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<center><H1>November 23, 1999</H1></center>

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

Title

(Publication)....Author

Description

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Title

(Publication)....Author

Description

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<H3>TOP STORIES</H3>

Waging Peace In Kosovo

(Washington Post)....Dana Priest

...This is not the life Lambert or others expected when they signed up, ready to do battle and trained in armor, infantry and artillery tactics. In Kosovo, where President Clinton will visit troops today, the soldiers have had to learn to be surrogate mayors, school principals, police chiefs, social workers and even corporate chief executive officers as they try to forge lasting peace in a land divided by centuries of hate.

<p>

Race Gap Seen In The Military, Despite Gains

(New York Times)....Steven A. Holmes

Despite a decades-long effort to promote equal opportunity and good race relations in the armed forces, the Pentagon has found that wide gaps remain between how whites and minority uniformed personnel perceive how they are treated.

<p>

75 Percent Of Military's Minorities See Racism

(Washington Post)....Roberto Suro and Michael A. Fletcher

Three-quarters of all African Americans and other minorities serving in uniform complain that they have experienced racially offensive behavior, and less than half expressed confidence that complaints of discrimination are thoroughly investigated, according to the largest survey of racial attitudes ever conducted within the armed forces.

<p>

Loose Ends In Kosovo Vex The US

(Christian Science Monitor)....Justin Brown

...The answer will help shape the legacy of the president, as well as determine whether NATO troops will need to stay in the Balkans for years, as officials initially said, or for decades, as some observers now predict.

<p>

China Points More Missiles At Taiwan

(Washington Times)....Bill Gertz

China is expanding a missile base across from Taiwan where nearly 100 of Beijing's newest short-range missile systems will be deployed, increasing the threat to the island.

<p>

Iraq Cuts Exports, In Move That Foils Oil-
For-Food Plan

(New York Times)....Barbara Crossette

Losing allies at the Security Council, Iraq on Monday unexpectedly began to cut off exports of the oil it sells to pay for food for its citizens.

<H3>ASIA</H3>

Okinawan Agrees To Move U.S. Base

(Washington Post)....Doug Struck

Over the angry objections of demonstrators, the governor of Okinawa today announced his support of a plan to relocate a U.S. air base on the island, a key step in resolving a long-festering issue between the United States and Japan.

<p>

China's Launch For Respect

(Christian Science Monitor)....Kevin Platt

...Both American and Chinese scholars say that although Beijing wants to play an increasingly important role in world affairs, that does not mean the country aims to become a military superpower.

<H3>RUSSIA</H3>

Moscow To Reduce Arms Based In Georgia

(New York Times)....Associated Press

Russia will reduce its weapons based in Georgia by the end of this year and close two of its four military bases in the Caucasus nation by mid-2001, the Interfax news agency said Monday.

<p>

Russia Attempts To Circle Chechen Capital

(Washington Post)....Unattributed

Russian forces are moving steadily to encircle Chechnya's capital and believe civilians will encourage Chechen militants to abandon the city rather than wage an all-out battle, Russia's top army officer said.

<p>

Grozny Will Be An Easy Victory, Say Russians

(London Daily Telegraph)....Marcus Warren

Russia massed its forces outside Grozny yesterday as the country's leading general predicted that the Chechen capital would fall without the need for an all-out assault.

<p>

General Sends Out Feelers On Treaty

(Washington Times)....Reuters News Agency

The United States yesterday warmed to an idea floated by the head of Russia's strategic rocket forces that could help ease tensions over Washington's plans for a Star Wars-style defense system.

<H3>BALKANS</H3>

A Grateful Clinton Offers Encouragement To Bulgaria

(New York Times)....Marc Lacey

President Clinton thanked the Bulgarians Monday for supporting NATO's campaign against Slobodan Milosevic in nearby Yugoslavia and urged the struggling nation to stay the course of economic reform.

<p>

In Kosovo, Clinton Will Urge An End To Ethnic

c Hatred, Reprisals

(Philadelphia Inquirer)....Steven Thomma

On the eve of a visit to war-ravaged Kosovo, President Clinton said yesterday that he would urge ethnic Albanians to set aside their hatred, and cease their violent reprisals against the Serbs who once oppressed them.

<p>

Barricade Dismantled In Kosovo

(Washington Post)....Unattributed

Easing a three-month standoff, anti-Russian protesters dismantled parts of a barricade surrounding this Kosovo town, allowing free passage on most roads for much-needed humanitarian aid.

<p>

Navigating Through Kosovo's Chaos

(Christian Science Monitor)....Michael J. Jordan

...Five months after NATO air strikes halted Serbian "ethnic cleansing," the place is a mess.

<p>

A Battered Kosovo Village The West Forgot To Help

(New York Times)....Steven Erlanger

...What survived the fighting in 1998 was obliterated last April, after another Serbian offensive prompted a 78-day bombing war from NATO on behalf of Kosovo's ethnic Albanians.

<p>

For Refugees In Kosovo, Aid Is At A Trickle

(Philadelphia Inquirer)....Jeffrey Fleishman

...Poor planning, bureaucracy, and the bottling up of thousands of aid trucks at the narrow border with Macedonia are leaving the international community ill-prepared to help thousands of rural families.

<H3>MIDEAST</H3>

Reports That Iran Sold Scud Missiles
Spur Investigation

(Washington Times)....Bill Gertz

The Clinton administration is investigating intelligence reports that Iran sold Scud missiles to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, official spokesmen said yesterday.

<p>

Iraq: Allies Attack

(New York Times)....Steven Lee Myers

Officials said allied warplanes injured 10 "citizens" in attacks in southern Iraq.

<p>

Iran, Iraq: Frontier Reopens

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

The sole frontier crossing between Iran and Iraq has reopened for the first time in nearly a year, allowing Iranian pilgrims to visit Shiite Muslim holy sites.

<H3>NATO</H3>

US Insists On Nato Priority Over EU Force

(London Times)....Michael Evans

AMERICA is insisting that Nato must be given "the right of first refusal" to intervene in any future humanitarian crisis in Europe, to block the European Union from launching a military operation without consulting Washington.

<p>

French Army Chief Rejects Washington

's Fears Of A Nato Split

(London Daily Telegraph)....Carey Schofield

The French chief of defence staff, Gen Jean-Pierre Kelche, has rejected allegations that France is trying to break up Nato, insisting that the alliance remains the ultimate bulwark against threats to Europe's security.

<H3>AMERICAS</H3>

Panama: U.S. Base Handover

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

The last remaining United States military base in Panama, Fort Clayton, will be handed over to Panama on Nov. 30, officials said.

<H3>DEFENSE DEPARTMENT</H3>

U.S. Tries To Plug Computer Worker Drain

(Los Angeles Times)....Elizabeth Shogren

...Officials say the problem is particularly acute in the military, where salaries are lower and working conditions are often more difficult.

<H3>ARMY</H3>

Apache Copters

(USA Today)....Unattributed

The Army is hastening replacement of motor bearings on its Apache attack helicopters in order to return the fleet to service by early summer.

<H3>MARINE CORPS</H3>

Marine Goes To Federal Court To Challenge Anthrax Vaccine

(Pittsburgh Post-Gazette)....Robert Dvorchak

...Although he has not been sickened by the mandatory anthrax shots, his mother is so worried sick about the integrity of the program that her doctor said she will likely die if her son stays in the service.

<H3>NAVY</H3>

No More Silent Running

(Honolulu Advertiser)....Mike Gordon

...So, submarine admirals are speaking out as never before, publicly challenging a fleet reduction program that will cut by nearly 50 percent the number of submarines that operated during the Cold War.

<H3>AIR FORCE</H3>

Pilot To Receive Silver Star For Heroism

(European Stars and Stripes)....Jason Sandford

...But getting an in-flight fill-up became just one in a series of obstacles Cherrey overcame that night as the 33-year-old instructor pilot orchestrated a plan that led to the heroic recovery of a downed F-117A stealth fighter pilot from hostile Yugoslav territory.

<H3>CIA</H3>

Intelligence Budget Can Be Secret, Judge Rules

(Washington Post)....Vernon Loeb

A federal judge has decided that CIA Director George J. Tenet can keep the intelligence community's budget secret, ruling that public disclosure could damage national security and reveal intelligence sources and methods.

<H3>BUSINESS</H3>

British Aerospace Gets OK On Marconi Deal

(Los Angeles Times)....Bloomberg News

British Aerospace said it expects to complete its \$10-billion purchase of Marconi Electronic Systems from Britain's General Electric Co. next Monday after winning regulatory clearance from the U.S. Defense Department.

<H3>OPINION</H3>

Foreign Policy Will Be A Key Campaign Issue

(Wall Street Journal)....George Melloan

...But in the campaign that is already unfolding, the emphasis is going to be back where it should be in a presidential election, on which candidate is likely to follow policies that will best preserve the security of Americans and their friends and allies around the world.

<p>

The Right To Intervene

(Wall Street Journal Europe)....Ken Weisbrode

...Does anyone find it strange that the OSCE -- an organization which owes its existence to the Helsinki Final Act of 1975, which itself affirmed the territorial integrity of states and forbade the use of force between them -- should now suggest an erosion of state sovereignty in Europe as we know it?

<p>

Can America Trust The French?

(Wall Street Journal)....Michael Gonzalez

...But increasingly petulant attacks on the U.S. by Jacques Chirac and Lionel Jospin are coming at a very uncertain time for the trans-Atlantic community and are beginning to risk creating a serious split in the North Atlantic alliance.

<H3>EDITORIAL</H3>

Yeltsin's Albatross

(Wall Street Journal Europe)....Editorial

...The consensus of the international community is important, and it is valuable that Russia was chided by so many nations.

<p>

Postwar Dangers

(Philadelphia Inquirer)....Editorial

...Unfortunately, far less attention is being paid to how long it's taking to restore services there from public safety to housing to utilities.

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<P>Washington Post

November 23, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Waging Peace In Kosovo </P>

<I><P>Mission Forces U.S. Soldiers to Adapt to Civilian Tasks</P>

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

<P> GNJILANE, Kosovo "Mad Dog 6," a company commander in the 82nd Airborne Division, is meeting by candlelight with Kosovo Albanian leaders because the electricity in the dusty orange school room in Pozaranje has just gone out.</P>

<P> Hunting season is canceled, announces U.S. Army Capt. Kevin Lambert, a Tom Cruise look-alike whose last assignment included a mock takeover of a Central American airstrip. He reports that downtown traffic in Pozaranje has improved since the unlicensed street vendors were banned. He wants receipts showing how market taxes are being spent. He needs tips on two teenage girls who committed suicide. He apologizes for the way his soldiers jostled teachers who came to town to collect stipends from the United Nations.</P>

<P> The soldiers, he explains as he cracks his knuckles and chomps gum, were merely trying to organize the line. "This was the first time, and the first time is always painful," says Lambert, the strap of his black pistol holster held together across his back with duct tape. "We will try to do better next time."
</P>

<P> When he finally goes home to nearby Vitina, Lambert will remove his protective "battle rattle"--35 pounds of armor and gadgetry the Army requires him to wear--and lie down to sleep in a tiny blue office in a former Serbian police station. His bed faces a big black flag that reads: "Run with the Best, Die Like the Rest."</P>

<P> It had been a typical day for Lambert, 28, one of the 6,000 young soldiers trying to build a new Kosovo from the tattered remnants they found after NATO's 78-day air campaign ended in June. Earlier, Lambert had convinced a Serbian man to let a family of ethnic Albanian squatters remain in his apartment. He had ordered windows for a nearby school. He had led a dozen American soldiers towing M-16s through an Albanian market so the few Serbs left in town might feel safe to go shopping.</P>

<P> This is not the life Lambert or others expected when they signed up, ready to do battle and trained in armor, infantry and artillery tactics. In Kosovo, where President Clinton will visit troops today, the soldiers have had to learn to be surrogate mayors, school principals, police chiefs, social workers and even corporate chief executive officers as they try to forge lasting peace in a land divided by centuries of hate.</P>

<P> Not since post-World War II Germany and Japan has the U.S. military entered into people's daily lives to the extent it has in Yugoslavia's southernmost province. The Army's top leadership complains that peacekeeping comes at a cost, diverting money and troops from the military's primary war-fighting role. Army officials recently declared two of their 10 combat divisions not ready to fight a high-intensity war because they were on peacekeeping missions.</P>

<P> "There's good and bad to peacekeeping," Col. Stephen A. Hicks said. "You lose some of the high-intensity skills, but you gain junior leaders. In six months, it's like six years in the Army."</P>

<P> Of a force of 480,000, the Army has 14,000 peacekeepers in Kosovo, Bosnia, East Timor, the Sinai and Macedonia. Although it is lobbying for money to create a few more agile brigades, it has so far done little to change its heavy Cold War civil affairs resources it needs for peacekeeping. And its massive Abrams tanks and Bradley Fighting Vehicles are too heavy for many of Kosovo's roads and require a huge support staff.</P>

<P> Some troops carry \$3,000 night vision goggles that can spot a sniper on a balcony at midnight, but don't have flashlights to search car trunks. Some soldiers have complicated Army radios, but many use walkie-talkies they bought back home at Wal-Mart. Apache attack helicopters meant for destroying tanks use their expensive thermal and infrared imaging to look for bad guys who roam the streets at night.</P>

<P> There is no pretense of a quick exit from Kosovo. The proof is in concrete. At the 1,000-acre Camp Bondsteel, the largest temporary foreign base constructed since the Vietnam War, the cement footers and the wooden barracks they anchor are built to last at least five years.</P>

<P> The mission in Kosovo differs significantly from the 4-year-old Army peacekeeping operation in Bosnia, where 6,000 U.S. troops help NATO monitor the separation of three well-defined warring factions along miles-long buffer zones.</P>

<P> In Kosovo, where a Washington Post reporter recently spent a week with troops, 7,000 U.S. military personnel are painstakingly trying to pacify ethnically mixed villages street by street, and sometimes person by person.</P>

<P>Keeping an Uneasy Peace</P>

<P> When the war ended in June, NATO divided Kosovo into five sectors. Britain, France, Germany, Italy and the United States each control one. A Russian battalion operates in the American sector in southeast Kosovo. Troops from 24 other countries also participate. There have been no U.S. deaths due to hostile action, but eight American soldiers have died in accidents or of self-inflicted wounds.</P>

<P> While the nearly 40,000 KFOR, or Kosovo Force, troops have effectively quashed overt large-scale violence in Kosovo, tensions between the minority Serbian population and the province's ethnic Albanian majority remain high. Many Kosovo residents say KFOR's presence is the only reason the fighting has not resumed, and the only reason some Serbs have risked staying.</P>

<P> "We'd like to have KFOR forever, for security and to continue doing the work they've been doing up until now," said Hysen Rajolli, an ethnic Albanian mine director.</P>

<P> To build trust, soldiers have insinuated themselves into the micro-level of communities. To calm neighbors in Klokot, troops collected 10 truckloads of disputed furniture and made residents prove ownership. The Army escorts busloads of Serbs to the province's border to shop. It takes people to medics, guards newly sown fields and settles disputes over woodcutting and stolen cows.</P>

<P> With a hamstrung United Nations and the U.S. Congress unwilling to fund more projects through civilian agencies, the Army gets in deeper and deeper. The Pentagon has given commanders in Kosovo \$5 million to engender goodwill in villages. Most of it is being spent to winterize schools, repair electrical grids and water treatment plants, buy fuel for farmers and rebuild homes.</P>

<P> From the moment they arrived June 14, the Americans pulled their tanks and Bradleys up to factories, churches, farmhouses and police stations and set up barracks there to intimidate troublemakers. They sent tank squads to guard Serbian and ethnic Albanian churches 24 hours a day.</P>

<P> They also set out on a much more problematic mission: to make a civil society in a world with no town councils, police, courts, banks, property records or civic spirit.</P>

<P> Lt. Sam Donnelly set up a phone company board of directors in Vitina. He developed a billing system and figured out how to trace threatening calls ethnic Albanians were making to Serbs.</P>

<P> Maj. Chris Jacobs, a lawyer for only 18 months, wrote the procedures for criminal trials and conducted the first postwar preliminary criminal hearing. It took place in a small tent, in a downpour, by the illumination of a chem-light stick.</P>

<P> Capt. Torry Brennan, 30, got the spa and medical clinic in Klokot running again. He fixed the water pipes, drew up a salary structure and fired all 120 Serbian employees who refused to come to work. His battalion commander is still pressing the Serbian community to replace them.</P>

<P> The first time Brennan held a town meeting to discuss the clinic, "I got a little confrontational," he says, pounding the table and threatening to leave when the crowd began yelling. At the second meeting, "I just sat there and let them vent."</P>

<P> U.S. troops seem to want to run Kosovo as they would a base back home. Troops have radar guns to catch speeders and have helped some towns lay sandbag speed bumps. Drunk driving and spousal abuse are hot topics. Shop owners in many towns are obligated to sign and post an Army-written pledge not to discriminate, and soldiers conduct spot checks to enforce it.</P>

<P> But officers understand that their mission is more complicated than just keeping order. They all know Carl von Clausewitz's dictum, "War is politics by other means." In Kosovo, they have learned, politics is war by other means. </P>

<P> The officers say they must avoid being used by Serbs hoping to retake the province or by ethnic Albanians trying to force out the remaining Serbs.</P>

<P> In Podgorce, for instance, KFOR soldiers who initially supported integrating the all-Serbian school, now believe "it is a way for the Albanians to begin the cleansing again," said Lt. Col. Michael Ellerbe, Lambert's commander.</P>
>

<P> "And the worst part is, it would be with KFOR's assistance," Lambert added. "The Albanians know if they get close to the Serbs, they can intimidate them."</P>

<P> Ellerbe, an African American who often speaks at town meetings about the violent history of racial integration in the United States, has convinced the U.N. administration to put off integration this year, which means KFOR must continue to escort students to segregated schools.</P>

<P> Henad Kojic, the Serbian major of Podgorce, where ethnic Albanians are demanding an integrated school, said the first KFOR commander assigned to his area "didn't understand" how inflammatory the issue was. "Now," he added, "we understand KFOR and KFOR understands us."</P>

<P> Because NATO bombed the Serbs during the war, U.S. soldiers are not as welcome in Serbian villages, where their patrols are often greeted with silence. In Albanian villages, by contrast, children and adults run up to the vehicles shouting "NATO! NATO!"</P>

<P> But U.S. soldiers have been surprised at the close ties they have developed with Serbian leaders and business people. At the same time, the Americans express a deep distrust in the shadowy politics of the ethnic Albanian community. Part of this is because the Serbs are the underdog. "We came here thinking we would help the Albanians, but it's been more of defending the Serbs," Hicks said.</P>

<P>Strategy for New Enemies</P>

<P> Long before the air war against Yugoslavia began, U.S. military intelligence had templated its enemy, the Yugoslav military. If electronic surveillance spotted a certain number of tanks and troop carriers, it meant that 15 miles down the road there would be a large body of troops.</P>

<P> But the Yugoslav army left Kosovo.</P>

<P> The new enemies are Albanians in the American sector and Serbs in the northern French sector who have adopted more insidious tactics of intimidation. There is no template for the underground Albanian networks that control property ownership and run a flourishing criminal trade in drugs and black-market goods.</P>

<P> To meet this threat, the Army is trying to adapt its battle tactics to a civilian theater.</P>

<P> Brig. Gen. Craig A. Peterson asked his intelligence unit to put together a town summary for each village. It lists prominent figures--the mayor, factory owners, former Kosovo Liberation Army members, the police chief and even, on one list, a murderer.</P>

<P> To develop his campaign plan, one of Peterson's battalion commanders, Lt. Col. Timothy R. Reese, holds a twice weekly Battle Update Brief at Camp Monteth, the Army's smaller second base in Gnjilane. It is here that officers refine their methods.</P>

<P> Brennan, one of Reese's company commanders, reports that soldiers visiting a suspected member of the local ethnic Albanian criminal network surreptitiously confiscated two notebooks filled with names from the man's desk. "No witnesses," someone says. There is hope they have filched the organization's "Who's Who."</P>

<P> In Vitina, reports another officer, KFOR picked up two men with counterfeit police cards. "What can we do to these guys?" Reese asks. "Random stop-and-searches seem appropriate to me."</P>

<P> In Stanisor, some Albanian teenage thugs are harassing elderly Serbs and children. "Question them--a 'scared straight' kind of program," Reese suggests. "Put them in a security checkpoint. Let them freeze a little."</P>

<P> "What if the parents overreact?" Command Sgt. Maj. Willie L. Day asks.</P>

<P> "Do everything right by the book, no blindfolding or anything," Reese answers. "You can very well lock up the parents if they can't control their kids."</P>

<P> On top of everything, Reese announces that the snowplows have arrived along with division instructions for "snow disasters." This amuses the officers, who have never had snowplow duty before.</P>

<P> "I'm curious," Day interjects. "What did they do before KFOR?"</P>

<P>On a Civilian Watch</P>

<P> In Kosovo, the Army's heavy armor mentality sometimes butts up against the realities of peacekeeping.</P>

<P> As Lt. Jason Green, West Point class of '98, leads three armored Humvees into a quiet schoolyard in Jasenovik, the doors of the school burst open and out rush four elite Russian airborne troops trailed by seven hard-faced Serbs.</P>

<P> "Okay, we got 'em," Green mutters as he steps out of his vehicle, surprised, suspicious and nervous.</P>

<P> Green is aware that Russian troops recently had entered the American sector without authorization. The Russians had said they were escorting Serbian children. But the American soldiers doubt these reports, just as many doubt the Russians have only good intentions in Kosovo.</P>

<P> "Okay, ask them what are they doing here?" Green orders his interpreter.</P>

<P> Escorting children to school, says the Russian standing two feet from Green.</P>

<P> "Ask him if he's tasked to stay all day."</P>

<P> Yes.</P>

<P> "Ask him how many days a week."</P>

<P> Six.</P>

<P> "Six! They go to school on Saturday?" he says, believing he had caught the Russian in a lie.</P>

<P> "Okay, stop," Green says abruptly to himself, realizing he's been too hard-line. "Let's start over." His voice softens, his body posture relaxes.</P>

<P> "My name is Lt. Green . . . are there enough desks in the school? Do the students have enough paper?"</P>

<P> Seeing the cynical gaze of his 30-year-old noncommissioned officer, Gre

en says to Staff Sgt. Eric Ebert: "I don't want to sound like I'm prying information out of him. . . . I'm just trying to make it easy for him right now."</P>

<P> "Is there a problem that we came here?" the Russian asks, with a hint of confrontation.</P>

<P> "It's not a problem, we just need to know when you're in the American sector."</P>

<P> Within five minutes, Green has the Russian's commander's name and unit number. The matter will be resolved many grades above his lieutenant's bars.</P>
>

<P> But in the Humvee, it is Green's reputation that is on the line.</P>

<P> "Hey Lt. Green, you're a pretty diplomatic guy," taunts Ebert, looking down from the gunner seat. "I'd just not let them into the sector."</P>

<P> Green changes the subject. "Ever since I was a little kid I wanted to pick armor," he tells a passenger. "There's something about a big powerful piece of machinery rolling over and killing everything. Why carry a gun when you can ride it? What I'm trained to do is command a platoon and kill other tanks."</P>
>

<P> Filling the U.N. Void The United Nations was supposed to be in charge by now, with ethnically mixed town councils and a U.N.-trained police force. KFOR would stick around for the big tasks and eventually pull out.</P>

<P> U.N. officials acknowledge their deficit and blame lack of money and staff. Only 1,400 of the promised 4,100 police officers are here. Some have no professional police experience and many are too afraid to patrol without a KFOR escort. Dozens of shining red-and-white police vans sit parked and empty in Pristina and Gnjilane.</P>

<P> In the American sector, the Army is still in charge on the ground after five months.</P>

<P> As soon as autumn's early darkness settles over Gnjilane, the "Corso"--the Kosovo version of cruising--begins. But here the Corso is a suspect, monitored by heavily armed U.S. troops led, on one recent night, by Capt. Charles Hansel.</P>

<P> He patrols on foot with four other soldiers, including one whose five-foot-long radio antenna flops with each step.</P>

<P> "Boom!"</P>

<P> The sound of a shrapnel grenade echoes through the city. Hansel grabs the radio handset. A car goes by too quickly. "Stop that car and search it," he yells.</P>

<P> Sixteen troops on foot and six Humvees race to the blast several blocks away to interview neighbors and block off the street. The grenade has wrecked the door of a Gypsy's home.</P>

<P> "Boom!"</P>

<P> Another grenade.</P>

<P> Hansel orders all the patrons in a nearby bar held for questioning.</P>

<P> The captain's radio crackles with the voice of a soldier trying to give Hansel the location of the explosion.</P>

<P> But Hansel and the soldier are using different maps. Hansel has a local street map, the soldier a Defense Department satellite map. Instead of streets he's calling out coordinates.</P>

<P> Hansel curses. "I need the satellite map. I can't translate the location to a grid."</P>

<P> As Hansel talks, explosions come from new directions.</P>

<P> "Boom! Boom! Boom! Boom!"</P>

<P> These are firecrackers. But the soldiers are wired and angry now. They will move up the curfew from 10 p.m. to 8 p.m.</P>

<P> "Anyone who looks suspicious, pull them out of their vehicles," Hansel says.</P>

<P> The search begins, and ends 10 minutes later when he decides it's fruit less. There's a discussion about sending out the Bradley Fighting Vehicles. Instead, several Humvees are dispatched to block traffic.</P>

<P> The ethnic Albanian drivers get out of their cars and begin milling about. "I have a friend with a headache," one asks a soldier. "Can I go?"</P>

<P> "No!" a lieutenant yells.</P>

<P> The soldiers search a couple of cars, and tell everybody to leave. The curfew comes and streets empty. The troops leave frustrated, but they have accomplished the night's mission. All is quiet in this corner of Kosovo.</P>

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<P>New York Times

November 23, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Race Gap Seen In The Military, Despite Gains</P>

<P>By Steven A. Holmes</P>

<P> WASHINGTON -- Despite a decades-long effort to promote equal opportunity and good race relations in the armed forces, the Pentagon has found that wide gaps remain between how whites and minority uniformed personnel perceive how they are treated. </P>

<P> In a survey of more than 40,000 members of the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines and Coast Guard, the Pentagon also found that a large proportion had experienced what they considered to be a racially offensive encounter, often from a superior, in the 12 months before the survey was taken. </P>

<P> The survey, the largest and most detailed effort to discern racial attitudes ever undertaken by any institution, military or civilian, generally painted an encouraging picture of race relations, indicating that large majorities of military personnel felt comfortable living and working around people of another race and formed close friendships across racial lines. </P>

<P> Even so, the survey found that when military personnel filed complaints about particularly bothersome incidents, 51 percent said that nothing was done. </P>

<P> And the survey found that 34 percent of white, 47 percent of Hispanic and 48 percent of black personnel said that some of these incidents caused them to lose trust or have negative feelings about their colleagues, a finding that could be particularly troubling to a military that strives to promote cohesiveness and teamwork. </P>

<P> The survey's findings were a bit of a disappointment to current and former Pentagon officials. The military, especially the Army, has prided itself on doing more than perhaps any institution in the country to foster a good racial climate and promote equal opportunities. </P>

<P> The Defense Department's efforts have drawn acclaim from some academics and politicians, including President Clinton, who has praised efforts in the area of race relations and affirmative action. </P>

<P> "This tells us that even the military, which we still believe is ahead of the rest of society, still has some racial tensions," said Edwin Dorn, former under secretary of defense for personnel and readiness, who commissioned the survey and has been briefed on its findings. "The results of this survey are not nearly as wonderful as we might have liked. It gives a good sense of the kinds of things that need to be worked on." </P>

<P> Many of the survey's findings indicate that the military has created a much more tolerant racial climate than most other institutions in American society, and that in many ways racial attitudes in the armed forces are more tolera

nt than they are in the civilian world. </P>

<P> For example, 82 percent of white members of the armed forces who responded said they had a close personal friend who is black. In a comprehensive poll taken in 1997 by the Gallup Organization, only 59 percent of whites reported having a close black friend. </P>

<P> At the same time, however, the survey also found that members of minorities, especially African Americans, tended to hold a more pessimistic view than whites of race relations in the military. </P>

<P> Minority service personnel also are much more likely to say they have received a poor evaluation because of their race or ethnicity, compared with whites, and are more likely to believe that the armed forces have paid "too little" attention to discrimination based on race or ethnicity, according to the survey. </P>

<P> Particularly telling was the fact that 17 percent of whites who responded felt the military did not pay enough attention to the problem of race discrimination. In contrast, 38 percent of Hispanic personnel and 62 percent of black personnel said they felt that way. </P>

<P> Pentagon officials cautioned that further study of the survey's findings was required before any solid conclusions or policy recommendations were proposed. </P>

<P> "This gave us initial answers," said William E. Leftwich 3rd, deputy assistant secretary of defense for equal opportunity. "I have to say these initial answers are not enough." </P>

<P> To conduct the study, the Defense Manpower Data Center, a Defense Department agency, sent out a 16-page form to 76,754 soldiers, sailors and aviators from September 1996 to February 1997. </P>

<P> The confidential forms were mailed to enlisted personnel and officers up to the rank of captain in the Navy and Coast Guard and its equivalent rank, colonel, in the Army, Air Force and Marines. About 53 percent of the questionnaires were returned in usable form, a relatively high percentage for surveys returned by mail. </P>

<P> The exercise was mandated by legislation pushed by Ronald V. Dellums, a former Democratic representative from Berkeley, Calif., who was chairman of the House Armed Services Committee. The survey is the first of a series of comprehensive studies on race relations in the military. Pentagon researchers say they will be conducting another next year. </P>

<P> Even as the survey suggested that the military must still grapple with racial issues, another report by the Pentagon indicated that the armed forces had a mixed record when it came to promoting minorities. </P>

<P> The report, "Career Progression of Minority and Women Officers," indicated that in 1997 minorities made up 15.3 percent of all officers, and women 14.1 percent, up from 7 percent and 5.9 percent, respectively, in 1977. </P>

<P> But the report said that while the promotion rates for white men and white women were about the same, African American men and women were being promoted at a much lower rate. </P>

<P> Pentagon officials attribute the discrepancy in the promotion rates to factors that were not necessarily related to race. For example, members minorities and women tended to be more heavily clustered in administrative and support units in the military. These areas tend not to provide the faster track for promotion that combat units do. Also, Pentagon officials acknowledge that the military does not do a good job of mentoring women and minority personnel who show potential to become officers or move up the officer ranks.</P>


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<P>Washington Post

November 23, 1999

75 Percent Of Military's Minorities See Racism

In Survey, Whites Offer Drastically Different View

By Roberto Suro and Michael A. Fletcher, Washington Post Staff Writers

Three-quarters of all African Americans and other minorities serving in uniform complain that they have experienced racially offensive behavior, and less than half expressed confidence that complaints of discrimination are thoroughly investigated, according to the largest survey of racial attitudes ever conducted within the armed forces.

On a broad array of questions, whites and minorities offered drastically different perceptions of racial and ethnic relations within the military. While whites generally took positive views of the situation on bases and ships, blacks, Hispanics, Asians and Native Americans consistently expressed more negative assessments.

Overall, the reports of offensive encounters were highest in the lower pay grades. For example, 85 percent of Hispanics in junior enlisted ranks reported experiencing such incidents. But the experience of racial hostility also carried into the senior ranks, with 71 percent of black officers saying they had experienced an offensive encounter with another service member, compared with 46 percent of white officers.

The congressionally mandated survey of more than 40,000 service members was concluded in February 1997, but its release has been repeatedly delayed as top Pentagon officials debated how the results should be portrayed, according to a senior defense official. The military has often strove to project an image of itself as more effective than society as a whole in taming bias and guaranteeing equal opportunity. Through the survey, however, service members rendered a mixed verdict.

Nearly 20 percent of blacks and 13 percent of Hispanics in uniform reported that they had been given inferior assignments or evaluations because of racial bias. Only 4 percent of whites reported such treatment.

Meanwhile, individuals of different groups said they felt comfortable socializing and establishing friendships with each other. Service members of all groups also believed that race relations were better in the military than in t

he civilian world.</P>

<P> For example, nearly half of all Hispanic service members said race relations in the military had improved over the past five years, while only a third offered that optimistic assessment about the nation as a whole. And although large numbers of minority service members reported offensive encounters--such as insensitive or harassing language--in the previous year, only a small percentage said they had been subject to threats or physical harm.</P>

<P> "There are positive things going on in the U.S. military, which is not to say that we do not have problems," said William E. Leftwich III, deputy assistant secretary of defense for equal opportunity. "Our insistence on self-examination will bring about the institutional health we need."</P>

<P> As a result of the survey's findings, senior officials said the individual services are considering changes in training and orientation programs for new recruits and in procedures for handling complaints of offensive encounters.</P>

<P> Formal release of the survey, which was conducted by the Defense Manpower Data Center, is now expected as early as today. An executive summary of the 300-page report was provided to The Washington Post yesterday by defense officials.</P>

<P> Defense officials argued that the very different perceptions of race relations reported by whites and minorities simply mirror attitudes in society as a whole. And surveys of the overall population back up that contention.</P>

<P> A 1997 Gallup Poll, for example, found that three out of four white Americans said blacks in their community were treated the same as whites, a sentiment shared by half of all African Americans. A Washington Post-ABC News poll released the same year found that 44 percent of blacks, but only 17 percent of whites, believe blacks face "a lot" of discrimination in America.</P>

<P> Given the gulf in perceptions of race relations that exists in the larger society, several analysts said, the findings of the military survey were hardly shocking.</P>

<P> "I'm not surprised by these findings. The military is a microcosm of the larger society," said Wade Henderson, executive director of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. "In many ways, it reflects the subtle and deeper problems of race found in American life. Unfortunately, even in the relatively closed society of the military, a zero-tolerance policy against racial discrimination is difficult to enforce."</P>

<P> Margaret C. Simms, vice president for research at the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, a Washington-based research center that focuses on African American issues, agreed that the findings of the military survey reflected the racial and ethnic problems of society as a whole.</P>

<P> "The individuals who serve in the military come from the larger society," Simms said. "They do not enter the military completely devoid of preconceived notions about people. In some sense, it may be too big a burden to place on the military to correct for all that may have been encountered prior to entry into the military."</P>

<P> In the past, however, the military has not been content to be the same as society as a whole, at least where racial issues are concerned. It has sought to be in the vanguard of positive developments. While the survey shows that service members share attitudes found throughout American life, defense officials argue that the military is still ahead of the curve.</P>

<P> "I don't think you will find another major institution that is as willing to examine itself as carefully as we have and to work as hard as we have to understand how our people feel," said an official who helped conduct the survey.</P>

<P> Little significant difference in reports of offensive behavior was found from one branch of the armed forces to another, although the Air Force--which has a lower proportion of minorities in its ranks than the other services--reported fewer racial incidents.</P>

<P> The survey revealed that a considerable amount of racial and ethnic friction is associated with the military hierarchy. Most service members reported that the offender in a racial incident held a superior rank, and about 80 percent of the minorities who experienced such incidents said they did not bother to report them. The two most common reasons cited for not reporting racial incidents were a belief that nothing would be done or that the incident was not important enough to report.</P>

<P> Most minority service members said they believed their immediate superiors would make an "honest and reasonable" effort to halt discrimination and harassment, but that confidence declined when members were asked about the military more broadly. For example, slightly less than half of all blacks were prepared to say that senior leaders would make such efforts.</P>

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<P>Christian Science Monitor

November 23, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Loose Ends In Kosovo Vex The US</P>

<I><P>As Clinton visits the Serbian province, questions arise over UN's ability to halt violence and institute democracy.</P>

</I><P>By Justin Brown, Special to The Christian Science Monitor</P>

<P> WASHINGTON -- In the five months since the US and its allies claimed victory in Kosovo by returning ethnic Albanian refugees to their homes, the region has continued to be haunted by ethnic intolerance, authoritarian power struggles, and murder almost as regularly as it was before the NATO airstrikes. </P>

<P> The inability of United Nations peacekeepers to stop the violence raises questions about whether the intervention has been a success or a failure - even as President Clinton today makes a Thanksgiving visit to 7,000 US soldiers stationed in Kosovo.</P>

<P> The answer will help shape the legacy of the president, as well as determine whether NATO troops will need to stay in the Balkans for years, as officials initially said, or for decades, as some observers now predict.</P>

<P> "[Nobody] thought we could solve the entire Kosovo problem," says an administration official speaking on the condition of anonymity. "But we did think we could stop the repression and give the people a chance to establish democratic institutions."</P>

<P> Clinton administration officials call the Kosovo mission a success because it met the objectives set at the beginning of the bombing campaign. The forces of Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic withdrew from the province and NATO peacekeepers entered, allowing the speedy return of some 800,000 ethnic Albanians who had been driven from their homes.</P>

<P> And, says Ivo Daalder of the Brookings Institution here, "The average Kosovar Albanian who is still alive is much better off today than they were on March 23," the day before airstrikes began. Kosovo is now an autonomous province that is technically still part of Serbia. In practice, it is an international protectorate.</P>

<P> Critics of the airstrikes, however, point out that most of the refugees did not leave the region until after the bombing began. Once that happened, Milosevic launched an operation against ethnic Albanians that the Yugoslav Army called "terrain cleansing" and international officials called "ethnic cleansing."
</P>

<P> Furthermore, critics say their objections have been vindicated by recent events in Kosovo, which indicate the region is anything but the multiethnic society international planners envisioned.</P>

<P> Violence has continued at about the same pace - some 30 deaths per week - as before the airstrikes began, according to a report by the International Crisis Group, a London-based research group that is chaired by former US Sen. George Mitchell.</P>

<P> Whereas the pre-air-strike victims were predominantly ethnic Albanians, Serbs are now being killed at a rate disproportionate to their population. "Systematic attacks upon the Serb population and, to a lesser degree, upon other minority groups, suggest that at least some elements of the ethnic Albanian majority are determined to rid the province of all non-Albanians," the report says.
</P>

<P> Also fueling the debate are new findings by war-crimes investigators about the number of ethnic Albanians killed by Serbian forces during the airstrikes, when objective observers had very little access to the region.</P>

<P> While neither supporters nor objectors to the intervention diminish the significance of even one death, the debate hinges on allegations that Western officials inflated numbers to help build support for a sustained bombing of Yugoslavia.

oslovakia an operation that was accurate but may have led to more than 2,000 unintended deaths of both Serbs and ethnic Albanians, some estimate.</P>

<P> US and NATO officials at times implied that as many as 100,000 ethnic Albanians may have been killed, and they used words like "genocide" to describe the Serbian policy. They later lowered the estimate to 10,000. But preliminary findings from war-crimes investigators indicate that the number of ethnic Albanians killed by Serbian forces during the air strikes was probably closer to 5,000.</P>

<P> "This is not exactly genocide," says Ted Galen Carpenter, a foreign-policy expert at the Washington-based Cato Institute, which is soon to release a book titled "NATO's Empty Victory." "It brings up the disturbing reality that [the inaccurate numbers] were part of a propaganda campaign by NATO - and it was a very successful one."</P>

<P> Mr. Carpenter also casts doubt on the US assertion that NATO intervention is leading Kosovo on a path toward democracy. He notes the lingering influence of the ethnic Albanian Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) - a group of guerrilla fighters who the US has tried to marginalize over the past two years. One official here recently said the KLA, like the Serbs, had committed war crimes during the conflict. Yet they were not indicted by the international tribunal in The Hague as was Milosevic.</P>

<P> The KLA is blamed for much of the ongoing violence even though they are being transformed into a civilian guard. Their leaders say they will not give up until they achieve full independence from Serbia.</P>

<P> "We intervened in a civil war and helped people come to power who don't reflect our values or interests," says Christopher Lynn, a visiting scholar at the Center for International Studies at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles.</P>

<P> Another disputed result of the air campaign is the effect it had on US relations with the rest of the international community - and whether that matters at all.</P>

<P> Critics like Mr. Lynn argue that the strikes damaged relations with Russia, which is now using NATO's example to help justify its offensive into Chechnya. Those who support the NATO action, however, say the alliance should not let other countries dictate their policy, especially during an armed conflict.</P>
>

<P> Some analysts and diplomats also look to Belgrade to assess the results of the intervention. Despite calculations of US officials, Milosevic was not toppled from power after his forces made a retreat from the region, which Serbs

regard as their spiritual homeland.</P>

<P> Serbia itself is in shambles with parts of its infrastructure destroyed by the bombing. Neighboring countries are also suffering because they lost a trading partner, and parts of the Danube River are blocked by fallen bridges. Although getting Milosevic out of power was never a stated objective of NATO, it was a motivating force that weighed in the decision to launch air strikes, diplomats said at the time.</P>

<P> And if there is one thing that almost all of the analysts agree upon, it's that while Milosevic is in power, the Balkans will be unstable and peacekeepers will be required in Kosovo - at a cost to the US of about \$2 to \$3 billion per year, according to Steven Kosiak of the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments.</P>

<P> "If you ask me 25 years from now if I'm surprised that troops are still in Kosovo, I'll have to say 'no,' " says Mr. Daalder.</P>


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<P>Washington Times

November 23, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>China Points More Missiles At Taiwan</P>

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

<P> China is expanding a missile base across from Taiwan where nearly 100 of Beijing's newest short-range missile systems will be deployed, increasing the threat to the island.</P>

<P> Construction at the People's Liberation Army (PLA) missile base at Yang ang, some 275 miles from Taiwan, was photographed by U.S. spy satellites in mid -October, according to Clinton administration officials familiar with intelligence reports on the activity.</P>

<P> The officials said the construction is being carried out for the planned deployment of a brigade of advanced CSS-7 missiles -- also known as advanced M-11s, officials told The Washington Times. A Chinese missile brigade is estimated to have 16 launchers and up to 96 missiles.</P>

<P> U.S. intelligence agencies expect the missiles deployed at the base to be the new CSS-7 Mod 2, which can carry several different types of warheads up to about 300 miles. The new missile was shown publicly for the first time Oct. 1 at the Communist Party's celebration in Beijing of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China.</P>

<P> The missiles can be armed with small nuclear warheads. China has obtained small-warhead technology from the United States through espionage.</P>

<P> According to Pentagon officials, the longer-range version of the CSS-7 is solid-fueled and deployed on road-mobile truck launchers, making them rapid-fire systems that are very hard to detect and track.</P>

<P> Pentagon officials said the new CSS-7s will be armed with conventional high-explosive warheads and have other high-tech payloads available.</P>

<P> Alternative conventional warheads are expected to include cluster bombs -- warheads containing numerous bomblets; deep-penetrating warheads for use against concrete facilities; and exotic electromagnetic-pulse warheads that disrupt electronic devices ranging from cars to computers with a burst of energy similar to that produced in a nuclear blast.</P>

<P> The Chinese also have developed fuel-air explosives for the new missiles. Fuel-air explosives are high-explosive bombs that can destroy large areas, like airfields.</P>

<P> Adm. Dennis Blair, commander in chief of the U.S. Pacific Command, said in an interview earlier this month that the Chinese missile buildup is driving the United States to help Taiwan develop advanced missile defenses.</P>

<P> U.S. support for joint missile defense is allowed under the Taiwan Relations Act, which allows the United States to provide the island with adequate defenses against Chinese invasion.</P>

<P> "We're talking about a balance here," the admiral said earlier this month. "And a count of 500 or 600 [missiles] to very few defenses doesn't seem like a very good balance," he said.</P>

<P> U.S. talks with Taiwan on building missile defenses are "related to the fact that [the Chinese] have an extensive missile-building program going on their side of the Taiwan Strait."</P>

<P> If China does not want Taiwan to have missile defenses, the Chinese should not go ahead with the buildup, he said.</P>

<P> According to a recent Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) report, China is building up its short-range missile forces near Taiwan from a few hundred now to as many as 650 by 2005.</P>

<P> The DIA said China produced 150 M-9 and M-11 missiles last year, and most are deployed in units stationed along the Chinese coastline near Taiwan. It said this year China is expected to field a total of 200 missiles and will add some 50 missiles a year.</P>

<P> A second Pentagon report to Congress released earlier this year stated that "in an armed conflict with Taiwan, China's short-range ballistic missiles likely would target air defense installations, naval bases, [command-and-control] nodes and logistics facilities."</P>

<P> "The PLA will continue to field large numbers of increasingly accurate, short-range ballistic missiles and introduce land-attack cruise missiles into its inventory," the report stated.</P>

<P> Still a third Pentagon report said the Chinese buildup will produce "a large arsenal of highly accurate and lethal theater missiles" that represent a "revolutionary departure" from past Chinese military deployments near Taiwan.</P>

<P> In past years, China did not have large forces deployed near Taiwan. Te

nsions between China and Taiwan increased last summer when Taiwan's President Lee Teng-hui talked about "state-to-state" dialogue with Beijing -- remarks viewed by Beijing as promoting independence.</P>

<P> The missiles are both a psychological weapon and a power-projection threat, the third report said.</P>

<P> "The focus on Taiwan may reflect a view within the People's Liberation Army that force eventually may have to be used," the report said.</P>

<P> A U.S. government official who is an expert on the Chinese military said the Clinton administration has tried to ignore Beijing's missile buildup.</P>

<P> "Both Beijing and the State Department are in agreement that Taiwan does not deserve adequate missile defenses while both are also in agreement that the U.S. and Taiwan should ignore Beijing's blossoming ballistic missiles," the official said.</P>

<P> A State Department spokesman in February sought to play down reports of the missile buildup.</P>

<P> "Reports that suggest that there has been a sudden new deployment are wrong," said James Foley, a department spokesman. "As part of its military modernization, China has been deploying missiles for some time."</P>


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<P>New York Times

November 23, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Iraq Cuts Exports, In Move That Foils Oil-For-Food Plan</P>

<P>By Barbara Crossette</P>

<P> UNITED NATIONS -- Losing allies at the Security Council, Iraq on Monday unexpectedly began to cut off exports of the oil it sells to pay for food for its citizens. </P>

<P> The sales are permitted under a specially regulated U.N. program meant to alleviate the suffering of ordinary Iraqis under long-lasting economic sanctions. The sanctions have punished Baghdad for not showing it has eliminated weapons of mass destruction. </P>

<P> If Iraq fails to carry out the food program, "it will be thumbing its nose at the international community again," said James Rubin, the State Department spokesman. </P>

<P> The Iraqis said they were protesting the Security Council's decision last week to extend the program for only two weeks, instead of the normal six months. The short-term extension was decided on when members of the Security Council reached an impasse on whether to change the terms of the program to benefit Iraq. </P>

<P> Some diplomats and officials said that the Iraqi move was not clearly understandable, but that Iraq has repeatedly created crises when events were not moving in its favor. </P>

<P> While actions by the secretive government are rarely fully explained and officials at the United Nations have become accustomed to waiting for Iraqi policy changes to play themselves out. Initial impressions late Monday were that the decision to stop exporting oil was a temporary step, but one that could hurt Iraq's reputation further. </P>

<P> Rubin said, "Every time that Iraq shows its contempt for the world, and its contempt for the world's concern about the people of Iraq, it only makes

it harder for Iraq's positions to be taken seriously in the Security Council."

<P> Fred Eckhard, the U.N. spokesman, said that independent oil experts who oversee exports from Iraq reported Monday morning that the Iraqis had cut the flow of oil to the Turkish port of Ceyhan and were preparing to stop shipments from the Iraqi port of Mina al Bakr on Tuesday. There are no other major export points. </P>

<P> Afterward, crude-oil prices rose in the New York market to over \$27 a barrel, a nine-year high. Iraq had been trading about 5 percent of the oil sold worldwide. </P>

<P> The government of President Saddam Hussein has told officials that it will not sign a new agreement to continue the program, which in the last six months earned more than \$7 billion. The program was intended to relieve the hardships suffered by the Iraqi population because of nearly a decade of international sanctions. </P>

<P> Diplomats looking for ways to explain Iraq's step on Monday say that the Iraqis may see their support in the Security Council eroding. </P>

<P> Under pressure to reinstitute a disarmament program and send inspectors back to Iraq after a year during which President Saddam Hussein has been free of on-the-ground arms surveillance, the five permanent council members -- Britain, China, France, Russia and the United States -- have been working almost nonstop on a compromise that will allow Russia, Iraq's strongest ally on the council, to support a new plan, or at least not veto it. </P>

<P> Some diplomats say that the Iraqis may have been stunned by reports that the Russians had informally offered the United States a deal during the recent European security summit meeting in Istanbul, Turkey, that would have softened Russian opposition to a Western resolution on Iraq in return for U.S. restraint in criticizing Moscow's war in Chechnya. The Russians deny that such an offer was made. </P>

<P> France, which at times has argued in favor of Iraq, is now considered to be part of the consensus behind a resolution that would demand that Iraq accept and cooperate with arms inspectors in return for a suspension -- not a final lifting -- of sanctions for renewable periods. </P>

<P> The French say they are concerned that Iraq, with a record of secret prohibited arms programs, is not being monitored. France is now expected to back the new inspection system being discussed. </P>

<P> Iraq has said repeatedly that it will not accept any inspection system that does not lift sanctions first. The Iraqi government, which has long chafed under the close monitoring and tight financial controls of the "oil for food" program, may also be holding it hostage at a critical moment to win concessions on both plans.</P>

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<P>Washington Post

November 23, 1999

Pg. 19</P>

<P>Okinawan Agrees To Move U.S. Base </P>

<I><P>Demonstrators Protest Governor's Decision Renewing Co
ntroversy Over Facility</P>

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

<P> NAHA, Japan, Nov. 22Over the angry objections of demonstrators, the gov
ernor of Okinawa today announced his support of a plan to relocate a U.S. air b
ase on the island, a key step in resolving a long-festering issue between the U
nited States and Japan.</P>

<P> But the move seems likely to reignite the storm in Okinawa over the World War II legacy of the U.S. presence here. Bowing to the resentment of Okinawans at the numerous American bases on the small island, Gov. Keiichi Inamine added a potential deal breaker to his support for relocating the Futenma Marine Corps Air Station to a more sparsely populated area 25 miles north in Nago.</P>

<P> Inamine said the new air base should revert to civilian control in 15 years, a requirement the U.S. government flatly rejects. Tokyo must now find a way to finesse the governor's deadline, or watch the loss of its second attempt in four years to resolve the dispute.</P>

<P> "Everybody knows the U.S. position. Everybody knows the [Japanese] central government position. But for the benefit of the people of Okinawa, the deadline is hard to back down from," said Inamine's deputy, Reiji Fumoto.</P>

<P> The U.S. military said the move would not compromise its military preparedness in Asia. "We have always said that moving Futenma is a major step to reducing our footprint on the island, and we welcome it," said Marine Capt. Joseph Plenzler, a spokesman at the air base. "We will accept any alternative Okinawa wants, as long as it meets our requirements."</P>

<P> Futenma is among the smaller of the dozen U.S. bases on Okinawa. But it has become the sharpest thorn in relations involving the United States, Japan and Okinawa, Japan's southernmost and perhaps most independent-minded state.</P>
>

<P> After the 1995 rape of a 12-year-old schoolgirl by three American soldiers outraged Okinawans, the U.S. government offered to move Futenma, which has long irritated residents because of the noise and because it is in the heart of the city of Ginowan.</P>

<P> In 1997, the proposal to move the base to a floating heliport near Nago was defeated by rising sentiment--encouraged by the former Okinawa governor--that the base should leave the island completely. Inamine, elected last year on a more moderate platform, said today he had made an "agonizing decision" to revive the plan and relocate the base along the shore of Camp Schwab near Nago.</P>
>

<P> But even as he spoke, shouting demonstrators tried to get into the news conference. The governor fled briefly to a phalanx of security men when it appeared that the demonstrators might burst into the room.</P>

<P> "They did this in secret because they are afraid of us," said Shinichi Isa, referring to the governor's announcement, originally planned for Wednesday

. He spoke to about 150 demonstrators outside the government building, who chanted "Governor, listen to the people," and "Protect the environment."</P>

<P> Inamine has sidestepped the question of whether the airstrip should be built on the water, which would anger environmentalists, or on the land, which would bring opposition from nearby fishermen. Opponents promptly announced a petition drive to defeat the relocation. They have threatened a similar petition effort to recall the mayor of Nago if, as expected, he supports the plan.</P>

<P> "The U.S. forces took the land, without any consideration to the local people, and have kept the bases there," complained Masaru Shinsatu, as he stood near a banner at the rally. "In the last 54 years, the Okinawa people have asserted they wanted all the bases withdrawn from the island."</P>

<P> U.S. bases occupy nearly a fifth of Okinawa's land, planted there after the fierce fighting in World War II. Okinawa was the only land battleground in Japan, and the island prefecture, or state, was not returned to Japan's sovereignty until 1972. About two-thirds of the more than 50,000 U.S. troops stationed in Japan are on Okinawa, which includes the largest Marine contingent outside the United States.</P>

<P> The Japanese central government has supported the U.S. troop presence here and has been frustrated at local opposition to resolving the Futenma issue. President Clinton has said he wanted the issue resolved before he attends the summit meeting of the world's top industrialized nations next July in Okinawa.</P>

<P> Okinawans have been ambivalent about the bases. They resent the U.S. military presence and the bases, but they also recognize the economic benefit the bases bring an island with lagging economic prospects.</P>

<P> "Okinawans are fed up with seeing the fences of the bases," said Yoshitaka Toyohira, the political editor for the local Okinawa Times. "We have seen that since we were a child, and the next generation should be able to live without it."</P>

<P> But the central government is promising to accompany the base relocation with a \$95 million package to help Okinawa's economy.</P>

<P> Futenma's 1,188 acres, built in 1945 as a B-29 landing strip, house 71 aircraft, most of them helicopters. U.S. officials said they could relocate the helicopters with an airstrip much shorter than Futenma's 9,000-foot runway. About 3,700 Marine personnel are based there.</P>

<P> <I>Special correspondent Shigehiko Togo contributed to this report.</P>
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<P>Christian Science Monitor

November 23, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>China's Launch For Respect</P>

<I><P>Analysts say the weekend's successful orbit could mea
n a man in space in a year.</P>

</I><P>By Kevin Platt, Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor
</P>

<P> BEIJING -- With Beijing's first test flight of a spacecraft capable of
sending astronauts into orbit, China is telling the West as well as its home c
rowd - it should be treated as a great power on the world stage.</P>

<P> When the rocket, dubbed "Divine Ship," touched down Sunday, China immed
iately set the propaganda machine in motion to tell the world that it had moved

a giant step closer toward matching the elite, manned space programs that for three decades have been dominated by Russia and the United States.</P>

<P> The launch, though decades behind, will burnish China's image both at home and in the region. China is the only country in the East to have launched a space capsule.</P>

<P> "China is saying, 'You need to recognize us as a superpower,' " says Cheryl L. Brown, a China scholar at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. "Until now, only the [former] Soviet Union and the US have sent humans into space ... and by joining them, China is entering the ranks of what a superpower does," adds Ms. Brown.</P>

<P> China's state-controlled press gave extensive coverage to the flight, and said the event marked the nation's rising status in the global community. The high-tech leap in China's space program is aimed at "bolstering national power, defense strength ... [and] international prestige," reported the official China Daily. It added that the success of the program depended on the joint efforts of People's Liberation Army officers and space scientists. </P>

<P> Both American and Chinese scholars say that although Beijing wants to play an increasingly important role in world affairs, that does not mean the country aims to become a military superpower.</P>

<P> Some US politicians are painting China as one of Washington's biggest potential enemies in the next century. Presidential candidate George W. Bush recently said "he wanted to counter Chinese military threats," notes Brown. </P>

<P> "China could become the world's biggest economy" in the next several decades, Brown says. "But a military superpower - I don't know." </P>

<P> Rather, Beijing is probably trying to dispel the perception that it is vulnerable to a technologically advanced US military.</P>

<P> Six months after American jetfighters sent five laser-guided rockets in to Beijing's Embassy in Belgrade, which both infuriated and humiliated the leadership here, "China is trying to counter the image of a hi-tech NATO," Brown says.</P>

<P> Washington has the world's largest array of nuclear-tipped missiles. As it mulls plans to build an anti-missile shield that could render China's tiny arsenal ineffective as a deterrent to a nuclear first strike, Beijing's space triumph "could be a warning not to start an arms race in outer space," she says.</P>

<P> A Western diplomat says that in "the bad old days of the cold war, people said the US and the Soviet Union got into a space race to demonstrate their ability to launch ballistic missiles." But Chinese scientists recognize that "part of the reason for the collapse of the Soviet Union was the expense of the space race." </P>

<P> He adds the US administration might interpret Beijing's latest "space milestone" as a new opportunity to engage a reforming China that is becoming much more integrated into global structures as it looks toward joining the World Trade Organization. </P>

<P> For the past several years, China has quietly pressed to join the International Space Station that is being built by the US, the European Space Agency, Russia, and Japan. </P>

<P> In the past, China was perceived as a late starter in space endeavors that had little to offer to the major powers, and it was shut out of the ISS club. </P>

<P> But China is demonstrating "that it does have world-class technology, [and] people will be more open to sharing and cooperation" in projects like the space station, the diplomat says. China's take-off in the commercial satellite launching business over the last decade has helped finance and pave the way for its manned space program. </P>

<P> Yuan Jiajun, a test flight official at the Chinese Academy of Space Technology, says that when research on the launch is complete, "We will hold several more test flights before actually sending a man into space." </P>

<P> In a paper presented at a 1998 conference in Beijing, Mr. Yuan said that the initial phase of lunar exploration was partly triggered by the US-USSR cold war competition. But with the end of that rivalry, it is in "the common interests of mankind to forge cooperation in deep space exploration." </P>

<P> Yuan says Beijing's push to send its first astronaut into space is just the first step in a more ambitious program to help found human colonies on the moon and Mars, and then extend man's reach beyond the solar system. </P>

<P> He says China is now conducting "feasibility studies on a lunar probe and a Mars probe," but adds that the planet should pool its resources to set up extraterrestrial bases. </P>

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<P>New York Times

November 23, 1999</P>

<P>Moscow To Reduce Arms Based In Georgia</P>

<P>By The Associated Press</P>

<P> MOSCOW -- Russia will reduce its weapons based in Georgia by the end of this year and close two of its four military bases in the Caucasus nation by mid-2001, the Interfax news agency said Monday. </P>

<P> The Defense Ministry said no more than 153 of its tanks, 241 armored vehicles and 140 artillery systems would remain in Georgia after Dec. 31, Interfax said. It will close its bases in Gudauta and Vaziani by July 1, 2001, but will retain temporary use of bases in Batumi and Akhalkalaki. </P>

<P> The future of those bases and other Russian military facilities in Georgia will be decided in further talks next year, Interfax said. The reduction is in line with the amended Conventional Forces in Europe treaty, which Russia and other nations signed in Istanbul last week at the meeting of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. </P>

<P> In Istanbul, Russia also agreed to a complete withdrawal of its 2,500 troops in the former Soviet republic of Moldova by 2002. The troops have been there since they intervened to end a brief war in 1992 between government forces and Russian-speaking separatists in the eastern region of Trans-Dniester.</P>

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<P>Washington Post

November 23, 1999

Pg. 20</P>

<P>Russia Attempts To Circle Chechen Capital</P>

<P> SLEPTSOVSKAYA, Russia--Russian forces are moving steadily to encircle Chechnya's capital and believe civilians will encourage Chechen militants to abandon the city rather than wage an all-out battle, Russia's top army officer said.</P>

<P> Russia pounded parts of Chechnya from the air and ground, with warplanes running about 50 combat missions in a 24-hour period, the Interfax news agency said. Fearful civilians kept up their exodus from Chechnya.</P>

<P> So far, Russia's march across Chechnya, which began two months ago, has not produced major battles like those during the 1994-96 war in the breakaway territory. The outgunned Chechens have retreated rather than confront the large r and more heavily armed Russian formations.</P>

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<P>London Daily Telegraph

November 23, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Grozny Will Be An Easy Victory, Say Russians</P>

<P>By Marcus Warren in Moscow</P>

<P> Russia massed its forces outside Grozny yesterday as the country's leading general predicted that the Chechen capital would fall without the need for an all-out assault.</P>

<P> Gen Anatoly Kvashnin issued his confident assessment of an easy victory as Chechen forces in Grozny braced for what, if it comes to a battle, would be

one of the most spectacular clashes Europe has seen since the Second World War . About 6,000 Chechen guerrillas are waiting for the advance of the Russian army, which is backed by total air superiority and a huge concentration of firepower.</P>

<P> However, the Russian top brass, in public at least, favours persuading local residents to force Chechen fighters to withdraw. Gen Kvashnin said that his forces, who have the capital cut off to the west, north and east, would use the same methods to take Grozny as they used to seize Gudermes and Achkhoy-Martan.</P>

<P> Russia has hailed the fall of those towns over the past few days, apparently without a shot being fired, as "a qualitative change" in its campaign to restore its rule over the rebel republic. According to Moscow, local elders, fed up with extremists, persuaded Chechen fighters to leave. The suspicion remains, however, that the Russian army threatened to level the two towns if the guerrillas stayed.</P>

<P> Grozny has suffered air raids, artillery bombardments and missile strikes for two months. Relatively few civilians remain in its ruins. Grozny was the setting five years ago for the Russian army's worst humiliation in half a century, a disastrous attempt to take the city by force in which untrained and poorly equipped battalions were wiped out.</P>

<P> The commander of that operation was Gen Kvashnin, then head of the military in the north Caucasus. Nowadays he is chief of the general staff, a secretive and sinister figure, regarded as Russia's chief "hawk". He said: "Storm the Chechen capital? It will be the same methods as in Gudermes or Achkhoy-Martan. The people will sort out the bandits and we will give them a hand."</P>

<P> At their closest to Grozny, Russian troops were reported to be two miles away from the city. The operation to cut it off completely would be over by mid-December, military sources said. The army has still to face determined resistance from Chechen guerrillas, who have so far preferred to lure the Russians ever deeper into the republic and launch occasional raids in their rear.</P>

<P> The first major battle of the campaign could break out in Urus-Martan, the biggest city in the lowlands yet to fall under Russian control. It is a notorious base for Islamic fundamentalists and some of Chechnya's most feared kidnapping gangs. Russia has ruled out repeating "mistakes" from the 1994-6 war, usually interpreted as attempts to storm Grozny. But coyness about its tactics for taking the city has provoked speculation that it may use chemical weapons against the defenders.</P>

<P> The Chechens, for their part, have had two months to prepare their reception for the Russian army, building reinforced dug-outs, digging trenches and laying mines. Many of the inhabitants have fled the city, which is without gas,

electricity or water and is running low on food. Grozny residents have made up a large part of the 200,000-plus refugees fleeing the bombing and shelling and seeking shelter in neighbouring Ingushetia. Many crossed the border on foot in the sleet yesterday.</P>

<P> Conditions suffered by Russian soldiers, most of them conscripts, are not much better than those of the refugees camped out in tent cities, cowsheds and cardboard boxes. Gen Kvashnin did his bit for morale by giving watches to soldiers who had excelled in the campaign. He even gave his own watch to a sergeant who had volunteered to stay on and fight rather than be demobilised after two years' national service.</P>

<P> Support for the war at home is still high, helped by the relatively low Russian casualty figures. But many believe that the number of dead and wounded is probably much higher than is claimed.</P>

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<P>Washington Times

November 23, 1999

Pg. 11</P>

<P>General Sends Out Feelers On Treaty</P>

<I><P>U.S. official terms proposal welcome</P>

</I><P>By Reuters News Agency</P>

<P>The United States yesterday warmed to an idea floated by the head of Russia's strategic rocket forces that could help ease tensions over Washington's plans for a Star Wars-style defense system.</P>

<P>State Department spokesman James P. Rubin responded positively to comments by Col. Gen. Vladimir Yakovlev who said a joint commission could examine the threat from rogue states like Iran and North Korea that has moved Washington to seek wider protection.</P>

<P>Fearing a new arms race, Russia opposes U.S. desires to amend the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty so it can shoot down missiles from more than one site.</P>

<P>Asked to respond to Gen. Yakovlev's comments, Mr. Rubin told a news briefing: "That's the first I've heard of it, but certainly the idea that they would want to work closely with us on defining the threat and then dealing with the threat would be welcome."</P>

<P>He said U.S. officials had been trying to sensitize Russia to its concerns about arms proliferation.</P>

<P>"So any sign that they have come to a greater appreciation of this threat and want to work with us cooperatively on this threat is certainly welcome," Mr. Rubin said. But the senior U.S. official warned that the discussion with Russia on amending the treaty would be long and difficult.</P>

<P>Russia is opposed to any changes in the ABM, which it sees as a cornerstone of many other arms accords.</P>

<P>The U.S. Senate last month rejected ratification of another key accord, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, dealing an embarrassing blow to President Clinton.</P>

<P>Russian President Boris Yeltsin left a European summit last week early after another ear-bashing from the West for a bloody campaign in Chechnya that Moscow sees as a legitimate fight against separatist guerrillas and essential to restoring Russian national pride.</P>

<P>While Mr. Rubin's reaction to Gen. Yakovlev's comments broadcast on Russia's

ORT television on Friday was positive, he reiterated U.S. opposition to Russia's action against Chechen separatists.</P>

<P>The West says Russia is fighting an unwinnable war, killing too many civilians and creating a refugee crisis in the process.</P>

<P>Mr. Rubin again accused Russia's military, which said yesterday that it would surround the Chechen regional capital Grozny by mid-December, of carrying out "indiscriminate" military attacks.</P>

<P>"Fighting appears now focused on towns outlying the capital city of Grozny. I think the president made very clear the dangers we see from a Russian offensive that doesn't have a political solution," Mr. Rubin said.</P>

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<P>New York Times

November 23, 1999</P>

<P>A Grateful Clinton Offers Encouragement To Bulgaria</P>

<P>By Marc Lacey</P>

<P> SOFIA, Bulgaria -- President Clinton thanked the Bulgarians Monday for

supporting NATO's campaign against Slobodan Milosevic in nearby Yugoslavia and urged the struggling nation to stay the course of economic reform. </P>

<P> More than 10,000 people packed the central square here under the glittering Cathedral of St. Alexander Nevsky -- the same spot where mass rallies 10 years ago led to the overthrow of the Communist regime -- and celebrated the visit with music and fireworks. </P>

<P> "I am very proud to be the first American president to visit Bulgaria - a free Bulgaria," Clinton told the crowd in a 45-minute speech at dusk. "I am proud to stand in this place where voices were silenced for too long." </P>

<P> Clinton arrived in Bulgaria late Sunday at the start of the second week of his European tour, which ends with a trip to Kosovo on Tuesday. The visit here was intended to reward Bulgaria for letting NATO fighter planes use its airspace in the Kosovo campaign last spring, to offer encouragement and to send a message to the Yugoslavs only 30 miles away. </P>

<P> "I am told that during the recent war you could actually hear some of the bombs falling in Serbia from this square," Clinton said. "Tonight, I hope the people of Serbia can hear our voices when we say if you choose as Bulgaria has chosen, you will regain the rightful place in Europe Mr. Milosevic has stolen from you, and America will support you too." </P>

<P> The crowd of people -- most of whom were taught of the evils of America's imperialist ways when they were young -- roared with approval and shouted Clinton's name. </P>

<P> "It used to be dangerous to talk to foreigners," said Kiril Manov, 70, a retired lawyer who was bundled up against the chilly evening air. "We used to learn about the evils of America. Never did we think an American president would stand here." </P>

<P> During his visit Monday, Clinton laid a wreath at a soldiers' memorial, spoke with a small group of college students over a lunch of tabbouleh and skewered chicken, and slipped out to a jazz club with President Petar Stoyanov. During his visit to Kosovo, Clinton is to meet military commanders, opposition leaders and American troops, and is expected to urge the Albanians of Kosovo to set aside revenge as they rebuild after the war. It will be the president's first trip to Kosovo. </P>

<P> "I think it's very important that Kosovo, in effect, not become the mirror image of Serbia," he said in Bulgaria. </P>

<P> During his speech, the president held out the possibility of NATO membership for Bulgaria in the coming years and thanked the nation for allowing the

alliance's jets to streak over Sofia during the air campaign in Kosovo. "You stood with NATO," the president said. "I know it was very hard for you to do." </P>

<P> But most of all, Clinton's visit was designed to leave a measure of hope in a country still struggling with the difficult transition from dictatorship to democracy. </P>

<P> "I ask you to remember what you left behind," said Clinton, standing before the majestic, gold-domed cathedral. "A police state with no room for disappointment, because there was no hope for improvement. When nobody felt left behind because no one was allowed to get ahead. When there were no dreams and some Bulgarians were even robbed of their very identities, forced to change their names." </P>

<P> The border with Yugoslavia lies just 30 miles to the east of Bulgaria's capital, so close that a handful of NATO bombs that veered off course actually landed here. </P>

<P> The sanctions against Yugoslavia, a onetime trading partner, have had a crippling effect on Bulgaria's economy, which already suffered from a steep drop in living standards and the high inflation that followed the Soviet era, a period when Bulgaria was one of the most Stalinist of the East Bloc countries. American support is considered all important to the people here, where jobs are difficult to come by, salaries are low, and gray cement-block architecture stands as a reminder of a communist system that left little room for initiative. Clinton did not bring any big offers of aid, but he talked of a continued partnership with Bulgaria. </P>

<P> "Most of the people living here are desperate with the economic situation," said Ognyan Minchev, director of the Institute for Regional and International Studies in Sofia. "This visit is a sign of hope." </P>

<P> That is how Snezhana Popova saw it. </P>

<P> She stood in the back of the crowd with two tiny flags in her hand, one American and one Bulgarian. Clinton's visit, she said, had to help make things better. </P>

<P> "It's very difficult to get a well-paying job here," she said. "The salaries are very low here." </P>

<P> The remark that most encouraged her came midway through Clinton's speech when he talked of plans to encourage more U.S. companies to do business in Bulgaria and, speaking to the cameras, urged investors to come to what he called

"a wonderful country." </P>

<P> Bulgaria is making a push for entry into the European Union, an effort Clinton said ought to come to fruition one day. In closed meetings with Stoyanov and Prime Minister Ivan Kostov, Clinton discussed Bulgaria's effort to downsize and modernize its Soviet-era military, among other issues. </P>

<P> As he encouraged Bulgarians to continue their reform efforts, the president reminded them of the long road the United States had traveled to get democracy right. He said it had taken America more than two centuries "to overcome slavery and civil war, depressions and world wars, discrimination against women and ethnic and religious minorities." </P>

<P> Bulgaria was allied with the Germans in both world wars, but it came to the aid of its Jews when the Nazis tried to send them to concentration camps. Today, the country has a legacy of religious and ethnic tolerance that Clinton singled out for praise. </P>

<P> "We must help all of southeastern Europe choose freedom and tolerance and community," he said. "We must give all the people in this region a unifying magnet that is stronger than the pull of old hatreds that has threatened to tear them apart over and over again." </P>

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<P>Philadelphia Inquirer

November 23, 1999</P>

<P>In Kosovo, Clinton Will Urge An End To Ethnic Hatred, Reprisals</P>

<I><P>Finishing his 10-day European trip, the President also planned to share a Thanksgiving dinner with U.S. troops. </P>

</I><P>By Steven Thomma, Inquirer Washington Bureau </P>

<P> SOFIA, Bulgaria - On the eve of a visit to war-ravaged Kosovo, President Clinton said yesterday that he would urge ethnic Albanians to set aside their hatred, and cease their violent reprisals against the Serbs who once oppressed them. </P>

<P> Clinton will find that Kosovo is a province where many ethnic Albanians have become the oppressors and where half of the Serbs have fled since NATO's 78-day bombing campaign to end Yugoslavia's brutal crackdown. </P>

<P> "I will make a very strong statement about everyone getting over this ethnic hatred and beyond it," Clinton said in Bulgaria, where he thanked the people of that nation for their support of NATO in the air war against Yugoslavia. "It's very important that Kosovo not become the mirror image of Serbia. It's hard not to, but it's important not to." </P>

<P> Kosovo is the final stop of Clinton's 10-day European trip, and he will use the visit to share an early Thanksgiving dinner with some of the 6,000 U.S. peacekeeping troops there. He also planned to meet with the political director of the Kosovo Liberation Army and the bishop of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Kosovo. </P>

<P> In Belgrade, Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic's ruling party said the visit was Clinton's "return to the scene of the crime," referring to NATO's bombing campaign in Kosovo, which is a province of Serbia, the dominant republic of Yugoslavia. </P>

<P> Clinton's trip to Bulgaria was the first state visit by an American president. He thanked the Bulgarians for standing with NATO against neighboring Yugoslavia, which it was bound to by religious, cultural and trade links. </P>

<P> "You stood with NATO. I know it was very hard for you to do," Clinton told a cheering audience of 30,000 or so in Nevski Square in Sofia, the capital. </P>

<P> Earlier, Clinton announced \$96.7 million in aid to the former Soviet satellite, including grants and loans aimed at making up for the economic hardships suffered when the country acceded to Western demands, and cut trade with Yugoslavia, one of its biggest trading partners. </P>

<P> "We are committed to supporting Bulgaria over the long run, economically, politically, militarily," Clinton told reporters. </P>

<P> He offered encouraging words for Bulgaria's campaign for NATO membership, which promises Western security protection against any threat from Moscow. </P>

<P> During the NATO campaign against Yugoslavia, Bulgaria permitted U.S. and allied warplanes to fly over its territory. </P>

<P> Now that the Serbian military has been forced from Kosovo, leaving the province's Serbian minority unprotected, some ethnic Albanians have responded with what White House national security adviser Samuel R. Berger called "ethnic revenge." </P>

<P> Serbs have been beaten, kidnapped and murdered. Some Serbian villages have been hit with grenades. The only Serbian high school remains closed. </P>

<P> While condemning the reprisals, Clinton's senior advisers suggested that they understood the hatred behind them. </P>

<P> "Anyone who saw the way the refugees - some 800,000 - were unceremoniously dumped out of railroad cars into the mud on the borders . . . understood there was going to be a real problem trying to reconcile Serbs and Albanians after that," said Chris Hill, the White House National Security Council's senior director for Southeastern Europe and a former U.S. diplomat in the Balkans. </P>

<P> Berger echoed that sentiment. Nonetheless, he said, Clinton will tell the ethnic Albanians that "you've got to put that aside. You can be consumed by it, or you can go on and build a future for yourself and your children that is different from the past." </P>

<P> Clinton also will meet with the German commander of the United Nations force that controls Kosovo, Gen. Klaus Reinhardt. The U.N. force, which includes the American soldiers, has recently shifted its deployment of troops to better patrol areas where Serbs live. </P>

<I><P>This article contains information from the Associated Press.</P></I>

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<P>Washington Post

November 23, 1999

Pg. 20</P>

<P>Barricade Dismantled In Kosovo</P>

<P> ORAHOVAC, Yugoslavia--Easing a three-month standoff, anti-Russian protesters dismantled parts of a barricade surrounding this Kosovo town, allowing free passage on most roads for much-needed humanitarian aid.</P>

<P> Dozens of people knocked down tents and pushed trees, trucks and tractors off the road leading to Orahovac, which had been blocked to protest NATO's decision to station Russian forces in the southern town.</P>

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<P>Christian Science Monitor

November 23, 1999

Pg. 8</P>

<P>Navigating Through Kosovo's Chaos</P>

<I><P>Amid power outages, traffic jams, and constant remind
ers of war, ethnic Albanians try to rebuild their communities.</P>

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

<P> The first whiff of the chaos inside Kosovo strikes as you approach the
border. One moment you're enjoying a scenic drive from Skopje, the Macedonian c
apital, on a road that snakes through stunning mountain valleys. In the next, y
our taxi is the latest appendage to a two-mile-long traffic jam.</P>

<P> Word spreads that the wait is six to eight hours. So you pay the taxi d
river and walk to the other side, where dozens of taxis wait. The vast clearing
on the left was once the notorious Blace refugee camp. From here, this past sp
ring, CNN broadcast dramatic images of exiled Albanians struggling in the rain
and the mud for bread.</P>

<P> To your right, the vehicles are a who's who of the players in Kosovo to
day: NATO Humvees and jeeps; humanitarian officials in four-wheel drives; truck

s laden with dry goods or relief supplies; and Albanians smuggling in Mercedes and Volkswagen Golfs. </P>

<P> "You could really blame anyone in this situation," says one exasperated British officer, surveying the scene from his jeep. "NATO, the Macedonians, stupid drivers, anyone." </P>

<P> The finger-pointing intensifies once inside Kosovo. </P>

<P> Five months after NATO air strikes halted Serbian "ethnic cleansing," the place is a mess. Still legally the southern province of Yugoslavia, it is now a UN protectorate. But it's wracked with violent crime, lawlessness, and revenge killings of Serbs, plagued with daily power and water outages, and saddled with 70 percent unemployment. A tour of the province also reveals a landscape scarred with mass graves and land mines, and littered with burned homes and businesses. </P>

<P> Yet those are only the most visible signs of a war-torn society. On top of that, the UN must transform a political and economic system that was rooted in four decades of Communism. </P>

<P> Kosovo today is more an exercise in colony-building, a task of a magnitude that critics say has overwhelmed the UN Mission in Kosovo. They also point to poor relations among the Kosovo Albanians, UNMIK, and the fleet of international humanitarian organizations pitching in. </P>

<P> "The UN is trying to manage an unmanageable situation," says a relief worker. "But ... there ought to be a vision of how to minimize losses and maximize results. There isn't one. So there's this vicious cycle where no one has identified a point where it can be broken." </P>

<P> The locals, however, aren't complaining as loudly. Among the 1.8 million Kosovo Albanians in the province there is an air of liberation. "It's only since the Serbs left that I realize how bad life was," says journalist Ardian Arifaj. "Just the other day I was driving near where there used to be a Serb checkpoint, and this old panic came back to me. You never knew if they'd let you pass, or arrest you or beat you. Now I have to remind myself: It's over." </P>

<P> And life is slowly returning to normal. In Pristina, an Albanian-language "Hamlet" premiered this month; a few weeks earlier, "Mr. and Miss Kosovo" were crowned. In every village, one finds the Albanian flag - the black-on-red, double-headed eagle - fluttering from a number of bombed-out homes. This signifies that a new roof, a new home, is being built. </P>

<P> But it is the plight of the Serbs who remain that now receives the most

attention here. Their community of some 200,000 is down to tens of thousands, generally the elderly. It is said that those who believed they were guilty of something left before the Albanian refugees returned in June. Others, who say they had nothing to do with the forced evacuations, stayed behind. </P>

<P> Many Serbs were killed in the first few weeks, after Albanian refugees returned. The rate has now dropped to one murder per day, UN police say. The continuing violence against Serbs has led to increasingly strident condemnations by Western officials.</P>

<P> The West went to war with Yugoslavia in the name of "human rights," and has invested its reputation in Kosovo. But some analysts here wonder if the drive to maintain a "multiethnic society" is distracting the international community, when what existed here before was more apartheid-like than harmonious.</P>

<P> "At least you can have multiethnic as the ideal," says Bryan Hopkinson, local director for the Brussels-based think tank International Crisis Group. "But the focus should be on building structures that will work versus institutions that may not work. They didn't live here hand in hand, like in Bosnia, but more side by side ... You can't simply graft America's Constitution of 1776 and expect Albanians to live under it."</P>

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<P>New York Times

November 23, 1999</P>

<U><P>Stari Trg Journal</P>

</U><P>A Battered Kosovo Village The West Forgot To Help</P>

<P>By Steven Erlanger</P>

<P> STARI TRG, Yugoslavia -- Bairam Bala stood on the concrete foundations of what was once his house, surrounded by ragged edges of shelled and collapsed walls, near the burned and rusted remnants of his belongings that were gathered neatly in a pile for some Westerner, who will never come, to inventory and make good his losses. </P>

<P> Myftar Haxha has his own wretched pile of post-tragedy trash, and so does Behram Mernica. They walk forlornly around the twisted remains of washing machines and ovens, television sets and tool kits, lamps and bedsprings, as Kosovo's winter closes in. </P>

<P> They have lost everything, they say, and that is indisputable. Their ultimately victorious fight against the Serbs, in this utterly devastated little village, began in the summer and autumn of 1998 when the Serbs began to attack the Kosovo Liberation Army in earnest. </P>

<P> This Albanian village -- the name means "old market" -- overlooks part of the Trepca mines, one of the few economically important sites in Kosovo. So it became strategic territory, and it was badly shelled. </P>

<P> What survived the fighting in 1998 was obliterated last April, after another Serbian offensive prompted a 78-day bombing war from NATO on behalf of Kosovo's ethnic Albanians. These men and their families fled to the surrounding hills -- only a few left Kosovo -- and returned in July to this blasted landscape, where their fathers had lived before them. </P>

<P> President Clinton is to visit Kosovo on Tuesday to celebrate Thanksgiving with American soldiers at their huge, fortified base at Camp Bondsteel. But having won the war to save people like those in Stari Trg, the West is moving slowly to consolidate the peace and to help them rebuild their lives. </P>

<P> "We lost everything and we have nowhere else to go," said Haxha, rubbing his long stubble on a face that looks 70, not 58. "Look down there," he said pointing to a shattered wall marked by smoke. "This was my land and my house. I

had a good house. I had 100,000 marks invested here," some \$55,500 at today's exchange rate. </P>

<P> There were 30 houses here; all of them are destroyed. Only five families live here now, Bala said. The rest, for the moment, are scattered in other villages, or they are imprisoned or dead. Of the approximately 250 people who lived here two years ago, at least 12 have been killed, Bala said, and two were arrested by the Serbian forces and have not returned. </P>

<P> In July, aid workers from the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees came by and provided a few tents, about 13 feet square, to keep off the rain, and people moved in. But the tents cannot be heated. </P>

<P> And now it's too cold, and there has been no other visitor to provide them with the single warm room that the world has promised them, let alone a winterized tent, so they have gone to squat in an office building across the way. Now the Serbs don't frighten them, Bala said, as much as the thought of eviction. </P>

<P> "I'd be happier here in a better tent than in the office," Bala said. "I'm afraid every day they will throw us out. It is an official place. It's not for family living -- it's all concrete." </P>

<P> He, like the others, says he will rebuild here, nowhere else, and he would like to have started by now. "If those foreign organizations had helped us, we could have rebuilt this year," he said. "We thought they would help with timber and roof tiles. But now they say they will help us in the spring." </P>

<P> No one offered them much after July, Haxha said. </P>

<P> "They said everyone would have one warm room for the winter, and we don't have one," Haxha said. He has six children, two here and four in Germany. "They can't send me money, because there is no bank," he said. "I'm waiting for them to come. But Germany wants to throw them out." Now that the war is over, Berlin and other European capitals are eager to send the ethnic Albanian refugees home. </P>

<P> In Pristina, senior U.N. refugee officials were upset to hear that no one had revisited Stari Trg, and they promised to do so. They were relieved that the families had found their own shelter, however uncomfortable, and said that no one would turn them out. </P>

<P> The officials pointed to the progress they had made in providing emergency shelter for so many thousands, and all the obstacles they had overcome, from clogged borders and production delays to late financing from governments. Som

e 80 percent of the U.N. refugee agency's 16,000 emergency kits, mostly roof-quality plastic sheeting and stoves, has been delivered, they said, though other organizations were slower. </P>

<P> "This will be a hard winter," said Dennis McNamara, the refugee agency's director here, but he promised that no one in Kosovo would freeze to death this winter. But many thousands, like the people of Stari Trg, will have to fend for themselves. </P>

<P> Bala displayed his pile of rusted rubbish. "Everything I had I put here," he said, showing the broken plates, the melted pipes, the charred alarm clock, and the tool box with his ruined tools, which he used when he worked as an electrician at the mine. </P>

<P> "I heard we should write down what we lost," Bala said forlornly, idly picking up the rusted runner of what had been a child's sled. "But I thought it's better for someone to see it." He paused, and then said: "Of course, all the wooden furniture is lost. And I think they stole the television -- I couldn't find any parts of it." </P>

<P> He paused again. "But no one came to see. They gave us a paper in July to write down damage, but nothing happened." </P>

<P> He sobbed once, briefly, and then recovered his dignity. "I couldn't even save the spoons." </P>

<P> Bala, who has four children, then gestured to some nearby ruins. "From this house, only one woman survived," he said. "Her husband, son and daughter were killed. So we should be happy we are alive." </P>

<P> Xheme Maksuti, nearly 70, was killed in the shelling. His son Ilaz, 35, and his daughter, Saba, 22, were shot to death by the Serbs as they tried to run away, Bala said. Only Naile Maksuti, 64, survived, he said, but he does not know where she is. </P>

<P> Workers from a local charity, the Mother Teresa Society, bring the people of Stari Trg packets of food from time to time, with beans, pasta and other nutritious foods originally donated by Western and U.N. agencies. And they have promised to provide a stove for the office. </P>

<P> Haxha walked in a tight circle, rubbing the moisture from his stubble. "How many promises did they make us before we returned?" he asked bitterly. "If they piled them all up, it would make us four-story houses." </P>

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<P>Philadelphia Inquirer

November 23, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>For Refugees In Kosovo, Aid Is At A Trickle</P>

<I><P>Poor planning, bureaucracy, and Macedonia's slowing o
f aid trucks spell trouble for about 300,000 homeless. </P>

</I><P>By Jeffrey Fleishman, Inquirer Staff Writer</P>

<P> DRENICA, Yugoslavia -The ruins of war are the only shelter this winter
for about 300,000 homeless Kosovars, as the task of shielding them from hunger,
disease and bitter cold is overwhelming the United Nations and dozens of human
itarian organizations. </P>

<P> Poor planning, bureaucracy, and the bottling up of thousands of aid tru
cks at the narrow border with Macedonia are leaving the international community
ill-prepared to help thousands of rural families. The situation is made worse
by severe lack of electricity and battered mountain roads that are, in some cas
es, nearly impassable. </P>

<P> "There are massive gaps in humanitarian assistance," John Fawcett of the International Crisis Group, a nongovernmental organization active in relief efforts, said. "We've tried to focus too wide rather than targeting those most at risk: sick grandmothers, children. The whole thing has been hit-and-miss, and the repercussion is that people will lose trust in the international community."

<P> "Everybody is late at getting the aid in," said Peter Kessler, spokesman for the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, which oversees relief efforts. "It won't be a humanitarian catastrophe, but this winter will be very hard."

<P> For Hamide Hysenaj and her seven children, it will be especially difficult. A broken hairbrush and an oil lamp are among the few things Hysenaj keeps in the cowshed she lives in with her children, who sleep beneath a roof cobbled together from branches, plastic, and a battered car hood.

<P> "I'm a widow," Hamide Hysenaj said, blowing on a wood fire in a cooking stove. "My husband died in the war. We sleep in our clothes. It is so cold. Winter is in the mountains. My children are sick, and scared to sleep because they think the roof will fall in. We thought there'd be help, but there is none."

<P> Kosovo's ravaged landscape presented enormous challenges to aid organizations that began arriving last June when NATO bombing defeated Yugoslav forces. Between 100,000 and 120,000 homes were destroyed or heavily damaged in 2,000 villages and towns. About 50,000 homes can be repaired, but not before the arrival of the Balkan winter's harsh snows.

<P> Electricity is sporadic, and blackouts hit large sections of the province for hours at a time. International officials fear that, if power grids are not repaired, tens of thousands of villagers will flood into already strained cities. The United Nations - which is opening 82 shelters across Kosovo - has estimated that as many as 40,000 families may be needed to provide shelter for nearly 280,000 people, or 17 percent of the province's 1.6 million people. Almost all are ethnic Albanians.

<P> "The homeless are going to have to live with relatives and friends," Kessler said. "Reconstruction is not possible. . . . There was a huge degree of devastation in the war, and then, within three months, 800,000 people returned home."

<P> Most of Hysenaj's last 18 months were spent hiding in the mountains from Serb forces. She buried her husband in a forest after he died of shrapnel wounds. Little was left when she and her children returned to their charred village of Obrija last July. With clothes and possessions destroyed, they moved into

one of the few buildings standing: the cowshed.</P>

<P> "All the war, we dreamed of coming home," Hysenaj's daughter, Hyra, said, listening to the wind moan through an iron stove, one of 11,000 handed out by relief agencies. "A lot of our relatives were killed. We saw the ugliest things. And now we're living in this place, inside another nightmare."</P>

<P> The Mother Teresa Society of Kosovo gave Hysenaj cooking oil, beans and flour. She laughed when someone asked when she had last eaten meat. The United Nations dropped off a tent and some plastic for the shed's roof. But these days, it is too cold for the tent, especially for Hysenaj's 9-year-old daughter, Shkendi, whose toes poke out from tattered shoes. Hysenaj's hands are raw from chopping firewood, and land mines keep her from venturing too far into the trees.</P>

<P> "We need food," she said. "We need a roof."</P>

<P> She has been waiting for both for months. The United Nations, along with the U.S. Agency for International Development, and the European Union's humanitarian agency, ECHO, have been slow to distribute kits for roofing and emergency housing repairs. By early November, the agencies had delivered slightly more than 50 percent of 57,100 emergency housing kits and only about 25 percent of their heavy-duty roofing kits. The rest are stuck in warehouses, and have yet to arrive in the province.</P>

<P> Part of the problem is the breadth of the disaster, reminiscent of the summer of 1998, when relief agencies were also overtaxed by 350,000 war refugees. Fawcett said the war's aftermath has left the region reeling, and, "in chaos, you don't try to manage things from the top down like these agencies are doing. You manage things from the ground up. There's just poor coordination from people in the field and people in the offices."</P>

<P> Perhaps the biggest setback, according to many international officials, is an almost-19-mile-long traffic jam at the Macedonian border. One U.N. official, who asked not to be named, said Macedonia is using its strategic border crossing at Blace to play politics with humanitarian aid.</P>

<P> "Macedonia is not being as efficient as it could be," Kessler said. "It can take one truck six days to cross the border. They're backed up for miles."</P>

<P> During last summer's NATO bombing, Macedonia - which has problems with its own restive ethnic Albanian population - crammed 300,000 Kosovars into squallid camps. Today, the country is levying a steep tax on trucks hauling canned foods, tents, blankets and medicine.</P>

<P> "Macedonia wants money," one Western official said. "They're charging a 200-deutsche-mark [\$106] road tax and fees on the percentage of goods. The West is really pressuring them [to loosen up the border]. Aid is urgently needed."

<P> Brahim Vrellaku has given up waiting for aid trucks to lumber down the muddy road to his mountain outpost. Tough and weathered, he fought with the Kosovo Liberation Army against Yugoslavia, and, with that same grittiness, he is building a home from the scattered bricks of bombed houses.</P>

<P> He spent his last \$600 for cement. </P>

<P> Mud-caked and blistered, Vrellaku and his friends have erected walls, but no roof, on a scrap of land covered with brown leaves, a few darting chickens, and one cow.</P>

<P> Vrellaku is caring for 10 people, including his mother, Bid, and his year-old niece, Leonora, who keeps warm by a cooking stove in the tent. They eat pumpkin seeds, noodles and bread. The night winds leave them freezing.</P>

<P> "If we don't get the materials for the roof, we'll all have to stay in the tent this winter," he said. "The aid agencies said they'd help, but they haven't shown up since they dropped off 50 kilos [110 pounds] of flour, 30 grams [one ounce] of sugar, and five kilos [11 pounds] of beans."</P>

<P> Vrellaku stood near a cement mixer churning beneath a steel-gray sky. He brushed dirt off of his All-Star sneakers, pulled his ripped coat tight, and predicted snow.</P>

<P> "You have to be strong here," he said. "You have to survive the winter like you survived the war. There's no place else to go."</P>

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<P>Washington Times

November 23, 1999</P>

<P>Reports That Iran Sold Scud Missiles Spur Investigation</P>

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

<P> The Clinton administration is investigating intelligence reports that Iran sold Scud missiles to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, official spokesmen said yesterday.</P>

<P> White House National Security Council spokesman Jim Fallin said the Clinton administration is aware of reports about the sale, first disclosed in yesterday's editions of The Washington Times, and is looking into them.</P>

<P> ``We're aware of the story and we take it seriously," Mr. Fallin said. ``We have no credible evidence that such a sale has occurred, but we are investigating it."</P>

<P> State Department spokesman James P. Rubin also expressed concerns about the missile sales, which were Iran's first exports of its homemade version of the Scud weapons system.</P>

<P> ``We have had concerns about arms sales to the region for some time," Mr. Rubin said in response to questions about The Times' report.</P>

<P> ``We continue to have concerns about provision of military assistance to the regime in Congo," he said. ``We take very seriously all reports of transfers of proliferation concern. And we'll be following vigorously various reports, and taking appropriate action, when there is evidence that these transfers of concern have taken place."</P>

<P> He declined to comment further, citing a policy of not commenting on i

ntelligence information.</P>

<P> Pentagon spokesman Kenneth Bacon declined to comment. A senior administration official said later that U.S. intelligence agencies disagree over intelligence reports about the missile transfer.</P>

<P> The CIA believes the transfer has not yet occurred. Pentagon intelligence agencies, on the other hand, were the first to report the exports and believe they have taken place already, the official said.</P>

<P> U.S. officials said the Iranian missile sale included the first exports of Scud B and Scud C short-range ballistic missiles manufactured in Iran.</P>

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<P> The officials said the reports had identified a group of Iranian military officials who are in Kinshasa, the capital of the central African nation formerly known as Zaire, to assemble the Scuds, which were transported there over the past several months.</P>

<P> The sale has raised worries among national security officials that Iran will export its new longer-range missile, the Shahab-3, which was tested for the first time last year.</P>

<P> The Shahab-3 has a range of between 620 miles and 700 miles and was built with help from Russia, China and North Korea.</P>

<P> Officials identified the exports to Congo as Scud Bs and Scud Cs. Scud B's are Russian-design short-range missiles with a range of about 187 miles. The Scud C is a longer-range version with a range of about 300 miles.</P>

<P> Intelligence analysts do not know why the government of Congolese President Laurent Kabila is buying the Scuds, which were used against U.S. troops in the 1991 Persian Gulf War. However, the most likely explanation offered by officials is that the missiles will be used against anti-Kabila rebels operating in the Congo.</P>

<P> A civil war has been under way in Congo since last year. Two factions of Congolese rebels, with backing by neighboring Rwanda and Uganda, are fighting government forces in the country.</P>

<P> Kenneth Timmerman, editor of the Middle East Data Project, which focuses on Iranian affairs, said it would be a major blow to U.S. government efforts to block missile sales if the sale is confirmed.</P>

<P> ``What's significant is that Iran has now become a proliferator in its own right, and all of the efforts to block Iran's acquisition of missile technology have clearly failed," Mr. Timmerman said in an interview.</P>

<P> ``It clearly shows we are going to be facing a much greater missile proliferation problem than this administration would have us believe," he said.</P>

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<P>New York Times

November 23, 1999</P>

<P>Iraq: Allies Attack </P>

<P> Officials said allied warplanes injured 10 "citizens" in attacks in southern Iraq. Navy jets struck a missile site near An Najaf, 85 miles south of Baghdad, but Pentagon officials said they had no confirmation of casualties. American jets also attacked air defenses in northern Iraq. </P>

<P>--Steven Lee Myers (NYT)</P>

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<P>New York Times

November 23, 1999</P>

<P>Iran, Iraq: Frontier Reopens </P>

<P> The sole frontier crossing between Iran and Iraq has reopened for the first time in nearly a year, allowing Iranian pilgrims to visit Shiite Muslim holy sites. About 3,000 people a week are expected to visit the holy cities of Najaf, Kerbala, Samarra and Kazimiya. </P>

<P>--(Agence France-Presse)</P>

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<P>London Times

November 23, 1999</P>

<P>US Insists On Nato Priority Over EU Force</P>

<P>By Michael Evans, Defence Editor </P>

<P> AMERICA is insisting that Nato must be given "the right of first refusal" to intervene in any future humanitarian crisis in Europe, to block the European Union from launching a military operation without consulting Washington. </P>

<P> Despite reassurances, particularly from London, that the European plan to form an "autonomous" defence capability presents no threat to Nato, the United States still has doubts about a hidden agenda in Brussels, according to senior US sources yesterday. </P>

<P> In the lead-up to three key European meetings which will focus on the EU's developing security and defence identity, US officials emphasised that, although Washington was far less worried about Europe's military ambitions than it was a few months ago, there were still key points that were causing misgivings. </P>

<P> The three meetings are the Anglo-French summit in London on Thursday, which will develop agreements on defence sharing begun in St Malo a year ago; a Western European Union ministerial session in Luxembourg ending today that will study a recently completed audit of Europe's military capabilities; and an EU summit in Helsinki on December 10 that will make crucial decisions about possible future European-only operations. </P>

<P> The American sources said that one of the principal areas to be resolved

d was the question of "sequencing" the order in which decisions would be made to send a European force on a mission without the involvement of US troops. </P>
>

<P> Washington's argument is that, since the European security and defence identity is supposed to be complementary to Nato and not in competition with the alliance, the first discussions about any potential military operation should be held within Nato. "Even if Washington then decides not to send troops, we still want to be involved in the decision-making process from the beginning," one American source said. "In undiplomatic language, that means Nato should have the right of first refusal," the source said. </P>

<P> The Americans remain convinced, however, that the French, in particular, will fight against that, because they will see it as Washington's way of keeping control of all future military operations. </P>

<P> The US official said that "sequencing" was crucial because at the Nato summit in Washington in April it was agreed that the EU would have "presumed access to Nato assets" in the event of a military operation not involving US troops. </P>

<P> The EU summit in Cologne in June caused panic in Washington because the careful language adopted by the Nato meeting in April was not reflected in the EU communiqué, which referred only to an "autonomous" security and defence policy. The American official said: "If the EU's summit in Helsinki next month is about autonomy and not sequencing, then we're going to have a hard time." </P>

<P> Foreign Office officials made clear yesterday that, as far as Britain and the rest of the EU were concerned, the Union's plans for running its own military capabilities would be "Nato-supportive and Nato-friendly". </P>

<P> The Helsinki summit, they said, would for the first time set down the "headline goals" for all 15 member states, outlining the role expected of them if there was a crisis requiring a humanitarian, peacekeeping or peace enforcement operation. </P>

<P> Under present proposals, the EU wants to be able to deploy a "corps-size" force (about 40,000 troops) for up to two years, with some of the units ready to go within 48 hours. </P>

<P> The Foreign Office officials admitted this would not be possible for several years, because many European members of Nato did not have rapidly deployable forces and there were serious gaps in capability, such as strategic airlift. </P>

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<P>London Daily Telegraph

November 23, 1999</P>

<P>French Army Chief Rejects Washington's Fears Of A Nato Split
</P>

<P>By Carey Schofield</P>

<P> The French chief of defence staff, Gen Jean-Pierre Kelche, has rejected allegations that France is trying to break up Nato, insisting that the alliance remains the ultimate bulwark against threats to Europe's security.</P>

<P> Responding to recent alarm in Washington about French attitudes to the alliance and military co-operation with the Pentagon, the general insisted that all the efforts to strengthen European defence capabilities had been undertaken in collaboration with Nato.</P>

<P> France's senior soldier pointed out that America had repeatedly urged the European Nato members to do more to defend the continent. But there was a contradiction, he said, between getting the Europeans to increase spending and insisting on American leadership of the alliance.</P>

<P> "Certain congressmen would like strategic functions to be undertaken by the United States, while the Europeans, below, provide the troops," he said. He is convinced that responsibilities should be shared differently. "If Europe wants to be capable of conducting an autonomous operation, it must have its own capabilities up to and including the strategic level."</P>

<P> Gen Kelche added that Britain was well placed to influence American thinking. "It's important to explain to your American friends that this endeavour is not directed against them."</P>

<P> Britain and France were working well together, he said. He dismissed the suggestion that British beef might disrupt the harmony. "The beef war is temporary. But the stakes, as far as the future of European defence are concerned, are anything but ephemeral. What we have achieved in the political field should also be possible in terms of defence. When Britain joins the euro, in a few years, all will be well."</P>

<P> The general said that he could not comprehend the hostility of some in Britain to European defence. "It is an inter-governmental responsibility," he said. "We do not intend to transfer political responsibility to the [European] commission. National sovereignty is a touchy subject here too, and if we felt that we were losing our freedom of action this initiative would have got nowhere with the French."</P>

<P> Gen Kelche waved aside the question of exactly how the European Union and Nato would work together but repeatedly stressed his ambition for European defence. "The world's leading economic power must, in the medium-term, become capable of intervening in a crisis, either with the US or independently."</P>

<P> For all the general's reassurances about the transatlantic relationship, it emerges as he talks that American concerns over European defence are overshadowed by French alarm at Washington's plan for a "son-of-Star Wars" national missile defence system.</P>

<P> "This project destabilises the present situation. By questioning the ABM Treaty, we are moving directly from non-proliferation to counter-proliferation," he said. "But where are the potential aggressors? Why should rogue states not be persuaded by the logic of deterrence? What level of protection would be offered, and could it be bypassed?"</P>

<P> "Might this system not trigger a new arms race, raising the risk of proliferation in unstable regions of the world? Will this increase global defence spending, or will it replace other programmes?"</P>

<P> "We would like this project to be studied quietly, and without any premature decisions. But it concerns the whole world."</P>


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<P>New York Times

November 23, 1999</P>

<P>Panama: U.S. Base Handover </P>

<P> The last remaining United States military base in Panama, Fort Clayton, will be handed over to Panama on Nov. 30, officials said. It will be transformed into an industrial, residential and educational complex. Control of the canal passes to Panama on Dec. 31. </P>

<P>--(Agence France-Presse) </P>

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<P>Los Angeles Times

November 23, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>U.S. Tries To Plug Computer Worker Drain </P>

<P>By Elizabeth Shogren, Times Staff Writer</P>

<P> WASHINGTON--When Lee Futterfield ended a 20-year Air Force career to launch a start-up computer company, he took eight young information technology specialists with him.</P>

<P> By the time he sold the company last year for \$124 million, roughly half of his 72 staffers had been hired directly from the military or other federal agencies. And now, as he builds his second start-up, he is luring dozens more computer personnel away from the government.</P>

<P> Futterfield is just one of thousands of private-sector employers who are contributing to an increasingly troublesome personnel crisis for federal officials. While the government has been plagued by a shortage of computer professionals for years, the brain drain has been exacerbated by the continuing high-tech boom and, more recently, the Internet explosion and 2000 bug.</P>

<P> "Retention has always been a problem, but nowadays it's probably the worst it's ever been," said Futterfield, 48. "We're one of the companies hiring them away as fast as we can."</P>

<P> Alarmed by the continuing loss of personnel, the chief information offi

cers of various federal agencies are desperately seeking ways to attract technological talent. President Clinton is even pressing Congress to create an ROTC-like program for computer geeks, to cover college costs in exchange for a four-year commitment to join the government "cyber corps."

Although there is no official tally of computer professionals in the civilian branches of the federal government, the Air Force alone, the most technology-intensive of the military services, has more than 60,000 computer professionals, including enlisted personnel, officers and civilians.

In some branches of the government, including the Air Force, top officials fear the shortfall will soon hurt operations. And intelligence officials are concerned that unless the problem is addressed, the security of the government's computer networks may be compromised.

"There is a shortage of talent, and the talent available went to Y2K," complained Gloria Parker, chief information officer for the Department of Housing and Urban Development and co-chairwoman of the work force committee of the federal Chief Information Officers Council.

The White House has commissioned a study to explore the scope of the shortfall, but the results will not be ready until next year. In the meantime, officials say it appears the government needs a quarter to a third more technology personnel than it currently has.

"It's more than just anecdotal; I think that we're in a crisis," said George Milaski, the Department of Transportation's chief information officer.

Officials say the problem is particularly acute in the military, where salaries are lower and working conditions are often more difficult.

Air Force Gen. William J. Donahue said the service has avoided serious problems so far by calling on computer staffers to work longer hours and assigning junior personnel to higher-level tasks.

"You've got some very junior people out there on the front lines," said Donahue, who manages the Air Force's information technology professionals. "I don't know how long [we] can continue to endure this kind of stress before it starts taking a huge toll. . . . It's a very serious problem."

Aboard the San Diego-based aircraft carrier John C. Stennis, the problem of retaining computer technicians has reached the point that Pacific Fleet commanders are considering a request to hire civilian tech workers for six-month deployments on the Stennis and other ships.

<P> "Many of these kids are making, what, \$20,000 a year?" Cmdr. Bruce Acton, one of the Stennis' top computer officers, said in an interview as the carrier conducted a recent training cruise. "When it comes time for reenlistment, I can offer them \$22,000 and another four years at sea away from their families. Or they can go into the private sector and make \$45,000 to \$50,000. It's not a hard choice for them."</P>

<P> The federal government is not alone. In California, state agencies have a "significant problem" in recruiting and retaining people with up-to-date computer skills, said Peter Strom, chief of policy and operations for the California Department of Personnel Administration.</P>

<P> The state is now instituting salary increases of 10% to 20% above base pay for people with current skills, plus an additional 5% for those located in the Bay Area because of the lure of Silicon Valley start-ups.</P>

<P> The flight of computer personnel to the private sector has been fueled in part by the Y2K remediation effort, which involves reprogramming computers so they will not mistake the year 2000 for 1900. Experts say a huge number of government computer specialists have taken lucrative jobs making computers Y2K-compliant.</P>

<P> "A lot of the existing talent has gone to Y2K remediation," said Andrew Efsthathiou, a senior analyst at the Yankee Group, a Boston-based technology consulting firm. "There has been a real drain on talent."</P>

<P> Unable to fill the ranks of its own computer corps, the government increasingly is turning to private contractors to handle its information technology needs.</P>

<P> The practice has strengths and weaknesses. By using contract workers, the government has access to current technology without the need to constantly retrain its own staff. But the costs per worker are much higher, and intelligence officials worry that contracting out puts the security of the government's computer networks at risk.</P>

<P> "The current system is not a good model for information security," said Mark Montgomery, director of critical infrastructure protection at the White House's National Security Council. "We're trying to develop a system so you don't have to contract out for management and security administration of our information technology networks. It creates a more secure environment if we hire and train our own workers."</P>

<P> White House officials say the president is deeply concerned about the p

problem. He is urging Congress to allocate nearly \$17 million to cover the college costs of 300 graduate and undergraduate students per year in exchange for a promise they will work as government computer personnel for four years after graduation. Congress has yet to embrace the proposal.</P>

<P> But attracting new talent is complicated. Since the government lacks workers with the latest training, its systems tend to be behind the curve. And because the technology is outdated, the work is less attractive to younger computer professionals who put a high priority on keeping their skills current.</P>

<P> That was one of the reasons that Dwayne Williams, 28, a specialist in network security, left the Air Force to join Futterfield's latest company, San Antonio-based SecureLogix Corp. More independence on the job, greater control of his work schedule and higher compensation were other reasons Williams cited.</P>

<P> "It all boiled down to better opportunities for myself and family," said Williams, who left his posting at Shaw Air Force Base in South Carolina in April. "We had a stream of people walking out the door. The Air Force is really having a lot of difficulty hanging on to people."</P>

<I><P>Times staff writer Tony Perry in San Diego contributed to this story.</P></I>

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<P>USA Today

November 23, 1999

Pg. 9</P>

<P>Apache Copters</P>

<P> The Army is hastening replacement of motor bearings on its Apache attack helicopters in order to return the fleet to service by early summer. It had expected as many as half of the 743 Boeing-built AH-64 helicopters to be grounded for up to a year. Dozens of the copters have been returned to service since the Army said on Nov. 5 that many had bad tail rotor bearings. A crash in January at Fort Rucker, Ala., that killed two crewmen was blamed on bad bearings.</P>

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<P>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

November 23, 1999</P>

<P>Marine Goes To Federal Court To Challenge Anthrax Vaccine </P>

<P>By Robert Dvorchak, Post-Gazette Staff Writer </P>

<P> The Pentagon's anthrax vaccine went on trial yesterday in federal court. The military contended it is safe, but a Marine disagreed, arguing to remain close to his sick mother while he seeks a hardship discharge.</P>

<P> Pfc. James M. O'Neil, who received three of the six anthrax shots earlier this year, has gone to court after the Marine Corps denied his request to release him from the 20 months left on his service.</P>

<P> Although he has not been sickened by the mandatory anthrax shots, his mother is so worried sick about the integrity of the program that her doctor said she will likely die if her son stays in the service.</P>

<P> The government, in a brief filed by Cmdr. John A. Maksym of the U.S. Navy Judge Advocate General's office, contended that the mother's anxiety, panic attacks and depression are due to "self-deprivation and neglect."</P>

<P> The case will resume at 10 a.m. on Dec. 2 before U.S. District Court Judge Donald Ziegler. Ziegler has been asked to issue a preliminary injunction to block O'Neil's transfer from a unit in McKeesport to Quantico, Va.</P>

<P> O'Neil, 22, of Rochester Mills, Indiana County, argued that he is needed at home to care for his sick mother, Martha, and should not report. Ziegler has already issued a temporary restraining order against the transfer.</P>

<P> Attorneys for both sides said the anthrax program is at the heart of the case. Maksym called it a "cause celebre." O'Neil's attorney, Louis Font of Boston, said the vaccine and O'Neil's request are "inextricably interwound."</P>

<P> Lt. Cmdr. Celia Quivers, the program manager for the Navy's anthrax program, testified yesterday that the program is monitored and approved by the Food and Drug Administration.</P>

<P> Since January, 378,000 service members have taken 1.2 million injections. Only 17 were hospitalized after taking the shots, and five of them were diagnosed by a civilian oversight committee with having more serious adverse reactions.</P>

<P> But the O'Neils say the vaccination policy is morally wrong, citing FDA deficiency reports and reservations expressed by nine congressmen earlier this year at a series of hearings.</P>

<P> Martha O'Neil, who was unable to attend the hearing, has said her sympt

oms began shortly after her son received his third shot and believes her only chance for recovery rests with her son's discharge.</P>

<P> Her son agreed, saying before he testified yesterday that he sued "to save my mother's life by relieving the pain."</P>

<P> His father, James N. O'Neil, an Army veteran, also took the stand. He summarized his wife's condition by saying: "She's like I am. She's absolutely fearless, and this stuff scares us to death. I can't tell my wife this [vaccine] is safe."</P>

<P> O'Neil, a retired retailer who owns a beef and pheasant farm in Indiana County, said his family is loyal, patriotic and proud, but they are unwilling to be guinea pigs.</P>

<P> He blamed President Clinton for rushing into the inoculation program.</P>

<P> "A man who was not brave enough to be a soldier, who sold technology to the Chinese to raise money for his 1996 campaign, who perverted his office, is the man personally responsible for this anthrax hoax," said O'Neil, 50.</P>

<P> Anthrax is a bacterial disease that can be used as a germ warfare agent.</P>

<P> The Pentagon embarked on the program to protect the 2.4 million people in the military from a possible attack, saying it would be negligent not to protect them if it had the safe means to do so.</P>

<P> Any service member who refuses the shots is subject to military punishment, up to and including incarceration and a dishonorable discharge.</P>

<P> Military lawyers say the O'Neil case is about the ability of the armed forces to give lawful orders to its troops and whether volunteers must fulfill their commitment to the services.</P>

<P> A radio repairman who was stationed in Okinawa, Pfc. O'Neil is currently on leave and living at home. </P>

<P> He said his work week at the McKeesport unit increased from three days when he was on humanitarian status to five days after Ziegler issued his temporary restraining order.</P>

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<P>Honolulu Advertiser

November 21, 1999</P>

<P>No More Silent Running </P>

<P>By Mike Gordon, Advertiser Staff Writer</P>

<P> The submarine, torpedo smooth and black as midnight, sliced across the surface of the ocean like a giant steel shark.</P>

<P> Its engines hummed with nuclear power, and its belly carried enough weapons to level Honolulu, whose skyline sat a few miles off the bow.</P>

<P> The ocean surface is not where submarines like the USS Pasadena normally dwell. Their posture is more clandestine, their missions classified.</P>

<P> But these are troubled times for the Navys "silent service." Now even a routine trip off Oahu underscores a greater mission a public posture of self-preservation.</P>

<P> The reason: Attack submarines among the finest in the world are being

scrapped years ahead of schedule. Turned into razor blades, as submariners say.
</P>

<P> So, submarine admirals are speaking out as never before, publicly challenging a fleet reduction program that will cut by nearly 50 percent the number of submarines that operated during the Cold War.</P>

<P> The admirals are even encouraging commanders to pull back the traditional veil of secrecy and brag about what their crews can do and give tours while cruising 400 feet below the surface.</P>

<P> But above or below the sea, bragging about the Pasadena comes easy for Cmdr. Mark S. Ginda. Squatting on the roof of the "sail," Pasadenas highest point, Ginda grinned like a kid as the Pearl Harbor-based sub topped 20 knots.</P>

<P> "I have the best job in the world," the skipper shouted over the rush of wind and waves. "Its incredible. A billion dollar ship. The best ship in the world. I love it."</P>

<P> The Pasadena is one of 20 Los Angeles-class attack submarines stationed at Pearl Harbor as part of the U.S. Pacific Fleets submarine force. Subs dominate the Navy presence here there are only 13 surface ships at Pearl Harbor.</P>
>

<P> The Los Angeles-class submarine is a marvel of technology, capable of operating deeper than 800 feet and circling the globe 20 times without surfacing. They are fast and armed with torpedoes, Tomahawk cruise missiles and mines.</P>
>

<P> Although their mission has changed since the end of the Cold War, the Navy says subs like this are still vital to national security.</P>

<P> Instead of keeping track of the Soviet navy and its ballistic missiles, American submariners now engage primarily in intelligence-gathering missions. Crews have gone from shadowing a single, well-understood adversary to tracking the activities of scores of nations, many of them with rapidly shifting political leaderships and murky military objectives.</P>

<P> Although their exact missions or whereabouts are never disclosed, even to family members of the crew, submarines routinely prowl sea lanes and coastlines completely undetected. Crews easily eavesdrop on radio communications and monitor ship movements.</P>

<P> Navy sub admirals say these intelligence missions have doubled since the end of the Cold War.</P>

<P> Rear Adm. Albert Konetzni, the Pearl Harbor-based commander of the U.S. Pacific Fleet Submarine Force, has waged an 18-month crusade to stop the scheduled scrapping of submarines. In speeches, a color brochure and on a web page, Konetzni is sounding an SOS distress call "Save Our Submarines."</P>

<P> He told a group of influential Texas industrialists recently that the shrinking of his fleet size has created an unprecedented workload for submariners, one that is increasing at the expense of routine maintenance and port visits.</P>

<P> And national security is at stake, he said.</P>

<P> In the Pacific, where non-allied countries have 196 submarines, the U.S. Navy tries to keep an eye on several hot spots simultaneously: North Korea, China, Indonesia, Iran, Pakistan and Russia.</P>

<P> But earlier this year, Konetzni told the Texas group, his submarine fleet was forced to miss a key assignment that had never gone unpatrolled before: He had no attack submarine operating close enough to the Korean peninsula to respond in the event of trouble with North Korea.</P>

<P> Konetzni asked: "Are we inviting trouble by enjoying immediate savings which ultimately may cost us much more than money?"</P>

<P> Debate over numbers</P>

<P> The debate over the number of submarines began soon after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the subsequent breakup of the Soviet Union, whose navy once fielded a fleet of more than 200 attack submarines.</P>

<P> Analysts thought the world would be a more stable place. Since there would no longer be dozens of Soviet submarines to stalk, a pair of Defense Department studies concluded the Navy needed a much smaller submarine force.</P>

<P> In 1993, the "Bottom Up Review" analyzed a post-Cold War world and concluded that 45 to 55 U.S. attack submarines would be sufficient protection. It also recommended a production schedule that would help preserve the specialized shipyards that build submarines.</P>

<P> By 1997, the Defense Department published another study the "Quadrennial Defense Review" and set the number of submarines at 50. The review, mandated by Congress, sought to chart the course of U.S. defense policy for the next eight years.</P>

<P> But it also asked the Joint Chiefs of Staff to re-evaluate the number of submarines. Although the joint chiefs can't say when the report will be finished, Konetzni said it's more than a year overdue a delay that cuts him like a hacksaw on steel because the pace of scrapping submarines has not slackened in the interim.</P>

<P> The number of attack submarines dropped from a high of 98 in 1987 to 73 in 1997. Today, 56 remain.</P>

<P> When the fleet is cut to 50 by the year 2002, the Navy will be able to deploy 11 submarines at any time compared to 13 typically under way today.</P>

<P> Konetzni believes the joint chiefs are going to recommend 68 attack submarines to meet the "critical requirements" of the 21st century, and that's a force he can live with.</P>

<P> "In the Cold War, this sub force was sized for war," he said. "The subs can't stretch for peace."</P>

<P> Submariners are spending more time under way and underwater while on a six-month deployment, he said.</P>

<P> During the Cold War, Konetzni and his peers would spend 65 percent of their deployment submerged. But today, that level has changed to 85 percent, and during its recent deployment, the Pasadena pushed that figure to 90 percent.</P>

<P> At the same time, the number of days devoted to maintenance is falling, Konetzni said. Fleet maintenance manuals say 28 percent of deployed time should go to maintenance. In reality, it's less than half that, the admiral said.</P>

<P> "It is detrimental to our young people," Konetzni said. "It's not healthy. It ages ships quicker. If we use these ships up because we are running them without the right amount of maintenance, what am I doing for the security of this nation?"</P>

<P> It costs about \$12 million to \$15 million a year to operate an attack submarine. Konetzni said the early retirement of subs, which offered spare parts

, has produced a short-term savings for some active subs of about \$1 million annually.</P>

<P> Konezni wants Congress to give the Navy enough money to keep seven additional subs afloat. He said it would take about \$1.4 billion to refuel them and replace the reactor core in each one and thereby extend each to its full 33-year life span.</P>

<P> They would be around until 2018.</P>

<P> "I think it is appropriate to speak up about your pain," Konezni said. "It's not for my own aggrandizement. I don't get a bonus for buying more subs. It concerns me. Consequences? I don't think there will be any."</P>

<P> An all-male crew</P>

<P> Inside the Pasadena, the crew is too busy for politics.</P>

<P> "We don't get involved in policy," said Chief Gary Chadwell, who has served on submarines since 1988. "They just point and we go."</P>

<P> The all-male crew knows about work tempo, however. Since last November, it has been out of port for nearly eight months. After the Pasadena returned in May from a six-month deployment that kept it submerged most of the time, the crew left Pearl Harbor again three months later for a 56-day trip.</P>

<P> Commander Ginda, now in the control room, said he is spending more time at sea than at any point in his 17-year-career.</P>

<P> "We truly are busier than we've ever been," he said. "We ask a lot from great people. I asked a lot of this crew, to go back out after a deployment, to do it again. But if tasked again, we could do that."</P>

<P> All around Ginda, a dozen sailors focused on jobs that kept the Pasadena running smoothly on the surface.</P>

<P> Conversations were at a minimum, laughter almost non-existent. Their survival depends on the seriousness in this room. There is nowhere to run to in an emergency. They are sealed in a tube about the length of a football field.</P>

>

<P> The "officer of the deck," a tall man fiercely chewing gum, h
as his arms draped over the handles of a periscope. His right eye never left th
e eyepiece and he continually spun the scope 360 degrees, constantly searching
for clear sailing. Submariners call this "dancing with the one-eyed lady."&
quot;</P>

<P> Ginda said maintaining morale is one of his most important jobs.</P>

<P> "I need to be able to tell the guys that what they do is important
, " he said. "And sometimes, for security reasons, they wont know what
they do. We still handle the security of our operations very carefully."<
/P>

<P> Daily life underwater, can easily consume random thoughts, however.</P>

<P> Submariners live and work in spaces dominated by bundles of pipes, elec
trical wires and ceilings so low, there are pieces of hair and skin caught agai
nst screw heads. Every walkway seems shoulder wide.</P>

<P> For months, there is nothing to look at that isnt usually five or six f
eet away.</P>

<P> Crews shift from a 24-hour day to an 18-hour day split into even thirds
. Theyll get only six hours for sleeping or reading in a bunk that is slimmer t
han the average coffin, but comes with blue cotton drapes.</P>

<P> There are 117 bunks. Twelve temporary ones are available in the torpedo
room, where sailors can sleep beneath cruise missiles.</P>

<P> And the "weather" is always the same, they joke: 72 degrees a
nd fluorescent.</P>

<P> Ensign Paul DeMeyer, the Pasadenas supply officer, has spent most of hi
s 13-year Navy career inside submarines. He said its a hard life.</P>

<P> "You hear about people who miss the sunlight, but stuff like that
never bothers me," DeMeyer said. "We cant talk too much about deploym
ent stuff, but its the highest intensity."</P>

<P> Keeping strategic advantage</P>

<P> Critics maintain the U.S. Navy can still hold a strategic advantage even if it has 50 submarines.</P>

<P> Retired Navy Rear Adm. Eugene Carroll, now the deputy director of the Center for Defense Information, said the reduction is a sound idea, but questions why the Navy wants to go forward with the next generation of attack submarine the Virginia class.</P>

<P> "As we start building new submarines now, we will have to wipe out perfectly fine subs turn them into razor blades long before their service life is ended," said Carroll, who once commanded the aircraft carrier USS Midway.</P>

<P> "It is a huge waste of money," he said. "The new ones, each of them, will cost over \$2 billion per boat."</P>

<P> The Virginia class is the second replacement for the Los Angeles generation. Production of the first replacement, the Seawolf class, was curtailed when the Cold War ended. Three subs were authorized, however, and two are already built.</P>

<P> Two of the Virginia class also are on the way and they have support from the top. Secretary of the Navy Richard Danzig has said the Virginias are necessary to keep the U.S. sub builders in business.</P>

<P> James Bush, a retired Navy captain who served aboard four nuclear-powered attack submarines, said the Navy would rather build a new submarine than refuel one for one-fourth the cost.</P>

<P> By building new submarines, the people who make them are able to maintain their skills and the companies are able to retain those workers, he said.</P>

<P> "The submarine force wants to have new submarines for a lot of reasons," he said. "One of the most important reasons and one they cite all the time, is to keep the industrial capability to build them. If you are not building them, you lose the work force."</P>

<P> Bush proposes building a mix of submarines, including some of the older, diesel-powered class which do not have the ability to remain underwater indefinitely, but are cheaper.</P>

<P> "A lot of missions could be handled by less capable submarines," he said. "But they definitely don't want to go back to them."</P>

<P> Bush is surprised by the public posture of the sub admirals, especially Konetzni.</P>

<P> "He is trying to drum up support in the country as a whole when his bosses have said no," Bush said. "And that is a fairly dangerous thing for an admiral to do."</P>

<P> At home underwater</P>

<P> A Klaxon gurgled to life inside the Pasadena as the submarine began a slow descent to 400 feet below the surface.</P>

<P> As tons of water pressed against the hull, crewmen with small flashlights methodically toured the submarine, peering into tight spaces to check for leaks.</P>

<P> But the deeper it goes, the more at home the Pasadena will be. It can hide down here and monitor the world.</P>

<P> The eyes and ears of the submarine are in the darkened sonar room. Here Petty Officer Fitzgerald Hunter supervises a team of four. They stared at monitors striped with squiggly green lines, the "noise signatures" of the boats and ships around the Pasadena.</P>

<P> Hunter has spent 17 years on submarines. Even as this father of five spoke about working for days without sleep, he said he wouldn't trade it for anything.</P>

<P> He believes in the mission.</P>

<P> "We have so many different countries were watching because of their nuclear capability," he said. "It's things we weren't asked to do before. There are places we have to look, and I really do believe the sub force has to be there."</P>

<P> Whatever number of submarines ultimately survive, Hunter believes their crews will do what they're asked to do.</P>

<P> "If you can survive down here on subs, you can survive anywhere,"

uot; he said. "I think thats professionalism on a submariner level. Thats the hard core of the military."</P>

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<P>European Stars and Stripes

November 22, 1999

Pg. 4</P>

<P>Pilot To Receive Silver Star For Heroism</P>

<P>By Jason Sandford, Spangdahlem bureau</P>

<P> SPANGDAHLEM AIR BASE, Germany The last thing on Capt. John Cherreys mi
nd the night of March 27 was his fuel gauge.</P>

<P> But getting an in-flight fill-up became just one in a series of obstacl
es Cherrey overcame that night as the 33-year-old instructor pilot orchestrated
a plan that led to the heroic recovery of a downed F-117A stealth fighter pilo
t from hostile Yugoslav territory.</P>

<P> "Youre overcoming the weather, the communications jamming, the (su
rface-to-air missile) threat and youre trying to put this whole package togethe

r and all of a sudden your wingman says, Hey, were almost out of gas, " Cherrey said during a recent interview.</P>

<P> "There was a lot of frustration."</P>

<P> Everything might not have worked to perfection, but it worked. Monday, Cherrey will receive the Silver Star medal to honor his effort.</P>

<P> The combat search and rescue mission that night marked a first for Cherrey, a somewhat reserved A/OA-10 instructor pilot and assistant director of operations for the 81st Fighter Squadron at Spangdahlem Air Base.</P>

<P> Hed flown his share of contingency missions, but this was the "no kidding, were going" mission he and his fellow pilots had been training for their entire careers.</P>

<P> Launching from Aviano Air Base in Italy, Cherrey knew the mission was going to be tough. Operation Allied Force, NATO's air campaign aimed at stopping Serbian aggression toward ethnic Albanians in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo, had begun three days earlier.</P>

<P> Cloudy weather dogged pilots who were still feeling out the extent of Yugoslavias air defenses around Novi Sad, Serbia, where the F-117A pilot went down. Constant electronic jamming interrupted communications and the threat of enemy aircraft remained.</P>

<P> Cherrey took off with squadron mates Capt. John OBrien, his wingman; Capt. James Meger; Capt. Richard Johnson (now a major); Maj. Phil Haun; Capt. Joe Brosious and a package of rescue helicopters, electronic jamming aircraft, fighter jets and refueling tankers. As the on-scene commander, Cherrey orchestrated the rescue effort. He credited superb teamwork to the successful recovery of the downed pilot.</P>

<P> "Theres a great sense of relief in that the guys I was working with were doing such great work and every time we would come up against an obstacle, one of these guys would say, Hey, Ive got it, "he said.</P>

<P> "If there was an emotion out there it was: Thank goodness Ive got guys out there who just have their stuff together."</P>

<P> According to the citation accompanying his award, Cherrey flew over unknown Serbian territory to positively identify the pilot and his location. He designed the rescue while providing maximum protection. And he valiantly risked his own life by maneuvering his formation away from the downed pilots position a

nd into surface-to-air missile range to deceive enemy radar. Critically low on fuel, Cherrey refused to abandon his post until the final minutes before the pilots rescue.</P>

<P> "The greatest thing about doing this mission was when we landed, seeing all the guys that got out of the jets. There were a total of six A-10 pilots involved . . . and coming down and seeing all those guys and realizing the magnitude of what we had done and being able to be there with them and say, Hey, we did this," he said.</P>

<P> "It was instantaneous gratification. Then when the (rescued pilot) stepped off the transload aircraft when they actually brought him back to Aviano Air Base, youre looking at this guy and what other feedback would you want in life?"</P>

<P> Cherreys medal will be the second Silver Star awarded to a Spangdahlem pilot for action in Operation Allied Force. Capt. Sonny Blinkinsop, a F-16 pilot from the 23rd Fighter Squadron, received the medal for destroying a surface-to-air missile site after it had launched missiles at his wingman but before the site could guide the airborne missiles to the aircraft.</P>

<P> Despite the individual honor, Cherrey said he wants to make sure everyone involved gets credit.</P>

<P> "Its really not about a single guy going out there. Yeah, I was in charge of making the final decisions if you want, on what was going on," he said. </P>

<P> "But I cant say enough about the team effort," he said. "Its easy to do brave things when you know the guys are there for you."</P>>


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<P>Washington Post

November 23, 1999

Pg. 4</P>

<P>Intelligence Budget Can Be Secret, Judge Rules</P>

<P>By Vernon Loeb, Washington Post Staff Writer </P>

<P> A federal judge has decided that CIA Director George J. Tenet can keep the intelligence community's budget secret, ruling that public disclosure could damage national security and reveal intelligence sources and methods.</P>

<P> U.S. District Court Judge Thomas F. Hogan dismissed a lawsuit filed by the Federation of American Scientists (FAS) under the Freedom of Information Act, saying the director of central intelligence has broad power "to protect the secrecy and integrity of the intelligence process." The opinion, dated Nov. 12, was made public yesterday.</P>

<P> "Obviously, Tenet cannot be certain that damage to our national security would result from release of the total budget request for 1999," Hogan wrote, "but the law does not require certainty or a showing of harm before allowing an agency to withhold classified information."</P>

<P> The FAS filed suit last year to force disclosure of the federal government's total spending on intelligence in fiscal 1999. The Clinton administration had voluntarily disclosed that the CIA and other intelligence agencies spent a total of \$26.6 billion in 1997 and \$26.7 billion in 1998. But the administration had declined to reveal this year's figure, saying it was under no obligation to make annual disclosures.</P>

<P> The FAS argued that revealing the 1999 spending total would not hurt national security, since comparable figures had been made public for two years in a row. The group also noted that a White House official said three years ago that President Clinton favored disclosure and believed it would not "harm intelligence activities."</P>

<P> But Hogan rejected that argument, finding that Clinton's public position on an earlier budget disclosure "is neither on point nor in any way legally binding." The judge accepted Tenet's argument that mandatory disclosure of 1999 spending, following voluntarily disclosures in previous years, "provides too much trend information and too great a basis for comparison and analysis for our adversaries."</P>

<P> CIA spokesman Bill Harlow applauded Hogan's ruling. "The principle of the intelligence budget being something which is not automatically releasable is one that is important to us," Harlow said, adding that Tenet could always choose to release future spending totals if he felt no damage would occur.</P>

<P> Steven Aftergood, who directs the FAS's project on government secrecy, said Hogan's ruling reverses a two-year trend toward greater disclosure.</P>

<P> "There's simply no question that the public is entitled to this information," Aftergood said. "It is the most rudimentary form of government accountability that is guaranteed by the Constitution."</P>

<P> Aftergood and his attorney, Kate Martin, director of the Center for National Security Studies, a nonprofit civil liberties group, said they are considering an appeal.</P>


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<P>Los Angeles Times

November 23, 1999

Pg. C4</P>

<P>British Aerospace Gets OK On Marconi Deal</P>

<P>British Aerospace said it expects to complete its \$10-billion purchase of Marconi Electronic Systems from Britain's General Electric Co. next Monday after winning regulatory clearance from the U.S. Defense Department. The deal would create the world's second-biggest defense company after Lockheed Martin Corp.--with products such as the Eurofighter, Tornado, Harrier and Gripen warplanes and missiles systems such as the Storm Shadow and Mistral--and form a 20% stake in Airbus Industrie. The combined company would rival Raytheon Co. as the world's third-largest aerospace and defense company, after No. 1 Boeing Co. and No. 2 Lockheed. British Aerospace had won approval from British antitrust authorities, though both the U.S. and Britain have asked it to set up firewalls in certain cases to ensure that competition between British Aerospace and Marconi remains. The Defense Department noted in particular work on the U.S. Air Force and Navy Joint Strike Fighter program and on the U.S. Army Tracer scout vehicle program. The transaction is worth \$10 billion based on Monday's closing share price, about 20% less than when the deal was announced Jan. 19. British Aerospace is paying GEC shareholders 0.42 share of the new firm for each GEC share they own. British Aerospace shares fell 50 cents to close at \$5.50 in over-the-counter trading. <I>(Bloomberg News)</P></I>

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<P>Wall Street Journal

November 23, 1999</P>

<P>Foreign Policy Will Be A Key Campaign Issue</P>

<P>By George Melloan</P>

<P> One of the mean jokes circulating at the outset of the presidential election campaign holds that Al Gore is better than George W. Bush at naming the presidents of tiny countries because he has hit up all of them for contributions to the Democratic National Committee. This little zinger makes it clear that Mr. Gore is vulnerable to charges of past campaign law abuses, but conveys something else as well: Foreign policy will be an election issue in 2000. Even the Boston reporter who asked George W. the trick question about small countries seemed aware of that.</P>

<P> When Bill Clinton ousted George W.'s father in 1992, he exploited the now-famous James Carville line, "It's the Economy, Stupid," and professed little interest in foreign policy. George the elder was vulnerable because the U.S. was going through post-banking crisis slowdown. In 1996, Bob Dole was zapped by his age and charges that he was a closet hard-liner on social policy.</P>

<P> But in the campaign that is already unfolding, the emphasis is going to be back where it should be in a presidential election, on which candidate is likely to follow policies that will best preserve the security of Americans and their friends and allies around the world. The Republicans correctly perceive that Al Gore and the Democrats are more vulnerable on this front than on purely domestic matters, at least so long as the American economy keeps purring along undisturbed by inflation or recession.</P>

<P> George W. conducted an impressive tour de force on foreign-policy issues in an address at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library in Simi Valley, Calif. Friday. He began by saying that national defense must be the first focus of a president, "because it is his first duty to the Constitution. Even in this time of pride and promise, America has determined enemies, who hate our values and resent our success."</P>

<P> All this is true, of course. Not only is the nation's fate at stake when the president makes key military and diplomatic decisions, but foreign and defense policy is the only duty that rests solely with the president. Governors can run welfare programs and local boards can run schools, doing very nicely without help from Washington. Social Security can be set up by any good actuary and then allowed to run itself. Health care is the mess it is mainly because of federal meddling. And mayors can fill potholes and pick up garbage. But the only person who can manage the country's relationships with other nations and, if n

eed be, order the armed forces into battle, is the president. When war clouds gather, this is a responsibility heavy enough for any mortal.</P>

<P> During the Cold War, this awesome duty gave a gravitas to the debates of candidates that is far less evident today. Harry Truman defeated Thomas Dewey because the incumbent Democrat was a spunky politician who perceived that containment of Soviet imperialism, even at the risk of war, was a foreign policy imperative. Dwight D. Eisenhower was a former war leader the voters trusted to strengthen U.S. alliances. Jack Kennedy successfully preached an American crusade for freedom, seizing the moral high ground from the Soviets.</P>

<P> Richard Nixon was elected in 1968 on his promises to remedy the failures of his Democratic predecessors in Vietnam. In 1976, Jimmy Carter stressed political morality in the wake of Watergate and won, but was defeated by Ronald Reagan four years later in part because of U.S. military and foreign policy weakness. George Bush inherited Mr. Reagan's rebuilt military and was able to marshal U.S. allies to defeat Saddam's invasion of Kuwait.</P>

<P> Important issues of domestic policy were always present during those years, of course, matters like inflation and Social Security reform. But after the Cold War ended with the collapse of Soviet imperialism in 1989-91, political attention in the U.S. shifted almost exclusively toward domestic issues. The threat of a nuclear holocaust, which had lurked just offstage in the drama of Cold War diplomacy, receded. Indeed, politicians themselves were accorded lesser importance once the danger had diminished, and Americans turned to making the most of their opportunities for self-advancement. Voter turnouts dropped.</P>

<P> But the world in 1999 has come to look less benign. Despite efforts by the Clinton administration to court both Russia and China, neither can be regarded as a friendly country today. Russia is fighting a brutal war against a breakaway republic, Chechnya, to the growing dismay of the Western world. Beijing is uncomfortable about its ability to bring about fundamental economic reforms without serious social unrest and has entered into another spasm of human rights abuse, clamping down on religious practice in particular.</P>

<P> All three of the major Republican candidates are zeroing in on the Clinton administration foreign policy miscues of recent years. Steve Forbes is especially critical of the administration's inconstancy in Asia, and promises to establish "rules of engagement" in his dealings with China that will put particular focus on human rights. John McCain blames administration ineptitude for getting the U.S. into a position where it had little choice but to bomb Serbia and then did so with its planes flying too high to ensure accuracy because of administration fears of the political consequences of casualties.</P>

<P> In his Simi Valley speech, Mr. Bush staked out his ground as a free trade candidate and an internationalist who deplores the decline of U.S. military power. He no doubt had the Clinton administration in mind when he cited the danger of drift, of moving "from crisis to crisis like a cork in a current." And h

e cited the importance of building and preserving alliances.</P>

<P> For a candidate who was recently accused by his opponents of being a foreign policy naif, it was an impressive effort. Mr. Bush seems to have some organizational skills and has surrounded himself with old pros from past Republican administrations, men like Paul Wolfowitz and Richard Perle, two former Pentagon strategists.</P>

<P> The Republican candidates first have to fight things out among themselves, starting with a debate next month and going into the primary campaigns after the first of the year. Their foreign-policy positions don't look much different, except that Mr. Forbes's views have a harder edge than those of Mr. Bush, who believes, with some justification, that a positive point of view works better than a negative one in politics and government.</P>

<P> Come next fall, foreign policy may no longer be the paramount issue with voters. But at this early stage it is gratifying to hear candidates debating the core subject of the job they are seeking. Commander-in-chief is, after all, a title with real meaning.</P>

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<P>Wall Street Journal Europe

November 23, 1999</P>

<P>The Right To Intervene</P>

<P>By Ken Weisbrode</P>

<P> The European Security Charter issued by 54 leaders last week in Istanbul amounted to a remarkable break with the past. It was equally momentous for the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the sponsor of the conference, whose role has greatly expanded in recent years. For the first time since the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, the states of Europe have declared openly the right to intervene in one another's "internal" affairs for humanitarian reasons. Even though application of this principle to ongoing territorial conflicts, namely the one in Chechnya, was diluted or postponed out of deference to Russian concerns, the principle itself warrants a second thought.</P>

<P> It would seem at first blush that anyone who believes in all that is good should rejoice in this achievement. Bad regimes no longer will be able to hide behind a formal barricade of state sovereignty in committing atrocities. Virtuous men and women no longer will be forced to stand idle while barbaric demagogues run free to menace their own people. At last civilized Europe can nip such evil in the bud before it snowballs into a threat to European civilization itself, as it inevitably must do.</P>

<P> But something is wrong here. Does anyone find it strange that the OSCE -- an organization which owes its existence to the Helsinki Final Act of 1975, which itself affirmed the territorial integrity of states and forbade the use of force between them -- should now suggest an erosion of state sovereignty in Europe as we know it?</P>

<P> And is it not additionally ironic that the nation which first proposed a European Conference on Security and Cooperation -- the Soviet Union -- should fall victim to the forces unleashed at Helsinki and then produce a poor stepchild, Russia, that should become the object of unanimous scolding by those very nations that profited most by her predecessor's demise? Is the West not overdoing things just a bit?</P>

<P> Historic ironies aside, it is hard to imagine that this step by the members of the OSCE is as positive in reality as the script would suggest. Proclamations this general and ambitious, with moral rather than geopolitical foundations, augur suspicion and uncertainty. Who determines the standards of regime behavior? And who determines the penalties? To think that those on the losing side will ascribe such determinations to universal laws rather than to sheer power is not merely hubris -- it is naive in the extreme.</P>

<P> Potential double standards abound. Who can imagine that Turkey, the host of last weekend's summit, would take this charter seriously were it to be applied to its dealings with the Kurds? What about the Spaniards and the Basques? The Czechs and the Gypsies? How would the United States react if an OSCE delegation condemned some future intervention in Central America or the Caribbean? Th

e list could go on. We would do better to recall the wisdom of Bismarck, who put the case more simply: "A sentimental policy," he said, "knows no reciprocity."
</P>

<P> The European state system has survived 350 years for a reason. There is no world arbiter of right and wrong with the ability to enforce judgment. If individual states or groups of states take this role upon themselves, it will only come back to haunt in their own backyard. Diplomacy is about maximizing one's own interests while smoothing over differences. It should not be about remaking the world in any one image, however righteous that image may seem to its promoters.</P>

<P> When George Kennan made his last appearance before the U.S. Congress sometime in 1991, he announced that the era of Wilson had finally arrived, by which he probably meant self-determination on a global basis. But we should not forget that this same Mr. Kennan warned us sternly many years before about the "red skein of legalism-moralism" that Wilsonianism represents. Surely he meant this latest statement as an omen, not as a blessing.</P>

<P> Before our leaders go any further with such overtly ideological policies we all need to think a little more realistically about where they ultimately will take us. Surely we can find some other way to feel good about ourselves and express what indignation we must over the ill behavior of other states.</P>

<P> <I>Weisbrode is a "Research Associate, International Institute for Strategic Studies" in London.</P></I>


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<P>Wall Street Journal

November 23, 1999</P>

<P>Can America Trust The French?</P>

<P>By Michael Gonzalez</P>

<P> DRESDEN, Germany--The French president and prime minister are serious men whose pronouncements should be considered with the gravity that their office warrants. This general rule can be relaxed when it comes to their anti-American tirades, and especially their push to forge the European Union into an alternative "pole" to a U.S. "hyperpower." But increasingly petulant attacks on the U.S. by Jacques Chirac and Lionel Jospin are coming at a very uncertain time for the trans-Atlantic community and are beginning to risk creating a serious split in the North Atlantic alliance.</P>

<P> The latest attack from Mr. Chirac came two weeks ago, when he repeatedly called for the EU to strengthen its institutions so as to contain U.S. might in all areas. Most insidious, and curious for a nominal U.S. ally that supports democracy, was Mr. Chirac's declaration that Europe should reach out to China in order to ensure a multipolar world. He has also taken Moscow's side in opposing American wishes for a modification of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. "We should avoid any changes in the ABM Treaty, which could lead to breaking up the strategic balance," he said. In a clear reference to NATO, of which France is a member, Mr. Chirac also said Paris would never accept that a "regional defense organization arrogate to itself the role of the world's gendarme," which, he added, was the place of the United Nations Security Council.</P>

<P> State Department spokesman James Rubin responded: "We do find it puzzling and passing strange that France would spend so much energy and focus so much attention on the danger to them of a strong United States rather than the dangers that we and France together face from countries like Iraq."</P>

<P> Although France has been a maverick within NATO since De Gaulle, there are special circumstances today that help explain the escalation of anti-American rhetoric. Messrs. Chirac and Jospin, a Gaullist and a Socialist respectively, are locked into a difficult governmental cohabitation and are preparing to face each other in the presidential election of 2002. Both believe it is good politics in France to bash the Americans. French elites have a growing concern over the erosion of their power as the French people gravitate toward an American-style consumer culture and the financial sector approaches an American model that favors capital markets over banks. No wonder French leaders rail against American "hegemony."</P>

<P> Here in Dresden, signs of growing American frustration with the French abounded at a recent conference attended by senior American and German officials and executives, as well as by Eastern Europeans, and hosted by the New Atlantic Initiative. The Americans who attended came bristling from Mr. Chirac's latest anti-American thunderbolt. This was understandable, but they would be making a mistake if they believe the French speak for all Europeans.</P>

<P> American officials expressed misgivings about the direction of defense industry consolidations in Europe, in particular the recent merger between Germany's DaimlerChrysler Aerospace and France's Aerospatiale Mantra into a European defense mammoth called EADS. As Bruce Jackson, a vice president of Lockheed Martin, put it: "When Jospin celebrated the alliance in Strasbourg by saying, 'This is a victory for Germany, France and Europe,' I have to ask, who's it a defeat for?"</P>

<P> Mr. Jackson, a committed Atlanticist who serves as president of the U.S. Committee on NATO, was hardly alone in his concerns. Richard Perle, who held several senior posts in President Reagan's Defense Department and now advises George W. Bush, warned a German DaimlerChrysler executive that his company would find relations with the U.S. government less cozy. "You have thrown your lot in with the French, and to be perfectly blunt about it, we don't trust the French. I don't trust them to do deals with. I think you'll find us more restrictive now."</P>

<P> The American disaffection with France could be welcomed by some of Britain's Tory Euroskeptics, who want a closer Anglo-American relationship and a looser one with the Continent. But an Anglo-American alliance that pulled the Americans and the British away from the Continent would be a grave threat to an Atlantic community that has lasted 50 years and served the world well. It also would reward the petulance of a few French officials, or so they might think. America shares many values with Britain, to be sure, but also with Germany, Italy and, yes, France, no matter what its present leaders say.</P>

<P> <I>Gonzalez is deputy editor of The Wall Street Journal Europe's editorial page.</P></I>

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<P>Wall Street Journal Europe

November 23, 1999</P>

<P>Yeltsin's Albatross</P>

<P> With 54 world leaders present, last week's Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) summit in Istanbul was the perfect time to spell out the international consequences of a continued Russian attack on Chechnya. But while Western leaders voiced disapproval and concern, most tiptoed around the bear's cave and little was accomplished.</P>

<P> Russian President Boris Yeltsin suffered a serious loss of Western good will, however. One by one, leaders berated Russia for its senseless, indiscriminate attack against a helpless civilian enemy. As expected, a defensive Mr. Yeltsin portrayed Russia as the victim of terrorism, telling the delegation of European leaders they had "no right to criticize Russia for Chechnya."</P>

<P> The consensus of the international community is important, and it is valuable that Russia was chided by so many nations. But world leadership was also required, and it was U.S. President Bill Clinton who needed to head the effort and warn Mr. Yeltsin that bombing villages would have real consequences for Russia.</P>

<P> While he did criticize Russia, saying continued violence would undermine the democratic progress of the last decade, for most of his address Thursday, Mr. Clinton went soft, insisting on discussion rather than action. When the two men embraced in a bear hug, we knew the message hadn't been clear enough.</P>

<P> Republican presidential candidate George W. Bush was less cautious. In a major foreign policy speech at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and Museum in Simi Valley, California Friday, he took a hard line. A stable nation could not be built on the "ruins of human rights," he warned Moscow. He also reminded Americans that Russia should be treated as a "strategic partner … without ill will, but without illusions." Mr. Bush lastly said if Russia cont

inues to bombard Chechnya, international funds should be cut off.</P>

<P> White House officials say they are considering a halt on International Monetary Fund loans to Russia. But Mr. Clinton and Vice President Al Gore have invested a lot of political capital in Boris Yeltsin and almost anything they do at this point is likely to highlight how little they have accomplished, even with the aid of some \$17 billion in IMF loans.</P>

<P> Mr. Clinton may believe that appeasement of this former superpower is the way to avoid a second Cold War. But Europe and America can hardly admit Russia to the community of democratic nations at a time when it is destroying entire cities within its federal jurisdiction.</P>

<P> Russia's motives for this war are dubious at best. Its military still smartens from its 1996 defeat by Chechnyan rebels. Avenging that loss seems to be good politics for Prime Minister Vladimir Putin as he prepares to run for president next year. Thanks to powerful state-owned media rhetoric, the Chechnya offensive is popular among the voting public. Russia further fears that the whole Caucasus region is slipping from its control, as evidenced by last week's pipeline deal that will bring Caspian oil to the Mediterranean, drawing Georgia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Turkey even closer to central Europe and America.</P>

<P> The OSCE was not totally without accomplishments in Istanbul. Delegates passed a resolution asserting an OSCE right to become involved in both internal and external disagreements of member countries that threaten to lead to war. The final draft had to be worded so it wouldn't be inconsistent with the lack of action on Chechnya, but at least a principle of sorts was established.</P>

<P> As Mr. Yeltsin unpacks and debriefs he should consider what happened in Istanbul. There was a lot of hot air and little action, but the message is clear: He is standing alone in this battle, and the high status he once seemed assured of in his nation's history is rapidly withering away.</P>


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<P>Philadelphia Inquirer

November 23, 1999</P>

<P>Postwar Dangers </P>

<I><P>Lack of safety and services, lingering hatreds threaten hopes of peace for Kosovars.</P>

</I><P> The world agonized at how long it took NATO to rebuff Serbian brutality in Kosovo. Unfortunately, far less attention is being paid to how long it's taking to restore services there from public safety to housing to utilities.</P>

<P> Post-war shortcomings by international organizations - especially the United Nations - aren't just a raw deal for the long-suffering Kosovars. The mess stokes old hatreds and grievances, increasing the risk that this simmering peace will someday revert to all-out war.</P>

<P> President Clinton is thanking U.S. peacekeeping troops today at a military base in Kosovo. Perhaps his visit will intensify public interest in this province's problems - and on what's needed to address them.</P>

<P> The most urgent problem is that the 42,000 international peacekeepers still haven't given residents adequate protection from one another. Violence against Serbians, their churches and their property continues. Only 60,000 to 70,000 Serbians are estimated to remain in Kosovo, compared to at least 200,000 a couple of years ago.</P>

<P> One problem is that the French and Italian forces aren't assertive enough in their sectors. A bigger problem: not enough police. The United Nations' top Kosovo administrator, Bernard Kouchner, wants 6,000 international police officers, but so far he has received about 1,700. Yet all the cops in the world can't secure Kosovo unless the United Nations helps Kosovo rebuild its courts, which are a postwar shambles.</P>

<P> Much of the hardship in Kosovo has nothing to do with ethnic divisions. Residents suffer through lack of heat, electricity, water, garbage collection and traffic control.</P>

<P> This stems partly from offenses by Serbian forces such as sabotaging key electrical transmission lines, then using land mines to thwart repairs.</P>

<P> But the U.N.'s slow-motion bureaucracy in the field is also to blame. U.N. officials dithered for months over power-plant repairs. Their inertia is also to blame for Kosovo's lack of effective telephone service or even postal service - essentials for a land on the mend.</P>

<P> The United Nations and relief agencies also have underperformed on housing. It's nearly winter, yet half of the prefabricated houses that were sent to Kosovo have still not been put up.</P>

<P> Part of the problem is financial. The \$1 billion in Kosovo aid that countries and international groups pledged last week in Brussels included only \$88 million for the U.N.'s efforts, leaving the U.N. mission badly underfunded. But much of the problem is operational: Mr. Kouchner and his U.N. confreres have proved to be the kind of bureaucrats who give bureaucrats a bad name.</P>

<P> The United States and its NATO allies didn't go to war in the Balkans just to kick Slobodan Milosevic and his brutes out of Kosovo. They fought for a Kosovo in which differing ethnic groups could co-exist and prosper. So far, the world community is falling pitifully short of that vision in Kosovo.</P>

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<H1>November 23, 1999</H1></center>

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(Smithsonian)....Bruce Watson

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In Elite Ranks

(People)....Unattributed

<H3>AIR FORCE</H3>

The Death Of Airman Basic Micah Schindler

(Air Force Times)....Mike Glenn

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His Condition Was Little Known But Lethal

(Air Force Times)....Mike Glenn

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<P>Smithsonian

November 1999

Pg. 142

<P>Its More Than Just A Game

<I><P>Each time Army and Navy play football, as they will f
or the 100th time next month, the fiercest rivalry in sports is rene
wed

</I><P>By Bruce Watson

<P> From his vantage point overlooking the Hudson River at West Point, New York, an Army officer surveyed his troops at play. Maj. Oswald H. Ernst, Superintendent of the U.S. Military Academy, was concerned. A few years earlier, some sports nut at the Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland, had suggested a football game between Army and Navy. West Point didn't have a team, but an eager cadet volunteered to form one. The game had been played with little damage—a concussion, a broken nose, a few skinned egos. Army was trounced, and that might have been the end of it. But then there was another meeting the following autumn. And another. By the fall of 1893, the rivalry was beginning to get out of hand. Fistfights had broken out in the stands. At the Army-Navy Club in New York City a duel between a rear admiral and a retired general was narrowly averted. Football was a fine game for future soldiers, Ernst believed, yet this contest was becoming more than just a game. "The excitement attending it exceeds all reasonable limits," he lamented.

<P> In February 1894, President Grover Cleveland convened a special Cabinet meeting to discuss Army-Navy football. The annual game was causing conduct unbefitting officers and gentlemen. Imagine future generals standing on their heads and waving their heels after a touchdown. Picture prospective admirals devising silly pranks to play on their opponents. After the stormy Cabinet meeting was over, the Secretaries of the Army and the Navy issued edicts that, in effect, canceled the game. For the next five autumns, the academies played the nation's top football teams, Princeton, Harvard and Yale. But not until President William McKinley restored the rivalry a century ago did Army and Navy face each other again. By then, the captains of the first games had been killed in the Spanish-American War.

<P> Early next month, Army and Navy will square off on the gridiron for the 100th time. It's safe to say that no national championship will be at stake. No player from either squad will win the Heisman Trophy; few, if any, players will be drafted by the National Football League. Yet a crowd of almost 70,000 will be at Veterans Stadium in Philadelphia. Top military brass and possibly President Clinton himself will shout like cheerleaders at a high school matchup. At kickoff time, whether it's 2 A.M. in Korea or mid-evening in the Mediterranean,

every soldier and sailor who can get to a TV set will be watching. And if the 99 prior contests are any indication, the two teams will put on one of the best shows of the year, complete with full-dress marching parades, cannon, raucous singing and a thrilling game that will go fight down to the final minute.

<P> Yet to call Army-Navy a game is like calling D-Day a skirmish. There are other great college rivalries, but when Ohio State plays Michigan, do Blackhawk helicopters fly over pep rallies? When USC battles UCLA, is every last student from both schools shouting in the stands? For one afternoon, Army-Navy may be a game, but the rest of the year it isn't about football. It's about a passion as big as the Pentagon. It's about hope soaring like a thousand white caps thrown in the air. And it's about a feud as intense as any sibling rivalry. Navy free safety Gary Lane used to think it was just a game. "Then I saw players crying in the locker room, the toughest guys I knew just blubbering like babies after we lost. And hugging the Army team even though we don't know any of them. Army-Navy is like playing your brother. You play harder, but you share something because you know what the other guy has been through."

<P> The fiercest rivalry in sports was inspired by a friendship. Army Cadet Dennis Michie (pronounced "Mikey") was raised at West Point by his father, who taught philosophy there. Michie had a friend at the Naval Academy who shared his love of football, the head-battering sport that was taking over college fields in the late 1800s. Navy had played intercollegiate contests since 1879, but only a few of the young men at West Point had ever participated in an organized game. Michie had no doubt his fellow cadets would take to football once they were introduced to it. He used his influence to arrange for a formal challenge. Navy issued that challenge in October 1890, and after a dedicated campaign waged by Michie, Army accepted it.

<P> All West Point cadets weighing more than 180 pounds were ordered to report for practice. While talk of first downs and flying wedges swept through the barracks, Michie began waking his recruits before reveille to run. They had only eight weeks to learn the fundamentals. The hosting Army cadets pooled their resources to pay half of Navy's travel costs, and on November 29, a cold, gloomy day at West Point, a happy bunch of Naval cadets, as the midshipmen were called then, trudged up the hill from the Hudson. Along the way, they kidnapped a goat for their mascot. On the Plain, West Point's parade grounds, they found 1,000 people and 11 football players waiting.

<P> Navy won the toss and got the ball. As Army huddled, the commandant announced, "I shall slug the first Army player who leaves the field in an upright position." In military jargon, a "slug" meant a demerit, but the message was clear. On the first play, Navy went into a V formation. The quarterback barked out signals. "Reef the topsail!" he shouted, and Navy's halfback slammed into Army's line. "Stand by to clear anchor!" and another Navy surge moved the ball forward again.

<P> After Navy scored, Army improvised its own martial signals, but they were largely just for show--"In battery, right heave!" "As skirmishers, march!" A

Army's players didn't have a clue what the signals meant, and soon Navy got the ball back.

<P> Army fans cheered when their tackle grabbed Navy's star halfback and spun him around, but the runner broke free. "When I stopped him, I heard a lot of yelling from the sidelines," the tackle explained. "I thought I had done something wrong, so I let him go." Navy won 24-0 and Army vowed revenge.

<P> The next fall, after practicing with a former Yale player, Army journeyed to Annapolis, scored on its first possession and went on to win easily. When the news was telegraphed to West Point, the captain of the corps assembled the cadets and barked: "Final score! Army 32, Navy 16! Dismiss your companies!" The cadets erupted, lighting a bonfire, singing, dancing jigs in front of each officer's home. The following year, a similar lapse in military discipline took place at the Naval Academy when Navy won. Steeped in honor and tradition, neither Annapolis nor West Point would ever again seem so somber.

<P> More than a century later, as a freshman at West Point, Achim Biller made a common mistake. He thought Army-Navy was just a football game. His mind was changed for him by Beast Barracks, West Point's hellish summer indoctrination of its plebes. During those six weeks of punishing drill, and more drill, Biller was required to memorize "The Days." Whenever he was stopped by an upperclassman, he had to bellow out how many days remained until certain events, finishing with the number of days "Till We Beat the Hell out of Navy, Sir!" The countdown continued until after Thanksgiving when Army-Navy Week forced plebes to learn new rules. Classes convened, but only out of habit. Write "Beat Navy!" on a class paper and you might earn extra points. Shout "Beat Navy, Sir!" to an upperclassman's orders and all was forgiven. Sleep was a luxury in dorms filled with fraternity-type chaos, and attendance at all pep rallies was expected.

<P> At Thursday night's rally on the Plain, Biller anticipated more harmless high jinks. He didn't expect an armored offensive. After a boat labeled "Navy" became a bonfire, an M-1 Abrams tank rumbled over the top of a pickup truck bearing the blue-and-gold Navy insignia. Several cadets jumped out of the crowd and further demolished the truck with sledgehammers. Then a Blackhawk helicopter sent Army Rangers repelling down ropes. Finally, West Point superintendent Daniel Christman, the very model of a lieutenant general, stepped before the rally. After he gave a rousing pep talk, the "Supe" tore off his shirt in the 20-degree weather to reveal a T-shirt emblazoned with Army's familiar A logo. Cadets chanted "Beat Navy! Beat Navy!" "That gave me the idea of the game's magnitude," Biller recalls.

<P> "Beat Navy! Beat Army!" The words are tattooed into life at each academy. In Annapolis' stately Bancroft Hall, "Beat Army!" is the first thing midshipmen hear each morning all year round. Plebes, required to dash everywhere, must shout "Go Navy, Sir!" or "Beat Army, Sir!" at every turn. "You hear 'Beat Army!' a thousand times a day here," says Navy defensive captain Jamie Doffermyre. During Army-Navy Week, Navy's plebes are "invited" to drink a nasty kitchen concoction called a "Beat Army!" Last year, Matthew Mariano's "Beat Army!" in

cluded ketchup, Jell-O, peanut butter, salt, pepper and salad dressing. "It was n't too good," he remembered with a sheepish grin, "but it was fun to know I was part of the tradition."

<P> At West Point, near bleachers imprinted "Army Beat Navy!" stands the Beat Navy tunnel chiseled with the scores of Army's 48 wins in the series. (Navy has won 44; seven games ended in ties.) And at academy stores, the faithful can buy Army-Navy chess sets, mugs, T-shirts, pillows and bumper stickers bearing the respective mantras. At other schools, this might be dismissed as mere adolescent obsession, but when Army plays Navy, men will be boys, regardless of their rank or station.

<P> In 1901, President Theodore Roosevelt, drawn to all masculine endeavors, attended the Army-Navy game. The rivalry was already the nation's biggest sporting spectacle, drawing 25,000 fans paying up to \$40 for a scalped ticket. To avoid the appearance of partisanship, the President sat on Navy's side during the first half and Army's after halftime. But when Navy tied the score 5-5, Roosevelt, who had been Assistant Secretary of the Navy under President McKinley, broke free of his Secret Service guards, leaped a railing and ran whooping to Navy's bench to shake hands with the players. Army went on to beat Navy 11-5.

<P> As Roosevelt knew only too well, football, which in those days was played without helmets or pads, was becoming increasingly controversial. In 1905, 23 players were killed on the field. Several colleges had banned what one professor called "this boy-killing, man-mutilating . . . gladiatorial sport." But at Army, where injured players were taped up, given a glass of whiskey and sent back into the fray, Capt. Palmer Pierce disagreed. Even if no one else played football, he announced, Army would. Navy backed him up. At a White House conference, Pierce then helped devise rule changes that led to the creation of the modern game.

<P> By the 1920s, famed sportswriter Grantland Rice was hailing Army-Navy as the "biggest show on earth." And even in the heyday of such gridiron titans as Red Grange and Knute Rockne, Army-Navy lived up to that billing. The two teams were football powerhouses, mowing down opponents by scores such as 90-0. The throng heading annually to the big game at Philadelphia's Franklin Field included graying admirals and generals in uniform, enlisted men in khaki, sailors in jaunty white caps, foreign ambassadors and the President himself, sometimes with his entire Cabinet. On the field, Navy's brass band boomed the song it had debuted at the 1906 Army-Navy game, "Anchors Aweigh." Thousands of voices roared out the verse ending "Sink the Army, Sink the Army Grey!" Army's band answered with "On, Brave Old Army Team." Then came the game, often an unforgettable one.

<P> In 1926, Army-Navy dedicated Chicago's new Soldier Field. Chartered trains carried 3,100 roaring cadets and midshipmen to Chicago, where they became the talk of that toddlin' town. During two whirlwind days, the nation's future officers attended luncheons and dinners, and danced with young women brought in from nearby states to be their dates. There was also a football game. Navy was

undefeated, and Army had lost only to Notre Dame. More than a half-million people had requested tickets. The 110,000 lucky fans who got them weren't disappointed.

<P> Navy jumped out to a 14-0 lead, but Army scored on its next drive, then recovered a fumble and ran it into the end zone. At halftime, the score was tied 14-14. Early in the second half, Army scored again on a 44-yard run. But after the cadets missed a field goal, Navy intercepted with just four minutes left to play. Pointing to the goalposts 65 yards away, Navy's captain declared, "We're going to cross the line." Marching down the field, Navy reached the Army 8-yard line. It was getting dark in Soldier Field, and the players, in their muddy jerseys and leather helmets, looked like gray ghosts on a gridiron rimmed with snow that had fallen the day before. On fourth down with three yards to go, Navy called a double reverse. Halfback Howard Ransford faked a run to the right and slipped the ball to Alan Shapley. While Army charged after Ransford, Shapley scampered into the end zone. Then the stadium fell silent for the extra point. Drop-kicked neatly through the goal posts, it tied the game at 21-21. In the final minute, after trading possessions, Navy tried a desperation pass. Army's "Light Horse Harry" Wilson intercepted, broke two tackles and sprinted for the goal line. But Navy dragged Wilson down at the 40 as the gun sounded. Army took home its pride and Navy brought back its first and only national championship.

<P> Every college team has local fans, but when Army and Navy were winning world wars, they played for the nation, as sportswriter Paul Gallico explained: "The Army-Navy game is the yearly parade of the future commanders of the armed defenders of the United States. This is serious business. Watch these boys play. Watch them think. Watch their moves. Our lives may someday be in their hands." Other college players went off to professional careers; Army and Navy players went off to war. From Navy's 1935 team, 13 players were killed in action during World War II. Army lost more than 20 former players in the two world wars. And as the rivalry turned 50, its veterans included Army lineman Omar Bradley and halfback Dwight Eisenhower, Navy fullback William "Bull" Halsey and halfback Richard Byrd. Those who don't know a first down from a fastball might remember those stalwarts by their other titles--general, President, admiral, and commander of the first flight over the North Pole. But the most zealous fan was a cadet too slight to try out for Army's team, Douglas MacArthur.

<P> First in his class at West Point, young MacArthur also served as football team manager in 1902. Nearly 20 years later, as West Point's superintendent, he paced the sidelines at every football practice, his riding crop under his arm. In 1928, Army and Navy feuded over the number of years players should be eligible for football, which resulted in cancellation of the game. It was resumed in 1932 when MacArthur, citing football's military value, talked Navy's superintendent into an armistice.

<P> During World War II while commanding U.S. forces in the Pacific, MacArthur set the war aside every Monday morning each fall to spend hours poring over reports of Army's latest game. After each victory, he wired congratulations; after each loss, he wrote lengthy advice to Coach Earl "Red" Blaik. The British

may have won the Battle of Waterloo on the playing fields of Eton, but MacArthur gave Army football credit for even more. "Upon the fields of friendly strife are sown the seeds that, upon other fields, on other days, will bear the fruits of victory," he pontificated.

<P> The war caused some departures from tradition. For a couple of years, the game had to be played at the academies, and the student bodies were unable to travel. That threatened to put a serious crimp in the spirit that was such an important part of the contests. When the cadet team visited Annapolis, half the midshipmen were required to cheer for Army (which reciprocated the following year, when Navy traveled to West Point), though of course they cheered much louder after their own team scored. Navy even went so far as to recruit a local mule to stand in for the Army mascot, but when the designated handlers attempted to mount and ride the balky substitute, he unceremoniously bucked them off.

<P> Just 17 days before the 1944 game, President Franklin Roosevelt decided that the teams should play in Baltimore to benefit the war bond drive. The bigger the bond a fan bought, the better the seat. Ticket prices ranged from \$30 to \$100,000, and more than a dozen six-seat blocks sold for \$1 million apiece. Each team was escorted to the game by Navy convoy, and fans got their money's worth. Army was undefeated, averaging nearly 60 points a game, and holding its opponents to just 4. Navy was ranked second in the nation behind Army. And the game marked the spectacular Army-Navy debut of "Mr. Inside" and "Mr. Outside."

<P> At 2 A.M. on December 3, 1944, near Leyte in the Philippines, Lt. Gen. Robert Eichelberger listened to the game from Baltimore on Armed Forces Radio. When it was over, Eichelberger and several officers piled into a jeep. Careening across muddy roads in the pitch-black night of a tropical downpour, they reached the front. There they slogged through mud and rain to find Col. Charles "Monk" Meyer, an all-American quarterback on Army's 1935 team. Celebrating Army's 23-7 win, the jubilant officers drank a toast to honor the names Blanchard and Davis.

<P> Fullback Felix "Doc" Blanchard and halfback Glenn Davis were perhaps the best college backfield of all time. Blanchard, "Mr. Inside," hammered up the middle through enemy lines. And Davis, "Mr. Outside," used his world-class speed to race for TD's around either end. In three years at Army, they scored an unbelievable 97 touchdowns, running for one each in their first Navy game and combining for eight in the next two. Powered by its backfield, Army was the best team in the nation, unbeaten from 1944 through 1946. Heisman Trophy winner and nationwide celebrities, Davis and Blanchard later took their fame to Hollywood, where they starred in the corny film *The Spirit of West Point*. Yet Annapolis, too, had plenty of spirit. Even Navy's losing squads in the late 1940s and early 1950s managed to beat Army three times and tie it once. But better than those contests were the games played off the field.

<P> A few days before the 1946 matchup, Navy invaded Army. Under cover of darkness, a team of midshipmen entered West Point and painted "Beat Army" on several monuments. The next day, Maj. Gen. Maxwell Taylor issued a bulletin: "

;A commando group raided West Point about 0100 today," the superintendent announced. "Although some damage was done all participants are believed to have been captured. Upon being interrogated the men stood upon their rights under the rules of land warfare and revealed only their names and rank The prisoners are now at work repairing the damage to our defenses." A few years later, an Army spy learned about some provocative signs the midshipmen planned to use during the game. The cadets prepared several signs of their own. After a few songs mocking Army's weak schedule, Navy rooters unfurled a banner asking "When do you drop Navy?" Army answered with: "Today!" Navy's next taunt read "Why not schedule Vassar?" Army's sign responded: "We already got Navy!"

<P> The pranks and popularity peaked early in the Cold War. Playing before the admiring eye of President John F. Kennedy, Navy enjoyed its finest years. As a Navy veteran, Kennedy reveled in the rivalry, twice meeting team captains on the field for the pregame coin toss. But eight days before what would have been his third game, Kennedy was killed. West Point and Annapolis shared the nation's shock. Army-Navy was postponed and left in limbo.

<P> Finally, the President's widow asked that the two teams play on Pearl Harbor Day. Before flags flying at half-mast, the teams traded touchdowns and were tied at halftime. Then Navy's quarterback, having just won the Heisman Trophy, took over. Roger Staubach passed, ran, and even caught a pass as Navy beat Army for the fifth year in a row. It was to be the last classic battle before the military and its cherished contest became increasingly overshadowed by politics, professional football and a war in Vietnam.

<P> Even potential pros like Blanchard and Davis had put in the postgraduate military service required by both academies. But during the 1960s and '70s, few of the nation's best young players were willing to risk losing limbs, lives or years of a lucrative career in the National Football League to fight in Vietnam. Neither team has ranked in the nation's top ten since the war. During the 1970s, Army and Navy teams each made "The Bottom Ten," a humorous syndicated column listing the nation's worst college teams. Yet to veterans, Army-Navy remained a source of tremendous pride, and the game continued to be played before sell-out crowds.

<P> In 1967, Navy pilot John McCain was shot down over Hanoi. During 5 1/2 years in a North Vietnamese prison camp, the Annapolis graduate always greeted new prisoners with the same question. McCain, now Arizona's senior U.S. senator, didn't inquire "How's the war going?" or "Who do you like in the World Series?" He asked "Who won last year's Army-Navy game?"

<P> The Reagan era and the Gulf War restored the nation's pride in its military, and a series of tight games has restored luster to the historic gridiron series. Army has won six of the last seven battles, each in the final minutes by four points or less. Mocked during the 1970s, the teams have done an about-face. A Sports Illustrated columnist, after suggesting Army and Navy "retreat with honor" from Division I-A football, had to apologize in 1996 when Army went 10-2 and Navy won the Aloha Bowl.

<P> Yet come game day on December 4, records and reputations won't matter. At West Point and Annapolis, Army-Navy remains the test by which seasons are measured. "Last year we were 3-8," Army linebacker Adisa King says, "but it was a successful season because we beat Navy. I was on an Army team that beat Navy. I can take that to my grave." Win or lose, Army and Navy coaches hear from generals and admirals from all around the world. In his office at West Point's Michie Stadium, Army coach Bob Sutton brandishes an inch-thick stack of letters he received from veterans last year alone. Sutton hands out such letters to his players the night before the game.

<P> Despite the pressure to win this big one, coaching at Army or Navy has certain advantages. Having Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf or Gen. Charles Krulak give a pep talk certainly fires a team up. And while they may not coach many future professional football players, neither Sutton nor Navy coach Charlie Weatherbie worries about discipline in this man's military, soldier! "You get to coach young men who really want to be here," Weatherbie says. "After what they go through the rest of the day, it's a relief for them to come to practice."

<P> Last July, at Beast Barracks and the Navy's parallel punishment, Plebe Summer, raw recruits began the countdown to the game. Shouting "Beat Army!" or "Beat Navy!" they absorbed the obsession and tradition. In September and October, the two teams focused on other opponents, but come Thanksgiving, they will begin the friendly fire of Army-Navy week. No one will kidnap a mascot this year. That tradition has been officially banned since 1991, when a handful of midshipmen disguised as cadets entered Army's veterinary clinic, cut the phone lines, tied up the mule handlers, took the four mascot mules and caused Army to scramble Huey helicopters in pursuit. But rest assured, there will be no shortage of esprit de corps.

<P> At West Point, Lt. Col. Henry Keirse, chief of military training, will don his Viking helmet and roar through a rally on his motorcycle. Meanwhile, at Annapolis, normally stern midshipmen will flood the "decks" of their dorm to practice "carrier landings," racing and sliding on their chests down the narrow hall. More than one plebe will choke down a "Beat Army!" and yet another fresh coat of war paint will be slathered on the statue of Tecumseh in the Annapolis yard.

At blazing bonfires, the old names--Davis, Blanchard, Staubach--will be trotted out. The Thursday night pep rallies will be reminiscent of Anzio or the Battle of Midway. On Friday, the city of Philadelphia will host a gala dinner dance. Early Saturday morning both schools will head by bus to Philadelphia. Later that morning, at 9:40, cadets and midshipmen, spit and polished in their military grays and blues, will march onto the field at Veterans Stadium. After two hours of nonstop brass and banter, chanting and cheering, will come the kickoff

<P> Only then, will Army vs. Navy be a game once again.

<I><P> Bruce Watson boldly predicts the big game this year will be won by Army or Navy, unless the two teams battle to a tie.</I>

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<P>In Elite Ranks

<I><P>Steven Spielberg and Tom Hanks get a Navy seal of approval for Saving Private Ryan

</I><P> In one Veterans Day ceremony, at least, the fighting men lined up to thank two civilians for teaching them about war. As Tom Hanks and Steven Spielberg listened on board the U.S.S. Normandy at Port Everglades, Fla., Navy Capt. Bernard J. McCullough told the star and director of last year's Saving Private Ryan, "The average age of [my] crew is less than 25 years old. My sailors and a generation of younger officers have a better understanding of how to serve their country through your film."

<P> Ryan's five Oscars may not have been as precious as the pair of Distinguished Public Service Awards, the Navy's highest civilian honor, given to Hanks and Spielberg. "I feel that in my own way I have served my country, and I can assure you that it was a full-time job," said Spielberg, 52, whose dad was a B-25 radio operator during the war. An awestruck Hanks, 43, whose father was a Navy machinist, recalled that when he was 25, "I was trying to get to junior college class on time--that was my biggest struggle. But in 43 years I have come to recognize that I've enjoyed 43 years of being free. I thank you for the freedom."

<P> One mother of a radio gunner lost in World War II thanked the filmmakers for their respect, even though she hasn't seen the entire film. Winifred Lancy, 100, whose son Norman died during his scheduled final mission on Aug. 20, 1944, said that when she tried to watch Ryan, "I stopped it after half an hour. I couldn't take it anymore. Someday when I feel in the mood to cry, I'll watch it again."


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<P>Air Force Times

November 29, 1999

Pg. 14

<P>The Death Of Airman Basic Micah Schindler

<I><P>A young man collapsed on a march and died. In the aftermath, basic training will change.

</I><P>By Mike Glenn

<P> SAN ANTONIO -- What killed Airman Basic Micah Schindler?

<P> That question has haunted Air Force officials since the Ohio Air Guardsman collapsed Sept. 10 during a 5.8-mile road march near the end of basic training at Lackland Air Force Base, Texas.

<P> According to a report released Nov. 16, the 18-year-old Cincinnati resident died from heatstroke complicated by the relatively rare medical condition known as water intoxication, caused by drinking too much water.

<P> Other factors may have contributed to Schindler's death Sept. 12, investigators concluded, ranging from the manner in which the march was conducted to the allergies and cold he suffered from during much of basic training.

<P> Schindler's death highlighted problems in the basic training program that must be addressed, said Gen. Lloyd W. Newton, commander of Air Education and Training Command, which oversees basic training.

<P> "Part of our responsibility is to provide the safest training environment possible consistent with effective training," Newton said Nov. 16 when he released results of the two-month investigation.

<P> "This investigation found that our process was not fully adequate, and changes are being made to improve safety controls."

<P> Schindler's family has been harshly critical of how the Air Force handled the incident. They received a six-hour-long briefing on the report the same day it was made available to the press.

<P> "We were satisfied to the extent that they did not try to cover up anything," said a somewhat mollified Julie Schindler, his mother. "It wasn't anything we didn't know already. I think they were surprised that we knew as much as we already did."

<P> An investigation soon will follow to determine whether anyone is to blame for Schindler's death. However, Newton said it will not be a criminal inquiry.

<P> That answer doesn't satisfy Julie Schindler.

<P> "We think this was a case of blatant abuse and neglect," she said. "I want them held to the same standard that the rest of society is held to."

<P> The final march

<P> According to the report, this is what happened that day:

<P> The trainees were awakened at 5:20 a.m. They had been up until midnight, and Schindler served guard duty between 1:15 and 1:45 a.m.

<P> Schindler's last day began with physical-conditioning drills, which included calisthenics and a half-mile run. After breakfast, the recruits broke camp -- which also would have been physically demanding.

<P> The trainees ate their lunch about noon and then began preparing for the road march, which marked the culmination of their field-training exercise.

<P> They sat in the sun for about an hour before the march, wearing battle-dress uniforms, hats, web belts with canteens and camouflage face paint. They carried dummy M-16s.

<P> The road march went from 2 to 6 p.m., during the hottest part of the day along a route with little shade.

<P> For some reason, Schindler apparently was wearing winter-weight BDUs, which made it more difficult for perspiration to evaporate. And the face paint not only restricted sweat output by up to 40 percent, investigators said, but it disguised what apparently were growing signs of dark paint increases the effect of heat.

<P> The first indication that Schindler was having problems came about 1.5 miles into the march, the report said. He told several other trainees that he wasn't feeling well and was not sure he could complete the march.

<P> The column stopped for dinner at 4:15 p.m., about nine-tenths of a mile from where Schindler later collapsed. Testimony from other trainees indicated Schindler was showing signs of fatigue and dizziness.

<P> "According to the trainee who provided assistance, [Airman Basic] Schindler had difficulty in physically opening the meal -- he knew how to do it, but did not have the strength at the time," the report stated.

<P> Other trainees called for help after Schindler began vomiting shortly after eating his dinner. One of the training instructors told Schindler to move away from the other trainees if he was going to continue to be sick. One of the medics assigned to follow the column also responded to the trainees' calls.

<P> "She approached the area and observed Schindler from approximately eight to 10 feet away, but did not speak to him," the report stated. "She observed that he had thrown up his meal, but saw Schindler on his feet and walking and did not feel that he was in difficulty and thus took no further action.

<P> He told a medic he wasn't feeling well, another trainee said. "The medic told him to shut up and keep marching. Trainee Schindler looked worse throughout the day. We kept Schindler in close view and made sure he drank plenty of water."

<P> Indeed, he had plenty of water -- an estimated 4 gallons, investigators learned. They said he told the training instructors he'd had 12 canteens -- three gallons -- only part way into the march.

<P> Schindler asked several of his fellow trainees for help when the march continued. Some carried his rifle for him, while others locked arms and essentially pulled him along the route.

<P> He had difficulty walking straight and appeared to be "babbling," the trainees told the investigators.

<P> "Approximately 30 feet from the water crossing, according to testimony, Schindler began to jog in place with his head thrown back and would not stop although several trainees tried to get him to stop jogging," the report said.

<P> Instructors and medics also tried to stop him. He was quickly forced to the ground and treated for heat illness, with medics placing cold packs on his body.

<P> Still unresponsive, Schindler had a seizure.

<P> He was transported to Wilford Hall Medical at Lackland. His temperature was 108 degrees, and he had developed "life-threatening" heart-rhythm changes.

<P> Doctors put a tube in his throat to help him breathe and put him on a respirator. Because his heartbeats were erratic, doctors cut open his chest and massaged his heart to get blood flowing to other organs.

<P> A direct electrical shock to the heart restored a more normal rhythm, and the medical team poured ice and salt water into his chest cavity to cool his body temperature.

<P> His lungs were swollen with fluid. He received a blood transfusion because of a clotting disorder related to heatstroke.

<P> He had 4.5 extra liters of fluid in his bloodstream.

<P> The next morning, a scan showed his brain was swollen and dying from lack of oxygen and blood.

<P> He was pronounced dead at 4:24 p.m. Sept. 12. His parents donated most of his organs.

<P> Schindler's previous health

<P> By several accounts, Schindler was ill virtually his entire time at basic training. Investigators consider his pre-existing medical condition to have been among the factors that may have played a part in his death.

<P> Included in the investigation report is what appears to be a letter Schindler wrote to his family, dated Sept. 1. It shows Schindler's clear annoyance at his state of health.

<P> "I am sick right now. I've been sick since Monday. I am not getting better," Schindler wrote. "It's pissing me off because I can't stop coughing. I got medicine for it but it doesn't seem to help."

<P> He was seen at a Lackland dispensary three times -- Aug. 17, Aug. 31 and Sept. 8. He had cold and allergy symptoms and, on his last visit, a bruised shin. Medical personnel gave him increasingly stronger decongestants, antihistamines, cough medicine and pain reliever.

<P> Physicians learned Schindler had an elevated heart rate during a Sept. 8 visit to a Lackland dispensary. The increased heart rate could have come from the decongestants he was taking for a persistent cold or from the stress that

is normal for basic trainees, investigators concluded.

<P> Fear of failure

<P> According to the report, Schindler told several trainees during the march that he did not want to let the military instructors or medics know he was having trouble.

<P> His action apparently was based on a fear that trainees who failed to complete the march would have to repeat basic training, investigators said. Officials said, however, that wasn't the case then and isn't the case today.

<P> "One of the primary means of identifying trainees experiencing significant physical and medical problems during the course of the [field exercise] is through self-identification," the report said. "The students across the board indicated a reluctance, and in many cases, a fear of approaching MTIs/medics to let them know they were sick."

<P> More than 50 statements from Schindler's fellow trainees on the march were included in the report. Many were highly critical of both the training instructors and the medics who accompanied them. Several charged that some training instructors accused Schindler of faking his medical problems and of malingering.

<P> "After the first water stop, Trainee Schindler told instructors he could not go on, but he was called a 'pussy' and forced to go on," one trainee wrote.

<P> The supervisors at the scene, meanwhile, told a different story. None could recall any of Schindler's health problems on the march before his collapse.

<P> "At no time during the march did I recall that trainee [Schindler] was having any troubles," one of the permanent-party personnel wrote in a statement to the investigators.

<P> "We stopped to eat chow at [4:15 p.m.] and we proceeded on the march at [4:50 p.m.] All trainees seemed to be just fine at this point, even the trainees who did have problems during the earlier stages of the march."

<P> The investigators downplayed the allegations of abuse and neglect from the supervisors that were leveled by the trainees.

<P> "The trainees' perceptions that the MTIs were not sensitive to his condition apparently stemmed from the fact that the MTIs had to deal firmly with [Schindler] in order to get his attention and stimulate a response from him as he was unresponsive to their direction," the report stated.

<P> Changes

<P> In the wake of Schindler's death, Air Force officials have said they are instituting several procedural changes to their basic training doctrine.

<P> One major change, also recommended by the investigators, will result in the march beginning at about 8 a.m., when the weather is cooler. Other changes include:

<P> * Having medics wear red cross arm bands to distinguish them from the training instructors.

<P> * Developing procedures to help training instructors and medics better monitor trainee health.

<P> * Encourage trainees to identify personal or other problems.

<P> * Automatically removing trainees from field exercises for certain unspecified medical symptoms.

<P> "We won't put them back in until they are cleared by medical personnel," Newton said. "We deeply regret the loss of Micah. We take our responsibility of training America's young men and women very seriously."

<P> Meanwhile, although some of Julie Schindler's questions have been answered, she still wants to know who was ultimately responsible for her son's death.

<P> "This is not over for us," she said. "It'll never be over for us."

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<P>Air Force Times

November 29, 1999

Pg. 16

<P>His Condition Was Little Known But Lethal

<P>By Mike Glenn

<P> SAN ANTONIO -- Air Force officials had little experience with what is believed to have been the primary cause of Airman Basic Micah Schindler's death while at basic training at Lackland Air Force Base, Texas.

<P> Schindler, 18, died of brain swelling caused by heatstroke and hyponatremia, or low sodium levels.

<P> An autopsy revealed that Schindler's hyponatremia was brought on by excessive water consumption, known as water intoxication. According to the investigators, Schindler consumed an estimated four gallons of water before and during the road march.

<P> The condition results from taking in more water than the body needs. In Schindler's case, it meant he was drinking more water than he was excreting, either through sweating or urination. Large amounts of excess water over a short time diluted the minerals in his blood cells.

<P> "Especially important is the sodium level, and hyponatremia leads to an increased tendency for internal organs [such as the brain and lungs] to absorb extra water and swell," the report stated.

<P> A critical-care specialist at Wilford Hall Medical Center at Lackland Air Force Base, where Schindler died, said that Schindler "would likely have survived this severe heatstroke if the water intoxication was not present," the report said.

<P> The symptoms of low sodium in the blood include nausea, vomiting, headache, fatigue and dizziness. Those are similar to someone who is dehydrated or has a mild heat injury, investigators noted.

<P> Officials acknowledge that the confusion over the symptoms might have played a role in Schindler's death.

<P> "At one point, the instructor told Airman Schindler to drink more water. His comment was, 'I already drank 12 canteens,'" said Gen. Lloyd W. Newton, commander of Air Education and Training Command. "We're finding out now that was not what we should have done at that point."

<P> That answer isn't likely to satisfy Julie Schindler, his mother.

<P> "He did exactly what they told him to do -- drink more water," she said in a Nov. 17 telephone interview from her home in Cincinnati.

<P> Maj. Gen. Earl W. Mabry II, commander of Wilford Hall Medical Center at Lackland, cited a July report in the medical journal Military Medicine of an Army recruit in his fourth week of basic training who also died of hyponatremia brought on by water intoxication.

<P> "All day long he [the Army recruit] was consuming an inordinate amount of fluids," Mabry said at the news conference in which the investigation was released.

<P> "While it is extremely unusual to see this phenomenon, it is being reported now."

<P> The associate director of a leading medical research center said well-established medical guidelines for determining the proper level of water consumption already exist.

<P> "He may have lost as much as one to two quarts of water per hour. That's all he needed to drink," said Dr. Stephen Farrell of the Cooper Research Institute in Dallas.

<P> "You want to match the sweat loss with the water intake. Two quarts of fluid per hour is usually about the maximum we'd recommend," Farrell said.

<P> Water, he said, was like any other nutrient -- necessary for life as long as it is consumed at healthy levels.

<P> "More is not always better. Too much can be toxic."

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<P>Army Times

November 29, 1999

Pg. 9

<P>Big Red One Commander Defends Readiness

<P>By Chris Lawson

<P> The commander of the 1st Infantry Division was not shy about reporting his unit's readiness problems to the Pentagon in October.

<P> Now Maj. Gen. John P. Abizaid is dealing with the potentially morale-crushing fallout.

<P> In an open letter to the leaders, soldiers and family members of the Big Red One -- a copy of which was obtained by Army Times -- Abizaid said the division has never "stopped being ready for war" and defended the service and sacrifice of his soldiers.

<P> Like his superiors in the Pentagon, Abizaid said despite the fact his division could not pull troops and equipment out of the Balkans within established classified timelines, his soldiers nonetheless remain "ready" for war.

<P> His Nov. 11 letter came in response to media reports that the 1st Infantry Division and 10th Mountain Division had been rated C-4, the lowest possible readiness ratings, by their own commanders in October.

<P> Abizaid, who declined an Army Times interview, took exception to the characterization that his soldiers were not ready for war.

<P> "This may come as a surprise to those of you carrying loaded weapons on patrol in Kosovo in the middle of the night, or others of you moving heavy equipment into the Balkans from Bremerhaven and Thessaloniki, or to the still others of you who are at gunnery ranges at Grafenwoehr," he wrote. "No division in the world comes close to matching the combat record that we have here in the Big Red One."

<P> Abizaid told his troops that assessing readiness levels was his responsibility and he does it against a number of criteria.

<P> "Since our deployment to Kosovo, the key question concerns our ability -- our readiness -- to rapidly move to a different region of the world and fight. My assessment was we could not pull out of the Balkans, refit, rearm, reform, retrain and move to another theater within established (classified) timelines

<P> "At the end of the day, we leaders have to say what we think."

<P> Abizaid's defense of his soldiers continued.

<P> "Every one of our soldiers deploys ready to fight. Our combat teams can fight and win anywhere in the Balkans. Given time to reorient, we can fight and win against anyone, anywhere in the world."

<P> Abizaid said the true measure of a combat team's worth has always been its ability to operate under tough and demanding circumstances. He described the Kosovo operation as a "remarkable achievement."

<P> In the end of the letter, he made a final rallying cry:

<P> "Keep faith with each other, you are doing magnificent and important work. While everyone else is working to be ready for the game, you are already in the field playing your heart out.

<P> "I salute you for the work you are doing and will do in the days ahead."
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<P>Marines Corps Times

November 29, 1999

Pg. 8

<P>The Big Fix?

<I><P>Jones Fears Recon, Artillery May Require Comprehensive Overhaul

</I><P>By C. Mark Brinkley, Times Staff Writer

<P> The Marine Corps' fire support and reconnaissance communities could get an overhaul in the coming months depending on the outcome of reviews ordered for each by Marine Commandant Gen. James L. Jones.

<P> Fearing that the capabilities of each group degraded seriously during the past decade, Jones ordered reviews of each group's current capabilities and structure immediately after becoming commandant July 1.

<P> Marine officials said Lt. Gen. Raymond P. Ayres Jr., deputy chief of staff for plans, policies and operations, is in charge of completing each review and providing Jones with proposed fixes.

<P> In August, Ayres' group solicited input from the operating forces, Marine Corps Headquarters departments, Marine Corps Combat Development Command and the training establishment regarding the identification of specific issues for correction and preliminary solutions, Marine officials said.

<P> "Specifically, PP&O requested input on the role, mission, organization, structure and training of ground reconnaissance and artillery," said Maj. David Andersen, a spokesman at Marine Corps Headquarters. "The intent was to tap into the collective knowledge and experience throughout the Marine Corps, quickly frame the issues and offer the commandant solutions.

<P> "What General Jones did not want was another study that became drawn out over time."

<P> Marine officials said Ayres' group is validating the information it gathered and preparing to turn over the results to Jones. The reports will include two sets of recommendations for Jones to consider -- recommendations that can be enacted immediately and those that can be enacted during the course of his tenure.

<P> Reconnaissance

<P> During his first Corpswide trip, made shortly after he became commandant, Jones asked Marines for their thoughts on reconnaissance.

<P> "I personally think that we have atrophied and done damage to our reconnaissance mission in the Marine Corps, which is historically one of the things we have prided ourselves in since World War II," Jones said in a July interview

<P> Some areas under review and possible fixes include:

<P> * Reorganization: Marine officials are wrestling with the idea of providing each Marine Expeditionary Force with a force reconnaissance company and each division with a reconnaissance battalion. The new structure, if approved, would clarify command relationships and mission and provide each group with organic ground reconnaissance.

<P> Currently, only I MEF has separate units, Marine officials said. Both I MEF and III MEF have combined units organized under the force reconnaissance company, which must support both the MEF and division.

<P> One fear Marine officials have is that combined units blur command relationships between the MEF, the division and the subordinate reconnaissance unit. The perceived blur leaves questions about the recon unit's proper chain of command, what the priority of its training is, who provides administrative and logistical support and who gets priority reconnaissance support.

<P> "The MEF and division do not necessarily have the same reconnaissance needs," Andersen said. "MEF focuses on deep reconnaissance, the commander's area of interest. Division focuses on distant reconnaissance, the commander's area of influence."

<P> * Refocusing: Marine officials also are trying to bring the focus of force recon back to providing the MEF commander with deep reconnaissance. While deep recon is supposed to be the group's primary mission, often it isn't.

<P> "We must look at additional tasks that have been assigned to force units, perhaps degrading their primary function, serving as the commanders' 'eyes and ears,'" Andersen said. "It comes down to prioritizing tasks and focusing on those that are an enabler for the commander."

<P> One area under review deals with providing recon capabilities to Marine Expeditionary Units.

<P> "We need to see if the way we train certain units within the MEU -- like the direct action mission, which is done by elite reconnaissance units -- is worth the sacrifice of the recon capability."

<P> * Structure: Marine officials want to ensure that the size of units and reconnaissance teams provides the capabilities needed for commanders at every level.

<P> * Review: Marine officials are reviewing the Marine Corps as a whole to ensure that ground reconnaissance, sensors and other platforms compliment each other.

<P> Marine officials also are reviewing the grade shape -- say, how many sergeants or lieutenants are needed -- and the training pipeline for the reconnaissance military occupational specialties to ensure they meet the Marine Corps' needs.

<P> Fire support

<P> Marine officials said Jones wants to ensure that the operating forces have the right fire power needed to meet both current and future challenges.

<P> Areas under review include:

<P> * Rockets: Marine officials are considering the idea of procuring rockets as a means of providing deep-fight and counterfire-battle capabilities.

<P> "Rockets are only one of several systems the Corps might look to for fire support," Andersen said. "As we examine systems, the full spectrum of war must be considered, as well as answer the call of 'every clime and place.' The systems must provide us with the necessary volume, range, accuracy, and flexibility of employment.

<P> "No single system will answer the Marine Corps' needs," Andersen said. "We are and will continue to be a combined-arms organization."

<P> In that tradition, the studies also will focus on developing complementary and supplementary fires, including tube artillery and mortars. Systems will be reviewed to ensure they are expeditionary, quickly deployable and sustainable from a sea-based platform, Marine officials said.

<P> * Structure: Marine officials are reviewing the current structure and use of artillery regiments to ensure required capabilities are provided. Suggested changes could include improvements to the Marine Corps' current shooter-to-supported ratio.

<P> * Ammo: The studies will review current and future ammunition requirements, including the types and quantities of ammunition needed.

<P> * Review: As with the reconnaissance study, artillery also will be examined on the macro level to ensure that all ground, naval and air weapons are complementary, providing maneuver forces with the range, accuracy, lethality and volume needed.

<P> Marine officials also are reviewing the grade shape of the artillery military occupational specialties, to ensure they meet the Marine Corps' needs.

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<P>Omaha World-Herald

November 21, 1999

<P>Marine Is Buried After 32-Year Mistake

<P> Fort Wayne, Ind. (AP) - A woman who was given the wrong remains after her son's 1967 death in Vietnam finally laid him to rest Saturday.

<P> Mary Jellison thought she buried son Mark Judge's remains in 1967, after the Marine was believed to have been killed in a search-and-destroy mission.

<P> But in 1994, the military learned that it had sent the wrong body home.

Judge was taken prisoner in the ambush. Killed while trying to escape, he was buried in Vietnam.

<P> The body Jellison buried was that of William Berry. His remains were sent home to California last month.

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<P>Defense News

November 29, 1999

Pg. 3

<P>Pentagon Slashes Navy Missile Defense Program

<I><P>Officials Shift Funds to U.S. Army's THAAD Project

</I><P>By Robert Holzer, Defense News Staff Writer

<P> WASHINGTON -- Pentagon officials are considering plans to transfer large sums from the budget accounts of the U.S. Navy Theater Wide (NTW) anti missile project to other missile defense programs, principally the Army's Theater High Altitude Area Defense missile (THAAD).

<P> Facing a shortfall in funding of more than \$2.5 billion over several years for various missile defense programs, officials with the Pentagon's Ballistic Missile Defense Organization are reordering their priorities. Funding made available will be re-allocated among existing missile defense efforts so that top priority programs will be fielded as quickly as possible, defense sources said.

<P> As part of this reallocation, the Ballistic Missile Defense Organization is conducting a review of its so-called Upper Tier Strategy, which includes NTW and THAAD. This so-called Tiger team review is being led by Air Force Brig. Gen. Richard Davis, deputy for theater air and missile defense at the Ballistic Missile Defense Organization.

<P> NTW is being developed by Lockheed Martin Government Electronic Systems, Moorestown, N.J., and Raytheon Co.'s missile systems unit, Tucson, Ariz. The system consists of a derivative of the Aegis radar on Navy ships and a new version of the Standard anti-air missile that would be fitted with a kinetic kill vehicle that destroys enemy missiles by ramming them in flight.

<P> THAAD is being developed by Lockheed Martin Missiles and Space, Sunnyvale, Calif., and consists of a land-based missile anti-radar to hit enemy ballistic missiles in flight.

<P> The Navy was to present its plan for alternative NTW schedules to the Ballistic Missile Defense Organization Tiger team in early-November, but senior service officials postponed the briefing to give Navy leaders more time to study the issues.

<P> "This is an important issue and it is critical that the leadership, both within the Navy and Defense Department, have the proper preparation before they make their decision," said Vice Adm. Conrad Lautenbacher, deputy chief of staff for resources, warfare requirements and assessments. "I don't think those decisions will be made until the end of December," he told reporters here Nov. 17.

<P> The THAAD missile has scored big on two recent test flights and NTW has yet to even fly. Thus, Pentagon officials are floating proposals to dramatically curtail NTW development and proceed with the Army effort instead.

<P> Pam Rogers, a spokeswoman with the Army's Aviation and Missile Command, Redstone Arsenal, Ala., referred all questions on THAAD to the Ballistic Missile Defense Organization.

<P> Under a tentative organization plan, NTW funding will be slashed to a level at which only a limited set of flight tests would be conducted, defense so

urces said.

<P> Ballistic Missile Defense Organization officials have devised a list of eight options for consideration by senior Pentagon officials, according to a copy of the options obtained by Defense News. These include: continuing both programs as is, which would consume \$2 billion more than the funding expected through 2006; and splitting funds evenly between the two programs, which delays THAAD until 2010 and NTW fielding to 2010.

<P> Another option would be to fully fund THAAD and carry NTW forward only until the conclusion of the initial testing phase. This option could save up to \$2 billion, and carry NTW to the next decision point, where it could be continued or canceled, according to the document.

<P> The bulk of the funding planned for NTW between 2002 and 2007 then would be moved to THAAD, so the Army-led program can complete a redesign of its missile and begin production, Pentagon and Navy sources said.

<P> "NTW will be given such low funding that it will barely be on a respirator," one defense source said.

<P> Under this scenario, the Navy would be able to complete its Aegis/Lightweight Exoatmospheric Projectile Intercept program, but efforts related to a larger NTW program would be erased, defense sources said. A total of nine test flights, including five actual missile intercepts are planned under that testing effort.

<P> The draft plan, however, still awaits approval by both Air Force Lt. Gen. Ronald Kadish, director of the Ballistic Missile Defense Organization, and Jacques Gansler, Pentagon acquisition chief.

<P> Delaying NTW to accelerate THAAD is short-sighted, Lautenbacher said.

<P> "The U.S. military needs both a land-based and a sea-based alternative," Lautenbacher said. "If you were to build one and delay another there would be a significant deficit [in U.S. capabilities]. If we delay much beyond the 2006 or 2007 timeframe ... the risk certainly goes up."

<P> Ballistic Missile Defense Organization officials stress that no decisions regarding NTW or THAAD have yet been made, and that no final resolution of the issue is expected until January at the earliest.

<P> "While the rumors may be flying, they [the Tiger team] have not finished

d their work," said Tom Johnson, director of external affairs for the organization. "I don't envision any decisions being made until the Navy has a chance to brief."

<P> When that critical presentation to Ballistic Missile Defense Organization officials will now take place is unknown, Navy sources said. But the service is preparing three options for to Kadish, sources said, possibly by the end of November.

<P> One option is the preferred course of sticking to a robust, albeit slimmed, testing and development effort for NTW. A second option lays out what minimal objectives can be accomplished if the Ballistic Missile Defense Organization follows through and severely restricts funding for NTW.

<P> A third, compromise solution seeks to chart a middle course between those extremes, naval sources said.

<P> "The highest levels of the Navy are working through this whole issue," a service source said, adding that "we believe whatever decision is made will be based on the best information available."

<I><P> Staff Writer George I. Seffers contributed to this report.</I></P>

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<P>Defense News

November 29, 1999

Pg. 1

<P>U.S., Allies Move On Maritime TMD Partnership Plan

<P>By Colin Clark and Robert Holzer, Defense News Staff Writers

<P> WASHINGTON -- Through a series of low-key, meetings with important European naval partners, the U.S. Navy is stitching together a broad outline for a cooperative naval missile defense regime.

<P> In separate meetings during October, naval officers from the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, the United States and Australia met to consider topics for discussion about how a cooperative naval missile defense effort might proceed in coming years.

<P> "What we see here is a pretty keen interest in the allied navies for participating in the development and eventual deployment of missile defenses," according to a U.S. Navy source who participated in the meetings.

<P> A German defense official here told Defense News<I> </I>that the effort represents "a significant step in the direction of interoperability, especially in terms of command, control and communication, as well as naval weapon systems. Eventually it will also mean great improvements in surveillance and intelligence."

<P> The first of these meetings was held in Bremerhaven, Germany, Oct. 11-13, and included representatives from the German, Dutch and U.S. navies.

<P> The talks, referred to as the Maritime Theater Ballistic Missile Defense Forum, whittled a host of issues down to five or six that are being studied in earnest, according to officials directly involved.

<P> These include:

<P> *How evolved versions of the SM-2 Standard anti-air missile the U.S. Navy is developing for its missile defense programs can operate with the radar and fire control systems deployed on allied ships.

<P> *What opportunities exist for using older Terrier antiair missiles to serve as targets for missile defense testing.

<P> *Ways to jointly maintain and support SM-2 missiles from depots.

<P> These issues are now being fleshed out, U.S. Navy sources said, and will be discussed at the next meeting of the forum, planned for March in the United States.

<P> "My suspicion is that in March we will approve a couple of projects and maybe begin the process for signing a significant memorandum of understanding," the U.S. Navy source said.

<P> "The most significant thing is that the Dutch and Germans have made a strong commitment to the Standard missile," said Guy Stitt, president of Seattle-based AMI International, a maritime consulting firm. "So this is just the next step."

<P> The SM-3 "is our preferred missile. Of course, we have to confirm that the missile will accomplish what we wish it to do," the German defense official said. He added that Germany already has designated a liaison officer to the U.S. Navy. The officer starts work this month.

<P> A final decision on purchasing the missile is scheduled for 2003, the German official said.

<P> The Dutch Defense Ministry is committed to ballistic missile defense but is considering options, said Rear Adm. Pieter Kok, defense attache at the Netherlands Embassy here.

<P> "We are on the brink of launching a defense white paper for the next 10 years, which will be presented to parliament. Theater ballistic missile defense is an element of that plan. The decision will all depend on what the parliament says," Kok told Defense News.

<P> The Dutch Air Force is interested in participating in the program, Kok said, sharing information so land and sea systems could improve their targeting.

<P> "The only thing we are facing now is the choice of options: Navy, Air Force or both," he said.

<P> The forum members also granted Australia observer status to their discussion.

ssions, and it will participate in the March round of talks, U.S. defense sources said.

<P> Australian officials responsible both here and in Canberra could not be reached for comment at press time.

<P> Both the German and Dutch navies have new ship programs in the works that could use a theater ballistic missile defense capability. Germany is building the F125 frigate, while the Netherlands is pursuing a program called LCF. Both of these navies are interested in the Block IV A version of the Standard that is the basis of the U.S. Navy's Area theater ballistic missile defense program.

<P> In a separate meeting held in Rome Oct. 25-27, officers from the Italian and U.S. navies met to discuss theater ballistic missile defense issues. A similar list of study items was developed, the only difference being that the issue of radar development was talked about with the Italians, the U.S. Navy source said.

<P> "It gave us a number of things to go work on, and that is what we are going to do," the Navy source said.

<P> An Italian defense official here said the Italian Navy participated in the talks, and noted that a naval delegation is expected in Washington Nov. 28 to discuss missile defense and other issues.


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<P>Inside The Navy

November 22, 1999

Pg. 7

<P>Navy Mine Warfare Official Warns 'Judgment Day' Is Coming

<P> PANAMA CITY, FL -- Significant support from Defense Secretary William Cohen and Congress has allowed the Navy's mine warfare program to achieve funding stability, with nearly \$5 billion budgeted across the future years defense plan. But with that stability comes a caveat: Cohen and Congress now expect MIW programs to provide a return on investment. According to Dale Gerry, the service's deputy assistant secretary for mine and undersea warfare, both the Navy and industry must focus harder on keeping MIW programs on track, or the goal of outfitting one carrier battle group with an organic MIW suite by 2005 will not be achieved.

<P> "Judgment day is coming for mine warfare, and as it marches closer, interest and scrutiny is increasing," he told an audience here three weeks ago at the annual expeditionary warfare conference, sponsored by the National Defense Industrial Association.

<P> Last January, Gerry said the \$315 million added to MIW coffers that month was key to providing program stability (ITN, Jan. 11, p1). But subsequent program reviews have revealed several of the Navy's seven "organic" programs may be slipping.

<P> "Since then I have been surprised and frustrated with cost growth, program breaches, additional bills, and so on and so on and so on," he stated. "Every day, every week, and every month bring us closer to 2005, and we are rapidly approaching the point where, if we don't start executing, we are not going to meet our requirements."

<P> One key organic system, the Remote Minehunting System, has already undergone a schedule rebaselining (ITN, May 24, p1), and one senior service official speaking at the conference said many other systems were "leaning."

<P> Gerry said academia, laboratories, industry and the service's personnel -- both in Washington, DC, and out in the fleet -- must communicate more often and more effectively to keep MIW programs on track. "We must talk with each other, inform each other, and help each other. Only through effective partnering do we stand a chance of making the organic vision work in the near term and achieve our mid- and far-term goals," he said.

<P> The secretary said working together and combining similar programs and technologies was key to keeping programs on track. "I have said it before, we just can't afford, either time-wise or dollar-wise, a bunch of separate job-shops. Nor can we survive the death of a thousand cuts where every program review reveals additional cost growths, schedule slippages or changing requirements," he said.

<P> Gerry suggested the anti-submarine warfare and MIW communities should work together to develop common systems, as the problems facing the communities are very similar. "In today's limited resource environment, and with the strides we are making in the technology world, now is the time to begin working these problems from a common framework," he said.

<P> Of the 18 cases recorded of Navy ships suffering damage or destruction since 1950, mines are responsible for 14, which is more than any other threat. The Tripoli (LPH-10) and Princeton (CG-59) both were damaged by mines on Feb. 18, 1991, during the Persian Gulf war. While the total cost of the mines that damaged those ships was just \$11,500, the repair costs amounted to \$22 million. Due to this cost-effectiveness, the number and types of mines have begun to proliferate across the globe.

<P> In 1996, then-Chief of Naval Operations Adm. Mike Boorda called for a move toward organic mine countermeasure systems, now being called "assigned" capabilities. Subsequently, the service has funded and began development of seven assigned systems. One will be submarine launched, one surface combatant launched, and the other five will be deployed from the service's CH-60 helicopter, which will likely launch from carriers, amphibious ships or oilers, officials said.

<P> The systems will allow Navy vessels to negotiate minefields "in-stride," rather than being forced to wait for supporting mine countermeasures ships to slowly steam toward the fields.

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

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<P>Norfolk Virginian-Pilot

November 20, 1999

<P>Three Ships' Sailors Can Give Thanks For Earlier Return, Nov
. 22

<P>By Jack Dorsey, The Virginian-Pilot

<P> NORFOLK -- Sailors aboard three returning Norfolk-based ships will get a head start on Thanksgiving plans next week, thanks to a chance meeting between the chief of naval operations and one of the ships' captains.

<P> Plans initially called for the guided missile destroyer Ramage, frigate Elrod and oiler Leroy Grumman to return from their six-month Mediterranean Sea cruise on Wednesday, just one day before Thanksgiving.

<P> That, said Cmdr. Hipolito L. Camacho, captain of the Ramage, would have put extra pressure on sailors trying to reach their out-of-town homes by the holiday, particularly if they were driving.

<P> So, when CNO Adm. Jay Johnson visited the Ramage in the Mediterranean in September to discuss Navy changes in the Inter-Deployment Training Cycle, pay increases, better retirement plans and other quality of life issues, Camacho decided to dangle some bait.

<P> "I took the opportunity when the CNO was aboard to bring to his attention the fact that it made a lot more sense to return on Nov. 22 to allow a couple of days to safely drive across country," Camacho said.

<P> Speaking Thursday by satellite telephone as the Ramage neared Bermuda, Camacho said requesting the change was in line with other out-of-the-box thinking being fostered nowadays in what he calls the "new Navy."

<P> "In the long term, it really didn't cost the 2nd Fleet that much more in terms of fuel expenditures," he said. "So I laid that out for him, and he agreed with it. It worked out real fine. The crew is ecstatic. We'll be home on the 22nd, vs. the 24th, and I am ecstatic as well."

<P> Cmdr. Robert Bougher, commanding officer of the Elrod, called the earlier homecoming "a spectacular gesture" on the part of the CNO and chain of command.

<P> "Those two days probably didn't mean a lot in terms of our mission, or the overall national security in the long run," Bougher said by telephone.

<P> "But to my sailors that act of generosity has gone a long way. Those are the kinds of things that when re-enlistment time goes around they will say, 'They really took care of us.' They didn't have to let us come home early. They did because they wanted to let us be with our families."

<P> All three ships left Norfolk May 24 to join the tail end of the carrier Theodore Roosevelt battle group and the front end of the carrier John F. Kennedy battle group.

<P> The timing was such, said Camacho, that the three ships missed action from the Kosovo crisis. They arrived in the theater a day before the military technical agreement was signed, ending the bombing.

<P> "But we did get to participate in a few key operations there with the remaining units of the TR," he said. "From that point on, we have been basically just waving the flag in the Mediterranean Sea, participating in various exercises, especially bilateral exercises with North African countries and also showing the flag in the eastern Med with the Turkish/Greek situation out there as well."

<P> For Elrod and its crew, the deployment took them to the Black Sea where it exercised with former Soviet Bloc navies such as Bulgaria, Ukraine and Georgia. The ship was refueled twice by an East Bloc oiler, the Atya, in what Bougher believes was a first-ever astern refueling. Usually the U.S. Navy refuels abreast of its oilers.

<P> In some respects, said both captains, it is a more arduous task to maintain the peace in those regions, vs. the more intense military strikes required in areas such as Kosovo.

<P> "Especially given the volatile situation in the Med right now," Camacho

ho said. ``Not only do you still have the situation happening in Serbia, especially Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also down in the eastern Med . . . between Greece and Turkey over the Cyprus issue."

<P> The Ramage visited Cyprus to show American resolve there, he said. It also made its presence known in Israel, where the crew visited Bethlehem and Jerusalem.

<P> Overall, said Camacho, it has been a ``fantastic deployment," his eighth.

<P> As the Ramage pulls up to the Norfolk Naval Station, it will dock with an entire enlisted watch team manning the bridge, combat information center and central control stations, he said. Those enlisted members qualified for those posts and it is only fitting that they return the ship home, he said.

<P> In addition, as the Ramage, Elrod and Grumman end their deployments, it will mark another milestone.

<P> ``These are the last deployers of the millennium," Camacho said. ``There are no other returning deployers for the remaining calendar year."

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<P>Washington Post

November 23, 1999

Pg. B6

<P>Navy Admiral Walter C. Ford Dies At Age 96

<P> Walter Chilcott Ford, 96, a retired Navy rear admiral and maritime consultant, died of renal failure Nov. 20 at the Bethesda Mariner Health facility.

<P> Adm. Ford retired from the Navy in 1961 after 40 years of service. That included World War II duty as commander of the destroyer Perkins and participation in the Battle of the Coral Sea and the Guadalcanal campaign. He received a Silver Star and a Bronze Star.

<P> Postwar assignments included service as executive director of the Central Intelligence Agency and assistant chief of staff for intelligence to the commander of U.S. naval forces in the Eastern Atlantic and the Mediterranean, command of service and supply operations and duty with the Maritime Administration, where he was chief of the office of program planning and deputy maritime administrator. In 1957, he was named U.S. representative to the North Atlantic Planning Board for Ocean Shipping.

<P> After retiring from Navy service, he was a maritime consultant to Cities Service Oil Co. and United Tanker Corp. of New York and the Washington Maritime Corp.

<P> Adm. Ford, a resident of Annapolis since shortly after World War I, was born in Buffalo. He graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1925.

<P> His wife of 67 years, Channez Edith Gates Ford, died in 1993, and a daughter, Jeanne Channez Tandy McGlasson, died in 1991.

<P> Survivors include a daughter, Barbara Rosin of Columbia, S.C.; nine grandchildren; and 18 great-grandchildren.

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<P>Washington Post

November 23, 1999

Pg. B7

<U><P>The Federal Diary

</U><P>Who's On The Transit Subsidy Bandwagon?

<P>By Mike Causey

<P> Tuesday, Nov. 23, 1999The transportation subsidy policies of federal agencies differ. A lot.

<P> Some give employees the maximum amount allowed by law. Some give less, including nothing at all.

<P> Some give subsidies to all employees. Some limit payments to certain groups.

<P> Some go for programs that provide tax incentives--rather than a voucher or a direct cash subsidy--to workers who take the bus, subway, train or use a car pool to work.

<P> Some say they can't afford the transit subsidy program but provide low-cost or free parking to certain drivers.

<P> More than 180 federal agencies--or parts of agencies--in the Washington area participate in the popular Metrochek program. Metrochek vouchers are available in denominations of \$1, \$5, \$10, \$15, \$20, \$21 and \$30. They are accepted by most of the Washington area's public transportation operators.

<P> Some operations, like the Interior Department, use a different system, called the Transportation Fringe Benefit Program. Interior says that 1,155 employees nationwide use the program, which provides tax incentives that partially offset the cost of commuting by public transportation.

<P> As reported in the Federal Diary last week, Energy Secretary Bill Richardson has authorized his department to give subsidies worth up to \$65 a month for public transportation. That could nudge nonparticipating agencies to get with the program, and encourage (or shame) others to raise payments to employees.

<P> At the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp., the National Association of Government Employees is trying to negotiate a \$100 a month public transportation subsidy. NAGE says that is the new limit established by Congress.

<P> Although a large number of departments and agencies (or parts of them) give workers transportation subsidies, a few are still outside the program. That includes the Defense Department, the largest federal employer in the Washington area.

<P> Defense has long said it won't give transit subsidies to civilian federal workers because it can't--by law--give them to military personnel.

<P> Some agencies provide transit vouchers to all employees who pledge to use the vouchers themselves--as opposed to giving them to friends or relatives or selling them.

<P> Some agencies, such as the White House, limit subsidies to lower-income employees. Some agencies give public transit subsidies as a bonus for good work.

<P> At the same time, some agencies provide subsidized parking to two groups: disabled employees and the top brass--not necessarily in that order. VIPs who often make the call on whether the agency participates in transit subsidy programs--and if so, to what extent--generally have reserved parking spaces at the office.

<P> Locally, the most popular program is the Metrochek system. Details can be had by calling 202-962-1326. Bear in mind that agencies must sign up for the program. Individuals cannot commit their agencies to the program.

<P> Here's a partial list of departments and agencies participating in the program in the Washington area. In some cases, only parts of a department or agency may be part of the program:

<P> The Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Education, Energy, Justice, Housing and Urban Development, Transportation, Health and Human Services, Transportation and Treasury, the Executive Office of the President, the Federal Communications Commission, the Federal Emergency Management Agency, the Export-Import Bank, the Environmental Protection Agency, the Congressional Budget Office, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the Agency for International Development, the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives, the Merit Systems Protection Board, the National Labor Relations Board, the National Science Foundation, the Commodity Futures Trading Commission, the Court of Veterans Appeals, the D.C. financial control board, the Bankruptcy Court for the District, the Administration on Aging, the Panama Canal Commission, the Federal Election Commission, the Federal Mine Safety and Health Review Commission, the Legal Services Corp., the Marine Mammal Commission, the Nuclear Regulator Commission, the Selective Service System, the Office of Government Ethics, the Peace Corps, the Postal Rate Commission, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Supreme Court, the U.S. Tax Court and the Metropolitan Washington Airports Authority.

<P> Although Defense does not participate, Walter Reed Army Medical Center, the Defense Nuclear Facilities Safety Board and the Court of Appeals for the Armed Forces do take part in the transit subsidy program.

<P> Almost forgot, the Ozone Transport Commission is a participant. Imagine leaving that group off the list.


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<P>New York Times

November 23, 1999

<P>Military Is Said To Prevent East Timor Refugees' Return

<P>By Barbara Crossette

<P> UNITED NATIONS -- Intimidation by militias linked to the Indonesian military is preventing tens of thousands of East Timorese refugees from returning home from camps in West Timor, a senior American diplomat said Monday on a tour of the region.

<P> Richard Holbrooke, the U.S. representative at the United Nations, which took over the civilian administration of East Timor when Indonesia ratified the territory's vote for independence, said in a telephone interview that international relief experts were losing a crucial information battle to the roving pro-Jakarta gangs that lost out in East Timor and are now operating freely in West Timor, an Indonesian province.

<P> After the overwhelming vote for independence in August, the militias waged a campaign of violence in East Timor, driving many people into hiding or into seeking refuge across the border in West Timor.

<P> "The militia are using two core tactics to prevent the refugees from going home," Holbrooke said from Dili, the East Timorese capital. "One is physical intimidation, but the more serious one is disinformation. They have told the people that there is still fighting in East Timor, that Australian troops will rape the women and that they can't go back because Xanana Gusmao will kill them or take retribution." Jose Alexandre Gusmao, the East Timorese independence leader, is widely known to Timorese by his pen name, Xanana.

<P> Holbrooke said the office of the U.N. high commissioner for refugees was "not yet on top of the situation." He said he and the U.N. administrator, Sergio Vieira de Mello, would ask Gusmao to make a reassuring videotape on Tuesday to be shown to the refugees. Monsignor Carlos Ximenes Belo, the Nobel Peace laureate who is a spiritual leader of the East Timorese, will also be approached, Holbrooke said.

<P> Holbrooke compared the militiamen, some of whom he saw wearing Indonesian army T-shirts, to the Khmer Rouge guerrillas who terrorized Cambodian refugees in Thailand in the 1970s and 1980s.

<P> "We don't want these camps to become permanent," Holbrooke said of the settlements in West Timor. "It is a truism of all refugee camps that the longer people remain refugees, the less likely they are to return. These people should go back immediately. But they're scared."

<P> On Monday, Holbrooke helped to arrange an agreement on border security between Indonesian military commanders and the Australian officer, Maj. Gen. Peter Cosgrove, who commands the international peacekeeping force in East Timor. Matan Ruak, the deputy commander of East Timor's former rebel army, Falantil, also attended the meeting.

<P> In Geneva, Kris Janowski, the spokesman for the high commissioner for refugees, said the agency's staff members had been assaulted and stoned trying to help refugees leave the camps. He said officials, who have tried radio broadcasts to get information to refugees, were forced to use "hit and run" techniques to get them out of camps -- driving up and racing to load as many people as possible into a vehicle before the militias intervene.

<P> About 90,000 East Timorese have returned home, leaving between 100,000 and 150,000 displaced people in West Timor, not all of whom want to go back. The Indonesian government is being asked to resettle those refugees elsewhere in Indonesia.

<P> Holbrooke and other experts say the Indonesian military, stung by the loss of East Timor, could turn West Timor, an undisputed Indonesian province, into a festering crisis for Indonesia, the United Nations and possibly Australia, which is leading the peacekeeping forces.

<P> A long conflict in West Timor could cost Indonesia the international support that it needs at its most critical point, a British expert on Southeast Asia said.

<P> "Indonesia is a very, very sick country," Peter Carey of Oxford University told an Asia Society audience in New York on Monday. "It needs to be in a process of intensive care."

<P> He said the country would have to be rebuilt with a kind of Asian Marshall Plan -- a more comprehensive aid package than those provided normally by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

<P> But Carey, a history professor and the author of numerous books on the region, said outsiders would have to understand that the situation could get worse in West Timor even as camps are emptied, depriving the militias of important power bases. The Indonesian army and its East Timorese supporters are in effect

ct making their last stand there, he said.

<P> "The situation in West Timor is very insecure," he said, "and very insecure people will do very violent things."

<P> In Washington last week, Sen. Patrick Leahy, D-Vt., used a budget amendment to tie all future military sales and cooperation with the Indonesian military to a list of demands that include the return of the refugees to their homes and the prosecution of all members of the armed forces who aided the attacks on East Timorese since the August referendum.

<P> Holbrooke said that late last week in Jakarta he told Indonesian government leaders -- including President Abdurrahman Wahid, who is known by a nickname, Gus Dur -- that "Indonesia's international standing is being clobbered by what was happening in the camps."

<P> "The civilian leadership, from President Gus Dur on down -- and particularly the attorney general and the defense minister -- all wanted us to put public pressure on their own military to solve this problem," said Holbrooke, who has been traveling with Stanley Roth, assistant secretary of state for Asia and the Pacific, and Robert Gelbard, the American ambassador to Indonesia. "They did not regard this as outside interference. They encouraged it. They welcomed it. They asked us to do it."

<P> "The Indonesians are much more concerned about Aceh than about West Timor," Holbrooke said, referring to the independence movement in their troubled Aceh province. "We told them we want to get West Timor settled because we also are concerned in the long term about Aceh and the rest of Indonesia."

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<P>London Times

November 23, 1999

<U><P>World Summary

</U><P>Timor Pillage Report Accuses Top Officers

<P> Jakarta: General Wiranto, the former Indonesian armed forces commander-in-chief, has been accused of being directly responsible for the destruction of East Timor after the territory voted for independence (David Watts writes). Other senior officers have also been named by the country's human rights commission. Munir, a member of the commission, said the officers knew in advance of plans to rape and pillage East Timor and did nothing to stop the violence. But a first response from the military to the human rights report was less than positive: Major-General Sudrajat, its spokesman, said clarifications would be sought.

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<P>Washington Post

November 23, 1999

Maps Blamed For Clash In Timor

UNITED NATIONS--The use of conflicting maps is one of the reasons given for a fatal clash between Australian-led troops and Indonesian forces last month on the border between East Timor and western Timor, which is part of Indonesia, said a report circulated at the United Nations. One Indonesian police officer was killed and another seriously injured in the Oct. 10 incident.

East Timor, whose inhabitants voted on Aug. 30 to end Indonesian rule, is being patrolled by an international force, pending a U.N. operation that will lead it to independence.

According to the report, other causes of the incident included, "inadequate coordination and communication" between the Australian-led troops and Indonesian troops and police; an "overreaction and inappropriate response by some" Indonesian personnel manning a border post; and "inaccuracies in maps and inadequate border markings."

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<P>Washington Post

November 23, 1999

Pg. 20

<P>At Courthouse, Sharif Asserts His Innocence

<P>By Associated Press

<P> KARACHI, Pakistan, Nov. 22Former prime minister Nawaz Sharif spoke out publicly today for the first time since the army swept him from power last month, insisting that he is innocent of the charge of treason and railing against the military leadership that is putting him on trial.

<P> Sharif, making his second appearance before a special anti-terrorism court, also was allowed to meet with his wife and family, whom he had not seen since his Oct. 12 ouster by soldiers loyal to army chief Gen. Pervez Musharraf.

<P> "I have been subjected to solitary confinement," Sharif told reporters in the courtroom. "I was not given newspapers or television. There was no contact with the outside world. I was confined to a room and I did not know what was happening outside the room."

<P> "We are still subjected to the same treatment," he added, saying his son and brother were also being held.

<P> The appearance before the judge--who ordered the continuation of Sharif's detention--was the ousted leader's first opportunity to speak at length to journalists. Previously, he had passed notes through lawyers or was quoted by aides.

<P> Sharif has been charged with treason, hijacking and conspiracy to murder, because he allegedly denied a plane carrying Musharraf and about 200 passengers permission to land. The charges carry the death penalty or life in prison. Seven other officials face similar charges.

<P> Sharif returns to court Friday, when charges are to be filed.

<P> "We are all innocent," Sharif said while waiting for the judge to appear. "We are not involved in any of these accusations or allegations that have

ve been framed [against] us. We know we have not done anything wrong."

<P> He accused the military of illegally taking power and said it had brought the charges in an attempt to justify their coup against his civilian government.

<P> "Nobody has a right to remove us from office. We are a democratically elected government," he said. "Whatever has been done has no basis, no justification."

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<P>New York Times

November 23, 1999

<P>Afghanistan: Iran Crossing

<P> The border with Iran was reopened in western Afghanistan after being closed for more than a year. Iran shut the crossing after massing tens of thousands of troops near the frontier after nine of its diplomats were slain in Mazar-i-Sharif.

<P><i>--(Agence France-Presse)</i>

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<P>European Stars and Stripes

November 22, 1999

Pg. 3

<P>The New Targets Of Ethnic Hatred

<I><P>The Roma or Gypsies suffer while no one notices

</I><P>By Jon R. Anderson, Macedonia Bureau

<P> STENKOVEC II REFUGEE CAMP, Macedonia Safet Jashari named his baby Almir. Born one month ago in this squalid, muddy refugee camp in the foothills of Macedonia's rugged mountain border with Kosovo, Almir is a sadly fitting name.

<P> In the language of the Roma people or Gypsies, as most call them the name means "good thing," and for Jashari, the baby has been one of the few bright spots of his life in recent months.

<P> Largely forgotten by the international community after CNN cameras shifted away from camps like this in Macedonia to the rebuilding of war-torn Kosovo and events elsewhere, Jashari and his family are among thousands of new refugees who have been driven out of the province since the war.

<P> As hundreds of thousands of ethnic Albanians returned to Kosovo after the close of NATO's 78-day blitz against Yugoslavia in June, ethnic minorities like the Roma found themselves the new targets of ethnic hatred.

<P> In what sometimes seems like a never-ending cycle of violence in the Balkans, thousands of Roma and Serbs have been driven from their homes in Kosovo by angry ethnic Albanians. Some Kosovar Albanians claim that the two main minorities of Kosovo collaborated with Yugoslav police and paramilitary units in the ethnic cleansing campaign that swept the province before and during NATO's air campaign.

<P> Now, say the Roma, it is they who have been driven out by the same people who were victims themselves only a few months ago.

<P> "They want to ethnically cleanse Kosovo," says Jashari inside his small tent. "Now they are no different than the Serbs." Ironically, the dark canvas tent Jashari now lives in with his wife and four children once sheltered an ethnic Albanian family that likely suffered the same fate he and his family now endure.

<P> According to the United Nations, since July some 3,500 Roma have taken refuge from the violence in Macedonia. That's among almost 10,000 new refugees who have arrived in Macedonia after NATO's air campaign ended this summer. Even more are believed to have escaped to camps in Serbia and Montenegro.

<P> NATO's multinational Kosovo Force, or KFOR, has been able to do little to protect the some 200,000 Serb, Roma and other ethnic minorities in the province, while international aid efforts, in the form of long convoys along the nearby highway, concentrate on helping the thousands of Kosovar Albanians still homeless from the war.

<P> About 2,500 Roma refugees live in this dreary camp, the last yet to be closed by U.N. aid groups. Others have been moved into collective centers or are living with host families.

<P> On this day, men chop wood for the small stoves that serve as the only source of heat against bitter winds already dusting the tops of nearby mountains with snow. As light rain falls, women heat tea and coffee as children play in the wet cold, some with little more than sandals on their feet.

<P> Families complain of meager rations. Potatoes mostly, they say. A shipment of grapes just came in. There's never any meat.

<P> Before the Kosovo crisis, Jashari worked as an electrician in a village south of Kosovo's provincial capital, Pristina. He didn't make much, only about 400 marks (\$218 U.S.) a month, but it was enough to provide for his family. Give them a decent home and put food on the table. His car ran well; he worked on the engine himself, he boasts.

<P> Now this camp is the only home he has. His house has been burnt down; his car and most of his other belongings stolen. He was able to rent a room for his family in a nearby town for a while with what little money he stashed away, but now the money is gone and he can't even afford to buy his children chocolate.

<P> "Sometimes I go to a place where I can be alone and I just cry," he says, holding his newborn son, his eyes welling as he speaks. "I don't know what we are going to do."

<P> If Jashari feels hopeless, he is not alone.

<P> "We lived with the Albanian people for 600 years," says 37-year-old Berisha Ramiz, in a nearby tent. "Now they kick us out like garbage."

<P> As he talks, his friend, Bashkim Berisha, nods his head.

<P> "I was born with Albanians and I lived with Albanians," says Berisha. "My godfather is an Albanian. During NATO's bombing, I protected him and was beaten by Serb paramilitaries. After all that they still kick me out of my home."

<P> Now, he says, every Roma house in his neighborhood has been burned down. The few exceptions, he says, have been taken by ethnic Albanians.

<P> Despite the persecution, most say they just want to go home.

<P> "Kosovo is where our heart is," says Ramiz, who was a construction equipment operator before he and his family were driven out in July. "We don't want to live in Macedonia. We don't want to live in Germany."

<P> But with their homes gone and ethnic Albanians still largely antagonistic

ic, "how can we go back now?"

<P> Meanwhile, life in the camp continues. Carrying a thick log of firewood to his tent, Ramadane Basre says "things are not good. Winter is coming."

<P> "How will we live like this?" he asks, pointing to his own small tent where he and his family of six live. Walking inside, where foam mattresses sit atop thin plastic tarps, he lifts up a corner of one tarp. "Look," he says as he reaches into the mud beneath it and picks out a worm. "This is not good for my children."

<P> U.N. officials here say they plan to begin moving the Roma to "collective centers" where at least they'll be inside. They concede, however, that many will go from one bad situation to another, with some families crammed 10 people to a room.

<P> Jashari says he's not sure whether he'll move to the center. Such close quarters would be unhealthy for his baby, he says. Instead, he hopes that he'll be allowed to immigrate to the United States. He has relatives that live in South Dakota. He shakes his head sadly, though. So far, he's been told that it's impossible.

<P> "Why is it that when the Albanians were driven out, the international community welcomed them everywhere?" he asks.

<P> One of his friends remembers President Clinton saying that if Albanian refugees were still in camps by September "it would be a humanitarian catastrophe. We are not Albanians," the friend says, "so I guess it is not a catastrophe."


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<P>European Stars and Stripes

November 22, 1999

Pg. 3

<P>Minority Living In Fear Of Violence

<P>By Jon R. Anderson, Macedonia Bureau

<P> GNJILANE, Kosovo Sgt. George Stephenson had been looking for the robber for weeks. The Roma neighborhood in Gnjilane what was left of it anyway has been burglarized since October.

<P> Once a bustling community within the largely ethnic Albanian city in the U.S. peacekeeping sector of eastern Kosovo, Gnjilanes estimated 6,000 Roma have been whittled down to just more than 300. The rest, say local aid agencies, have been driven out by angry Kosovar Albanians seeking revenge for their own dire circumstances on anyone not persecuted by Serbian police and paramilitary units before NATO's air campaign ended in June.

<P> Roma homes have been burned down, others occupied by Albanians who have lost their own homes to Serb pillagers. And most recently, it's been intimidation of the most common variety: petty crime.

<P> Sgt. Stephenson, an infantryman with the 1st Infantry Division's B Company, 1st Battalion, 26th Infantry Regiment, has been doing what he can to protect these people along with the rest of Gnjilane's dwindling minorities but there's only so much soldiers can do.

<P> "Every time we catch someone, suddenly everyone shuts up. No one wants to talk," says the burly sergeant from Jackson, Miss. This neighborhood has been the infantryman-turned-policeman's beat since he first arrived with the Army's peacekeeping Task Force Falcon in July. Trying to return the rule of law to an area that was terrorized by its own police just months ago, he says, has not been easy.

<P> Troops play things by the book, he explains. But while he might be convinced someone has committed a certain crime, without witnesses willing to testify or at least make statements, there's not much he and his team of flak-vested, rifle-toting soldiers can do.

<P> But this time, Stephenson is hopeful. At the right place at the right time, Stephenson has caught the man believed to be the Roma robber. Perhaps casing the neighborhood for his next heist, an old woman cautiously points the man out as he walks by in a nearby alleyway. Her eyes are wide, like a deer caught in the headlights. Ducking into her doorway, she points again and shakes her head up and down.

<P> Soon the ethnic Albanian man and his companion are up against the wall being searched by Stephenson's men. One of the suspects is wearing the same kind of baseball cap dropped at one of the pilfered homes, Stephenson notices.

<P> Other Roma gather in the drawing twilight. More people cautiously finger the man, always from a distance peeking around the alleyway corner as Stephenson keeps the two suspects standing with their hands up against the wall.

<P> The old lady has disappeared, though. And others, like before, walk away nervously anytime he mentions making a statement.

<P> "People are afraid," says one Roma woman dressed in slacks, a brown sweater and black leather shoes. Looking down at her two children that greet her as she is arriving home from working at a local aid group, she adds, "I am afraid."

<P> Stephenson, who had spoken to her when the last home was robbed, pulls her aside.

<P> She is convinced the man with the baseball cap is the burglar, but like the others, she is reluctant to make any statement.

<P> "Listen ma'am, if someone here doesn't make a stand, these guys are just going to keep coming back," Stephenson tells her. Slowly, she nods her head. She must talk to her husband first.

<P> Meanwhile, an American United Nations policeman has arrived with his interpreter. A crowd of Roma has gathered around him down the alleyway.

<P> After a long discussion, four men—one of them the woman's husband—finally agree to testify.

<P> "I cant believe theyre finally doing this," says Stephenson, as he leads to the suspects down the street to the police station, flanked by h is heavily-armed fire team. "Ya know, we can't help them, if theyre not wi lling to help themselves. This is a very big step for them."

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<P>London Times

November 23, 1999

<P>Chechen War Makes Hero Out Of A Political Nobody

<I><P>Russia's Prime Minister is riding high on the str
ength of his military strategy, writes Giles Whittell in Moscow

</I><P> THREE months ago Vladimir Putin was a political nobody. Ten
days ago he was considered too popular for his own good. Now, with Russian forc
es encircling Grozny, he is being hailed even by some of his rivals as Presiden
t Yeltsin's most likely successor.

<P> The rise of Russia's dynamic and ruthless Prime Minister could end at a
ny moment, but analysts and pollsters agree that by risking everything on a war
designed to restore the country's wounded pride he has already transformed the
shape of Russian politics.

<P> Mr Putin, for 15 years a KGB spymaster in East Germany, has bewitched a public apparently thirsting for strong leadership since his appointment in August. Then he had just 2 per cent support in presidential polls. A month later that figure had risen to 14 per cent. Weekend polls showed that it has since trebled again, eclipsing former frontrunners in the presidential race and leaving most serious contenders in next month's parliamentary election scrambling to pledge allegiance to Mr Putin - and his war.

<P> Yesterday, as bad weather kept Russian bombers at their bases, officials announced that Bislan Gantamirov, a former mayor of Grozny now firmly in Mr Putin's camp, would fly to Chechnya today to discuss setting up pro-Russian home guard units in villages now under Russian control. The military command claimed that it had surrounded Argun and Bamut, two key towns either side of Grozny. Both reports gave glimmers of an endgame to Russia's Chechen strategy where critics have insisted there is none.

<P> The Chechen war could still turn into a disaster for the Russian army. Word of a major ambush by rebel fighters on the region's main highway came as a reminder of their guerrilla prowess, and up to 8,000 armed men are said to be preparing for an all-out defence of the capital. But some believe that Mr Putin, 46, has already done enough to be Russia's next president.

<P> "His popularity is without question a result of the war, but it may not be destroyed by the war," Sergei Markov of Moscow's Centre for Political Studies said yesterday. "He is doing the real job of a politician, making decisions and taking action. That is something Russians have not seen for years, and they respect it."

<P> With the public still firmly behind the Chechen offensive, Mr Putin has become too popular for his rivals to criticise. Yevgeni Primakov and Yuri Luzhkov, whose Fatherland-All Russia coalition was considered unbeatable until the war, have backed the Prime Minister's Chechen tactics for fear of losing Duma seats. A third coalition leader has even called for the party to ditch Mr Primakov and join the Kremlin's own Unity bloc in endorsing Mr Putin for president. Newspapers and TV stations traditionally arrayed against the Kremlin have conspicuously avoided taking on its new wunderkind.

<P> Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the chronicler of Stalin's gulags who returned to Russia five years ago, gave an insight into Russians' monolithic support for the war at the weekend.

<P> "We have been attacked," he said in a rare interview, referring to the Chechen raids on Dagestan in August. "We have been retreating for 15 years and we need to stop somewhere. We have capitulated everywhere . . . our country cannot deny itself the right to self-defence."

<P> Mr Solzhenitsyn did not give Mr Putin his explicit support, but the Prime Minister hardly needs it. He is not formally aligned with any electoral bloc for the parliamentary election, but should he choose one between now and polling day he could at a stroke take a quarter of the Fatherland-All Russia coalition vote, Mr Markov predicted.

<P> Until last week Mr Putin's Achilles' heel was considered his popularity, since Mr Yeltsin has made a habit of sacking prime ministers who show any sign of usurping him. But the President has since wholeheartedly endorsed his protégé.

<P> "Mr Putin is different," Mr Markov said. "He was chosen to come after Mr Yeltsin, not just under him. For his predecessors it was forbidden even to talk about the presidency, but Mr Putin has talked about it since day one."

<P> Ankara: Kofi Annan, Secretary-General of the United Nations, said yesterday that the world body was talking to Moscow about sending increased aid to the refugees fleeing Russia's military campaign in Chechnya. He said in Ankara, Turkey, that he would meet Sadako Ogata, head of the UN refugee agency, today to be briefed on her recent visit to the Ingushetia region bordering Chechnya.

<P> About 200,000 refugees have fled Moscow's eight-week-old offensive against Muslim rebels in the breakaway region. "We discussed with [the Russians] the possibility of our cooperation, providing more assistance to the refugees, and I am quite hopeful that we will be able to do that," Mr Annan told reporters.

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

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<P>Washington Post

November 23, 1999

Pg. 24

<P>Albright 'Comes Home' To Bratislava, Urges Reforms

<P>By Candice Hughes, Associated Press

<P> BRATISLAVA, Slovakia, Nov. 22Revisiting a part of her heritage, Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright urged Slovaks today not to give up on reform and assured them of U.S. support in their drive toward democracy.

<P> Aside from a sign of dramatically improving relations between the United States and Slovakia, the visit had a strong personal element for Albright. The secretary of state was born in Prague, capital of Czechoslovakia before its 1993 split into the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

<P> "When I come to Bratislava, with the sounds and sights I remember from childhood, I know that part of me will always be a Czechoslovak," Albright said in her native tongue. As she moved through the Slovak capital, she said over and over, "It feels like coming home."

<P> "It's hard to believe that a little Czechoslovak girl grew up to be the secretary of state of the United States," she told an audience. "In that position, I would very much like to be as much help to you as I possibly can."

<P> U.S. ties with Slovakia have warmed since elections last year led to the defeat of an authoritarian government. Albright's trip came at the 10-year anniversary of the Velvet Revolution that ended Communist rule.

<P> Albright criticized the authoritarian rule of former premier Vladimir Meciar, who was in control for much of the decade since the Communist collapse, saying Slovakia had lost too much time to "greed and misrule."

<P> She also applauded the new Western-style government of Prime Minister Mikulas Dzurinda. In talks with Dzurinda, Foreign Minister Eduard Kukan and President Rudolf Schuster, and at a speech at Comenius University, she urged Slovak

ia to remain on the path of economic and political reforms and encouraged it in the battle against corruption.

<P> Dzurinda moved swiftly after the 1998 elections to liberalize Slovak politics, improve relations with minorities and pursue other reforms aimed at improving Bratislava's chances for membership in NATO, the European Union and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in Europe.

<P> Visiting an exhibit of photos of the Velvet Revolution, Albright mused on the twists and turns of her own life and recalled how she had lived the revolution that ended Communist rule "vicariously" from afar.

<P> Albright is the daughter of a career diplomat from Prague, now the capital of the Czech Republic. Her family fled the Nazis before the Communists came to power in 1948.


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<P>International Herald Tribune

November 23, 1999

<P>Britain To Restore Ties With Libya

<P>By Reuters

<P> LONDON -- Foreign Secretary Robin Cook of Britain said Monday that Libya had handed over compensation for the 1984 killing of a British policeman, permitting the restoration of full diplomatic relations.

<P> Mr. Cook told Parliament that he expected a British ambassador to take up his post in Tripoli next month, more than 15 years after ties were severed.

<P> A Foreign Office official said the compensation was paid recently to the family of Yvonne Fletcher. He declined to say how much money was involved. Constable Fletcher was killed by shots fired from the Libyan Embassy in London during a demonstration in April 1984.


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<P>Aviation Week & Space Technology

November 22, 1999

Pg. 22

<P>DASA Trainer Link Leads German Push In UAE

<I><P>Lockheed Martin fails to seal its F-16 deal despite intensive talks at the Dubai air show

</I><P>By John D. Morrocco and Michael A. Taverna/Dubai, United Arab Emirates

<P> DaimlerChrysler Aerospace signed two agreements with the United Arab Emirates, including one on possible collaboration on the German company's Mako trainer/light attack aircraft, part of a German government effort to boost its presence in the region.

<P> DASA's proposals for cooperation on the Mako supersonic aircraft come against the backdrop of broader German security and economic initiatives, including the German government's recent offer of 30 surplus AlphaJet trainers, plus two spares, to the UAE. The aircraft, to be refurbished by Dornier, would meet the UAE's requirements until the Mako is ready. The German proposals spell trouble for British Aerospace, which has been discussing the sale of 18 Hawk lead-in fighter trainers with the UAE but has been unable to secure a contract.

<P> DASA, set to merge with Aerospatiale Matra next year, signed a memorandum of understanding with the UAE to explore how the country might cooperate in the Mako program. The company is seeking partners to help fund full-scale development and flight testing of the Mako, which is expected to cost about \$1 billion.

<P> Hans Studer, sales manager for light combat and training aircraft at DASA, said wind tunnel testing for the aircraft was nearly finished and that final selection of engines, radar and other systems is expected to be completed by the end of the year. The goal would be to have the first of three planned prototypes in the air by 2003-04 and to have the aircraft in series production by 2005-06, based on a project go-ahead next year.

<P> DASA also inked a technology cooperation agreement with the UAE covering technology transfer, training and other joint projects that would enhance the Emirates' ability to establish a beachhead in leading-edge industries. It includes setting up projects for exchanging technology and systems engineering experience, including an exchange of 30 engineers.

<P> Other projects that Germany and the UAE plan to discuss are the Franco-German Polyphem fiber-optic missile, due to enter service in 2002; the DR 174 air defense radar; an improved 3D short-range mobile system derived from the DR 172 already in service in the UAE, and provision of commercial services for the proposed Galileo satellite navigation system.

<P> These initiatives come under the umbrella of a larger strategic agreement with the UAE that would meet both Germany's desire for increased engagement abroad and the UAE's desire to diversify its diplomatic support base. "The approach would be a very broad one, covering both security and nonsecurity aspects,

" said German Defense Minister Rudolf Scharping, who visited Dubai on Nov. 18. "We aim to develop very close cooperation, leading wherever possible to joint ventures and investments."

<P> Scharping said the countries intended to begin discussions on the pact in the spring and that it would last about 12 months. The pact would build on a long-term cooperation agreement between the two nations signed at the IDEX '97 defense exhibit in Abu Dhabi.

<P> On the last day of Dubai 2000, South Africa announced a broad-ranging agreement with the UAE covering the acquisition of defense equipment, technology transfer, training and joint military exercises. South African Defense Minister Patrick Lekota declined to mention specific systems involved, however.

<P> Meanwhile, Lockheed Martin officials were unable to reach an agreement with the UAE on technical and cost issues surrounding the \$7-billion F-16 order that was first announced nearly a year and a half ago (AW&ST May 18, 1998, p. 33). The UAE ordered 80 F-16s in the Block 60 configuration, which includes conformal fuel tanks and electronically scanned array radar.

<P> During a visit to the region in October, U.S. Defense Secretary William Cohen indicated that technology transfer issues had been resolved and a contract could be signed by the time of the air show. Gen. Joseph Ralston, vice chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, arrived here early in the week and senior Lockheed Martin officials changed their schedules to attend in the expectation of a contract signing that failed to materialize.

<P> Early in the air show, however, Gen. Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum, crown prince of Dubai and UAE defense minister, said there were still budget and money issues to be resolved. But he said the UAE was satisfied with the proposed solution for the electronic warfare suite, which had been a major stumbling block. The problem centered on the self-protection system for the aircraft and the UAE's desire to be able to alter the threat library.

<P> A competition was set up for the electronic warfare system subcontract, which was administered for the UAE by Lockheed Martin. ITT Litton, Lockheed Martin/Sanders, Northrop Grumman and Raytheon all bid for the integrated systems subcontract, which would include passive and active sensors, as well as towed decoys. Northrop Grumman has already been tapped to supply the aircraft's integrated Flir/targeting system, as well as the APG-68 Agile Beam electronically scanned array radar also being developed for the U.S. Air Force's F-22. The UAE F-16 could be the radar's first production application, however.

<P> An engine selection for the aircraft is also pending between new increased-thrust powerplants--the Pratt & Whitney F100-PW-229A and the General Electric F110-GE-132.

<P> Failure to reach an agreement here makes it less likely that the company will be able to wrap up the deal before year-end, as once a contract is signed, the U.S. Congress has 30 days to grant its approval. Congress has already approved the Foreign Military Sales portion of the package, worth roughly \$2 billion of the total, which includes AIM-120 Amraam and AIM-9 Sidewinder air-to-air missiles; Maverick, Harpoon and Harm air-to-ground missiles, and laser-guided bombs.

<P> The UAE sale is less critical for Lockheed Martin following recent orders from Greece, Israel and Egypt, which will extend production well into the next century. But it would help restore investor confidence in the company, which has seen its stock price plummet following earnings warnings. Indeed, the UAE could be playing a waiting game to see how low Lockheed Martin can be pushed on the price tag for the F-16s in order to clinch the deal.

<P> The UAE would be the launch customer for the Block 60 F-16, which is also one of the options Lockheed Martin has offered to Norway in its fighter competition along with the Block 50+ version. The F-16 is vying against the Eurofighter, and a decision is expected by next February.

<P> The protracted delay in getting a signature on the UAE F-16 contract has allowed competitors to stir the pot with Dassault officials here, who are promoting the Rafale. After the Dubai air show, Dassault is due to demonstrate the Rafale in Oman.

<P> Company officials also say Greece's recent selection of Eurofighter is by no means a sure bet. Greece indicated its intent to procure up to 90 aircraft earlier this year. Dassault officials said the Greek air force plans to send a team to France to evaluate the Rafale in the first quarter of next year.

<P> A Rafale prototype, en route to perform at the air show here, stopped at Tanagra air base in Greece, where the aircraft was flown by the chief of staff of the Greek air force.

<P> DASA President and CEO Manfred Bischoff was in Athens last week discussing industrial offset packages linked to the Eurofighter deal with Greek Defense Ministry officials. Greece is being offered associate member status in the program, which is being managed by the NATO Eurofighter and Tornado Management Agency on behalf of the air forces of the four original member countries. DASA has already struck an agreement with Hellenic Aerospace Industries (HAI) to manufacture Eurofighter subcomponents. HAI officials confirmed here that the Greek government was ready to sell up to 49% of the company.

<P> But Dassault Chairman and CEO Serge Dassault noted that his company also has a strategic alliance with HAI that could easily be extended to include substantial work on the Rafale.

<P> "It would be easier for us to give Greece a part of the Rafale than for the four Eurofighter partners," he told Aviation Week & Space Technology. Signed in mid-October, the agreement covers work on Falcon 900 and Falcon 2000 business jets, as well as Mirage 2000-5 fighters and some Rafale parts. In May, Greece agreed to acquire 15 Mirage 2000-5s and upgrade another 10 to the same configuration.

<P> French firms revealed a string of cooperative deals during the show intended to reinforce their growing presence in the region. Dassault--fresh from a contract earlier this year to supply 33 Mirage 2000-9 multirole fighters to the UAE and upgrade the existing fleet to the same standard--concluded an agreement with the UAE air force and Gulf Aircraft Manufacturing Co. (Gamco). The pact allows the Dubai-based firm to perform fourth line maintenance support for the air force's Mirage 2000-9s. The \$50-million contract, which provides for extension to Mirage fleets in other countries in the region, covers all Mirage 2000 mechanical components and systems.

<P> Snecma inked a similar agreement allowing Gamco to maintain certain modules of the M53 engine that powers the Mirage 2000-9. This contract could be expanded later to include the entire engine and to support aircraft in neighboring states.

<P> Thomson-CSF agreed to form a joint venture with the Center of Excellence for Applied Research and Training (CERT) to provide technical and management training in the Persian Gulf region. Jean-Robert Martin, Chairman/ CEO of Thomson-CSF Detexis, which produces the radar and electronic warfare systems, said the investment would amount to "tens of millions of dollars." Thomson also concluded agreements with Advanced Electronics Co. (AEC) of Saudi Arabia to supply printed circuit boards for Thomson's Chlio IR sensor, and with ISE, another Saudi company, to provide software for the Dhahran airport's ATC system.

<P> Thomson-CSF also hopes to conclude soon a \$150-million award for a four-aircraft airborne maritime surveillance system for the UAE. However, UAE sources close to the program indicated the UAE might reconsider the IPTN 235 platform previously selected to carry the system, delaying implementation of the deal.

<P> Thomson exhibited its innovative forward-looking infrared designator pod and internal navigation unit at the show. It allows pilots to perform navigation and target-designation tasks simultaneously using Flir sensors. With the exception of the Terminator Advanced Targeting Flir pod--now being developed by Raytheon in partnership with Marconi Electronic Systems--existing dual units require the pilot to switch from one to the other as required. The Mirage 2000-9 will be the first aircraft to operate such a system when it enters operation in 2004-07.

<P> The internal unit, called Nahar on the Mirage 2000-9, is located in the nose of the pylon carrying the nav/Flir pod. All of the UAE aircraft will be fitted with this sensor. The pod, called Shehab on the Mirage 2000-9 and Damocles elsewhere, will be installed on 30 aircraft.

<P> Matra BAe Dynamics displayed for the first time a mockup of its Black Sea haheen standoff weapon, which has been ordered by the UAE. The missile is a derivative of Storm Shadow/Scalp being developed for the U.K. and France, and was recently selected by Italy.

<P> In other military-related news from the air show:

<P> *Bahrain has become the first customer in the gulf region for Raytheon's Amraam missile. Bahrain signed a contract with the U.S. to acquire the missiles, which are also being sought by Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the UAE. Congress has approved the sale of 491 Amraams to the UAE as part of its pending F-16 acquisition.

<P> *Raytheon and Northrop Grumman are both seeking customers in the region for their respective air-to-ground surveillance system aircraft. Raytheon debuted its plans here for an export version of its airborne standoff radar (Astor), recently selected by the U.K. A contract is expected to be signed in the U.K. next month for the system, which is mounted in a Global Express business jet.

<P> The export version of Astor, dubbed the ground surveillance airborne radar system (Gsars), would be available for export in 2006, a year after its anticipated in-service date with the U.K. Raytheon executives believe Gsars will draw considerable interest from countries in the region, given the vast areas they have to cover. The versatile system can be used for traffic monitoring, internal security, strategic defense and other roles.

<P> Northrop Grumman is offering a version of its Joint-STARS system mounted on a business jet. Company officials said export customers would obtain some technologies and benefits associated with the Pentagon's until recently classified Radar Technology Insertion Program for Joint-STARS.

<P> *In the area of defense electronics, Thomson-CSF and Northrop Grumman were downselected for an award to supply defense radar systems for the Kuwaiti command, control, communications, computers and intelligence (C4I) system. A decision on this \$150-million project is expected in the second half of next year. Thomson was selected last year to supply a \$200-million secure communications system for the UAE's C4I network.

<P> *Oman is interested in acquiring three or four E-2C Hawkeye AEW aircraft that are leaving service with the U.S. Navy. The aircraft, which are equipped

with an early Group Zero sensor system, still have 10-15 years' service life remaining for land-based operations. Northrop Grumman officials said the aircraft could be upgraded to the latest sensor system configuration. The company recently signed a \$200-million contract with Egypt to upgrade its five E-2Cs.

<P> *Officials from several helicopter makers competing for Turkey's attack helicopter contract said they expected the deal to be postponed or stretched out following the devastating earthquakes in the country of recent months. However, Bill Maddox, Bell Helicopter's executive director for the Middle East, said he understood the schedule was being maintained under strong pressure from the armed forces.

<P> Under this timetable, Turkish prime contractor TAI is to submit the five competing proposals for an initial order of 50 helicopters, plus nonrecurring items, to the SSM Turkish defense procurement authority on Nov. 30. SSM would brief a government executive committee in February on its findings, and the winning proposal would be announced later in the year.

<P> *The Netherlands has asked Sweden for information on the Saab JAS 39 Gripen. The move is seen as a counterweight to the U.S. Joint Strike Fighter (JSF), which the country has been eyeing. The Netherlands, which is looking to acquire a next-generation fighter in 2010, is an associate partner on the JSF program but has not committed to buying the aircraft.


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<P>New York Times

November 21, 1999

Pg. 6

<P>U.S. Deal On Caspian Oil Still Faces Problems With Bottom Line

<P>By Jane Perlez

<P> WASHINGTON, Nov. 20 -- For both financial and political reasons, the agreement to build a pipeline to carry Caspian Sea oil across Turkey, which the Clinton administration views as a strategic victory, is far from being a reality, oil executives and administration officials say.

<P> For years, oil companies have looked at various pipeline routes to get the Caucasus region's vast oil reserves to market. And they have signed similar deals before, though this one looks more solid.

<P> For the oil companies, the chosen route must be profitable. But for the Clinton administration, the prime concern has been strategic: guaranteeing that any pipeline would skirt Russia or Iran and deny them a choke-hold over a new energy supply for the West. The administration would also like to use the oil deal to bring several former Soviet republics into a Western-looking bloc, and to enhance the regional power of Turkey, a crucial NATO ally.

<P> But whether the route agreed to this week -- which is strategically advantageous to the United States but costly for the oil companies -- can be made profitable quickly is still a big question. So too is the political fallout with Russia, the loser in the deal.

<P> The major oil company involved in the pipeline project, BP Amoco, said it would seek help from Washington to line up enough oil shipments from producers in the region to make the pipeline commercially viable.

<P> The company, said Michael Townshend, its director of international affairs, has set a deadline of next October for raising financing and commitments to use the pipeline. A new batch of oil from the Caspian will be ready by 2004, and the oil companies will need to decide by October where they are going to build a pipeline to carry it.

<P> "It's not impossible, but it's a stretch," he said.

<P> "The only way this is going to work is to make the pipeline as affordable

le as possible for shippers to put their oil down it," he added. "We're asking the United States government to attract as much oil as possible and to attract as much financing as possible."

<P> If that money is not in place in time, BP Amoco can try to get the oil out by a different route, by expanding the capacity of an existing pipeline from Baku, Azerbaijan, to Supsa, Georgia, near the Black Sea, Mr. Townshend said. From there the oil would be taken by tanker through the Bosphorus, a route less to the liking of Washington and the oil companies.

<P> It is also possible that BP Amoco will delay the next phase of oil production in the Caspian Sea if the structure of the pipeline deal is not settled.

<P> The Clinton administration has not pledged any money for the project beyond \$500 million in loan guarantees from the Overseas Private Investment Corporation and the Export-Import Bank, officials said.

<P> The oil companies had first hoped Washington would allow a shorter route through Iran, with an outlet at the Persian Gulf. But this was blocked by Washington's refusal to lift economic sanctions against Iran.

<P> Beyond strategic considerations, the route through the narrow Bosphorus also raises some environmental problems, and as they became more evident, the oil companies leaned more toward the more expensive route through Turkey.

<P> As the oil companies wavered, Turkey tried to make the route to its port of Ceyhan more appealing by announcing it would pay for cost overruns on the estimated \$1.4 billion the pipeline is expected to cost the oil companies.

<P> When the deal was announced at a European summit meeting in Istanbul this week, it was, for Turkey, the most substantive part of President Clinton's five-day visit there. The other countries to sign the deal were Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan.

<P> That victory for the Clinton administration may have unseen costs, however. Administration officials acknowledged that Russia has always viewed the pipeline route through Turkey as an implicit threat. While the Russian reaction appeared muted this week, even the prospect of a pipeline deal had led Moscow officials to speculate publicly that Washington was trying to foment chaos on its southern borders.

<P> Alan Makovsky, an analyst at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, said Russia perceived Washington's efforts in the Caspian Sea as the equivalent of NATO expansion on Russia's southern flank.

<P> Russia came to live with NATO's embrace of its former satellites -- Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary -- but how it would react to the pipeline that is designed to deprive Moscow of precious income and prestige was an open question.

<P> "They clearly see this as threatening," said a senior administration official. "They see this as the next phase of U.S.-Russian competition. They don't seem to understand that they would be better off with a stable southern flank."

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<P>Washington Post

November 23, 1999

Pg. 19

<P>History Of Strife Fosters Concerns

<I><P>Conflict Leaves Congo Wary of U.N. Outreach

</I><P>By Karl Vick, Washington Post Foreign Service

<P> KINSHASA, Congo In the less-than-sovereign republic of Congo, U.N. blue berets are trying to figure out just how warm their welcome really is.

<P> On the sidewalks of this war-weary capital, the peacekeeping monitors are greeted with nods, smiles and, once, even cheers. Congolese say they are indeed grateful that the United Nations has dispatched observers to monitor the precarious cease-fire deal signed four months ago by the nations that for 15 months have used their vast, mineral-rich country as a combination battleground and export zone.

<P> But those same streets recently echoed with the chants of demonstrators angrily denouncing the United Nations.

<P> In the coming year, an ultimate peacekeeping complement of 20,000 might be mobilized for Congo, a force a variety of officials say is far more likely to be supplied by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) than the United Nations. But U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan, a Ghanaian who has upbraided the international community for ignoring Africa, already has recommended that the U.N. observer force be increased to 500.

<P> But President Laurent Kabila for weeks refused to guarantee the security of U.N. advance teams scouting likely monitoring positions, relenting only after a stern visit from Annan's special envoy. Meanwhile, the government mounted the recruiting drive, announced a curfew, closed the Congo River to night traffic and ratcheted up its rhetoric against "aggressors," a reference to the rebels they have been fighting.

<P> Mixed messages are nothing new in Kinshasa, where freshly hung banners and nightly television spots bid an admittedly confused population to "Fight for Peace." But Congolese say the complex reception accorded the preliminary peacekeeping unit in fact reflects the two minds of the Congolese on the United Nations. It is a national ambivalence born of hard experience.

<P> The last time U.N. peacekeepers came to Congo, in the post-independence chaos of 1960, the international force stayed three years and got caught up in civil war. The huge new nation was a coveted prize during the Cold War, and felt toyed with by the Soviet Union and the United States. The latter even sent a CIA assassin to eliminate the charismatic, left-leaning prime minister. And although political rivals killed Patrice Lumumba first, Congolese are reminded that he was martyred on the U.N.'s watch.

<P> "They were accomplices," said Andre Simba, 38, a political science student at Kinshasa University.

<P> So it is that in the heart of a continent that today complains of

being ignored by a world rushing among crises in Kosovo, East Timor and now Chechnya, the Democratic Republic of Congo wants to obtain only a useful level of international interest in its problem.

<P> Because that problem, Congolese emphasize, is simply making Congo their own again.

<P> "If they focus on our country, we can find a solution," said Zacharie Kazadi, 41, referring to the international community. "But if they come for their own interests, there won't be any solution."

<P> U.N. officials say they could not agree more.

<P> "We understand harking back to the 1960s, but it's really not relevant," said Col. James Ellery, the British commander of the U.N. military Observer Mission in Congo. "Whatever happened in the 1960s was post-colonial Cold War. The conditions are completely different now."

<P> Indeed, the belligerents fighting over Congo this time are African

<P> Three years ago, at least five countries helped Kabila, an ineffectual career rebel, to depose dictator Mobutu Sese Seko, who with consistent U.S. sponsorship ruled the country he had renamed Zaire for three decades. Last year, when Kabila's primary sponsors soured on him, new alliances took shape as even more of Africa entered the fray.

<P> By the time the so-called Lusaka accord was signed July 10 by Congo and its allies Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia, and the rebels' allies of Rwanda and Uganda, the number of foreign nations with forces fighting in Congo numbered eight. Besides the signatories, Chad, Sudan and Burundi also have troops on the ground. Several--most notably Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi and Angola--also pursued campaigns against rebel groups that had taken sanctuary in a huge neighbor that after decades of misrule barely managed a central government, never mind a border patrol.

<P> "We don't have an army," said Congo Finance Minister Mawampanga Mwana Nanga, explaining why his government, shortly after signing a peace accord, announced a military recruiting drive. "We have to build an army."

<P> Restoring Congo's territorial integrity was the central tenet of the Lusaka accord, named for the Zambian capital where it was signed. The agreement calls for all parties to cease fire and prepare to surrender their positions to a peacekeeping force organized by the Organization of African Unity, the primary sponsor of the accord. Along the way, the militias that carried out the

1994 Rwanda genocide are to be disarmed.

<P> The OAU asked for the United Nations' help in monitoring the accord. The Security Council responded by authorizing a 90-member delegation who have set up headquarters in an abandoned villa on Kinshasa's main boulevard, a block away from the high-rise headquarters of the controversial 1960 mission.

<P> "The world stands ready," said Ellery, the commander.

<P> But how ready is Congo?

<P> Opposition politician Kabambe Mwebwe, of the Congolese Patriotic Front, sighed that, "in talking about peace, they're waging a campaign for war."

<P> The finance minister waved off the rhetoric.

<P> "All that is for internal consumption," said Mawampanga, wheeling through the shady streets of the capital. Without a standing army, and with reports that the Angola rebel group UNITA is being driven north by the government, the public must be stirred to vigilance, he said.

<P> "This city is like Paris," said Mawampanga. "There are more than 1,000 bands here. People like to enjoy life. If you don't mobilize people, they will just lie there."

<P> But it is not all talk. Fighting has flared in the country's north, endangering the cease-fire even before monitors can be put in place. Each side accuses the other, but the heaviest clashes have been reported near where military sources say Kabila has been shipping the recent arms purchases that some say account for his government's new boldness.

<P> A former Congolese prime minister cautioned Kabila against relying on the new weapons, however. Likulia Bolongo, who was Mobutu's defense minister for most of the 1996-1997 war, said Kabila needs to remember what brought him to power, which was that the people were tired of Mobutu's rule.

<P> "I bought jet fighters. I bought MiG-23s. I bought armed helicopters. And I lost the war," Bolongo said. "When there's social unrest, it's difficult to win. It's the same feeling today."

<P> Ordinary Congolese agreed. Kinshasa residents repeatedly brought up another clause of the Lusaka accord: the requirement for a "national dialogue

" aimed at deciding the shape of Congo's ad hoc government. Presided over by an independent mediator, such a dialogue may prove unkind to Kabila, but because Lusaka included no provision for implementing its outcome, the result is almost certain to leave his government in power.

<P> That likelihood provided the primary incentive for Kabila to sign the peace accord that the U.S. Institute of Peace called "the last exit on the region's highway to hell." In Congo, it also provided at least the opportunity for Congolese to express themselves on the future of their country.

<P> "We spent 32 years under dictatorship, in chaos, believing that with Kabila's coming we can enjoy a better life and development in all respects," said student Yves Mayemba. "They gave us promises, and we spend two years with these guys in the dark.

<P> "We still don't know where we're going. It's a mystery."

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<P>New York Times

November 23, 1999

<P>Rwanda Refuses To Give Visa To U.N. Tribunal's Prosecutor

<P>By Ian Fisher

<P> NAIROBI, Kenya -- Rwandan officials, angered that charges against a top genocide suspect have been dropped, have refused to grant a visa to the prosecutor of the international war crimes tribunal investigating the massacres of at least 500,000 people in Rwanda in 1994.

<P> The decision was more evidence of how relations between the government of Rwanda and the tribunal have disintegrated since charges against the suspect, Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza, were dropped early this month. Those tensions may make remaining prosecutions far more difficult; 38 defendants are awaiting trial.

<P> The tribunal's new prosecutor, Carla Del Ponte, was scheduled to visit Rwanda in the next two weeks, her first trip to the region. Repairing relations with Rwanda is high on her agenda, an aide said Monday.

<P> But a Rwandan official said he saw no reason for her to make the trip to Rwanda's capital, Kigali.

<P> "Her coming to Kigali before this is resolved does not sort out our complaint," said Zephyr Mutanguha, the Rwandan ambassador to the tribunal, which is in the northern Tanzanian town of Arusha. "This is an unfortunate mistake of the tribunal, considering what kind of criminal this man is."

<P> The Rwandan government -- now led largely by members of the Tutsi ethnic group -- have long been impatient with the tribunal for what it says is the slow pace of the prosecutions. This month, government officials said they would stop cooperating entirely as a result of the dropped charges.

<P> Barayagwiza, an official of the former government led by members of the Hutu ethnic group, was charged with inciting Hutu soldiers, militias and mobs to kill Tutsi and some moderate Hutu over a 100-day period in 1994.

<P> On Nov. 5, the Appeals Chamber of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda dismissed the case against Barayagwiza, saying his rights had been violated because he was held in jail too long without trial.

<P> On Friday, Ms. Del Ponte -- who was appointed in September and who also oversees the war crimes tribunal for countries that once were part of the larger Yugoslavia -- filed a request that the appeals body review its decision.

<P> Paul Risley, a spokesman for Ms. Del Ponte, said she would still travel to East Africa this week and hoped to persuade Rwandan officials to allow her to visit while she is there.

<P> "It is certainly her intention to work out of her office in Kigali during this trip to the region," Risley said. She had applied for the visa from the Rwandan Embassy in Brussels.

<P> The Rwandan government calls Barayagwiza, 49, a "chief architect" of the campaign to eliminate the Tutsi minority from Rwanda in 1994. He was the spokesman for the minister of foreign affairs and helped found Radio Free Milles Collines, a radio station that preached hatred against Tutsi at the time.

<P> Mutanguha, the Rwandan ambassador, said he was concerned that the Appeals Chamber may release more suspects: At least three of the 38 defendants awaiting trial have contested their imprisonment on the same grounds as Barayagwiza did, he said.

<P> "We feel that this has set a very unfortunate precedent," he said. "The others are of course going to claim release on the same grounds. And the whole process of justice will look a mockery."

<P> The appeals court also said the tribunal prosecutor -- at the time Louise Arbour, a Canadian jurist -- had failed to inform Barayagwiza of the charges against him and had not transferred him promptly enough from prison in Cameroon, where he was arrested on March 27, 1996, and detained 19 months before being delivered to the tribunal in Tanzania.

<P> Barayagwiza was charged with genocide, incitement of genocide and crimes against humanity. He is still in jail in Tanzania while the government of Cameroon considers his application for extradition to Cameroon.

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<P>Washington Post

November 23, 1999

Pg. 19

<P>Islamic Leader Is Killed In Algeria

<I><P>Hachani's Death Sets Back Peace Effort

</I><P>By Charles Trueheart, Washington Post Foreign Service

<P> PARIS, Nov. 22A prominent leader of Algeria's outlawed Islamic Salvation Front who opposed the government but had spoken out for peace and reconciliation was assassinated today as he was leaving a dental clinic in Algiers.

<P> Abdelkader Hachani, who had been under police supervision for his anti-government politics, was shot twice in the head and once in the chest by an unknown assailant, according to news service reports from the Algerian capital and a statement on the state-run radio. He died in an Algiers hospital less than two hours later.

<P> Hachani's murder was a fresh blow to President Abdelaziz Bouteflika's efforts to end the armed insurgency in which a radical Muslim underground has sought to overthrow Algeria's army-backed, secular government for almost eight years. Bouteflika's office condemned the "odious killing" of Hachani, believed to be in his early forties.

<P> The killers were unknown and no group claimed responsibility. With his calls for an end to Algeria's bloodletting, Hachani could have angered the extreme Islamic fringe that has vowed to carry on the violence despite a decision by the Islamic Salvation Front to heed Bouteflika's call for reconciliation. But with his criticism of Bouteflika for not going far enough, he also could have angered hard-liners in the security forces.

<P> Only two months ago, Algerian voters gave resounding approval in a referendum to Bouteflika's program of "civil concord." But the violence that had ebbed this year, during the months before and after Bouteflika's election in

April, has picked up again in recent weeks.

<P> More than 100 people have died in terrorist violence since the beginning of November. About 20 were killed Saturday in a clash between security forces and guerrillas on a main road leading south of Algiers. That attack took place near a restaurant known as a key army observation post for terrorist activity.

<P> "They wanted to make a statement," said a diplomat in Algiers, "and whoever killed Hachani wanted to make a statement too."

<P> Hachani's Islamic Salvation Front was poised to win parliamentary power in 1992 when generals ruling the country canceled the elections. Hachani spent five years in jail for denouncing the cancellation and emerged in 1997 to live with his parents under close police scrutiny.

<P> The struggle set off by the events in 1992 has claimed as many as 100,000 lives, most of them civilian men, women and children caught in the middle.

<P> Bouteflika has sought to promote unity and weaken the radical Muslim movement by granting amnesty last July to thousands of armed militants, including those who belong to the Islamic Salvation Army, the front's armed wing, as well as those who belong to extreme guerrilla groups that spun off from the Islamic Salvation Army--and that so far have rebuffed his peacemaking.

<P> But the president has been criticized by Hachani, among others, for not taking the next step of legalizing the banned party or releasing its most prominent leaders, Abassi Madani, who is under house arrest, and Ali Belhadj, who is in prison.

<P> Hachani also had angered radical Muslim elements by speaking out in favor of peace and reconciliation. The Muslim holy month of Ramadan is only three weeks away, and in past years its advent has coincided with stepped-up attacks by fundamentalist guerrillas still engaged in the underground war against the government.

<P> The deadline for Bouteflika's amnesty expires in January, and he has promised a "merciless" drive to eradicate terrorists who have not surrendered by then.

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<P>Washington Post

November 23, 1999

Pg. 20

<P>Thousands Flee Fighting In Burundi

<P> DAR ES SALAAM, Tanzania--At least 3,500 Burundians are fleeing each week to northwestern Tanzania as fighting intensifies between the Burundian army and rebels, the U.N. refugee agency said.

<P> "Basically, the situation has deteriorated dramatically in the last two months. Up to last week, at least 500 people a day were crossing the border," said Paul Stromberg, regional spokesman for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees in neighboring Kenya.

<P> Rebel attacks in and around Burundi's capital, Bujumbura, have risen sharply since the beginning of the year, prompting the minority Tutsi government to force tens of thousands of people, most of them majority Hutus, into camps to allow the army to sweep the area for rebels. Critics say the forced movement into camps is also to deprive rebels of access to relief food and other support

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<P>Jerusalem Post

November 22, 1999

<P>Get Real On China

<P>By Dov S. Zakheim

<P> Israel has long had the reputation of testing Washington's patience on matters of arms transfers. With the United States transferring its technology to Israel via a host of cooperative development programs, scientific exchanges, and military sales, it is hardly surprising that Washington policy makers would go to great lengths to ensure that none of America's secrets are transferred to a potentially hostile power.

<P> Over the years - indeed, for nearly two decades - there have been frequent sub-rosa complaints by senior American officials to their Israeli counterparts regarding reports of unauthorized sales, often to the People's Republic of China. Sometimes, those discussions boiled over into disputes, and sometimes those disputes erupted into the public domain. For its part, Israel has consistently denied that it has ever acted on its own, without authorization, to transfer American technology to China, or for that matter, anywhere else.

<P> A new dispute has arisen, once again over the transfer of armaments to China. This time, the issue is not necessarily the unauthorized transfer of American technology, however. Israel insists that all the elements of its Phalcon

airborne command and control system are homegrown. (Phalcon is an acronym for phased-array L-band conformal radar system - try that for breakfast!). It therefore wonders why the fuss in Washington. After all, other Western states sell their equipment to China as well.

<P> Jerusalem protests too much. The issue is not necessarily unauthorized transfer of American technology. Nor is it one of mere equipment sales to the People's Republic of China.

<P> It is, indeed, true that other American allies also have sold equipment to the PRC. But the Phalcon is no mere piece of military equipment. It is a state-of-the-art system. When operated in conjunction with China's growing, increasingly modern long-range air force, the Phalcon could tilt the strategic balance not only between China and Taiwan, but more generally in East and Southeast Asia.

<P> That the Phalcon is a marvel of Israeli and not American technology, is, therefore, beside the point. What matters is that Israel should not be in the business of complicating America's already delicate position vis-à-vis China and Taiwan, one that led to a major crisis in the Taiwan Straits only three years ago. Nor should Israel help to unbalance the equally delicate relationship between China and America's major regional allies, notably Japan and the Republic of Korea.

<P> Israel consistently expects the United States to account for its own sensitive strategic needs. It has often asked America to delay, if not forestall, sales to its hostile neighbors. Washington has just announced, for example, that it will not sell the highly accurate Joint Direct Attack Munitions (JDAMs) to the Arabs (Israel will receive 700 JDAMs). Israel asks that even commercial satellite photos not be made available to those states.

<P> Yet, at the same time, Israel seems tone-deaf to the concerns of a bipartisan majority in Congress, as well as within the administration, about the state of US-PRC relations, about the state of cross-Taiwan straits relations and, more generally, about relations between China and all its major neighbors.

<P> Even a novice in the ways of Washington knows that it is Congress that has staunchly stood by Israel even as administrations in the past collided with Israel's interests. Why, then, alienate Capitol Hill? Why turn away staunch supporters, who cannot understand Israel's insensitivity to America's strategic concerns?

<P> Israel's behavior regarding the Phalcon is nothing short of inexcusable. Israel's economy is healthy enough without this sale. Israel's military industries can survive without it as well. Israel can afford to curtail this sale.

<P> Friends of Israel should not be tested over the Phalcon. As the final-s
tatus talks move ahead, there will be far more important tests to come. Israel
must ensure that, when the "crunch" arrives in those talks, its erstwhile frien
ds in Washington will not have been turned away in the wake of an ill-advised,
ill-timed arms transfer that could have serious and negative repercussions for
long-term American interests throughout East Asia.

<I><P> Dov S. Zakheim, chief executive officer of SPC International Corp. a
nd adjunct senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, is a former deput
y undersecretary of defense. </I>

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<P>Philadelphia Inquirer

November 22, 1999

<P>Change Course On Sanctions

<I><P>To win over the Serbs, stop punishing them for Slobod
an Milosevic's crimes.

</I><P>By Srdja Trifkovic

<P> What is happening to Serbia? The country is in the doldrums: Its econom
y in free fall, its society in tatters, its middle class pauperized or exiled,

parts of its territory under foreign occupation. And yet, the regime of Slobodan Milosevic does not appear to be in any imminent danger.

<P> His opponents in Belgrade despair over the fact that the Serbs are fatally squeezed between the hammer of the West and the anvil of Milosevic, a misshapen tyrant who will not flap his wings as long as he can feed on the ever-shrinking innards of Inner Serbia.

<P> The weakness of Milosevic's opponents was evident in last Wednesday's decision of the Alliance for Change, one of the major opposition groups, to call off two months of ineffective and poorly attended daily street protests. Attempts to forge unity - such as the Nov. 13-14 meeting of opposition leaders and the Serb diaspora in Hungary, convened by the exiled Crown Prince Alexander Karađorđević - yield declarations that need a strong external impetus to become meaningful.

<P> The United States could provide such an impetus. But to do that it needs to rethink its current Balkan strategy. The overwhelming perception among the people of Serbia - most opponents of the regime included - of a fundamental anti-Serb bias of U.S. policy has enabled Milosevic to linger on in spite of the seemingly endless stream of disasters and defeats the nation has endured under him.

<P> According to the World Bank's Branko Milanovic, who monitors the situation in Belgrade, "the key to the paradox of Serbia's politics is fairly simple: Most people dislike the regime but reject any alternative that comes with the blessing of those who dropped bombs on them for two months last spring."

<P> Milosevic's domestic opponents and West European diplomats familiar with the Serbian political scene are in broad agreement on what the United States can and should do to promote change. But there are three things that, if the United States does them together, could organize a so-far disorganized opposition and coalesce the shifting tides of Serbian political support.

<P> Lift all the sanctions. According to Simon Jenkins of the London Times, "as in Iraq, sanctions make the rulers rich and everyone else - the professionals, the merchants and the workers - poor. They pollute the political economy and degrade public order." There are few Europeans who dispute Jenkins' conclusion that, far from encouraging the people to rise up in revolt, the sanctions do the opposite. So far, the United States has resisted European pressure to ease the sanctions, even on such purely symbolic gestures as the delivery of heating oil to several Serb municipalities controlled by the opposition.

<P> Focus efforts on the creation of a broad front of all democratic forces committed to change. Michael Stenton of Cambridge University says that "the goal ought to be getting rid of the present lot, not on deciding who should inherit the throne." This is echoed by Vojislav Kostunica, president of the Democrat

ic Party of Serbia, who says that Washington's support for its preferred opposition factions is counterproductive: "President Clinton's announcement last July that \$10 million would be turned over to the opposition enabled the regime to claim that its opponents are in the pay of foreign governments."

<P> Declare the same degree of commitment to the return of over 200,000 Serbian refugees evicted from Kosovo over the past three months - and another half-million expelled from Croatia since 1991 - that was expressed in connection with the return of Albanians displaced during the bombing campaign. Without such an assurance, the friends of the West in Serbia will be burdened with the accusation that their foreign backers practice situational ethics and selective humanitarianism.

<P> By accepting that the solution of minority issues lies in a democratically transformed Serbia that has a rightful and legitimate place in the community of nations, the U.S. government would deny the bogus claim of the Milosevic regime to be the sole defender of the nation's interests. In reality, unlike his Croatian, Muslim or Albanian counterparts, Milosevic had never been the "hard-line nationalist": He is a cynical communist apparatchik who exploited Serbian frustrations to grab power back in 1987 and to ensure the survival of the power structure ever since.

<P> To bring down Milosevic, the U.S. policy in the Balkans should reflect the pragmatic acceptance that there are at least some legitimate Serbian aspirations and interests. Such pragmatism was implied in President Jacques Chirac's plea for Serbia's reintegration into Europe, made at the summit in Turkey last Wednesday; it was explicitly stated by the Italian foreign minister Lamberto Dini a week earlier.

<P> Continuing collective punishment of the Serbs because of Milosevic effectively enables him to remain in power, thus justifying further castigation. This single-minded policy of all-stick-no-carrot is increasingly seen in Europe as an Albrightesque idiosyncrasy that needs correcting. If it isn't, it may lead to the creation of an embittered, bankrupt twilight zone in the heart of the Balkans, thus preventing a stable and just peace in the region. This outcome is not what the United States needs - or what the people of the Balkans deserve.

<I><P>Srdja Trifkovic is a commentator on international affairs.</I>

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<P>New York Times

November 21, 1999

<P>Battle Line

<I><P>Russia Pines for a New Savior: Victory

</I><P>By Michael Wines

<P> MOSCOW -- JUST for a moment, imagine the corked-up fury of life in a failed superpower, a place where the government seems impotent and scandal-scattered; where the army is demoralized by defeat and incompetence; where the economy seems to rock between inflation and depression. Then imagine that Islamic terrorists from magnifying-glass specks on the map are blowing up your citizens, seemingly with impunity. If you lived there, it might feel good to hit back, too.

<P> That is one way to view, though not to condone, Russia's brutish efforts to subdue its runaway province of Chechnya, a blunt-edged assault that is messily wiping out civilians and soldiers alike, drawing world protest -- and, by Russian estimation, working quite well, thank you.

<P> Americans cannot truly imagine Russians' frustration at their imperial disintegration and economic collapse. But perhaps they can get a whiff of the emotional release Chechnya evokes among Russians by recalling how good it felt, after two decades of Vietnam, Watergate, Iran and Lebanon, to finally regain their military prowess -- striking back first at Libyan terrorism in 1986 and then, far more dramatically, against Saddam Hussein in Kuwait in 1991.

<P> Think back to that time: The notion that the United States was back, a force not to be messed with, was almost palpable. American approval was tinged

with jingoism; "Vietnam syndrome" was declared dead. Now, after President Boris N. Yeltsin's defiant speech to a gathering of Europe's and America's leaders in Istanbul last week and the Russian military's vow to ignore the world's carping about its tactics in Chechnya, it seems conceivable that post-Soviet Russia has reached a similar turning point in its brief history.

<P> Similar, but not identical. Unlike America, the Bear isn't back. And Russia these days is truly reeling, socially and economically, as America never did. In all probability, it is decades away from reclaiming the world stage. Still, a powerful backlash is beginning to coil, a Slavic jingoism born in desperation, fed by resentment of Western might and exploited by even the most liberal Russian politicians.

<P> THIS is the context in which the Kremlin, eyeing the presidential election next June, is casting the war as a Russian wake-up call -- a "don't tread on me" warning to domestic bandits and foreign critics alike, from a people whose faces are black with heel marks.

<P> "Those early signs of being Westernized, they were all superficial," Leonid A. Sedov, an analyst with Moscow's Public Opinion Foundation, said in an interview. "What's happening is that Russia is taking her own special course, and it's very dangerous."

<P> All these themes, and more, are braided in Chechnya. The military was mortified there in 1996 after the Kremlin yanked it out before it could be decimated by urban guerrillas in the streets of Grozny, Chechnya's capital.

<P> The current war offers generals the chance to wipe that slate clean and regain a measure of influence in Mr. Yeltsin's weakened government.

<P> Military policy makers are bristling over America's attempts to fill the power vacuum along the old Soviet Union's shrunken borders. NATO's three-month bombing campaign against Yugoslavia last spring was, in retrospect, a fault line in relations between the two countries. Chechnya provides a chance to reassert Russian military strength in its own backyard, and to show that Moscow will not surrender its old spheres of influence so easily.

<P> Foreign-policy strategists here have abandoned the gauzy notion of a decade ago that Moscow and Washington would together make the world safe for democracy; now they see the West mostly as a rival, if not a threat. Nowhere was that clearer than last week in Istanbul where, as Western leaders condemned Chechnya misdeeds in one hall, President Clinton watched in another as several former Soviet states signed a deal for a new oil pipeline that would circumvent Russian pipelines and their tariffs.

<P> To Russian foreign-policy makers, subduing Chechnya keeps Russia in the

pipeline game, since a stable Chechnya is central to building new routes nearby or enlarging pipelines already in the area. And it allows the Kremlin to return the thumb in the eye that it clearly believes has been delivered by America and its allies on issues from pipelines to economic reform.

<P> To the political elite, Chechnya is as much electoral as military strategy. Given a chance to wave Russia's tricolor instead of lamenting its decline, virtually every politician in the nation has closed ranks behind the Kremlin and against its foreign human-rights critics.

<P> Just how little daylight separates them is clear from one remarkable scene: A leading Western-oriented member of parliament, Grigory Yavlinsky, suggested a negotiated Chechen peace earlier this month. And immediately, the man who is perhaps closer to Washington than any politician in Russia, the Kremlin adviser Anatoly Chubais, called it the act of a traitor.

<P> Mr. Chubais, who hopes to elect his own faction to parliament, would not be saying such things if voters did not enthusiastically agree. For whatever the elites now believe, it is the nationalistic backlash among ordinary Russians that is driving them and events in Chechnya.

<P> FOR those Russians, the distinction between human-rights violations and the extermination of terrorists is not so much artificial as nonexistent. True, ordinary Russians opposed the last assault on Chechnya, in 1994, as a cruel waste of lives and money. But now it is an issue of self-defense: Chechen bandits invaded the province of Dagestan last summer, seeking to extend their reach, and Russians widely believe that it was Chechen terrorists who blew up apartment houses and barracks across Russia, killing hundreds of innocents. No one in Russia expects such a war to be played by Hoyle's rules.

<P> For Americans, the irony is that they may have done a lot to set the mood for Russia's current attitude toward Chechnya. Conflict there may have been unavoidable; Islamic militants effectively gave the Kremlin and its armies a choice of fighting or losing both territory and Russia's honor. But both the rules of the battle and the mentality of its leaders have been molded by NATO's relentless bombing of Yugoslavia last spring -- opening an East-West rift that American diplomats then predicted would soon be papered over, but that has only widened wider in the intervening months.

<P> In Russia, the Kosovo war is remembered as a conflict NATO launched in utter disregard of Moscow's emotional pleas and warnings of disaster. This time around, Moscow has returned the cold shoulder, ignoring Western pleas to mediate and even to closely observe the conflict.

<P> Now, in Russian eyes, Moscow's day-and-night bombardment of Chechen targets mirrors NATO's round-the-clock raids, save the smart bombs and accurate missiles that minimized civilian Yugoslav deaths.

<P> Then, Russia denounced as war crimes the civilian deaths that did occur , from errant NATO missiles or bombs that hit refugee sites. Now those same horrors have become justification for ignoring complaints about Chechen civilian casualties. More than 200,000 Chechens have fled their homes, and Chechen officials say more than 4,000 civilians have been killed.

<P> It is not that Russia is insensitive to those complaints, or at least to their effect on domestic politics. In fact, the Kremlin has tightly manipulated news coverage here, calling the war an "anti-terrorist action," restricting live coverage and playing down stories of civilian suffering. But while Mr. Sedov's own polls show some softening of public backing for the conflict in recent weeks, Russians' thirst for a victory to celebrate seems apparent: whereas half the population supported giving Chechnya independence four years ago, 8 in 10 now support the Kremlin's battle plans.

<P> More revealing, perhaps, is the response to the question of whether Russia must reinstate itself as a "great empire;" 85 percent said yes, and 7 percent no.

<P> "It reminds me of the feelings of an old man who still imagines that he's a young vigorous man again," Mr. Sedov said.

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