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TEXT:

The PRC's perceived "threats" against Taiwan, coupled with the announcement last week of a 12.7 percent increase in China's defense budget and statements by Chinese officials charging that the U.S. was "responsible" for rising tensions in the Taiwan Strait, led most writers outside China--including some in Hong Kong--to worry about the "uncertainties" governing the situation in the Taiwan Strait. Most opinionmakers judged that Beijing had significantly "raised the ante" against Taiwan in the run-up to presidential elections there March 18. As one Hungarian daily put it: "The question cannot be avoided.... What happens if the people of Taiwan...elevate to the throne a candidate who pledges to proclaim formal separation from China?" Commentators also spoke of the "tangled web" of U.S.-China relations, and judged that China had "seriously miscalculated" the effect on the U.S. Congress of Beijing's "bullying" of Taiwan. Many found China's issuing of the white paper--warning Taiwan that Beijing would "adopt all drastic measures," including the "use of force," should Taipei indefinitely delay talks on reunification--"bizarre" at this juncture, given the "problems it is fast creating in Washington." Expressing a commonly held view, Sydney's national, conservative Australian stressed: "Beijing may be seriously miscalculating.... U.S. congressional opinion against ratifying China's entry into the WTO is hardening...[and] support for increased weapons sales to Taiwan is also hardening." On the question of the "incomprehensibly high" increase in China's defense budget, Tokyo dailies fretted that Japan's official development assistance (ODA) to China might be being misused, thereby "contributing to China's arms buildup." Others worried about a regional arms race fueled by China and by U.S. arms sales to Taiwan. London's independent Financial Times urged the U.S., as an "arms supplier" to East Asia, to "exercise restraint," particularly "with regard to the destroyers Taiwan is seeking." Following are additional views:

VIEWS FROM BEIJING, HONG KONG: Official Beijing media outlets, pro-PRC dailies

and one centrist paper in Hong Kong gave prominent play and credence to statements made by Chinese Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan last week charging that the U.S. was "responsible" for the "present situation" in the Taiwan Strait and was "fomenting 'separatist forces' in Taiwan." Official Chinese dailies also prominently featured statements that the People's Liberation Army "has vowed to...carry out the sacred mission of safeguarding the motherland's reunification" and admonished the U.S. to "take action to fulfill [the] pledges of the three joint communiques and the 'three no's' policy."

TAIWAN'S CONCERNS: A group of pro-Democratic Progressive Party writers argued that "legitimizing the status quo should be the priority" for now. Referring to President Clinton's China policy speech last week, the liberal, pro-independence Taipei Times complained that his remarks fell short of allowing the Taiwanese "to simply reject reunification." EDITOR: Kathleen J. Brahney

EDITOR'S NOTE: This survey is based on 43 reports from 17 countries, March 1 - 12. Editorial excerpts are grouped by region; editorials from each country are listed from the most recent date.

EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC

CHINA: "PLA Representatives: Taiwan Independence Means War"

Li Xuehong noted in the official Chinese Youth Party China Youth Daily (Zhongguo Qingnianbao, 3/12): "The representatives of the Chinese People's Liberation Army at the National People's Congress expressed that they are determined, confident, and able to safeguard the reunification of the motherland. They said that they will never sit idle watching the Taiwan independence factions conduct separatist activities."

"U.S. Foments 'Separatism'"

Hua Qihua said in the official English-language China Daily (3/11): "The United States is fomenting 'separatist forces' in Taiwan and is responsible for the rising tensions in the Taiwan Straits, Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan said yesterday. 'Both Sino-American relations and cross-Straits ties are at an important and critical juncture, Tang said. He urged the United States to immediately stop all arms sales to Taiwan. Tang said continued U.S. arms

sales
to Taiwan and proposals to include the island in a TMD system constitute
serious
violations of the three Sino-American joint communiques and of the
commitments
the United States made to the Chinese government."

"Missile Sale Draws Fire"

Shao Zongwei noted in the official, English-language China Daily (3/10):
"The
U.S. Defense Department's announcement that it had approved the sale of 162
sophisticated Hawk anti-aircraft missiles and equipment to Taiwan seriously
infringes on China's sovereignty, interferes in China's internal affairs,
and
will stir elements favoring independence for Taiwan,' said Foreign Ministry
[spokesman] Zhu Bangzao. As for the issue of U.S. permanent normal trade
relations (PNTR) with China, Zhu said: 'China insists that the offer of
PNTR
must be 'neat, clear-cut and without conditional measures. If the issue
cannot
be resolved U.S. businesses in China will be seriously hurt.'"

"Defense Budget Slightly Higher"

Under the above headline, Hu Qihua pointed out in the official,
English-language
China Daily (3/8): "Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Zhu Bangzao
expressed
deep concern over the reported U.S. selling of destroyers with the 'Aegis'
system and the 'Patriot III' anti-missile system to Taiwan. Zhu said:
'We
urge the United States to refrain from doing anything that may cause
tension in
cross-strait relations, anything that may obstruct China's peaceful
reunification or anything that would not be conducive to the steady
development
of China-U.S. relations."

"Taiwan Independence Means War"

A commentator of the official Liberation Army Daily is quoted by the
official,
English-language China Daily (3/7) as saying: "We must point out that
'Taiwan
independence' means war and separation will not lead to peace.... The
PLA's
millions of troops stand in combat readiness and are on high alert and will
never sit by idly while an attempt is being made to split China."

"Best Friends Next Door"

Yan Xuetong noted in the official, English-language China Daily (3/7):

"China should apply diplomacy to foster good neighbor relations.... Tighter regional relations can help defuse international hegemonism by the United States because regional alliances can rival U.S. power and cut into its influence."

"Taiwan Independence Means War"

A commentator for official Liberation Army Daily is quoted by the People's Daily (3/6) as saying: "The People's Liberation Army has vowed to better carry out the sacred mission of safeguarding the motherland's reunification. We oppose any foreign interference in the Taiwan issue and the United States' Taiwan Security Enhancement Act, as well as its scheme to sell advanced weapons to Taiwan under various excuses. Taiwan independence means war. The complete reunification of China is an unshakable will of all Chinese people. On this point, there is no room for compromise. China is determined to smash at any cost any evil attempts to split China."

"Specter Obsessing China-U.S. relations"

Ding Xiaowen stressed in the official Chinese Youth Party China Youth Daily (Zhongguo Qingnianbao, 3/6): "Even if the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act fails to become U.S. law, it will probably be picked up again in the next session of the Congress. Therefore, it will remain a threat to the Sino-U.S. relationship in the long run. No wonder some describe the act as a specter obsessing the China-U.S. relations. China warns anti-China U.S. congressmen not to underestimate the Chinese people's determination and ability to safeguard China's sovereignty and territorial integrity."

"Permanent Normal Trade Relations Not A Favor"

Official Communist Party People's Daily (Renmin Ribao) pointed out (3/3): "Sun Zhenyong, Vice Minister of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation, said that the Permanent Normal Trade Relationship is not a U.S. favor to China, but a commitment the United States should honor according to the agreement on China's WTO accession."

HONG KONG: "U.S. Responsible For Tension In Taiwan Strait"

An editorial in pro-PRC Ta Kung Pao insisted (3/11): "Sino-U.S. relations play a crucial role in maintaining peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region and the world. The words and deeds of the United States regarding the Taiwan issue at the moment will directly affect the Sino-U.S. relationship as well as the peace and stability of the Taiwan Strait and the Asia-Pacific region. In order to prevent damage to Sino-U.S. relations, the United States should take actions to fulfill its pledges of the three joint communiques and the 'three nos' policy. It should promise not to include Taiwan in the Theater Missile Defense system and not to provide the necessary technology. Also, the United States should stop the 'Taiwan Security Enhancement Act' from being passed and cease all the activities that interfere in China's internal affairs. The direction of Sino-U.S. relations rests entirely on the United States."

"U.S. Is Backstage Manipulator Who Splits China"

Under the above headline, the centrist Hong Kong Daily News maintained (3/11): "Tang Jiaxuan has made some points. The United States has to be considered responsible for the present situation in the Taiwan Strait.

"There is a wide gap between China and Taiwan in their military power. If Taiwan was not backed by the world's number-one military power, the United States, Taiwan would have surrendered to China long ago, in Chiang Kai-shek's time, without the need for Beijing to threaten to use force. As we have said before, one China and one Taiwan is in the best interest of the United States--better than having a unified and strong China.... On the surface, the United States supports 'one China'. However, it is actually the greatest supporter of 'two Chinas'."

"Helpful Ambiguity"

According to an editorial in the independent South China Morning Post (3/11): "The latest salvo will do no good to anyone, least of all Beijing. It is a big setback for President Bill Clinton in his attempt to push Congress into granting China permanent Normal Trade Relations status. It could impede the progress of

resumed WTO talks with the European Union, and strengthen the hands of critics in Congress already hostile to China's membership.... For different political reasons, the United States has also sent mixed signals over Taiwan. Repeated assurances of support for the one-China policy by the Clinton administration are at odds with Republican distrust of Beijing. The Taiwan Security Enhancement Act, which the House passed by a veto-proof margin earlier this year, has complicated Sino-U.S. relations to an extraordinary degree. Requiring a much closer working partnership between the Taiwanese and American military, it has--as House critics feared--played directly into China's hands. What is needed now is delicate behind-the-scenes diplomacy to calm matters. That can best be done by restoring the ambiguity that existed previously in cross-Strait relations."

"Hard Facts Show Through 'Partnership' Smokescreen"

The independent Hong Kong Standard noted in its editorial (3/11): "A darker cloud is shadowing the Taiwan Strait.... The mainland will have to match its words with deeds if Washington and Taiwan's new president do not heed its warning. The so-called Sino-U.S. 'strategic partnership' may serve as a smokescreen to hide the widening differences between the two powers. Spelling out each side's bottom line may help to focus on areas of potential serious conflicts and find feasible solutions. The two countries still have many fields in which to cooperate and maintaining good relations will be conducive to stability in the region and the world."

"Increased Military Spending Must Not Lead To Arms Race"

The independent Hong Kong Standard's editorial emphasized (3/7): "The 12.7 percent increase in China's military spending this year will raise a few eyebrows in the region and the world.... China, the earth's most populated nation whose economic power has grown rapidly in recent years, wants to have a modern military force commensurate with its role. Most analysts will agree that it does not mean China has ambitions to invade or conquer other countries.... The need for an arms build-up is also a reflection of China's growing unease about the United States' domination of the world scene, from economic to military affairs.... Nevertheless, Beijing should increase transparency in its military affairs, including spending and strategic goals, in order to avoid

unnecessary misunderstanding."

"Taiwan Tiptoes Close To The Fire"

Greg Torode told readers of the independent South China Morning Post (3/5): "Beijing's publication of its white paper two weeks ago...sparked a new intensity of political debate--and sympathy--across Washington, with Taiwan's presidential elections a fortnight away....

"It also comes in a tumultuous period in Sino-U.S. relations. A law seeking to intensify Taiwan military relations--including arms sales--is now before Senator Helms' committee after being passed by the House International Relations Committee."

"China Very Concerned About U.S.' Words And Deeds"

Pro-PRC Wen Wei Po's editorial intoned (3/3): "The most sensitive and most critical issue in Sino-U.S. relations is the Taiwan issue. The recent comments made by some U.S. officials are unfavorable to the development of Sino-U.S. relations and have abetted the turbulent situation in the Taiwan Strait. U.S. officials should be very careful with their words and deeds, and they should take Sino-U.S. relations into account. It is not easy to build Sino-U.S. relations. It has taken the continuous efforts of the U.S. government and the two parties in the past 20 years.... The United States should not seek temporary political expedience in the presidential election at the expense of Sino-U.S. relations. In fact, if China and the United States have more contacts, they will have a better understanding. Then the United States will know that China's Taiwan policy is consistent. 'Peaceful reunification,' and 'one country two systems' are China's Taiwan policies. However, China also has its bottom line. If a foreign country invades Taiwan or if Taiwan announces its independence, China is determined to exercise its rights, which conform to international law, to use force to protect Taiwan."

"Far-Off Voices On Chinese issues"

Greg Torode pointed out in the independent South China Morning Post (3/2): "One of the mysteries surrounding the white paper threat is why the mainland acted now, given the problems it is fast creating in Washington.... Now the pressure is really on, with the white paper providing a fresh excuse for those

questioning the reality of a vote this year.... The mainland's motives on the Taiwan threat last week may remain unclear, but its likely heated reaction to either a delayed vote or any tinkering with the legislation is not."

"White Paper Stance Consistent"

The pro-PRC Hong Kong Commercial Daily averred in its editorial (3/2):

"Some foreign media think that China's policy in settling the Taiwan issue has undergone a great change. Such a view is not correct.... President Clinton's reaction to the white paper...has not deviated from the U.S. government's 'three-nos' policy regarding the Taiwan issues.... Reiterating China's policy stance in the white paper will be conducive to the healthy and steady development of cross-Straits relations. It is also beneficial to safeguard the common strategic interests of Sino-U.S. relations. Thus, it is hoped that the U.S. government and public will adopt a wise and rational attitude toward the Taiwan issue."

TAIWAN: "Peaceful Cross-Straits Relations: An Appeal To U.S., China"

In an open letter published in the liberal, pro-independence Taipei Times (3/12), a group of pro-Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) scholars and politicians held that there is no one-shot solution to the China-Taiwan issue and that preservation of the status quo is in the best interests of China, Taiwan and the free world: "The Kashmir conflict between India and Pakistan, the Israel-Arab conflict, and the issue of the Taiwan Strait are the most intractable international issues of our time. For conflicts like these there is no single, quick, one-shot solution, but only an open-ended, evolutionary outcome. Only mutual self-restraint, patience, wisdom and time will lead to a resolution acceptable to all parties concerned. With this in mind, we appeal to the international community to help Taiwan preserve peace and stability across the Taiwan Strait.... Pending a final solution, legitimizing the status quo should be the priority."

"U.S. Policy Gets 'Real' Again"

The liberal, pro-independence, English-language Taipei Times maintained (3/10):

"That Clinton should suddenly develop a respect for the wishes of the

people of Taiwan seems to signal something new. Previous U.S. policy seems to have limited itself to saying that a solution to problems across the Taiwan Strait must be peaceful and it is up to Taiwan and China to work this out themselves. Respect for the aspiration of the people of Taiwan has been consistently absent, most notoriously in Clinton's 'three no's' statement in Shanghai in 1998, where he abrogated any moral responsibility he had by denying the Taiwanese the right of self-determination in his expressed opposition to Taiwan independence. Almost certainly, the White House has no intention of changing its 'three no's' policy, so how are we to read its new-found interest in solutions that have the consent/assent of the Taiwanese?... This message seems benign enough, even coming from Clinton. But we have reservations; namely that, given the limits put on Taiwan's negotiating position by Clinton's 'three no's,' any attempt to speed up the resumption of talks would be tantamount to bringing forward a conclusion that has already been decided. Clinton's message is that Taiwan must not be coerced into talks on reunification but must be courted. There is, alas, no room for the Taiwanese to have the freedom to simply reject unification. Clinton's concern for the consent of the Taiwanese will never go that far."

"Both Sides Entering Dead-End Arms Race"

Lin Chien-hua stressed in the liberal, pro-independence Taiwan Daily (3/3): "The air forces of both sides of the Taiwan Strait are entering an endless arms race. In addition to racing for the latest developed fighter planes, the two sides are seeking to build relevant air defensive systems to prevent themselves from being attacked by missiles from the other side. If the air forces of both sides continue to race with each other, it will have a serious impact on the economic development of both countries. To effectively improve this situation, both sides had better sit down and begin political talks."

JAPAN: "Why Does China Continue Defense Buildup?"

Business-oriented Nihon Keizai observed (3/8): "China's year 2000 defense budget is expected to rise to about \$14.5 billion. An unusually radical rise in China defense spending, which in fact has marked a double-digit increase

during the past 12 years, will not only pose a serious threat to Asian nations, but it will also prompt them to engage in a fierce arms race as well. Details of actual Chinese defense spending figures have never been fully disclosed, however. For example, it is believed that considerable amounts of money have actually been set aside from announced defense budgets to modernize weapons and missiles, including 'East Wind-31' ICBMs. Experts even speculate actual defense-related spending has been at least triple the announced defense spending figures. China needs to clarify why it has been accelerating arms buildups for more than a decade. Japan continues to give large official development assistance (ODA) to China on condition that it not be used for military purposes, including the development of weapons of mass destruction. China must take appropriate measures not to invite 'unnecessary doubts' in Japan over how China uses Japan's ODA."

"An Incomprehensibly High Jump In China's Defense Budget"

Conservative Sankei's editorial stressed (3/7): "China will increase its year 2000 defense spending to about \$14.5 billion, a [nearly] 13-percent rise over the 1999 defense outlay. China's defense spending, which has marked a double-digit increase during the past 12 years, shows China's eagerness for reinforcing its military strength....

"China's announced defense spending does not...include the cost for developing nuclear weapons and long-range ballistic missiles, as well as the 'licensed production' of Russian SUKHOI-27 jet fighters.... It is clear, however, that China has been building up its arms steadily....possibly for the use of force against Taiwan. But it is not clear why China continues to strengthen its military at a time when there are fewer [external] military threats toward China than in the past. The 'security impact' of these Chinese military moves on Japan is significant in view of a continuing dispute over the possession of the Senkaku Islands in the China Sea, or from the standpoint of securing sea lanes. But some Japanese government and political leaders do not bother to regard the Chinese military buildup as a threat. Japan must realize that its ODA, which totals about 400 billion yen annually, actually contributes toward China's spending more on its arms buildup."

AUSTRALIA: "What If Bluff And Bluster Turn To Biff?"

An op-ed in Sydney's national conservative Australian featured this (3/8) by foreign editor Greg Sheridan: "Beijing may be seriously miscalculating...the effect its bullying [of Taiwan] may have in the U.S. congressional opinion against ratifying China's entry into the WTO is hardening; congressional support for increased weapons sales to Taiwan is also hardening; European opinion against China is also growing. And each U.S. presidential candidate has felt obliged to make significant comments critical of China."

"China's Taiwan Threats Rebound"

An editorial in Sydney's national, conservative Australian held (3/8): "By threatening to invade Taiwan if it does not begin negotiations on unification with the mainland, the Chinese have jeopardized their standing with other powers--notably the United States, where leading presidential candidates are already hardening their stance. This has implications for China's other foreign policy goals. The most immediate of these is entry to the WTO.... Attempts by China to quarantine the issue...are futile. With a U.S. aircraft carrier cruising in the area it should be clear to the Chinese that peaceful reunification is the only realistic option and that it is hindered by Beijing's aggressive posturing."

INDONESIA: "U.S. Preoccupied By Relations With China And Taiwan"

Leading, independent Kompas told its readers (3/3): "Obviously, the United States is now in a very difficult situation. Taiwan's request for arms sales came just when China was launching a threat against Taiwan. This underscores the contradiction in the United States: While diplomatically it recognizes Beijing as one China, the United States also intends to protect Taiwan from Beijing's attack. However, this is ostensibly the consequence of exercising a double standard that eventually brings itself problems. Thus far, the United States and all parties concerned, are still able to accommodate these unpleasanties. But, when push comes to shove, this emerging crisis could become more serious."

PHILIPPINES: "China's Two-Fisted Attack On Corruption"

The second, leading Philippine Daily Inquirer's editorial stressed (3/10): "China's leaders delivered on Sunday a two-fisted attack on corruption

within
the Communist Party and bureaucracy at the National People's Congress....
(Prime Minister) Zhu's speech is significant in that the leaders of the
second
biggest economy in East Asia have come to terms with the notion that
corruption
exact heavy social and economic costs in developing societies like China,
the
Philippines, Indonesia and Vietnam.... Zhu's attack on corruption
coincides with
the emphasis being made by international financing institutions, such as
the
World Bank, the Asian Development Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

"These institutions have...made transparency and good governance important
conditions for...economic assistance.... In their echoing of the call for
transparency of international financial institutions...the Chinese leaders
have
demonstrated that transparency and governance are not values imposed by
Western
governments or institutions."

SINGAPORE: "Go For The Minimum"

The pro-government Straits Times urged (3/9): "[The United States and
China]
must try hard to avoid a showdown just now while emotions across the Taiwan
Strait are raw. U.S. President Bill Clinton must resist Taiwan's latest
request
for advanced weapons.... The United States has never sold a fully equipped
Aegis destroyer overseas, and Taiwan is not the place where it should start
making an exception. If it did, it would most certainly encourage China
to buy
and build more advanced military equipment, thus causing a cross-Strait
arms
race.... Unless the United States proposes to give Taiwan assurances that
it
will do whatever it takes to redress the balance in the island's favor, it
should use the intervening period to encourage both sides towards a
long-term
political solution. The prospect of achieving that is no doubt dim just
now,
but the first step would be to reduce existing tensions. What is the
minimum
that both sides require now in order to draw back from the brink? For
China, it
would be Taiwanese leaders' ceasing to make provocative pro-independence
statements; and for Taiwan, it would be Chinese leaders' cooling their
threatening rhetoric. Quiet U.S. diplomacy can ensure the first, and
encourage
the second."

"Shadow Of The Mainland"

The pro-government Business Times emphasized (3/1): "The United Nations, every important global forum and most countries of any significance accept that there is only one China. Taipei's attempts to gain international recognition have failed totally.... Clearly then, China has won the political and diplomatic test of wills.... China's latest stance has given its detractors in Washington enough ammunition to try to scuttle a deal to bring Beijing into the World Trade Organization (WTO). The U.S. Congress is to vote to grant Beijing favorable access to U.S. markets--the so-called permanent normal trade relations status. All this is now in jeopardy. And, as if that were not enough, the U.S. Senate is now considering taking up the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act.... The Chinese say that their position on reunification does not take U.S. reaction into consideration. Unfortunately, Beijing must face the fact that this is exactly the sort of thing that plays into the hands of those who wish to see China isolated."

SOUTH KOREA: "Arms Race Picks Up New Speed"

Moderate Joong-Ang Ilbo judged (3/8): "The world appears to be back in an arms race, showing a big contrast to last year when the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty dominated the scene.... While the United States has increased its defense budgets, China has just announced plans to do the same, and this announcement is sending jitters throughout the world.... Washington continues to draw criticism for pursuing the national missile defense system.... The biggest problem is that international arms reduction organizations are ineffective because they are caught up in the conflicting interests of powerful nations.... It is no surprise, but nevertheless disappointing, that even in this new millennium, the world still finds itself stuck with the same arms race issue. On this issue, Asia gets particularly nervous, and Washington's plans for theatre missile defense could hit a nerve. When that system is installed, an escalated arms race will be firmly in place."

THAILAND: "China Must Drop Threats Of War"

The top-circulation, moderately conservative Bangkok Post featured this lead editorial (3/12): "Everyone can understand that disputes among large countries are inevitable. But...China's [white] paper seemed to plan such a stand against Washington and Tokyo. Worse, it plans to try to enlist Asia, ASEAN and Thailand for support. At [the very] least, China wants Thailand to remain silent in any such confrontation. We can only hope that the Chinese abandon this plan. A new type of cold war between China and other great powers is unthinkable. Beijing should also halt its threats against Taiwan. The Taiwanese will elect whomever they favor in next week's presidential election. Beijing should simply deal with this democratic choice in a realistic manner. It is time for the Chinese to participate in an effort to make our region more stable. Threats of invasion and nuclear confrontation with America are not acceptable in that effort."

SOUTH ASIA

INDIA: "From Containment To Cooperation With India?"

Senior editor M.D. Nalapat penned this analysis in the centrist Times of India (3/7): "Today, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) is superior to the combined forces of the other Asian military giants, India and Japan, neither of whom possesses nuclear-capable tactical attack capability. This growing military might may explain the tightening of the noose around Taiwan, with the benchmark for invasion moved inwards from a declaration of independence to tardiness in unification talks with China. Significantly, unlike in the former case, in the latter it is not Taiwan's objective action but Beijing's determination of 'tardiness' that can justify a military response."

"China, Taiwan And The U.S.--A Tangled Web"

F. J. Khergamvala and Siddharth Krishnaswami offered these perspectives in the centrist Hindu (3/5): "Either China is blissfully ignorant of the implications of its actions on Taiwan in the United States; or Beijing simply could not care

less.... On the face of it, it [seems] quite bizzare that Beijing is trying to mess things up just when the administration is already up to its neck in trouble over the deal on China's entry into the WTO.... In spite of all the distance that has been travelled between China and the United States in the last 30 years, there is nothing that irks American lawmakers more than a 'communist' nation trying to 'bully' a 'democracy' and hoping to get away with it.... It would now appear that China's anger has a far more serious short-term purpose than [influencing] the Taiwan elections."

EUROPE

BRITAIN: "Asian Arms"

An editorial in the independent Financial Times held (3/7): "China has become the latest country in Asia to announce a big increase (12.7 percent) in military spending for this year, although this was less than the really hefty hike of 28 percent announced by India last month. In the shadow of these giants, smaller countries in South Asia are, not surprisingly, increasing their defense budgets, showing that their 1997 economic crisis has, unfortunately, put only a temporary dent in their military expenditures. The reasons for Asian insecurity are as diverse as the region itself.... What security framework Asia has was provided by the United States through individual alliances, chiefly with Japan and South Korea. But, unlike other arms suppliers to this volatile region, the United States must show care, particularly with regard to the destroyers Taiwan is seeking. Equally, Moscow should exercise restraint in selling arms to China.

"Russia needs to remember it, too, as an Asian power with a stake in the region's stability. This year's G-8 summit [in July] is aptly in the Japanese city of Okinawa. Asian security should figure on its agenda."

GERMANY: "Corruption Instead Of Communism"

Harald Maass declared in centrist Der Tagesspiegel of Berlin (3/10): "Never before has a Chinese leader been so outspoken about the shortcomings in his

country. Zhu Rongji did not leave aside any subject. He had hardly a friendly word on the establishment of socialism, on China's rise to a superpower. Zhu has not achieved his goal to set up a market economy in China and to change it into a modern state. The majority of state companies continues to drift along in their old socialist jog trot. Privatization is out of the question because of the serious losses. And the fight against corruption is mainly taking place in the media. We cannot accuse Zhu of not fighting for his reforms. But he had to realize that in China, it is the bureaucrats and the party leaders who have the power. Again and again, he was confronted with the resistance of the party establishment in his efforts to implement reforms.... Not too much is left of the high-flying previous plans. While Zhu calls for independent actions, nepotism and submissiveness to authorities continue to prevail. In this system, there is no room for change."

"China Always Has Money For The Military"

Nico Fried opined in left-of-center Berliner Zeitung (3/7): "The Chinese government increased its defense budget by 12.7 percent.... There are two reasons for this move. The first has, in Beijing's opinion, to do with changed strategic requirements...and the current spheres of interest are located in the Pacific--Taiwan and the Spratly Islands. This is why China is supplementing its army by a naval force.... The second is based on domestic policy and is, on a short-term basis, of greater significance: The economic reforms go along with serious burdens for large parts of the population. And mainly on the countryside, unrest is growing. In this situation, the government is dependent on the military and forced to prevent any dissatisfaction among the soldiers. It is no coincidence that the increase in the budget is used to improve the payment of soldiers. They are still needed not against an external enemy, but to preserve power."

"First Victim Of China's Defense Budget Could Be Taiwan"

Right-of-center Nordsee-Zeitung of Bremerhaven declared (3/7): "China is pinning its hopes on aggression in order to demonstrate itself [as] a major power. An expression of this is the new budget with a defense component

that
has been increased by 12.7 percent. Beijing's first victim could be
Taiwan.
The secessionist island is stubbornly resisting massive demands of the
communists that the Taiwanese end their striving for independence. The
People's
Republic seems to be determined to let the political pressure that has
failed so
far, be followed by a military conquest. With its saber rattling, Beijing
made
itself clearly heard."

ITALY: "Beijing Raises Ante Against U.S."

Mario Platero filed from New York in leading, business Il Sole-24 Ore
(3/1):
"The escalation between China and the United States continues, up to the
point
that in the U.S. capital observers wonder whether, behind Beijing's
rhetoric,
some internal destabilizing elements are hiding, which are even more
dangerous
than the ongoing dispute over missiles and Taiwan. Addressing U.S. Admiral
Dennis Blair, during his mission in Beijing aimed at easing
tensions...Chinese
Defense Minister Chi Haotian stated 'Notwithstanding it wants a peaceful
reunification with Taiwan, China will never commit itself not to use
force.'...

"The United States gave the green light to allow China's entry into the
WTO, and
its administration is working to accelerate the process of the accord.
Furthermore, President Clinton is exerting pressure on Congress to
avoid...the
Taiwan Security Enhancement Act.... (However) such a tough position [on
the
part of Baijing] against Washington weakens Clinton's target...and even
Beijing
knows that the relationship between Congress and the White House is far
from
being coordinated about that issue."

HUNGARY: "Taiwan, Hard Nut"

Conservative Napi Magyarorszag's foreign affairs writer Istvan Pataky
observed
(3/8): "Although the expression 'war' has been permanently present in the
rhetoric of communist China, it is clear who has the military lead when it
comes to [strength.] Taiwan is still a hard nut for Beijing because of the
special relationship that has built up between Taipei and Washington. And
the
Chinese administration, so sensitive otherwise to its own ties with
Washington,

is assumed to remain only threatening in words against Taiwan."

"What If Taiwan Doesn't Listen To The Warnings?"

Beijing correspondent Gyula Ortutay emphasized in leading Nepszabadsag (3/8):

"The question cannot be avoided: What happens if the people of Taiwan...elevate to the throne a candidate who pledges to proclaim formal separation from China?"

WESTERN HEMISPHERE

CANADA: "Chinese Roulette"

The conservative National Post remarked (3/4): "Say what you like about mainland China's economic modernization, it is clear Beijing does not understand how to influence people living in a democracy.... Mainland China's behavior continues to be at odds with what would be expected of a country seeking international legitimacy and peaceful relations. But even if Beijing gets the Taiwan president it wants--or stops the candidate it does not--its ultimatums may harden the Taiwanese against moving the seat of their government. Taiwan may live under the mainland's shadow, but the people remain free from Beijing's grasp and able therefore to defy its wishes. So both sides would do well not to disturb a status quo that reconciles the de facto freedom of Taiwan with the territorial claims of Beijing--which means that Taipei should refrain from declarations of independence and Beijing should eschew talk of using force. Raising the stakes won't always win you the prize."

BRAZIL: "Uncertainties"

Center-right O Estado de Sao Paulo featured this view on its op-ed page (3/3):

"Taiwan's territory is of little value to China.... Actually, what most attracts China in Taiwan is the island's \$260-billion gross national product. With it, China would occupy the sixth or even the fifth position among the great powers, ahead of Italy or Britain's GNP. China has a powerful nuclear arsenal and has repeatedly demonstrated that it does not want to wait for the annexation.... How will the United States react? President Jiang Zemin is sure that there will be no reaction in addition to the customary diplomatic notes of protest. In case he is wrong, the first nuclear war will be on its way."

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\sb0 \sa0 \plain \i \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 The PRC's perceived "threats" against Ta
iwan, coupled with the announcement last week of a 12.7 percent increase in Ch

ina's defense budget and statements by Chinese officials charging that the U.S. was "responsible" for rising tensions in the Taiwan Strait, led most writers outside China--including some in Hong Kong--to worry about the "uncertainties" governing the situation in the Taiwan Strait.

Most opinionmakers judged that Beijing had significantly "raised the ante" against Taiwan in the run-up to presidential elections there March 18. As one Hungarian daily put it: "The question cannot be avoided.... What happens if the people of Taiwan...elevate to the throne a candidate who pledges to proclaim formal separation from China?"

Commentators also

spoke of the "tangled web" of U.S.-China relations, and

judged that China had "seriously miscalculated" the effect on the U.S. Congress of Beijing's "bullying" of Taiwan.

Many found China's issuing of the white paper--warning Taiwan that Beijing would "adopt all drastic measures," including the "use of force," should Taipei indefinitely delay talks on reunification--"bizarre" at this juncture, given the "problems it is fast creating in Washington." Expressing a commonly held view, Sydney's national, conservative

Australian

stressed: "Beijing may be seriously miscalculating..

.. U.S. congressional opinion against ratifying China's entry into the WTO is hardening...[and] support for increased weapons sales to Taiwan is also hardening." On the question of the "incomprehensibly high" increase in China's defense budget,

Tokyo dailies fretted that Japan's official development assistance (ODA) to China might be being misused, thereby "contributing to China's arms buildup."

Others worried about a regional arms race fueled by China and by U.S. arms sales to Taiwan. London's independent

Financial Times

urged the U.S., as an "arms supplier" to East Asia, to "exercise restraint," particularly "with regard to the destroyers Taiwan is seeking." Following are additional views:

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VIEWS FROM BEIJING, HONG KONG:

Official Beijing media outlets, pro-PRC dailies and one centrist paper in Hong Kong gave prominent play and credence to statements made by Chinese Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan last week charging that the U.S. was "responsible" for the "present situation" in the Taiwan Strait and was "fomenting 'separatist forces' in Taiwan." Official Chinese dailies also prominently featured statements that the People's Liberation Army "has vowed to...carry out the sacred mission of safeguarding the motherland's reunification" and admonished the U.S. to "take action to fulfill [the] pledges of the three joint communiques and the 'three no's' policy."

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TAIWAN'S CONCERNS:

A group of pro-Democratic Progressive Party writers argued that "legitimizing the status quo should be the priority" for now. Referring to President Clinton's China policy speech last week, the liberal, pro-independence

Taipei Times

complained that his remarks fell short of allowing the Taiwanese "to simply reject reunification."

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Kathleen J. Brahney

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\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Zhongguo Qingnianbao

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 , 3/12): "The representatives of the Chinese People's Liberation Army at the National People's Congress expressed that they are determined, confident, and able to safeguard the reunification of the motherland. They said that they will never sit idle watching the Taiwan independence factions conduct separatist activities."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "U.S. Foments 'Separatism'"

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\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 China Daily

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/11): "The United States is fomenting 'separatist forces' in Taiwan and is responsible for the rising tensions in the Taiwan Straits", Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan said yesterday. 'Both Sino-American relations and cross-Straits ties are at an important and critical juncture, Tang said. He urged the United States to immediately stop all arms sales to Taiwan. Tang said continued U.S. arms sales to Taiwan and proposals to include the island in a TMD system constitute serious violations of the three Sino-American joint communiques and of the commitments the United States made to the Chinese government."

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Zongwei noted in the official, English-language

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 China Daily

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/10): "The U.S. Defense Department's announcement that it had approved the sale of 162 sophisticated Hawk anti-aircraft missiles and equipment to Taiwan seriously infringes on China's sovereignty, interferes in China's internal affairs, and will stir elements favoring independence for Taiwan,' said Foreign Ministry [spokesman] Zhu Bangzao. As for the issue of U.S. permanent normal trade relations (PNTR) with China, Zhu said: 'China insists that the offer of PNTR must be 'neat, clear-cut and without conditional measures. If the issue cannot be resolved U.S. businesses in China will be seriously hurt.'"

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\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/8): "Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Zhu Bangzao expressed deep concern over the reported U.S. selling of destroyers with the 'Aegis' system and the 'Patriot III' anti-missile system to Taiwan. Zhu said: 'We urge the United States to refrain from doing anything that may cause tension in cross-Straits relations, anything that may obstruct China's peaceful reunification or anything that would not be conducive to the steady development of China-U.S. relations.'"

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\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Liberation Army Daily

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 is quoted by the official, English-language

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 China Daily

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/7) as saying: "We must point out that 'Taiwan independence' means war and separation will not lead to peace.... The PLA's millions of troops stand in combat readiness and are on high alert and will never sit by idly while an attempt is being made to split China."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "Best Friends Next Door"

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Yan Xuetong noted in the official, English-language

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 China Daily

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/7): "China should apply diplomacy to foster good neighbor relations.... Tighter regional relations can help defuse international hegemonism by the United States because regional alliances can rival U.S. power and cut into its influence."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "Taiwan Independence Means War"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 A commentator for official

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Liberation Army Daily

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 is quoted by the

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 People's Daily

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/6) as saying: "The People's Liberation Army has vowed to better carry out the sacred mission of safeguarding the motherland's reunification. We oppose any foreign interference in the Taiwan issue and the United States' Taiwan Security Enhancement Act, as well as its scheme to sell advanced weapons to Taiwan under various excuses. Taiwan independence means war. The complete reunification of China is an unshakable will of all Chinese people. On this point, there is no room for compromise. China is determined to smash at any cost any evil attempts to split China."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "Specter Obsessing China-U.S. relations"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Ding Xiaowen stressed in the official Chinese Youth Party

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 China Youth Daily

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Zhongguo Qingnianbao

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 , 3/6): "Even if the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act fails to become U.S. law, it will probably be picked up again in the next session of the Congress. Therefore, it will remain a threat to the Sino-U.S. relationship in the long run. No wonder some describe the act as a specter obsessing the China-U.S. relations. China warns anti-China U.S. congressmen not to underestimate the Chinese people's determination and ability to safeguard China's sovereignty and territorial integrity."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "Permanent Normal Trade Relations Not A Favor"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Official Communist Party

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 People's Daily

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Renmin Ribao

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0) pointed out (3/3): "Sun Zhenyong, Vice Minister of of t

he Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation, said that the Permanent Normal Trade Relationship is not a U.S. favor to China, but a commitment the United States should honor according to the agreement on China's WTO accession."

HONG KONG:

"U.S. Responsible For Tension In Taiwan Strait"

An editorial in pro-PRC

Ta Kung Pao

insisted (3/11): "Sino-U.S. relations play a crucial role in maintaining peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region and the world.

The words and deeds of the United States regarding the Taiwan issue at the moment will directly affect the Sino-U.S. relationship as well as the peace and stability of the Taiwan Strait and the Asia-Pacific region. In order to prevent damage to Sino-U.S. relations, the United States should take actions to fulfill its pledges of the three joint communiques and the 'three nos' policy. It should promise not to include Taiwan in the Theater Missile Defense system and not to provide the necessary technology. Also, the United States should stop the 'Taiwan Security Enhancement Act' from being passed and cease all the activities that interfere in China's internal affairs. The direction of Sino-U.S. relations rests entirely on the United States."

"U.S. Is Backstage Manipulator Who Splits China"

Under the above headline, the centrist

Hong Kong Daily News

maintained (3/11): "Tang Jiaxuan has made some points. The United States has to be considered responsible for the present situation in the Taiwan Strait.

"There is a wide gap between China and Taiwan in their military power. If Taiwan was not backed by the world's number-one military power, the United States, Taiwan would have surrendered to China long ago, in Chiang Kai-shek's time, without the need for Beijing to threaten to use force. As we have said before, one China and one Taiwan is in the best interest of the United States--better than having a unified and strong China.... On the surface, the United States supports 'one China'. However, it is actually the greatest supporter of 'two Chinas'."

"H

elpful Ambiguity"

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 \par

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 According to an editorial in the independent

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 South China Morning Post

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/11): "The latest salvo will do no good to anyone, least of all Beijing. It is a big setback for President Bill Clinton in his attempt to push Congress into granting China permanent Normal Trade Relations status. It could impede the progress of resumed WTO talks with the European Union, and strengthen the hands of critics in Congress already hostile to China's membership.... For different political reasons, the United States has also sent mixed signals over Taiwan. Repeated assurances of support for the one-China policy by the Clinton administration are at odds with Republican distrust of Beijing. The Taiwan Security Enhancement Act, which the House passed by a veto-proof margin earlier this year, has complicated Sino-U.S. relations to an extraordinary degree. Requiring a much closer working partnership between the Taiwanese and American military, it has--as House critics feared--played directly into China's hands. What is needed now is delicate behind-the-scenes diplomacy to calm matters. That can best be done by restoring the ambiguity that existed previously in cross-Strait relations."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "Hard Facts Show Through 'Partnership' Smokescreen"

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\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 The independent

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Hong Kong Standard

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 noted in its editorial (3/11): "A darker cloud is shadowing the Taiwan Strait.... The mainland will have to match its words with deeds if Washington and Taiwan's new president do not heed its warning. The so-called Sino-U.S. 'strategic partnership' may serve as a smokescreen to hide the widening differences between the two powers. Spelling out each side's bottom line may help to focus on areas of potential serious conflicts and find feasible solutions. The two countries still have many fields in which to cooperate and maintaining good relations will be conducive to stability in the region and the world."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "Increased Military Spending Must Not Lead To Arms Race"

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 The independent

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Hong Kong Standard

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0's editorial emphasized (3/7): "The 12.7 percent increase in China's military spending this year will raise a few eyebrows in the region and the world.... China, the earth's most populated nation whose economic power has grown rapidly in recent years, wants to have a modern military force co

mmensurate with its role. Most analysts will agree that it does not mean China has ambitions to invade or conquer other countries.... The need for an arms build-up is also a reflection of China's growing unease about the United States' domination of the world scene, from economic to military affairs.... Nevertheless, Beijing should increase transparency in its military affairs, including spending and strategic goals, in order to avoid unnecessary misunderstanding."

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\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "Taiwan Tiptoes Close To The Fire"

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Greg Torode told readers of the independent

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 South China Morning Post

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/5): "Beijing's publication of its white paper two weeks ago...sparked a new intensity of political debate--and sympathy--across Washington, with Taiwan's presidential elections a fortnight away....

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0

"It also comes in a tumultuous period in Sino-U.S. relations. A law seeking to intensify Taiwan military relations--including arms sales--is now before Senator Helms' committee after being passed by the House International Relations Committee."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0

"China Very Concerned About U.S.' Words And Deeds"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0

Pro-P RC

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Wen Wei Po

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 's editorial intoned (3/3): "The most sensitive and most critical issue in Sino-U.S. relations is the Taiwan issue. The recent comments made by some U.S. officials are unfavorable to the development of Sino-U.S. relations and have abetted the turbulent situation in the Taiwan Strait. U.S. officials should be very careful with their words and deeds, and they should take Sino-U.S. relations into account. It is not easy to build Sino-U.S. relations. It has taken the continuous efforts of the U.S. government and the two parties in the past 20 years.... The United States should not seek temporary political expedience in the presidential election at the expense of Sino-U.S. relations. In fact, if China and the United States have more contacts, they will have a better understanding. Then the United States will know that China's Taiwan policy is consistent. 'Peaceful reunification,' and 'one country two systems' are China's Taiwan policies. However, China also has its bottom line. If a foreign country invades Taiwan or if Taiwan announces its independence, China is determined to exercise its rights, which conform to international law, to use force to protect Taiwan."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0

720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "Far-Off Voices On Chinese issues"

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Greg Torode pointed out in the independent

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 South China Morning Post

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/2): "One of the mysteries surrounding the white paper threat is why the mainland acted now, given the problems it is fast creating in Washington.... Now the pressure is really on, with the white paper providing a fresh excuse for those questioning the reality of a vote this year.... The mainland's motives on the Taiwan threat last week may remain unclear, but its likely heated reaction to either a delayed vote or any tinkering with the legislation is not."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "White Paper Stance Consistent"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 The pro-PRC

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Hong Kong Commercial Daily

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 averred in its editorial (3/2): "Some foreign media think that China's policy in settling the Taiwan issue has undergone a great change. Such a view is not correct.... President Clinton's reaction to the white paper...has not deviated from the U.S. government's 'three-nos' policy regarding the Taiwan issues.... Reiterating China's policy stance in the white paper will be conducive to the healthy and steady development of cross-Straits relations. It is also beneficial to safeguard the common strategic interests of Sino-U.S. relations. Thus, it is hoped that the U.S. government and public will adopt a wise and rational attitude toward the Taiwan issue."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 TAIWAN: "Peaceful Cross-Straits Relations: An Appeal To U.S., China"

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 In an open letter published in the liberal, pro-independence

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Taipei Times

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/12), a group of pro-Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) scholars and politicians held that there is no one-shot solution to the China-Taiwan issue and that preservation of the status quo is in the best interests of China, Taiwan and the free world: "The Kashmir conflict between India and Pakistan, the Israel-Arab conflict, and the issue of the Taiwan Strait are the most intractable international issues of our time. For conflicts like these there is no single, quick, one-shot solution, but only an open-ended, evolutionary outcome. Only mutual self-restraint, patience, wisdom and time will lead to a resolution acceptable to all parties concerned. With this in mind, we appeal to the international community to help Taiwan preserve peace and stability across the Taiwan Strait.... Pending a final solution, legitimizing the status quo should be the priority."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf

0 "U.S. Policy Gets 'Real' Again"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 The liberal, pro-independence, English-language

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Taipei Times

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 maintained (3/10): "That Clinton should suddenly develop a respect for the wishes of the people of Taiwan seems to signal something new. Previous U.S. policy seems to have limited itself to saying that a solution to problems across the Taiwan Strait must be peaceful and it is up to Taiwan and China to work this out themselves. Respect for the aspiration of the people of Taiwan has been consistently absent, most notoriously in Clinton's 'three no's' statement in Shanghai in 1998, where he abrogated any moral responsibility he had by denying the Taiwanese the right of self-determination in his expressed opposition to Taiwan independence. Almost certainly, the White House has no intention of changing its 'three no's' policy, so how are we to read its new-found interest in solutions that have the consent/assent of the Taiwanese?...

This message seems benign enough, even coming from Clinton. But we have reservations; namely that, given the limits put on Taiwan's negotiating position by Clinton's 'three no's,' any attempt to speed up the resumption of talks would be tantamount to bringing forward a conclusion that has already been decided. Clinton's message is that Taiwan must not be coerced into talks on reunification but must be courted. There is, alas, no room for the Taiwanese to have the freedom to simply reject unification. Clinton's concern for the consent of the Taiwanese will never go that far."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "Both Sides Entering Dead-End Arms Race"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Lin Chien-hua stressed in the liberal, pro-independence

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Taiwan Daily

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/3): "The air forces of both sides of the Taiwan Strait are entering an endless arms race. In addition to racing for the latest developed fighter planes, the two sides are seeking to build relevant air defense systems to prevent themselves from being attacked by missiles from the other side. If the air forces of both sides continue to race with each other, it will have a serious impact on the economic development of both countries. To effectively improve this situation, both sides had better sit down and begin political talks."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 JAPAN: "Why Does China Continue Defense Buildup?"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Business-oriented

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Nihon Keizai

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 observed (3/8): "China's year 2000 defense budget is expected to rise to about \$14.5 billion. An unusually radical rise in China defense

nse spending, which in fact has marked a double-digit increase during the past 12 years, will not only pose a serious threat to Asian nations, but it will also prompt them to engage in a fierce arms race as well. Details of actual Chinese defense spending figures have never been fully disclosed, however. For example, it is believed that considerable amounts of money have actually been set aside from announced defense budgets to modernize weapons and missiles, including 'East Wind-31' ICBMs. Experts even speculate actual defense-related spending has been at least triple the announced defense spending figures. China needs to clarify why it has been accelerating arms buildups for more than a decade.

Japan continues to give large official development assistance (ODA) to China on condition that it not be used for military purposes, including the development of weapons of mass destruction. China must take appropriate measures not to invite 'unnecessary doubts' in Japan over how China uses Japan's ODA."

China's Announced Defense Spending Does Not...Include the Cost for Developing Nuclear Weapons and Long-Range Ballistic Missiles, as Well as the 'Licensed Production' of Russian SUKHOI-27 Jet Fighters....

Conservative

Sankei

's editorial stressed (3/7): "China will increase its year 2000 defense spending to about \$14.5 billion, a [nearly] 13-percent rise over the 1999 defense outlay. China's defense spending, which has marked a double-digit increase during the past 12 years, shows China's eagerness for reinforcing its military strength....

"

China's announced defense spending does not...include the cost for developing nuclear weapons and long-range ballistic missiles, as well as the 'licensed production' of Russian SUKHOI-27 jet fighters.... It is clear, however, that China has been building up its arms steadily....possibly for the use of force against Taiwan. But it is not clear why China continues to strengthen its military at a time when there are fewer [external] military threats toward China than in the past. The 'security impact' of these Chinese military moves on Japan is significant in view of a continuing dispute over the possession of the Senkaku Islands in the China Sea, or from the standpoint of securing sea lanes. But some Japanese government and political leaders do not bother to regard the Chinese military buildup as a threat. Japan must realize that its ODA, which totals about 400 billion yen annually, actually contributes toward China's spending more on its arms buildup."

AUSTRALIA: "What If Bluff And Bluster Turn To Biff?"

An op-

Australian

featured this (3/8) by foreign editor Greg Sheridan: "Beijing may be seriously miscalculating...the effect its bullying [of Taiwan] may have in the U.S. congressional opinion against ratifying China's entry into the WTO is hardening; congressional support for increased weapons sales to Taiwan is also hardening; European opinion against China is also growing. And each

U.S. presidential candidate has felt obliged to make significant comments critical of China."

"China's Taiwan Threats Rebound"

An editorial in Sydney's national, conservative

Australian

held (3/8): "By threatening to invade Taiwan if it does not begin negotiations on unification with the mainland, the Chinese have jeopardized their standing with other powers--notably the United States, where leading presidential candidates are already hardening their stance. This has implications for China's other foreign policy goals. The most immediate of these is entry to the WTO.... Attempts by China to quarantine the issue...are futile. With a U.S. aircraft carrier cruising in the area it should be clear to the Chinese that peaceful reunification is the only realistic option and that it is hindered by Beijing's aggressive posturing."

IN DONESIA: "U.S. Preoccupied By Relations With China And Taiwan"

Leading, independent

Kompas

told its readers (3/3): "Obviously, the United States is now in a very difficult situation. Taiwan's request for arms sales came just when China was launching a threat against Taiwan. This underscores the contradiction in the United States: While diplomatically it recognizes Beijing as one China, the United States also intends to protect Taiwan from Beijing's attack. However, this is ostensibly the consequence of exercising a double standard that eventually brings itself problems. Thus far, the United States and all parties concerned, are still able to accommodate these unpleasanties. But, when push comes to shove, this emerging crisis could become more serious."

PHILIPPINES: "China's Two-Fisted Attack On Corruption"

The second, leading

Philippine Daily Inquirer

's editorial stressed (3/10): "China's leaders delivered on Sunday a two-fisted attack on corruption within the Communist Party and bureaucracy at the National People's Congress.... (Prime Minister) Zhu's speech is significant in that the leaders of the second biggest economy in East Asia have come to terms with the notion that corruption exacts heavy social and economic costs in developing societies like China, the Philippines, Indonesia and Vietnam.... Zhu's attack on corruption coincides with the emphasis being made by international financing institutions, such as the World Bank, the Asian Developm

ent Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

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0 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 SINGAPORE: "Go For The Minimum"

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\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Straits Times

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 urged (3/9): "[The United States and China] must try hard to avoid a showdown just now while emotions across the Taiwan Strait are raw. U.S. President Bill Clinton must resist Taiwan's latest request for advanced weapons.... The United States has never sold a fully equipped Aegis destroyer overseas, and Taiwan is not the place where it should start making an exception. If it did, it would most certainly encourage China to buy and build more advanced military equipment, thus causing a cross-Strait arms race.... Unless the United States proposes to give Taiwan assurances that it will do whatever it takes to redress the balance in the island's favor, it should use the intervening period to encourage both sides towards a long-term political solution. The prospect of achieving that is no doubt dim just now, but the first step would be to reduce existing tensions. What is the minimum that both sides require now in order to draw back from the brink? For China, it would be Taiwanese leaders' ceasing to make provocative pro-independence statements; and for Taiwan, it would be Chinese leaders' cooling their threatening rhetoric. Quiet U.S. diplomacy can ensure the first, and encourage the second."

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0 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 The pro-government

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Business Times

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 emphasized (3/1): "The United Nations, every important global forum and most countries of any significance accept that there is only one China. Taipei's attempts to gain international recognition have failed totally.... Clearly then, China has won the political and diplomatic test of wills.... China's latest stance has given its detractors in Washington enough ammunition to try to scuttle a deal to bring Beijing into the World Trade Organization (WTO). The U.S. Congress is to vote to grant Beijing favorable access to U.S. markets--the so-called permanent normal trade relations status. All this is now in jeopardy. And, as if that were not enough, the U.S. Senate is now considering taking up the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act.... The Chinese say that

their position on reunification does not take U.S. reaction into consideration . Unfortunately, Beijing must face the fact that this is exactly the sort of thing that plays into the hands of those who wish to see China isolated."

SO
UTH KOREA: "Arms Race Picks Up New Speed"

Moderate

Joong-Ang Ilbo

judged (3/8): "The world appears to be back in an arms race, showing a big contrast to last year when the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty dominated the scene.... While the United States has increased its defense budgets, China has just announced plans to do the same, and this announcement is sending jitters throughout the world.... Washington continues to draw criticism for pursuing the national missile defense system.... The biggest problem is that international arms reduction organizations are ineffective because they are caught up in the conflicting interests of powerful nations.... It is no surprise, but nevertheless disappointing, that even in this new millennium, the world still finds itself stuck with the same arms race issue. On this issue, Asia gets particularly nervous, and Washington's plans for theatre missile defense could hit a nerve. When that system is installed, an escalated arms race will be firmly in place."

THAILAND: "China Must Drop Threats of War"

Bangkok Post

featured this lead editorial (3/12): "Everyone can understand that disputes among large countries are inevitable. But...China's [white] paper seemed to plan such a stand against Washington and Tokyo. Worse, it plans to try to enlist Asia, ASEAN and Thailand for support. At [the very] least, China wants Thailand to remain silent in any such confrontation. We can only hope that the Chinese abandon this plan. A new type of cold war between China and other great powers is unthinkable. Beijing should also halt its threats against Taiwan. The Taiwanese will elect whomever they favor in next week's presidential election. Beijing should simply deal with this democratic choice in a realistic manner. It is time for the Chinese to participate in an effort to make our region more stable. Threats of invasion and nuclear confrontation with America are not acceptable in that effort."

SOUTH ASIA

0 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 INDIA: "From Containment To Cooperation With India?"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Senior editor M.D. Nalapat penned this analysis in the centrist

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Times of India

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/7): "Today, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) is superior to the combined forces of the other Asian military giants, India and Japan, neither of whom possesses nuclear-capable tactical attack capability. This growing military might may explain the tightening of the noose around Taiwan, with the benchmark for invasion moved inwards from a declaration of independence to tardiness in unification talks with China. Significantly, unlike in the former case, in the latter it is not Taiwan's objective action but Beijing's de termination of 'tardiness' that can justify a military response."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "China, Taiwan And The U.S.--A Tangled Web"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 F. J. Khergamvala and Siddharth Krishnaswami offered these perspectives in the centrist Hindu (3/5): "Either China is blissfully ignorant of the implications of its actions on Taiwan in the United States ; or Beijing simply could not care less.... On the face of it, it [seems] quite bizzare that Beijing is trying to mess things up just when the administration is already up to its neck in trouble over the deal on China's entry into the WTO.... In spite of all the distance that has been travelled between China and the United States in the last 30 years, there is nothing that irks American lawmakers more than a 'communist' nation trying to 'bully' a 'democracy' and hoping to get away with it.... It would now appear that China's anger has a far more serious short-term purpose than [influencing] the Taiwan elections."

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\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 BRITAIN: "Asian Arms"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 An editorial in the independent

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Financial Times

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 held (3/7): "China has become the latest country in Asia to announce a big increase (12.7 percent) in military spending for this year, although this was less than the really hefty hike of 28 percent announced by India last month. In the shadow of these giants, smaller countries in South Asia are, not surprisingly, increasing their defense budgets, showing that their 1997 economic crisis has, unfortunately, put only a temporary dent in their military expenditures. The reasons for Asian insecurity are as diverse as the region itself.... What security framework Asia has was provided by the United States through individual alliances, chiefly with Japan and South Korea. But, unli

ke other arms suppliers to this volatile region, the United States must show care, particularly with regard to the destroyers Taiwan is seeking. Equally, Moscow should exercise restraint in selling arms to China.

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "Russia needs to remember it, too, as an Asian power with a stake in the region's stability. This year's G-8 summit [in July] is aptly in the Japanese city of Okinawa. Asian security should figure on its agenda."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 GERMANY: "Corruption Instead Of Communism"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Harald Maass declared in centrist

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Der Tagesspiegel

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 of Berlin (3/10): "Never before has a Chinese leader been so outspoken about the shortcomings in his country. Zhu Rongji did not leave aside any subject. He had hardly a friendly word on the establishment of socialism, on China's rise to a superpower. Zhu has not achieved his goal to set up a market economy in China and to change it into a modern state. The majority of state companies continues to drift along in their old socialist jog trot.

Privatization is out of the question because of the serious losses. And the fight against corruption is mainly taking place in the media. We cannot accuse Zhu of not fighting for his reforms. But he had to realize that in China, it is the bureaucrats and the party leaders who have the power. Again and again, he was confronted with the resistance of the party establishment in his efforts to implement reforms.... Not too much is left of the high-flying previous plans. While Zhu calls for independent actions, nepotism and submissiveness to authorities continue to prevail. In this system, there is no room for change."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "China Always Has Money For The Military"

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Nico Fried opined in left-of-center

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Berliner Zeitung

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/7): "The Chinese government increased its defense budget by 12.7 percent.... There are two reasons for this move. The first has, in Beijing's opinion, to do with changed strategic requirements...and the current spheres of interest are located in the Pacific--Taiwan and the Spratly Islands. This is why China is supplementing its army by a naval force.... The second is based on domestic policy and is, on a short-term basis, of greater significance: The economic reforms go along with serious burdens for large parts of the population. And mainly on the countryside, unrest is growing. In this situation, the government is dependent on the military and forced to prevent any dissatisfaction among the soldiers. It is no coincidence that the increase in the budget is used to improve the payment of soldiers. They are still needed not against an external enemy, but to preserve power."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "F

irst Victim Of China's Defense Budget Could Be Taiwan"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Right-of-center

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Nordsee-Zeitung

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 of Bremerhaven declared (3/7): "China is pinning its hopes on aggression in order to demonstrate itself [as] a major power. An expression of this is the new budget with a defense component that has been increased by 12.7 percent. Beijing's first victim could be Taiwan. The secessionist island is stubbornly resisting massive demands of the communists that the Taiwanese end their striving for independence. The People's Republic seems to be determined to let the political pressure that has failed so far, be followed by a military conquest. With its saber rattling, Beijing made itself clearly heard."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 ITALY: "Beijing Raises Ante Against U.S."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Mario Platero filed from New York in leading, business

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Il Sole-24 Ore

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/1): "The escalation between China and the United States continues, up to the point that in the U.S. capital observers wonder whether, behind Beijing's rhetoric, some internal destabilizing elements are hiding, which are even more dangerous than the ongoing dispute over missiles and Taiwan. Addressing U.S. Admiral Dennis Blair, during his mission in Beijing aimed at easing tensions...Chinese Defense Minister Chi Haotian stated 'Notwithstanding it wants a peaceful reunification with Taiwan, China will never commit itself not to use force.'...

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "The United States gave the green light to allow China's entry into the WTO, and its administration is working to accelerate the process of the accord. Furthermore, President Clinton is exerting pressure on Congress to avoid...the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act.... (However) such a tough position [on the part of Beijing] against Washington weakens Clinton's target...and even Beijing knows that the relationship between Congress and the White House is far from being coordinated about that issue."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 HUNGARY: "Taiwan, Hard Nut"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Conservative

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Napi Magyarorszag

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 's foreign affairs writer Istvan Pataky observed (3/8): "Although the expression 'war' has been permanently present in the rhetoric of

communist China, it is clear who has the military lead when it comes to [strength.] Taiwan is still a hard nut for Beijing because of the special relationship that has built up between Taipei and Washington. And the Chinese administration, so sensitive otherwise to its own ties with Washington, is assumed to remain only threatening in words against Taiwan."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "What If Taiwan Doesn't Listen To The Warnings?"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Beijing correspondent Gyula Ortutay emphasized in leading

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Nepszabadsag

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/8): "The question cannot be avoided: What happens if the people of Taiwan...elevate to the throne a candidate who pledges to proclaim formal separation from China?"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \qc \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 WESTERN HEMISPHERE

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 CANADA: "Chinese Roulette"

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\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 National Post

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 remarked (3/4): "Say what you like about mainland China's economic modernization, it is clear Beijing does not understand how to influence people living in a democracy.... Mainland China's behavior continues to be at odds with what would be expected of a country seeking international legitimacy and peaceful relations. But even if Beijing gets the Taiwan president it wants--or stops the candidate it does not--its ultimatums may harden the Taiwanese against moving the seat of their government. Taiwan may live under the mainland's shadow, but the people remain free from Beijing's grasp and able therefore to defy its wishes. So both sides would do well not to disturb a status quo that reconciles the de facto freedom of Taiwan with the territorial claims of Beijing--which means that Taipei should refrain from declarations of independence and Beijing should eschew talk of using force. Raising the stakes won't always win you the prize."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 BRAZIL: "Uncertainties"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Center-right

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 O Estado de Sao Paulo

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 featured this view on its op-ed page (3/3): "Taiwan's territory is of little value to China.... Actually, what most attracts China in

Taiwan is the island's \$260-billion gross national product. With it, China would occupy the sixth or even the fifth position among the great powers, ahead of Italy or Britain's GNP. China has a powerful nuclear arsenal and has repeatedly demonstrated that it does not want to wait for the annexation.... How will the United States react? President Jiang Zemin is sure that there will be no reaction in addition to the customary diplomatic notes of protest. In case he is wrong, the first nuclear war will be on its way."

}

===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: James German <jimg@nothinbut.net> (James German <jimg@nothinbut.net> [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:15-MAR-2000 20:52:38.00

SUBJECT:

TO: Key C. German (CN=Key C. German/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Wednesday, Mar. 15, 2000

ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA

India

officially REPUBLIC OF INDIA, Hindi BHARAT, or BHARATAVARSHA, country that occupies the greater part of South Asia. It is a constitutional republic consisting of 25 states, each with a substantial degree of control over its own affairs, and 7 less fully empowered union territories. The capital is New Delhi. With more than one-sixth of the world's total population, India is the second most populous country, after China.

The land of India--together with Bangladesh and most of Pakistan--forms a well-defined subcontinent, set off from

the rest of Asia by the imposing northern mountain rampart of the Himalayas and by lesser adjoining mountain ranges to the west and east. In

area, India ranks as the seventh largest country in the world, covering 1,222,559 square miles (3,166,414 square kilometres), just slightly more than 2 percent of the Earth's total land surface.

India's frontier, bordered by six countries, is 9,425 miles (15,168 kilometres) long, of which 3,533 miles (5,686 kilometres) is

coastline.

Neighbouring countries of particular concern to India are Pakistan to the northwest and China to the north, both of which have intractable border disputes with India, and Bangladesh, which is surrounded on three sides by Indian territory. The other nations on India's frontier are Nepal and Bhutan to the north, situated between India and China, and Myanmar (Burma) to the northeast.

Much of India's territory lies within a large peninsula, surrounded by the Arabian Sea on the west and the Bay of Bengal on the east; Cape Comorin, the southernmost point of the Indian mainland, marks the dividing line between these two bodies of water. Off the extreme southeastern coast, the Gulf of Mannar and the Palk Strait separate India from the island nation of Sri Lanka. India has two union territories composed entirely of islands: Lakshadweep, in the Arabian Sea, and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, which lie between the Bay of Bengal and the Andaman Sea.

It is known from archaeological evidence that a highly sophisticated, urbanized culture--the Indus Civilization--dominated the northwestern part of the subcontinent from about 2600 to 2000 BC. From that period on, India functioned as a virtually self-contained political and cultural arena, which gave rise to a distinctive tradition that was associated primarily with Hinduism, the roots of which can largely be traced to the Indus Civilization. Other religions, notably Buddhism and Jainism, also originated in ancient India, but their presence in India is now quite small.

Throughout its history India was intermittently disturbed by incursions from beyond its northern mountain wall. Especially important was the coming of Islam, brought from the northwest by Arab, Turkish, Persian, and other invaders beginning early in the 8th century AD. By the 13th century much of the subcontinent had fallen under Muslim domination, and it largely remained so until the mid-18th century. In the intervening

period the number of Muslims steadily increased, and by the early 20th century they formed almost one-fourth of India's population. Only after the arrival of the Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama in 1498 and the subsequent establishment of European maritime supremacy did India become exposed to major external influences arriving by sea, a process that culminated in the absorption of the subcontinent within the British Empire.

Direct administration by the British, which began in 1858, effected a political and economic unification of the subcontinent, the legacy of which is found in many aspects of the current Indian state, including its parliamentary system of government. When British rule came to an end in 1947, the subcontinent was partitioned along religious lines into two separate countries--India, with a majority of Hindus, and Pakistan, with a majority of Muslims. (The eastern portion of Pakistan gained independence as Bangladesh in 1971.) Although Hindi was declared India's official language, English continued to be a widely used lingua franca, especially by educated Indians in business and government.

India remains one of the most ethnically diverse countries in the world. Apart from its many religions and sects, India is home to innumerable castes and tribes, as well as to more than a dozen major and hundreds of minor linguistic groups from several totally different language families. Religious minorities still account for one-sixth of the population, and Muslims alone for more than one-ninth. Earnest attempts have been made to instill a spirit of nationhood in so varied a population, but tensions among neighbouring groups abound and not infrequently result in violence.

Economically and socially, India has made great strides since independence: it has a well-developed infrastructure and a highly diversified industrial base, its

pool of scientific and engineering personnel is reputedly the third largest in the world, and the pace of its agricultural expansion has more than kept up with the growth in its population. Social legislation in India has done much to alleviate the disabilities previously suffered by formerly "untouchable" castes, tribal populations, women, and other disadvantaged segments of society. At independence, India was blessed with several leaders of world stature, most notably Mohandas (Mahatma) Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. Not only were these leaders able to galvanize the masses in their own country but, because of their prestige and enduring legacy, they also helped enable India to play an important role in global affairs, often as a champion of the causes of the world's colonially exploited and less developed nations.

(J.E.Sc.)

The articles Pakistan, history of and Bangladesh, history of discuss those countries since their creation. For detailed coverage of India's three largest cities, see Bombay, Calcutta, and Delhi.

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TEXT:

Nearly one year after NATO ended its bombing campaign against Yugoslavia, dire predictions of a "new Balkan war" resounded in commentary from Europe, Asia and Latin America. The continuing violence in Mitrovica, clashes in southern Serbia and growing tensions between Serbia and Montenegro were seen as obvious "signs" indicating that the region is in a "pre-war period." Analysts across the board--both supporter and critics of the NATO intervention alike--believed the Kosovo peace process is in peril, with many concluding that it has, in fact, already "failed." There was fingerpointing in all directions, with pundits variously blaming resurgent Albanian rebels, Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic, NATO, the UN, Europe, and the U.S. for the current state of affairs. Increasing attention was given to the U.S. role in the region. Some observers expressed satisfaction recently that the U.S. was "finally" moving into action in light of current events. Another large segment of commentary dwelled on Mr. Milosevic. These editorialists considered the Serbian strongman to be the greatest obstacle to peace. Finally, there was no agreement on what steps should be taken next, but no one suggested that the UN or NATO could leave Kosovo at this juncture. Highlights follow:

FOCUS ON WEST, U.S.: Pointing out that promises of police and assistance have not been expedited, some observers found that the Western powers' commitment to "winning the peace" in Kosovo has been weak--in stark contrast, analysts said, to their determination to win the war. Several criticized what they saw as the U.S.' reluctance to deal swiftly and decisively with insurgent Kosovar Albanians. Some--noting recent reports of Pentagon warnings to Albanian Kosovars and DOS Spokesman Rubin's recent trip to Kosovo--allowed that "America is recognizing, at last, that things are coming to a head." The most bilious critiques of U.S. policy appeared in the media in Greece, China and Vietnam.

INTERVENTION: A number of media voices--the most strident ones hailing from Greece, Portugal, China, Philippines and Vietnam--repeated arguments that NATO's bombing raid against Yugoslavia was "barbarous" "collective punishment"

against
a sovereign state.
MILOSEVIC, ALBANIANS: Many commentators in Europe and elsewhere agreed
with
one Italian writer's observation that "as long as the Belgrade
dictator...remains...nothing can be resolved in a definitive fashion."
Notably,
a majority of reformist papers in Russia displayed an unusually tough
attitude
toward the Serbian leader. At the same time, a growing number of
editorialists
expressed alarm at the stirrings of "Albanian radicals" in southern
Serbia. In
Skopje, there were palpable fears in the press that Albanian nationalism
will
spread to FYROM.

TO DO?: Several media voices said the West should focusing on ridding
Serbia
of Mr. Milosevic. Some urged a beefing up of international personnel in
Kosovo.
Others judged that the dream of a "multi-ethnic" Kosovo must be abandoned
because, "in reality, people do not want to live or even work together."
Still
others foresaw that Kosovo's independence from Serbia may be inevitable.
Many
analysts agreed with one French pundit's conclusion that "the West has
never
known what to do with Kosovo...but now what?"
EDITOR: Diana McCaffrey

This survey is based on 60 reports from 27 countries, March 2-17.
Editorial
excerpts are grouped by region; editorials from each country are listed
from the
most recent date.

EUROPE

YUGOSLAVIA: "Leaders Should Take Responsibility"

Pristina dailies provided to readers throughout Kosovo accurate reports on
James
Rubin and Christopher Hill's strong statements. Leading, independent Koha
Ditore (3/13), for example, captured the essence of their remarks under the
above front page headline and a subhead, "We are deeply disappointed by the
failure of Kosovar leaders in all aspects of Kosovar life--not just the
KLA--to
exercise their leadership to make hard decisions." An editorial by Baton
Haxhiu
(3/14) cited Rubin's statements that "you should do your utmost to make the
international community proud of Kosovo, and not ashamed of what has been
happening [here]" and "we are deeply disappointed by the failure of
Albanian
leaders." Coverage continued with two more pages that extensively quoted

Messrs. Rubin and Hill.

"Obstruction Of The Mission?"

Pristina's centrist Kosova Sot focused on Mr. Rubin's remarks that the West wants fair and free elections in Kosovo this fall. A front-page headline (3/14)

underscored U.S. concerns about extremists active in the Presevo valley. Mr.

Rubin was quoted as saying, "We need to make clear that Kosovo is one thing, and

Presevo is completely something else." In reaction to Rubin's observation that

"one of the reasons I am here is to tell the Albanian leaders that none of them...has done what is needed to stop violence and to win the respect of those

who have fought and helped Kosovars to win their freedom. If they are truly

leaders, they should lead and accept their responsibilities," Milazim Krasniqi

asked in a full-page editorial: "Is ours a naive political game, or an obstruction of the mission?"

FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA: "The Allies In Kosovo"

Independent, left-of-center Utrinski Vesnik (3/16) ran an editorial by Dragan

Nikolic, which commented on the impatience of Western leaders with the situation

in Kosovo, but judged that "KFOR and UNMIK will not start a war with the Albanians. They will rather leave Kosovo alone with its perils. A war with the

Albanians would be a tragic end to KFOR's and UNMIK's mission, while their abandoning Kosovo would be tragic end to the dream of multi-ethnic and democratic Kosovo. The Albanians, even if Milosevic does not use the opportunity to reconquer Kosovo, will find themselves stuck knee-deep into their

own feuds and animosities. It is more likely that a threat of abandoning, rather than threat of war, will make Albanians let some light in the dark endless tunnel that Kosovo has become."

"Timid International Sobering"

In independent, liberal Makedonija Denes (3/15), Irena Serafimova argued that

"the countries of the West have started to realize that their best intentions

have been abused," adding: "The clashes in southern Serbia--which are nothing

but a signal that territory is about to be stolen, in accordance with the greater Albanian state model--cannot now be excused by the lack of minority rights for the Albanians there. If the international community backs such ambitions with military means, it will be hard to stop the chain reaction, based

on the principle of self-sacrifice, that will follow with the Albanians in Macedonia.... The international community has, as all relevant analysts point out, already turned into a military arm of Albanian extremism and expansionism. At least, we finally have some signs that [the West] is starting to sober up and get its act together."

"Smoke Signals For A New War"

Macedonian media covered the visit of State Department Spokesperson James Rubin to Kosovo, paying special attention to his statement that "Washington is seriously disappointed by the behavior of Kosovo Albanian leaders, who are incapable of reigning in the extremists." Independent, liberal Makedonija Denes (3/14) had an analysis by Kalina Maleska on the situation in southern Serbia: "It seems that it is the Albanian extremists that provoke the conflict in southern Serbia, since Rubin is not the only one to point in their direction. The Special Representative for Human Rights of the UNSG for Former Yugoslavia, Mr. Dinstbier, says that 'the Albanian politicians in Kosovo, Macedonia and Albania do dream of Greater Albania' and that this could cause a new war on the administrative border between Kosovo and Serbia."

"All Extremists Must Be Destroyed!"

Ljubomir Frckovski, one of the preeminent intellectuals in FYROM, wrote in his regular op-ed column in independent, centrist Dnevnik (3/14): "What are the Albanian military formations in southern Serbia doing? They are using the same tactics as last year in order to provoke the rather predictable Serbian regime...to another campaign of ethnic cleansing, so that the international community will have to intervene again. The problem lies in the fact that the international community has no real option here. It cannot simply watch another round of ethnic cleansing.... But, it cannot intervene on behalf of the Albanians, since it will be a sign that they lost all their goals in Kosovo, and it will also give legitimacy to the principle of change of borders based on ethnic irredentism. If the Albanians manage to do that, nothing at all can stop them from trying that in Macedonia, regardless of the will and the wishes of Albanians in Macedonia. Our advice for the international community is to start an uncompromising attack toward the destruction of all extremists in

Kosovo,
since there is no other way!"

BRITAIN: "Winning Kosovo's Peace"

The independent weekly Economist opined (3/17): "It is Kosovo time again. A year on, and it's still not in the bag. Even if the passage of a year since NATO's decision to bomb the Serbs out of Kosovo were not prompting retrospection among the anniversary-minded, thoughts would anyway be turning towards that luckless corner of the Balkans. The place is a mess, and not just because it was a battleground last year.... The bigger difficulties predate the war. One is Serbia's leader, Slobodan Milosevic, still in power in Belgrade and still ready to make trouble wherever he can. The other is the long history of hatred between Kosovo's Serbs and the ethnic Albanians they used to oppress. To these may be added a familiar mixture of dissent, confusion and parsimony among those who took up arms for Kosovo last year and who must now run the place--with the consent of Russia and China. The risk is that NATO, having won the war, is about to lose the peace.... Having taken responsibility in Kosovo, NATO must make a success of it. Failure there would risk failure on a much wider front, certainly throughout the Balkans, probably even further afield. The future of armed intervention for humanitarian ends, no matter where, would be set back years."

"Only Now Can We See How We Lost In Kosovo"

The conservative Times had this op-ed by editorial director Michael Gove (3/14):
"NATO has never been weaker than in the aftermath of Kosovo. The Alliance's main strategic function has been the maintenance of a community of interest between Europe and America. But the Kosovo campaign has done more damage to that than it ever did to the Serb army. The recent dispute over security lapses in NATO, which allowed the Serbs to anticipate bombings, was played down by the Europeans only to be played up by Washington.

"America was, and is, livid that its ability to operate effectively was

compromised by the failure of its European Allies to police secure information.... America's anger at Europe's unreliability has only grown since the campaign ended.... While Western nations squabble, the Kosovars pursue their own criminal campaign of ethnic cleansing.... The KLA presides over a drug-smuggling operation responsible for 40 percent of the heroin sold in Europe and the United States.... And, indeed, the West's forces might as well have been bombing Mars last year for all the difference they made to Mr. Milosevic's position. The war allowed him to liquidate opposition, nurture the limitless Serb appetite for revenge and prepare for a strike against Montenegro, confident that he has bled the West dry of any appetite for further intervention. If that's defeat, he must think, then I can't wait for humiliation. And if our campaign in Kosovo was a victory, then can our next war please be a defeat?"

FRANCE: "A Growing Albanian Danger"

Jean-Jacques Mevel commented in right-of-center Le Figaro (3/17): "As everyone looks at Mitrovica, a small Albanian guerrilla [pocket] is beginning to grow in the American zone.... For the past 48 hours, the U.S. army has been trying to neutralize the clandestine Albanian army.... Clearly, Washington is trying to nip in the bud the rebirth of the KLA, which was officially dissolved in 1999. Politically, the United States has no intention of giving a hand to Milosevic. It is in fact keeping Milosevic from using the dangerous argument of 'an Albanian terrorist base,' which would have given him a pretext to intervene in a province which is still technically part of Yugoslavia. The anti-Albanian operation, coupled with this exercise in realpolitik, is also a way for the U.S. army to raise its head again, three weeks after its pitiful withdrawal from Mitrovica."

"Chaos In Kosovo"

Dominique Bromberger told listeners on government-run France Inter radio (3/16): "NATO intervened in Kosovo so that the right of law would prevail and the persecutions inflicted on the Albanian population by the Serbs might stop. In reality, it has simply managed to create a lawless zone. And today, that zone

represents a threat for Europe.... We need to acknowledge that the international community has been incapable of safeguarding the security of a territory to which it refuses to grant independence and where it is allowing barbaric acts to take place in an atmosphere of chaos.... The West has never known what to do with Kosovo. At first, the goal was to take it away from Serbia to protect its population, but now what?"

"Could This Be True?"

Jean-Bernard Cadier mused on privately-run Europe One radio (3/16): "Speaking to the Washington Post, an American military official says that the situation in Kosovo could lead to a military confrontation between NATO and the Kosovars. In other words, the same scenario as last year, except in reverse, with NATO fighting against its former allies.... Seen from the Pentagon, it would appear that things are going very badly in Kosovo, this is why they are sending the warning signal. But the Clinton administration does not see it that way.... It does not want American soldiers exposed.... We must remember that this is an election year."

"The Trap Of A Lame Compromise"

Patrick de Saint-Exupery held in right-of-center Le Figaro (3/8): "The incidents which just happened in Mitrovica were feared and almost expected.... KFOR will now be even more in the limelight, confronted as it is with a situation which is difficult to control.... The voluntarily ambiguous international diplomatic compromise on Kosovo cannot hide the facts. The mounting tension is but an advance signal of the confrontation to come over a question which has clearly been asked: Will Kosovo be independent? If it is, which force will dominate?"

"The UCK or Rugova's men? Within this context, it is logical to see KFOR becoming the target.... Its soldiers have become an occupation force...which keeps the local population from settling scores.... Aware of these difficulties, Bernard Kouchner is trying to speed up events.... If elections could be organized quickly, they could clarify the balance of power.... If not, KFOR could well be caught up in an escalation of violence."

GERMANY: "From Pre-War Time To Pre-War Time"

Centrist Tagesspiegel of Berlin (3/16) noted in an editorial: "Once again many signs point to a pre-war period in the Balkans. Milosevic is looking for the next conflict to stay in power: in Montenegro, in southern Serbia, or in Kosovo, where the NATO forces are already strengthening their troops. But the chances of preventing a new war are only good if the Alliance and Russia can find a common language this time around."

"War's Main Goal Never Been Reached"

Right-of-center Frankenpost of Hof held (3/14): "The main goal of the non-declared war on Belgrade has never been reached. The opposition in Belgrade did not succeed in leading Yugoslavia back into the circle of peace-loving countries by ousting Milosevic. The state of emergency continues to exist, and the killing continues.... What is even worse: Instead of the planned de-escalation of the conflict, the situation has escalated to such a degree that observers are now even speaking of the danger of a new war. And there are also three notions on the future of Yugoslavia that have no connection at all: Yugoslavia continues to consider Kosovo to be 'its' province; the Kosovo-Albanians continue to strive for full independence of their territory from Yugoslavia; and the UN administers Kosovo...but without any notion how all this should end."

"The Status Of Kosovo"

Right-of-center Frankfurter Allgemeine judged (3/8): "The UN-NATO-EU protectorate, which already exists in fact, will have to be strengthened formally and enhanced with additional personnel if Kosovo is not to become the site of a bloodbath. At the same time, a democratically legitimized self-government will have to be built up, even if it is not clear in what direction such [a government] would move. The right to self-government, after all, cannot be denied the Kosovo-Albanians, even if they choose to act against Russia's and the West's well-meaning advice."

"Failure In Kosovo"

Right-of-center Die Welt of Hamburg held (3/8): "Madeleine Albright, the hawk in U.S. foreign policy, has misjudged the Albanian nationalist forces and made the mistake of forcing them into an alliance of convenience in

Rambouillet....

NATO seems to understand now that the nationalist obsession in the former Yugoslavia cannot be eliminated by a simple policy of keeping order."

"Script For The Next Balkan War"

Frank Herold wrote in left-of-center Berliner Zeitung (3/6): "The wave of violence in Mitrovica has hardly stopped as a new conflict is emerging a few kilometers further east, along the border between Kosovo and Serbia. While Western politicians are still busy threatening Milosevic and warning him against instigations, Albanian terror groups are systematically organizing the next war. And the international peacekeeping force--mainly the Americans in whose sector this drama is taking place--are looking on.

"Terror groups trickling from Kosovo into Serbia are currently attacking police stations in mostly Albanian communities. The mission has two goals: First the Albanians are supposed to flee the violence and move to Kosovo, which could easily be considered another ethnic cleansing performed by Belgrade. Secondly, the extremists are hoping for a Serbian reaction, for example the stationing of troops in the five-kilometer wide, demilitarized zone along the Serb-Kosovar border. Such a move would be a violation of the peace treaty and would necessitate the KFOR becoming active on behalf of the Albanians. The script of this provocation is an affront, but if the KFOR remains inactive and does not interfere with the Albanian terror groups, the script will be successful."

ITALY: "Kosovo One Year Later: What Is Left After The War?"

An analysis by former UN official Giandomenico Picco in pro-DS (leading government party) L'Unita' said (3/17): "The international operation in Kosovo does not seem to have conquered the hearts and the minds of Kosovar leaders, who have, instead, let themselves be conquered by the mentality--typical of Milosevic--of a visceral hatred towards diversity.... There are still a few leaders in the Balkans who are dangerous to the general peace and prosperity. As long as they encourage the feeling that diversity is a threat, we will continue to have wars."

"Kosovo, Clashes Between NATO And Civilian Serbs"

Andrea Nicastro filed this piece for top-circulation Corriere della Sera

(3/16):

"NATO Supreme Commander General Wesley Clark...confirms the worst fears and explains how intelligence reports are predicting an umpteenth Serbian military venture, this time against Montenegro.... Too many alarming signals to let...the world be indifferent. Thus, last night, the chain of consultations began. D'Alema and Clinton...discussed the 'need for joint efforts to re-establish stability.'... After Italy, the White House called Paris...and Chirac and Clinton...decided to call a meeting with the...Contact Group. The machine of diplomacy had started its mission again."

"U.S. Threats Against Kosovars: We Shall Attack You"

Alberto Pasolini Zanelli wrote from Washington in leading, rightist opposition

Il Giornale (3/16): "America is recognizing, at last, that things are coming to a head. The United States is sending a series of warnings and ultimatums to its former Kosovar friends, and, it is especially informing its own military commanders on the ground that they must be prepared to fight...against the very KLA guerrillas that the NATO forces had armed and equipped a year ago so."

"A 'New' Kosovo"

Elena Ragusin filed from Belgrade in leading business-oriented Il Sole-24 Ore

(3/15): "What most worries our chief commander is the military situation. Not only because of the situation in Kosovska Mitrovica, but, above all, because of growing tension in Montenegro and Serbia.... Indeed, this is a crisis area that in some weeks risks becoming a 'new' Kosovo, while Montenegro might also fall into the abyss of civil war one day."

"Talk Of War"

Marina Mastroluca wrote in pro-DS (leading government party) L'Unita' (3/15):

"If there is a real risk of (a new war) people should be warned. The independent press sees the signals: the Sixth Fleet is getting closer to the Adriatic sea, CNN lands in Skopje. Why are they testing the alarm sirens, why are reserve soldiers being reorganized?... Everyone talks about a war, nobody knows where it will take place, nor why--nor whom the enemy will be this time."

Will flames burst forth from Montenegro?

"Will it be an accident in southern Serbia...or, once again, will it be Kosovo?"

"A Bitter Anniversary"

Leading, business Il Sole-24 Ore (3/12) ran this piece by Alberto Negri:
"Where is NATO's victory?... Notwithstanding the statements issued by the KFOR commander...the spread of ethnic clashes in Kosovo and in the Balkans is very rapid and it will involve, sooner or later, entire populations.... The UN and NATO continue to talk of a multi-ethnic Kosovo but, in reality, people do not want to live or even work together. Nor even coexist. The desire for ethnic purity, on both sides, is stronger than any other argument.... The Albanians would like everything at once: reconstruction and independence. But the more time goes by, the more contradictions emerge over the UN mandate for a temporary administration. A mandate that does not call for independence and which should have avoided reverse ethnic cleansing.... The intervention in Kosovo was presented to the Western community as an 'ethical war,' but the horizon of Kosovo is, at this point, more and more confused both from a moral and a political point of view.... NATO is, therefore, obliged to consider a military presence that will last for decades in order to prevent the situation from degenerating into chaos.... In the Balkans, as always, it is easier to arrive than to get out. Where is the victory?"

"Albania Risk For Kosovo"

Centrist, influential La Stampa ran this piece by Enzo Bettiza (3/12):
"Kosovo appears to be somewhat frozen in a paradoxical Balkan limbo, full of risks and uncertainties for the future. The main paradox consists in the fact that, from a humanitarian point of view, the problem of the physical and civilian survival of about two million Kosovar Albanians has been almost totally resolved, while the problem of a well-defined political configuration of the region still remains complicated and controversial.... Kosovo's request for independence, totally legitimate, clashes with three main obstacles. The first one is Milosevic. As long as the Belgrade dictator...remains at the top of the 'small

Yugoslavia' nothing can be resolved in a definitive fashion.... The second obstacle is the aggressive and extremist policy that the KLA, in contradiction to the final goal of Kosovar independence, is dangerously carrying out with military actions within Serbian territory--in the border areas inhabited by strong Albanian minorities.... The third obstacle...is perhaps the most hypocritical of the three. The official line of all 19 NATO governments is that granting full state sovereignty to Kosovo would risk creating a 'dangerous precedent.'... What would happen in Macedonia and Montenegro, where Albanian-speaking communities have lived for a long time?... Wouldn't the mirage of a Greater Albania risk becoming a sort of atomic ethnic weapon in the Balkan powderkeg?... What other solutions for Kosovo? Partition would be an additional tribute to the policy of genocide. The indefinite permanence of NATO troops would degenerate into a form, not so hidden, of a pure colonial protectorate. A confederation among three independent states--Kosovo, Montenegro and Serbia--would represent a sort of Balkan Switzerland: excellent but totally unfeasible as long as Milosevic remains where he is."

"Real Problem: How To Change Relations With Serbia"

Prominent strategic defense analyst Stefano Silvestri commented in leading, business Il Sole-24 Ore (3/7): "In sum, the real problem is not how to leave Kosovo...but how to change our relations with Serbia. The high-road is also the simplest: to help the Serbs get rid of Milosevic through the election of a government supported by the opposition.... It is possible that a Western policy more focused on strengthening the few credible representatives of the Serbian political class, and the few centers of power that are not totally controlled by Milosevic yet, may encourage Serbian voters to emerge from their isolation syndrome and explore the road of dialogue and change."

"Tension Rising Again"

Fausto Biloslavo filed this piece for leading, rightist opposition Il Giornale (3/7): "Almost one year after the beginning of the NATO air bombings, tension is once again rising in the former Yugoslavia. The Serbian police have sealed off the border with Montenegro with the aim of punishing the rebel republic that seeks independence from Belgrade. The Yugoslav army is showing its strength with military exercises in southern Serbia.... In addition, yesterday morning a

police commando destroyed a transmitter belonging to Studio B, the television station close to the anti-Milosevic opposition."

RUSSIA: "Fiasco. West Has To Respond"

Kseniya Fokina claimed in centrist Nezavisimaya Gazeta (3/17): "Reports by international experts, coming in nearly every day, attest to a complete fiasco of the West's policy in Kosovo. A year after NATO unleashed aggression against Yugoslavia, its member countries, as well as the opponents of that operation, are beginning to admit the failure of the peace mission, the mission itself suspected of complicity in crimes.... The separatists being virtually on the offensive, active outside Kosovo by now, has caused Western leaders to respond. NATO Secretary General George Robertson, planning a visit to Kosovo on March 24, demands that the KLA be forced to stop provocation. Why doesn't he, as NATO secretary general, see to that since NATO is responsible for this situation?"

"Belgrade Calls Moscow Names"

Gennady Sysoyev charged in reformist, business-oriented Kommersant (3/17): "The sally Belgrade has made against Moscow the other day is without precedent. One of the Yugoslav president's close aides, Milutin Stojkovic, has accused Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov of toadying the Americans, virtually rejecting Moscow's attempts to protect Belgrade's interests. Tough rhetoric like that is no surprise. Milosevic has long since fallen out with the West, evidently deciding to do the same with Moscow now and lead Serbia down the path communist dictator Enver Hoxha's Albania once followed. Russian diplomacy, after shamefully turning a blind eye to the odious Milosevic regime, may now call things by their names."

"Who'll Fight Whom Next?"

Gennady Sysoyev observed in reformist, business-oriented Kommersant (3/16): "The EU's Javier Solana is off to the Balkans to settle a growing conflict with the United States over who is going to pay for postwar reconstruction in Kosovo. But while Solana is in the Balkans, a new war may break out there between Yugoslavia and NATO or between the United States and the Albanians. Russia is doing its utmost to prevent a new war, since it would not only destabilize

the situation in the Balkans, but also impair relations between Moscow and the West again. That, apparently, is what Milosevic is after. For him a new war in the Balkans and confrontation between Moscow and NATO is the only chance to stay in power. Extremists among the Albanians want it, too. To avert a conflict, Russia and the West should split the job between themselves, with the former putting the screws on Milosevic and the latter trying to bring Albanian extremists to reason."

"Moscow Must Side With West"

Maksim Yusin pointed out in reformist Izvestiya (3/15): "Belgrade has been increasingly aggressive toward Podgoriza. Should the Serb politicians and military act on their threats and use force against Djukanovic, another international crisis would be inevitable. Then we would see more air strikes from NATO and hear more angry protestations from the Kremlin.

"As in Kosovo, Russia and the West would again find themselves on the opposite sides of the barricade. A contingency like that would not benefit NATO, even less so Russia. We need to restore our relations with the civilized world, not to put them to new, unnecessary tests. If so, we should cool the hotheads in Belgrade and make it clear to Milosevic that Moscow is at one with the West on Montenegro and that the use of violence against it is unacceptable."

"Americans Disappointed In Ally"

Maksim Yusin, commenting on James Rubin's visit to Pristina, pointed out in reformist Izvestiya (3/14): "The Americans don't seem to have illusions anymore. They no longer idealize KLA leaders, their recent allies who fought against 'Serb occupation' and 'ethnic cleansing.' Brought to power by NATO, the KLA leaders have been acting exactly as their sworn enemy Slobodan Milosevic did before them."

"Americans Disgraced"

Valeria Sycheva said in reformist Segodnya (3/14): "The bombing of Yugoslavia, which jacked up Clinton's popularity rating and virtually saved him from impeachment, may backfire and seriously hurt the Democrats in the current election campaign. Now that Washington's proteges are in power in Kosovo,

they
refuse to beat their swords into ploughshares and obey the peacekeepers,
disgracing their patrons by using genocidal methods against ethnic Serbs."

"Peace Mission Fails"

Ksenia Fokina asserted on page one of centrist Nezavisimaya Gazeta
(3/14): "It
has been universally acknowledged that the peace operation in Kosovo has
failed."

AUSTRIA: "The War Has Been Won; Peace Has Been Lost"

Viktor Hermann stated in prestigious, national Salzburger Nachrichten
(3/11-12):
"In Kosovo, the West launched a war against a bloody tyrant and brought it
to a
partly successful end. Since then, however, NATO and the EU have not done
much
to win peace and stability in the Balkans by pursuing a smart policy."

"Unsolvable Permanent Conflicts In Serbia"

Livia Klingl held in mass-circulation Kurier (3/7): "The Kosovars lack
understanding for democracy and coexistence; the West lacks a reasonable
concept--and the necessary means.... Since the West does not have a real
concept for the Balkans, a NATO secretary general and a U.S. UN
ambassador, for
instance, tend to blame Milosevic for all evil. The Lord of the Serbs
does the
same: Everything would be fine if the West did not permanently intervene.
They
have needed each other for one whole decade, the dictator of Belgrade and
the
democrats in the West, to divert from their own failure."

BELGIUM: "Violence Still Prevails"

Edouard Van Velthem commented in independent Le Soir (3/10): "For several
weeks

now, a new clandestine guerilla movement--the UCPMB--has been causing
increased
tension in the Balkans. At the frontiers of Kosovo, the number of
incidents is
increasing on the territory of Serbia itself.... The multiplication of
incidents...lead diplomats to believe that, behind the excuse of a
legitimate
resistance, the UCPMB is trying to export the conflict and to shape, by
force, a
'Greater Kosovo.'

"To support this fear, there is the similarity--even as far as the

uniforms are concerned-- between the UCPMB and the late UCK--the Kosovo Liberation Army--which had fought against the Belgrade regime, and many members of which have not accepted their forced reconversion in a civilian militia.... This strategy is, of course, in the interest of all the hawks in the region.... But in Belgrade as well, the UCPMB attacks are indirectly serving the interests of President Slobodan Milosevic and of the hardliners of the regime. These attacks reinforce their conviction that the international intervention in Kosovo was a total failure, and enable them to defend, in the eyes of the public, the thesis of a Western 'plot' aimed at gradually dismantling Serbia.... The destabilization of southern Serbia is extremely worrying to the international community. The region is adjacent to the KFOR sector in Kosovo which is under U.S. command, and Washington is not willing to let itself be dragged into another front. And, first and foremost, the 'Presevo triangle' constitutes a convenient infiltration corridor to Macedonia, where the Albanian radicals, encouraged by the Kosovar precedent, are still ready to cross swords with the Skopje regime.... 'No community should play with fire,' the KFOR staff warned. 'Milosevic learned this at a high cost.' But the diplomats, worried, are very well aware that, in the Balkans, laying down one's arms remains wishful thinking."

BULGARIA: "Why Are Threats For A New War Being Circulated Again?"

Center-left Sega commented (3/17): "Whatever Belgrade's action could be in the current situation, a new air campaign is unthinkable. There will be no war.... No matter what statements are being made at the moment, the appropriate media background--which helped shape the public opinion in the West last year--is missing now.... Now the tendency is different; no one talks or writes so much about Kosovo at the moment.... The reason for this is that, for now, the [West's] failures are just being registered and the responsible authorities are taking measures to minimize the results from these failures. The consequences are not so much for the region, but for the Western politicians, who got involved in this mess. The growing tension is just a way to provide a vast amount of funding for 'crisis management.'"

"Another War In The Balkans? Quite Possible"

Largest-circulation Trud observed (3/15): "The Kosovo issue is crucial for the Alliance. A new conflict would slur over the situation for a year or two, but what happens then? We were all witnesses to the West's ability to take over an Albanian-populated territory from the Serbs through a war, but now it is even more obvious that the West has no idea how to let democracy take over that territory. While the Serbs were slaughtering Albanians, followed by the Albanians slaughtering even more Serbs, it seemed like this was really an ethnic clash. Now, when the smoke has cleared, it is obvious that there is something much more serious going on: the thing that one of the modern prophets, Samuel Huntington calls a clash of civilizations."

"The Final Fight For Kosovo Is Still To Come"

Center-left Sega commented (3/7): "It seems that the 78 days of air strikes were just one phase of the war. The strikes could not enforce lasting peace in the southern Serb province. And it seems that for now the West has no clear idea as to how to achieve lasting peace. The bloody clashes between Serbs and Albanians in southern Serbia and Northern Kosovo in the last several weeks have awakened the ghost of war again. According to some military theories, a war is over only when a peace agreement is signed, one of the sides has prevailed and the other side's potential has been crushed. There is no peace agreement for Kosovo.... The province has no legal status--its government rules are just mentioned in a UNSC resolution. NATO removed the Serbian army and police from Kosovo with a military-technical agreement, signed by the warring sides.

"Until now, the West has been unable to achieve its main goal--the removal of Milosevic from power in Belgrade and put in power a friendly Serbian government. For his part, Milosevic managed to preserve his military's potential during the war and is busy rebuilding its potential. Something is bound to happen in Yugoslavia and very soon it will."

"Milosevic--The Next War"

Largest circulation Trud (3/3) commented: "Another hot water cauldron is at boiling point in southern Serbia at the moment. NATO, at least in words, is trying to demonstrate that it would not back any plans for Greater Albania....

The West has no clear plans as to how to get out of the Kosovo trap, despite the fact that the Alliance has over 70,000 soldiers stationed in the Balkans--in Bosnia and in the volatile Serbian province."

"The Long Good-Bye"

Influential weekly Kapital (3/3-10) commented on the situation in Montenegro:

"At all his international meetings, the Montenegrin president Djukanovic hears the same thing--don't hurry up, we will support you financially, but NATO won't

bail you out if you decide to secede from Yugoslavia on your own.

Diplomatic rhetoric aside, it is still not clear how this support will reach Montenegro,

if any. The West is advising Montenegro not to hurry because it fears a new

Balkan conflict and even more dangerous precedent--the breaking up of the current Balkan borders. Apart from that, if Milosevic is given an excuse to

occupy Montenegro, this would mean that the West's policy toward the Balkans is

failing, because instead acting preventively, the West would have followed the

Yugoslav president's actions again."

CROATIA: "Milosevic's 'Bermuda Triangle'"

Vesna Fabris Perunicic commented in Zagreb-based Vjesnik (3/3):

"Speculation

that Milosevic is keeping up the tensions in Kosovo in order to conceal Belgrade's real ambitions regarding Montenegro are not unfounded. A deterioration of the security situation in the state would (once again) require

the introduction of a state of war, or imminent war danger, which would directly

derogate the authorities of the Montenegrin state leadership and eventually result in a civil war.... It's not easy to detect on time which hot spot,

and

with what purpose, Milosevic is about to activate. Who's the instrument?

Who's

the hostage? What's the objective? These are the questions one can

answer only

after heavy human and material losses, and after the innocent ones are

'swallowed up' in some sort of Milosevic 'Bermuda triangle'."

CZECH REPUBLIC: "Spreading Unrest"

Kveta Buschova held economic Hospodarske noviny (3/15): "Last year, only a few heard the calls that Albanian nationalism is not any better than the Serbian. The world was amazed at seeing tens of thousands of Serbs leaving Kosovo in fears of revenge. Sporadic ethnic attacks against the Serbs and other non-Albanian minorities...occurred already in the fall after the air strikes. And in most Serbian enclaves, as in the Kosovar Mitrovica, the tension gradually grew to reach the recent dramatic events. [Now] the unrest starts spreading from Kosovo. Armed units of the officially buried KLA penetrate into southern Serbia. This most sensitive and vulnerable region with an Albanian minority is within the 'sphere of influence' of Slobodan Milosevic, which is to say the world is not willing to defend it and only calls on Albanian radicals. Again, the Kosovar Albanians call for complete independence, although the words about the Greater Albania are not said often. But tomorrow? The world has learned in Kosovo that unilateralism and retreat before rising violence never pay off."

DENMARK: "Undermine Milosevic"

Center-right Berlingske Tidende commented (3/13): "Slobodan Milosevic, is still not ready to accept military defeat in Kosovo. He is cynically trying to exploit tensions in Mitrovica in order to allow the Serbs to gain control of the mineral-rich area.... As long as Milosevic remains in power...tensions will increase between ethnically diverse groups. Therefore, our mission must be to undermine Milosevic. Too much is at stake [not to act.]"

GREECE: "U.S. Failure On Kosovo"

The lead editorial in influential, independent Kathimerini (3/17) attacked U.S. policy on Kosovo: "A year has now passed since the NATO war against Yugoslavia, and the situation in Kosovo confirms the worst of fears, vindicating the campaign's many critics. Severe bombing to the extent of barbarism revived Europe's evil past.... Fortunately, all these developments were not hard

to
foresee, and the Greek press had no trouble discerning the danger from the
very
beginning. Although it was not the United States which triggered the
dissolution of Yugoslavia, it nevertheless displayed such arrogance, as
well as
a lack of international legitimacy and reason while in charge, that no
sober
commentator had a doubt about the end result. Today the picture of
Kosovo, with
Albanian nationalists intensifying their provocations, confirms the
failure of
the NATO campaign so clearly that not even the United States can ignore it.
Instead of acknowledging its errors, however, it pretends to be taken back
by
developments.... The fact that the American views on what should be done
in the
Balkans, and in Kosovo in particular, have tended to be presented in a
biased
fashion by the Western press is not enough to conceal U.S. failure."

"Munich And Vietnam"

In influential, pro-government Kathimerini (3/15), international news
editor
George Kapopoulos held: "As the first anniversary of...NATO strikes
against
Yugoslavia approaches, Washington is gripped by a syndrome that is
diametrically
opposed to that which dictated its decisions last year. Then it was the
Munich
syndrome: the shame of giving way to a dictator who ignored international
legality and who mocked the credibility of the major powers.... Today it
is the
Vietnam syndrome: the fear of involvement in a ground war without any
resolution
in the foreseeable future.... Apart from Gen. Wesley Clark, who is calling
for
reinforcements to save face in the event of a withdrawal, the American
leadership is seeking a dignified way for a gradual reduction and eventual
end
to the presence of ground forces. After a five year parentheses [since the
Dayton Agreement], all indications are that the balance between the Munich
and
Vietnam syndromes will once again prove costly for America's leadership of
the
international arbitration process."

"The Kosovo Crucible"

Diplomatic editor Kostas Iordanides wrote in pro-government, influential
Kathimerini (3/5): "The essence of the current crisis in Kosovo is
twofold.
First, the U.S. government does not want to clarify that Kosovo will

remain an autonomous region within the Serbian republic, as this would encourage separatist tendencies. Second, American peace-keeping forces tolerate KLA infiltration of the Presevo Valley, in order to elicit a new reaction from the Yugoslav army which would justify a new NATO involvement on Serbian territory. The position of the State Department is incomprehensible, as its 'constructive ambiguity' contributes to an escalation of conflict.... A marginal communist dictator, Slobodan Milosevic, seems to care more about the citizens he tyrannizes than the incomparably richer and more democratic West, which is not willing to provide the minimum amount of funds for the financing of the Program of Reconstruction of the Balkans. And this is a sign of the West's moral degradation."

HUNGARY: "Growing Confusion Over The Balkans"

Gergely Bozai maintained in Napi Magyarorszag (3/13): "It is obvious that the Kosovar Albanians' goal is independence. However, except for Albania, no other country supports this idea. Institutions of autonomy have not been established, a reassuring political structure has not been set up since the air campaign, because neither Serbs nor Albanians are interested in them. Of course, NATO should be the last to be blamed for the current situation: It is rather Belgrade where the culprits are. One cannot tell whether it is possible to bring about a quiet political situation on the Balkans without the presence of international armed forces. Current signs show there is little chance for that, just like for the democratization of Yugoslavia."

POLAND: "Victims Of Mitrovica"

Zygmunt Slomkowski wrote in leftist Trybuna (3/9): "What is happening in Mitrovica now is not--as it was wrongly hoped for--a manifestation of temporary political trouble making and the remnants of extremism. It is simply a signal that Kosovo is back again at the starting point.... The biggest burden for this part of the international community, which assumed responsibility for Kosovo, are now the leaders of the KLA, even though it is formally disbanded.... As paradoxical as it may sound, with the numerous international mechanisms in Kosovo now set in motion, the main victims of the situation have become--aside

from the Serbs--the United Nations, NATO, and European Union."

PORTUGAL: "Europe's Crisis"

PSD Euro MP Jose Pacheco Pereira wrote this op-ed in center-left Publico (3/9):

"What is happening in Kosovo, where nothing has gone as planned?

Kosovo--today

ethnically divided--demonstrates the profound errors of EU foreign policy....

Military intervention, prepared and preceded by a disinformation and propaganda

campaign that hardly befits a democracy, was the culmination of a policy that

blindly ignored the reality of the Balkans.... This was a war that the 'left'

wanted, in order to exorcise its questionable history in the struggle against

communism and find a substitute rhetoric for socialism: that of humanitarian

interventionism. But Chechnya shows that the rhetoric of human rights is only a

rhetoric in the service of realpolitik."

SPAIN: "Kosovo Tense Again"

Independent El Mundo remarked (3/17): "The resurrection of the Contact Group

(Germany, France, Italy, Britain, the United States and Russia), boycotted by

the Russians ever since NATO's intervention in Yugoslavia, may be one of the

responses to the return of tension and violence in Kosovo. This may come about

once Russian elections have been held next week. In the meanwhile, however, the

allies will need to reinforce their troop presence...especially in Mitrovica,

[and remain watchful of events] in Presevo, a valley in southern Serbia inhabited mostly by Ibanians, which has become the scene of new violence."

TURKEY: "Kosovo On The Brink Of Major Crisis"

Necati Ozfatura wrote in religious/conservative Turkiye (3/2): "Kosovo is once

again on the brink of a major crisis because of the incidents in Mitrovica....

Mitrovica, where Albanians and Serbs live together, will likely become the center target for Milosevic to start another war-like situation.... The crisis

has not yet ended in the Balkans, particularly in Kosovo. The only thing that

is over is the NATO air operation; that's all. The recent incidents indicate,

however, that there is unfortunately a strong possibility a new armed escalation will ensue in the near future."

EAST ASIA

CHINA: "U.S. Plays International Police"

Zi Fei wrote in official Beijing Youth Daily (Beijing Qingnianbao, 3/4): "Regardless of other countries' sovereignty, the U.S. act of posting 10,000 wanted posters in Yugoslavia, which offer \$5 million reward for the arrest of three people including Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic, fully reflects the U.S.' arrogance in attempting to play the international policeman."

PHILIPPINES: "U.S. Achieved Opposite Of What It Intended In Kosovo"

Geopolitics expert Ben Lim of the Asian Center at the University of the Philippines wrote in his column in the independent Philippine Post (3/10): "One of the ironies of U.S. intervention in Kosovo is that it achieved the opposite of what its policymakers intended to accomplish. Among other things, it was intended to provide the Kosovar Albanians a separate and independent nation, to remove if possible, or failing that, to discredit, Slobodan Milosevic as leader of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY). Above all, the intervention was meant to exculpate America from the charge leveled by most European nations that the United States looked the other way when Milosevic went on a rampage against Bosnia. Moreover, Mr. Clinton wanted to exorcise the ghost of failed U.S. intervention in Vietnam by claiming to champion higher principles of world order based on moral grounds. America's crusade is to halt genocide and warn other potential Milosevics that perpetrators of ethnic cleansing will face terrible consequences.... No matter what Albright said about the NATO bombings as being a 'humanitarian intervention,' it was collective punishment in which the innocent Serbs were made to pay the full price for the sins of their leaders.... It was not really intended to stop the Serb armies completely or to save as many Kosovar lives as possible. It was intended mainly to prevent the loss of American lives and it did.... If Milosevic is peaceful today, it is because his police and army are pretty much intact. While previously he fought to

remain in
power, now, as the first sitting head of state to be accused of war
crimes, he
is more dangerous than ever."

SOUTH KOREA: "Milosevic Coming Back"

Kim Hwan-ki observed in conservative Segye Ilbo (3/13): "Nine months
after his
defeat in Kosovo, Milosevic is finally making a political comeback,
appearing
on TV to challenge his political rivals. The international community, in
other
words, has been wrong all along in predicting his ouster early on.... The
division among his political rivals has helped him greatly. In addition to
this, the easing of economic sanctions by the United States and the EU has
dramatically turned Serbia's political atmosphere, improving it in his
favor....
Now, he is even strengthening ties with such anti-American countries as
Iraq and
North Korea
?.. In the past, Milosevic was always successful in using political
crisis to reinforce his political standing. This time again, the dictator
is
making successful efforts for a political comeback."

THAILAND: "Still No Sign Of Peace In Kosovo"

The lead editorial in the top-circulation, moderately conservative,
English-language Bangkok Post held (2/26): "Dialogue between Mr.
Milosevic and
NATO is non-existent. And there hasn't even been a meeting this year
between
NATO heads and the ethnic Albanian leaders. The only development in recent
weeks is that France is sending another 700 troops to Kosovo. This is
hardly
the recipe to start the reconciliation process. Kosovo has virtually been
'ethnically cleansed' by NATO, leaving the province to the
Albanians--reversing
the result Mr. Milosevic was expecting. NATO failed to resolve the
conflict in
its dialogue with the Milosevic regime before the invasion of Yugoslavia.

"But unless it wishes to remain the ruler of a country known as Albanian
Kosovo
for many years to come, it must start communicating with the two ethnic
groups
in an effort to bring them harmoniously back together."

VIETNAM: "Who Really Violates Human Rights?"

Nguyen Dai Phuong commented in Central Unit of Communist Youth League Tien
Phong

(3/8): "Publicly putting out a wanted poster to arrest a sitting president of an sovereign state at the transition year to the new millenium is a blatant trampling on human civilization and society. The fact that the U.S. government is offering a \$5 million reward for information leading to the capture of President Milosevic is a severe human rights violation and an offence to Yugoslavs and Europeans. This action will set a bad precedent, that is, a powerful country giving itself the right to insult a weak country by tracking down and arresting the Head of that weak state.... Ironically, the above brutal action is implemented at the same time that the United States is criticizing other countries for violating human rights. The question is: Is that American wanted poster a human rights violation?"

WESTERN HEMISPHERE

ARGENTINA: "Uncertain Fate For Kosovo"

An editorial in leading Clarin read (3/3): "Tension between Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo shows to the West the image of an unchanged reality in spite of the blood and havoc occurred in that place called the Balkans.... Now the city of Mitrovica is the center of the conflict.... Kosovo is having the same fate as Bosnia, where it is impossible to have a multi-ethnic country, where different national minorities can live together. On the contrary, the territorial separation prevails...with militarized domestic borders and international control to avoid new confrontations. Diplomats call this formula 'coexistence under surveillance.' In this way, the international intervention in Serbia, like some years ago in Bosnia, managed to stop the horror of 'ethnic cleansing' practised by Serbian militia. But it could not avoid the goal of ethnic nationalism...the regrouping of people according to their national, ethnic or religious identity."

BRAZIL: "More Trouble Brewing In The Balkans"

Center-right O Estado de S. Paulo noted (3/17): "Mitrovica is not the only concern [in Kosovo]. There is information that behind the smokescreen another dangerous initiative is on the way in former Yugoslavia: The creation of the Presevo, Bujanova and Mevedja liberation army, which is a successor of the KLA. This is a serious threat against Belgrade.... In this case, the conflict could

spread to Macedonia, where the local police are confiscating tons of weapons in the possession of Albanians. There is, in addition, another point of tension: NATO's experts think that President Milosevic is paving the way to move against Montenegro."

CANADA: "It's Time To Abandon NATO Plan For Kosovo"

Columnist Richard Gwyn wrote in the liberal Toronto Star (3/15): "No solution is conceivable, except ethnic separation, or the acceptance of Serbian rule over part of northern Kosovo, including the Serbian half of Mitrovica, with the balance of Kosovo being allowed to declare independence. There would also have to be an end to NATO's fiction that it would not change international boundaries but maintain Kosovo as a 'highly autonomous' part of Serbia. It won't be easy for NATO to admit that the goal of preserving a multi-ethnic Kosovo, which justified its war against Serbia, was always impossible to achieve. Perpetuating this pretense will ensure endless war between Kosovars and Serbs, forcing NATO to remain there for decades.... It is painful. It is embarrassing. But it is time for NATO to recognize reality."

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\par \pard \li0 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \par \pard \qc \li0 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 YUGOSLAVIA: SCRIPT FOR 'A NEW BALKAN WAR' ?

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \i \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Nearly one year after NATO ended its bombing campaign against Yugoslavia, dire predictions of a "new Balkan war" resounded in commentary from Europe, Asia and Latin America.

\plain \i \f5 \fs22 \cf0 The continuing violence in Mitrovica, clashes in southern Serbia and growing tensions between Serbia and Montenegro were seen as obvious "signs" indicating that the region is in a "pre-war period."

\plain \i \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Analysts

\plain \i \f5 \fs22 \cf0 across the board--both supporter and critics of the NATO intervention alike--

\plain \i \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 believed the Kosovo peace process is in peril, with many concluding that it has, in fact, already "failed."

\plain \i \f5 \fs22 \cf0 There was fingerpointing in all directions, with pundits variously blaming resurgent Albanian rebels, Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic, NATO, the UN, Europe, and the U.S. for the current state of affairs.

\plain \i \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Increasing attention was given to the U.S. role in the region. Some observers expressed satisfaction recently that the U.S. was "finally" moving into action in light of current events. Another large segment of commentary dwelled on Mr. Milosevic.

\plain \i \f5 \fs22 \cf0 These

\plain \i \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 editorialists considered the Serbian strongman to be the greatest obstacle to peace.

\plain \i \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Finally,

\plain \i \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 there was no agreement on what steps should be taken next

\plain \i \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 , but no one suggested that the UN or NATO could leave Kosovo at this juncture.

\plain \i \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Highlights follow:

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\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Pointing out that promises of police and assistance have not been expedited, some observers found that the Western powers' commitment to

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 winning the peace" in Kosovo has been weak--in stark contrast, analysts said, to their determination to win the war.

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\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Several criticized what they saw as the U.S.' reluctance to deal swiftly and decisively with insurgent Kosovar Albanians.

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\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Some--noting recent reports of Pentagon warnings to Albanian Kosovars and DOS Spokesman Rubin's recent trip to Kosovo--allowed that "America is recognizing, at last, that things are coming to a head." The most bilious critiques of U.S. policy appeared in the media in Greece, China and Vietnam

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\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 A number of media voices--the most strident ones hailing from Greece, Portugal, China, Philippines and Vietnam--repeated arguments that NATO's bombing raid against Yugoslavia was "barbarous" "collective punishment" against a sovereign state.

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\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Many commentators in Europe and elsewhere agreed with one Italian writer's observation that "as long as the Belgrade dictator...remains ...nothing can be resolved in a definitive fashion." Notably, a majority of reformist papers in Russia displayed an unusually tough attitude toward the Serbian leader.

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\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 At the same time,

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 a growing number of editorialists expressed alarm at the stirrings of "Albanian radicals" in southern Serbia. In Skopje, there were palpable fears in the press that Albanian nationalism will spread to FYROM.

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 TO DO?:

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Several media voices said the West should focus on reducing Serbia of Mr. Milosevic. Some urged a beefing up of international personnel in Kosovo. Others judged that the dream of a "multi-ethnic" Kosovo must be abandoned because, "in reality, people do not want to live or even work together." Still others foresaw that Kosovo's independence from Serbia may be inevitable. Many analysts agreed with one French pundit's conclusion that "the West has never known what to do with Kosovo...but now what?"

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UROPE

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 YUGOSLAVIA: "Leaders Should Take Responsibility"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Pristina dailies provided to readers throughout Kosovo accurate reports on James Rubin and Christopher Hill's strong statements. Leading, independent \plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Koha Ditore \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/13), for example, captured the essence of their remarks under the above front page headline and a subhead, "We are deeply disappointed by the failure of Kosovar leaders in all aspects of Kosovar life--not just the KLA--to exercise their leadership to make hard decisions." An editorial by Baton Haxhiu (3/14) cited Rubin's statements that "you should do your utmost to make the international community proud of Kosovo, and not ashamed of what has been happening [here]" and "we are deeply disappointed by the failure of Albanian leaders." Coverage continued with two more pages that extensively quoted Messrs. Rubin and Hill.

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\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Pristina's centrist

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Kosova Sot

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 focused on Mr. Rubin's remarks that the West wants fair and free elections in Kosovo this fall. A front-page headline (3/14) underscored U.S. concerns about extremists active in the Presevo valley. Mr. Rubin was quoted as saying, "We need to make clear that Kosovo is one thing, and Presevo is completely something else." In reaction to Rubin's observation that "one of the reasons I am here is to tell the Albanian leaders that none of them...has done what is needed to stop violence and to win the respect of those who have fought and helped Kosovars to win their freedom. If they are truly leaders, they should lead and accept their responsibilities," Milazim Krasniqi asked in a full-page editorial: "Is ours a naive political game, or an obstruction of the mission?"

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\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Independent, left-of-center

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Utrinski Vesnik

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/16) ran an editorial by Dragan Nikolic, which commented on the impatience of Western leaders with the situation in Kosovo, but judged that "KFOR and UNMIK will not start a war with the Albanians. They will rather

er leave Kosovo alone with its perils. A war with the Albanians would be a tragic end to KFOR's and UNMIK's mission, while their abandoning Kosovo would be a tragic end to the dream of multi-ethnic and democratic Kosovo. The Albanians, even if Milosevic does not use the opportunity to reconquer Kosovo, will find themselves stuck knee-deep into their own feuds and animosities. It is more likely that a threat of abandoning, rather than threat of war, will make Albanians let some light in the dark endless tunnel that Kosovo has become."

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\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 In independent, liberal

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Makedonija Denes

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/15), Irena Serafimova argued that "the countries of the West have started to realize that their best intentions have been abused," adding: "The clashes in southern Serbia--which are nothing but a signal that territory is about to be stolen, in accordance with the greater Albanian state model--cannot now be excused by the lack of minority rights for the Albanians there. If the international community backs such ambitions with military means, it will be hard to stop the chain reaction, based on the principle of self-sacrifice, that will follow with the Albanians in Macedonia.... The international community has, as all relevant analysts point out, already turned into a military arm of Albanian extremism and expansionism. At least, we finally have some signs that [the West] is starting to sober up and get its act together."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "Smoke Signals For A New War"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Macedonian media covered the visit of State Department Spokesperson James Rubin to Kosovo, paying special attention to his statement that "Washington is seriously disappointed by the behavior of Kosovo Albanian leaders, who are incapable of reigning in the extremists." Independent, liberal

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Makedonija Denes

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/14) had an analysis by Kalina Maleska on the situation in southern Serbia: "It seems that it is the Albanian extremists that provoke the conflict in southern Serbia, since Rubin is not the only one to point in their direction. The Special Representative for Human Rights of the UNSG for Former Yugoslavia, Mr. Dinstbier, says that 'the Albanian politicians in Kosovo, Macedonia and Albania do dream of Greater Albania' and that this could cause a new war on the administrative border between Kosovo and Serbia."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "All Extremists Must Be Destroyed!"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Ljubomir Frckovski, one of the preeminent intellectuals in FYROM, wrote in his regular op-ed column in independent, centrist

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Dnevnik

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/14): "What are the Albanian military formations in s

outhern Serbia doing? They are using the same tactics as last year in order to provoke the rather predictable Serbian regime...to another campaign of ethnic cleansing, so that the international community will have to intervene again. The problem lies in the fact that the international community has no real option here. It cannot simply watch another round of ethnic cleansing.... But, it cannot intervene on behalf of the Albanians, since it will be a sign that they lost all their goals in Kosovo, and it will also give legitimacy to the principle of change of borders based on ethnic irredentism. If the Albanians manage to do that, nothing at all can stop them from trying that in Macedonia, regardless of the will and the wishes of Albanians in Macedonia. Our advice for the international community is to start an uncompromising attack toward the destruction of all extremists in Kosovo, since there is no other way!"

BRITAIN: "Winning Kosovo's Peace"

The independent weekly

Economist

opined (3/17): "It is Kosovo time again. A year on, and it's still not in the bag. Even if the passage of a year since NATO's decision to bomb the Serbs out of Kosovo were not prompting retrospection among the anniversary-minded, thoughts would anyway be turning towards that luckless corner of the Balkans. The place is a mess, and not just because it was a battleground last year.... The bigger difficulties predate the war. One is Serbia's leader, Slobodan Milosevic, still in power in Belgrade and still ready to make trouble wherever he can. The other is the long history of hatred between Kosovo's Serbs and the ethnic Albanians they used to oppress. To these may be added a familiar mixture of dissent, confusion and parsimony among those who took up arms for Kosovo last year and who must now run the place--with the consent of Russia and China. The risk is that NATO, having won the war, is about to lose the peace.... Having taken responsibility in Kosovo, NATO must make a success of it. Failure there would risk failure on a much wider front, certainly throughout the Balkans, probably even further afield. The future of armed intervention for humanitarian ends, no matter where, would be set back years."

"Only Now Can We See How We Lost In Kosovo"

The conservative

Times

had this op-ed by editorial director Michael Gove (3/14): "NATO has never been weaker than in the aftermath of Kosovo. The Alliance's main strategic function has been the maintenance of a community of interest between Europe and America. But the Kosovo campaign has done more damage to that than it ever did to the Serb army. The recent dispute over security lapses in NATO, which allowed the Serbs to anticipate bombings, was played down by the Europeans only to be played up by Washington.

0 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "America was, and is, livid that its ability to operate effectively was compromised by the failure of its European Allies to police secure information.... America's anger at Europe's unreliability has only grown since the campaign ended.... While Western nations squabble, the Kosovars pursue their own criminal campaign of ethnic cleansing.... The KLA presides over a drug-smuggling operation responsible for 40 percent of the heroin sold in Europe and the United States.... And, indeed, the West's forces might as well have been bombing Mars last year for all the difference they made to Mr. Milosevic's position. The war allowed him to liquidate opposition, nurture the limitless Serb appetite for revenge and prepare for a strike against Montenegro, confident that he has bled the West dry of any appetite for further intervention. If that's defeat, he must think, then I can't wait for humiliation. And if our campaign in Kosovo was a victory, then can our next war please be a defeat?"\par \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 FRANCE:

"A Growing Albanian Danger"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Jean-Jacques Mevel commented in right-of-center

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Le Figaro

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/17): "As everyone looks at Mitrovica, a small Albanian guerrilla [pocket] is beginning to grow in the American zone.... For the past 48 hours, the U.S. army has been trying to neutralize the clandestine Albanian army.... Clearly, Washington is trying to nip in the bud the rebirth of the KLA, which was officially dissolved in 1999. Politically, the United States has no intention of giving a hand to Milosevic. It is in fact keeping Milosevic from using the dangerous argument of 'an Albanian terrorist base,' which would have given him a pretext to intervene in a province which is still technically part of Yugoslavia. The anti-Albanian operation, coupled with this exercise in realpolitik, is also a way for the U.S. army to raise its head again, three weeks after its pitiful withdrawal from Mitrovica."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "Chaos In Kosovo"

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Dominique Bromberger told listeners on government-run France Inter radio (3/16): "NATO intervened in Kosovo so that the right of law would prevail and the persecutions inflicted on the Albanian population by the Serbs might stop. In reality, it has simply managed to create a lawless zone. And today, that zone represents a threat for Europe.... We need to acknowledge that the international community has been incapable of safeguarding the security of a territory to which it refuses to grant independence and where it is allowing barbaric acts to take place in an atmosphere of chaos.... The West has never known what to do with Kosovo. At first, the goal was to take it away from Serbia to protect its population, but now what?"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx

720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "Could This Be True?"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Jean-Bernard Cadier mused on privately-run Europe One radio (3/16): "Speaking to the

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Washington Post

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 , an American military official says that the situation in Kosovo could lead to a military confrontation between NATO and the Kosovars.

In other words, the same scenario as last year, except in reverse, with NATO fighting against its former allies.... Seen from the Pentagon, it would appear that things are going very badly in Kosovo, this is why they are sending the warning signal. But the Clinton administration does not see it that way.... It does not want American soldiers exposed.... We must remember that this is an election year."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "The Trap Of A Lame Compromise"

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Patrick de Saint-Exupery held in right-of-center

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Le Figaro

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/8): "The incidents which just happened in Mitrovica were feared and almost expected.... KFOR will now be even more in the limelight, confronted as it is with a situation which is difficult to control.... The voluntarily ambiguous international diplomatic compromise on Kosovo cannot hide the facts. The mounting tension is but an advance signal of the confrontation to come over a question which has clearly been asked: Will Kosovo be independent? If it is, which force will dominate?

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "The UCK or Rugova's men? Within this context, it is logical to see KFOR becoming the target.... Its soldiers have become an occupation force...which keeps the local population from settling scores.... Aware of these difficulties, Bernard Kouchner is trying to speed up events.... If elections could be organized quickly, they could clarify the balance of power.... If not, KFOR could well be caught up in an escalation of violence."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 GERMAN: "From Pre-War Time To Pre-War Time"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Centralist

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Tagesspiegel

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 of Berlin (3/16) noted in an editorial: "Once again many signs point to a pre-war period in the Balkans. Milosevic is looking for the next conflict to stay in power: in Montenegro, in southern Serbia, or in Kosovo

o, where the NATO forces are already strengthening their troops. But the chances of preventing a new war are only good if the Alliance and Russia can find a common language this time around."

War's Main Goal Never Been Reached"

Right-of-center

Frankenpost

of Hof held (3/14): "The main goal of the non-declared war on Belgrade has never been reached. The opposition in Belgrade did not succeed in leading Yugoslavia back into the circle of peace-loving countries by ousting Milosevic. The state of emergency continues to exist, and the killing continues.... What is even worse: Instead of the planned de-escalation of the conflict, the situation has escalated to such a degree that observers are now even speaking of the danger of a new war. And there are also three notions on the future of Yugoslavia that have no connection at all: Yugoslavia continues to consider Kosovo to be 'its' province; the Kosovo-Albanians continue to strive for full independence of their territory from Yugoslavia; and the UN administers Kosovo...but without any notion how all this should end."

The Status Of Kosovo"

Right-of-center

Frankfurter Allgemeine

judged (3/8): "The UN-NATO-EU protectorate, which already exists in fact, will have to be strengthened formally and enhanced with additional personnel if Kosovo is not to become the site of a bloodbath. At the same time, a democratically legitimized self-government will have to be built up, even if it is not clear in what direction such [a government] would move. The right to self-government, after all, cannot be denied the Kosovo-Albanians, even if they choose to act against Russia's and the West's well-meaning advice."

Failure In Kosovo"

Right-of-center

Die Welt

of Hamburg held (3/8): "Madeleine Albright, the hawk in U.S. foreign policy, has misjudged the Albanian nationalist forces and made the mistake of forcing them into an alliance of convenience in Rambouillet.... NATO seems to understand now that the nationalist obsession in the former Yugoslavia cannot be eliminated by a simple policy of keeping order."

Script For The Next Balkan War"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Frank Herold wrote in left-of-center

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Berliner Zeitung

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/6): "The wave of violence in Mitrovica has hardly topped as a new conflict is emerging a few kilometers further east, along the border between Kosovo and Serbia. While Western politicians are still busy threatening Milosevic and warning him against instigations, Albanian terror groups are systematically organizing the next war. And the international peacekeeping force--mainly the Americans in whose sector this drama is taking place--are looking on.

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "Terror groups trickling from Kosovo into Serbia are currently attacking police stations in mostly Albanian communities. The mission has two goals: First the Albanians are supposed to flee the violence and move to Kosovo, which could easily be considered another ethnic cleansing performed by Belgrade. Secondly, the extremists are hoping for a Serbian reaction, for example the stationing of troops in the five-kilometer wide, demilitarized zone along the Serb-Kosovar border. Such a move would be a violation of the peace treaty and would necessitate the KFOR becoming active on behalf of the Albanians. The script of this provocation is an affront, but if the KFOR remains inactive and does not interfere with the Albanian terror groups, the script will be successful."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 IT ALY: "Kosovo One Year Later: What Is Left After The War?"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 An analysis by former UN official Giandomenico Picco in pro-DS (leading government party)

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 L'Unita'

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 said (3/17): "The international operation in Kosovo does not seem to have conquered the hearts and the minds of Kosovar leaders, who have, instead, let themselves be conquered by the mentality--typical of Milosevic--of a visceral hatred towards diversity.... There are still a few leaders in the Balkans who are dangerous to the general peace and prosperity. As long as they encourage the feeling that diversity is a threat, we will continue to have wars."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "Kosovo, Clashes Between NATO And Civilian Serbs"

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Andre a Nicastro filed this piece for top-circulation

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Corriere della Sera

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/16): "NATO Supreme Commander General Wesley Clark... confirms the worst fears and explains how intelligence reports are predicting an umpteenth Serbian military venture, this time against Montenegro.... Too many alarming signals to let...the world be indifferent. Thus, last night, the chain of consultations began. D'Alema and Clinton...discussed the 'need for join

t efforts to re-establish stability.'... After Italy, the White House called P
aris...and Chirac and Clinton...decided to call a meeting with the...Contact Gr
oup. The machine of diplomacy had started its mission again."

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720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "U
.S. Threats Against Kosovars: We Shall Attack You"

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720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Alber
to Pasolini Zanelli wrote from Washington in leading, rightist opposition
\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Il Giornale
\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/16): "America is recognizing, at last, that things a
re coming to a head. The United States is sending a series of warnings and ult
imatums to its former Kosovar friends, and, it is especially informing its own
military commanders on the ground that they must be prepared to fight...against
the very KLA guerrillas that the NATO forces had armed and equipped a year ago
so."

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720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "A
'New' Kosovo"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx288
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720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Elena
Ragusin filed from Belgrade in leading business-oriented
\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Il Sole-24 Ore
\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/15): "What most worries our chief commander is the m
ilitary situation. Not only because of the situation in Kosovska Mitrovica, bu
t, above all, because of growing tension in Montenegro and Serbia.... Indeed,
this is a crisis area that in some weeks risks becoming a 'new' Kosovo, while M
ontenegro might also fall into the abyss of civil war one day."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx288
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720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "T
alk Of War"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx288
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720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Marin
a Mastroluca wrote in pro-DS (leading government party)
\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 L'Unita'
\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/15): "If there is a real risk of (a new war) people
should be warned. The independent press sees the signals: the Sixth Fleet is
getting closer to the Adriatic sea, CNN lands in Skopje. Why are they testing
the alarm sirens, why are reserve soldiers being reorganized?... Everyone talk
s about a war, nobody knows where it will take place, nor why--nor whom the ene
my will be this time. Will flames burst forth from Montenegro?

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx288
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720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "Will
it be an accident in southern Serbia...or, once again, will it be Kosovo?"

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0 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx
720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "A

Bitter Anniversary"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Leading, business

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Il Sole-24 Ore

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/12) ran this piece by Alberto Negri: "Where is NATO's victory?... Notwithstanding the statements issued by the KFOR commander...the spread of ethnic clashes in Kosovo and in the Balkans is very rapid and it will involve, sooner or later, entire populations.... The UN and NATO continue to talk of a multi-ethnic Kosovo but, in reality, people do not want to live or even work together. Nor even coexist. The desire for ethnic purity, on both sides, is stronger than any other argument.... The Albanians would like everything at once: reconstruction and independence. But the more time goes by, the more contradictions emerge over the UN mandate for a temporary administration. A mandate that does not call for independence and which should have avoided reverse ethnic cleansing.... The intervention in Kosovo was presented to the Western community as an 'ethical war,' but the horizon of Kosovo is, at this point, more and more confused both from a moral and a political point of view.... NATO is, therefore, obliged to consider a military presence that will last for decades in order to prevent the situation from degenerating into chaos.... In the Balkans, as always, it is easier to arrive than to get out. Where is the victory?"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "Albania Risk For Kosovo"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Centralist, influential

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 La Stampa

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 ran this piece by Enzo Bettiza (3/12): "Kosovo appears to be somewhat frozen in a paradoxical Balkan limbo, full of risks and uncertainties for the future. The main paradox consists in the fact that, from a humanitarian point of view, the problem of the physical and civilian survival of about two million Kosovar Albanians has been almost totally resolved, while the problem of a well-defined political configuration of the region still remains complicated and controversial.... Kosovo's request for independence, totally legitimate, clashes with three main obstacles. The first one is Milosevic. As long as the Belgrade dictator...remains at the top of the 'small Yugoslavia' nothing can be resolved in a definitive fashion.... The second obstacle is the aggressive and extremist policy that the KLA, in contradiction to the final goal of Kosovar independence, is dangerously carrying out with military actions within Serbian territory--in the border areas inhabited by strong Albanian minorities.... The third obstacle...is perhaps the most hypocritical of the three. The official line of all 19 NATO governments is that granting full state sovereignty to Kosovo would risk creating a 'dangerous precedent.'... What would happen in Macedonia and Montenegro, where Albanian-speaking communities have lived for a long time?... Wouldn't the mirage of a Greater Albania risk becoming a sort of atomic ethnic weapon in the Balkan powderkeg?... What other solutions for Kosovo? Partition would be an additional tribute to the policy of genocide. The indefinite permanence of NATO troops would degenerate into a form, not so hidden, of a pure colonial protectorate. A confederation among three independent

states--Kosovo, Montenegro and Serbia--would represent a sort of Balkan Switzerland: excellent but totally unfeasible as long as Milosevic remains where he is."

Real Problem: How To Change Relations With Serbia

Prominent strategic defense analyst Stefano Silvestri commented in leading, business

Il Sole-24 Ore

(3/7): "In sum, the real problem is not how to leave Kosovo...but how to change our relations with Serbia. The high-road is also the simplest: to help the Serbs get rid of Milosevic through the election of a government supported by the opposition.... It is possible that a Western policy more focused on strengthening the few credible representatives of the Serbian political class, and the few centers of power that are not totally controlled by Milosevic yet, may encourage Serbian voters to emerge from their isolation syndrome and explore the road of dialogue and change."

"Tension Rising Again"

Fausto Biloslavo filed this piece for leading, rightist opposition

Il Giornale

(3/7): "Almost one year after the beginning of the NATO air bombings, tension is once again rising in the former Yugoslavia. The Serbian police have sealed off the border with Montenegro with the aim of punishing the rebel republic that seeks independence from Belgrade. The Yugoslav army is showing its strength with military exercises in southern Serbia.... In addition, yesterday morning a police commando destroyed a transmitter belonging to Studio B, the television station close to the anti-Milosevic opposition."

RUSSIA: "Fiasco. West Has To Respond"

Kseniya Fokina claimed in centrist

Nezavisimaya Gazeta

(3/17): "Reports by international experts, coming in nearly every day, attest to a complete fiasco of the West's policy in Kosovo. A year after NATO unleashed aggression against Yugoslavia, its member countries, as well as the opponents of that operation, are beginning to admit the failure of the peace mission, the mission itself suspected of complicity in crimes....

The separatists being virtually on the offensive, active outside Kosovo by now, has caused Western leaders to respond. NATO Secretary General George Robertson, planning a visit to Kosovo on March 24, demands that the KLA be forced to stop provocation. Why doesn't he, as NATO secretary general, see to that since

NATO is responsible for this situation?"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "Belgrade Calls Moscow Names"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Gennady Sysoyev charged in reformist, business-oriented

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Kommersant

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/17): "The sally Belgrade has made against Moscow the other day is without precedent. One of the Yugoslav president's close aides, Milutin Stojkovic, has accused Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov of toadying the Americans, virtually rejecting Moscow's attempts to protect Belgrade's interests. Tough rhetoric like that is no surprise. Milosevic has long since fallen out with the West, evidently deciding to do the same with Moscow now and lead Serbia down the path communist dictator Enver Hoxha's Albania once followed. Russian diplomacy, after shamefully turning a blind eye to the odious Milosevic regime, may now call things by their names."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "Who'll Fight Whom Next?"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Gennady Sysoyev observed in reformist, business-oriented

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Kommersant

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/16): "The EU's Javier Solana is off to the Balkans to settle a growing conflict with the United States over who is going to pay for postwar reconstruction in Kosovo. But while Solana is in the Balkans, a new war may break out there between Yugoslavia and NATO or between the United States and the Albanians. Russia is doing its utmost to prevent a new war, since it would not only destabilize the situation in the Balkans, but also impair relations between Moscow and the West again. That, apparently, is what Milosevic is after. For him a new war in the Balkans and confrontation between Moscow and NATO is the only chance to stay in power. Extremists among the Albanians want it, too. To avert a conflict, Russia and the West should split the job between themselves, with the former putting the screws on Milosevic and the latter trying to bring Albanian extremists to reason."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "Moscow Must Side With West

\plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Maksim Yusin pointed out in reformist

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Izvestiya

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/15): "Belgrade has been increasingly aggressive towards Podgorica. Should the Serb politicians and military act on their threats and use force against Djukanovic, another international crisis would be inevitable. Then we would see more air strikes from NATO and hear more angry protestat

ions from the Kremlin.

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "As in Kosovo, Russia and the West would again find themselves on the opposite sides of the barricade. A contingency like that would not benefit NATO, even less so Russia. We need to restore our relations with the civilized world, not to put them to new, unnecessary tests. If so, we should cool the hotheads in Belgrade and make it clear to Milosevic that Moscow is at one with the West on Montenegro and that the use of violence against it is unacceptable."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "Americans Disappointed In Ally"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Maksim Yusin, commenting on James Rubin's visit to Pristina, pointed out in reformist

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Izvestiya

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/14): "The Americans don't seem to have illusions any more. They no longer idealize KLA leaders, their recent allies who fought against 'Serb occupation' and 'ethnic cleansing.' Brought to power by NATO, the KLA leaders have been acting exactly as their sworn enemy Slobodan Milosevic did before them."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "Americans Disgraced"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Valeria Sycheva said in reformist

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Segodnya

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/14): "The bombing of Yugoslavia, which jacked up Clinton's popularity rating and virtually saved him from impeachment, may backfire and seriously hurt the Democrats in the current election campaign. Now that Washington's proteges are in power in Kosovo, they refuse to beat their swords into ploughshares and obey the peacekeepers, disgracing their patrons by using genocidal methods against ethnic Serbs."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "Peace Mission Fails"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Ksenia Fokina asserted on page one of centrist

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Nezavisimaya Gazeta

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/14): "It has been universally acknowledged that the peace operation in Kosovo has failed."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 AUSTRIA: "The War Has Been Won; Peace Has Been Lost"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Viktor Hermann stated in prestigious, national \plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Salzburger Nachrichten \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/11-12): "In Kosovo, the West launched a war against a bloody tyrant and brought it to a partly successful end. Since then, however, NATO and the EU have not done much to win peace and stability in the Balkans by pursuing a smart policy."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "Unsolvable Permanent Conflicts In Serbia"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Livia Klingl held in mass-circulation \plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Kurier \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/7): "The Kosovars lack understanding for democracy and coexistence; the West lacks a reasonable concept--and the necessary means... Since the West does not have a real concept for the Balkans, a NATO secretary general and a U.S. UN ambassador, for instance, tend to blame Milosevic for all evil. The Lord of the Serbs does the same: Everything would be fine if the West did not permanently intervene. They have needed each other for one whole decade, the dictator of Belgrade and the democrats in the West, to divert from their own failure."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 BELGIUM:

\plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "Violence Still Prevails"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Edouard Van Velthem commented in independent \plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Le Soir

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/10): "For several weeks now, a new clandestine guerrilla movement--the UCPMB--has been causing increased tension in the Balkans. At the frontiers of Kosovo, the number of incidents is increasing on the territory of Serbia itself.... The multiplication of incidents...lead diplomats to believe that, behind the excuse of a legitimate resistance, the UCPMB is trying to export the conflict and to shape, by force, a 'Greater Kosovo.'

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "To support this fear, there is the similarity--even as far as the uniforms are concerned-- between the UCPMB and the late UCK--the Kosovo Liberation Army--which had fought against the Belgrade regime, and many members of which have not accepted their forced reconversion in a civilian militia... This strategy is, of course, in the interest of all the hawks in the region But in Belgrade as well, the UCPMB attacks are indirectly serving the interests of President Slobodan Milosevic and of the hardliners of the regime. These attacks reinforce their conviction that the international intervention in Kosovo was a total failure, and enable them to defend, in the eyes of the public

, the thesis of a Western 'plot' aimed at gradually dismantling Serbia.... The destabilization of southern Serbia is extremely worrying to the international community. The region is adjacent to the KFOR sector in Kosovo which is under U.S. command, and Washington is not willing to let itself be dragged into another front. And, first and foremost, the 'Presevo triangle' constitutes a convenient infiltration corridor to Macedonia, where the Albanian radicals, encouraged by the Kosovar precedent, are still ready to cross swords with the Skopje regime.... 'No community should play with fire,' the KFOR staff warned. 'Milosevic learned this at a high cost.' But the diplomats, worried, are very well aware that, in the Balkans, laying down one's arms remains wishful thinking."

BULGARIA: "Why Are Threats For A New War Being Circulated Again?"

commented (3/17): "Whatever Belgrade's action could be in the current situation, a new air campaign is unthinkable. There will be no war.... No matter what statements are being made at the moment, the appropriate media background--which helped shape the public opinion in the West last year--is missing now.... Now the tendency is different; no one talks or writes so much about Kosovo at the moment.... The reason for this is that, for now, the [West's] failures are just being registered and the responsible authorities are taking measures to minimize the results from these failures. The consequences are not so much for the region, but for the Western politicians, who got involved in this mess. The growing tension is just a way to provide a vast amount of funding for 'crisis management.'"

"Another War In The Balkans? Quite Possible"

Large st-circulation

Trud

observed (3/15): "The Kosovo issue is crucial for the Alliance. A new conflict would slur over the situation for a year or two, but what happens then? We were all witnesses to the West's ability to take over an Albanian-populated territory from the Serbs through a war, but now it is even more obvious that the West has no idea how to let democracy take over that territory. While the Serbs were slaughtering Albanians, followed by the Albanians slaughtering even more Serbs, it seemed like this was really an ethnic clash.

Now, when the smoke has cleared, it is obvious that there is something much more serious going on: the thing that one of the modern prophets, Samuel Huntington calls a clash of civilizations."

"The Final Fight For Kosovo Is Still To Come"

\sb0 \sa0 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Center-left

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Sega

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 commented (3/7): "It seems that the 78 days of air strikes were just one phase of the war. The strikes could not enforce lasting peace in the southern Serb province. And it seems that for now the West has no clear idea as to how to achieve lasting peace. The bloody clashes between Serbs and Albanians in southern Serbia and Northern Kosovo in the last several weeks have awakened the ghost of war again. According to some military theories, a war is over only when a peace agreement is signed, one of the sides has prevailed and the other side's potential has been crushed. There is no peace agreement for Kosovo.... The province has no legal status--its government rules are just mentioned in a UNSC resolution. NATO removed the Serbian army and police from Kosovo with a military-technical agreement, signed by the warring sides.

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\sb0 \sa0 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "

Until now, the West has been unable to achieve its main goal--the removal of Milosevic from power in Belgrade and put in power a friendly Serbian government.

For his part, Milosevic managed to preserve his military's potential during the war and is busy rebuilding its potential. Something is bound to happen in Yugoslavia and very soon it will."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240

\sb0 \sa0 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "Milosevic--The Next War"

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\sb0 \sa0 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Largest circulation

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Trud

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/3) commented: "Another hot water cauldron is at boiling point in southern Serbia at the moment. NATO, at least in words, is trying to demonstrate that it would not back any plans for Greater Albania.... The West has no clear plans as to how to get out of the Kosovo trap, despite the fact that the Alliance has over 70,000 soldiers stationed in the Balkans--in Bosnia and in the volatile Serbian province."

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\sb0 \sa0 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "The Long Good-Bye"

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\sb0 \sa0 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Influential weekly

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Kapital

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/3-10) commented on the situation in Montenegro: "At all his international meetings, the Montenegrin president Djukanovic hears the same thing--don't hurry up, we will support you financially, but NATO won't bail you out if you decide to secede from Yugoslavia on your own. Diplomatic rhetoric aside, it is still not clear how this support will reach Montenegro, if any. The West is advising Montenegro not to hurry because it fears a new Balkan conflict and even more dangerous precedent--the breaking up of the current Balkan borders. Apart from that, if Milosevic is given an excuse to occupy Montenegro, this would mean that the West's policy toward the Balkans is failing, because instead acting preventively, the West would have followed the Yugoslav president's actions again."

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\sb0 \sa0 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 CROATIA: "Milosevic's 'Bermuda Triangle'"

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\tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx

720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Vesna

Fabris Perunicic commented in Zagreb-based

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Vjesnik

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/3): "Speculation that Milosevic is keeping up the tensions in Kosovo in order to conceal Belgrade's real ambitions regarding Montenegro are not unfounded. A deterioration of the security situation in the state would (once again) require the introduction of a state of war, or imminent war danger, which would directly derogate the authorities of the Montenegrin state leadership and eventually result in a civil war.... It's not easy to detect on time which hot spot, and with what purpose, Milosevic is about to activate. Who's the instrument? Who's the hostage? What's the objective? These are the questions one can answer only after heavy human and material losses, and after the innocent ones are 'swallowed up' in some sort of Milosevic 'Bermuda triangle'."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 CZ ECH REPUBLIC: "Spreading Unrest"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Kveta Buschova held economic

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Hospodarske noviny

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/15): "Last year, only a few heard the calls that Albanian nationalism is not any better than the Serbian. The world was amazed at seeing tens of thousands of Serbs leaving Kosovo in fears of revenge. Sporadic ethnic attacks against the Serbs and other non-Albanian minorities...occurred already in the fall after the air strikes. And in most Serbian enclaves, as in the Kosovar Mitrovica, the tension gradually grew to reach the recent dramatic events. [Now] the unrest starts spreading from Kosovo. Armed units of the officially buried KLA penetrate into southern Serbia. This most sensitive and vulnerable region with an Albanian minority is within the 'sphere of influence' of Slobodan Milosevic, which is to say the world is not willing to defend it and only calls on Albanian radicals. Again, the Kosovar Albanians call for complete independence, although the words about the Greater Albania are not said often. But tomorrow? The world has learned in Kosovo that unilateralism and retreat before rising violence never pay off."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 DENMARK:

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0

\plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "Undermine Milosevic"

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\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Berlingske Tidende

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 commented (3/13): "Slobodan Milosevic, is still not ready to accept military defeat in Kosovo. He is cynically trying to exploit tensions in Mitrovica in order to allow the Serbs to gain control of the mineral-rich area.... As long as Milosevic remains in power...tensions will increase between ethnically diverse groups. Therefore, our mission must be to undermine Milosevic. Too much is at stake [not to act.]"

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720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 GR
EECE: "U.S. Failure On Kosovo"

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720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 The l
ead editorial in influential, independent
\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Kathimerini
\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/17) attacked U.S. policy on Kosovo: "A year has now
passed since the NATO war against Yugoslavia, and the situation in Kosovo confi
rms the worst of fears, vindicating the campaign's many critics. Severe bombin
g to the extent of barbarism revived Europe's evil past.... Fortunately, all t
hese developments were not hard to foresee, and the Greek press had no trouble
discerning the danger from the very beginning. Although it was not the United
States which triggered the dissolution of Yugoslavia, it nevertheless displayed
such arrogance, as well as a lack of international legitimacy and reason while
in charge, that no sober commentator had a doubt about the end result. Today
the picture of Kosovo, with Albanian nationalists intensifying their provocatio
ns, confirms the failure of the NATO campaign so clearly that not even the Unit
ed States can ignore it. Instead of acknowledging its errors, however, it pret
ends to be taken back by developments.... The fact that the American views on
what should be done in the Balkans, and in Kosovo in particular, have tended to
be presented in a biased fashion by the Western press is not enough to conceal
U.S. failure."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx288
0 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx
720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "M
unich And Vietnam"

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0 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx
720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 In in
fluential, pro-government
\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Kathimerini
\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/15), international news editor George Kapopoulos held
: "As the first anniversary of...NATO strikes against Yugoslavia approaches, W
ashington is gripped by a syndrome that is diametrically opposed to that which
dictated its decisions last year. Then it was the Munich syndrome: the shame o
f giving way to a dictator who ignored international legality and who mocked th
e credibility of the major powers.... Today it is the Vietnam syndrome: the fe
ar of involvement in a ground war without any resolution in the foreseeable futu
re.... Apart from Gen. Wesley Clark, who is calling for reinforcements to save
face in the event of a withdrawal, the American leadership is seeking a dignif
ied way for a gradual reduction and eventual end to the presence of ground forc
es. After a five year parentheses [since the Dayton Agreement], all indication
s are that the balance between the Munich and Vietnam syndromes will once again
prove costly for America's leadership of the international arbitration process
."

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720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 "T
he Kosovo Crucible"

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720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Diplo
matic editor Kostas Iordanides wrote in pro-government, influential

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Kathimerini

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/5): "The essence of the current crisis in Kosovo is twofold. First, the U.S. government does not want to clarify that Kosovo will remain an autonomous region within the Serbian republic, as this would encourage separatist tendencies. Second, American peace-keeping forces tolerate KLA infiltration of the Presevo Valley, in order to elicit a new reaction from the Yugoslav army which would justify a new NATO involvement on Serbian territory. The position of the State Department is incomprehensible, as its 'constructive ambiguity' contributes to an escalation of conflict.... A marginal communist dictator, Slobodan Milosevic, seems to care more about the citizens he tyrannizes than the incomparably richer and more democratic West, which is not willing to provide the minimum amount of funds for the financing of the Program of Reconstruction of the Balkans. And this is a sign of the West's moral degradation."

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\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Gergely Bozai maintained in

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Napi Magyarorszag

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/13): "It is obvious that the Kosovar Albanians' goal is independence. However, except for Albania, no other country supports this idea. Institutions of autonomy have not been established, a reassuring political structure has not been set up since the air campaign, because neither Serbs nor Albanians are interested in them. Of course, NATO should be the last to be blamed for the current situation: It is rather Belgrade where the culprits are. One cannot tell whether it is possible to bring about a quiet political situation on the Balkans without the presence of international armed forces. Current signs show there is little chance for that, just like for the democratization of Yugoslavia."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 POLAND: "Victims Of Mitrovica"

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\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Trybuna

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/9): "What is happening in Mitrovica now is not--as it was wrongly hoped for--a manifestation of temporary political trouble making and the remnants of extremism. It is simply a signal that Kosovo is back again at the starting point.... The biggest burden for this part of the international community, which assumed responsibility for Kosovo, are now the leaders of the KLA, even though it is formally disbanded.... As paradoxical as it may sound, with the numerous international mechanisms in Kosovo now set in motion, the main victims of the situation have become--aside from the Serbs--the United Nations, NATO, and European Union."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 PORTUGAL: "Europe's Crisis"

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720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 PSD E
uro MP Jose Pacheco Pereira wrote this op-ed in center-left
\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Publico
\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/9): "What is happening in Kosovo, where nothing has
gone as planned? Kosovo--today ethnically divided--demonstrates the profound e
rrors of EU foreign policy.... Military intervention, prepared and preceded by
a disinformation and propaganda campaign that hardly befits a democracy, was t
he culmination of a policy that blindly ignored the reality of the Balkans....

This was a war that the 'left' wanted, in order to exorcise its questionable
history in the struggle against communism and find a substitute rhetoric for so
cialism: that of humanitarian interventionism. But Chechnya shows that the rh
etoric of human rights is only a rhetoric in the service of realpolitik."

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720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 SP
AIN: "Kosovo Tense Again"

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endent

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 El Mundo

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 remarked (3/17): "The resurrection of the Contact Group
(Germany, France, Italy, Britain, the United States and Russia), boycotted by t
he Russians ever since NATO's intervention in Yugoslavia, may be one of the res
ponses to the return of tension and violence in Kosovo. This may come about on
ce Russian elections have been held next week. In the meanwhile, however, the
allies will need to reinforce their troop presence...especially in Mitrovica, [
and remain watchful of events] in Presevo, a valley in southern Serbia inhabite
d mostly by Ibanians, which has become the scene of new violence."

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720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 TU
RKEY: "Kosovo On The Brink Of Major Crisis"

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0 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx
720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Necat
i Ozfatura wrote in religious/conservative

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Turkiye

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/2): "Kosovo is once again on the brink of a major cr
isis because of the incidents in Mitrovica.... Mitrovica, where Albanians and
Serbs live together, will likely become the center target for Milosevic to star
t another war-like situation.... The crisis has not yet ended in the Balkans,
particularly in Kosovo. The only thing that is over is the NATO air operation;
that's all. The recent incidents indicate, however, that there is unfortunatel
y a strong possibility a new armed escalation will ensue in the near future."

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l240 \sb0 \sa0 \par \pard \qc \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \f5 \fs2
2 \cf0 EAST ASIA

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720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 CH
INA: "U.S. Plays International Police"

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\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Beijing Youth Daily

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Beijing Qingnianbao

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 , 3/4): "Regardless of other countries' sovereignty, the U.S. act of posting 10,000 wanted posters in Yugoslavia, which offer \$5 million reward for the arrest of three people including Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic, fully reflects the U.S.' arrogance in attempting to play the international policeman."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 PHILIPPINES: "U.S. Achieved Opposite Of What It Intended In Kosovo"

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\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Philippine Post

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/10): "One of the ironies of U.S. intervention in Kosovo is that it achieved the opposite of what its policymakers intended to accomplish. Among other things, it was intended to provide the Kosovar Albanians a separate and independent nation, to remove if possible, or failing that, to discredit, Slobodan Milosevic as leader of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY). Above all, the intervention was meant to exculpate America from the charge leveled by most European nations that the United States looked the other way when Milosevic went on a rampage against Bosnia. Moreover, Mr. Clinton wanted to exorcise the ghost of failed U.S. intervention in Vietnam by claiming to champion higher principles of world order based on moral grounds. America's crusade is to halt genocide and warn other potential Milosevics that perpetrators of ethnic cleansing will face terrible consequences.... No matter what Albright said about the NATO bombings as being a 'humanitarian intervention,' it was collective punishment in which the innocent Serbs were made to pay the full price for the sins of their leaders.... It was not really intended to stop the Serb armies completely or to save as many Kosovar lives as possible. It was intended mainly to prevent the loss of American lives and it did.... If Milosevic is peaceful today, it is because his police and army are pretty much intact. While previously he fought to remain in power, now, as the first sitting head of state to be accused of war crimes, he is more dangerous than ever."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 SOUTH KOREA: "Milosevic Coming Back"

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\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Segye Ilbo

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/13): "Nine months after his defeat in Kosovo, Milosevic is finally making a political comeback, appearing on TV to challenge his political rivals. The international community, in other words, has been wrong all along in predicting his ouster early on.... The division among his political rivals has helped him greatly. In addition to this, the easing of economic sanctions by the United States and the EU has dramatically turned Serbia's political atmosphere, improving it in his favor.... Now, he is even strengthening ties with such anti-American countries as Iraq and North Korea\85.. In the past

t, Milosevic was always successful in using political crisis to reinforce his political standing. This time again, the dictator is making successful efforts for a political comeback."

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\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Bangkok Post

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 held (2/26): "Dialogue between Mr. Milosevic and NATO is non-existent. And there hasn't even been a meeting this year between NATO heads and the ethnic Albanian leaders. The only development in recent weeks is that France is sending another 700 troops to Kosovo. This is hardly the recipe to start the reconciliation process. Kosovo has virtually been 'ethnically cleansed' by NATO, leaving the province to the Albanians--reversing the result Mr. Milosevic was expecting. NATO failed to resolve the conflict in its dialogue with the Milosevic regime before the invasion of Yugoslavia.

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0 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 VIETNAM: "Who Really Violates Human Rights?"

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\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Tien Phong

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/8): "Publicly putting out a wanted poster to arrest a sitting president of an sovereign state at the transition year to the new millennium is a blatant trampling on human civilization and society. The fact that the U.S. government is offering a \$5 million reward for information leading to the capture of President Milosevic is a severe human rights violation and an offence to Yugoslavs and Europeans. This action will set a bad precedent, that is, a powerful country giving itself the right to insult a weak country by tracking down and arresting the Head of that weak state.... Ironically, the above brutal action is implemented at the same time that the United States is criticizing other countries for violating human rights. The question is: Is that American wanted poster a human rights violation?"

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0 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 ARGENTINA: "Uncertain Fate For Kosovo"

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\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Clarin

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 read (3/3): "Tension between Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo shows to the West the image of an unchanged reality in spite of the blood and havoc occurred in that place called the Balkans.... Now the city of Mitrovica is the center of the conflict.... Kosovo is having the same fate as Bosnia, where it is impossible to have a multi-ethnic country, where different national minorities can live together. On the contrary, the territorial separation prevails...with militarized domestic borders and international control to avoid new confrontations. Diplomats call this formula 'coexistence under surveillance.' In this way, the international intervention in Serbia, like some years ago in Bosnia, managed to stop the horror of 'ethnic cleansing' practised by Serbian militia. But it could not avoid the goal of ethnic nationalism...the regrouping of people according to their national, ethnic or religious identity." \par

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 BRAZIL:

"More Trouble Brewing In The Balkans"

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\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 O Estado de S. Paulo

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 noted (3/17): "Mitrovica is not the only concern [in Kosovo]. There is information that behind the smokescreen another dangerous initiative is on the way in former Yugoslavia: The creation of the Presevo, Bujanova and Mevedja liberation army, which is a successor of the KLA. This is a serious threat against Belgrade.... In this case, the conflict could spread to Macedonia, where the local police are confiscating tons of weapons in the possession of Albanians. There is, in addition, another point of tension: NATO's experts think that President Milosevic is paving the way to move against Montenegro."

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \tx0 \tx720 \tx1440 \tx2160 \tx2880 \tx3600 \tx4320 \tx5040 \plain \b \f5 \fs22 \cf0 CANADA: "It's Time To Abandon NATO Plan For Kosovo"

\par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \par \pard \li720 \fi0 \ri0 \sl240 \sb0 \sa0 \plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Columnist Richard Gwyn wrote in the liberal

\plain \ul \f5 \fs22 \cf0 Toronto Star

\plain \f5 \fs22 \cf0 (3/15): "No solution is conceivable, except ethnic separation, or the acceptance of Serbian rule over part of northern Kosovo, including the Serbian half of Mitrovica, with the balance of Kosovo being allowed to declare independence. There would also have to be an end to NATO's fiction that it would not change international boundaries but maintain Kosovo as a 'highly autonomous' part of Serbia. It won't be easy for NATO to admit that the goal of preserving a multi-ethnic Kosovo, which justified its war against Serbia, was always impossible to achieve. Perpetuating this pretense will ensure endless war between Kosovars and Serbs, forcing NATO to remain there for decades.... It is painful. It is embarrassing. But it is time for NATO to recognize reality." ##

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Slate Magazine <delivery_afternoon@slate.com> (Slate Magazine <delivery_afternoon@slate.com> [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:20-MAR-2000 15:26:22.00

SUBJECT: POLITICS: Is Robert Wright a Marxist?; Rep. Peter T. King's Echolalia

TO: Joshua S. Gottheimer (CN=Joshua S. Gottheimer/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:
SLATE POLITICS: Mon., March 20, 2000

--kausfiles: Is Robert Wright a Marxist?

--press box: Rep. Peter T. King's Echolalia

kausfiles

Is Robert Wright a Marxist?

By Mickey Kaus

Robert Wright's book, *Nonzero*, claims to unearth the arrow of history, the direction in which life has been moving these past few dozen thousand years. That direction is (drumroll...) greater complexity, specifically the greater complexity that allows humans--and microbes, for that matter--to realize the fruit of "non-zero-sum" cooperation. In a sweeping and surprisingly entertaining narrative, Wright traces this trajectory from the most primitive bacterium to hunter-gatherer tribes to the current threshold at which we stand: the beginning of the age of planetary government.

The overall effect is a bit like the famous Alfred Hitchcock anecdote in which a minor actor makes a fuss over his lines, at which point the great director calls a break and ushers the recalcitrant thespian into his office. There, on the wall, is a giant outline of the entire movie, scene by scene, with different-colored lines depicting the various characters. Hitchcock points to a small, short line about 2/3 of the way down. "See that?" he asks. "That's you. Don't give me any s---."

I happen to find Wright's grand view very convincing. I will from now on try not to futilely stand in the way of the inevitable march of human complexity and cooperation. But none of the many reviewers of *Nonzero* has mentioned one specific reason why Wright's view of history seems so congenial, which is that it echoes the view I was

taught (and insisted on being taught) when I attended college in the late '60s. Wright, to be blunt, is a Marxist.

Or at least his idea of how history works seems pretty much the Marxist idea, otherwise known as "dialectical materialism." My sandal-wearing comrades in SDS were right all along! I knew it. Consider the following characteristics of Nonzero's version of human history:

It's dialectical! Wright denounces what he calls the "equilibrium fallacy," the notion that human society is stable until some external shock comes along to change it. History is always unfolding, as mankind learns to realize new non-zero-sum gains--inventing agriculture, pursuing a division of labor, inventing money, writing, the printing press, etc. These developments are ultimately driven, Wright argues, by "internal and intrinsic forces such as social striving and population growth." In the process of pursuing these goals, societies create "the seeds of their destruction." The resulting change is not typically a slow accretion of incremental improvements, but often a sudden eruption, "radically" altering society in a way that produces a qualitative change, a new level of "social complexity," which in turn sows the seeds of its destruction, etc. In other words: thesis, antithesis, synthesis.

It's materialist! In Wright's model, then, social change isn't produced by ideas about a better or more just world. The revolution is not a dinner party! Social change is produced by developments in the technology that "permit or encourage new, richer forms of non-zero sum interaction," which seems a lot like what Marx would call the "forces of production." Take the transition from feudalism to capitalism:

Basically, a low-tech means of realizing positive sums--feudalism, geared to an age of little money, sparse literacy, and broken down roads--gave way to a high-tech means, radically changing the power structure.

Wright's technological determinism is softened by the crucial realization that social organization is itself a "technology"--an agricultural chieftdom has a more complex, productive division of labor than a hunter-gatherer band, quite apart from whether it has better tools. Individual liberty ("bourgeois freedom") in the polity and market is, in this sense, a very "efficient technology," which is why it wins out.

It says there are inevitable, scientific laws of history: Marxists claimed to have discovered such laws, for which they've endured a century and a half of ridicule. But Wright makes a similar claim. The triumph of bourgeois society is, in his view, just one instance of a process of cultural evolution that parallels Darwin's natural selection. Some societies (those better at realizing the fruits of "non-zero-sum cooperation") beat out other societies, and are in turn beaten out by more complex, non-zero-sum-realizing social

systems. As a result, history has an almost inevitable progression. Chiefdoms beat hunter-gatherers. States beat chiefdoms. Capitalism beats feudalism. The path, if not completely fixed, is pretty clear. You don't see feudalism following capitalism, over any sort of long run. You don't see any society saying "stop the march to complexity, I want to get off," and surviving for long in the cultural-evolutionary race. (A society that does this will eventually get conquered, or crowded out, or it will convert.) Barring some sort of planetary extinction, global capitalism, verging on world government, is where humans were destined to end up at some point, which happens to be now. The Marxists were only wrong in predicting two further transformations--into socialism, and then communism--that weren't in the cards. So they got a few details wrong.

Religion and culture are often reduced to epiphenomena: Marxists, especially the crude, hard-core variety, talk about "substructure" and "superstructure." The substructure is the economic "mode of production"--feudalism, capitalism, whatever. In the "superstructure" are the other institutions of that culture--religions, music, associations, family structures, tastes--that have to either fit in with the substructure, or else. Substitute "technological means of realizing positive sums" for "mode of production," and you have Wright's view too.

This may seem like common sense, but in either its Marxist or Wrightist form, the substructure/superstructure notion has real bite. Three examples illustrate this point:

China: many people, not the least the current rulers of China and some of their American anti-MFN opponents, believe the Chinese can in effect harness modern positive-sum-generating technology while preserving communist political institutions. Wrong, says Wright. A capitalist substructure will generate a bourgeois superstructure.

Religions: If a religion clashes with the productive needs of a given "state of development in the productive facilities of man" (that's Marx) can the religion survive? Many people, especially ecumenical sorts who believe in the power of faith and ideas, would say yes. A good Marxist--and Wright--would say no. It may be true, as Wright argues, that "one key to Islam's potency" was that it made a "larger world safe for commerce." But if, in dialectical fashion, it comes to stand in the way of global productive advance (i.e. competitiveness) Islam as we know it will eventually disappear.

Welfare reform: Jason DeParle of the New York Times reports that the 1996 welfare law succeeded in getting lots of people off the dole and into jobs. But, he argues, this "may end up making less of a difference in the lives of the poor, socially or economically, than much of the public imagined." Many fathers are still absent, boyfriends still beat up their girlfriends, drug problems persist, etc. A good Marxist/Wrightian would say DeParle's thesis is crazy--if you change the economic substructure or "mode of

production" of inner city life (from being on welfare to being in the labor force) all the other institutions in the lives of the poor will have to change in turn. Women who now have to work will begin to look for men who can help support them, for example. If the poor neighborhoods DeParle looks at still have a lot of absent fathers--well, come back in 10 years and things will look different.

I'm not saying Wright is slyly repackaging Marxist ideas for public consumption. Wright acknowledges the similarities between his view and Marx's. And Wright's view is different in important respects. For one, it grounds history in a more realistic, darker, Darwinian view of human nature, with its status-seeking and back-stabbing--none of that mushy Marxian talk about man's inherent, social "species being." Nor is it clear that in Wright's view the disruption produced by the pursuit of non-zero-sum gains always takes the form of conflict between "classes," as opposed to, say, war between nations (although it often does). And there's that business about communism.

Wright's idea--and I know this would sound incredibly presumptuous to my old grad student teachers, as it may sound to you--is larger than Marx's. Marx nailed the transition from feudalism to capitalism, but if you read Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations you'll realize he had trouble extending the thesis/antithesis/synthesis model back to before feudalism. Marx winds up relying on the imperatives of population growth. But Wright adds to this the inherent Darwinian drive for status, which explains a whole lot more. Wright's dynamic extends back from feudalism to the primordial soup, and ahead, from the Industrial Revolution to ... well, there is talk of the "noosphere," or global mind, which may be the Internet, the "electronically mediated web of thought that had taken crystalline form by the end of the second millenium."

In this sense, Wright is not a Marxist; Marx is a Wrightist. Wright provides an overarching framework that Marx's thinking on the feudalism/capitalism transition plugs neatly into. Still, it's nice to know that Marxist history is being rehabilitated in respectable bourgeois circles. I didn't waste my youth after all.

Conflict disclosure: Wright is a friend--actually a close friend. You will have to take my word that I wouldn't have written this unless I really was persuaded by Nonzero--at least by the first two thirds, before it enters a cosmic-speculation mode. I've occasionally cleared rooms by declaring that Wright's previous book on evolutionary psychology and human nature, *The Moral Animal*, explained everything. Nonzero explains everything else.

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press box

Rep. Peter T. King's Echolalia

By Jack Shafer

In the old days, legislators delivered long-winded, convoluted, extemporaneous speeches from the floor. Today's congressman composes tightly worded sound bites and reads them from a cue card when reporters call.

Emotionally volatile John McCain supporter Rep. Peter T. King (R-N.Y.) demonstrated his cue-card skills today by giving near-identical quotations to reporters from the Washington Post, the New York Times, and the Los Angeles Times. The subject was George W. Bush's half-hearted attempt to make peace with the McCain forces, and rather than speaking his mind, King spoke like a stuck record:

"It's mind-boggling," said Rep. Peter T. King (R-N.Y.), a McCain supporter. "Either he's being arrogant or he's politically tone-deaf."

--Washington Post, March 17, 2000

Representative Peter T. King, a Long Island Republican who supported Mr. McCain, was also critical of Mr. Bush today, saying, "Either he's arrogant or he's politically tone-deaf."

--New York Times, March 17, 2000

"I'm extremely disappointed," said Rep. Peter T. King (R-N.Y.), a McCain backer. "Either [Bush] is extremely arrogant or he's politically tone-deaf."

--Los Angeles Times, March 17, 2000

You might think that King was insulting the reporters by unspooling the same line over and over, but no. This is Washington. King was showing his confidence in his talking points. He stayed on message. He remained consistent. He didn't let one paper scoop the other with a saucier quotation.

It's a good bet that the bookers of the political talk shows observed King's performance and invited him for repeat performances this weekend.

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: sheridan@mail.policy.osd.mil (sheridan@mail.policy.osd.mil [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:21-MAR-2000 18:30:29.00

SUBJECT: Re: Washington Monthly piece--what do you think?

TO: Paul D. Glastris (CN=Paul D. Glastris/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Not much. Does he have any ideas as to how to curb the 25% per year increases in cocaine production over each of the last three to four years?, cocaine that is destined for the US?

Paul_D._Glastris@who.eop.gov on 03/21/2000 10:06:01 AM

To: "Sheridan, Brian, , OUSD(P)" <sheridan@osd.pentagon.mil>

cc: (bcc: Brian Sheridan/SOLIC/policy)

Subject: Washington Monthly piece--what do you think?

Overdose

Why Clinton's Colombia Policy Needs Rehab.

Nicholas Thompson

In the northern Colombian town of El Salado in mid-February, a band of paramilitaries allegedly drank and hooted as they slaughtered almost 30 peasants they suspected of being sympathetic left-wing guerrillas. One man was allegedly killed in a church; others had their heads sliced off on a basketball court. The paramilitaries may have been connected to the Colombian military in some way; they may not have been. Still, nobody in the United States seemed to notice. Mass murder in Colombia seems almost commonplace and when Reuters finally put the story on the wire a few days later, only one major American paper picked it up. Just one more massacre that had something

to do with drugs and politics.

In the Dirksen Senate Office Building a week later and several thousand miles away,
Senator Jeff Sessions lit into Gen. Barry McCaffrey, America's drug czar, and
Undersecretary of State Thomas Pickering, for being doves on Colombia. It wasn't
enough that McCaffrey and Pickering had shown up to defend a Clinton administration
plan to triple military aid to Colombia, a country that receives the third most United States
security assistance of any nation on earth. To Sessions, the United States needs far more
radical steps to help our southern neighbor. "We used to have a strong will and now we
don't!" he thundered. Pickering tried to explain the complexities of the situation and
McCaffrey insisted that we are making progress. But Sessions, turning redder and redder,
would have none of it: "The nation will not prevail until there's progress on the battlefield!"

There was definitely something in what the senator said. If you go to war, you want to win
battles; and to win battles, you've got to be committed. But there was also something
deeply unnerving: If you're going to win battles, you've got to know who you're fighting
and, in Colombia, it's really not clear. Everybody's hands seem a little bit bloody and
every corridor seems a little bit dark. Clinton's proposal would give aid to the
government, ostensibly, to fight drug production. So are we just going to war against the
drug runners who are supplying America's cities with cocaine and heroin? Or are we also
going to war with the leftist guerrillas fighting the government and often allied with the drug
runners? Are we going to be fighting on the same side as the paramilitaries responsible for
the El Salado massacre---international pariahs and public-enemies who have their own
ties to the drug trade but oppose the guerrillas?

The Clinton administration has a serious plan and there's a good chance it will pass. But
before it does, we should stop and think about what Senator Sessions seemed to be
saying. If you're going to wade into a mess like this with guns-a-blazing, you'd better
know who and what you're fighting for, and you'd better be sure you're willing to pay the
price it's going to take to win.

Jungle War

Mention of Colombia almost immediately brings analogies to Vietnam. One week after Sen. Sessions' outburst, Sen. Ted Stevens demanded of Gen. Charles Wilhelm the commander in chief of the United States' Southern Command: "Who's going to be there when this blows up? Tell me this isn't Vietnam." In recent months, every media outlet seems to have drawn the comparison and The Washington Post and The Financial Times even chose an identical headline for different articles: "Shades of Vietnam."

This is not surprising. Much of our foreign policy is conditioned by a visceral fear of repeating the disasters of the war in Southeast Asia. But the mistake we have to avoid in Colombia isn't sending troops into jungle action without full public commitment; the White House and Congress have emphatically declared that troops aren't going south and there's almost no chance that the Colombian end-game will see American soldiers dying in the jungle while flags burn at home.

But the mistake we are in danger of repeating in Colombia lies in our decision-making process. Our Vietnam policy was crafted by highly intelligent people with legitimate strategic concerns who thought they were acting in the country's best interests. The problem was their lack of information: They underestimated the North's tenacity, overestimated our allies' competence, and misjudged the public's endurance for war. We didn't look the situation squarely in the eyes, we didn't hedge our bets enough to offset the complexities of that war, and we didn't listen closely to people on the ground who considered the war hopeless.

With Colombia, we need to put a heavy burden of proof squarely on the shoulders of those who urge increasing our military aid. There are reasons to charge into Colombia---a country in quasi-anarchy whose drugs are pouring across our borders---but we shouldn't unless we know our goals and exit strategy, unless we know it's clear that we won't end up directly or indirectly massacring innocent Colombians, and unless we know the benefits

conclusively outweigh the costs. Unfortunately, this burden is far from being met.

The Problem and the Plan

Just a few hours south of Miami by plane, Colombia produces about 80 percent of the cocaine used in this country and more than half of the heroin. Farmers grow their coca crop deep in the jungle or in the mountains and sell it to traffickers. The traffickers then process it in mobile laboratories and smuggle their product across our border with elaborate networks of traffickers organized by cell phones, the Internet, and good old machine guns. Once here, the drugs offer quick buzzes and destroy lives. Over 50,000 people suffer drug-related deaths in the United States each year and Gen. McCaffrey continually emphasizes studies that show that illegal drug use annually costs this country \$110 billion.

The Clinton administration believes in developing a broad strategy for our national drug control policy and the current plan---more or less a steroid-enhanced version of the policies of the Bush administration and Clinton's first seven years---seeks to increase funding to choke off the supply side. Specifically, the plan calls for \$1.3 billion in additional aid over the next two years on top of \$300 million that has already been budgeted. Almost \$600 million of the new money would be spent arming and training the Colombian army for a push into the country's remote southern regions where most of the coca is currently grown. Much of this would be spent purchasing 30 high-powered Black Hawk helicopters and 33 UH-1Ns, commonly known as Hueys, the workhorse helicopters of the Vietnam War. A further \$350 million would go to upgrade radar systems and provide narcotics intelligence assistance to Colombian security forces and drug interdiction units in neighboring countries; \$100 million would go to the Colombian National Police for coca eradication programs, and the rest would be targeted toward economic development and civil projects. Roughly 80 percent of the total amount is dedicated to security and military; 20 percent is dedicated to economic assistance and social aid.

Colombia in Chaos

To determine the potential efficacy of the aid, one needs to look at the political situation and the different groups battling with, and around, the military we'd be supporting.

Colombia has been wracked by armed conflict for much of its history, and for more than

30 years a leftist insurgency group, known as the Armed Revolutionary Forces of

Colombia (FARC), and the Colombian government have been locked in a struggle in

which each seems to lose equally. The FARC was founded in 1966 in reaction to the

oligarchic settlement of the bloody 10-year war between the Conservatives and Liberals

known as "La Violencia" that left more than 200,000 Colombians dead.

Today, mixing its

own particular brand of terrorism, extortion, and socialism, the FARC controls territory

that, although sparsely populated, exceeds the size of California and represents 40

percent of the country.

The FARC operates as a coalition of highly organized fronts scattered around the country

with a stronghold in the south. The guerrillas specialize in kidnapping and are fairly well

armed---better equipped, in fact, than the Colombian military, according to our

Congressional Research Service. Guerrillas generally base themselves in camps---tents,

barracks, and, quite often, a soccer field---buried deep in the jungle from which they send

out multiple lines of roving patrols to ambush and warn of approaching government

troops. Politically, the FARC is a mixture of grizzled idealists still pushing a socialist

agenda---according to conservative analyst Andy Messing of the National Defense

Council Foundation, leaders like FARC's commander Manuel "Sure Shot" Marulanda,

"are very serious and they clearly want a better life for Colombians"---and brutal,

opportunistic murderers reveling in power and the money they wrestle from the drug

trade. Last year, the FARC kidnapped and murdered three American human-rights

advocates without any apparent reason---they demanded no ransom and offered no

explanation.

On the other side of the political spectrum are right-wing paramilitary forces---organizations of loosely-knit mercenaries maintained primarily

to protect private
business and drug dealers from the FARC and the ELN, another, smaller,
violent leftist
insurgency. Many of the paramilitary groups operating today were founded
by the
government in the late 1970s, but official connections between the two
were legally cut a
decade ago. Today, the State Department estimates that paramilitaries
cause 70 percent
of the human rights violations that plague Colombia.

In no small part, the paramilitaries exist to hunt the FARC, the ELN, and
people who
support them. On March 1, letting his face be shown for the first time in
seven years,
Carlos Castano, the leader of the largest paramilitary group (and a man
who has been
fighting the FARC since they kidnapped and murdered his father more than
20 years ago)
told a Colombian television station: "Guerrillas are military objectives
of ours, whether
they are dressed as civilians or in uniform. I know this violates
international humanitarian
law. But the guerrillas violate humanitarian law all the time.... This is
a really vile war."

Colombian President Andres Pastrana has worked to break remaining
governmental ties
with the paramilitaries. Still, as might be expected from two
institutions fighting the same
enemies, there are, at least de facto, links and, quite possibly, some
serious, tight, and
brutal connections. A February report by Human Rights Watch reported that
there is
"detailed, abundant, and compelling evidence of close ties between the
Colombian Army
and paramilitary groups responsible for gross human rights violations."
One gruesome
example detailed how members of the Colombian Army's Fourth Brigade
joined forces
with paramilitaries to surround the village of El Aro, later burning more
than half of the
residents' homes and killing 11 people. Why? Because the villagers were
suspected of
being sympathetic to the FARC. One store owner, Aurelio Areiza, was tied
to a tree and
had his eyes gouged out and tongue and testicles cut off before his
eventual execution.

The State Department responds that recipients of U.S. military aid are
required to be
vetted for past human rights abuses and that none of the recipients of
our current package
was specifically mentioned by Human Rights Watch. But while serious

improvements have
been made over the past decade, this distinction is a little too neat and
the lines aren't
nearly as clear as one would hope. According to Human Rights Watch, the
commander of
the brigade responsible for the alleged massacre in El Aro, General
Carlos Ospina, has
since been promoted to head Colombia's fourth division---an army unit of
three brigades
in southern Colombia, one of which will soon be receiving Black Hawks and
Hueys if the
aid package goes through.

War and Peace

Along with many smaller groups such as the ELN, the FARC and the
paramilitaries are
both causes and symptoms of an imploding society. To a degree, Colombia
has been at
war with itself since it was founded in 1830 by the revolutionary
leaders, and later rivals,
Simon Bolivar and Francisco de Paula Santander. It began this century
with a bloody
"thousand days' war" and since then has averaged one civil war every
decade, many
arising from the country's startling class stratifications. Today, the
raging war has forced
approximately 300,000 'displaced people' to leave their homes.

This bloody chaos has helped create an ideal environment for the drug
business---and that
business has pulled the country down even further. Illegal narcotics are
Colombia's
third-largest export and Robert White, former Ambassador to El Salvador,
argues that,
"You can't have a business like that without having some sort of support
from police, from
banks, from the military." The evidence bears him out: In November 1998,
the chief of the
military air transport command for the Colombian army was caught trying
to smuggle half
a ton of cocaine into Miami on his official airplane. Even U.S. officials
aren't completely to
be trusted. Laurie Hiett, wife of a former U.S. military attache in
Colombia, recently
pleaded guilty to smuggling \$700,000 worth of heroin through our
embassy's mail service.

With the nation spinning out of control it's not surprising that there is
one thing that
everyone seems to agree on: They want peace. President Pastrana was
elected primarily
because of his pledge to bring peace to his country and, this November,
approximately

five million people took to Colombia's streets demanding peace under banners reading "No Mas" or, in English, "No More." The FARC has begun negotiating with the government (senior officials from both camps have just returned from a joint tour of Europe) and even Castano says he wants an end to conflict.

Most Colombians, like many Israelis, Palestinians, and residents of Northern Ireland, are just sick of living in a state of perpetual civil war. The war has forced people out of their homes, torn apart civil infrastructure (in Medellin, Colombia's second largest city, university buildings are riddled with bullet holes and residents tell of endless nightly gunfire) and disrupted the economy. It also pulls good people into the drug trade. Many farmers are forced to grow coca simply because they have no other way to make a living. Many have two choices: grow coffee, for example, and drive it to markets over miles of torn-up roads stalked by guerrillas and paramilitaries; or grow coca to sell profitably when drug-runners come to pick it up at your doorstep.

The Hit

At first glance, the Clinton proposal has little to do with the civil war or making peace. Administration officials claim that it is exclusively an attempt to knock out the drug trade and has nothing to do with the insurgency. But this is a distinction without a huge difference; money that goes to the military will almost certainly slip into counter-insurgency. The Colombian military isn't focused solely on the drug campaign. They have been fighting the FARC for 30 years and neither they nor any FARC commander with a surface-to-air missile is going to care whether a reconnaissance helicopter has been assigned to a counter-drug or counter-insurgency mission.

Raul Reyes, top negotiator for the FARC, told The Associated Press on February 28: "Plan Colombia, as we understand it, is no more than a way... for hawks in the United States to become more deeply involved in our internal affairs... It's a declaration of war by the United States." Even Under Secretary of State Pickering hasn't been able to avoid touching the issue: "Our goals in the military field are to eliminate the transport and

production of narcotics. If the guerrillas are taking part, and I've no doubt they are, then they will be targets of our fight."

But \$1.6 billion is emphatically not enough either to win the drug war or to knock out the insurgency. Over the past decade, Colombian cocaine production has skyrocketed, even as we have poured hundreds of millions of dollars into the Andes. This doesn't mean the aid so far has done nothing (the problem would probably be worse if we had stood aside) but it does suggest that our current solution (and maybe any solution short of, say, \$100 billion) will do little. Drug production has a way of operating like a girdle: squeeze down in one place, and it just pops out in another. When Peru stabilized its political situation in the early 1990s, drug production there began to plunge as traffickers simply moved east into the chaos of Colombia. Meanwhile, the biggest triumph the United States has had in the war on drugs in Colombia---the defeat of the Cali and Medell?n cartels and the killing of Pablo Escobar in the early '90s---appeared not to make a dime's worth of difference.

New, less-centralized and harder-to-isolate, traffickers filled their shoes and drug production shot up. Even if drug production was eradicated in Colombia, it's quite possible the traffickers would just move into Ecuador (where the military recently toppled the government) or Brazil.

Furthermore, the military's war on the FARC seems presently unwinnable and \$1.6 billion is not going to change that equation. Colombia is more than three times the size of Vietnam and fifty times the size of El Salvador and, if anything, the FARC has been gaining ground on the army over the past two years of this more-than-30-year-war, though the government has won the most recent battles. The army deploys significantly more soldiers than the FARC (about 130,000 vs. 15,000) but more than two thirds of them (including, by law, every high-school graduate) are stationed in defensive positions and the guerrillas have proved themselves much more mobile than the military. In the jungle territory the rebels call home, the FARC has built and mapped networks of trails that allow them to move easily from one place to another while the army, frightened of

ambush on the enemy-built trails, trudges slowly with compass-based navigation. The helicopters provided by the United States will certainly help the army's fight, but, in a country as large as Colombia, 60 helicopters manned by soldiers with limited training is not going to turn the tide.

The Price of Peace

The danger of the administration's aid package is that it will simply intensify the violence.

The FARC will see it as a foreign invasion, the poorly disciplined military will start to run rampant, the drug trade won't be slowed at all, and the only people who will really lose will be those caught in the crossfire---as has always been the case in Colombia.

But a \$1.6 billion military aid package is not our only option. If we wanted to be sure to stay out of the war, and if we wanted to keep our hands clean of human rights violations, we could conceivably give the government money for schools and roads, not machine guns and helicopters. Instead of spending \$200 million out of \$1.6 billion on civil programs, we could spend every cent on them. Indeed, as this article goes to press, Rep. Jan Schakowsky (D-Ill.) and Rep. Tom Campbell (R-Cal.) have taken the Hippocratic position of "first do no harm" and are circulating a "Dear Colleague" letter requesting that we stop considering any military aid.

There is merit to Schakowsky and Campbell's plea; but there's also reason not to go that far. If you build schools you still need to protect the children from being kidnapped by the FARC. If you build roads you may be facilitating drug smuggling. But even so, to protect the schools and roads, you don't need to provide hundreds of millions of dollars worth of Black Hawks. According to former Ambassador White, one of the plan's most vehement and public critics: "Would I support the aid package if it was 75 percent targeted toward civilians and 25 percent targeted toward the military? Of course." Michael Shifter of the Inter-America Dialogue and one of the most respected Colombia experts in the country told me that the plan "is disappointing" and "misses an opportunity... I'm not sure giving them 60 helicopters to fight drugs is the wisest thing to do."

Armed and Dangerous

The administration counters the argument that its aid package is too focused on the military by noting that the United States' aid is simply a share of Plan Colombia, a blueprint for national Colombia's development that balances military and non-military aid and includes contributions from Colombia, the United States, other countries, and international organizations. And, for better or for worse, the United States has the reputation for being the country most willing to provide military aid. Sweden and the World Bank aren't going to give the Colombian military Black Hawk helicopters.

This argument, although not specious, is disingenuous. It is true that President Pastrana was talking about a Colombian "Marshall Plan" even before his election, but there's evidence that the United States pushed a great portion of the military aid into the Plan or, at the very least, strongly suggested it during consultation. According to one defense analyst very familiar with the negotiations "it wasn't written by Colombians for Colombians; it was written by Colombians and Americans for Americans." According to the Center for International Policy, a non-profit organization that opposes the aid package, the first draft of the Plan, written entirely in Spanish, contained very little military planning. The final draft, which provides for the aid that the United States is supplying, was written with significant U.S. counsel and, according to opposition party leader Luis Guillermo Velez, quoted in the Colombian paper El Tiempo, "The first information that we had of the famous Plan Colombia came to us directly from the American Embassy and in English."

The leader of the opposition party may just be trying to embarrass President Pastrana, but there still seems to be strong evidence that our administration has wedded itself to circular logic to support the military emphasis. Why do we need to give them helicopters? Because it's in Plan Colombia. Why is it in Plan Colombia? Because we need to give them helicopters.

The administration does have some strong reasons for wanting to act forcefully in this way---Pastrana is far more trustworthy than his predecessor, the Colombian military is becoming more and more organized and reputable, and helicopters are a very useful tool for jungle drug interdiction. Still, there are also reasons to suspect that U.S. enthusiasm may be more a function of politics and the usual suspects than efficacy.

First, an aid policy so focused on military aid lets the Clinton administration (and the Democrats) look tough on drugs in an election year. Despite the billions that Clinton has poured into the drug war, the administration constantly faces fire for being soft. In August, Representative Dan Burton (R-Ind.) condemned the Clinton White House: "There is no war on drugs being waged by this administration unless you count the \$200 million General McCaffrey spends annually for... television ads and these Frisbees and key chains." Sen. Mitch McConnell refers to 1985-92 as "the era of ?Just say no" and 1993-99 as "the era of ?I wish I had inhaled."

The Republican strategy has worked: According to research done this fall by the Mellman group, a Democratic polling organization, the public believes the Democrats are doing a better job than Republicans on almost every issue, from balancing the budget to improving education. The one issue where Republicans have a clear advantage is "keeping out illegal drugs."

A military aid package so wrapped around hardware also offers substantial advantages to U.S.-based companies. United Technologies, the manufacturer of the unquestionably-effective Black Hawk helicopters, is based in Stratford, Conn., in the home state of Sen. Christopher Dodd, ranking member of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Narcotics, and extremely near the district of Rep. Sam Gejdenson, the ranking member of the House International Relations Committee. According to the Center for Responsive Politics, United Technologies and its employees have given \$33,200 to Dodd and \$19,000 to Gejdenson over the past two years. Even if, as their spokesmen claim, neither Sen. Dodd or Rep. Gejdenson thought directly of donor obligations while considering the plan, money does have a funny way of working in

Washington and, over time, policies that help out powerful lobbies do have a curiously strong tendency to win out over those that don't. Rep. Schakowsky said to me: "I have no doubt that, in some ways, this is about helicopters."

Third, and most importantly, the bill has to pass Congress and many Congressmen, particularly on the very powerful Republican far right, would much rather give money to fight guerrillas than to promote development. As Sen. Sessions demanded incredulously of Gen. McCaffrey and Undersecretary Pickering, "Is it the position of the United States that we are neutral [between the FARC and the government]?" Rep. Burton goes even further, using rhetoric that takes us back to the Cold War: "Colombia is important because, should democracy fall there, and a narco-state prevail or a Marxist-led government run by the FARC narco-terrorists succeed democracy, we are at severe risk in the United States." Burton's may be an extreme case, but he's also one of the congressional Republicans who have invested the most time and effort in the issue.

Just Say No

If the package does go through, the administration argues that, in a best-case scenario, the threat of increased U.S. weaponry could help to push the FARC to the negotiating table as well as push them to keep their promises (as they very rarely have before). Then, if peace could be brought between the government and the FARC, perhaps the paramilitaries would begin to layoff, peace would come to the entire country, and Pastrana's successor would have the opportunity to crack down on the drug trade.

But there's a lot that could scuttle that scenario: the FARC might not be frightened by the money, it might just harden their resolve; it could become clear that Black Hawk helicopters are being used to slaughter villagers in places like El Salado or El Aro; Pastrana may be replaced by a hard-liner opposed to the peace process.

These are all distinct possibilities and strongly suggest that the current aid proposal doesn't come close to clearing the high bar for military involvement our experiences in Vietnam should have taught us to set. The situation on the ground in Colombia is

more like Vietnam
than Kosovo or Iraq. We don't know exactly what's going on; we don't have
clear
objectives; and there's a fairly good chance that our guns and
helicopters will merely
increase the conflict and tear the country apart a little bit more. The
odds of bringing
peace by offering a package that emphasizes carrots seem just as likely
as the odds of
bringing peace through a package of sticks. And with carrots, you can't
swing, miss, and
break your own knee-cap.

The unfortunate truth is that domestic politics have probably helped push
us into a
situation where we are forced to provide an aid package that is too
militarized, and too
likely to blow up in our faces. In fact, as we plunge toward Colombia, it
almost seems as
though we've only learned one thing since our mistakes in Vietnam: how to
make new
ones.