslav security forces in Kosovo violates an agreement that required all Serb police and troops to leave the province by June 20. US officers had complained Thursday that some Serb paramilitary units were still in Kosovo, creating a threat to NATO troops.</P>

<P> Also yesterday, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan appointed France's health minister, Bernard Kouchner, to run the UN civilian administration in Kosovo.</P>

<P> The United Nations has been given the task of rebuilding Kosovo after the peace agreement ended NATO's bombing blitz and paved the way for the return of 860,000 ethnic Albanian refugees.</P>

<P> More than half have returned since June 12, many to find that their homes had been destroyed.</P>

<P> Kouchner, 59, a founder of the Doctors Without Borders aid group, was an outspoken proponent of humanitarian measures during the 1992-95 Bosnian war.</P>

<P> "He has those qualities that I think the secretary general said he was looking for: vision, the ability to manage, and knowledge of the region," UN spokesman Fred Eckhard said in announcing the appointment.</P>

<P> Annan also announced several deputies within the civilian administration, including Jock Covey of the United States, who was a deputy envoy in Sarajevo from 1995 to 1997 and a special assistant to President Clinton overseeing the Dayton Peace Accords that ended the Bosnian war.</P>

<P> US peacekeepers said they arrested the five Yugoslav soldiers on Thursday, all in uniform and carrying Kalashnikov assault rifles. They said they had strayed across the 3-mile buffer zone and crossed into Kosovo by mistake. NATO said it asked the Yugoslav government for an explanation.</P>

<P> Dutch peacekeepers captured six men they suspected were Serb special police in Urosevac, a town 18 miles south of Pristina. The suspects had weapons, computers, and radios.</P>

<P> US General Wesley K. Clark, the supreme NATO commander, said this week it was clear that Serb security forces, "some with connections to intelligence organizations," remained in the province. He said their purpose was not clear but could form "the seeds of future conflict, to contest control of the province."</P>

<P> Major Jan Joosten, a spokesman for the NATO mission in Kosovo, said Dutch peacekeepers found the Serb police officers when they picked up clandestine radio signals and went to investigate.</P>

<P> In Kosovo, the chief UN humanitarian official in the province met with local leaders to look for ways to end ethnic killings and reprisals. But after meeting for seven hours, the sides found little common ground.</P>

<P> "After everything that has happened in Kosovo, it was not easy to react

h a common text which will be acceptable for all to sign," Serb Orthodox Bishop Artemije said after the meeting.</P>

<P> The two sides agreed to meet again in an attempt to form a task force to deal with the crisis.</P>

<P> In a statement, group members said they wanted to create a society "where no one has to fear for his life, his family, his job or his home, just because of his ethnicity or belief."</P>

<P> A Kosovo Albanian military leader, Hashim Thaci, said both sides did agree that Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic bears most of the blame for the violence and fear in Kosovo.</P>

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<P>Los Angeles Times

July 5, 1999

Pg. 7</P>

<P>A Few Of The Proud Join Independence Party</P>

<I><P>Kosovo: Marines are guests of honor as ethnic Albanians celebrate America's freedom--and their own. </P>

</I><P>By John Daniszewski and Julie Tamaki, Times Staff Writers</P>

<P> GNJILANE, Yugoslavia--It was vintage Americana. A small town block party with lots of flags and patriotic music. But this time, it was in Kosovo, and the town's guests of honor were U.S. Marines.</P>

<P> More than 3,000 residents of Gnjilane wanted to make sure that American peacekeepers in the province would have a Fourth of July celebration to be proud of even though they are far from home. At the same time, the Kosovars were e

ager to revel in their own newly won independence from Serbian domination, a gift they ascribe mainly to the United States.</P>

<P> So Sunday evening's bash turned into a massive party, for their freedom and America's.</P>

<P> A band played. The people danced. And Cokes, Fantas and Johnny Walker flowed.</P>

<P> "This is just amazing. It is absolutely amazing. Everything they painted on the walls for us, I can't put it into words. It just feels so great," Cpl. Jason Green of Washington, Pa., said as he paused from dancing in a group of hundreds of Kosovo Albanians on the main road leading to Gnjilane.</P>

<P> Members of Gnjilane's ethnic Albanian community had spent the day preparing for the event.</P>

<P> As Ismail Kurteshi, a representative of the civil administration, explained: "This is America Day. . . . We will never forget what you have done for us."</P>

<P> Along the road, a local artist, Besnik Selimi, painted murals and signs that tried to convey the town's feelings. "Madeleine Albright Is Our Mother," read one. By early afternoon, Ramadan Isufy and two dozen of his buddies had crammed onto a tractor bed and were whizzing through town waving two American flags, one sporting a picture of Marilyn Monroe, alongside a red and black Albanian flag.</P>

<P> "America is the greatest country in the world and the most powerful country in the world," said Isufy, 31. "We will certainly celebrate every Fourth of July from this day forward, and the American flag will be present at all Albanian celebrations."</P>

<P> For the ethnic Albanians, it was the first time since the Serb-dominated Yugoslav federation revoked their autonomy 10 years ago that they could dare to have such a public festival.</P>

<P> A line of young women dressed in traditional Albanian outfits soon materialized to entertain the crowd. The girls waved red and white scarves as they clasped one another's hands, their feet carrying them backward and then forward as they danced along the street.</P>

<P> "I feel a lot of emotion," said Agron Sadiku, 22, the lone male dancer and the only one old enough to recall the last time Albanians were allowed to don such clothing and dance in public.</P>

<P> The hundreds of spectators, meanwhile, soon swelled into several thousand. Missing from the celebration, however, were the guests of honor: the Marines.</P>

<P> The fact was not lost on the event's hosts, who dispatched a trio of messengers to Marine headquarters to remind the soldiers that they had promised to attend. All the party was lacking, the messengers said, were 10 U.S. fighting personnel.</P>

<P> The leader of 1st Platoon, Lima Company, 1st Lt. Randall Johnston, explained: "We're trying to get someone down there to show our appreciation. I want to celebrate the holiday myself, but we have to meet our obligations here first."</P>

<P> A diplomatic snafu was avoided when half a dozen Marines joined the celebration, which by then had poured into the street. Cpl. Green and his buddies were quickly whisked away by the crowd.</P>

<P> Restaurateur Islam Shahiqi, who owns a small pizzeria, showed his personal appreciation by laying out a free buffet for the Marines.</P>

<P> "This right here is what the Fourth of July was all about," said Staff Sgt. Thomas Hammond of Hamilton, Mont., on duty nearby. "It's probably one of the most meaningful Fourth of Julys I've had in a long time."</P>

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<P>Defense Week

July 6, 1999

Pg. 13</P>

<P>JSTARS Led Most Lethal Attacks On Serbs</P>

<P>By Tony Capaccio</P>

<P> Two Northrop Grumman JSTARS ground surveillance aircraft passed targeting information in the final weeks of NATO's air campaign that led to the destruction of more Serb military vehicles than at any point in the 78 days of air strikes, officials said.</P>

<P> Combined with better weather, more combat aircraft and a late May ground offensive by the Kosovo Liberation Army that flushed out hidden Serb forces, the JSTARS Joint Surveillance Target Attack Radar System aircraft often provided

the first alert of moving targets to command aircraft and fighters.</P>

<P> The Pentagon has claimed that attacks between May 24 and June 9 destroyed 90 tanks, 410 artillery pieces and mortars and 170 armored personnel carriers. Those figures have been called into question by journalists and non-governmental agencies entering Kosovo with NATO peacekeepers, but there's little doubt that the JSTARS had a major role in the attacks that resulted in Serbia's capitulation.</P>

<P> "The Serbs got smart; they realized that when they moved, they died," said Lt. Col. Clark Kelly, commander of the 12th Expeditionary Command and Control Squadron, Rhein-Main Air Base, Germany.</P>

<P> "When a ground campaign started, they needed to engage to be able to attack. They attempted to move in smaller numbers that didn't work either. The aircraft were able to see what was going on, share the information, bring iron on the target and help bring an end to the conflict," Kelly said in an interview.</P>

<P> The two JSTARS aircraft flew 101 sorties, most lasting about 17 hours so that at least one of the two planes was in the air at most times. The aircraft returned June 28 to Robins AFB, Ga.</P>

<P> Northrop impact</P>

<P> The heart of the JSTARS is a specialized radar made by Northrop's Norden Systems unit that can track moving armored and wheeled vehicles and gather wide-area, three-dimensional images in pilot's parlance a "God's eye" view of the earth. Still, Northrop Grumman, the fifth largest U.S. defense contractor, has booked no recent profits on the aircraft because of production and delivery problems. And it's pressing the Air Force to pay \$223 million in claims for JSTARS work.</P>

<P> However, JSTARS role in the Kosovo conflict is a sign the Pentagon will eventually buy as many as six more aircraft over the 13 already on contract, analysts said.</P>

<P> The Air Force wanted to buy 19 JSTARS but cut the number to 13 after NATO in 1997 said it was going to buy six. The alliance orders never came, leaving the United States with the possibility of a production-line shutdown. NATO announced in May that it's in the market again for an airborne capability like JSTARS.</P>

<P> Leading-edge platform</P>

<P> "It's going to be a leading-edge platform," said David Baker, a defense analyst with Charles Schwab's Washington Research Group.</P>

<P> "I think there will be a stream of upgrade dollars and better-than-even odds the U.S. will buy the original 19 aircraft," Baker said. "When they designed the system, one thing they built in was a significant potential to upgrade it with better technology. This is going to be around for a while."</P>

<P> Congress last year added down-payment money for a 14th aircraft, which the Air Force is buying. This year the congressional defense committees added another \$46 million for either a down payment on a 15th aircraft or the first dollars to close the JSTARS assembly lines at Lake Charles, La., and Melbourne, Fla. The aircraft uses older Boeing 707 cargo planes which have been rebuilt and equipped with the sophisticated JSTARS electronics.</P>

<P> "Any shutdown means there would be no chance for any additional NATO sales and therefore we are likely to see the 15th plane funded," wrote Sam Pearlstein, a defense analyst for ING Baring Furman Selz, who has upgraded Northrop stock to a "buy" from a "hold."</P>

<P> Kosovo operations</P>

<P> JSTARS was put in command of the Kosovo "engagement zone" for NATO's network of fighters and intelligence, reconnaissance and surveillance aircraft, Kelly said.</P>

<P> In addition to generating imagery for NATO air commanders on the ground to plan strikes, airborne JSTARS crews verbally transmitted coordinates of suspected targets to forward air controllers. These so-called FACs directed fighters, EC-130 command-and-control aircraft, and operators of unmanned Predator drones that flew in for closer looks at potential targets.</P>

<P> Predators flew 870 hours in 75 sorties. The airborne surveillance network also included U-2 reconnaissance aircraft based at Sigonella, Italy, which flew 1,440 hours during 205 missions, according to Air Force figures.</P>

<P> In addition, RC-135 Rivet Joint electronic combat aircraft that worked with JSTARS to spot Serb anti-aircraft radars and missile sites, flew 1,520 hours during 147 missions.</P>

<P> "The fact that we were all linked in together allowed us to provide a picture that allowed the war fighters to go in and terminate the military vehicles on the ground," Kelly said.</P>

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

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<P>New York Times

July 4, 1999</P>

<P>Russia Ousts U.S. Officer As Ties Sour Over Kosovo</P>

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

<P> MOSCOW -- In a fresh sign of the tensions that have grown between the United States and Russia since the war in Kosovo, Moscow has ordered an American military attaché to leave the country, American officials said Saturday . </P>

<P> The American officer, Lieut. Col. Peter Hoffman, the assistant Army attaché at the United States Embassy in Moscow, was declared persona non grata and left Russia Thursday evening, officials said. </P>

<P> The American Embassy declined to say why the officer been expelled. But some American officials suggested that he might have been caught up in tit-for-tat accusations of spying. </P>

<P> "They said he was going about things he was not supposed to," a senior Clinton Administration official said. "We don't comment on intelligence matters ." </P>

<P> The case was the latest in a series of strains between the American and Russian militaries that have emerged since NATO's war against Yugoslavia. </P>

<P> Since NATO's 78 day-bombing campaign ended, the Clinton Administration has sought to rebuild ties with Moscow by involving the Russian military in the effort to enforce the peace. </P>

<P> But that has resulted in new tensions. Hoping to bridge the differences , American and Russian officials worked out an agreement last month in Helsinki on peacekeeping operations in Kosovo. But the accord was somewhat vague and the two sides have interpreted it differently. </P>

<P> The United States, for example, acknowledges that Russian peacekeeping troops will not formally report to NATO commanders. But Washington says Russia's forces should be prepared to follow instructions from NATO commanders in the field. </P>

<P> Moscow, though, has underscored that its troops will be under a separate Russian command and it has never been clear how closely the Russian military is prepared to cooperate with NATO. </P>

<P> And NATO and Russia still differ over where the Russian troops should be stationed in Kosovo. </P>

<P> As the wrangling has continued, the United States this week blocked Moscow from sending additional peacekeepers to Kosovo by asking Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria not to let the Russians to use their airspace. </P>

<P> Recalling the surprise dispatch of 200 Russian troops to Pristina airport last month, Washington does not want Moscow to fly in reinforcements until disputes over peacekeeping arrangements are resolved. </P>

<P> That has not been the only source of tension. Recently, the Russians held a cold war style military exercise in which two old Bear bombers approached Iceland. </P>

<P> The episode was not worrisome in a military sense and appeared to be an effort by the Russian Defense Ministry to demonstrate that it was still a force to be reckoned with. </P>

<P> Then came the expulsion of Colonel Hoffman, which was reported by The Washington Times earlier this week. </P>

<P> According to officials in Washington, Colonel Hoffman was a specialist in military intelligence, which is not unusual for an Embassy post that has long been used to monitor Russian military development. </P>

<P> He served on the American delegation that negotiated the Helsinki accord on peacekeeping operations in Kosovo. One Clinton Administration official speculated that the expulsion might have been a response to a recent decision by the United States to expel a official at Russia's Mission to the United States on accusations of spying.</P>

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<P>Boston Globe

July 3, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>NATO Rejected Russian Officer Viewed As Spy </P>

<P>By John Donnelly and David Filipov, Globe Staff</P>

<P> WASHINGTON - NATO earlier this year refused to accept a Russian officer appointed by Moscow as a liaison to its military headquarters in Belgium because it believed him to be a high-ranking spy, two alliance officials confirmed yesterday.</P>

<P> The officials, who spoke on the condition of anonymity, told the Globe that the NATO supreme commander, General Wesley K. Clark, rejected Moscow's nomination of then-Lieutenant General Victor Zavarzin to the post. Clark, the officials said, feared Zavarzin would pass on NATO's military plans to Serbian commanders.</P>

<P> Zavarzin was to have been the NATO liaison to Russian troops in Bosnia.</P>

<P> After being rebuffed, Zavarzin went to Bosnia when NATO's air strikes began March 24. Three weeks ago he became a Russian hero when he led about 200 troops into Kosovo to take over the Pristina airport just ahead of NATO peacekeeping forces. President Boris N. Yeltsin immediately promoted the general to three stars.</P>

<P> Russian officials in Moscow and Washington could not be reached for comment yesterday on the allegation that Zavarzin was a spy. But Pavel Felgenhauer, a knowledgeable defense analyst for the Segodnya newspaper in Moscow, cast doubt on it.</P>

<P> "He's too high-ranking an officer to be a spy, and even if he was from military intelligence, that shouldn't be a problem with the liaison position - they often come from intelligence departments," Felgenhauer said.</P>

<P> But the appointment of Zavarzin greatly angered Clark, according to the NATO officials, and it added another chafing point to the increasingly frayed relationship between the alliance and Russia.</P>

<P> In addition to the Zavarzin-led dash to the Pristina airport, the Russian military command has recently irked NATO and US leaders by attempting to reopen the terms of the Kosovo peacekeeping operation and by holding a military training exercise in which two Russian TU-95 Bear bombers flew so close to the coastline of Iceland that a pair of US Air Force F-15 fighters were scrambled to escort them around the island.</P>

<P> The "West 99" military exercises last week, like the seizure of Pristina airport, apparently were meant to send a message that Russia remains an important force and will maintain a state of heightened readiness, despite a decade of drastic cuts in troop strength and equipment. The exercises, in fact, appeared to be designed to show how Russia might have mounted a military response to the NATO action in Yugoslavia.</P>

<P> Still, US officials showed little alarm. For one thing, they noted that the TU-95 bombers represented a bygone era, built in the 1950s, powered by propellers.</P>

<P> "I think we are going to see more of these kind of things, with the Russian military attempting to flex its muscles," said a Clinton administration official, speaking on the condition he not be identified. "I think they are looking for any opportunity to show that they still have the capability of keeping us on our toes. They want the world to know they are out there, and they want to be seen as relevant."</P>

<P> In Moscow, though, the issue goes beyond relevance. NATO's decision to wage war without a United Nations mandate was seen as a dangerous precedent that could be repeated against Russia. Another point of contention developed when the alliance recently broadened its doctrine to include the option of military response anywhere NATO feels that its interests are threatened.</P>

<P> After Russia announced the Zavarzin appointment in February, officials at NATO military headquarters in Mons, Belgium, "asked Russia to nominate someone else," said one NATO official.</P>

<P> "He was not a field commander of any kind. He was a professional intelligence guy, and from a NATO standpoint, that was unacceptable," the official said. "He never showed up."</P>

<P> Zavarzin was then working at NATO's administrative headquarters in Brussels, which serves as the center of political activity for the 19-country alliance. His assignment began in October 1997, a NATO spokesman said. Russia recalled Zavarzin and its other officials when NATO's air strikes began.</P>

<P> Russia has had a liaison since 1996 at NATO's military headquarters in Mons, a position created to lessen Russia's objections to the alliance's eastward expansion and to help resolve any issues between Russian and NATO peacekeepers in Bosnia. NATO officers have given the Russian troops relatively high marks for their work with US peacekeeping forces.</P>

<P> The first serious problem arose only this past June 10 - when the 200 Russian soldiers, commanded by Zavarzin, left their posts without the requisite advance notice to NATO and then drove to Pristina.</P>

<P> Clark said this week in Washington he expected no problems with the new peacekeeping arrangement in Kosovo, which calls for Russian troops to be spread among US, French, and German soldiers. However, The New York Times reported today that Clinton administration officials said NATO has thwarted an attempt by Russia to bring in peacekeepers this weekend. According to the Times, the officials said Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria refused Russia use of their airspace after consulting with the United States and NATO.</P>

<P> Under the Kosovo arrangement, a Russian liaison officer will be based at Mons, but the NATO officials said they will not accept Zavarzin.</P>

<P> Michael O'Hanlon, a specialist at the Brookings Institution on US defense strategy, said it was important to allow a Russian military officer access to NATO plans.</P>

<P> "That's a price we've decided to pay for the broader good of the relationship," O'Hanlon said. "I'm glad that Russia is in a position to get more i

intelligence because that will allow them to see that NATO has no malicious intent vis a vis Russia, and we want them to find that out through every possible way, using every possible channel."

Donnelly reported from Washington; Filipov, from Moscow.

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Philadelphia Inquirer

July 5, 1999

Jubilant Kosovars Greet Turks

The soldiers, by ethnicity enemies of Serbs, were feted as allies of Albanians. They will be stationed near Prizren.

By Mort Rosenblum, Associated Press

PRIZREN, Yugoslavia - Troops from Turkey rolled in yesterday, and Prizren went wild: dancing in the street, waving crimson banners, and chanting slogans that evoked old glory in a reviving city studded with Turkish mosque towers.

The 130 soldiers, vanguard of a 1,000-man Turkish NATO deployment within the German sector, symbolized the Serbs' worst nightmare. Turks were pushed from Kosovo in 1912 after half a millennium of Ottoman rule.

"Happy!" yelled Sgt. Hasan Ibrahim, as he snagged a flying bouquet of roses and added it to the pile on his truck dashboard. "We are very, very happy!" Stuck in the crowd, he leaned down to kiss a baby and squeeze a forest of hands.

The 50 vehicles took two hours to inch through town, hemmed in by ethnic Albanians and Kosovar Turks who chanted, "Turkey, Turkey, Turkey." Children warmed over the convoy, waving red Turkish and Albanian flags.

<P> No one missed the meaning. The cornerstone of Serbian history is a bad day in 1389, when Turks won a battle in Kosovo and moved in to stay. The memory remains fresh. In Bosnia, Serbs still refer to their Muslim foes as "Turks." </P>

<P> Yesterday, old people wept. Teenage girls beamed at the grinning soldiers and pelted them with flowers. Two schoolgirls held aloft a huge photo of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the father of modern Turkey. </P>

<P> "This means we will have peace, freedom, some happiness again, and our lives will finally be better," said Murvet Troshalla. Her 14-year-old daughter, Cennet, nodded enthusiastically next to her. </P>

<P> Cennet had a large Turkish flag painted on her arm. A smaller one was stuck to her forehead with Scotch tape. "Maybe you can't see it," she said, "but I also have a flag in my heart." </P>

<P> Although German NATO forces have been in place for weeks, Turks felt the full force of liberation frenzy. Almost nine decades after Serbs took over, many Prizren people still use Turkish as their everyday language. </P>

<P> Several German vehicles were interspersed in the convoy, and some of their drivers got into the spirit. The Germans' main role was crowd and traffic control for the Turks, however, and few were smiling on the job. </P>

<P> "I'm in a lousy mood, so get moving," one large soldier bellowed in German. </P>

<P> The Turkish contingent of mechanized infantry and armor will be stationed in outlying areas near Prizren, under the overall NATO mandate to keep peace until a civilian government can be put in place. </P>

<P> Greece objected to the deployment. But late last week, the column rumbled out of Turkey and crossed Bulgaria, the first time armed Turkish forces have returned there since the Ottomans were expelled in 1878. </P>

<P> An estimated 60,000 ethnic Turks live in Kosovo, and many ethnic Albanians feel a strong religious and cultural affinity with Turkey. </P>

<P> Three men with grizzled Turkish faces went to the edge of town to catch an early glimpse of the approaching convoy. Niazi Mahmuti, the oldest at 80, was born only seven years after Serbia took control of Kosovo. </P>

<P> "My father used to tell me how life was peaceful and happy under the Turks, how we could afford to live well," he said. "Under the Serbs, we were no more than farm animals." </P>

<P> His friend, Shefki Talo, 79, whittled on the staff of his Turkish flag. He was thinking more of the present. </P>

<P> "I am here to honor all of NATO, all the troops that saved us," he said. </P>

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<P>International Herald Tribune

July 3-4, 1999</P>

<P>Solana Doubts Serb Buildup In Montenegro </P>

<P>By Reuters</P>

<P> SALZBURG - The NATO secretary-general, Javier Solana, said Friday that there had been no buildup of Serbian troops in Montenegro through transfers from Kosovo. </P>

<P> "Troops that have been withdrawn from Kosovo are not in Montenegro," he said in response to a question at an economic summit meeting here of Central and East European countries. "I do not see at this point any troops going to Montenegro."</P>

<P> The Kosovo peace agreement reached in June guaranteed that Serbia would not deploy withdrawing troops into Montenegro, and stipulated that NATO would take action if the accord was not respected, he added.</P>

<P> Mr. Solana also said he would not favor Montenegro's becoming independent from its partnership with Serbia to make up federal Yugoslavia. </P>

<P> "I am not for changing borders in Europe," he said. "I think we have changed too many borders. We should not play with that."</P>

<P> The breakup of Yugoslavia in the 1990s left only Montenegro and Serbia in Federal Yugoslavia. The pro-Western stand taken by the Montenegrin president, Milo Djukanovic, during NATO's bombing campaign against the Serbs in Kosovo led to tension between Montenegro and Serbia.</P>

<P> Earlier on Friday, Mr. Solana told reporters in Sarajevo that NATO would take action if President Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia tried to provoke a conflict in Montenegro.</P>

<P> Meanwhile, the Montenegrin president, Milo Djukanovic, said that his re public was waiting patiently for Serbia's reply to its proposal to redefine the ir partnership, but would go it alone if Serbia held to its "retrograde" stan ce.</P>

<P> Montenegro this week proposed to Belgrade a redefinition of relations b etween the two republics, ensuring more autonomy for pro-Western Montenegro, wh ich is overshadowed by larger Serbia.</P>

<P> "We are convinced this new formula can satisfy the requirements of Mon tenegro and ensure the survival of the Yugoslav federation," the Montenegrin l eader has said. </P>

<P> Mr. Djukanovic has pledged to hand over anyone indicted by the United N ations tribunal in The Hague for war crimes in Kosovo, a Belgrade newspaper rep orted Friday.</P>

<P> This would mean that Mr. Milosevic, indicted by the tribunal and thus a lready in danger of being arrested in much of the world, is now at risk if he e nters Montenegro, a republic that he theoretically rules.</P>

<P> "Montenegro will hand over to the international tribunal anyone indict ed for war crimes who happens to be in the territory of Montenegro," the indep endent daily Blic quoted Mr. Djukanovic as declaring at a rally in Niksic on We dnesday evening.</P>

<P> That would be the least Montenegro could do for victims of war crimes, the paper quoted him as saying.</P>

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<P>New York Times

July 3, 1999</P>

<P>French Aide Named To Lead Rebuilding Effort</P>

<P>By Judith Miller</P>

<P> UNITED NATIONS -- Describing the challenge as awesome, Secretary-General Kofi Annan chose the French health minister on Friday as his chief representative to run the United Nations' vast civilian operations to be set up in Kosovo . </P>

<P> Annan picked an American diplomat as the principal deputy. </P>

<P> U.N. spokesman Fred Eckhard announced at a news conference that Annan had selected Dr. Bernard Kouchner, 59, co-founder of Doctors Without Borders, to supervise the rebuilding. </P>

<P> His main deputy will be James Covey, 55, a former diplomat who has worked on the Balkans for the White House and the United Nations. </P>

<P> Diplomats had expected that a European would be given the top post, because the European Union is expected to pay for most of the reconstruction. But the selection was repeatedly delayed by intensive haggling over the top posts. </P>

<P> As Annan's special representative, Kouchner will have sweeping authority in what diplomats describe as the daunting task of rebuilding on a broad front, restoring order and the rule of law, providing housing and basic services, and re-establishing civil institutions like the courts, the police and the remainder of local governments. </P>

<P> Countless Albanians have returned to Kosovo homeless, impoverished and intent on revenge against the Serbs. </P>

<P> Annan said the United Nations might have to administer Kosovo or parts of its operations for 10 years or longer. </P>

<P> Diplomats described Kouchner, a socialist who is deputy chairman of the small Radical Party in France, as an unusual choice. Although admired for impassioned and compassionate advocacy, Kouchner has been innovative and independent minded in many crises. But he has little administrative or U.N. experience. Critics have portrayed him as driven by publicity, an erratic loner and politically ambitious. </P>

<P> Kouchner seems to enjoy defying stereotypes. A lengthy profile of him in Le Figaro, the conservative daily newspaper, once described him as a combative, generous, seductive, naive free spirit and, alternatively, on the make, a name dropper and a "grande gueule," or big talker. </P>

<P> In the U.N. action in Somalia in 1992 and 1993, he was criticized for having posed on a beach in Mogadishu carrying a sack of rice on his shoulder. In the early '90s, he embarrassed the French government by calling President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire a "walking bank safe in a leopard-skin hat." </P>

<P> Kouchner's biography lists his humanitarian experience before his political posts, along with books, plays and screenplays, many written under pseudonyms. </P>

<P> Eckhard said Annan had chosen Kouchner because he had "the qualities the secretary general was looking for," "vision and ability to manage." </P>

<P> France also lobbied heavily for the appointment. Having learned that Annan intended to appoint President Martti Ahtisaari of Finland, the Kosovo negotiator, President Jacques Chirac of France telephoned Annan to argue that the post was so important that Ahtisaari should resign as Finland's president to devote full time to Kosovo. Ahtisaari then withdrew his name, U.N. officials said. </P>

<P> Covey, a retired American foreign service officer who is a visiting fellow at the National Defense University in Washington, is known as a skilled but blunt professional who knows the Balkans well. </P>

<P> He was deputy high representative in Sarajevo in December 1995 and remained involved in Balkan affairs on the National Security Council, where he was President Clinton's special assistant for carrying out the Dayton peace accords until August 1998. He also held senior foreign posts, mostly in the Middle East. </P>

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<P>Tacoma (WA) News Tribune

July 1, 1999

Pg. B1</P>

<P>Sending Builders To The Balkans </P>

<I><P>864th Engineer Combat Battalion To Work On Roads And Buildings</P>

</I><P>By David Wickert, The News Tribune</P>

<P> At just 5 feet tall "on a good day," Pfc. Jayne VanWassenhove seems an unlikely candidate for heavy equipment operator.</P>

<P> But as she strapped down a 5,000-pound grappling hook Wednesday morning at Fort Lewis, she was perfectly comfortable amid the giant earth-moving equipment around her. It's a job she has wanted since childhood.</P>

<P> "I was a big tomboy when I was a kid," VanWassenhove recalled. "I can remember a specific orange Tonka truck my mom got me. Ever since then, it's just been a dream of mine."</P>

<P> VanWassenhove soon will get a chance to fulfill that dream in support of U.S. troops in the Balkans. She is one of about 145 members of the 864th Engineer Combat Battalion at Fort Lewis who will deploy to Macedonia in the next few weeks to build roads and base camps for the peacekeepers.</P>

<P> The deployment of the engineering battalion comes as many troops are returning to Washington military bases from Central Europe, where they supported NATO's campaign against Yugoslavia.</P>

<P> On Wednesday, about 65 airmen from Fairchild Air Force Base near Spokane returned with four KC-135 refueling tankers. About half of the 600 Fairchild airmen deployed to Europe now have returned.</P>

<P> Last week about 185 Whidbey Island sailors also returned, with about 250 still deployed with four EA-6B Prowler radar-jamming aircraft. Also remaining in Europe are about 80 airmen from McChord Air Force Base and 119 soldiers from Fort Lewis.</P>

<P> As combat troops are replaced by peacekeepers, more permanent accommodations are needed. The 864th will join other engineering units to build those facilities.</P>

<P> Some members of the Fort Lewis unit specialize in "horizontal" construction, building roads and clearing debris. Others erect barracks and other buildings.</P>

<P> Some of the soldiers just returned from Thailand, where they built community buildings for residents. Others were training in New Mexico.</P>

<P> Although it will be the first overseas deployment for many of the soldiers, the job itself will be nothing new.</P>

<P> "One road is the same as the other," VanWassenhove said. "It doesn't matter where you build it."</P>

<P> "We're pretty much trained already for this kind of mission," added Spc. David Lehnartz.</P>

<P> Company commander Capt. Devin Ruhl said deployment could come any time. He doesn't know how long the unit will be gone.</P>

<P> Lt. Alejandra O'Callahan, a Persian Gulf War veteran, said support from home can make a big difference to troops overseas. She encouraged the public to keep in touch.</P>

<P> "If they know anyone who's deploying overseas, write to them," she said. "Little things like that really help morale."</P>

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<P>New York Times

July 4, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Church Of Milosevic's Rise Now Sends Mixed Message</P>

<P>By Blaine Harden with Carlotta Gall</P>

<P> BELGRADE, Yugoslavia -- A handful of black-robed, full-bearded Serbian Orthodox priests bobbed on the edges of a noisy crowd that assembled this week in the Serbian town of Cacak to demand that President Slobodan Milosevic resign . </P>

<P> One of them, Father Stojan Stokic, a village priest who had driven more than 150 miles for the rally, showed off the same pious fury, the same political passion that characterized many Roman Catholic priests in Poland who more than a decade ago helped the Solidarity movement topple Communism. </P>

<P> To see and hear Father Stojan was to believe that something fundamental is changing in the soul of the Serbian Orthodox Church, which grabbed international attention last month by coming out ahead of Serbian opposition parties and calling on Milosevic to step down. </P>

<P> But Father Stojan, who said he will preach his anti-Milosevic politics in his parish this Sunday morning, is still an exception. </P>

<P> The Orthodox Church is both bound by and responsible for the notion that wherever Serbs live and bury their dead should be part of Serbia. </P>

<P> This is the church that 10 years ago welcomed Milosevic's violent nationalist land grab in the collapsing Yugoslavia, the church whose most senior bishops traveled in the war zones of Croatia and Bosnia, blessing Serbian forces shelling towns like Sarajevo. </P>

<P> Even though its head, Patriarch Pavle, said this week in Kosovo that the Serbian leader's policies are criminal, the church continues to send mixed signals about what its priests should do about toppling a President who is indicted as a war criminal. </P>

<P> Father Stojan said the war in Kosovo, where Serbs committed atrocities against Albanians before losing control of territory his church regards as sacred to Serbs, has changed everything. </P>

<P> "I am so ashamed and I am feeling guilty," he said. "Milosevic never mentions that Albanians were killed. He is only president of the police. It isn't the job of the Orthodox Church to speak about politics. But now in this terrible time, we must speak out against this man." </P>

<P> But Bishop Atanasije, vicar of the patriarchy in Belgrade and a cleric who often speaks for Patriarch Pavle, said in an interview: "The church is not a political body. If the church has called for Slobodan Milosevic to resign, it is not because the church is involved in politics, it is out of her own pastoral care for the people of this country." </P>

<P> Taking pains to deny news stories that parish priests around Serbia have been instructed to use this Sunday's services as the beginning of a campaign to teach Serbs about atrocities committed in their name in Kosovo, Bishop Atanasije said, "Those reports have nothing to do with reality." </P>

<P> It is enough that the church hierarchy has spoken publicly, he said, adding that in local parishes, priests should stick to the Gospel. </P>

<P> "There is no need for the priests to speak out," said Bishop Atanasije, drawing a clear distinction between what the Serbian Orthodox Church is willing to do here and what the Catholic Church did in Poland. </P>

<P> "The Roman Catholic Church is allowed to use any means in order to achieve a good goal," the bishop said. "The Orthodox Church must always use evangelical means. We cannot say to the people rise up and throw off your Government. We cannot use evil means to overcome evil. We can say obey the statutes of the law. That's it." </P>

<P> In the decade during which Milosevic has been fomenting ethnic war in Yugoslavia, the Serbian Orthodox Church has frequently criticized him and called for his resignation. In 1992, shortly after the start of the Croatian war, Patriarch Pavle accused Milosevic of making Serbs "victims of Communist tyranny" and called for the creation of a government of national salvation. The Patriarch in 1997 led a procession of more than 100,000 people into central Belgrade and lent his support to months of demonstrations during which opposition parties demanded that the President step down. </P>

<P> But until the Patriarch began speaking recently of the "evil" he has seen

en in Kosovo, the focus of church criticism has not been that Milosevic's Government committed atrocities in trying to create a new Serbian empire, but that it has been unsuccessful in building that larger state. </P>

<P> "We blame Milosevic not for trying to defend the nation, but for failing," said Bishop Atanasije. </P>

<P> Despite its recent statements about Kosovo, Bishop Atanasije said the church is not rethinking the support that many of its senior priests, including the Patriarch himself, gave in blessing Bosnian Serbian forces whose leaders have now been indicted for war crimes. </P>

<P> One priest, Father Filaret Micovic, photographed in Bosnia atop a tank while brandishing a Kalashnikov rifle, was recently promoted to bishop. </P>

<P> "I don't see anything strange about the presence of a priest among his troops," Bishop Atanasije said. </P>

<P> This continuing stream of conflicting messages -- the embrace of nationalist aspirations but the rejection of Milosevic's savage means of realizing them -- grows out of the pivotal role that the church has played for nearly seven centuries in gestating and defending the idea of what it means to be a Serb. </P>

<P> "Being a Serb and being Orthodox mean the same thing," said Mirko Djordjevic, a retired literature professor and the author of a new book about the church and its ties to Milosevic. "Our church itself has generated nationalism." </P>

<P> Under centuries of Ottoman occupation, when the state of Serbia ceased to exist, it was the church and its myth-making senior clerics who kept the fires of Serbian nationalism burning, and made honored saints of Serbian warriors. Prince Lazar, who led Serbian forces against the Turks in the glorious lost battle of Kosovo in 1389, was reputed by the same church that made him a saint to have said: "It is better to die in battle than to live in shame." </P>

<P> The hold on many Serbs of what the church has always described as a glorious national past has encouraged Serbs to hope for another Great Serbia. </P>

<P> In realizing the church's long-held dream that all Serbs should live in the same state, the rise of Milosevic in the late 1980's was the best news the Serbian Orthodox Church had heard for decades, Djordjevic said. </P>

<P> "The church believed Milosevic was the Messiah who had come to smile on all Serbs," he said. </P>

<P> Later in Bosnia, the bishops openly supported Radovan Karadzic, blessing his war to lop off part of that former Yugoslav republic and fuse it to Serbia. Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs during the 1992-1995 war, has been indicted for war crimes. </P>

<P> After decades of Tito's Communism, during which the church was repressed and controlled by the Government and some of its vast properties were confiscated

ated, Milosevic allowed the church to reclaim its role in Serbian society. Priests appeared on state-controlled television. He pledged to allow religious education in schools and to return church property, promises later broken. </P>

<P> But Christian holidays have again become public celebrations in Serbia and the church in 1989 was allowed to elect a patriarch, Pavle, who is from Kosovo, without Government interference. As Yugoslavia unraveled and wars began in the early 1990's, Serbian paramilitary leaders -- many of them responsible for atrocities and wholesale campaigns of theft in Croatia and Bosnia -- invoked the church as their inspiration for defending Serbs. </P>

<P> The warlord Zeljko Raznjatovic, who is known as Arkan and has been indicted as a war criminal, said publicly that his "supreme commander" was Patriarch Pavle. Before Arkan's indictment by the war crimes tribunal in The Hague but after worldwide publicity about the brutality and greed of his paramilitary fighters, Orthodox priests officiated at his lavish and very public wedding in Belgrade. </P>

<P> Djordjevic, regarded as a leading expert on the Serbian Church, says Patriarch Pavle has been "shocked" by the evidence of atrocities that he has seen in Kosovo since the 11-week war with NATO ended in early June. </P>

<P> That shock has resulted in what Djordjevic describes as a new direction for the Serbian Church, with the Patriarch and Bishop Artemije, the most senior representative of the church in Kosovo, speaking openly of "evil" done by Serbs against Albanians. </P>

<P> Bishop Artemije took part on Friday in a United Nations-sponsored meeting with the leader of the Kosovo Liberation Army, Hashim Thaci, and other Albanian leaders. They signed a joint statement condemning war crimes and crimes against humanity committed against Albanians in Kosovo. </P>

<P> Bishop Artemije has long opposed Milosevic but has not often been heard inside Serbia. Shortly after the NATO bombing began, he made a proclamation to be read in every church in Kosovo, criticizing what he called "pogroms" against the Albanians. It condemned the burning of houses and attacking of people. </P>

<P> "We read it in our church," said Father Sava, an assistant to Bishop Artemije and one of the most outspoken liberal priests in the church. Father Sava admitted that many priests may have chosen not to follow suit. </P>

<P> "It was brave, because of the secret police," the priest said. "And you know we have no free media. Bishop Artemije was then attacked by Serbian state media and called a madman." </P>

<P> The Orthodox Church is not a monolith, he explained, and priests do not have to obey the Patriarch, as members of the Roman Catholic Church have to obey the Pope. </P>

<P> "We are not unified," Father Sava said. "People can have their own political understanding. There are a lot of deluded people in the church as well." </P>

<P> In Belgrade on Friday, Bishop Atanasije insisted on steering an interview away from the matter of the church's new openness about atrocities committed by Serbs and toward what he described as foreigners' refusal to give equal time to the abuse of Serbs by other ethnic groups across Yugoslavia. </P>

<P> "Westerners tend to close their eyes when the suffering of Serbs is concerned," the bishop said, emphasizing an abiding tradition in the Orthodox Church that sees Serbs as victims of foreign manipulation. "What was done in Kosovo, of course, was evil. But the next question that has to be asked is who committed evil. The Serbs were not the only actors." </P>


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<P>Philadelphia Inquirer

July 4, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Serb Disdain Of Milosevic Is Growing </P>

<I><P>In Kosovo, one farmer says his leader has finally lost "the Serbian soul." </P>

</I><P>By Jeffrey Fleishman, Inquirer Staff Writer</P>

<P> LAPLJE SELO, Yugoslavia - The wheat is ready for harvest, but the combines are out of gas and Serb farmers are scared to work the fields. They sit in the shade of a cherry tree, cursing war and drinking homemade brandy until their wives collect them. </P>

<P> Just beyond them, NATO troops patrol narrow roads. Returning ethnic Albanian refugees seek revenge for years of Serb oppression. There seems no safe place. And the men are angry that the Kosovo land their families have farmed for centuries is suddenly in jeopardy. </P>

<P> The brandy stops flowing and words grow more bitter when someone mentions

ns President Slobodan Milosevic. The Serb farmers of Laplje Selo, like increasing numbers of their countrymen, despise him. They blame Milosevic for plundering a country and twisting Serb nationalism into a sin that triggered NATO air strikes and saddled a bankrupt Yugoslavia with \$40 billion worth of ruin. </P>

<P> "A crook," says one farmer.</P>

<P> "Evil," says another. </P>

<P> Disdain for Milosevic is sweeping Yugoslavia. Elderly Serbs surviving on pensions of \$22 a month marched against Milosevic last week in Belgrade. Tens of thousands of others - including underpaid soldiers - joined anti-Milosevic rallies in Cacak and other cities, demanding his resignation. The Serbian Orthodox Church has called for him to step down. Crown Prince Alexander, heir to Yugoslavia's exiled monarchy, described Milosevic as a "monster" who "must go, for the sake of Yugoslavia."</P>

<P> The surge of opposition is reminiscent of 1996, when students and intellectuals protested Milosevic's corrupt regime and militant nationalism that was tugging Yugoslavia further away from Europe.</P>

<P> Milosevic outlasted his detractors, dividing opposition leaders and strengthening his power. Some diplomats predict Milosevic will escape defeat again, but many Serbs say their president has shamed them for the last time. </P>

<P> "He's the traitor to Serb nationalism," said Momcilo Trajkovic, president of the Serbian Democratic Movement, a small opposition party founded by Trajkovic in his hometown.</P>

<P> "He ruined the Serbs," he said. "He betrayed our interests. He took us into war and he left us. He destroyed his own blood, and he has made the Serbs victims." </P>

<P> The notion of any collective culpability never comes up in conversation.</P>

<P> Laplje Selo's farmers say Milosevic did the most damage here, amid fields of loamy soils their families have tilled since the 14th century. The wellspring of Serb orthodox religion and tradition, Kosovo is now essentially a NATO protectorate.</P>

<P> In a stunning reversal of fortune, the Serbs, who once controlled Kosovo with paramilitary police, are increasingly vulnerable to ethnic Albanians, who make up 90 percent of the population. </P>

<P> The Serbs of Laplje Selo don't like the odds. </P>

<P> Across Kosovo, ethnic Albanians are looting and burning Serb homes. Serbs are winding up dead on roadsides. More than 80,000 of Kosovo's 200,000 Serbs have fled.</P>

<P> Most of Laplje Selo's 2,000 residents are staying put, though many farmers have sent their wives and children away until tensions ease. And a few village leaders, such as the baker, Stojan Nedeljkovic, are packing cars and tractors

rs with furniture and clothes, just in case.</P>

<P> Remaining in the village is difficult, as farmers such as Zika Jovic can't sell summer squash and other vegetables because ethnic Albanians are boycotting Serb products.</P>

<P> "No one wants our cheese, bread or vegetables," said Jovic. "We have to give it to the cows to eat. I have to sell eggs to buy cigarettes, but now I can't even go to the market.</P>

<P> "We're scared. We're like prisoners. Milosevic promised so much. But we have nothing. There's not even room for us in Serbia if we leave Kosovo. The wars Milosevic started in Bosnia and Croatia have already flooded the country with Serb refugees." </P>

<P> Southwest of the Kosovo capital of Pristina, where the land flattens, Laplje Selo is marked by the silver domes of St. Sveta Petka church. The cemetery is wild with weeds and shiny with black granite markers, some bearing the names - as folklore has it - of those cursed to die young because their parents once sold land to Albanians.</P>

<P> Centuries ago, Serbs battled the Turks for this land. Then came the Germans. And last summer, 200 village men grabbed rifles and formed night patrols to protect 1,500 acres of wheat from guerrillas in the Kosovo Liberation Army. They feared the KLA might torch the fields.</P>

<P> Zika Jovic was one of the night watchmen.</P>

<P> Now, Jovic's eyes are bloodshot, his face half-shaved. He says 78 days of NATO bombing frayed his nerves. And he's worried that ethnic Albanians will burn and loot Laplje Selo as they seek vengeance for the bloody oppression and so-called ethnic cleansing wrought by Milosevic's forces.</P>

<P> It's ironic, he says, how quickly Serbs have become victims. </P>

<P> "Here I am thinking about fleeing my home, and there sits Milosevic still in power," said Jovic. "It's time to get rid of him. I don't really follow politics. I don't even care who's in power anymore. Even an Albanian would be fine with me. I just want my freedom. . . . I'm scared to leave this village." </P>

<P> Down the road at the village's cooperative farm office, the combines need gasoline. War disrupted supplies, and farmers say Albanians are selling to Serbs at highly inflated prices.</P>

<P> Momcilo Trajkovic, the president of the Serbian Democratic Movement, said: "I feel the anger of Albanians. But now there is a tragedy against the Serbs, and NATO is doing little to stop it."</P>

<P> Slavoljub Mitic stopped at Zivko Nacic's general store for a beer. Rain, sweeping across the wheat fields, chased him and other men under a corrugated tin roof. They sat, listened to thunder, joked about NATO cluster bombs, and talked about 1389, when Serbian Prince Lazar battled the Turks on Kosovo's Field of Blackbirds.</P>

<P> Lazar's army was defeated, and he was killed.</P>

<P> But every Serb child is taught the poem about the epic battle, the bravery, the religious devotion, and the myths that sprang from Kosovo. Mitic remembers in 1989 when Milosevic traveled to Kosovo and ignited his political career by extolling Serb nationalism and the virtues of the prince.</P>

<P> But Mitic said Milosevic is no Lazar. </P>

<P> "We need changes in Yugoslavia," said Mitic. "We need Milosevic out. He lost Bosnia. He lost Croatia. Now, he's lost Kosovo. He lost it all. It's over Kosovo is the Serbian soul. Milosevic will be remembered in history for losing it." </P>

<P> Two heavily armed NATO soldiers walked past. Mitic and the others watched them round the bend in the road. Some of the men worried that NATO is not protecting their village, and many fear attacks from Albanians if they go to harvest their wheat. </P>

<P> "We must do this harvest no matter what the fear," said Rade Djorovic. "My family has been here for centuries. I have never missed a harvest. Fear has never kept us out of the fields." </P>

<P> Nearby, Jelica Petrovic, rose from a porch and strolled to the dusty shed where her nephew, Vladimir, makes tombstones.</P>

<P> She pointed to the tombstone of her cousin, Novica Petkovic. Born 1922. Died 1998. It sometimes takes a while, she said, before her nephew actually delivers the stone to the cemetery at St. Sveta Petka church. Novica, a farmer, died of natural causes before the NATO air strikes, the flood of Albanian refugees, and the mass graves dug by Serb paramilitary gangs. </P>

<P> Laplje Selo's most recent death was not peaceful.</P>

<P> Dragi Zivic, a school janitor, was shot by Albanians just beyond the ticket near the gas station. </P>

<P> "I guess we'll do his tombstone later," said Petrovic. "Milosevic got us into these problems."</P>

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<P>Boston Globe

July 4, 1999

Pg. 9</P>

<P>Pec Suffered Great Destruction, But Citizens Vow To Rebuild
</P>

<P>By Charles M. Sennott, Globe Staff</P>

<P> PEC, Yugoslavia - For seven generations, the Pepa family lived in a grand, four-story home of hand-hewn stone decorated with antiques and artwork.</P>

<P> Now their home is a heap of charred rubble. Only one wall is left, offering a glimpse of the elegance that once stood there.</P>

<P> "The Serbs destroyed everything. They did not just burn the home, or loot it. They bulldozed it. They were trying to destroy more than our homes, they were trying to destroy our culture, our confidence," said Mercia Pepa, 50, the matriarch of one of the most prosperous families in Pec.</P>

<P> "But the Albanians of Pec are very hard workers," she said, using the Albanian pronunciation, "Peah," which had been outlawed under Serb rule. "We will rebuild. We will start over and we will rebuild Pec just as beautiful as it was."</P>

<P> Pec suffered by far the worst damage to homes and property at the hands of the Serb forces who set out on a well-orchestrated and methodical campaign to rid the province of its majority ethnic Albanians.</P>

<P> In Pec, 80 percent of the housing stock was destroyed. Almost all of the major industries were burned and their essential machinery stolen. And now returning ethnic Albanians bent on revenge continue the destruction by destroying Serb homes and businesses.</P>

<P> So Pec is left in ashes, and posing the greatest challenge to a massive international effort to help Kosovo rebuild. The undertaking will require billions of dollars and years of work. Estimates for rebuilding Kosovo are in the \$5 billion range, but for the whole Balkans they soar to \$30 billion.</P>

<P> Postwar reconstruction will mean more than providing sufficient money to rebuild homes and businesses. It will mean reestablishing government on a local and national level because virtually all of the Serbs, especially those in positions of power, have fled.</P>

<P> It will mean repairing a ravaged infrastructure of roads, bridges, power

r plants and water systems - much of which is intricately woven into neighboring Serbia. And all of this will have to be mapped out in compliance with the US insistence that no financial support go to a Serbia controlled by Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic.</P>

<P> Nowhere does the task seem more daunting than in the northern town of Pec. This town and its surrounding villages of 120,00 people was the heart of prosperity and culture for the Kosovar Albanians. It is the ancient seat of the Serbian Orthodox Church's patriarchate and a holy land to the Serbs. But now it is in rubble, for Kosovar Albanians and Serbs alike. Destroyed along with it is any hope that Kosovo can retain its multiethnic identity.</P>

<P> The Pepa family owned a chain of a dozen photo development stores known as "Foto Pepa." All were set ablaze. The Fuji film processing machines that cost millions of dollars were stolen by the Serb forces.</P>

<P> Searching through the charred brick and collapsed stone of what was once their home, Mercia and her daughter, Lirika, 24, found her wedding photo album. Lirika, cried when she saw the family portraits.</P>

<P> "It is all just a memory now," she said, in a neighborhood where house after house and block after block was reduced to rubble.</P>

<P> In Pec, one of few commercial buildings not destroyed is the Peqko Pivo brewery, which employed 500 people. A large state-owned bakery is also intact and will provide jobs for about 150.</P>

<P> The state-owned "Crevena Zastava" auto parts assembly plant, which employed 5,000 people and was the middle class backbone of Pec, was destroyed, and the Serbs stole its machinery.</P>

<P> Pec had the largest privately owned shoe factory in Yugoslavia which was ravaged and looted, leaving 4,000 more people out of work.</P>

<P> A brick factory, which employed about 300, was demolished. This is the first plant that officials say they will focus on getting up and running. They will need a lot of brick in Pec. The primary need is housing.</P>

<P> Rod Curtis of World Vision said the American, Christian-based international aid agency, was being contracted by the European Union countries to coordinate the home rebuilding effort. He said the original intention was to keep the refugees in the camps until homes could be rebuilt. But the mass return was spontaneous and uncontrollable. Now they are left trying to help equip homes to withstand the harsh Balkans' winter.</P>

<P> In Pec, there are virtually no municipal services. No functioning fire trucks. No local police. Phone service is still cut. Water is scarce. Streets are mounded with garbage and refuse which lies putrefying. Flies and rodents are omnipresent. Fears are growing of an outbreak of disease.</P>

<P> "We are a long way from establishing order. And we will have to do that before we can begin to rebuild," said Gafor Alshane, 41, proclaimed civil administrator of Pec for a provisional government that may or may not hold onto power.</P>

<P> The new provisional government for Pec has been set up in the Kosovo Liberation Army's makeshift headquarters in a publishing house. The KLA's eagerness to lay claim to power, and the Kosovar Albanian business establishment's reluctance to accept it, is playing out on the municipal level in Pec and on the national level in the provincial capital in Pristina. How it will be resolved remains to be seen.</P>

<P> Rinaldo Locatelli, a senior representative for the UN Mission in Kosovo, was touring Kosovo compiling a document that will address the primary needs of Kosovo and an analysis of the best way to restore government to the province.</P>

<P> In Pec, he walked through the burned out rubble and pronounced, "This is the hardest-hit place we've seen. All of Kosovo seems apocalyptic at times, but Pec especially."</P>

<P> "We have anarchy here at this point," he added.</P>

<P> Amid the anarchy, the few Serbs left are suffering.</P>

<P> Inside the courtyard of the 14th century ecclesiastical compound that is the Serbian Orthodox Church's patriarchate, Archbishop Amfilohije Radovic was surrounded by Serb refugees, mostly elderly women evacuated by NATO. One had a large pancake-sized black eye from KLA fighters who she said stormed into her home: The archbishop had just finished a burial service for a mentally ill woman who he said had been raped and strangled by KLA soldiers in the Serb paramilitary stronghold of Belo Polje near Pec.</P>

<P> Bishop Amfilohije was among the church leaders who embraced Milosevic when he soared to power more than a decade ago. Now the bishop is among those calling for his resignation, as the onetime alliance between the church and Milosevic lies in ruins.</P>

<P> "We all need penitence," Archbishop Amfilohije said, as buses idled at the front gate to transport the last of Kosovo's frightened Serbs to Serbia. "The rebuilding of Kosovo will have to begin with the rebuilding of morality."</P>


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<P>Los Angeles Times

July 3, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Beneath Bits Of Fresh Earth, Tales Of Horror </P>

<P>By John Daniszewski, Times Staff Writer</P>

<P> CELINA, Yugoslavia--Faik Fazliu looks puzzled when he's asked for directions to the mass grave in his village.</P>

<P> "Which one?" he asks. "You have just passed one, and there are others a head."</P>

<P> He chooses the path that goes by where his brother and uncle were killed, leading the way through a bullet-scarred wooden gate, past a ruined home to a garage with an overturned car that was often used by Yugoslav police. The last time they drove it, they ran over the bodies of a man and a woman in the garage, Fazliu explains, and then set it ablaze. Bits of clothing and perhaps human tissue are fused to the car's underside.</P>

<P> His brother Nahit and uncle Ibrahim were shot over there, he says almost casually, pointing to the bullet pockmarks in the back of the garage.</P>

<P> Around back, next to the bloated carcass of a brown cow: a bit of mottled earth that looks as if someone had been planning to plant a small garden. Four graves there.</P>

<P> Next, a path--almost a tunnel, with overhanging brush--littered with clothing, old suitcases, a mud-caked stuffed bunny. At the end, a larger disturbance of earth, this one sprinkled with old, torn identification documents. In the underbrush, another pile of clothing. In this grave, Fazliu says, are 22 bodies.</P>

<P> And so it goes throughout the village of Celina. As they unearth horror upon horror in the rolling hills of Kosovo, returning refugees have alerted war-crimes investigators to a series of mass murders they say were committed by Serbian forces in this community just off one of Kosovo's main highways.</P>

<P> In an estimated 17 grave sites spread throughout the village, German peacekeepers say they have credible evidence of at least 119 bodies, making this placid farming community one of the worst killing fields of the Serbian rampage that forced more than 800,000 ethnic Albanians into exile.</P>

<P> On one hand, the killings should not be surprising. Other mass graves with scores of victims have been found in the village just to the west--Bela Crkva--and the one just to the east--Velika Krusa.</P>

<P> But it is dawning on investigators that almost every mound of disturbed earth in the 25-mile stretch between Prizren and Djakovica--and there are many --could represent a new tale of horror to be added to the list of crimes committed by Yugoslav forces in the bloodletting that started soon after North Atlantic Treaty Organization airstrikes began March 24.</P>

<P> In Celina, the number of those killed is provided by villagers, some of whom managed to sneak back into the village at night to bury their dead before fleeing to Albania. To back up their claims, many took photographs of the corpses at the time of the burials.</P>

<P> Investigators for the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia have also been sifting through the stories and cataloging the grave sites. But for now they are short of manpower to carry out exhumations and detailed examinations of the bodies.</P>

<P> Every day, more reports of bodies and grave sites are being brought by refugees as they return and begin to look about, said John Bunn, a pathologist working for a British forensic team in the area gathering data for the war-crimes tribunal in The Hague.</P>

<P> In addition to those buried in Celina's known mass graves, there are perhaps 110 men from the village still missing, said German Lt. Col. Dietmar Jeserich, a spokesman for the German peacekeeping contingent that is providing security in the area and cordoning off some grave sites.</P>

<P> Hope is dimming that all the dead will ever be tallied. Bodies are being masked by the fast-growing grass and wheat or being covered by mud in culverts, while packs of marauding dogs have made off with some remains, scattering bones across large areas.</P>

<P> What cannot be hidden is the pain and anger felt by the survivors.</P>

<P> "If this had happened to you, could you live with the Serbs?" Ilmi Dorku demands as he stands over the skull and scattered flesh and bones of an unknown victim moldering inside a half-finished building just outside Celina.</P>

<P> "We appreciate everything that NATO has done, but please don't leave us with the Serbs again," he pleads.</P>

<P> The speed and scale of the killings--which began in Celina only five hours after the first NATO bomb attack on Yugoslavia--show that it was not the work of a few rogue police but a calculated, planned operation, says Najdar Fazlic, a 70-year-old villager.</P>

<P> The first NATO bombing was at 8 p.m. March 24. By 1 a.m. March 25, a long convoy of Yugoslav army trucks and tanks had surrounded the village as well as neighboring settlements. At dawn, soldiers moved in and began shooting.</P>

<P> Fazlic says that he and many of the men escaped being killed because they had fled in the middle of the night for nearby mountains. Those who stayed or tried to run away later were chased around the village and into the fields,

where they were immediately shot, he says--six here, a dozen there.</P>

<P> After three days in the mountains, most of the escapees were rounded up as well. The women were sent away to Albania immediately, according to Fazlici , but the men were forced to walk a gantlet, where they were beaten, and then had to crouch down and chant, "Serbia, Serbia."</P>

<P> A few were shot even then. Fazlici says he was made to sit up to his neck in a creek while waiting for a Yugoslav army commander to decide whether they'd be killed there or allowed to flee to Albania.</P>

<P> The issue was decided when some empty trucks providentially turned up that could provide transport to the border, he says.</P>

<P> "I was thinking then that I was born again," he says.</P>

<P> But being back in Celina is not the same, not with so many in the village killed.</P>

<P> "The people that I used to walk around with are not here any longer," Fazlici says. "I miss them a lot."</P>

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<P>Boston Globe

July 3, 1999

Pg. 9</P>

<P>Milosevic's Vows Of Reform Ringing Hollow </P>

<P>By Alex Todorovic, Globe Correspondent</P>

<P> BELGRADE - Standing before broken bridges and bombed-out buildings, President Slobodan Milosevic and his ministers have been promising Serbs a new Yugoslavia that will be politically free and economically prosperous.</P>

<P> But most Serbs know better. There's little money in the treasury for rebuilding, citizens are more restricted than ever, and the West wants nothing to do with Milosevic.</P>

<P> Although martial law was lifted a week ago, wartime regulations still ban public gatherings and give police wide latitude to search citizens at will, open personal letters, and search personal property without cause.</P>

<P> Last night, four members of an opposition party, the Social Democrats of Vojvodina, were arrested in the northern city of Novi Sad for distributing leaflets for a rally titled "Milosevic Down." In the second large antigovernment demonstration in Yugoslavia this week, thousands clamored for Milosevic to resign.</P>

<P> "Down with Milosevic! Where is the money? Where are the bridges? Where is fuel? Where is electricity?" read the main banner at the rally.</P>

<P> Yugoslavia's northern region, particularly Novi Sad, was heavily bombed during the 78-day NATO air campaign. Three Danube River bridges in Novi Sad were destroyed and much of its infrastructure was damaged.</P>

<P> But in Sapac, police prohibited residents from signing a petition calling for Milosevic's removal. In Cacak last Tuesday, police set up roadblocks to try to keep people away from an opposition rally that drew 10,000 people in the city's main square.</P>

<P> Opposition papers have been bashing the government, but the state-run Radio Television Serbia, whose signal blankets all of Serbia, has a much more powerful impact.</P>

<P> The news broadcasts on state television are as Orwellian as during the war. The rally in Cacak was never mentioned, and Serbian refugees from Kosovo are referred to as "temporarily displaced persons."</P>

<P> Some events are doctored or reconstructed. On Wednesday, Serbian President Milan Milutinovic was greeted with jeers and whistles at a rally in Kursumlija, a town in an area that has long been supportive of Milosevic's Socialist Party.</P>

<P> Hundreds chanted, "thieves," "red bandits," and "traitors" at Milutinovic and other top party officials. A flustered Milutinovic finished his 10-minute speech with, "You just go on and whistle."</P>

<P> That evening, state television did not show scenes of the crowd, but reported that "virtually all of the little town's citizens greeted Milutinovic."</P>

<P> While politicians speak of rebuilding, the country has scant funds to rebuild anything but the most essential infrastructure components. Mladen Dinkic, the leader of a group of independent economists, estimated recently that rebuilding Yugoslavia would cost \$29 billion, but Yugoslavia is thought to have less than \$100 million to spend.</P>

<P> With massive pressure from the Serbian Orthodox Church, opposition parties, and the West, there was an expectation that Milosevic had to do something to bring about economic and democratic reform. But so far, there is no sign that "reform" means anything more than a catch phrase.</P>

<P> Negotiations are under way on reorganizing the government, but odds are that the ultranationalist Radical Party led by Vojislav Seselj will join Milosevic's administration, while the nation's largest opposition party will stay out.</P>

<P> "There's no chance the Serbian Renewal Movement will enter federal government," said Ognjenj Pribicevic, an analyst and member of the movement, the nation's largest opposition party. The group's leader, Vuk Draskovic, has said his party would not join the government unless significant reforms were forthcoming.</P>

<P> The opposition is demanding early and fair elections. But Ivica Dacic, a spokesman for Milosevic's ruling party, said Thursday that there would be no early elections unless there was a crisis in Parliament.</P>

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<P>New York Times

July 5, 1999</P>

<P>Key Foe, Back From Exile, Dares Milosevic To Jail Him</P>

<P>By Blaine Harden</P>

<P> BELGRADE, Yugoslavia -- A key figure in the Yugoslav opposition movement who fled during the war with NATO returned Sunday evening and dared President Slobodan Milosevic to arrest him. </P>

<P> Zoran Djindjic, a central figure in the opposition alliance that two years ago staged the largest and most sustained street demonstrations ever held against Milosevic, is facing up to 20 years in prison for avoiding military serv

ice during the Kosovo war. </P>

<P> "I do not believe Milosevic can take the risk to arrest me and provoke protests around Serbia," Djindjic said at the Belgrade airport, adding that he would appear in court here this week to defend his decision to flee the country . </P>

<P> Djindjic, 46, a philosopher and former mayor of Belgrade who was educated in Germany, fled the capital in early May after he said he had received information that paramilitary thugs were planning to kill him. </P>

<P> Shortly before he left, a prominent opposition journalist, Slavko Curuvija, was shot dead in the street after being accused on state television of being a traitor. The government news media and pro-Milosevic politicians made the same charge against Djindjic. </P>

<P> At the airport, Djindjic told reporters he had flown into Belgrade on Montenegro Airlines, rather than drive through Serbia in a private car, so that Milosevic's police could not arrest him away from the glare of television cameras. He arrived from Montenegro, the small, independence-minded republic that with Serbia makes up Yugoslavia. </P>

<P> Djindjic said he believed that the opposition movement here had a matter of months to force Milosevic from power before world attention wandered away from the Balkans. </P>

<P> "We have not too much time," Djindjic said. "If we have Milosevic in power after six months, it will be too late. The attention of the international community will focus on us maybe three or four months more." </P>

<P> Besides the threat of being imprisoned by courts that Milosevic controls, Djindjic is facing daunting political problems inside Yugoslavia's fractured opposition movement. </P>

<P> He has been criticized by other opposition leaders for fleeing the country at a time of national crisis. Some of that criticism has come from inside his own Democratic Party, which he helped found and of which is president. </P>

<P> A number of political analysts here say his standing as an opposition leader has been weakened by his decision not to stay with the people of Yugoslavia as they were being bombed. </P>

<P> Djindjic said that he had been of more use to the opposition movement and to the future of Yugoslavia during the 11-week war by getting out of the country and lobbying European governments to give aid to individual cities where opposition to Milosevic was strong. </P>

<P> The United States and many European countries have said that until Milosevic is removed from power, they will give only relief assistance to Yugoslavia but will not help rebuild roads and bridges. </P>

<P> "I think some countries are ready to make exceptions and help opposition towns," said Djindjic, who spent much of the last two months meeting with Eur

opean leaders and talking to the press in European capitals. </P>

<P> Djindjic must also deal with the refusal of Vuk Draskovic, leader of the largest single opposition party, to join with smaller opposition parties in the Alliance for Change, an umbrella group that is staging anti-Milosevic rallies around the country. </P>

<P> Draskovic, who accuses Djindjic of cowardice for fleeing during the war, has said that the time is not right for street demonstrations and that he wants to work from "within the system" to force Milosevic from power. </P>

<P> Asked if the opposition can succeed with Draskovic, who is by far Yugoslavia's most charismatic politician and who has a proven record of being able to bring tens of thousands of people into the streets, Djindjic said popular disgust with Milosevic did not depend on the personality of anyone in the opposition. </P>

<P> "I think the feeling of the people is that they want change," Djindjic said. "They cannot accept compromise. Those parties that cannot accept that should leave the political scene." </P>

<P> Djindjic said it was not he who was taking a risk by returning to Yugoslavia, but rather Milosevic who, by staying on in power, risked his life. </P>

<P> "The best solution for him would be to go to The Hague," Djindjic said, referring to the International War Crimes Tribunal that meets in The Hague, Netherlands. "He is very clever. Maybe he can explain himself -- I don't know." </P>

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<P>Dallas Morning News

July 3, 1999</P>

<P>U.S. Closing Ethnic Albanian Resettlement Village </P>

<I><P>Last 450 in NJ to leave by next week </P>

</I><P>By Associated Press</P>

<P> FORT DIX, N.J. - Agim Shaqiri has said too many farewells. He left behind relatives and neighbors in his native Kosovo when forced to flee his home in Pristina and again when his family was brought to the United States from a refugee camp in Macedonia.</P>

<P> Mr. Shaqiri will say yet another round of goodbyes in the coming days when he departs a temporary refugee resettlement village here at this sprawling military installation.</P>

<P> "Many people are leaving. It's hard - many times to say goodbye," Mr. Shaqiri said Friday while sitting at a picnic table in the village. "You know you may never see them again."</P>

<P> Once bustling with more than 4,000 ethnic Albanians airlifted to sanctuary from war-scarred Yugoslavia, the village is nearly deserted, with only 450 refugees.</P>

<P> Mr. Shaqiri, 43, a lawyer, is among the last group awaiting placement in communities around the country. The government expects most of the refugees to depart next week and the village will be shut down.</P>

<P> "It's just a winding down process," said Maj. James Lavery, a spokesman for the joint task force overseeing the village. "We're phasing out."</P>

<P> Maj. Lavery said a closing ceremony marking the end of Operation Provide Refuge is planned for Friday. The last refugee is expected to depart by July 11, he said.</P>

<P> For those still there, the hardest part is the waiting, not knowing when their name will appear on the departure list. They are confined to the fenced-in village area and boredom is setting in.</P>

<P> "We are a little tired," Have Maloku, a mother of four children, said through an interpreter. "Every day - waiting." She hopes to be reunited with her husband who was left behind in Kosovo.</P>

<P> About two dozen refugees could be seen outside Friday on the village grounds. A group of men sat around a green-and-white chess board, while two youngsters scooped ice from a barrel.</P>

<P> "Yes, we are a little bored," admitted Mr. Shaqiri. He hopes to settle in New York with his wife, who is five months pregnant, and his two children. "The days are very long."</P>

<P> With the departures, the village operations have been scaled down, a dining hall and dormitories have been closed and military personnel deployed for the mission have returned home.</P>

<P> The United States agreed to harbor 20,000 of the more than 800,000 ethn

ic Albanians who fled Yugoslavia and began airlifting refugees to Fort Dix in May.

Refugees brought in on emergency flights were processed, given medical checkups and placed with relatives or sponsors willing to help them settle in America.

Once they leave the village, the refugees receive housing, clothing and food assistance and can obtain Social Security cards so they can look for work.

With the NATO air bombing campaign against Yugoslavia over, the refugees eventually will be given the option to return to Kosovo and the United States will pay their transportation costs. If they desire, they can remain in the United States and eventually seek permanent residency and citizenship.

Mr. Shaqiri said he plans to remain in America for several years, working and saving money. He has no place to return to in Kosovo; his home was burned by Serbian soldiers.

"I have lost everything. I have just a key from my house - nothing else," he said. "I don't have big dreams. I don't have any illusions for life. It's easier to wait and see what life gives us."

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<P>Washington Post

July 3, 1999

Pg. C1</P>

<P>The Suspended Flight Of A Kosovo Dove</P>

<I><P>Peacemaker Fehmi Agani's Family Tells of His Final Days</P>

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

<P> PRISTINA, YugoslaviaThere were nearly 500 ethnic Albanians on the train, trying desperately to flee, and escape was within sight. But the border was closed. Macedonian guards turned the train around, back into Kosovo, where Yugoslav police, soldiers and thugs were still carrying out their brutal pogrom.</P>

<P> Now the refugees all sat in a field beside the railroad tracks, watching fearfully as Yugoslav police pulled more than a dozen young men from the group. They lined them up in front of the crowd, formed a firing squad and, with a loud clatter, chambered the rounds in their AK-47 automatic rifles. "Bill Clinton! Tony Blair! Where are you now?" jeered one of the policemen.</P>

<P> An old man, dressed as a simple country peasant, slipped a small notebook filled with telephone numbers into his son's hand. "Destroy it," he whispered. "Everyone in the notebook is in danger." Then the old man tugged off the turban and shawl that for two months had been his disguise.</P>

<P> "What are you doing?" demanded the son.</P>

<P> "For them, one more execution doesn't change anything," replied the father. "But the capture of Fehmi Agani is bigger."</P>

<P> With that, Fehmi Agani--a man believed to be on the Serb forces' most-wanted list, an intellectual revered for his willingness to speak out for freedom when others remained silent, a peacemaker instrumental in bringing Kosovo's provincial government and guerrilla fighters to the peace table--stood and sought the very recognition he had attempted so carefully to avoid throughout the Kosovo war.</P>

<P> A Yugoslav army officer, observing the scene from a nearby car, called out, "Look! Look what we've got here: the guy who brought NATO around our neck!"</P>

<P> The police did not shoot the young men on the front row. Instead, they herded the entire crowd onto three waiting buses where another soldier approached Agani and said, quietly and politely, "Sir, can I have a talk with you for five minutes?"</P>

<P> He led the 67-year-old Agani to a red car where two soldiers sat in the front seat. His son, Mentor Agani, glanced at the new Seiko watch his father had given him two days before the air war began: 5:25 p.m., then 5:30, 5:32. All the while, the two soldiers in the car made calls on their radio. At 5:34 the red car pulled away.</P>

<P> Almost immediately, the bus churned its motor.</P>

<P> "Wait, I'm waiting for my husband," pleaded Sadije Agani, his wife.</P>

<P> "I'm not waiting for anybody," replied the driver.</P>

<P> And within hours, Fehmi Agani's body--with three bullet holes in the head

ad--was dumped on a roadside.</P>

<P> The date was May 6.</P>

<P> But that was Fehmi Agani's second death, for the world thought Agani had been murdered six weeks earlier, on March 28.</P>

<P> When Agani was killed--with one bullet to the forehead, a second to the left temple and a third behind the left ear--his executioners silenced one of Kosovo's most prominent and influential voices. This account of his final days, including descriptions and quotations, is based primarily on lengthy separate interviews with his widow and son. To the extent possible, it is corroborated by the public record.</P>

<P> Agani was a key figure. A college professor, he espoused rights for oppressed ethnic Albanians but also had the ear of Belgrade's Serbian government. Even while he served as an adviser and intellectual force behind Kosovo's civilian president, Ibrahim Rugova, he also was among the first influential leaders in Kosovo to recognize Rugova's internal rivals, the Kosovo Liberation Army guerrillas. In fact, it was Agani who was credited with getting Rugova and the recalcitrant rebels to sit together at the peace table at the failed Rambouillet summit in March, a major negotiation in itself.</P>

<P> For two generations of Kosovars, Agani perhaps was best loved for his role as a professor of political theory, first in the public university, then underground in his own home after ethnic Albanians were ousted from all teaching positions. So it came as no surprise to Agani's son Mentor, 37, that his father would be targeted by Belgrade as an enemy of the state as soon as the NATO air campaign began. It was just the sort of tactic he had been taught in his very first lecture on psychological warfare when he was a new inductee in the required service of the Yugoslav army in 1980.</P>

<P> "In war, who of the enemy do you have to kill first?" he recalled the teacher asking the class.</P>

<P> The replies: The president? The prime minister? The chief of the military?</P>

<P> "No," said the instructor. "You have to kill the truth. If we kill the truth, we can play the enemy any way we want."</P>

<P> Now, in this war, "They shot him in the head to show they were trying to kill his ideas," said his wife Sadije, 60, who would have celebrated 38 years of marriage to Agani last Tuesday.</P>

<P> Amid all the horror stories of the war atrocities in Kosovo, no murders outraged the international community or enraged the ethnic Albanian people of Kosovo more than the executions, at different points in the war, of Agani and Bajram Kelmendi, Kosovo's leading human rights attorney, and his two sons. But it is only with the war's end, as Agani's wife and son returned to their home in the hills above this provincial capital last week, that the two family members who shared his final weeks felt able to safely recount the details of his death.</P>

<P> It was a shock to both Kosovars and the world when NATO officials announced on March 30 that Agani had been among the first of the ethnic Albanians to be executed "in cold blood" by Serb forces just after the start of the air war against Yugoslavia.</P>

<P> But NATO, basing its announcement on unfounded rumors from inside chaotic Kosovo, was wrong. Agani was not dead. He simply had made himself invisible.</P>

<P> Sadije Agani reconstructed the details of her husband's last weeks in a voice so soft it always seemed on the verge of breaking. She couldn't stop poking through the debris that was once her orderly home and now is a jumble of possessions ripped from cupboards, tossed from bookshelves and strewn across the floors of every room. Her house, she says, was ransacked by Yugoslav forces the night they murdered her husband.</P>

<P> In the kitchen she apologized for the stench of a refrigerator whose contents had been moldering for nearly three months. As she removed the bottles of insulin used to treat her husband's diabetes, she clutched them to her stomach and gasped in anguish, pausing to steady her voice before she continued.</P>

<P> On March 28, the day her husband was supposed to have died, uniformed armed men in two black jeeps drove through the Aganis' affluent, largely ethnic Albanian neighborhood, firing guns into the concrete walls and plate glass windows of the houses.</P>

<P> All around the Agani house, neighbors began fleeing in terror.</P>

<P> Agani stepped outside and called out, "Don't create a panic, don't leave."</P>

<P> At that moment an old lady rushed past, the broken bone of one arm poking through her flesh. A young boy with a bloodied jaw followed her.</P>

<P> "Who is creating panic?" shouted one neighbor. "What should we do, professor?"</P>

<P> Even Agani's own household was in chaos, and Agani found himself ordering his own son to go into hiding to save himself.</P>

<P> "They are going to kill you," Mentor Agani told his father.</P>

<P> "No they're not--leave!" the father argued. "Listen, if they are going to kill me, they are going to kill me. If they kill you, they are going to kill me completely."</P>

<P> "They are going to kill you for real," pleaded his son. "Not like in the movies."</P>

<P> "I've lived all my life for Kosovo," Agani replied. "The only thing left for me is to die for Kosovo. Remember, you have to die for Kosovo, too. But first you have to live life for it." And then Agani turned to the rest of his extended family and demanded in a near scream: "Take him away from me!"</P>

<P> Agani and his wife then abandoned their own comfortable, airy house for his sister's home in a nearby neighborhood.</P>

<P> Relatives there had heard the erroneous NATO reports of Agani's death. When he arrived, one of them called out to his sister: "Your dead brother is here and he's alive."</P>

<P> So began long and onerous days of moving from one relative's house to another's, always attempting to avoid the police. Husband and wife both began wearing the garb of village peasants any time they ventured out into public, hoping to go unnoticed. The son moved about other houses, sometimes going nine days at a time without stepping outside except at night to sneak a cigarette.</P>

<P> With each passing day, Agani's health declined. His diabetes worsened. He began popping nitroglycerin tablets endlessly for his ailing heart.</P>

<P> The news reports on the television of the atrocities occurring in his homeland sent him into deep depression. On occasion he would lock himself in a room, pacing, knocking his fists together. As both his mental and physical health continued to decline, he finally gave in to family arguments to leave Kosovo for Macedonia.</P>

<P> At 6 o'clock on the morning of May 6, Agani, his wife and son struck out on foot for the train station nearly five miles away. On this day, even in his disguise, Agani refused rides. "He was afraid for the lives of any person who would give us a ride if somebody stopped us," said his wife. The train departed at 7 a.m. and arrived at the Macedonian border at 9:45 a.m.--only to be ordered back to Pristina. Then the train was stopped at the last station before Pristina and all the passengers were herded off at gunpoint by several dozen Interior Ministry police to waiting buses.</P>

<P> The passengers of Agani's bus, who had witnessed his abduction by the Yugoslav army, fled the vehicle the moment it stopped near Pristina.</P>

<P> After Agani was taken away, Sadije Agani walked from police station to police station in search of her husband, to no avail. Mentor Agani went back in to hiding.</P>

<P> On the morning of May 8, as Sadije was beginning her third day of searching, she heard a radio report that Fehmi Agani had been found dead. The official Yugoslav government information secretariat released a statement that said: "Regardless of political differences, a man who favored dialogue was killed. The secretariat condemns this crime by Albanian terrorists."</P>

<P> Sadije Agani went to the morgue to view her husband's body. A woman who worked there whispered that her husband's body had been brought to the morgue two days ago, on May 6.</P>

<P> "He was executed about two hours after they took him," Mentor Agani said.</P>

<P> The next day, Sadije Agani and three other female family members--the largest entourage the Yugoslav government would permit--buried Fehmi Agani in a

city cemetery.</P>

<P> Almost three weeks later, Sadije and Mentor Agani took another train to Macedonia. This one made it.</P>

<P> At first, they made plans to accept a U.S. diplomat's offer to move to the United States. But now they have changed their minds. They plan to remain in Kosovo.</P>

<P> "Our father died for this day," Mentor Agani said. "He didn't live to see it. It would not be correct for us not to be here to see it for him."</P>

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<P>Chicago Tribune

July 2, 1999</P>

<P>NATO Leaves Deft Impact</P>

<I><P>Charred tanks in a little-damaged farm suggest allied pilots were right on target, writes correspondent Colin McMahon. </P>

</I><P> STARO SELO, Yugoslavia -- The fire hissed and popped in the barnyard, drowning out the grunting of pigs and the sound of a giant dog gnawing on who-knows-what a few feet away. At the neighboring farmhouse, gray smoke drifted into the evening sky.</P>

<P> The flames had drawn us here, to a village whose name, history and ethnicity we knew nothing about. We detoured off the main road leading north to Pristina, guessing that ethnic Albanians were torching Serb houses.</P>

<P> It's hard now to say just what we were hoping to do once we got there, but we moved in anyway, sliding along a muddy lane while our white-knuckled Macedonian driver scanned for land mines.</P>

<P> The driver and the Albanian translator eventually swore to go no further

, so Tribune photographer Pete Souza and I entered the burning village on foot.
</P>

<P> There was no sign of life, save the scavenging dog and the wandering pig
s, which most ethnic Albanian Kosovars will not eat because they are Muslim.</P>
>

<P> Then three men approached. We said hello in Albanian, guessing correctly
. We identified ourselves as journalists from America, which went over well. Th
en, our Albanian about exhausted, we stood around grinning.</P>

<P> With an energetic mix of Serb-Croat, Albanian, English and sign language
, we found out that the houses were indeed Serb, that the residents had fled to
Belgrade five days earlier, that no Serbs were left in the village and that on
ly a few Albanians had returned.</P>

<P> I asked who set the fires--at least I think that is what I asked. I woul
d not expect a straight answer even in fluent Albanian, and I got the answer I
expected: a shrug and a couple of turned-up palms.</P>

<P> Then our hosts on this muddy path by the light of the house fires invite
d us to see the tanks. Dusk had turned to darkness. It was pretty creepy.</P>

<P> Inside the ReKay family compound, we saw what NATO warplanes could do. T
wo Yugoslav army tanks had been blasted into charred, mangled messes. NATO bomb
s had practically hollowed out an armored-personnel carrier and turned a truck
carrying ammunition into a shell.</P>

<P> It was jarring. For 11 days after NATO troops entered Kosovo as a peacek
eeping force, we had seen convoys of intact, menacing Yugoslav armor leaving Ko
sovo. Skepticism about NATO's lofty claims of successful strikes in Kosovo grew
.</P>

<P> Anecdotally and intuitively, we knew NATO had hit enemy forces, but most
of us had trouble finding the evidence, especially in central Kosovo. The scen
e in Staro Selo, though, offered proof that at least some NATO strikes had hit
their targets.</P>

<P> One shed for grain storage was heavily damaged, but the surrounding hous
es and structures survived intact. One house not 20 yards from a devastated tan
k and armored personnel carrier showed only a few shrapnel scars.</P>

<P> The ReKay homestead offered another example of how the Yugoslav military
used ethnic Albanian civilian property to house and sometimes disguise their w
eapons and personnel.</P>

<P> The four ReKay brothers, who share the compound's houses and farmland, s
aid they and their families had been kicked out days after NATO started bombing
Yugoslavia. Yugoslav soldiers gave them five minutes to leave before the tanks
rolled in. The military then turned the ReKay place into a command center.</P>

<P> Soldiers lived and worked in the family's quarters, leaving behind photo
s of themselves goofing around there and in neighboring homes. They left behind

graffiti, much of it juvenile, some menacing, like the warning on a bedroom door of mines inside.

They also left behind, with NATO's help, all that armor.

The day after our first visit, Souza and I returned, this time with a translator. Mehat Rekay, at 28 the eldest brother, said he does not blame NATO for the damage to his place. But he does have an offer for the military alliance.

"We will sell NATO the tanks if they want to buy them," he said, laughing. "Not too expensive."

We asked again about the incident that brought us to Staro Selo in the first place. That morning the pop and the hiss of new fires was breaking the silence. Several of the 20 or so Serb homes in this village of 200 homes had been torched.

Asked who set the fires, most of the Rekay boys looked down.

"We don't know," Mehat Rekay said. "Maybe it was somebody whose family was killed and this is some kind of revenge."

In a day or two, once the embers cool, those Serb homes will be hard to distinguish from the thousands of Albanian houses that suffered similar treatment over the last several months.

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<P>Washington Post

July 4, 1999

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<U><P>Exodus</P>