

RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: jk37@nais.com (jk37@nais.com [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:19-OCT-1999 01:55:27.00

SUBJECT: YOU GOT 3 MONTHS TO LIVE

TO: jk37@nais.com (jk37@nais.com [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

YOU GOT 3 MONTHS TO LIVE

Are you comfortable? Got enough food in the house?

Electricity working? Got fuel for the car?

Well come January 1, 2000 all that is going to change.

You know that little Y2K thing where many of the computers
in the world are just going to shut down on Jan 1.

Well that little problem is going to collapse all the economies
in the world. No more food, electricity, fuel, communications etc.

all those things are going to shut down like that "snap" (maybe a week or
so)

and the survival of the fittest will become the law
until the antichrist takes over the world.

YOU CAN STAY HERE FOR THAT

IT'S BEST TO GET OUT OF HERE BEFORE THAT HAPPENS

BUT THE RAPTURE WILL NOT OCCUR UNTIL
THE UNIVERSE IS PROPERLY DISPLAYED

STAND UP AND OPEN YOUR MOUTH !

THE UNIVERSE SPACE ENDS & MOVES $O \wedge + \vee O$

The discovery of the understanding of the universe.

2

E=MC The equation for the atom bomb. It says that matter and energy
are the same thing. So then what is that? Matter, look at a brick. Its
in a three dimensional form. Its made of electrons, protons and neutrons
(atoms) and they are moving so the brick is moving. Energy, sunlight.
Its in a three dimensional form. It comes to us from the sun therefore
it is moving. 3D and moving Both matter and energy are 3D and moving.
I outproduce Einstein. We already know all matter has gravity. The
bending of light shows that energy also has gravity. So matter and
energy are 3D moving with gravity. The universe is made of matter,
energy, time and space. That just stated is the matter and energy part.
Time and space. Take everything in the universe and stop it. Does time
progress? No. Therefore time is the motion and the understanding of all
the motion is the understanding of all of time. Space. Space ends. Space
does not go on forever. Space is in a three dimensional form. Space
moves but does not have gravity. Space moves like this. $O \wedge + \vee O$
And that is the understanding of time.

O This is what was first, in the beginning.

^ This is the old kings and queens.

+ This is democracy.

∨ This is socialism.

O This is when the Lord Jesus Christ returns.

And that is the understanding of the universe. Glory be to the Father the Son and the Holy Ghost. Revelation chapter 10&11;15-19. It is very important the people receive this information. You may tell someone about this.

Thank You
Robert Lavelle

RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: "U.S. State Department Country Background Notes" <U09885@UICVM.UIC.EDU> ("U.S. State Department Country Background Notes" <U09885@UICVM.UIC.EDU> [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:21-OCT-1999 20:05:18.00

SUBJECT: 9903 Czech Republic Background Note

TO: DOSBACK@LISTSERV.UIC.EDU (DOSBACK@LISTSERV.UIC.EDU [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:
U.S. Department of State
Background Notes

March 1999

Official Name: Czech Republic

PROFILE

Geography

Area: 78,864 sq. kilometers; about the size of Virginia.
Cities: Capital--Prague (pop. 1.2 million). Other cities--Brno (387,000), Ostrava (324,000), Plzen (175,000).
Terrain: Low mountains to the north and south, hills in the west.
Climate: Temperate.

People

Nationality: Noun and adjective--Czech(s).
Population (est.): 10.5 million.
Annual growth rate: 0.1%.
Ethnic groups: Czech (95%), Germans, Roma, Poles, Silesians, Slovaks.
Religions: Roman Catholic, Protestant.
Language: Czech.
Education: Literacy--99%.
Health: Life expectancy--males 68 yrs., females 75 yrs. Work force (5.2 million): Industry, construction and commerce--47%. Government and other services--41%. Agriculture--11%.

Government

Type: Parliamentary republic.
Independence: The Czech Republic was established January 1, 1993 (former Czechoslovak state established 1918).
Constitution: Signed December 16, 1992.
Branches: Executive--president (chief of state), prime minister (head of government), cabinet. Legislative--Chamber of Deputies, Senate.
Judicial--Supreme Court, Constitutional Court.
Political parties (June 1998 election): Czech Social Democratic Party

(CSSD), 74 seats; Civic Democratic Party (ODS), 63 seats; Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia [KSCM], 24 seats; Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak Peoples Party (KDU-CSL), 20 seats; Freedom Union (US), 19 seats.

Suffrage: Universal at 18.

Administrative subdivisions: Two regions--Bohemia and Moravia; seven administrative districts and Prague.

Flag: Blue triangle on staff side; upper white band, lower red band.

Economy

GDP (1998 est.): \$54.54 billion.

Per capita income (1998 est.): \$5,454.

Natural resources: Coal, coke, timber, lignite, uranium, magnesite.

Agriculture: Products--wheat, rye, oats, corn, barley, hops, potatoes, sugarbeets, hogs, cattle, horses.

Industry: Types--iron, steel, machinery and equipment, cement, sheet glass, motor vehicles, armaments, chemicals, ceramics, wood, paper products, and footwear.

Trade (1997): Exports--\$21.850 billion: machinery, iron, steel, chemicals, raw materials, consumer goods. Trading partners--Austria, Belgium, Commonwealth of Independent States, France, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Switzerland, United States.

PEOPLE

The majority of the 10.5 million inhabitants of the Czech Republic are ethnically and linguistically Czech (95%). Other ethnic groups include Germans, Roma, and Poles. After the 1993 division, some Slovaks remained in the Czech Republic and comprise roughly 3% of the current population. The border between the Czech Republic and Slovakia is open for former citizens of Czechoslovakia. Laws establishing religious freedom were passed shortly after the revolution of 1989, lifting oppressive regulations enacted by the former communist regime. Major denominations and their estimated percentage populations are Roman Catholic (39%) and Protestant (3%). A large percentage of the Czech population claim to be atheists (40%), and 16% describe themselves as uncertain. The Jewish community numbers a few thousand today; a synagogue in Prague memorializes the names of more than 80,000 Czechoslovak Jews who perished in World War II.

HISTORY

The Czech Republic was the western part of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. Formed into a common state after World War I (October 18, 1918), the Czechs, Moravians, and Slovaks remained united for almost 75 years. On January 1, 1993, the two republics split to form two separate states.

The Czechs lost their national independence to the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1620 at the Battle of White Mountain and, for the next 300 years, were ruled by the Austrian Monarchy. With the collapse of the monarchy at the end of World War I, the independent country of Czechoslovakia was formed, encouraged by, among others, U.S. President

Woodrow Wilson.

Despite cultural differences, the Slovaks shared with the Czechs similar aspirations for independence from the Hapsburg state and voluntarily united with the Czechs. The Slovaks were not at the same level of economic and technological development as the Czechs, but the freedom and opportunity found in Czechoslovakia enabled them to make strides toward overcoming these inequalities. However, the gap never was fully bridged, and the discrepancy played a continuing role throughout the 75 years of the union.

Although Czechoslovakia was the only east European country to remain a parliamentary democracy from 1918 to 1938, it was plagued with minority problems, the most important of which concerned the country's large German population. Constituting more than 22% of the interwar state's population and largely concentrated in the Bohemian and Moravian border regions (the Sudetenland), members of this minority, including some who were sympathetic to Nazi Germany, undermined the new Czechoslovak state. Internal and external pressures culminated in September 1938, when France and the United Kingdom yielded to Nazi pressures at Munich and agreed to force Czechoslovakia to cede the Sudetenland to Germany.

Fulfilling Hitler's aggressive designs on all of Czechoslovakia, Germany invaded what remained of Bohemia and Moravia in March 1939, establishing a German "protectorate." By this time, Slovakia had already declared independence and had become a puppet state of the Germans.

At the close of World War II, Soviet troops overran all of Slovakia, Moravia, and much of Bohemia, including Prague. In May 1945, U.S. forces liberated the city of Plzen and most of western Bohemia. A civilian uprising against the German garrison took place in Prague in May 1945. Following Germany's surrender, some 2.9 million ethnic Germans were expelled from Czechoslovakia with Allied approval under the Benes Decrees.

Reunited after the war, the Czechs and Slovaks set federal and national elections for the spring of 1946. The democratic elements, led by President Eduard Benes, hoped the Soviet Union would allow Czechoslovakia the freedom to choose its own form of government and aspired to a Czechoslovakia that would act as a bridge between East and West. The Czechoslovak Communist Party, which won 38% of the vote, held most of the key positions in the government and gradually managed to neutralize or silence the anti-communist forces. Although the communist-led government initially intended to participate in the Marshall Plan, it was forced by Moscow to back out. Under the cover of superficial legality, the Communist Party seized power in February 1948.

After extensive purges modeled on the Stalinist pattern in other east European states, the Communist Party tried 14 of its former leaders in November 1952 and sentenced 11 to death. For more than a decade thereafter, the Czechoslovak communist political structure was characterized by the orthodoxy of the leadership of party chief Antonin Novotny.

The 1968 Soviet Invasion

The communist leadership allowed token reforms in the early 1960s, but discontent arose within the ranks of the communist party central committee, stemming from dissatisfaction with the slow pace of the economic reforms, resistance to cultural liberalization, and the desire of the Slovaks within the leadership for greater autonomy for their republic. This discontent expressed itself with the removal of Novotny from party leadership in January 1968 and from the presidency in March. He was replaced as party leader by a Slovak, Alexander Dubcek.

After January 1968, the Dubcek leadership took practical steps toward political, social, and economic reforms. In addition, it called for politico-military changes in the Soviet-dominated Warsaw Pact and Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. The leadership affirmed its loyalty to socialism and the Warsaw Pact but also expressed the desire to improve relations with all countries of the world regardless of their social systems.

A program adopted in April 1968 set guidelines for a modern, humanistic socialist democracy that would guarantee, among other things, freedom of religion, press, assembly, speech, and travel; a program that, in Dubcek's words, would give socialism "a human face." After 20 years of little public participation, the population gradually started to take interest in the government, and Dubcek became a truly popular national figure.

The internal reforms and foreign policy statements of the Dubcek leadership created great concern among some other Warsaw Pact governments. On the night of August 20, 1968, Soviet, Hungarian, Bulgarian, East German, and Polish troops invaded and occupied Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovak Government immediately declared that the troops had not been invited into the country and that their invasion was a violation of socialist principles, international law, and the UN Charter.

The principal Czechoslovak reformers were forcibly and secretly taken to the Soviet Union. Under obvious Soviet duress, they were compelled to sign a treaty that provided for the "temporary stationing" of an unspecified number of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia. Dubcek was removed as party First Secretary on April 17, 1969, and replaced by another Slovak, Gustav Husak. Later, Dubcek and many of his allies within the party were stripped of their party positions in a purge that lasted until 1971 and reduced party membership by almost one-third.

The 1970s and 1980s became known as the period of "normalization," in which the apologists for the 1968 Soviet invasion prevented, as best they could, any opposition to their conservative regime. Political, social, and economic life stagnated. The population, cowed by the "normalization," was quiet.

At the time of the communist takeover, Czechoslovakia had a balanced economy and one of the higher levels of industrialization on the

continent. In 1948, however, the government began to stress heavy industry over agricultural and consumer goods and services. Many basic industries and foreign trade, as well as domestic wholesale trade, had been nationalized before the communists took power. Nationalization of most of the retail trade was completed in 1950-51.

Heavy industry received major economic support during the 1950s, but central planning resulted in waste and inefficient use of industrial resources. Although the labor force was traditionally skilled and efficient, inadequate incentives for labor and management contributed to high labor turnover, low productivity, and poor product quality. Economic failures reached a critical stage in the 1960s, after which various reform measures were sought with no satisfactory results.

Hope for wide-ranging economic reform came with Alexander Dubcek's rise in January 1968. Despite renewed efforts, however, Czechoslovakia could not come to grips with inflationary forces, much less begin the immense task of correcting the economy's basic problems.

The economy saw growth during the 1970s but then stagnated between 1978-82. Attempts at revitalizing it in the 1980s with management and worker incentive programs were largely unsuccessful. The economy grew after 1982, achieving an annual average output growth of more than 3% between 1983-85. Imports from the West were curtailed, exports boosted, and hard currency debt reduced substantially. New investment was made in the electronic, chemical, and pharmaceutical sectors, which were industry leaders in eastern Europe in the mid-1980s.

The Velvet Revolution

The roots of the 1989 Civic Forum movement that came to power during the "Velvet Revolution" lie in human rights activism. On January 1, 1977, more than 250 human rights activists signed a manifesto called the Charter 77, which criticized the government for failing to implement human rights provisions of documents it had signed, including the state's own constitution; international covenants on political, civil, economic, social, and cultural rights; and the Final Act of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe. Although not organized in any real sense, the signatories of Charter 77 constituted a citizens' initiative aimed at inducing the Czechoslovak Government to observe formal obligations to respect the human rights of its citizens.

On November 17, 1989, the communist police violently broke up a peaceful pro-democracy demonstration, brutally beating many student participants. In the days which followed, Charter 77 and other groups united to become the Civic Forum, an umbrella group championing bureaucratic reform and civil liberties. Its leader was the dissident playwright Vaclav Havel. Intentionally eschewing the label "party," a word given a negative connotation during the previous regime, Civic Forum quickly gained the support of millions of Czechs, as did its Slovak counterpart, Public Against Violence.

Faced with an overwhelming popular repudiation, the Communist Party all but collapsed. Its leaders, Husak and party chief Milos Jakes, resigned

in December 1989, and Havel was elected President of Czechoslovakia on December 29. The astonishing quickness of these events was in part due to the unpopularity of the communist regime and changes in the policies of its Soviet guarantor as well as to the rapid, effective organization of these public initiatives into a viable opposition.

A coalition government, in which the Communist Party had a minority of ministerial positions, was formed in December 1989. The first free elections in Czechoslovakia since 1946 took place in June 1990 without incident and with more than 95% of the population voting. As anticipated, Civic Forum and Public Against Violence won landslide victories in their respective republics and gained a comfortable majority in the federal parliament. The parliament undertook substantial steps toward securing the democratic evolution of Czechoslovakia. It successfully moved toward fair local elections in November 1990, ensuring fundamental change at the county and town level.

Civic Forum found, however, that although it had successfully completed its primary objective--the overthrow of the communist regime--it was ineffectual as a governing party. The demise of Civic Forum was viewed by most as necessary and inevitable.

By the end of 1990, unofficial parliamentary "clubs" had evolved with distinct political agendas. Most influential was the Civic Democratic Party, headed by former Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus. Other notable parties that came into being after the split were the Czech Social Democratic Party, Civic Movement, and Civic Democratic Alliance.

By 1992, Slovak calls for greater autonomy effectively blocked the daily functioning of the federal government. In the election of June 1992, Klaus's Civic Democratic Party won handily in the Czech lands on a platform of economic reform. Vladimir Meciar's Movement for a Democratic Slovakia emerged as the leading party in Slovakia, basing its appeal on fairness to Slovak demands for autonomy. Federalists, like Havel, were unable to contain the trend toward the split. In July 1992, President Havel resigned. In the latter half of 1992, Klaus and Meciar hammered out an agreement that the two republics would go their separate ways by the end of the year.

Members of the federal parliament, divided along national lines, barely cooperated enough to pass the law officially separating the two nations. The law was passed on December 27, 1992. On January 1, 1993, the Czech Republic and the Republic of Slovakia were simultaneously and peacefully founded.

Relationships between the two states, despite occasional disputes about the division of federal property and governing of the border have been peaceful. Both states attained immediate recognition from the U.S. and their European neighbors.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

The Czech political scene supports a broad spectrum of parties ranging from the semi-reformed Communist Party on the far left to the

nationalistic Republican Party on the extreme right. Czech voters returned a split verdict in the June 1998 parliamentary elections, giving the left-of-center Social Democrats (CSSD) a plurality but the right-of-center parties a majority. The results produced a CSSD minority government tolerated by the largest right-of-center party in parliament, former Prime Minister Klaus' Civic Democrats (ODS). Prime Minister Milos Zeman is the head of government and wields considerable powers, including the right to set the agenda for most foreign and domestic policy, mobilize the parliamentary majority, and choose governmental ministers.

Vaclav Havel, now President of the Czech Republic, is not affiliated with any party but remains one of the country's most popular politicians. As formal head of state, he is granted specific powers such as the right to nominate Constitutional Court judges, dissolve parliament under certain conditions, and enact a veto on legislation.

The legislature is bicameral, with a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate. With the split of the former Czechoslovakia, the powers and responsibilities of the now defunct federal parliament were transferred to the Czech National Council, which renamed itself the Chamber of Deputies. Chamber delegates are elected from seven districts and the capital, Prague, for 4-year terms, on the basis of proportional representation. The Czech Senate is patterned after the U.S. Senate and was first elected in 1996; its members serve for 6-year terms with one-third being elected every 2 years.

The country's highest court of appeals is the Supreme Court. The Constitutional Court, which rules on constitutional issues, is appointed by the president, and its members serve 10-year terms.

National Security Issues

The Czech Republic became a member of NATO on March 12, 1999. A major overhaul of the Czechoslovak defense forces began in 1990 and continues in the Czech Republic. Czech forces are being downsized from 200,000 to 55,000 and at the same time reoriented toward a more defensive posture. The Czechs have made good progress in reforming the military personnel structure, and a strong commitment to English language training is paying off. Public support for NATO membership remains around 50%-60%. The Czech Government committed itself in 1996 to increase defense spending by 0.1% of GDP annually until the year 2000, when military spending will reach or exceed 2% of GDP. This will put Czech defense spending on a level proportionately comparable with other NATO allies.

The Czech Republic has friendly relations with all of its neighbors, and none of its borders are in question. The Czech Republic is a member of the UN and OSCE and has contributed to numerous peacekeeping operations, including IFOR/SFOR in Bosnia as well as Desert Shield/Desert Storm.

Principal Government Officials

President--Vaclav Havel (Independent)
Prime Minister--Milos Zeman (CSSD)

Foreign Minister--Jan Kavan (CSSD)
Ambassador to the U.S.--Alexandr Vondra (Independent)

The Czech Republic maintains an embassy at 3900 Spring of Freedom Street, NW, Washington, DC 20008, (tel. 202-274-9101).

ECONOMY

Of the emerging democracies in central and eastern Europe, the Czech Republic has one of the most developed industrialized economies. Its strong industrial tradition dates to the 19th century, when Bohemia and Moravia were the economic heartland of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Today, this heritage is both an asset and a liability. The Czech Republic has a well-educated population and a well-developed infrastructure, but its industrial plants and much of its industrial equipment are obsolete.

According to the Stalinist development policy of planned interdependence, all the economies of the socialist countries were linked tightly with that of the Soviet Union. With the disintegration of the communist economic alliance in 1991, Czech manufacturers lost their traditional markets among former communist countries to the east, some of which still owe the former Czechoslovakia sizable debts.

The Czech Republic is reducing its dependence on highly polluting low-grade brown coal as a source of energy. Nuclear energy presently provides about 25% of total power needs, and its share is projected to increase to 40%. Norway (via pipelines through Germany) and Russia also supply the Czech Republic with liquid and natural gas.

The principal industries are heavy and general machine-building, iron and steel production, metalworking, chemicals, electronics, transportation equipment, textiles, glass, brewing, china, ceramics, and pharmaceuticals. Its main agricultural products are sugarbeets, fodder roots, potatoes, wheat, and hops.

The "Velvet Revolution" in 1989 offered a chance for profound and sustained economic reform. Signs of economic resurgence began to appear in the wake of the shock therapy that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) labeled the "big bang" of January 1991. Since then, astute economic management has led to the liberalization of 95% of all price controls, annual inflation in the 10% range, modest budgetary deficits, low unemployment, a positive balance-of-payments position, a stable exchange rate, a shift of exports from former communist economic bloc markets to Western Europe, and relatively low foreign debt.

Particularly impressive have been the Republic's strict fiscal policies. Following a series of currency devaluations, the crown has remained stable in relation to the U.S. dollar. The Czech crown became fully convertible for most business purposes in late 1995.

In addition, the government has revamped the legal and administrative structure governing investment in order to stimulate the economy and attract foreign partners. Shifting emphasis from the East to the West

has necessitated restructuring existing facilities in banking and telecommunications as well as adjusting commercial laws and practices to fit Western standards. The republic has made progress toward creating a stable investment climate.

This success has enabled the Czech Republic to become the first post-communist country to receive an investment-grade credit rating by international credit institutions. Successive Czech governments have welcomed U.S. investment, in particular, as a counter-balance to the strong economic influence of Western Europe, especially of their powerful neighbor, Germany. Although foreign direct investment (FDI) runs in uneven cycles, with a 12.9% share of total FDI between 1990 and March 1998, the U.S. was the third-largest foreign investor in the Czech economy, behind Germany and the Netherlands.

The republic boasts a flourishing consumer production sector and has privatized most state-owned heavy industries through the voucher privatization system. Under the system, every citizen was given the opportunity to buy, for a moderate price, a book of vouchers that represents potential shares in any state-owned company. The voucher holders could then invest their vouchers, infusing the chosen company with valuable capital. State ownership of businesses was estimated to be about 97% under communism. In 1998, more than 80% of enterprises are in private hands. When the voucher privatization process is complete, Czechs will own shares of each of the Czech companies, making them one of the highest per capita share owners in the world. Privatization through restitution of real estate to the former owners was largely completed in 1992.

The republic's economic transformation is far from complete. A recession in 1998 revealed that the government still faces serious challenges in completing industrial restructuring, increasing transparency in capital market transactions, fully privatizing the banking sector, transforming the housing sector, privatizing the health care system, and solving serious environmental problems.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Until 1989, the foreign policy of Czechoslovakia had followed that of the Soviet Union. Since independence, the Czechs have made integration into Western institutions their chief foreign policy objective.

Fundamental to this objective is Czech membership in the European Union. The government hopes to achieve full membership in the EU by 2003. Relations are currently governed under an association agreement which came into force in 1993. Although there have been disagreements over some economic issues, such as agricultural quotas and a recent amendment to the gaming law, relations are good, and negotiations toward full membership are proceeding smoothly.

The Czech Republic is a member of the United Nations and participates in its specialized agencies. It is a member of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs. It maintains diplomatic relations with more than 85 countries, of which 63 have permanent representation in Prague. The

Czech Republic became a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, along with Poland and Hungary on March 12, 1999. This membership represents a milestone in the country's foreign policy and security orientation.

U.S.-CZECH RELATIONS

Millions of Americans have their roots in Bohemia and Moravia, and a large community in the United States has strong cultural and familial ties with the Czech Republic. President Woodrow Wilson and the United States played a major role in the establishment of the original Czechoslovak state on October 28, 1918. President Wilson's 14 Points, including the right of ethnic groups to form their own states, were the basis for the union of the Czechs and Slovaks. Tomas Masaryk, the father of the state and its first President, visited the United States during World War I and worked with U.S. officials in developing the basis of the new country. Masaryk used the U.S. Constitution as a model for the first Czechoslovak constitution.

After World War II, and the return of the Czechoslovak Government in exile, normal relations continued until 1948, when the communists seized power. Relations cooled rapidly. The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 further complicated U.S.-Czechoslovak relations. The United States referred the matter to the UN Security Council as a violation of the UN Charter, but no action was taken against the Soviets.

Since the "Velvet Revolution" of 1989, bilateral relations have improved immensely. Dissidents once sustained by U.S. encouragement and human rights policies reached high levels in the government. President Havel, in his first official visit as head of Czechoslovakia, addressed the U.S. Congress and was interrupted 21 times by standing ovations. In 1990, on the first anniversary of the revolution, President Bush, in front of an enthusiastic crowd on Prague's Wenceslas Square, pledged U.S. support in building a democratic Czechoslovakia. Toward this end, the U.S. Government has actively encouraged political and economic transformation.

The U.S. Government was originally opposed to the idea of Czechoslovakia forming two separate states, because of concerns that a split might aggravate existing regional political tensions. However, the U.S. recognized both the Czech Republic and Slovakia on January 1, 1993. Since then, U.S.-Czech relations have remained strong economically, politically, and culturally.

Relations between the U.S. and the Czech Republic are excellent and reflect the common approach both have to the many challenges facing the world at present. The U.S. looks to the Czech Republic as a partner in issues ranging from the Middle East to the Balkans, and seeks opportunities to continue to deepen this relationship.

TRAVEL AND BUSINESS INFORMATION

The U.S. Department of State's Consular Information Program provides

Consular Information Sheets, Travel Warnings, and Public Announcements. Consular Information Sheets exist for all countries and include information on entry requirements, currency regulations, health conditions, areas of instability, crime and security, political disturbances, and the addresses of the U.S. posts in the country. Travel Warnings are issued when the State Department recommends that Americans avoid travel to a certain country. Public Announcements are issued as a means to disseminate information quickly about terrorist threats and other relatively short-term conditions overseas which pose significant risks to the security of American travelers. Free copies of this information are available by calling the Bureau of Consular Affairs at 202-647-5225 or via the fax-on-demand system: 202-647-3000. Consular Information Sheets and Travel Warnings also are available on the Consular Affairs Internet home page: <http://travel.state.gov>. Consular Affairs Tips for Travelers publication series, which contain information on obtaining passports and planning a safe trip abroad are on the internet and hard copies can be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, telephone: 202-512-1800; fax 202-512-2250.

Emergency information concerning Americans traveling abroad may be obtained from the Office of Overseas Citizens Services at (202) 647-5225. For after-hours emergencies, Sundays and holidays, call 202-647-4000.

Passport information can be obtained by calling the National Passport Information Center's automated system (\$.35 per minute) or live operators 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. (EST) Monday-Friday (\$1.05 per minute). The number is 1-900-225-5674 (TDD: 1-900-225-7778). Major credit card users (for a flat rate of \$4.95) may call 1-888-362-8668 (TDD: 1-888-498-3648). It also is available on the internet.

Travelers can check the latest health information with the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in Atlanta, Georgia. A hotline at 877-FYI-TRIP (877-394-8747) and a web site at <http://www.cdc.gov/travel/index.htm> give the most recent health advisories, immunization recommendations or requirements, and advice on food and drinking water safety for regions and countries. A booklet entitled Health Information for International Travel (HHS publication number CDC-95-8280) is available from the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402, tel. (202) 512-1800.

Information on travel conditions, visa requirements, currency and customs regulations, legal holidays, and other items of interest to travelers also may be obtained before your departure from a country's embassy and/or consulates in the U.S. (for this country, see Principal Government Officials listing in this publication).

U.S. citizens who are long-term visitors or traveling in dangerous areas are encouraged to register at the U.S. embassy upon arrival in a country (see Principal U.S. Embassy Officials listing in this publication). This may help family members contact you in case of an emergency.

Further Electronic Information

Department of State Foreign Affairs Network. Available on the Internet, DOSFAN provides timely, global access to official U.S. foreign policy information. Updated daily, DOSFAN includes Background Notes; daily press briefings; Country Commercial Guides; directories of key officers of foreign service posts; etc. DOSFAN's World Wide Web site is at <http://www.state.gov>.

U.S. Foreign Affairs on CD-ROM (USFAC). Published on an annual basis by the U.S. Department of State, USFAC archives information on the Department of State Foreign Affairs Network, and includes an array of official foreign policy information from 1990 to the present. Contact the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, P.O. Box 371954, Pittsburgh, PA 15250-7954. To order, call (202) 512-1800 or fax (202) 512-2250.

National Trade Data Bank (NTDB). Operated by the U.S. Department of Commerce, the NTDB contains a wealth of trade-related information. It is available on the Internet www.stat-usa.gov and on CD-ROM. Call the NTDB Help-Line at (202) 482-1986 for more information.

RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Automatic digest processor <LISTSERV@LISTS.PSU.EDU> (Automatic digest processor
<LISTSERV@LISTS.PSU.EDU> [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:22-OCT-1999 08:15:37.00

SUBJECT: FINAID-L Digest - 20 Oct 1999 to 21 Oct 1999 (#1999-186)

TO: Recipients of FINAID-L digests <FINAID-L@LISTS.PSU.EDU> (Recipients of FINAID-L digests <FINAID-L@LISTS.PSU.EDU> [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

There are 36 messages totalling 1577 lines in this issue.

Topics of the day:

1. <No subject given>
 2. student information systems
 3. Record Retention Responses
 4. The Law vs. The Spirit of the Law Summary
 5. Refunds
 6. Dependency Status - The Law vs. the Spirit of the Law
 7. Health Professions Loans
 8. Dependent to Independent Summary
 9. New Federal Refund Policy
 10. Dependency Status
 11. New refund/repay regs
 12. Renewal or web based FAFSA?
 13. Sorry about the first posting
 14. Neg Regs (2)
 15. PJ on parents in college 00-01
 16. Position Announcement: Atlanta, GA
 17. "Out of Office" Autoreplies
 18. Verification Question
 19. Student Loan index, money and politics (2)
 20. EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
 21. Name Change
 22. verification
 23. The LAW
 24. ferpa ???
 25. SSCR
 26. Student eligibility
 27. How to obtain membership
 28. Robert Bode's message
 29. dependency override--ramble, ramble
 30. The Spirit or Letter of the Law and Independent Status (2)
 31. FA transcript requests
 32. REFUND PROC. & DEFAULT APPEALS
 33. Job Available in San Francisco
-

This message | Submissions mailto:FINAID-L@lists.psu.edu
was sent via | Subscribe/unsubscribe mailto:LISTSERV@lists.psu.edu
the FINAID-L | List owner (Bob Quinn) mailto:REQ1@psu.edu
mailing list | backup (Pete Weiss)
mailto:FINAID-L-REQUEST@lists.psu.edu
-----| <please use a significant SUBJECT: line for FINAID-L
msgs>

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 09:27:05 0000
From: "Gary A. Le Suer" <HMH.LESU@HHS.LMH.EDU>
Subject: <No subject given>

I WAS COFIRMED THIS MORNING AS A NEW MEMBER OF FINAID-L, BUT I HVAE NOT YET
RECEIVED
ANY MESSAGES FROM FINAID-L.

COULD YOU TELL ME WHY????

WE HAVE CONVERTED TO A NEW E-MAIL SYSTEM AND THIS IS THE FIRST DAY THAT I
HAVE
BEEN
ABLE TO RECEIVE E-MAIL MESSAGES FROM THE OUTSIDE.

I WAS PREVIOUSLY A MEMBER OF THE UNDER THE FOLLOWING:

LAW.SONLG@LMH.LMH.EDU

CAN YOU PLEASE CHECK TO SEE WHY I AM NOT RECEIVING ANY MESSAGES FROM
FINAID-L.

THANK YOU,
GARY LE SUER
DIRECTOR, FINANCIAL AID
LAWRENCE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL
SCHOOL OF NURSING
170 GOVERNORS AVENUE
MEDFORD, MA 02155

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 09:31:08 -0400
From: Robin Motter <motter.82@OSU.EDU>
Subject: student information systems

Our college is currently looking for an information system that would have
data bases for financial aid, student information, and registrar info. We
are a VERY small college so we are in need of a fairly simple system. If
anyone out there is currently using or has used a system that might be of
use to us--please contact me at (419) 526-8595.

Thanks in advance for your help.

Robin Motter

Robin Motter
Financial Aid & Student Services Coordinator
MedCentral College of Nursing
335 Glessner Ave.
Mansfield, OH 44903
(419) 520-2512 FAX: 526-8694

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 08:43:11 -600
From: Roger Vick <Roger@LTFA.LATECH.EDU>
Subject: Record Retention Responses

Thanks to all of the finaid-l ers who responded to my query. To date I have received over 25 responses. The gist of the responses is as follows.

For schools who submit FAFSA data for the student, they feel they must keep the file even if the student did not enroll at their school.

Generally, all other responses indicated that there was no need to keep the folder.

Thus, based on the list responses and the guidance cited in the original query, I will destroy the content of the hard copy file of student who never enrolled at our school during the award year, recycle the folders and consider not even creating a folder in future years until they are admitted to the University. Of course, we will keep the electronic ISIR we received.

If anyone has a firm cite of a reason not to proceed as outlined please let me know.

Thanks again for the responses.

Roger Vick
Director, Student Financial Aid
Louisiana Tech University
voice 318-257-2022
fax 318-257-2628
roger@ltfa.latech.edu

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 09:15:09 -0500
From: Walter O'Neill <WONeill@ROOSEVELT.EDU>
Subject: The Law vs. The Spirit of the Law Summary

Thanks for all of you that shared you comments and thoughts on the Dependency Override issue. It appears, with an overwhelming response, that most aid administrators are not buying into a dependency status override based on a students self-emancipation and agree that doing so would contradict the spirit of the law. In fact, the ability to support oneself is not an issue at all.

There were a few comments made regarding information coming from the aid hotline that made the task of enforcement more difficult. I, on the other hand, do acknowledge the great job that DOE has done on the issue of dependency status on the FAFSA and the Student Guide. In both instances they have made it clear that the decision is made at the institutional level

AND is FINAL. Thanks folks. There might be slight improvement in this area with a little more clarity on what the "unusual circumstances" might or might not be. Just a thought.

In any event, I have heard from absolutely no one that has expressed that they either do or at least believe we should approve and override for a student that just claims to "want" to be independent because they "chose" to live on their own and can support themselves. Does that mean that we are all in agreement? If not, I truly would like to hear from anyone else that does not share these opinions - you may have some insight that we all may need!

Thanks again.

walter

Walter JH O'Neill
Director of Financial Aid
Roosevelt University
430 South Michigan Avenue, Rm 128
Chicago, Illinois 60605
(312) 341-2090

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 09:26:56 -0500
From: Clare Campbell <ccampbel@SAUNIX.SAU.EDU>
Subject: Refunds

Hi All,

I was wondering if someone could point me to the place where I could find a copy of the refund worksheet. I printed the fiscal officer's guide off of IFAP, but the worksheets included all say 'DRAFT'. Is there an actual copy somewhere else?

Thanks so much,

Clare Campbell
Computer Analyst
St. Ambrose University
Financial Aid Office
Fax 319-333-6297
R16

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 09:46:20 -0500
From: Randy Hall <rhall@UTM.EDU>
Subject: Re: Dependency Status - The Law vs. the Spirit of the Law

At 08:39 AM 10/20/99 -0500, Sheriff Dave "hit the nail on the head" when he wrote:

>(An aside--is it really *self* supporting students want to be, or
>*other-than-parents* supporting they're striving for?)

Great commentary Dave! . . .I enjoy questions with obvious answers. (;-)

AND to Walter! . . .about that DOE Hotline "authoritative voice" suggesting we (FA Directors) can override dependency status based on our mood, the weather, or just about anything else. . .just one more straw on a already heavily laden camel!. . . Hummmmmmm???

Ooops! I'm just now reminded of my many friends in DOE (especially one new found friend in the Kansas City office) who are working diligently to improve many of the Dept's shortcomings. So, for today, . . .cooler heads shall prevail. (-) (-) (-)

However, PJ dep overrides at my school will continue to clearly document removal of Parental income from needs analysis no matter how authoritative the voice on the DOE Hotline!

Simple proof students "chose" to live on their own and can support themselves
OR Parental refusal to cooperate will NOT suffice.

To Bill Gates and others. . . at my school, you WILL be held accountable for
the education of your offspring!

Randy Hall
University of Tennessee At Martin
rhall@utm.EdU

"Today's mighty oak is just yesterday's nut that held its ground"

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 09:51:44 -0500

From: "Hertling, Leo" <lhertling@MAIL.STLCOP.EDU>
Subject: Health Professions Loans

For those of you who inquired back to me looking for information as well, I have finally found a good HHS page which gives all the regulations for Health Professions Student Loans. Please check out the attached site:

<http://www.hrsa.gov/bhpr/dsa/sfag/>

All of the regs for HPSL are out there.

Leo Hertling
Associate Director of Financial Aid
St. Louis College of Pharmacy

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 10:02:29 -0500
From: "Patterson, Heidi" <HPatters@MAIL.CRK.UMN.EDU>
Subject: Dependent to Independent Summary

Well, it was basically unanimous. I received a ton of responses and everyone agreed that the "help" line gave the student wrong information and that I must use the first ISIR and consider him dependent (unless I want to do a PJ, which I won't). Thank you to everyone who responded and I want to especially thank those of you who quoted the regs and told me where to find the information.

For those of you who wondered if he filed using a different SS# or something, the answer is no. I simply received a second ISIR (transaction #2) showing him as independent.

Heidi
Email: Hpatters@mail.crk.umn.edu <<mailto:Hpatters@mail.crk.umn.edu>>

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 10:25:14 -0500
From: Mary Reed <mreed@JC.EDU>
Subject: New Federal Refund Policy

Dear List:

A couple of weeks ago I posted a question about a student who owed a refund from Pell under the new refund policy. Since the student was only liable for 1/2 the refund amount (since it was a grant), I wanted to know what happened to the other 1/2. The only responses I received were from others on the list who had the same question.

I have received a reply from the Department of Education that indeed the other half stays as part of the award amount. Example: Student had \$1563 Pell, withdrawal record indicated student (not school) owed a \$700 refund. Since it is the student who has to pay it back, only \$350 needs to be

returned to the Pell program and the award for the semester is reduced to \$1213.

If I haven't made this clear, please feel free to call.

Mary Reed
Director of Financial Aid
Jamestown College
Jamestown, ND
(701) 252-3467 ext. 2568

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 13:18:40 -0400
From: Creda Carney <ccarney@TEC.NH.US>
Subject: Dependency Status

Good Afternoon Finaid-lers:

I just got off the phone with a distraught mother of a student. Seems the court found that her ex-husband was not responsible for 1/2 of his daughters education as the divorce decree outlined because she is 21 years of age and therefore INDEPENDENT! Being INDEPENDENT she is responsible for her own educational expenses.

Where can I locate the recently discussed law spelling out Dependency criterion? As I will not make this student INDEPENDENT, the plaintiffs attorney would like to fax a copy of this law to the judge.

Sincerely,

Creda Carney
NHTI

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 13:16:43 -0400
From: Mark Johnson <maj@CARTERET.CC.NC.US>
Subject: New refund/repay regs

I haven't seen much in the way of comparative statistics evaluating the new refund/repayment regs with the current regs. The below is a small sample--albeit, still a revealing look at the effect of the new repayment regs using Leonard Gude's excel worksheet (thanks Leonard).

When October 1, 2000 swings around, we are going to have our hands full of students owing repayments. What do you all think?

Mark Johnson
Carteret CC

Of this term's 23 FA withdrawals, the comparison of new vs current repayment regs results in the following (used NC state refund policy where applicable):

Current regs		New regs	
School repays	Student repays	School repays	Student repays
1)			
	0	0	
232	496		
2)	264.43	554.50	
	305	530	
3)	254.03		
0		300	92
4)	0	0	
129	0		
5)	0	0	
334	56		
6)	0	0	
261	482		
7)	0	0	
188	270		
8)	0	0	
127	42		
9)	0	0	
76	50		
10)	169.75		
0		169.75	0
11)	0	331.44	
286	507		
12)	254.03	384.63	
278	479		
13)	0	0	
242	171		
14)	0	131.44	
299	453		
15)	4.72	0	
9	275		
16)	0	0	
181	105		
17)	0	0	
236	221		
18)	0	0	
156	242		
19)	0	349.75	
272	500		
20)	0	0	
258	258		
21)	387.75		
0		387.75	0
22)	0	339.44	

	212	390	
23)	0	0	
125	0		
Totals	1334.71	2091.20	
	5063.50	5619.00	

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 11:22:05 -0600
 From: Dixie Cirillo <DCirillo@MINES.EDU>
 Subject: Renewal or web based FAFSA?

We have heard that there was a error on the printed FAFSA. It was in regards to the tax line numbers that are used. We understand that they have discovered this and are reprinting them. The question that I have is, Is the same error on the renewal or the web based versions? If you know anything please let me know. We are an institution that has an early Financial Aid deadline.
 Thanks in advance

Dixie L. Cirillo
 Assistant Director of Financial Aid
 Colorado School of Mines
 dcirillo@mines.edu
 303/273-3206

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 13:44:37 -0400
 From: Mark Johnson <maj@CARTERET.CC.NC.US>
 Subject: Sorry about the first posting

The results should look better this time. Let me know if you still can't read them.
 Of 23 FA withdrawals, the comparison of new vs current repayment regs results in the following:

Current regs repays	New regs	School repays	Student repays	School repays	Student
1) 0	0				
232	496				
2) 264.43	554.50	305			
530					
3) 254.03	0	300			
92					
4) 0	0				
129	0				
5) 0	0				
334	56				
6) 0	0				
261	482				
7) 0	0				

188	270	
8) 0	0	
127	42	
9) 0	0	
76	50	
10) 169.75	0	
169.75	0	
11) 0	331.44	286
507		
12) 254.03	384.63	278
479		
13) 0	0	
242	171	
14) 0	131.44	299
453		
15) 4.72	0	9
275		
16) 0	0	
181	105	
17) 0	0	
236	221	
18) 0	0	
156	242	
19) 0	349.75	272
500		
20) 0	0	
258	258	
21) 387.75	0	387.75
0		
22) 0	339.44	212
390		
23) 0	0	
125	0	
Totals 1334.71	2091.20	5063.50
5619.00		

Mark Johnson
Carteret CC

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 12:56:19 -0500
From: Laurie Richlovsky <lsrichlo@OLEMISS.EDU>
Subject: Neg Regs

Thanks to everyone who forwarded the footnotes for this topic. I've got more than enough material. Now stop, before I'm buried alive!

Laurie Richlovsky
Assistant Director, Financial Aid
267 Martindale
University, MS 38677
(662) 915-7175

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 12:52:05 -0500
From: Sharon Berry <shaberr@SIUE.EDU>
Subject: PJ on parents in college 00-01

I am interested in how many schools are planning to use PJ to include a parent in college for 00-01. If you are, can you share your criteria/policy with me? If you will not be using PJ, why have you made this decision?

Thanks in advance,
Sharon Berry
SIUE

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 13:21:22 -0500
From: Laurie Richlovsky <lsrichlo@OLEMISS.EDU>
Subject: Neg Regs

>Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 12:56:19 -0500
>To: finaid-l@lists.psu.edu
>From: lsrichlo@olemiss.edu
>Subject: Neg Regs
>

>Thanks to everyone who forwarded the footnotes for this topic. I've got more than enough material. Now stop, before I'm buried alive!

Laurie Richlovsky
Assistant Director, Financial Aid
267 Martindale
University, MS 38677
(662) 915-7175

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 14:21:58 -0400
From: Meg McGinness <mcginness_ma@MERCER.EDU>
Subject: Position Announcement: Atlanta, GA

(Cross-posted to SASFAA-L, FinAid-L, and GASFAA Listserv)

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF FINANCIAL AID
Mercer University, Atlanta Campus

Mercer University's Cecil B. Day (Atlanta) Campus serves a diverse population of approximately 2,000 students and offers a wide variety of graduate, undergraduate and professional programs.

The Associate DFA's duties include:

reviewing aid applications for prospective and enrolled students on the Atlanta Campus, including determining eligibility and packaging aid in compliance with federal, state and institutional regulations; monitoring student employment program; assisting Director in writing and

developing department's procedures and guidelines; corresponding with students, families, and outside agencies; coordinating reports for state and federal agencies; monitoring students' Satisfactory Academic Progress; and processing electronic data for federal reporting needs.

Associate Director must be able to conduct presentations (entrance, exit, etc.) for current and prospective students, must be available for phone calls and walk-in traffic, and must have the ability to represent the office in Director's absence.

Qualifications:

Requires Bachelor's degree. 1-3 three years financial aid experience including demonstrated experience with automated financial aid delivery systems (FAMS/PARS/SIS) highly desirable. Candidate must be able to work independently with a clear understanding of priorities and deadlines. Must be an excellent communicator, detail oriented, self-motivated, and possess a high degree of flexibility and decision-making capabilities.

Position hours: 9:30a-6:00p M-Th; 8:30a-4:30p Fridays.

If interested, please forward resume and cover letter to:

Mercer University, Cecil B. Day Campus
Office of Human Resources
3001 Mercer University Dr.
Atlanta, GA 30341

EOE/AA/DA

Meg McGinness
Director of Financial Aid, Atlanta
Mercer University, Cecil B. Day (Atlanta) Campus

e-mail: McGinness_MA@mercer.edu
phone: (770) 986-3134
fax: (770) 986-3135

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 14:38:17 EST
From: Bob Quinn <req1@PSU.EDU>
Subject: "Out of Office" Autoreplies

Dear FINAID-L,

Just a reminder for you. When you leave the office for any length of time, and choose to use the Autoreply function of your email package to respond to your incoming email, please turn off your FINAID-L subscription. Failure to do so

typically causes your email client to respond with your Autoreply to every individual who posts to FINAID-L. Our standard procedure is to suspend subscriptions of individuals whose email is configured in this way, if we are made aware of the situation.

To suspend your FINAID-L mail, issue the following command to listserv@lists.psu.edu:

Set FINAID-L Nomail

Upon your return to the office, issue this command:

Set FINAID-L Mail

To unsubscribe, use this command:

Unsub FINAID-L

To re-subscribe, use this command:

Sub FINAID-L Your Name

If you have difficulties with any of the above procedures, this may indicate that you've had a change of email address since you first subscribed to FINAID-L. In that instance, please feel free to contact Pete Weiss or me via FINAID-L-Request@lists.psu.edu.

Thanks!

Bob Quinn
req1@psu.edu

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 13:56:04 -0500
From: Lee French <lee@DBU.EDU>
Subject: Verification Question

Finaiders-

I need help with a different situation:

There is a student that is married. She filed her taxes as head of = household because her husband refuses to file. He makes approximately = \$38,000. She only made \$5500. On the verification worksheet she marks = that he is a non-tax filer but lists untaxed income of \$38,000. Can she = file head of household if her husband refuses to file taxes? How would = you handle this situation??

Thanks!

Lee French
Dallas Baptist University

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 14:29:22 -0500
From: Robert Bode <rfb@NWC.EDU>
Subject: Re: Student Loan index, money and politics

Greetings, all,

The bill that passed the House on Tuesday dealt with SPECIAL ALLOWANCE payments to lenders, NOT with the student's interest rate as implied yesterday. The issue addressed in the legislation had to do with compensating lenders and makes sure that lenders in the FFEL program receive an adequate profit margin, not with how much the student actually has to pay on a FFELP loan.

The desire to change the index has to do with the differential between the rate at which banks borrow money to raise capital to make loans and the rate at which they lend it to students. When banks borrow on the financial markets, they borrow at a market rate. If their income is tied to an instrument like the 91-day Treasury bill which may not be as sensitive to fluctuations in the market, then there is a risk that the lender could end up borrowing capital at a rate near or exceeding the interest rate at which they loan money out.

I think we all recognize that for a FFEL lender to remain in the program, that lender needs to earn a profit. I also think that we are agreed that at least for now the competition between FFEL and DL has been good for everybody. (Do you think that Congress would have created a Performance Based Organization in ED if FFELP had died back in 1993? And judging by the modernization plans released by Mr. Woods and Co., we're all going to reap benefits from that change.)

So I say let the lenders and Congress work out what they need to do to keep the lenders in the FFEL program. And as for successful lobbying campaigns, all I have to say is:

Does anyone beside me remember during the Reagan and Bush administrations that

the debate was whether or not to dismantle the Department of Education? Has anyone else noticed that since the implementation of Direct Lending no one talks about getting rid of the Department of Education? That since 1993, all of the debate has been whether or not we should eliminate one of the two loan programs?

My Oh My! You talk about successful lobbying! : -)

Robert

Robert Bode
Northwestern College, St. Paul

The opinions, such as they are, contained in this message are strictly my own,
and not those of Northwestern College.

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 15:52:03 -0400
From: Jeanne Holmes <jholmes@SSRMC.ORG>
Subject: EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

----- Forwarded by Jeanne Holmes/Notessrmc on 10/21/99
03:54 PM -----

Jeanne Holmes
10/21/99 02:25 PM

To: VASFAA@listserve.cc.va.us
cc: VACRAO@WLU.edu
Subject: EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

Position: Director of Admissions & Financial Aid
Institution: Southside Regional Medical Center
Location: Petersburg, Virginia

Southside Regional Medical Center invites applications for the position of Director of Admissions and Financial Aid for its Professional Schools. Southside Regional Medical Center, a private, non-profit medical facility, is the parent organization of two professionally accredited Institutions of Higher Education - a three-year diploma School of Nursing and a two-year School of Radiation Sciences.

The Director of Admissions & Financial Aid reports to the Vice President/Professional Schools and manages all aspects of the school(s) admission and financial aid programs. Candidates must have extensive experience in financial aid in an academic setting, specifically as it relates to the Pell Grant and the FFEL Programs.

This position is responsible for the recruitment of qualified applicants to the school(s), through the advisement of students, parents and appropriate parties, and in overseeing the total application process. During the admissions recruitment season, overnight travel might be required. In addition, the candidate for this position must exhibit a consistent, helpful attitude of positive customer service and assistance to students, faculty, staff and other interested parties. Candidates must have demonstrated success in managing financial aid systems and experience in the strategic use of financial aid in recruitment and retention of students.

Southside Regional Medical Center is an EEO employer and offers a competitive compensation package commensurate with experience. Applicant should submit a letter of application and resume to:

Director, Human Resources
Southside Regional Medical Center
801 South Adams Street
Petersburg, Virginia 23803

Review of applications will begin immediately and the search will remain open until an appropriate candidate is identified.

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 16:07:56 -0400
From: David Smedley <DSmedley@VFMAC.EDU>
Subject: Re: Student Loan index, money and politics

I agree! But wouldn't have it have been better if a "Direct Loan" program, if it had to be created at all, would have been created without such a byzantine administrative structure such that the Department could have avoid

administrative costs of upwards of \$750 million dollars per year (as currently projected)? Public-private partnerships are the way to go, and if this had been done, it would have been a revolution - for government, the industry, and borrowers. There was no need for a separate processing system (CommonLine now proves this), and inducements could have been provided to lenders to get them to reduce rates like they do now. Everyone would have benefited and the back-and-forth political battle (which has cost everyone lots of money in wasted time, money, and resources) could have been avoided.

All you have to do is look at the how guaranty agencies do their work these days - my guaranty agency, the Pennsylvania Higher Education Assistance Agency (PHEAA), is the quintessential success story here.

The issue for me with Direct Loans is SERVICE: to SCHOOLS, to LENDERS, and to BORROWERS. I think that's what the PBO (with the quality management ideas

that are its underpinnings) is all about. For instance, if a change in interest rates had been effected in FFELP, if you worked primarily through an effective guaranty agency (like PHEAA) they would have done the leg work on changing the rates. The ridiculous aspect of Direct Loans is that it foists all of the legwork on schools, co-opting them into psuedo-computer programmers. Then, you call the LOC to get information from them and they

respond by saying that you can import such info through EDExpress. Whatever happened to good, old fashioned customer service? If you work through a reputable guaranty agency, you get the best of all worlds: schools get better service, lenders get better service, and so do borrowers. You can't quantify the value of this - or at least, you can value it enough IMHO.

David R. Smedley
Director of Financial Aid
Valley Forge Military Academy and College
1001 Eagle Road
Wayne, PA 19087-3695
Dsmedley@vfmac.edu

-----Original Message-----

From: Robert Bode [SMTP:rfb@NWC.EDU]
Sent: Thursday, October 21, 1999 15:29
To: FINAID-L@lists.psu.edu
Subject: Re: Student Loan index, money and politics

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My Oh My! You talk about successful lobbying! : -)

Robert

Robert Bode
Northwestern College, St. Paul

The opinions, such as they are, contained in this message are strictly my own, and not those of Northwestern College.

This message | Submissions
mailto:FINAID-L@lists.psu.edu
was sent via | Subscribe/unsubscribe
mailto:LISTSERV@lists.psu.edu
the FINAID-L | List owner (Bob Quinn) mailto:REQ1@psu.edu
mailing list | backup (Pete Weiss)
mailto:FINAID-L-REQUEST@lists.psu.edu
-----| <please use a significant SUBJECT: line for
FINAID-L msgs>

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 14:10:30 -0600
From: Johnathan Ortiz <jortiz@LVTL.CC.NM.US>
Subject: Name Change

As we are about to approach the year 2000, I would like to change the name of our office. Currently we are the OFFICE OF STUDENT FINANCIAL

ASSISTANCE. Any suggestions you have on a name change would be appreciated.

Johnathan

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 16:22:07 -0400
From: Ellie Barnett <ebarnett@MAIL.BLUEFIELD.EDU>
Subject: verification

I am trying to be as fair as possible to a student who's status has =
changed due to her mother's marriage after the FAFSA but before =
verification. As I understand it the Department indicates that we must =
update the number in family but is mute on what to do about the new =
step- parent's income. Also I believe that professional judgment should =
deal with the base tax year or the academic award year. Has anyone =
prorated the step-parent's income and used it. Or do you routinely use =
the income or exclude it.?

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 15:33:17 -0500
From: Walter O'Neill <WONeill@ROOSEVELT.EDU>
Subject: The LAW

Creda,

The "law" that I was referring to is the criterion stated in federal regulations [Sec.480(d)] regarding the independent student definition. This, reflected in the Student Aid Handbook (chapter 6, pg.107)/on the FAFSA [Step 2 questions 52-58/ and in the student Guide (page 5) points to the "law". The "spirit of the law" refers to the intent to have the primary responsible for a students education rest with the "family" as defined by the dependency status of the student. It is also closely related to the "unusual circumstances" provision stated in the authority of fa administrators to override these criterion. Just a note: in the Student aid Handbook (chapter 6, page 107, last sentence) it states, "Note that a student's living situation (that is, whether the student lives with his or her parents) does not affect the student's dependency status."

I have, after my most recent posting, received one or two comments that are slightly more open to the idea of going with the self-supporting concept. I'll be interested to see the final outcome - as you pointed out - this has been a subject many times before. I don't view it as a "divider" but more as a intellectually stimulating discussion that may not result in agreement other than to agree to disagree (which is ok). My request for opinion on the "other-side" was and is sincere and requested in the honest attempt to understand a view-point other than my own.

Thanks for your input.

walter

Walter JH O'Neill
Director of Financial Aid
Roosevelt University
430 South Michigan Avenue, Rm 128
Chicago, Illinois 60605
(312) 341-2090

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 15:58:16 -0500
From: Teresa Potts <tpotts@KCAI.EDU>
Subject: ferpa ???

Our Director of Student Life just informed me that in the =
re-authorization, regulations changed to allow the school to contact the =
parents of students if alcohol or drugs were involved. I am unable to =
find it.....Can someone point me in the right direction?

Thanks for your help.
Teresa Potts
tpotts@kcai.edu

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 14:03:24 MST
From: Miranda Hildebrand <gcu_miranda_ofa@HOTMAIL.COM>
Subject: SSCR

I would like to thank Celeste and all others that helped me with my SSCR
problem. I have been able to process my batch by excluding those problems
(this is just a test account), so I at least know that my process works.
However, I need to continue looking for a way to fix the error that says
"The student does not have any valid courses in any academic levels". If
anyone has any ideas, I would greatly appreciate it. Below, I have attached
the message Celeste wrote for any others who may have similar questions.

Thanks again!
-Miranda Hildebrand

>From: Celeste Millard <cmillard@whitworth.edu>
>To: 'Miranda Hildebrand' <gcu_miranda_ofa@hotmail.com>
>Subject: RE:
>Date: Wed, 20 Oct 1999 12:32:10 -0700
>
>Miranda,
>I recently had a conversation with the solution center on this report. I
>was told not to worry about these errors. Run SITE and correct the errors
>that occur in SITC then rerun SITE and check for any more errors. Make

any
>necessary corrections and run SITP. You must make sure to correct errors
>from SITE in your live data as well as in SITC or the errors will occur
>again next time you run your clearinghouse reports. If you have many
>errors
>after SITE it will pay to purge (SIPG) make your corrections in your live
>data and rerun SITX, SITE, SITP.
>
>I have gone back through the errors from SITX to make sure we have good
>data
>and made necessary changes.
>
>If this helps you please forward to the lists. If it is confusing please
>give me a call.

>
>
>M. Celeste Millard
>Associate Registrar
>Whitworth College
>Spokane, WA 99251
>Voice:(509) 777-4262 Fax:(509) 777-3296
>e-mail: cmillard@whitworth.edu

>
>
>-----Original Message-----
>From: Miranda Hildebrand [mailto:gcu_miranda_ofa@hotmail.com]
>Sent: Wednesday, October 20, 1999 11:08 AM
>To: FINAID-L@lists.psu.edu
>Cc: sttalk@datatel.com
>Subject:

>
>
>I need some help on the SSCR process when reporting to the Clearinghouse.
>We
>
>are currently on R13 and have the SSCR process working. We are going live
>with R16 in the middle of November so we are testing it now.
>
>When I run SITX I get a page of errors that say "The student does not have
>any valid courses in any academic levels". When I look these students up,
I
>notice that they are not registered for any hours. They did not withdraw
or
>drop, they were just never enrolled. These students should be reported
with
>a "L" status for less than half time. Has anyone ever experienced this
>before or have any ideas for me to try? I am on the financial aid side, so
>I
>
>am not familiar with the Academic Records screens so any help will be
>greatly appreciated.
>
>Please respond to the list because I have other people here in my office
>working on it who would like to see the response.

>
>TIA,
>Miranda
>
>
>

>Get Your Private, Free Email at <http://www.hotmail.com>
>-----
>To subscribe to or unsubscribe from sttalk send subscribe or
>unsubscribe sttalk in an email (body) to majordomo@datatel.com.
>Send _problems_ only to owner-sttalk@datatel.com.
>

Get Your Private, Free Email at <http://www.hotmail.com>

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 14:15:30 -0700
From: John Green <jgreen@NU.EDU>
Subject: Student eligibility

Hi,

I have been looking through the Federal Regulations trying to find supporting evidence, references and/or citations requiring financial aid recipients to enroll in classes (besides their allowed electives) needed to complete their active programs.

I would like to qualify an institutional policy.

Most of what I have found, the Sec. 668.32 Student eligibility-general and the Stafford Loan Application Borrower's Rights and Responsibilities section, doesn't mention it specifically.

Any ideas?

Thanks in advance,

John B. Green
Assistant Director, Financial Aid Office
National University

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 16:58:49 EDT
From: DiAne Woods <finaid_wbs@HOTMAIL.COM>
Subject: How to obtain membership

I have been trying to post questions on the List but they have been

unsuccessful. I have replaced the former financial aid person, but to my knowledge I am using the same e-mail address etc. Could you please assist me with my own e-mail address for the Washington Business School?

Thank you in advance.

DiAne Woods

Get Your Private, Free Email at <http://www.hotmail.com>

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 14:22:51 -0700
From: Addalou Davis <adavis@UOP.EDU>
Subject: Robert Bode's message

You are SO RIGHT ON!!

Also, Regan et.al. were going to kick grad students out of the subsidized =
GSL program for some weird reason and the SLS (Sleeze) Loan was created =
with no grace period, high interest, etc.

Addalou Davis, Director of Financial Aid
McGeorge School of Law (Univ. of the Pacific)
3200 Fifth Avenue
Sacramento, CA 95817
(916) 739-7158
Fax: (916) 739-7162
e-mail: adavis@uop.edu

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 15:17:22 -0600
From: Shawn Chipman <Shawn.Chipman@UCHSC.EDU>
Subject: dependency override--ramble, ramble

As far as self-supporting status being removed from the FAFSA a while back,
it has equal parts do with with its unwieldiness (unwieldiness is such an
unwieldy word). In the last year of S3 (Self-Supporting Status), the FAFSA
was asking for income information 6 YEARS prior! Do you remember the form?
It was practically a page long just for that one question! It also made
some
21 year old grad students, living at home, dependent; this missing piece is
often a lament today.

Certainly, it was also removed for political/policy reasons. But I still
believe it was the most fair method that has thus far existed to determine

in/dependence. And until otherwise figured out, PJ should remain much the way it is. And if that means different self-supporting statii at different schools, so be it.

And to answer the rhetorical question (I'm allowed, you know--most rules don't apply to me), somebody else paying for education becomes a perceived *right* rather than privilege when it is the government doing so. Because of the immense fiduciary responsibility the government holds for its constituents, it must bend over backwards to be more than fair (which, of course, is impossible). Thus, the difficulty in firing "dead weight" or having little choice in hiring an administrative assistant position because that applicant is "next on the list" or is an agency transfer.

Because it is a taxpayer's money being used and these are benefits for citizens and these taxpayers are citizens, then benefits become rights. At least in perception and maybe it is an honest perception.

But this discussion has brought me back to a pet discussion of mine and to answer the request for something better or easier (old finaid-l'ers, groan now. Newbies, sit in rapt attention):
Vouchers!

There.

I said it.

That's all I'll say on the matter.

No more about it this day.

Oh, the hell with it!

Benefits for citizens *should* be universally applied and the advantages redistributed through a revamped tax system (kind of a libertarian socialism). The wealthy parents would have already paid for that benefit through taxes (I emphasize *revamped*, but others should realize that, currently, 50% of federal tax revenues collected from individuals comes from 5-10% of the population) and poorer parents, paying less in taxes, would realize the benefit that would otherwise come from financial aid.

How in the world does it even approach fairness that an 18 year-old goes to work for 4 years, enters college at 22 and is dependent? Meanwhile, an 18 year-old enters the military for a 4 year committment, enters school at 22 and IS independent. Of the non-militaries I've known like this, a small minority continued to live with parents. Even if they do, what's the difference. Cheap, maybe even free, housing is available to military personnel. "Yes, but all the rules and regulations living there." Let me ask, how many of you (or better yet, YOUR teenager) would have enjoyed living at home at twenty-one (or better yet, want YOUR teenager to live at home at 21)? "My house, my rules!" Which student (military or non-military) had to worry about health insurance? Job security?

Three squares a day?

I am in total support of those willing to risk their LIFE for this country and am in total agreement with most, if not all, benefits granted them. But once placed alongside another citizen in the exact same environment/situation, the playing rules MUST be the same. Give the vet an additional education voucher for their service. Pay them better while in service. Discharge payment. Something else that is directly attributable to their service.

And what of marriage? So what. Now, it has always been the desire of government to encourage marriage, but we want to encourage 19 year-olds to marry so they can get more money for school?

Grad status? We have a health profession program that is being switched from bachelor's (prelim undergrad work done elsewhere) to professional degree this fall. That means, this year's first year student, taking the exact same

classes as last year's first year student, will be a 21 year-old independent

while last year's student was dependent. I don't look forward to explaining this one (oh yeah, I don't see students anymore).

But what can be done? "Did you get any money from your parents?"

"Uhhh, no??"

"Are you sure?"

"Wwelllll, yyyeahhh??"

"OK."

And what age is appropriate that parents should no longer be considered primarily responsible. Twenty-four seems like a stretch to me. Is this the same criteria used for food stamps? Why are these two forms of welfare restricted differently? Which one provides more social benefit? (We're just full of rhetoric, aren't we?)

Even so, I have heard plenty of 30 year olds mention that their parents pay tuition. Or how about the 24 year-old who received a new car, paid for by their parents, two years ago? Certainly, this is a sizable form of on-going support where the student wouldn't have that kind of expense to meet for years to come.

What I'm saying (somewhere along the way... are you still reading??) is that, while there are always exceptions, when the exceptions become the majority or near majority or the exceptions make more sense than the standard, it's time for new rules. And the fewer rules, the better. Solve it through economics rather than perceptions.

Shawn Chipman
University of Colorado
Health Sciences Center
shawn.chipman@uchsc.edu
(303) 315-5494 4200 E. 9th Ave, A088

(303) 315-3350 FAX Denver, CO 80262

"I don't know the key to success, but the key to failure is trying to please everybody."--Bill Cosby

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 17:42:17 -0400
From: Marilyn King <king@ACCESS.ETSU.EDU>
Subject: The Spirit or Letter of the Law and Independent Status

Let me start by saying I do not process, as a routine matter, =
dependency overrides for students that choose to live on their own, want =
to be independent, or are supporting themselves. After 23 years in this =
profession, I am as dedicated as ever in upholding the spirit and letter =
of the law. But I do want to join in on Walter's challenge for =
consideration of a different perspective.

Just as, some would say, we do not have many incentives to save money in =
this country, we seem to be moving in a negative direction regarding =
young adults' abilities to assume responsibility. While traditional =
philosophy has rested in the parent(s) responsibility to pay for the =
student's education, there do not appear to be many "traditional" =
characteristics of student financial aid applicants.

I have had back-to back appointments this afternoon with two dependent =
students, (both with step-parents). One student, a senior, earned =
\$7,200 in 1998, and the other, an honors student, earned \$9,800. One =
family has an AGI of \$60,000, the other is \$44,000. Both of these young =
men are respectfully requesting independent status. Why? They can =
produce documentation that they are paying their own rent (shared =
housing), utilities, groceries, car payments, and insurance. Probably =
the only benefits from the parents are the insurance benefits of their =
employers and presents on holidays. Yes, these students are hoping for =
Pell funds. Yes, I told them it would be an unsub instead. But I do so =
to some extent apologetically. I admire their energy and willingness to =
work. And yet, it is the working student that is saddled with =
significant debt, while the student making \$1,000 at summer camp with =
parents earning \$30,000 that will probably receive the Pell funds. Yes, =
reauthorization will protect more of the student's income in the f.c. =
calculation. Is it enough? I have nothing against the student earning =
a \$1,000 a year receiving a Pell grant. The dilemma is that it is very =
difficult to respond to the student that asks, "You mean I should quit =
my job and then I would qualify?" The unfortunate, truthful answer is =
all too often, yes.

Yes, I want the Title IV programs to ensure access to education.....but =
I sure wish I had a better answer to the formulas than 'that's how it =
is' if you are honorable and try to work hard.

Walter, you asked the question on a day when I just happened to be =
looking into your same looking glass.....to everyone that read through =
this mailing, thanks for your thoughts and contributions to the list! =

By the way, is it not amazing how many families still tell us the =
student hasn't been claimed in the last two years?! That changed in the =
Reauthorization of 19?? Sheriff Dave, name that tune!

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 17:49:09 -0400
From: Mary Piccioli <MPICC@SBU.EDU>
Subject: FA transcript requests

A colleague at an institution that does not subscribe to FINAID-L asked =
that I post this question:

Are there regulations (SFA or FERPA) that you may be aware of that would =
prohibit a financial aid office from letting another area of the
university=
know that students have made requests for financial aid transcripts be =
sent to another school?

Apparently in this situation, this graduate institution has had a number =
of requests for transcripts to be sent to a competing institution, and =
they're attempting to determine what is taking place.

Thank you.

Mary Piccioli
Director of Financial Aid
St. Bonaventure University

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 15:17:20 -0700
From: Addalou Davis <adavis@UOP.EDU>
Subject: Re: The Spirit or Letter of the Law and Independent Status

Marilyn: Back in the "old days" before all grad students became
independen=
t, I used to really get upset about the same thing as you with regard to =
students who work during the summer vs. those who backpacked in Europe. =
However, in those days, we had a minimum summer savings requirement =
(uniform methodology). This equalized the problem somewhat. With that =
gone, the lazy dog gets the BIG bone and the energetic students are now =
get nothing.

I have been complaining for YEARS that we need to bring back at least some
=
of the uniform methodology philosophies. And, in fact, before I package =
any institutional "free" money, my students are analyzed under the old =
uniform methodology formulas.

Need analysis is a thing of the past. Julie Arthur wrote a great article =
for the California Newsletter calling need analysis an eligibility =
calculation instead of a need analysis. I'd be happy to share a copy of =

her article with you.

Addalou Davis, Director of Financial Aid
McGeorge School of Law (Univ. of the Pacific)
3200 Fifth Avenue
Sacramento, CA 95817
(916) 739-7158
Fax: (916) 739-7162
e-mail: adavis@uop.edu

>>> Marilyn King <king@ACCESS.ETSU.EDU> 10/21 2:42 PM >>>

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to be independent, or are supporting themselves. After 23 years in this =
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Walter, you asked the question on a day when I just happened to be =3D looking into your same looking glass.....to everyone that read through =3D this mailing, thanks for your thoughts and contributions to the list! =
=3D
=3D20

By the way, is it not amazing how many families still tell us the =3D student hasn't been claimed in the last two years?! That changed in the =
=3D
Reauthorization of 19?? Sheriff Dave, name that tune!

This message | Submissions mailto:FINAID-L@lists.psu.edu=20
was sent via | Subscribe/unsubscribe mailto:LISTSERV@lists.psu.edu=20
the FINAID-L | List owner (Bob Quinn) mailto:REQ1@psu.edu=20
mailing list | backup (Pete Weiss)
mailto:FINAID-L-REQUEST@lists.psu.e=
du=20
-----| <please use a significant SUBJECT: line for FINAID-L =
msgs>

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 15:17:40 -0500
From: Lynn Heberling <lheberli@BARSTOW.CC.CA.US>
Subject: REFUND PROC. & DEFAULT APPEALS

Good Afternoon Everyone,

Some of you will probably get this message 2/3 times, depending on which lists you are connected to.

However, I have two problems. The Financial Aid Officer is looking for help.

1. Appeal Process. How many of you made the determination to stop registration for those students who have defaulted on a loan made at your school and what is your appeal process? We made an adjusted like this to our school for our accreditation or default prevention policy.

2. Refund Procedures. How many of you have come up with refund policies for next year's automatic returning of pell for first time students?

If any one out there has either or both, please forward copies to Barstow College, Financial Aid Office-Della King, 2700 Barstow Road,

Barstow CA 92311.

Your help is greatly appreciated and respected.

TIA

Lynn

Financial Aid Technician

Date: Thu, 21 Oct 1999 16:20:17 -0700

From: Leslie Wills <lwills@SFAI.EDU>

Subject: Job Available in San Francisco

> Hi List,

>

Below is a job announcement for the Associate Director of Financial Aid at the San Francisco Art Institute. The Art Institute is a private not-for-profit institute and enrolls about 800 students in BFA, Post-Baccalaureate, and MFA programs. Our office staff consists of 3 positions, the director, associate director and an assistant. We use Powerfaids financial aid software while our campus uses Datatel Colleague. We are in our 2nd year with the Direct Lending program, participate in Pell,

Seog, FWS, Cal Grant, and provide institutional need-based grants and merit scholarships. The office is, believe it or not, relatively low-key with a focus on providing excellent customer service to our students and other internal and external customers, and, of course, improving our use of technology.

> While you may email your cover letter and resume to me at

lwills@sfai.edu,

> please also mail hard copies to our Human Resources Department as

> instructed in the job announcement. I can email the job description to

> you upon request (too much data for Finaid-L).

>

Sincerely,

Leslie Wills

Director of Financial Aid

San Francisco Art Institute

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

Responsible for data management; fiscal control and reconciliation of student and financial aid accounts; maintenance of student and financial aid

program records; need analysis, awarding and verification activities and counseling students. Maintains a broad understanding of SFAI admissions and

enrollment policies and procedures. Supervises Financial Aid Assistant.

QUALIFICATIONS:

* BA or equivalent. Excellent interpersonal skills. Excellent administrative and organizational skills. Excellent oral and written

communication skills. 2 yrs. previous experience as a financial aid administrator preferred.

* Knowledge of federal, state (California preferred) and institutional methods of need analysis and financial aid awarding.

* Demonstrated ability to successfully implement and manage computerized data management and financial aid delivery systems. Successful

experience with the College Board's PowerFAIDS, Datatel's Colleague and the US Department of Education's Title IV WAN is highly preferred.

* Technical proficiency in the financial aid discipline and personal attributes appropriate to a staff management position. Ability to sensitively counsel student applicants and/or their families and communicate effectively and diplomatically with all constituencies.

* Closing Date: November 15, 1999 Job Description available in HR

Application may be obtained in Human Resources or submit resume with cover letter to:

SAN FRANCISCO ART INSTITUTE
ATTN: HUMAN RESOURCES
800 Chestnut Street
San Francisco, Ca. 94133
EEO/AA Posted: October 20, 1999

End of FINAID-L Digest - 20 Oct 1999 to 21 Oct 1999 (#1999-186)

RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: PMifsud@aol.com (PMifsud@aol.com [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:26-OCT-1999 21:51:17.00

SUBJECT: Henry Louis Gates on Africa

TO: MRSearsKLM@aol.com (MRSearsKLM@aol.com [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Subj: Henry Louis Gates on Africa

Date: 10/26/99 6:01:37 PM Eastern Daylight Time

From: Phillip LeBel

To: PMifsud@aol.com (PMifsud@aol.com)

I watched the Gates show, or at least the second part of it, last night, and was mostly disappointed. He seemed to have to wear the Harvard tee-shirt as a form of advertisement while he touched on some issues both banal and profound. The banality was in the tourism, feel-good side of things. I recall his interview on Charlie Rose in which he said that there would be no wild animals to reify the white western view of Africa, and then thought about what meaning should we attach to his going out on the catamaran to watch dolphins do their thing. But this aside, I found some other things that were troubling.

I have never heard any group in East Africa referred to as "Swahili", as though they were an ethnic or tribal grouping, and yet Gates used this term liberally in his tour of the East African coastal islands. In fact, despite the colonization of East Africa by the British and the Germans, who basically replaced the Omani Arab satrapies of the Ottoman sultanate in Istanbul in the 19th century, self-identity in East Africa has always been a complicated affair. It is also instructive to note that Nyrere spent much of his efforts in building a sense of Tanzanian national identity against the backdrop of African tribalism, Arab occupation, and European domination, and which I didn't see Gates address in this context, useful though it would have been.

What also was interesting was the gratuitous lumping of whites and Arabs in the context of Zanzibar history. Yes the British undoubtedly favored the Arabs when they took over Zanzibar in 1856, but they also encouraged the migration of Asians, both of which did exacerbate racial tensions. What Gates did not say was that the Brits came to Zanzibar to put an end to the slave trade, and this is why they put the Anglican cathedral right over the slave market. It was, after all, Wilberforce in the 1770's who was such a strong opponent of slavery that England largely backed off the trade and changed its foreign commercial missions to one of promoting international trade while at the same time taking measures to stop the slave trade.

Having said this, and having gone to Zanzibar in 1967, I did think that Gates provided some useful insight into the nature of complicated racial identity in East Africa. It was good to note the conversations with Africans who called themselves Arabs or Shirazi Persians, because it echoes the terrible history of slavery in which shame is so pervasive. That Gates did note the Arab role in participating in that slave trade was an important point, even though the Arab slave trade paled in comparison to the scale of the European trans-Atlantic slave trade.

When I was in Zanzibar in 1967, I bought a book, *Revolution in Zanzibar*, by John Okello. It is not well written, and he crafted it while serving a prison sentence for his role in the events of 1964. But it did state in fairly blunt language the rage that fellow Africans felt at the hands of the Omani Arabs - infanticide, polygamy, and other forms of slavery. That this occurred for centuries well prior to any European setting foot on Zanzibar is testimony to the universal capacity for human brutality. I was struck by all of this in walking about in the sharp air of 1967, when tourists were just beginning to be allowed to make visits again to Zanzibar. It also was the year when I bought a copy of the then freshly minted Arusha Declaration of Julius Nyerere, and at that time, Nyerere's position looked like the moral high ground. That his African socialism has been as bankrupt as the Arab slaving society that preceded it is a commentary on how raw and stark is the challenge of moving Africa forward again.

RECORD TYPE: FEDERAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: U09885@UICVM.UIC.EDU (U09885@UICVM.UIC.EDU [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:27-OCT-1999 17:08:26.00

SUBJECT: 990930 Remarks at Plenary Session of CNO Exec Panel

TO: DOSSDO@LISTSERV.UIC.EDU (DOSSDO@LISTSERV.UIC.EDU [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Thomas R. Pickering, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs
Abridged from Remarks at Plenary Session of the Chief of Naval
Operations (CNO) Executive Panel
September 30, 1999
Alexandria, Virginia

Russia, China, India and the United States

Today, the topic at hand is Russia, China and India -- where they are headed and how that will affect U.S. interests.

These are the right countries to discuss. Each is a major power, in transition. The paths these countries take will have tremendous impact not only on their regions, but throughout the world, including on the United States.

I'd like to begin by discussing Russia, since it remains most significant strategically.

- Still the only country with a nuclear arsenal capable of destroying the United States and under less than perfect control.
- Still a major power seeking a role on the world stage.
- Still in the process of adjusting to the disintegration of the USSR and of developing governmental and economic institutions.
- It will remain a country in transition for the foreseeable future.

Currently, there is a highly charged debate within the United States about who "lost" Russia. Secretary Albright definitively answered this query when she said, "The suggestion made by some that Russia is ours to lose is arrogant; the suggestion that Russia is lost is simply wrong."

What do I mean when I say Russia is not lost? Politically speaking, Russian democracy is holding so far, despite the obvious weaknesses in government institutions and the rapid rotation of prime ministers. The press remains free, if not free from influences. There are over 65,000 non-governmental organizations. As they develop, they will help to form a basis for Russian civil society.

Moreover, the presidential elections scheduled for 2000 would be the first democratic transition of power in Russian history, or let's say

in 1000 years -- a millennial landmark if ever there was one! That 1000 years says something about how far Russia has come, but also suggests why its transformation and transition is so rocky and difficult.

Russians are trying to forge a different future -- and it is probably also true to say that Russians have not yet agreed upon the kind of future that they want. As Secretary Albright said, "all we do know is that it will be uniquely Russian."

It is also important to keep in mind that Russia is an economic and political patchwork, with some parts of the country doing much better than others. While Moscow booms, other cities languish.

And different parts of the economy move at different paces -- industrial production has taken off in the wake of the devaluation (up 16 percent in August over one year ago) but overall growth will be flat for the year.

Cultural and demographic factors are also in play. The break-up of the Soviet system has been hardest on older people, while people under the age of 45, by and large, have no desire to return to the old system.

Change is generational and as the generations advance, a different mentality -- and a different future -- will emerge. Currently, however, views on what Russians want seem to vary greatly depending on what question is asked.

In a recent survey, three-fourths of those polled would reject "national socialism" as a choice for Russia's future and 57% would oppose communism. Nonetheless, the same survey showed that 41% would favor a return to one-party rule.

Meanwhile, the Russian economy is plagued by a double whammy from its history. The Soviet system did not produce a good work ethic, but did involve a high degree of corruption and created a strong survival instinct in older Russians. There are still traces in Russian society of the black market mentality, in which taking care of oneself was paramount and might also have meant cheating or hiding wealth.

From all this, it is evident that Russia is not lost but is in a tight spot.

Russians need to implement their legal code and build their embryonic institutions. Politically, leadership is unstable, which prolongs natural competition among vastly different political ideologies, from reformers to nationalists and communists, it delays reform, it makes decision-making slower, indeed glacial in some cases, and makes Russia harder for other countries to deal with, in some cases excruciating so.

That competition involves not only who comes to power, but what kind of country Russia will become. But remember, it is a democracy with a lively press and growing civil society. That makes it very different from China, for example.

Economically, there are some good signs among the many, highly publicized problems. Since the financial crisis one year ago, the ruble has been relatively stable, inflation has been kept under control, and capital flight, while still considerable, is lower than in previous years. The biggest economic problem for us is its impact on non-proliferation, a subject I'll deal with in greater detail.

What does Russia's present situation mean for the United States? In the current, uncertain situation, the United States must take advantage of issues ripe for progress.

First, we need to continue to work with Russia on arms control issues, such as a review of the ABM treaty, to permit a limited missile defense system and on START III, as well as continue our efforts to thwart proliferation of Russia's nuclear material and expertise.

Since 1992, our support has helped deactivate almost 5000 nuclear warheads in the former Soviet Union; to eliminate nuclear weapons from three former Soviet republics; to strengthen security of nuclear weapons and materials at more than 100 sites; and to purchase more than 60 tons of highly enriched uranium, in our agreement to buy 500 tons eventually.

Nonetheless, proliferation is a real concern, motivated in part by economic weakness and in part from the central government's lack of resources to devote to security of the nuclear complex.

Russia has a large stockpile of fissile material stored at numerous locations under conditions not always up to Western security standards. Weapons scientists are typically paid subsistence wages, when they get paid, making them possible recruitment targets.

Second, we need to encourage Russia's engagement, in helpful ways, in the international system. This is particularly applicable in Europe, where our mutual interests are keenest and where neuralgic trigger points lie. The OSCE, the NATO-Russia partnership, and cooperation in the Balkans give Russia a role, when it chooses to take advantage of that.

Strobe Talbott did an incredible job bringing the Russians along on Kosovo against all odds. That was a clear example that Russia could play a disruptive role, but chose not to, showing how much it is in U.S. interests to work with Russia when possible. Conversely, it is also in Russia's interest to work with us.

Thirdly, we need to continue our encouragement of Russia's internal reform. Political and economic reform is primarily Russia's job to do; we cannot do it for Russia. However, we can influence the process and we do have a vested interest in a more stable Russia, where democratic institutions are more developed, free market principles guide the economy, and the rule of law reinforces political freedom.

We need to work particularly with Congress on this. Currently,

Congress is proposing a 25-30% reduction in aid. I share the concern with everybody that we not subsidize corruption -- but we also have to keep U.S. interests in mind and seek, with Congress, ways to help foster Russia's democratic and free market experiment. The bulk of our aid has been through NGO's and in kind and does not go to the Government of Russia. What goes to the government are funds for cooperative threat reduction. It also makes no sense, for example, to fail to reduce and to make more secure nuclear weapons and nuclear materials, especially when we can ensure tight control over those funds.

Let me add another footnote on the assistance question -- the question of leadership. Russia's best and brightest are no longer joining the military, diplomatic or security services and those that do come in are not necessarily well-trained. Over the long haul, this could make relations with Russia more complex, and is a question I believe we need to think about, in tandem with our efforts to develop leadership in other professions.

In watching Russia's present from the perspective of its future impact on U.S. interests, we need to pay close attention to psychology. Grappling with an erosion of its superpower status is a tremendous blow to the Russian leadership and elite. It is in our interest to help Russia find a responsible role in the world so that it does not define its national interest as opposing whatever the U.S. supports.

We need to treat Russia respectfully or risk it finding unhelpful outlets to re-establish its pride and influence. At the same time, there is no need to be overly deferential or sycophantic to Russia at the expense of U.S. interests. For example, NATO enlargement was a good thing for the U.S. and it is right that we went ahead and are going ahead, despite Russian objections. And it was also the right thing to do to find a special role for Russia in the Permanent Joint Council, a partnership NATO developed with Russia two years ago.

You have asked me to consider Russia's future. In contrast to popular culture in 1999, I am not among those inclined to engage in predictions, so let me instead make some general observations. By sheer size and geography alone, Russia will remain a power with natural impact on its Asian, European and Middle Eastern neighbors, and its neighbors in the "near abroad," Central Asia, the Caucasus and the Baltics.

In considering the future of U.S.-Russia relations a couple of facts ought to pertain. Russians know they have less to fear from the West than from some of their other neighbors or from internal weaknesses. A partnership with us is in Russia's interest.

As for the U.S., our interests continue to lie in reducing the nuclear threat and proliferation, assisting the transition from communism to democracy, and engaging Russia as a partner, where possible, in the international system. We want to anchor it firmly there.

Turning now to China, it is important to be dispassionate and

analytical. Domestic debate is often reduced to extremes on either side of engagement or isolation. There is a long history, dating back to the late '40's. Domestic debate also tends to paint China as a major, emerging threat to the U.S. That is an overblown concern.

China is a powerful country with the potential to emerge as an even more significant power in several decades, but its likelihood of achieving super power status is low in our lifetimes.

We need to set aside our emotions and fears and look at China from the perspective of where our interests coincide and where they differ.

I would argue against both those who say we can win China over as a close friend and against those who insist that the future holds nothing but enmity.

Economically, politically and strategically, there are areas of mutual interest and areas of competing interest.

The key is to maximize areas of agreement. Clearly, the economic interests of both countries lie in engagement, even given disputes over such things as market access and intellectual property protection. We believe that it is important for China to enter the World Trade Organization as soon as possible, but only on the basis of a commercially viable agreement. The substance of an agreement, of course, is more important than the timing of China's entry. We are well aware that market opening and increased market access by U.S. firms will not occur as quickly as we might like given China's domestic concerns -- state-owned enterprise and banking reform. Still, I am confident that the course of reform on which China has embarked will continue to guide its economic policies.

On the strategic front, while we still have clear differences on many important issues, we have found several areas where we can cooperate with China. For example, we are working together on critical issues, such as peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula and in South Asia.

But problems remain. The most dangerous trigger point is Taiwan. We remain committed to a one-China policy, in the context of security and arms transfer provisions of the Taiwan Relations Act.

However, Lee's recent call for state-to-state relations may be a harbinger of future challenges.

Two factors pertain. The first is that after fifty years of separation following the 1949 retreat of the KMT Government to Taipei, the Chinese people on Taiwan have developed a distinct sense of identity. Secondly, Taiwan is now not only a prosperous market economy but a democracy. This is likely to make cross-Strait negotiations more difficult and also complicates the debate in the United States, particularly with the Congress.

We support democracy everywhere, and that includes in Taiwan. It may seem farfetched, but those in Taiwan who think that democracy is the

issue for the future for one China, should not be ignored.

By the same token, our primary interest lies in avoiding a military conflict in East Asia. We are adhering to the "one China" policy that has kept the region safe for 20 years, but clearly we need to consider how to make the old formulations functional in the new circumstances we will find ourselves in.

The implications for U.S. security posture in the Western Pacific are considerable, as was proven in early 1996, when we sent two aircraft carrier battle groups to waters near Taiwan to monitor what had been troubling Chinese missile deployments and other military moves in the Strait.

The implications for our diplomacy are also substantial, as can be seen from the recent concern that the remarks of Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui on "special state-to-state relations" between Taiwan and the PRC not result in a deterioration of the cross-Strait security situation. So far, in the present situation, we have been able to avoid that set of concerns.

A second security concern is in weapons of mass destruction. However, my feeling is that the threat envisioned by the Cox committee and others is beyond current reality, and likely future developments. China maintains a very limited nuclear arsenal estimated at approximately 20 ICBM's, far below our own capabilities. Their strategic doctrine is based upon a "no first use" approach, and their weapons are far from the menacing force aimed at us by the Soviet Union during the Cold War and beyond. While we certainly continue to press China strongly on non-proliferation issues, including alleged missile and WMD technology transfers, the threat China poses to the United State's own security is real, but also limited.

A third security issues lies in the fact that China's sheer size relative to its neighbors keeps the region on edge. The U.S. presence in the region has been a balancing factor, but there are indications that Japan is beginning to wonder if it ought to develop a more robust defense capability, given not only the fear of a resurgent China, but the more immediate concern about North Korea's missile and nuclear capability. Our presence provides a strong argument against deleterious developments.

A fourth security issue regards China's view of threats to it, internally and externally. China's own history and the break-up of the Soviet Union lead many Chinese to fear domestic unrest. Too often, China's answer is to crack down harshly.

Is China an emerging military threat to us and our friends and allies? This is a big question now frequently posed. Looking at the facts of today, you can certainly say China is modernizing and upgrading its military.

Is it fast becoming a military superpower set to challenge the United States' role in the world? No. Certainly not for the near term. And

future intentions and capabilities are not all that clear. Moreover maintaining a large military respective to its actual military needs -- and capabilities -- forces China to incur economic costs which actually impede economic development.

China is spending more, while trimming down its forces and trying to structure them more efficiently. No country followed lessons of Kosovo and Gulf War more closely than did China. It is not exporting revolution or directly threatening the security of neighboring countries. In fact, by any measure, it has little real military capability now -- and likely into the foreseeable future -- to project power credibly.

China is surrounded, however, by several strong and not always historically friendly neighbors -- including Russia, Japan, India, and Vietnam -- and this poses real security concerns for the leadership.

China would like to be able effectively to patrol and defend its maritime economic zone and territorial waters, for which it has made excessive claims.

It has unrealized claims to the reefs and islands of the South China Sea all the way down to the coast of Borneo. This is an obvious area of potential conflict over both resources and national pride.

Taiwan, an unresolved issue of the Chinese Civil War, is on PRC leaders' agenda as the last great unfinished task of national reunification, and therefore presents another kind of national security consideration.

In all these areas there are varying degrees of possible challenge to U.S. interests.

Relations with China are not always easy, but as with our relations with the former Soviet Union, dialogue is safer than silence, both in advancing common economic and strategic interests and in keeping disputes from erupting dangerously.

Our dialogue with China has a very strong political element, as we seek to foster the rule of law and encourage the extension of genuine and universal human rights and civil liberties. That will take time, but we will continue to do what we can to reinforce the internal demands for political progress.

We also are broadening our discussions with China to a wide range of geo-political concerns, such as the environment and oil. China is the third largest oil consumer in the world, and is going to become increasingly dependent on imports in the next century. China's increasing dependency on imported energy, oil and gas, and its interest in the free flow of oil, could lead to a closer convergence of views on the Persian Gulf, Russia, and even maybe the peace process.

To conclude with what the present suggests for the future, it is clear that China is not likely to be either our closest partner or the

greatest threat to our security in the next decades. Nor can we predict the pace of political change within China. That makes our goal with China clear: maximize areas of common interest and seek to contain disputes.

We must remain vigilant in protecting the vast array of U.S. interests from pressures to fixate on any one interest, while ignoring others. The pressure to reduce the relationship to a single issue comes from several corners, particularly from those who would reduce the issue to trade only, or non-proliferation and human rights only.

Our job is to ensure that all U.S. interests are included in the equation, from trade, human rights and civil society, to regional security and international cooperation, where possible. We have to deal with the whole orchestra, not just solos, even if the sound is at times dissonant.

The best way for the U.S. to protect its interests with China is to maintain a dialogue and encourage China's greater integration into the international system and maintain our national security strength.

Finally, let's consider India. India, like Russia and China, is a major regional power, as well as a country active on the world stage.

Throughout the Cold War, relations with India were difficult. Although a democracy, India aligned itself with the Soviet Union and emerged as a leader of the Non-aligned Movement, viewing international relations through a North-South prism.

Which is to say, it was often at odds with the U.S., despite the great American popular sentiment supportive of independence, democracy, and the alleviation of hunger, and fascinated with its culture.

The end of the Cold War presented an opportunity to forge the ties that our common commitment to democracy suggests is possible. In fact, India is one of the co-conveners of a conference on democracy in which the United States is also participating.

As we gauge what type of partner India might make, it is useful to consider first India's self-image. India sees itself as one of the world's great civilizations, with over 5,000 years of culture. It has just passed the 1 billion mark in population, and its population is projected to be greater than China's by about 2020.

Modern India sees itself as a country with high tech prowess, as the world's most populous democracy, as a country that has moved from starvation and hand-outs to being an exporter of food. As a country that produces more films than Hollywood, as a country that believes it merits a seat on the UN Security Council, and is due more respect and attention than it gets from the international community and the United States.

This helps explain why "getting the bomb" was considered by Indian decision-makers to be a good thing. The bomb, in many Indians' view,

says to the world, "Look at us, we are a country to contend with."

In contrast, India's political leaders rarely see their country in terms of Mother Theresa's suffering masses or as a country with one of the largest numbers of HIV infected people in the world, or a country where the bulk of the population is poor and illiterate.

In contrast, U.S. perceptions are too often limited to seeing only the weak sides of Indian society.

The U.S. interest in India spans strategic, economic, political and U.S. domestic arenas.

Strategically, India's nuclear testing is injurious to the United States not because India poses any direct, immediate threat to the United States but because it upends the international non-proliferation regime, and sets a terrible example for other countries and terrorist groups, some of whom could threaten the United States or its allies.

India's nuclear program also destabilizes the region and could trigger an arms race that none of them can afford, economically or socially. Finally, the nuclear program raises the chances of a mistake -- either in conflict with Pakistan over Kashmir or by miscalculation. U.S. officials have been very frank in explaining to the Indian government how very important -- and incredibly expensive -- nuclear safety and surety are.

Strobe Talbott has taken the lead in our dialogue with India on security issues. We have set four non-proliferation benchmarks for putting bilateral relations back on track.

- signing and ratifying the test ban treaty
- putting a moratorium on production of fissile material, pending conclusion of a Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty
- improving export controls on sensitive technologies
- strategic restraint, that is, reducing the risk that its nuclear capability will lead to a destabilized strategic environment in South Asia.

We are also encouraging Pakistan and India to seek a peaceful settlement of their dangerous conflict over Kashmir, as called for in the Lahore Declaration. This means beginning talks again and exercising restraint on both sides to promote that goal.

Economically, India is becoming important to the United States in a way many do not realize. Indian immigrants, and off-shore on-line operations in India, are increasingly important to the software industry. It is one of the countries whose educated people are helping to fill the gaps in our own workforce.

The population of Indian Americans is growing rapidly, as is their political clout. The Indian caucus on Capitol Hill now has over 100 members, while the Congressional Study Group on Germany has about 70.

India's high tech prowess, steady economic growth, and huge population suggest the potential for a growing U.S.-India trade relationship.

In fact, the U.S. is India's top trade and investment partner. Trade between the two grew 127 percent between 1991 and 1998. That relationship could develop far more, if and when India succeeds in moving further away from a command and control economy and parastatals and rids itself of the massive red tape that makes it a difficult place in which to do business.

There are some positive signs in this regard, including steps to open up the insurance and telecommunications industries to foreigners.

Two comparisons may help put the economic potential in perspective. Total U.S. trade with Singapore currently is greater than that with India, even though Singapore has just 3 million people to India's billion.

Secondly, India's middle class, by some measures, numbers as large as that in the U.S., even though the middle class comprises only about 10% of India's population.

Clearly, there is tremendous economic potential.

If security concerns and trade and investment stand out as obvious areas in which a closer relationship advances U.S. interests, the United States also has what might be called a "negative" impetus to closer relations.

South Asia is also a difficult area for global issues. From environmental degradation and narcotics production, to terrorism, proliferation, and trafficking in women and children, the region, by and large, is a cradle of the very problems most Americans are most worried about.

India is responding well to its increased dialogue with the United States, and we need to take advantage of that not just for traditional security and economic interests, but also to counter these new threats to, and concerns of, the American people.

In addition, change in India on these questions could spur change elsewhere in the region. It is the engine that moves South Asia.

Recognizing the potential for closer ties with India, and the increasing importance of India on the world stage in the next century, President Clinton has expressed a desire to travel there in 2000. That would be the first visit of a U.S. president in over 20 years.

Given India's size and power, it is remarkable that we have stayed on separate paths for so long. For both countries, our size and sense of unique cultural roles has produced a tendency to appear to be lecturing or hectoring to each other.

In our new dialogue with India, discussing issues cooperatively and

avoiding raising hackles gratuitously is part of the process of building better ties, but not the complete answer. The end of the Cold War and the natural expansion of mutual interests gives us a new opportunity.

To draw this to a conclusion, India, China and Russia are each in a state of transition internally, which we can affect but not determine.

Our best card to play is engagement. That not only boosts our interests in the short term and minimizes the risk of major confrontation, but in the longer term, increases the chances that each of these countries will satisfy its international ambitions within the international system.

You can see us doing that in many ways, from the NATO-Russia partnership, to WTO negotiations with China, and intensified talks with India and Pakistan.

Our success in bringing these countries into responsible behavior in the international system will be a major factor determining the degree of threat or partnership these countries offer in the next millennium.
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<center><H1>November 1, 1999</H1></center>

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

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<H3>TOP STORIES</H3>

Pentagon Cutting Guard, Reserve

>

(Washington Times)....Rowan Scarborough

The Pentagon is planning a new round of troop cuts for the Army National Guard and Reserve in the face of stiff resistance from Capitol Hill, part-time soldiers and within the Pentagon.

<p>

Navy Joins EgyptAir Search

(USA Today)....Alan Levin and Fred Bayles

Navy ships join the search Monday for debris and bodies in the cold Atlantic waters where EgyptAir Flight 990 disappeared with 217 people aboard.

<H3>DEFENSE DEPARTMENT</H3>

The New Space Race

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

...But aggressive "space control," as the military calls its quest for dominance in the sky, could backfire. "The military view is, it would be the neatest thing in the world to have a death ray in space," says one Space Command official. "But will deploying it lead to a war with somebody?"

<p>

Essential Command System At Risk For Y2K Failure

(Defense Week)....John Donnelly

The computer system used by the White House and top commanders to plan and execute major military missions has not proven ready for 2000, the Pentagon's inspector general said in a report released Friday.

<p>

Security-Check Backlog Is Subject Of Investigation

(USA Today)....Edward T. Pound

A House subcommittee headed by Rep. Christopher Shays, R-Conn., is launching an inquiry into how the Department of Defense allowed a backlog of security-clearance

rance investigations to grow out of control, reaching perhaps 700,000 cases.

<p>

4 Countries Purchase \$4B In U.S. Weapons

(USA Today)....Associated Press

The Pentagon has reached arms deals with Israel, Egypt, South Korea and Norway worth more than \$4 billion.

<p>

Reaction Mixed To Plan For Distributing Gas Masks

(Pacific Stars and Stripes)....Jeremy Kirk

Civilians say the U.S. military's decision to issue gas masks this month to all nonessential personnel doesn't come as a shock given the peninsula's politics, but the move may cause increased concern about chemical warfare.

<p>

Military Finds Times Have Gotten Tough In Kitchen-Waste-Recycling Business

(Washington Times)....Barbara J. Saffir

Garbage for sale. The military is trying to sell it -- more than one million pounds of cooked grease, bones, "edible garbage," and even spoiled meat.

<p>

U.S. Scurries To Erect Cyber-Defenses

(Los Angeles Times)....Bob Drogin

...The Pentagon has stepped up cyber-defense and is planning cyber-combat.

<p>

Pilots Honored

(USA Today)....Unattributed

Four Air Force fighter jets flew in a missing-man formation during an air show at Georgia's Moody Air Force Base, honoring two Navy pilots with the Blue Angels who died Thursday while preparing for the show.

<p>

**U.S. Investigators Visit No Gun Ri
**

**(Washington Post)....Unattributed
**

U.S. investigators visited the scene of an alleged mass killing of South Korean civilians by American soldiers in the early days of the Korean War.

<p>

**Problems Can Exist Years Before Fixes Implemented
**

**(Dayton Daily News)....Russell Carollo
**

...An 18-month Dayton Daily News examination found that the military's handling of the hydraulic failures on Sea Knight helicopters is typical of the way it handled numerous other mechanical failures in many types of aircraft: Problems dragged on until they became catastrophic.

<p>

**Family, Friends Grieve, Search For Answers
**

**(Dayton Daily News)....Russell Carollo
**

...In a written response, the safety center acknowledged that the stabilizer augmentor -- an electronic system that enables the pilot to better operate the plane's most critical flight control systems -- was never found.

<p>

**American Military Advisers Lend A Hand, But It's No Vietnam
**

**(Orlando Sentinel)....E.A. Torriero and Pedro Ruz Gutierrez
**

...The U.S.-led training here is one of several Pentagon missions to shore up Colombia's understaffed and under-equipped forces and to prepare them to fight more skillfully in their war against narco-guerrillas -- the protectors of Colombia's drug trade.

<p>

**Soldier Died For His Cause -- The Drug War
**

**(Orlando Sentinel)....Pedro Ruz Gutierrez
**

Army Capt. Jose Anthony Santiago Jr. often argued that the U.S. government could have resolved the drug war long ago if it had committed more resources.

<p>

**Report: Military Wary Of Waco Plan
**

**(Atlanta Journal-Constitution)....Mark England, Cox News
**

...After a bitter internal struggle, it scaled back its assistance to the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms as the agency prepared to raid the Branch Davidian compound, and during the siege it refused to sign off on the FBI's tear gas assault.

<p>

**Antibiotic Touted As Treatment For Gulf War Disease
**

**(Washington Times)....Joyce Howard Price
**

...For a long time, Dr. Nicolson's assertions that mycoplasma infections were a factor in some cases of Gulf war syndrome were largely ignored.

<H3>WHITE HOUSE</H3>

**Conflict Tops Clinton Meeting Agenda
**

**(Washington Post)....Steven Mufson
**

Russian Prime Minister and presidential candidate Vladimir Putin will meet President Clinton in Oslo Tuesday against a backdrop of heavy-handed Russian military action and mounting civilian casualties in Chechnya.

<H3>CONGRESS</H3>

**Stevens, Young Rebuke Shelton For Remarks On DoD Cut
**

**(Defense Daily)....Sheila Foote
**

The chairmen of the House and Senate Appropriations Committees, angered by the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff's testimony that an across-the-board federal spending cut would be "devastating" to the Pentagon, have sent a

letter to Army Gen. Henry Shelton emphasizing that the Republican Congress has been responsible for providing billions of extra dollars for defense.

<H3>RUSSIA</H3>

Russia Denies Targeting Civilians
>

(Washington Post)....Daniel Williams

Prime Minister Vladimir Putin acknowledged today there "might have been some mistakes" during Russia's relentless bombing of Chechnya, but dismissed the charge that Russian forces deliberately target civilians

<H3>ASIA</H3>

No Handover For Bin Laden

(USA Today)....Jack Kelley

The Taliban's supreme leader in Afghanistan, Mullah Mohammad Omar, assured indicted terrorist Osama bin Laden over the weekend that the Islamic army would not hand him over to the United States for trial as requested, the Taliban's foreign minister said Sunday.

<p>

North Korea Stockpiling Chemical Weapons, South Reports

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

South Korean intelligence officials have reported that North Korea has been stockpiling chemical and biological weapons.

<p>

East Timorese Celebrate In Their Newly Freed Capital

(New York Times)....Seth Mydans

East Timor began its rebirth on Sunday with a huge and solemn religious procession down the waterfront road where just hours before tanks had escorted the last departing Indonesian soldiers to their ships.

<p>

Indonesian General Vows Wide Army Role

(Washington Post)....Unattributed

Indonesia's influential security minister has reportedly said that the military will have a "much wider role" in the future under the country's new government.

<p>

Inquiry Says Army Killed Civilians In Aceh

(Washington Post)....Unattributed

A July attack by Indonesian soldiers on a village in Aceh province left 51 unarmed civilians dead, a government fact-finding team has announced.

<p>

Japanese Leader Seeks Greater Military Readiness

(Baltimore Sun)....Unattributed

Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi called yesterday for laws that would allow Japan's military to rapidly respond to outside aggression, a news agency reported.

<H3>MIDEAST</H3>

Iraqi Opposition Groups Meet In New York

(New York Times)....Christopher S. Wren

...But with the United States acting as midwife, more than 300 of their representatives converged on New York City over the weekend to try to forge a credible alternative to the present dictatorship in Baghdad.

<p>

**Saudi Bombing Suspect Questioned
**

**(Washington Post)....Unattributed
**

A top Saudi cabinet minister was quoted as saying that Saudi Arabia was still questioning a dissident extradited from the United States for suspected links to a 1996 bombing that killed 19 Americans.

BALKANS</H3>

**A Plan To Rebuild Danube Bridges Widens Gap On Aid To Serbs
**

**(New York Times)....Marlise Simons
**

Over strong American and British opposition, France and Germany are backing a European Union plan to aid Yugoslavia by building a temporary bridge over the Danube and clearing the wrecks of the bridges bombed by NATO earlier this year.

<p>

**U.N. Flies Clothing To Kosovo
**

**(Washington Post)....Associated Press
**

With concern rising over the lack of adequate shelter, the U.N. refugee agency flew tons of warm clothing into Kosovo today to help hundreds of thousands of people cope with the coming Balkan winter.

<p>

**Ignoring Scars, Milosevic Is Stubbornly Pressing On
**

**(New York Times)....Steven Erlanger
**

Slobodan Milosevic -- gray and remote, internationally isolated and politically unpopular, charged with war crimes, his army restless and its reservists outraged, his economy ruined and his factories bombed, his refineries and electricity system smashed and his sources of fuel unclear, his roads and railways holed and his bridges collapsed -- has not only survived the loss of Kosovo, but gained a second wind.

<H3>CIA</H3>

Double Trouble

(Newsweek)....Unattributed

A new CIA report says ex-CIA director John Deutch may have tampered with evidence in an inquiry into his misuse of classified files, sources say.

<H3>BUSINESS</H3>

DaimlerChrysler Aerospace Bars U.S.-Made Components

(Defense Week)....Tony Capaccio

DaimlerChrysler AGs aerospace group, one of Europe's top three defense contractors, said it won't buy parts made in the United States because it's too difficult to obtain export permits, making the supply unreliable.

<p>

McDonnell Douglas, Chinese Plead Not Guilty

(Los Angeles Times)....Reuters

McDonnell Douglas Corp. and a Chinese government-owned company pleaded not guilty to charges they conspired to divert sophisticated machine tools to the Chinese military in violation of U.S. export laws.

<p>

Target Raytheon

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

...Whispers learns that federal investigators are wrapping up a probe of Raytheon Co. for trying to sell a satellite communications system to the Pakistani military.

<p>

Lockheed Lowers 1999 Forecast; Two More Top Officials To Leave

(Wall Street Journal)....Jeff Cole

The future of Lockheed Martin Corp. and its chairman and chief executive, Vance Coffman, remains under a cloud, following the announcement that two more top executives are leaving and that next year's earnings could be less than half of the projection issued by the defense company Sept. 27.

<H3>OPINION</H3>

A Way Out Of Nuclear Stalemate

(Washington Post)....Stansfield Turner

The Senate's rejection of the test-ban treaty, whether you think it a good or bad thing, has had the good result of forcing us to reevaluate our approach to limiting and controlling nuclear weapons.

<p>

Gaps, Real And Imagined

(Washington Times)....Mackubin Thomas Owens

...Concern about this alleged gap has evolved into a staple of recent debate over the status of civil-military relations in the post-Cold War era.

<p>

Bombs Away -- From Puerto Rico

>

(Washington Post)....Manuel Rodriguez-Orellana

...The Navy's inaction displays the lack of moral authority of its unwanted presence in Vieques. If arrests take place, public opinion will force the Navy to leave even sooner.

<p>

U.S. Out Of Panama -- (Letter)

>

(Washington Post)....R.A. McSeveney

...The Department of Defense has met all requirements of the 1977 Panama Canal Treaty and cares for installations overseas using the same management tools, diligence and seriousness used for installations at home.

<p>

Article An Unfair Shot At Anthrax Vaccinations -- (Letter)

(Washington Times)....Dr. Kevin C. Kiley

...Our program is not troubled with delays or supply problems, despite concerns of the General Accounting Office. We are managing our stockpiles carefully, anticipating the new production lots to be approved soon, and we are continuing in Phase I implementation and are on track.

<H3>EDITORIAL</H3>

An Island Bombing Range

(New York Times)....Editorial

A presidential panel created by Defense Secretary William Cohen recommended earlier this month that the Navy cease all training activities on the island of Vieques near Puerto Rico in five years.

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<P>Washington Times

November 1, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Pentagon Cutting Guard, Reserve</P>

<P>By Rowan Scarborough, The Washington Times</P>

<P> The Pentagon is planning a new round of troop cuts for the Army National Guard and Reserve in the face of stiff resistance from Capitol Hill, part-time soldiers and within the Pentagon.</P>

<P> The proposed move is politically risky for the Pentagon. A number of lawmakers have warned the military against further shrinking of the 550,000-member Guard and Reserve force, a powerful voting bloc back home.</P>

<P> Internal documents show the Army is weighing cuts of 12,500 troops from the Guard and 5,000 from the Reserves, shifting the \$908 million in savings to modernizing aging equipment. A final decision is due in December for inclusion in President Clinton's fiscal 2001 budget. A congressional aide said there is a chance the Defense Department could minimize the cuts and find savings elsewhere.</P>

<P> Advocates for Army Guard and Reserves, whose ranks already have been slashed 23 percent and 36 percent, respectively, since 1989, are fighting the reductions in a letter-writing and lobbying campaign.</P>

<P> The advocates say the battle has been lost inside the Pentagon. They hope to reverse the move when the Army presents the 2001 budget to Congress next year.</P>

<P> "I was there when all these decisions were made," said Jay Spiegel, former deputy assistant Army secretary for force management, manpower and resources.</P>

<P> "You can say I got the T-shirt," said Mr. Spiegel, now executive director of the Reserve Officers Association of the United States. "Well, the T-shirt doesn't fit anymore."</P>

<P> The pending cuts are based on mandates in the 1997 Quadrennial Defense Review, a Pentagon paper setting strategy and the force structure to carry it out.</P>

<P> Mr. Spiegel argues that the QDR's numbers are now outdated. The report was based, he said, on a short deployment in Bosnia and before the ongoing Kosovo peacekeeping effort. American troops have been in Bosnia since 1995 and are projected to be there at least another three years.</P>

<P> Guard and Reserve forces are being called on to support missions in both places. Mr. Spiegel said the Pentagon should delay action until the next QDR in 2001.</P>

<P> "Even though the operational tempo has gone up dramatically, they are still talking about cutting," he said. "If we keep cutting available pools of people that can go, I think we'll have recruiting, retention and employer-support problems. But in the absence of congressional or some other intervention, it will happen."</P>

<P> Indeed, the proposed new cuts come at the same time that "weekend warriors" of all branches are busier than ever, due to Mr. Clinton's policy of injecting U.S. troops into foreign disputes. Ten years ago, Guard and Reserve forces performed 1 million "man-days" of service annually. Today, they are used at 13 times that rate.</P>

<P> The Army is now finishing up its five-year budget and has penciled in the cuts pending final approval from Defense Secretary William S. Cohen.</P>

<P> The QDR mandates a reduction of 45,000 Guardsmen and Reserves. The Army eliminated the first 20,000 in last year's and this year's budgets.</P>

<P> To erase more slots, the Army would trim 12,500 Guard members and 5,000 Reservists, deferring a decision on eliminating the last 7,500 troops, according to internal documents.</P>

<P> The cuts would amount to 3.5 percent of 350,000 Guard troops and 2.5 percent of 205,000 Army Reservists.</P>

<P> The pending move is not sitting well with a number of Republican and Democratic lawmakers, whose voting constituencies include Reservists and their families. One aide sent a warning to Gen. Eric Shinseki, the Army chief of staff.</P>

<P> "Shinseki needs to weigh this carefully, because there is a lot at stake

e," the congressional staffer said. "The Reserve components have a huge followi
ng on the Hill."

Others are also applying pressure.

"A reduction of this magnitude significantly degrades the Army's abilit
y to execute the national military strategy," say Mr. Spiegel; retired Maj. Gen
. Richard C. Alexander, executive director of the National Guard Association of
the United States; and retired Gen. Gordon R. Sullivan, a former Army chief of
staff and president of the Association of the United States Army.

"Indeed, in May you told the Senate that unless the services had additi
onal manpower, they would have difficulty carrying out their varied post-Cold W
ar missions," they said in their Aug. 9 letter to Mr. Cohen. "We agree. The QDR
97 never envisioned the current number of operational missions. . . . The ling
ering discussion about reductions has a negative effect on the citizen-soldiers
who so proudly serve their nation."

Mr. Cohen replied Oct. 21, saying no final decision has been made. He a
dded that the Army already has programmed personnel savings "to Army modernizat
ion to buy the equipment for new Army National Guard and U.S. Army Reserve comb
at support and combat service support units vital to the Army's ability to cond
uct its wartime missions."

The Pentagon's reliance on reserve forces was underscored last week whe
n it announced future forces for Bosnian peacekeeping. Three National Guard div
isions will command the operation over the next three years.

Thirty-one House Republicans and Democrats wrote to Mr. Cohen in August
, registering "our strong objections" to the proposed 25,000-troop decrease.

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<P>USA Today

November 1, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Navy Joins EgyptAir Search</P>

<P>By Alan Levin and Fred Bayles, USA Today</P>

<P> Navy ships join the search Monday for debris and bodies in the cold Atlantic waters where EgyptAir Flight 990 disappeared with 217 people aboard. </P>

<P> Parts of seats, a couple of partly inflated life rafts, one body, some clothing and a passport were the meager yield from a full day's search after the Boeing 767-300ER plunged into the ocean early Sunday. </P>

<P> There was little hope that anyone would survive in the 58-degree, 250-foot-deep water 60 miles south of Nantucket. </P>

<P> The specially equipped USS Grapple is expected to join the search late Monday. Among its targets are the jet's voice and flight data recorders, which could yield clues to the cause of the crash. The ship also was used in the search for TWA Flight 800, which disappeared under similar circumstances three years ago. (Other air disasters) </P>

<P> The aircraft, en route from New York to Cairo, Egypt, began "a very rapid descent" at 1:50 a.m. ET Sunday, said James Hall, chairman of the National Transportation Safety Board. Radar showed that the wide-body jet plummeted from 33,000 feet to 19,100 feet in 36 seconds, a descent far steeper than normal. It disappeared from radar at 1:52 a.m. (Crash graphic) </P>

<P> Aboard the jet were 18 airline employees and 199 passengers, nearly two-thirds of them American. Debris was scattered over a 36-square-mile area where Coast Guard vessels searched. </P>

<P> Officials set up centers in Los Angeles, New York and Cairo to care for passengers' relatives and friends. In Cairo, a man in his 60s found a familiar name on a list and collapsed into a chair, crying, "My son, my son." </P>

<P> Hall cautioned against speculation on the cause of the crash because investigators had so little to go on. </P>

<P> The crash occurred in international waters, but Egyptian officials requested that the NTSB lead the investigation. </P>

<P> "I want to assure all Americans, all Egyptians and, indeed, everyone around the world that we will devote all the necessary resources to find out what caused this aircraft to crash," Hall said.</P>

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<P>U.S. News & World Report

November 8, 1999

Pg. 30</P>

</P>The New Space Race</P>

The Pentagon envisions a war in the heavens, but can it defend the ultimate high ground?

By Richard J. Newman

The war was not going well. Serbian forces were sowing terror across Kosovo. NATO pilots squinting through clouds could do little to stop them. Errant NATO bombs had killed dozens of civilians and shaken support for the alliance. Then the Pentagon saw it had another problem. A Colorado outfit called Space Imaging was about to launch a picture-taking satellite with clarity nearly as good as that of U.S. spy satellites. The company could have sold photos of NATO air bases or troop encampments to, say, Serbian operatives. That had to be stopped. But how?

The brass canvassed its experts for recommendations. The U.S.-licensed firm could simply be ordered not to take pictures over a broad swath of Europe. A similar ban could be issued for a few key areas, such as northern Albania. In the end, however, no order was issued. "We got lucky," says a U.S. official: A malfunction sent Space Imaging's satellite plunging into the Pacific Ocean 30 minutes after it lifted off on April 27.

Fortune may not be so kind next time. Space Imaging launched another satellite in September and plans to start selling pictures from it in January. Several other companies are right behind it. Before too long, an international bazaar for high-quality satellite imagery will be open for business. And potential foes are making headway with their own satellite capabilities. "There's a new proliferation [of space-based capabilities]," says Gen. Richard Myers, head of the Pentagon's U.S. Space Command in Colorado Springs, Colo. "Plus, our Cold War-era capabilities have atrophied."

That's pushing the Pentagon into a whole new kind of warfare. In the future, the U.S. military will be responsible for "countering . . . space systems and services used for hostile purposes," says a Pentagon space policy paper published in July. That's a nice way of saying the Pentagon needs to be prepared to defend the ultimate high ground by attacking hostile satellites. The new policy also directs the Space Command to start developing tactics and doctrine for conducting warfare in the heavens. It must also come up with plans for deploying space-based lasers or other weapons that could be used against targets anywhere on Earth or above it. If the United States ultimately deploys such weaponry, not only would it break one of the great taboos of the past 40 years, but it could also transform the way America structures its military and fights wars.

But aggressive "space control," as the military calls its quest for dominance in the sky, could backfire. "The military view is, it would be the neatest thing in the world to have a death ray in space," says one Space Command official. "But will deploying it lead to a war with somebody?"

<P> Very possibly, some critics say. Virginia Democrat Charles Robb, a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, argued in a recent article that developing space weapons would be "a mistake of historic proportions" that would trigger an arms race in space. He foresees scenarios in which other nations follow the U.S. example and scramble to launch their own space weapons while frantic generals, unable to tell exactly who has put what into orbit, plead for extravagant countermeasures. In Pentagon war games, just trying to defend U.S. satellites causes problems. "If you defend the satellite, you often widen the war," says Sam Gardiner, a retired Air Force colonel and war-gaming expert. "The thing ends up being the problem and not the solution."</P>

<P> Tempting targets. Still, the Pentagon may have no choice but to fight in space. Some military analysts believe that with U.S. companies likely to invest \$500 billion in space by 2010, the military will be called upon to defend American interests in space much as navies were formed to protect sea commerce in the 1700s. "U.S. interests and investments in space must be fully protected to ensure our nation's freedom of action in space," reads Space Command's Long Range Plan. And intelligence reports show that attacking U.S. space systems may be an irresistible option for potential foes who could never match the United States tank for tank or jet for jet. That's partly because of the Pentagon's huge dependence on space during military operations. During the war against Serbia, the Pentagon's global-positioning constellation was essential for guiding precision bombs to their targets in bad weather. Spy satellites monitored Serbian troop movements and intercepted conversations among top Serbian officials. A system of satellites designed to pick up missile launches tracked the exact impact point of thousands of NATO bombs, helping to determine whether they fell where they were supposed to.</P>

<P> The overmatched Serbs had little recourse against U.S. space systems. But the Pentagon expects tougher challenges down the road. A classified 1997 study found that the military's nearly total dependence on space today, combined with new threats, should make protecting satellites a much higher priority than during the Cold War. Last winter shortly before the Kosovo war the Space Command stopped publishing information on the whereabouts of the 27 satellites that make up the Global-Positioning System (GPS), which up till then had been posted on a NASA Internet site. "It is incumbent on us," said a memo explaining the decision, "to ensure [that] space assets essential to our nation's defense are protected from potential adversaries."</P>

<P> One problem is that many U.S. satellites lack basic self-defense measures like those that are integral to warplanes. Except for some highly classified spy systems, most satellites can't tell if they are tracked or targeted by ground radar, illuminated by a laser beam, or even attacked outright. The Air Force is developing some technologies that would identify threats and develop targeting data. But such self-defense options add extra weight, which can make launch costs prohibitively high. </P>

<P> Until recently, there was little apparent need to defend satellites. Th

e Soviet Union developed antisatellite weapons as early as the 1970s, but "an attack on satellites was like an act of nuclear war," says Allen Thomson, a retired CIA analyst who tracks space issues. "The government felt nobody would do this."

Not anymore. A 1998 Pentagon report says China may already have lasers or other devices that can blind the optical sensors on U.S. spy satellites. India is trying to buy antisatellite lasers from Russia, according to a study by the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, a think tank in Cambridge, Mass. New ballistic missiles being developed by Iran and North Korea are also a threat. Using those to disperse something as simple as buckshot into low Earth orbit, which ranges up to about 1,500 miles above Earth, where reconnaissance satellites operate could create a series of space pileups, since even small objects can produce disastrous collisions at orbital speeds of 17,000 miles per hour. Space watchers even worry that a maverick dictator might strap a crude nuclear device to a rocket and explode it in space. Such a blast would be harmless to people on Earth, but the Pentagon estimates that at the proper altitude the radiation could fry every satellite in low Earth orbit.

And an enemy wouldn't have to actually go to space to kill a satellite. Computer hackers could interrupt signals sent between satellites and their ground operators. Commandos could attack ground stations that serve as control centers or relay points for data, some of which aren't even manned. Security is even lower at operations centers for private satellite companies such as Iridium, which the Pentagon plans to use increasingly for much of its communications. "You could take out the whole Iridium constellation by taking down one building," an expert says.

Already, there's a sort of spy-versus-spy game going on in the skies. The Pentagon calls this "navigation warfare" or NavWar. The Pentagon plans to install GPS guidance kits on nearly 90,000 gravity bombs by 2008. The technology is critical for maneuvering ships or troops in unfamiliar terrain. American forces would be vulnerable without it. "Wiping out our GPS system, that would be a critical advantage [for an enemy]," says a defense official. "We'd come crashing down, while they'd be about the same."

Potential foes have noticed. The Pentagon believes the Chinese may be able to completely interdict the GPS signal within 10 years. A Russian company has developed handheld GPS jammers with an advertised range of about 150 miles. At one Moscow arms show, according to intelligence officials, the Russian firm displayed a map of Iraq that showed how many jammers it would take to block the GPS signal throughout the country and, theoretically, confound U.S. weapons. The Pentagon is working on ways to strengthen the GPS signal or at least the part of it the U.S. military uses. That would force an enemy to field bigger jammers that would be easier to target and destroy.

Scud sharpshooters. Pentagon researchers are also puzzling over how to prevent an enemy from using GPS to make its own weapons more accurate while still providing the signal to U.S. forces likely to be fighting them right a

cross the front lines. Since GPS travels like radio waves, it is available to anybody with a receiver. That means countries such as North Korea, Iraq, and Iran could strap cheap GPS guidance kits onto clumsy weapons like Scud missiles and suddenly be able to deliver them to within 50 or 100 feet of a target. "Precision [weapons] in the hands of others is going to drive us crazy," predicts retired Air Force Maj. Gen. Bill Jones. Classified NavWar tactics being developed include "spoofing" the GPS signal by sending out a corrupted version that appears to be the real thing, or blocking the GPS signal over a limited area, perhaps by using jammers loaded onto unmanned aircraft. </P>

<P> Even American spy satellites for years the crown jewels of the U.S. intelligence system are becoming less effective as the rest of the world becomes more space-savvy. Technologically, U.S. capabilities remain the world's best. Reconnaissance satellites 500 miles high are thought to be able to distinguish objects on the ground as small as 6 inches wide. Others use radar to take pictures through clouds and camouflage. But some newcomers are beginning to match U.S. capabilities. The Canadian Space Agency plans to launch a radar satellite in 2001 that will be nearly as capable as the Pentagon's Lacrosse spy satellite. And those under surveillance have learned how to evade the American eye in the sky by studying U.S. tactics and developing ways to track the satellites. When Indian officials were getting ready to explode a nuclear bomb last year, for instance, they predicted when U.S. satellites would be passing overhead and moved workers indoors during those times. They also created a diversion by setting up a test of an air-defense missile system several hundred miles away, guessing correctly that U.S. analysts would cue the satellites to zoom in on that. When the nuclear test occurred, critics called it the biggest intelligence failure in years. </P>

<P> Intelligence officials say part of the problem is that the spy satellites in orbit now were designed to take periodic peeks at Soviet military installations not to offer unblinking surveillance capability over far corners of the globe where the United States typically finds itself monitoring crises these days. The next generation of sky spies, due to be launched around 2005, will be smaller and more numerous. Instead of the five or six spy satellites believed to be in orbit now, there could be two dozen or more. That will increase "revisit times" over a given area, leaving fewer gaps for conducting surreptitious activity. Thomson, the retired CIA analyst, points to some satellites that have mysteriously disappeared over the past decade as evidence that the United States has developed stealthy satellites and techniques for "storing" satellites in deep orbits where they are hard to detect, then maneuvering them close to Earth as needed. </P>

<P> But with India, China, Russia, and many private companies rapidly crowding into space, keeping the U.S. edge will require more than technological superiority. That's why the Pentagon is tiptoeing down the path toward space warfare. In a report prepared for Congress this summer, the Pentagon gave a few clues about what it has in mind. "Physical destruction of [enemy] satellites is not the preferred approach," says the report. That's not because the Pentagon can't do it; when the Army test-fired a laser at an aging Air Force satellite in 1997, it inflicted significant damage. But blowing up a satellite would unleash debris that could damage U.S. space systems. The Pentagon report stated that "we

must retain the option for irreversible denial" military jargon for smashing something to smithereens. But it also emphasized tactics like jamming and disrupting satellite signals as the best ways to carry out space control. </P>

<P> That's what's known as "soft kill." The approach has proved more effective than blowing stuff up. During the first weeks of the war against Serbia, NATO commanders became increasingly concerned about propaganda being broadcast on Yugoslav television. Finally, on April 23, NATO bombed Yugoslavia's main TV transmitting tower. But the Serbs made repairs and were broadcasting again within days. Then NATO tried another approach: It asked EUTELSAT, a European space consortium, to shut off the satellite service that sent the TV signal throughout Yugoslavia. That did the trick. </P>

<P> A real space standoff might not be so easy to resolve. The Army set up a war game last year, for instance, in which the United States fought a fictitious Middle Eastern country called the "New Islamic Republic." In the exercise, China provided satellite imagery of U.S. troop movements to the enemy. That left U.S. decision makers debating whether to try to knock out China's satellites almost certain to draw China into the war. Another complication was that the New Islamic Republic sent military communications over the same international satellites used by journalists to send their war stories back home. Deciding whether to attack those satellites, said Richard Armitage, a former top Pentagon official who played the role of commander in chief, was a matter of "how much of the world we want to piss off." In the end, he decided not that much. The best course, Armitage concluded, was to do nothing. </P>

<P> "Energy rods." As touchy as talk of space warfare may be, some still think the Pentagon isn't going far enough. A recent Senate report argued that instead of treating space merely as an "information medium," the Defense Department needs to start focusing on space as "the strategic high ground from which to project power." That means developing lasers or "kinetic energy rods" or other weapons that could be used to attack enemy spacecraft or missiles or even ground targets like bridges and buildings. The Pentagon has looked into the idea and the possibilities sound mesmerizing. A space-based military force "could deliver precisely calibrated effects, from taking a picture to dropping a precision munition, anywhere on Earth, in less than an hour from the 'go' order, with surprise and immunity to most defenses," according to a 1998 study by the Air Force's scientific advisory board. In one war game last year, the Air Force tested three types of forces: one armed mainly with space weapons and two more conventionally equipped against the same "enemy." The space force won the war in days, while the other outfits took months and required three times as many troops. </P>

<P> The Pentagon does have at least one space-based weapon in the works: the space-based laser, which could be carried on a space-shuttlelike vehicle. The laser's purpose would be to shoot down ballistic missiles like the Scud, but space experts say it could easily be reconfigured to attack other objects in space or on the ground. The space-based laser isn't due until at least 2020, however, and the Pentagon does not appear eager to court the controversy that would come from anything more ambitious. The Russians, for one, have already objected to

U.S. plans to field a national missile defense system. That would rely on satellites only to detect launches and relay data rapidly to ground stations not to fire any weapons. But the Russians argue that detection alone would violate the 1972 antiballistic missile treaty. The Clinton administration is seeking to modify the treaty and may withdraw from it if the Russians don't agree to a compromise.

Doves aloft? But some still say the Pentagon is, of all things, going soft on space. Sen. Bob Smith of New Hampshire, who chairs the Senate subcommittee on strategic forces, has threatened congressional action to establish a fifth military service a Space Force if the Air Force, which has responsibility for most of the Pentagon's orbiting systems, doesn't pursue space weapons more aggressively. Some critics argue that costly programs like the \$60 billion F-22 fighter jet are soaking up funds that could be spent more wisely on cutting-edge space programs, such as a proposed constellation to do full-time surveillance of key parts of the globe. Retired Gen. Howell Estes, who headed the Space Command until 1998, has argued that the Air Force should be much more aggressive in pursuing new satellites that would monitor missile launches far better than existing systems.

But the prospect of a space force puzzles some analysts. "What would it be?" wonders John Correll, editor of Air Force Magazine. "A kind of paramilitary NASA?" Air Force Secretary F. Whitten Peters defends the Air Force's space programs by pointing out that the service will double the proportion of money it spends on space over the next five years. And new satellites for detecting missile launches, he argues, have little value if there's no missile defense system for shooting them down. "Why do you want to put up a satellite before you need it?" he asks. Better computers, says Peters, are helping enhance the capabilities of existing satellites.

But after years of theoretical debate, many now believe it is inevitable that weapons will invade space. "It's a question of whether the threat is so compelling as to persuade a president to cross this line and put weapons in space," says Robert Bell, President Clinton's former special assistant for arms control. In the end, it may take a Pearl Harbor-like attack on a satellite to justify such a momentous move. But if that day arrives, the Pentagon may pull a few surprises of its own off the shelf.

If you build them, will they fly?

It seemed there was plenty of time to cut a deal last March when Société Européenne des Satellites, a Luxembourg-based communications company, contacted Hughes Space and Communications about buying a satellite. But SES didn't reckon on some stiff new U.S. export laws. The new rules forced Hughes to apply for a license from the State Department just to show its wares to SES. Even though Hughes had already sold the firm seven similar satellites. It was more than three months before Hughes finally got permission to start negotiating a deal less than a week before SES would have been forced to buy from a rival French or British manufacturer.

<P> Congress established the new rules last year to curtail the transfer of sensitive military technology to foreign nations. That problem surfaced amid revelations that Hughes and Loral may have helped China improve the reliability of its missiles and rockets. But Congress also extended the restrictions to commercial satellites, which must now undergo the same scrutiny as F-16 fighter jets and other weapons sold overseas. The red tape threatens the competitive edge held by U.S. firms, which control 65 percent of the world satellite market. "It provides a window of opportunity for those who want to challenge U.S. dominance," says John Logsdon of the Space Policy Institute at George Washington University.</P>

<P> Speed bumps. The old rules required a relatively routine sign-off from the Commerce Department to sell satellites overseas. The much stricter State Department standards which satellite makers have had to meet since last March require government approval every time a manufacturer wants to release information more detailed than a brochure to someone abroad, including customers, insurers, and the Chinese, French, and Russian outfits that launch satellites. The State Department's turnaround time about 90 days means that sometimes U.S. manufacturers can't meet the two- to four-week deadlines purchasers often set when soliciting bids. "This is a huge set of speed bumps," complains Tig Krekel, chief executive of Hughes.</P>

<P> Satellite purchasers agree. "The export controls are an overreaction to what happened with the Chinese," says Tony Trujillo, a spokesman for the Intel sat consortium, one of the world's largest buyers of commercial satellites. The satellite industry is lobbying for the State Department to commit to predictable deadlines for approving licenses, and for Congress to hike funding for the office that must assess 45,000 applications a year with 15 officers. The State Department hopes to double staffing for export controls but is also expecting a surge of satellite-related applications in the next two to three years. Satellite buyers may just have to learn a little patience.</P>

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<P>Defense Week

November 1, 1999

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<P>Essential Command System At Risk For Y2K Failure</P>

<P>By John Donnelly</P>

<P> The computer system used by the White House and top commanders to plan and execute major military missions has not proven ready for 2000, the Pentagon's inspector general said in a report released Friday. With two months until the new year, the audit raises important questions about the military's preparedness to deal with the prospect that crucial computers could malfunction when their internal calendars roll over to 2000.</P>

<P> At issue is the Joint Operational Planning and Execution System (JOPES), used in peacetime and war to manage personnel and equipment including theater-level nuclear-war plans, the new report said. JOPES is an "essential mission application" in the Global Command and Control System, the military's single, worldwide battle-management network.</P>

<P> "JOPES is the foundation of conventional command and control," ; the auditors wrote. "Therefore, it is a likely target for information-warfare attacks. It is imperative that the unified commands have complete operational contingency plans to allay the problems triggered by a JOPES failure caused by either Y2K-related problems or by information-warfare attacks." However, the report said, neither the Joint Staff nor commands in Europe, the Pacific, the Middle East and elsewhere have adequate contingency plans ready in the event the Y2K bug disables the JOPES system. The Joint Staff agreed and is formulating such a plan.</P>

<P> "Without complete operational contingency plans, the DOD ability to respond to military crises in a timely manner was reduced and there was increased risk that DoD will not have adequate alternative ways to quickly respond to combatant command requests for equipment and personnel," the report said .</P>

<P> The Pentagon has made great strides in tackling the Y2K bug. William Curtis, the Pentagons principal director for the Year 2000 program, said 99 percent of the militarys mission-critical systems are compliant. Moreover, given the new reports spotlight on the JOPES shortfalls, that system, too, will probably be made compliant, said Robert Lieberman, the assistant inspector general for auditing.</P>

<P> However, if the militarys worldwide battle-management network could pass muster while a core application is not compliant, it raises serious questions about how meaningful the positive compliance figures are, experts say. The inspector generals report begs the question: What else has fallen through the cracks?</P>

<P> Officials at the Defense Information Systems Agency, the Pentagons information-technology organization, think the report exaggerates the problem. Air Force Lt. Col. Intae Kim, the agencys chief engineer for the global command system, in a letter included in the report, said the problems "were well documented with work-arounds or fixes"</P>

<P> But Evelyn Klemstine, the inspector generals director of International Programs, says having a fallback option is not the same as certifying the system itself will work.</P>

<P> Klemstine also said JOPES was chosen for auditing because of its importance. In June, her team discovered that the militarys system for assessing the readiness of its personnel the Status of Resources and Training System was also inappropriately certified as fixed. Consequently, the earlier report found, "the services ability to report unit resources and training in a Y2K environment was not assured."</P>

<P> John Pike, a military expert with the Federation of American Scientists, expressed concern when told JOPES was not compliant.</P>

<P> "JOPES is the application they use to run wars," Pike said. "Its the core application for figuring out whos supposed to be where, when. Its the application they use to plan everything worth speaking of," from joint exercises to peacekeeping operations to nuclear strikes in Korea or the Middle East.</P>

<P> According to the Oct. 27 inspector general report, the Defense Information Systems Agency certified the overall global command system as compliant without proper testing of JOPES, perhaps the systems most important single application.</P>

<P> "Just because your computer works doesnt mean every application does," said Klemstine.</P>

<P> "They haven't fully tested the interfaces" between JOPES and several service systems that manage the deployment of forces, said Klemstine in an interview. "In addition, there is COTS [commercial-off-the-shelf] software in it that they know is not Y2K compliant"</P>

<P> What's more, she said, "Our biggest problem with JOPES and the [global command system] is they're keeping changing the configuration baseline." From one baseline to the next, 70 elements had been changed, she said. "How can you say it's Y2K-compliant when you have so many revisions to your baseline?"</P>

<P> Curtis, the Y2K director, said in an interview that configuration management is a major focus of the Pentagon's overall effort of late. The Joint Staff's fallback plan included use of the secret military Internet, secure faxes and phones.</P>

<P> But the plan "did not offer guidance on how to orchestrate operations" and didn't meet the criteria required for emergency plans, the report said.</P>

<P> As for the regional commands, the U.S. Central Command's plan "lacked the specific procedures to safeguard the joint operational planning function in the event of a Y2K-related disruption." Ditto for other commands. The U.S. Pacific Command plan "included using messengers with hand-carried information if all else fails."</P>

<P> Last July, Secretary of Defense William Cohen told reporters: "There is no question that on Jan. 1, 2000, and every day thereafter the Department of Defense is going to be ready." But in late September, the Senate's special Y2K committee was far more skeptical. Of the Pentagon's tardiness in fixing mission-critical systems, the panel said: "These late scheduled completion dates leave little to no time for schedule slippage or unforeseen events, which for [information-technology]-related projects are common."</P>

<P> The Senate panel's conclusion? The Pentagon is at "considerable risk" of not meeting the Jan. 1, 2000, deadline. Y2K boss Curtis had not seen the JOPES report. But he gave Defense Week the latest overall figures: Fewer than 50 mission-critical systems out of 2,414 still have to undergo "higher level testing" required exams that are more integrated and realistic than the system-by-system kind. The goal is to finish by Dec. 15, he said. Will that be enough time to solve problems? "The number of problems has been very small" in tests to date, he said, and mostly testers found a fix "pretty much on the spot."</P>

<P> Curtis said the Pentagon, which owns one-third of the government's compu

ter systems and operates 600 installations worldwide, wants to make New Years Day "the largest non-event in history."

Referring to JOPES, Lieberman, the assistant inspector general, said: "Its a big system with lots of users and a lot of importance in a mobilization scenario. Due to its importance to the warfighters, Im quite sure management will turn to and put some extra emphasis on making sure they do everything that needs to be done."

More broadly, though, Lieberman does not expect all critical systems to be adequately tested by Jan. 1. And he expects failures. The key question, he says, is: Does the military have proper contingency plans in place to deal with the problems in U.S. systems or, more likely, breakdowns in nations that host allied forces? The question is open and will remain so for some weeks, he said. But if, and only if, the military tackles the problem as robustly as it has to date, all will be well, he said.


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<P>USA Today

November 1, 1999

Pg. 18</P>

<P>Security-Check Backlog Is Subject Of Investigation</P>

Up to 700,000 cases await action; shoddy work feared in others

By Edward T. Pound, USA Today

WASHINGTON -- A House subcommittee headed by Rep. Christopher Shays, R-Conn., is launching an inquiry into how the Department of Defense allowed a backlog of security-clearance investigations to grow out of control, reaching perhaps 700,000 cases.

The probe comes as the General Accounting Office, a congressional watchdog agency, prepares to release a report critical of the Pentagon's program for conducting background investigations of applicants for security clearances.

Because of the poor quality of investigations and the backlog, the GAO says in a confidential draft of the report completed in October, "Hundreds of thousands of individuals can access classified information without assurances of their trust-worthiness and reliability."

In a statement, Shays disclosed his plans for a "preliminary inquiry" into the security program, which is managed by the Defense Security Service, a Pentagon agency. The review, will be made by the Government Reform subcommittee on national security, veterans' affairs and international relations, which Shays chairs.

He said the panel's staff will meet with officials of the security service and others with knowledge of the agency's problems. Those meetings, he said, "may lead to a complete oversight investigation, including hearings." Shays' staff has scheduled a meeting Friday with Charles Cunningham, director of the agency.

Though a small agency, the security service conducts all background investigations of Pentagon employees and defense-contractor personnel. The reviews are considered a critical step in ensuring that applicants for clearances can be trusted to handle classified information.

The security agency does about 120,000 comprehensive reviews each year. About 2.8 million people hold clearances, including military personnel, Pentagon civilians, and employees of defense contractors.

Cunningham, a retired Air Force general, took over the Defense Security Service in June after the Pentagon removed his predecessor, Steven Schanzer. During that period, USA TODAY disclosed how the backlog had grown and documented management problems. In an interview last week, Cunningham said he believed management

ent reforms, coupled with increased resources, would help solve the problem within two years.</P>

<P>Some government security experts remain skeptical. They point to a report issued in August by the Joint Security Commission, a panel of security and intelligence experts established by the CIA and Defense. The commission said it "would take several years" to clear the backlog.</P>

<P>The GAO will paint an equally bleak picture when it issues its final report this month. "There are no quick and easy solutions to these problems," the GAO says in the draft report, sent to the Pentagon in October for comment. "It may take several years before DOD can fully implement the needed corrective" actions.</P>

<P>Rep. Ike Skelton of Missouri, the top Democrat on the House Armed Services Committee, asked the GAO to review the quality of investigations after a Pentagon lawyer, Theresa Marie Squillacote, was arrested for spying for East Germany. She held a security clearance.</P>

<P>Although investigations "do not guarantee that individuals will not later engage in espionage activities," the GAO's draft says, "they remain a critical step in identifying those who can be trusted to access and safeguard classified" data.</P>

<P>The draft, obtained by USA TODAY, concludes that security investigations are "incomplete" and not done in timely fashion. The GAO randomly selected 530 investigations conducted by the Defense Security Service this past January and February. The cases involved top-secret clearances, a status that provides access to highly sensitive information.</P>

<P>The GAO found that 92%, or 489 cases, did not fully meet governmentwide investigative standards. The report says the security agency often did not verify applicants' employment, residency or educational histories. In some cases, it did not check local law-enforcement records for criminal histories, nor seek information on divorce or financial problems.</P>

<P>In 84 cases, 16% of those studied, GAO says the agency did not pursue leads on potentially serious issues. Those included criminal histories, serious sexual allegations, foreign ties, financial problems and drug use.</P>

<P>The backlog, 600,000 to 700,000 cases, consists of overdue "reinvestigations" of personnel due for updated reviews. The GAO says those inquiries are vital because spies historically have come from within agencies or contractors.</P>

<P>In the last 18 years, 64 Defense employees have been convicted of espionage. But, GAO says, "hundreds of other potential instances have been detected but have not resulted in convictions." In some cases, suspects defected or committed suicide.</P>

<P>Security findings</P>

<P> In addition to finding that 92% of investigations done recently by the Defense Security Service did not fully meet government-wide standards, the General Accounting Office has also found that:</P>

<P> *Top Pentagon officials failed to monitor the security agency's work. During 1996 and 1997, with no one looking over their shoulders, officials of the security agency relaxed investigative standards, eliminated supervisory reviews of investigations and provided "little training" for agents and case analysts. The changes were implemented under a plan to reinvent the agency, an idea aimed at cutting costs and improving services.</P>

<P> *Resources at the security agency have declined significantly. In 1991, there were 1,652 investigators. By 1998, there were 1,251. During the same period, the annual investigative budget dropped to \$142 million from \$176 million.</P>

<P> *The Defense Department spent \$100 million on an automated case-management system, which was supposed to improve case processing. Instead, the system repeatedly broke down.</P>

<P> Many of the GAO findings parallel those uncovered last summer by USA TODAY. Charles Cunningham, the security agency director, has moved to address the problems. He will hire 140 new investigators and retain private firms to assist in conducting investigations.</P>

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<P>USA Today

November 1, 1999

Pg. 18</P>

<P>4 Countries Purchase \$4B In U.S. Weapons</P>

<P>By The Associated Press</P>

<P> WASHINGTON -- The Pentagon has reached arms deals with Israel, Egypt, South Korea and Norway worth more than \$4 billion.</P>

<P> In a deal valued at \$508 million, Israel will buy 24 AH-64 Apache attack helicopters converted to the latest model, called the Apache Longbow. The helicopters will be equipped with more sophisticated targeting and radar systems than older models. The sale, subject to congressional review, includes 480 Hellfire II laser-guided missiles.</P>

<P> Israel also is proposing to buy 518 heavy trucks for \$117 million. The 10-ton trucks will be used to carry artillery ammunition.</P>

<P> The deal with Egypt is for two Gulfstream IV-SP aircraft, valued at \$180 million. They will be used to transport national leaders. Egypt also is requesting to buy 239 Humvee utility vehicles for \$30 million to replace jeeps and to outfit with TOW anti-tank weapon systems.</P>

<P> Norway, a NATO ally of the United States, will pay \$2.6 billion for 30 F-16 fighters.</P>

<P> South Korea is buying 20 F-16s, minus the engines, for \$379 million. It has not decided whether to buy Pratt & Whitney F-100-PW-200 or General Electric F-110-GE-129 engines to power the planes.</P>

<P> South Korea also will buy 29 multiple-launch rocket systems, which are

long-range artillery, plus associated equipment. Total cost: \$498 million.

South Korean needs the weapons to counter North Korea's long-range artillery and rocket systems, the Pentagon says.

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Pacific Stars and Stripes

November 2, 1999

Pg. 2

Reaction Mixed To Plan For Distributing Gas Masks

By Jeremy Kirk, Stripes Seoul Bureau Chief

YONGSAN GARRISON, South Korea Civilians say the U.S. military's decision to issue gas masks this month to all nonessential personnel doesn't come as a shock given the peninsula's politics, but the move may cause increased concern about chemical warfare.

"You kind of expect that when you get the orders (to come) here," said Kay Abbott, a mother of two, who came to Korea with her husband in July. "If they brought us here, they should give us something (to protect us

)."</P>

<P> Abbott said her 10-year-old son, Morgan, played with a neighbors gas mask last year when the family lived in Quantico, Va., and was excited when told he will get one soon.</P>

<P> "He thought it was pretty neat that he was going to get one," Abbott said.</P>

<P> While officials say the decision to issue the masks is not in response to an increased chemical warfare threat, some civilians say the program could prompt concern. Steven McKinney, a civilian who has lived at Yongsan for two years and has been in South Korea for about 12 years, said he wonders "how the Korean people will view this."</P>

<P> "I think its going to cause undue panic," McKinney said. "I've been here for 12 years piece of cake."</P>

<P> "I dont think it (mask distribution) is a bad thing," said Tammy Sova, who has lived in South Korea with her husband and 16-year-old daughter for three years. "I hope it doesnt cause a lot of panic."</P>

<P> Gilbert White, protocol officer for the 19th Theater Army Area Command at Camp Henry in Taegu, said he feels distribution of the gas masks and hoods is "long overdue."</P>

<P> "I really dont understand why they didnt do it before now. Its like the anthrax shots," White said. "Why are they being given to only (mission) essential personnel? Why not everybody?"</P>

<P> David Fears, a civilian data-base monitor for the 8th Army, said he was issued a mask gas since he is considered mission-essential, but said he doesnt feel that much safer.</P>

<P> "I dont feel any great need to have it," Fears said. "I think the North Koreans have more sense than to invade."</P>

<P> Adults and children older than 10 will be issued the M17A2, a mask formerly issued to active-duty soldiers. While soldiers now get a different mask, the older model "is a reliable system that is used worldwide by some active-duty forces," said Col. David Apt of U.S. Forces Korea public affairs. Civilians will take training classes to learn how to use the masks. </P>

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<P>Washington Times

November 1, 1999

Pg. 4</P>

<P>Military Finds Times Have Gotten Tough In Kitchen-Waste-Recy
cling Business</P>

<P>By Barbara J. Saffir, The Washington Times</P>

<P> Garbage for sale. The military is trying to sell it -- more than one mi
llion pounds of cooked grease, bones, "edible garbage," and even spoiled m
eat.</P>

<P> In recent issues of Commerce Business Daily, four military installation
s and the Defense Logistics Agency at Fort Belvoir are advertising for buyers t
o bid on the fat, bones and other byproducts from their bustling commissaries a
nd kitchens.</P>

<P> "If we did not get rid of it somehow, we would have to pay to get rid o
f it," said Joyce Davis, a spokeswoman for Defense Reutilization and Marke
ting Service, which oversees military surplus sales. "We are saving the taxpaye
rs money and we are recycling. It benefits the economy and the environment."</

P>

<P> Times are getting tougher in the kitchen-waste-recycling business, she said. "They used to get a penny or two a pound, but nowadays it is just minimal."
</P>

<P> One reason is that cosmetic companies, some of which used to buy fat scraps to use in makeup, now primarily rely on synthetic chemicals and plant oils.
</P>

<P> "Edible garbage" -- refuse that is "suitable for animal consumption" and free of "egg shells, coffee grounds, paper" and other non-edible materials - now sells for as little as \$50 for 200,000 pounds, said Russell Thompson, a civilian "disposal specialist" for Pope Air Force and Fort Bragg Army bases in Fayetteville, N.C.
</P>

<P> A local hog farmer has been the bases' sole customer for the past two years.
</P>

<P> "That has to be government inspected before it can be fed to the hogs," Mr. Thompson emphasized.
</P>

<P> He recently advertised the 600,000 pounds of "spent cooking grease" that the bases' 25 kitchens generate each year. He has not received responses to his most recent ad, but last year he sold roughly 200,000 pounds of it for \$1,798.
</P>

<P> Luke Air Force Base's commissary in Glendale, Ariz. is seeking buyers for 300,000 pounds of "fats, bones and meat trimmings."
</P>

<P> The fats generally are sold to tallow companies, said Francisco M. Moreno, who handles the sales. Tallow is sometimes used for bath soaps and other detergents.
</P>

<P> At the Marine Corps recruiting depot in Parris Island, S.C., prospective buyers are warned that "leaking of grease on roads or areas within the military installation will not be permitted." The base is trying to sell 36,000 pounds of "spent frying fats."
</P>

<P> Fairfax County's Defense Logistics Agency is hawking its "edible garbage, scrap fats, bones and meat trimmings."
</P>

<P> Kitchen waste "is a teeny, tiny part of our mission," Ms. Davis said. Most of the military's surplus sales involve uniforms, office supplies, machine parts or other more typical supplies, though occasionally they have sold "surplus" horses that performed in military parades, and even goats, she said.</P>

<P> In fiscal 1997, the agency reported \$166.4 million in surplus sales.</P>

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<P>Los Angeles Times

October 31, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>U.S. Scurries To Erect Cyber-Defenses</P>

<I><P>Security: As Threat Rises, Government Task Force Prepares For Internet Combat. </P>

</I><P>By Bob Drogin, Times Staff Writer </P>

<P> FT. MEADE, Md. -- Distant forests dominate the view from the eighth-flo

or director's suite at the National Security Agency, America's largest intelligence gathering operation. But the talk inside is of a more troubling horizon: cyberspace. </P>

<P> "Think of it as a physical domain, like land, sea and air," said Air Force Lt. Gen. Michael V. Hayden in his first interview since taking the NSA's helm in May. "Now think of America conducting operations in that new domain." </P>

<P> These days, many in the U.S. intelligence, law enforcement and national security community are thinking of little else. </P>

<P> The Pentagon has stepped up cyber-defense and is planning cyber-combat. The FBI is still struggling to unravel Moonlight Maze, a massive assault on U.S. government computers that has been traced to Russia. Prodded by the White House, other agencies are also scrambling to protect America's electronic infrastructure from a daily digital barrage from around the world. </P>

<P> The stakes could not be higher. Put simply, how can an increasingly wired America best defend itself from hostile nations, foreign spies, terrorists or anyone else armed with a computer, an e-mail virus and the Internet? And how can America fight back in the strange new world of warp-speed warfare? </P>

<P> The answers so far are not encouraging. </P>

<P> "The pace of technological change is rapidly outstripping our existing technical edge in intelligence that has long been one of the pillars of our national security," said CIA Director George J. Tenet. </P>

<P> The United States faces "a growing cyber-threat" from "weapons of mass disruption," Tenet said. "Potential targets are not only government computers but the lifelines that we all take for granted: our power grids and our water and transportation systems." </P>

<P> That threat is why 50 experts from the NSA, CIA, FBI, Defense Department and other agencies gathered in early October in a drab office building in Falls Church, Va., for a classified war game that was code named Zenith Star. </P>

<P> For two days, they huddled behind closed doors to test America's response to a simulated surprise attack by electronic evildoers--the first such effort since a 1997 exercise found the U.S. government almost defenseless in cyber-war. </P>

<P> This time, enemy hackers supposedly had triggered blackouts around major military facilities near Chicago, Honolulu and Tampa, Fla. They paralyzed 911 emergency response systems with a flood of computer-generated calls. Then they started disrupting crucial Pentagon computer networks. </P>

<P> The mock scenario was "based on actual vulnerabilities," explained Air Force Maj. Gen. John H. Campbell, who ran Zenith Star as head of the Pentagon's new Joint Task Force-Computer Network Defense in Arlington, Va. </P>

<P> Although results are not in, Campbell said, he believes coordination and cooperation have improved since Eligible Receiver, the classified 1997 war game that found America unprepared for cyber-attack. In that exercise, a team of NSA hackers proved that they could easily disable power, telephones and oil pipelines across the country, as well as Pentagon war-fighting capabilities. </P>

<P> The joint task force was one result. Operational since June, it aims to organize defense of the Pentagon's 2.1 million computers, 10,000 local networks and more than 100 long-distance networks. The unit formally became part of the Pentagon's combat mission on Oct. 1, when it was attached to U.S. Space Command, based in Colorado Springs, Colo. A separate task force will be established next October to safeguard against computer network attack, Campbell said. </P>

<P> Now the computer defense force runs a 24-hour operations room that looks like the set of a Hollywood thriller. Inside the Secure Compartmented Information Facility, a dozen experts tend banks of classified and unclassified computers. Red digital clocks on the ceiling show time zones around the world. Three huge screens on one wall monitor major military computer nodes in the United States, Europe and the Pacific. Three other large screens are tuned to TV networks. </P>

<P> Campbell, a veteran fighter pilot, sees cyberspace as the wild new frontier. Donning his worn leather flight jacket for an interview in a drafty task force office, he warned that terrorists rely increasingly on computers for planning and communication. </P>

<P> "We see more and more terrorist organizations . . . are recruiting computer-smart people and even providing the training for them," Campbell said. </P>

<P> Most attacks on U.S. government computers have involved politically motivated vandalism, not terrorism. During the Kosovo conflict last spring, for example, the White House and numerous other government departments and agencies were forced to take down Web sites after hackers defaced them with electronic graffiti. </P>

<P> But the hackers are more malicious and more powerful than ever. Despite

the increased protection, two unknown groups used multiple simultaneous attacks last week to penetrate and deface 13 government and military sites, including the U.S. Army Reserve Command, the White Sands Missile Range, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's Jet Propulsion Laboratory, the National Defense University and the Naval Coastal Systems Center. </P>

<P> To be sure, U.S. officials insisted that no one has stolen military or other national security secrets by penetrating a classified computer system from outside. But it clearly is not for want of trying. </P>

<P> Consider the Navy's Space and Naval Warfare Systems Command Center in San Diego, which helps safeguard naval intelligence codes. Its unclassified computer systems, a senior official said, are "under constant attack, more than one a day from outside the country." </P>

<P> Spawar, as it is commonly called, has traced hackers this year alone to Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Britain, China, France, Italy, Israel, Japan and Russia. Most use programs to electronically "sweep" the Spawar systems, looking for unguarded access points. </P>

<P> "For every protection we put up, they find a way around it," he said. "Many get in, rummage around, package files and send them off. A few gain root access," or complete access to the compromised system. "It's steadily increasing, steadily getting worse." </P>

<P> In February, someone even used the Internet to secretly program a new password for a Hewlett-Packard printer at Spawar so that copies would print out in Russia. The intrusion was detected before sensitive files were lost, the official said. In that case, as in most, officials never determined whether a curious teenager, a foreign intelligence agency or someone else was responsible for the intrusion. </P>

<P> "Often you don't know what you're dealing with until you're pretty far along in an investigation," said Michael A. Vatis, America's top cyber-cop. "You don't know if you have a single intrusion or a concerted attack." </P>

<P> Vatis heads the FBI's National Infrastructure Protection Center, the focal point of the federal government's effort to prevent, detect and prosecute cyber-crimes. The center has 800 pending hacker, virus and intrusion cases, up from 200 two years ago. Most involve disgruntled employees who sabotage computer systems for revenge or crooks who use the Internet for scams and fraud. </P>

<P> But Vatis said that he worries most about what he calls "America's Achilles' heel," the growing reliance on computer-controlled systems built for efficiency, not security. </P>

<P> "We know other countries are building information warfare technology," he said at the headquarters of the infrastructure protection center, a warren of computer cubicles on the 11th floor of the FBI building in Washington. "We know countries are engaged in espionage and economic espionage." </P>

<P> The FBI, for example, has tried to determine if cyber-spies at Moscow's prestigious Russian Academy of Sciences are responsible for Moonlight Maze, the most pervasive assault yet on sensitive U.S. Defense Department and other computer networks. </P>

<P> The first Moonlight Maze attack was detected in March 1998. Three months later, U.S. security sleuths were able to monitor a series of intrusions as they occurred and traced them back to seven dial-up Internet connections near Moscow. </P>

<P> But the intense attacks continued until at least last May, and the FBI investigation remains open. One reason: U.S. officials are unable to determine if the trail really stops in Moscow or simply appears to. </P>

<P> Either way, the Moonlight Maze attack was enormous. U.S. officials said that the intruders systematically ransacked hundreds of essential but unclassified computer networks used by the Pentagon, the Energy Department, NASA, defense contractors and several universities. Vast amounts of technical defense research were illegally downloaded and transferred to Russia. </P>

<P> Investigators found that the hackers used workstations running Sun operating systems and routed high-speed calls through U.S. university network servers to hide their tracks. They usually logged into government computer systems with stolen passwords. Attacking from within, they gained root access to numerous systems. </P>

<P> The intruders also sometimes created illegal "back doors" to secretly re-enter the compromised systems, the evidence showed. They also installed "sniffers," which let them monitor sensitive communication along U.S. government networks, thus sending Russia e-mail as well as other sensitive information stored in compressed data files. </P>

<P> One private-sector target was Meganet Corp., which is based in Tarzana and sells 21 versions of commercial encryption software that it bills as "unbreakable." U.S. export controls prohibit sale of the software overseas, the company says. </P>

<P> In two overnight attacks in July 1998, Meganet's Web servers were swamped with "tens of thousands" of hits from "Lab 1313," an unknown group that used

an Internet connection from the Russian Academy of Sciences, according to Michael Vaknin, the company's general manager. He said that the attackers sought source code for the encryption software but failed because it is kept on a separate system.

Not long ago, few Americans outside the secretive National Security Agency were concerned with the esoteric field of encryption or the theft of digital data.

The high-tech NSA, which does the government's code making and code breaking, is responsible for the covert collection of signals intelligence, or "Sigint," from around the world. The explosion of new computer and communications technology has given the intelligence agency powerful new tools--but it has also made the agency's job much more difficult.

Hayden, the NSA director, conceded, "It was easier to be top dog before."


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<P>USA Today

November 1, 1999

Pilots Honored

Four Air Force fighter jets flew in a missing-man formation during an air show at Georgias Moody Air Force Base, honoring two Navy pilots with the Blue Angels who died Thursday while preparing for the show. No Blue Angels performed, and the crash area was left out of the flight area for the show to ensure that recovery teams were not put in jeopardy by the low-flying jets, officials said. Witnesses said the \$35 million F/A-18 was banking just above treetop level when it nosed into a stand of pines, but officials say they dont know what caused it to crash. It is expected to take a month for all the debris to be catalogued, mapped, and flown back to the Blue Angels home base in Pensacola, Fla., for reassembly.

[e19991101us.htm](#)

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Washington Post

October 30, 1999

Pg. 18

U.S. Investigators Visit No Gun Ri

SEOUL--U.S. investigators visited the scene of an alleged mass killing of South Korean civilians by American soldiers in the early days of the Korean War. The eight U.S. investigators, led by the Army's inspector general, Lt. Gen. Michael Ackerman, interviewed survivors of the alleged attack. The

ir visit marked the first field investigation of the event in July 1950 at No Gun Ri, a hamlet in central South Korea.

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Dayton Daily News

October 29, 1999

Falling From The Sky Part 6 of 6

Problems Can Exist Years Before Fixes Implemented

Sea Knight has history of hydraulic woes

By Russell Carollo, Dayton Daily News

The fire burned out of control inside the CH-46 Sea Knight helicopter as Capt. Jack Estepp spotted the coastline seven miles away through the clear Hawaiian night.

"We started smelling something," he said. "Then the fire started. I didn't want to see anybody get hurt. These guys are my friends."

<P> His crew chief unable to stop the flames, Estepp ditched the 12-ton cargo helicopter in the Pacific Ocean. The crew of four was rescued.</P>

<P> What Estepp smelled on that October night in 1996 was leaking hydraulic fluid, a smell that had become familiar to many of the crews flying CH-46s.</P>

<P> The Hawaii crash is one of at least 71 incidents spanning more than 11 years involving hydraulic problems in Sea Knight helicopters, the Navy and Marine Corps' medium-lift troop and cargo transport, capable of carrying up to 28 soldiers and passengers.</P>

<P> None of the incidents was fatal, but in several cases, like the one in Hawaii, crews barely escaped with their lives. At least three helicopters were destroyed.</P>

<P> And the problems continue.</P>

<P> On March 9 of this year, 11 years after the first hydraulic problem was reported, a Sea Knight made an emergency landing near Malibu Bluff Community Park, 200 feet above the coast and in the center of the city of Malibu, Calif.</P>

<P> Three days later, a Sea Knight carrying reporters and photographers off the USS Bonhomme Richard in California caught fire when an hydraulic line broke. Two people, one a TV anchor, were treated for smoke inhalation.</P>

<P> An 18-month Dayton Daily News examination found that the military's handling of the hydraulic failures on Sea Knight helicopters is typical of the way it handled numerous other mechanical failures in many types of aircraft: Problems dragged on until they became catastrophic.</P>

<P> "We have to make hard choices based on dollars and cents," said Marine Corps Col. Roger Dougherty, a former Sea Knight pilot and until June the director of aviation safety at the Naval Safety Center in Norfolk, Va. "If it's a high risk that's going to happen often, it gets fixed. That's the bottom line."</P>

<P> The Daily News examination found that problems such as those involving the Sea Knight hydraulic system often continue for months, years, even decades. Sometimes costly solutions aren't implemented until aircraft start falling from the sky or the death toll rises.</P>

<P> "The point is the system reacts, albeit slowly sometimes, to the requirements that we generate here," said Bill Mooberry, executive director of the Naval Safety Center in Norfolk, Va. "It doesn't react slowly simply because it's un

responsive. It's simply that the facts are that the process takes time and money and engineering and analysis and all that other stuff to get it fixed."

Unlike the Federal Aviation Administration, which monitors civilian aviation safety, the Naval Safety Center cannot mandate safety changes. It cannot issue fines. It cannot ground aircraft. It cannot force the service to install a safer part on an aircraft.

"The Navy makes the decisions," Mooberry said. "All we do is advise. I don't have the power here to enforce. . . . I have the power of moral persuasion."

"I can whine and pound on the desk and jump on people's tables and beat at the rugs and stuff like that to try to get their attention, but as far as the decisions about who does what to whom. . . , safety is part of it, but it's not the only part."

"I don't direct anything. Nobody here directs anything."

The Sea Knights have three hydraulic systems: Two operate critical flight controls, and one of those is a backup. The third system is the utility hydraulic system, operating the rescue hoist, the huge rear cargo ramp, an engine exhaust device and the cargo winch.

Nearly all of the hydraulic failures, identified in a database from the Naval Safety Center, involved the utility hydraulic system. The safety center did not consider the utility system to be "flight critical," a formal term used by safety officials when determining risks.

The hydraulic failures started in 1988, about the time the Navy upgraded its fleet of Sea Knights with new, more powerful utility hydraulic pumps.

"The problem with that (new) pump was it was just too strong," said Marine Corps Maj. Tim Clubb, who oversees parts acquisition for the CH 46.

The new pumps increased the pressure in the hydraulic system by 15 percent, and, at the same time, increased the amount of fluid flowing through the system. The increased pressure in the lines, Marine Corps officials acknowledged, could increase the risk that leaking fluid could become atomized, or flammable, but they called the 15 percent additional pressure "negligible."

There was another major difference in the pumps. The shaft in the old pump

ps had an added safety feature: a weak point designed to break when fluid in the system leaked out, through battle damage or mechanical failure.</P>

<P> The new pumps were designed to withstand combat damage, so the shaft had no weak point. It would continue to run without fluid until it burned up and, possibly, caused the leaking fluid to ignite.</P>

<P> From 1988 through 1992, there were at least four utility hydraulic failures on Sea Knights. During the two years that followed, at least a dozen more CH-46 helicopters suffered hydraulic failures. None caused substantial damage.</P>
>

<P> Until the night of Feb. 18, 1994.</P>

<P> On that night, a Sea Knight carrying a crew wearing night-vision goggles flew from the deck of the USS Inchon. The helicopter had just arrived on the ship, replacing another Sea Knight that crashed the previous month because of unrelated engine problems, killing three people.</P>

<P> Sometime after it left the deck, a crew member reported smoke and a large amount of leaking hydraulic fluid. The Inchon prepared for an emergency landing on deck, but the helicopter crashed into the water, rolled right and then left before floating upside down.</P>

<P> All four crew members were rescued near the spot where the helicopter crashed landed.</P>

<P> "This had been a problem that was identified before the Class A (major accident), but sometimes it isn't always apparent of just what the severity of the problem is," Col. Dougherty said. "You have a pump that fails and causes some minor damage and everybody recognizes that we got to get the pump fixed."</P>

<P> Eleven more utility hydraulic failures followed the Inchon crash in 1994, none causing serious damage.</P>

<P> "It took them (Navy safety officials) awhile through trend analysis" to identify the problem, Maj. Clubb said. "We identified it, and we tried to find solutions to solve it."</P>

<P> At one time, the Navy had hoped that all the aging Sea Knights would be replaced by 1994 with the new tilt-rotor V-22 Osprey. But the Osprey program, which dragged as Congress debated cost and other issues, was canceled in 1989, forcing the military to change the way it would view long-term maintenance for the aging Sea Knights.</P>

<P> Then in 1994, Congress brought back the Osprey program, again forcing the military to change its long-term plans for maintaining the aging Sea Knight helicopters.</P>

<P> In 1995, while the Navy still was two years away from approving funding for the new pumps, 10 more utility hydraulic failures were reported. Then, in 1996, helicopters started crashing.</P>

<P> On March 19, 1996, captains Nobert J. Torres and Leo A. Kilgore and 10 others had just taken off from the Marine Corps Air Station in Yuma, Ariz., when the problems started.</P>

<P> "At this point, a lot of black-brown smoke began rushing into the cockpit," Kilgore told accident investigators. "I looked back and saw nothing but orange-red fire and black-brown smoke.</P>

<P> "There was popping and cracking and small muffled booms -- explosions occurring . . . Capt. Torres and I began choking on the smoke."</P>

<P> Filled with smoke and flames, the helicopter landed on the runway, giving the crew just seconds to escape before the flames engulfed the aircraft. Two crew members suffered minor injuries.</P>

<P> "The door (escape hatch) fell to the ground," Torres said. ". . . I jumped from the aircraft."</P>

<P> The Yuma accident was the second hydraulic failure in 12 days, the 29th since 1988.</P>

<P> The following month, on April 19, 1996, the hydraulic pump on a CH 46D from the USS Mars failed, prompting a Navy official to write:</P>

<P> "This is the fourth HAZREP (Hazard Report) our command has released this fiscal year concerning failure of utility hydraulic pumps. Research into history of failing pumps reveals no common deficiency."</P>

<P> Nine more failures were reported in the next five months. In one of those, on Sept. 6, 1996, a helicopter filled with smoke and fumes and was forced to make an emergency landing in a field near Orlando, Fla.</P>

<P> That helicopter was part of President Clinton's entourage traveling in Fl

orida, although Clinton was not on the aircraft.</P>

<P> The following month, Estepp ditched his helicopter into the ocean just off the coast of Hawaii, bringing to at least three the number of Sea Knights lost because of hydraulic problems.</P>

<P> In January 1997, after at least 43 utility hydraulic failures on Sea Knights in nine years, the Navy approved funding for a new pump. But it wasn't until two years later, in January 1999, that the first pump was installed.</P>

<P> The Marine Corps purchased 310 new pumps for the helicopters and this year began installing them at a rate of 40 per month. The pumps and spares cost \$5.52 million.</P>

<P> In the meantime, 16 hydraulic failures were reported in 1997, and during the first seven months of 1998, the latest computer data available, there were 13 more incidents.</P>

<P> There were at least two other incidents involving hydraulic failures on Sea Knights this year, both in California.</P>

<P> "We could hear it coming," Paul Adams, recreation supervisor for Malibu Bluff Community Park, said of the March 9 emergency landing near downtown Malibu. "They made a quick but nice landing."</P>

<P> Just four days later, a Sea Knight helicopter from the USS Bonhomme Richard caught fire shortly after takeoff, sending a fireball toward the area where reporters and photographers were sitting.</P>

<P> "It (the helicopter) went up 10 feet, and they noticed the fire so they sent it back down," Navy spokesman Tim Jones said.</P>

<P> Dan Green, anchor for KSBW-TV of Salinas, Calif., said the fire started above the huge rear cargo door. That is the area where the hydraulic pump is located.</P>

<P> "I started yelling fire, but nobody could hear me," said Green, who has been piloting single-engine airplanes since 1989. "Everybody had headphones on, and it was very, very loud (inside the helicopter)."</P>

<P> Green and the others watched the fireball move toward them as the helicopter made an emergency landing back on the deck of the ship. The passengers had to exit through the cargo door, just under what appeared to be the source of the

e fire.</P>

<P> "Towards the end, as we were walking out, we had to stoop very low because of the flames," said Green, one of two people treated for smoke inhalation. " A lot of guys were coughing, and they wanted to get them off the deck.</P>

<P> "Somebody told me -- and this was third hand -- that there was an hydraulic line that leaked and was ignited by a spark."</P>

<P> The Naval Safety Center in Norfolk, Va., identified the cause as a problem in one of the helicopter's hydraulic lines.</P>

<P> By the end of this year, all Sea Knights are expected to have new hydraulic pumps. The V-22 Osprey is not scheduled to completely replace the CH-46 until 2012.</P>

<P> "By the time we completely replace it..., the CH-46 will have served 47 years," Gen. Charles C. Krulak, commandant of the Marine Corps, told the Senate Armed Services Committee in January. "In terms of longevity, that is virtually the equivalent of taking the Wright Brothers' aircraft, flown at Kitty Hawk in 1903, into aerial combat into the Korean conflict in 1950." </P>

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<P>Dayton Daily News

October 29, 1999</P>

<P>Family, Friends Grieve, Search For Answers </P>

<I><P>'I got the feeling they were withholding something,'
pilot's mother says</P>

</I><P>By Russell Carollo, Dayton Daily News</P>

<P> <I>The story so far: Paramedics tried CPR on Lt. Cmdr. Randall E. McNally II, but it was too late. Both McNally and Lt. Cmdr. Brian R. McMahon died when the Navy A-6E Intruder crashed into the San Francisco Bay. No cause was positively determined, but the accident investigator -- a friend of McNally's -- says he suspects pilot error and mechanical failure were both factors.</P>

</I><P> For days after the funeral, P.J. McShane, Lt. Cmdr. Randall E. McNally II's fiancée, was at his gravesite hour after hour, sitting in a lawn chair under an umbrella to keep the sun off of her as she studied for her final college exams. She told friends she sometimes wanted to crawl into the grave to be with him.</P>

<P> On June 18, 1994, the day she was to marry Lt. Cmdr. Randall McNally, P.J. McShane brought some friends to a spot alongside Lake Michigan and held a ceremony to celebrate her love for her fiancé who had died.</P>

<P> "It was a mass. She planted a tree for the spirit of their marriage. We all had lunch afterward," said Sheila McNally-Hoy, McNally's sister. "It just seemed like the right thing to do at the time."</P>

<P> It was one of several ceremonies the family held following McNally's death.</P>

<P> "When he was lost, everyone I talked to felt like they lost their best friend," McNally-Hoy said. "The reason they felt that way was because when Randall walked into a room, he let you know that he knew that you were there."</P>

<P> In a eulogy to his brother, Edward McNally, wrote:</P>

<P> "Rand lived several lifetimes. He had the love of his life, a spectacular education, work so fulfilling he would have done it for free, and the blessing of dying quickly, in the line of duty, doing something he truly loved."</P>

<P> "He was handsome, dashing, courageous . . . Track star. Platoon leader, born on an Air Force base. They say that Rand was born to run, born to fly, born to lead."</P>

<P> "My brother knew that each of us is special, and he made us feel that way, because every life has a dream and every life is important, because it touches so many other lives."</P>

<P> At the request of the Dayton Daily News, Rear Admiral Frank M. "Skip" Dirren Jr., commander of the Naval Safety Center in Norfolk, Va., reviewed records from McNally's crash. Neither of the two investigations the Navy conducted, including the secret safety investigation, identified a cause, he said.</P>

<P> In a written response, the safety center acknowledged that the stabilizer augmentor -- an electronic system that enables the pilot to better operate the plane's most critical flight control systems -- was never found.</P>

<P> "Did it fail on the mishap flight?" the written response says. "Don't know. Apparently the unit was not found. That may have been one of the reasons that the (cause of the) mishap was designated as undetermined."</P>

<P> McShane joined McNally's parents and eight of his siblings on a trip to Alameda Naval Air Station. They went to attend a military ceremony for Randall McNally. They went to grieve. They also went looking for answers.</P>

<P> "I got the feeling they were withholding something," said McNally's mother, Margaret McNally.</P>

<P> Dr. Randall E. McNally, McNally's father, said he, too, wanted answers.</P>

<P> "When you lose a child, it's almost better if you went," he said. "It's tormenting."</P>

<P> "The whole family thought it was just so tragic because Randall was just so highly thought of," said Regina Crane of Springboro, a distant cousin of McNally's. "He was just a wonderful person."</P>

<P> What's made it even harder for his family and friends to accept is the loss of a man at the height of an extraordinary life. And what is equally hard for them to accept is that there are so few answers about how he died.</P>

<P> "As far as answers, we all know Rand is still watching us," said McNally'

s sister, Sheila McNally- Hoy.</P>

<P> At the end of the eulogy, Edward McNally wrote:</P>

<P> "And so we, too, say goodbye, with a lump in our throats . . . God bless you Rand and watch over us . . . Blue skies and fair seas, little brother. Blue skies and fair seas." </P>

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<P>Orlando Sentinel

October 31, 1999</P>

<P>American Military Advisers Lend A Hand, But It's No Vietnam</P>

<P>By E.A. Torriero and Pedro Ruz Gutierrez of The Sentinel Staff</P>
>

<P> TOLEMAIDA MILITARY BASE, Colombia -- Uncle Sam's special forces walk the firing line and bark orders in Americanized Spanish to Colombian soldiers being taught to kill with precision.</P>

<P> "Take a position -- one knee down!" yells a U.S. Army commander from Fo

rt Bragg, N.C.</P>

<P> The Colombian troops, spread a few feet apart on bended knees, aim their Israeli-made Galil rifles.</P>

<P> "Ready, charge, fire!" the American orders.</P>

<P> After unloading their rounds, the Colombians trudge toward their cardboard targets. The six American drill instructors, part of an elite U.S. commando unit, evaluate the Colombians' marks and show them how they can shoot more accurately.</P>

<P> The U.S.-led training here is one of several Pentagon missions to shore up Colombia's understaffed and under-equipped forces and to prepare them to fight more skillfully in their war against narco-guerrillas -- the protectors of Colombia's drug trade.</P>

<P> Increasingly, Green Berets, the U.S. Army's special warfare unit, top Marine Corps forces, Air Force surveillance teams and even the U.S. Coast Guard are on deployment in and around Colombia under the umbrella of the anti-narcotics mandate.</P>

<P> As many as 300 American military personnel and agents are in Colombia at any one time. Their aim: to help make a dent in the exploding drug trade, which is dumping cocaine and heroin onto American streets at a record pace.</P>

<P> But is the growing U.S. involvement in Colombia's thorny civil war a prelude to another Vietnam, as some critics charge? And is the U.S. military already too deeply involved?</P>

<P> "It's very problematic," said Marc Cherwick, a Colombia expert at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. "There is a risk that the U.S. will get mired in a major, active conflict."</P>

<P> "The military approach to the drug problem in Colombia is not productive," he said. "If it continues, the U.S. will lose in the end and the Colombians will lose even more."</P>

<P> The Colombian government has fought a flagging battle against insurgents for much of the last 40 years in a civil war that shows no signs of easing.</P>

<P> Rebels fighting for the rights of poor peasants first began the civil war

ar to empower the underprivileged. But today, it is a widening conflict fueled by two leftist guerrilla groups -- as well as ultra-right paramilitaries -- that provide much of the protection for the harvesting of coca and opium.</P>

<P>Looking to U.S.</P>

<P> Coupled with the worst recession in 70 years, the war is taking a grim toll on Colombians.</P>

<P> At least 35,000 Colombians have been killed in the last decade of the civil war. Kidnappings and extortion are rampant. Up to 1 million Colombians have been uprooted by the civil conflict.</P>

<P> As it debates how to help, the Clinton administration has been quick to declare that sending U.S. troops on battle missions to Colombia is not on the agenda.</P>

<P> But already there have been U.S. military casualties. Five U.S. soldiers, including Capt. Jose Santiago Jr. of Orlando, died in July when their U.S. Army spy plane crashed in the mountains of southwest Colombia.</P>

<P> The crash remains under investigation. But U.S. officials say the American servicemen were there only as part of an advisory, training and surveillance mission. In the coming months, the United States will pay for more military equipment and training.</P>

<P> But as far as U.S. troops participating in armed combat on Colombian soil: "There is zero possibility that any U.S. intervention will take place," White House drug chief Barry McCaffrey said in a stopover in Colombia.</P>

<P> "It's an astonishingly bad idea," he told Congress recently.</P>

<P> Few military analysts disagree. They see no parallels to the Vietnam quagmire three decades ago, even though the initial advisory role of U.S. troops in Southeast Asia was similar to their mission in Colombia today.</P>

<P> "The Vietnam analogy is not applicable," said Gabriel Marcella, a Colombia authority at the U.S. Army War College in Carlisle, Pa. "It's fantasy to say that the U.S. is in Colombia in any other capacity than a support role."</P>

<P> Still, the questions over how best to help Colombia are consuming Congress and the Clinton administration, which are debating a huge boost in U.S. military aid.</P>

<P> U.S. aid to Colombia skyrocketed from \$85.7 million in 1997 to \$289 million in the last fiscal year, making Colombia the largest recipient of U.S. foreign aid after Israel, Egypt and Jordan. Much of the increased money went to outfit the Colombian military, buy more helicopters and surveillance gear and to equip the national police.</P>

<P> The Republican-led Congress is proposing an even bigger bundle of aid -- about \$1.5 billion -- over the next two years. Much of the money would help provide Colombia with up to 41 Blackhawk helicopters, new intelligence centers and more surveillance equipment.</P>

<P> Fewer than one-quarter of the 120,000 Colombians serving in the armed forces are prepared for battle. The trained Colombian soldiers barely outnumber the 30,000 seasoned rebel fighters. The Republican leadership wants Colombia's military to be strengthened so that its government has leverage in the peace talks with the rebels that began last weekend.</P>

<P> By preparing to escalate the fight -- while also talking peace -- the Colombian government will show it is serious about ending the civil war one way or another, Republicans say.</P>

<P> The Clinton administration, however, is seeking a more balanced aid package of between \$1 billion and \$2 billion that is less tilted toward military needs.</P>

<P> The Clinton-led plans include greater emphasis on refurbishing Colombia's corrupt judicial system and providing help to an economy in shambles mainly because of government overspending.</P>

<P> How the money will be distributed is being argued behind closed doors at the White House.</P>

<P> "We are involved in some very intensive and painful debates inside the administration to sort out how much is enough," McCaffrey said.</P>

<P>A vital link</P>

<P> Colombia's well-being is vital to the United States. It accounts for more than \$12 billion annually in two-way trade with the United States, with much of that coming through South Florida.</P>

<P> But Colombia also is a major threat to Americans. It accounts for more

than 70 percent of the cocaine entering the United States, with an estimated street value of \$30 billion.

It also is a major source of heroin -- more than 70 percent of the heroin seized on the U.S. East Coast comes from Colombia, U.S. authorities say.

Opium fields and coca plantations have doubled in size in the last three years. The Colombian military, and the country's police force, have been virtually powerless to stop the escalating drug trade.

"Do we need the U.S. to get more deeply involved?" asked a Colombian military commander as he watched U.S.-led military exercises. "Of course, we do. It is our only hope. We need them, badly."

To fight drugs, U.S. policymakers concede that the military must become involved to some extent in Colombia's civil war, even though U.S. law prohibits direct participation in the conflict.

"There is a fundamental contradiction, a troubling irony in U.S. policy," said Frederick Woerner, a retired U.S. Army general who planned the U.S. aid missions to El Salvador in the 1980s.

"The aim is to beat back the drug traffickers," he said. "But to do that you become involved in another country's civil war. Can a bullet really tell the difference between a narco-rebel and a guerrilla?"

"Does one wear an 'N' on his chest and another a 'G'?" he asked. "No. They all dress and look alike whether they are fighting for drugs or ideology."

Critics predict U.S. policy will backfire. American troops will play an increasing role in the civil war, even as the Colombian government proves inept, they say.

The broadening U.S. military involvement will serve only to help a corrupt government become more corrupt, they say.

Colombia has one of the worst human-rights records in the world. Its judicial system is in a shambles. Most of the 23,000 killings per year go unsolved or unprosecuted.

The Colombian police and armed forces are riddled with spies for the re

bels. Policemen and soldiers have been implicated in beatings, robberies, kidnappings and massacres.</P>

<P> The Colombian military also is aligned with several paramilitary groups formed to fight the rebels. And those militias have a long track record of brutality.</P>

<P> Human rights groups accuse the United States of repeating a pattern of supporting violence as it did when it backed the government of El Salvador in its civil war in the 1980s.</P>

<P> "Congress and the Clinton administration must realize that aid to the Colombian army is aid to the paramilitary groups," said Carlos Salinas, the Latin American representative for Amnesty International. "The United States will find itself once again supporting death-squad politics."</P>

<P> In efforts to appease human-rights groups and U.S. officials, the Colombian military has promised to curb abuses.</P>

<P> Foreign reporters visiting the base are given a tour of the human-rights courses given to Colombian soldiers.</P>

<P> "We know we have done things wrong in the past," said Col. German Pataquiiva, spokesman for Colombia's central military command.</P>

<P> "We are trying to change that image and win the trust of the Colombian people."</P>

<P> But retired U.S. Army Gen. Woerner thinks there is major difference between conditions in El Salvador and those in Colombia.</P>

<P> "Narcotics turn this into a war of a different sort," he said.</P>

<P> "Ultimately, it is up to the Colombians to find a way to win it or settle it."</P>

<P> Colombian commanders are convinced that if their soldiers score some major victories against the narco-rebels that they will gain the respect of Colombians and leverage against the enemy.</P>

<P>Elite training</P>

<P> Since the spring, as many as 65 U.S. military personnel have been training 1,200 Colombian soldiers who were handpicked for an elite anti-narcotics unit.</P>

<P> They are being taught how to conduct surprise attacks. They have been outfitted like GI Joes in everything from U.S.-issued canteens to army boots made in the United States.</P>

<P> By December, the unit will be ready to raid remote drug-producing laboratories in the jungle, many of them protected by the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia, known by their Spanish acronym FARC.</P>

<P> The FARC, Latin America's oldest rebel group, has proved a formidable foe. It has kept the government troops at bay with more than 20,000 fighters.</P>

<P> The FARC reportedly is preparing for the government raids by buying anti-aircraft equipment and by stockpiling weapons.</P>

<P> Colombian commanders fear spies in their midst will tip off the FARC to details of their missions.</P>

<P> They also fear that hostages held by the FARC will be moved near drug laboratories to deter a government attack.</P>

<P> And they worry that large casualties among government soldiers during a raid will demoralize the Colombian efforts.</P>

<P> "We are facing an enemy that knows us very well," Pataquiva said. "They will not make it easy for us."</P>

<P> FARC guerrillas, who strongly dislike foreign meddling in Colombia, want to teach the U.S. a lesson.</P>

<P> "What this will do is escalate the conflict in Colombia," warns FARC Commandante Fernando Caicedo, a 25-year veteran of the rebel cause.</P>

<I><P> The Chicago Tribune was used in compiling this report. Wire services also were used.</P></I>

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<P>Orlando Sentinel

October 31, 1999</P>

<P>Soldier Died For His Cause -- The Drug War</P>

<P>By Pedro Ruz Gutierrez of The Sentinel Staff</P>

<P> Army Capt. Jose Anthony Santiago Jr. often argued that the U.S. governm
ent could have resolved the drug war long ago if it had committed more resource
s.</P>

<P> "He used to tell me, 'Dad, we ended communism, the Mafia. We can finish
off drug trafficking.' " said his father, Jose Santiago Sr. of Ocoee. "I would
say he died doing what he wanted to do -- fight against drugs."</P>

<P> Santiago Sr. never knew much about his son's secret missions until July
-- when an Army spy plane crashed in rebel-held territory and his son became o
ne of the first U.S. military casualties in Colombia.</P>

<P> As the United States debates giving \$1.5 billion to Colombia in the nex
t three years, questions linger about the crew's missions, the plane's last fli
ght and the larger role of U.S. troop deployment in Colombia.</P>

<P> Some victims' families and lawmakers question the circumstances behind the July 23 crash. And they continue to speculate about whether the plane was shot down.</P>

<P> Government officials initially said the plane plowed into an uncharted mountain in bad weather after its 1:40 a.m. takeoff from the town of Apiay. The U.S. military now asserts it was an accident and is focusing on mechanical failure or pilot error.</P>

<P> "There are no uncharted mountains in that country," said one congressional aide. "That plane should not have gone down. Was it shot down? That's another question."</P>

<P> Navy Lt. Cmdr. Jane Campbell, spokeswoman for the U.S. Southern Command in Miami, said there is "no indication whatsoever, or physical evidence, that hostile fire played a role."</P>

<P> The aircraft crashed in the mountainous region of Putumayo, a hotbed of leftist rebel action and illegal coca production.</P>

<P> Killed were Santiago Jr., the pilot, Capt. Jennifer Odom, three other U.S. soldiers and two Colombian Air Force officers.</P>

<P> Until the crash of the four-engine De Havilland RC-7B, little was known publicly about the U.S. military's covert actions in Colombia.</P>

<P> One of three such planes assigned to the U.S. Southern Command and six worldwide, the \$25 million aircraft was loaded with sensitive eavesdropping and aerial surveillance hardware.</P>

<P> Its data and voice recorders were retrieved before the wreckage was destroyed to prevent the equipment from falling into rebel hands, Campbell said.</P>

<P> This action, coupled with the weeks-long delay in identifying remains of some of the soldiers, fueled doubts among relatives.</P>

<P> "It's a mystery," said Santiago Sr. "And it's sad."</P>

<P> Colombians deny it, but there is no doubt the U.S. military was handing valuable information to Colombian authorities from the plane's reconnaissance missions. They have publicly bragged about intercepted cell phone conversations among top rebel commanders.</P>

<P> While other relatives openly question the handling of the crash, Santiago Sr. holds no grudges. Two more sons followed in Santiago Jr.'s footsteps and joined the Army.</P>

<P> But retired Army Lt. Col. Chuck Odom, the downed pilot's husband, is critical.</P>

<P> "I'll give you her opinion: We're not winning this [conflict]. There's not enough of us -- us, meaning the people like her who do what they do every day," Odom told CBS' 60 Minutes II last month.</P>

<P> Odom resents the lack of information surrounding his wife's death. He said the government is reluctant to provide facts about the crash "because we as American citizens would not support anything or any involvement in any country that is going to cost American lives."</P>

<P> "What are we hiding here? What is it [they are] not telling me as a taxpayer what we're doing down in Colombia?" Odom asked.</P>

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<P>Atlanta Journal-Constitution

October 31, 1999</P>

<P>Report: Military Wary Of Waco Plan</P>

<P>By Mark England, Cox News Service</P>

<P> Waco, Texas -- Images of the military's involvement at Mount Carmel still wind through our collective memory six years later. </P>

<P> Bradley Fighting Vehicles and Abrams tanks roamed the landscape outside Waco in 1993 from one edge of the TV screen to the other. Behind the scenes, there were caches of generators, gas masks and night vision equipment. </P>

<P> But documents obtained by the Waco Tribune-Herald under the Freedom of Information Act show the military was for the most part a reluctant participant. After a bitter internal struggle, it scaled back its assistance to the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms as the agency prepared to raid the Branch Davidian compound, and during the siege it refused to sign off on the FBI's tear gas assault. </P>

<P> The military's involvement at Mount Carmel began in December 1992 when the ATF first contacted Operation Alliance, an agency that coordinates and prioritizes requests from law enforcement for the military's help in fighting drugs. ATF officials asked the military to help serve a search warrant to "a dangerous extremist organization believed to be producing methamphetamine." </P>

<P> Congressional critics would later charge that the ATF cooked up the drug allegation simply to get the military's help. </P>

<P> By law, specifically the Posse Comitatus Act, the military is barred from intervening in police actions except under certain circumstances. Helping in the war against drugs, however, is one of the exceptions. </P>

<P> In a Jan. 22, 1993, letter to Operation Alliance, ATF officials requested training by Special Forces troops, instruction in driving Bradley Fighting Vehicles and the loan of seven Bradleys. </P>

<P> Operation Alliance forwarded ATF's request to Fort Bliss and Joint Task Force-6, the military's headquarters for domestic anti-drug efforts. Officials there were told that assistance was "in direct support of interdiction activities along the Southwest border." </P>

<P> But Maj. Mark Petree, commander of the Army's special forces, questioned the legality of the request. Maj. Phillip Lindley, his legal adviser, wrote in a Feb. 3, 1993, memo that the ATF request would make the military an active,

illegal partner in a domestic police action. </P>

<P> After the task force accused Lindley of trying to undermine the mission, he consulted his boss, Lt. Col. Douglas Andrews, the deputy staff judge advocate. </P>

<P> Andrews told Lindley the military could probably evaluate the ATF plan, but could not intervene to cancel it or revise it for the agency, the paper reported. </P>

<P> There have been allegations that members of the Army's Delta Force squad engaged in a shootout with the Davidians on April 19, 1993, the day sect leader David Koresh and about 80 followers died in a massive fire. </P>

<P> Military officials, however, insist only three Delta Force members were at Mount Carmel that day, and they were there as observers. </P>

<P> The documents released to the Tribune-Herald show a continuing reluctance by the military to fully involve itself with the government's actions. </P>

<P> Although Delta Force officers met with Attorney General Janet Reno, an unnamed Delta Force officer reported in a document that Reno was only offered limited advice --- including the military's belief that inserting CS gas into the residence might cause mothers to panic and "run off and leave infants." A disclaimer was added, however, that the military's rules of engagement were so different from the FBI's that it made it difficult to offer advice. </P>

<P> Ultimately, though, the military refused to "grade the FBI paper," its plan to flush the Branch Davidians out of Mount Carmel, "as this was not a military mission," according to a military synopsis of the Reno meeting. A May 15, 1993, memo from the Army's Special Forces Command stated that the Delta Force officers "responded only to specific questions and did not approve, critique or attempt to influence (the) 'tear gas' plan." </P>

<P> The Delta Force member's report makes it clear how out of place he felt at the Reno meeting. </P>

<P> "Their approach was substantially different than anything that I have encountered," he wrote. "They were not assaulting the compound and they were not there to rescue anyone. This was surprising to me, but certainly not something of which I am critical. It is simply a different way of looking at the situation." </P>

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<P>Washington Times

October 31, 1999

Pg. C2</P>

<P>Antibiotic Touted As Treatment For Gulf War Disease</P>

<I><P>Organism found to cause infections </P>

</I><P>By Joyce Howard Price, The Washington Times </P>

<P> The announcement the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons made about a new study in its official journal, the Medical Sentinel, was obviously designed to startle: </P>

<P> "Mysterious infections which have gone undetected in the past have now been linked to a number of chronic illnesses, including Gulf war syndrome, chronic fatigue syndrome and HIV-AIDS. Further, if left untreated, the infections could spread to family members and co-workers." </P>

<P> The AAPS' statement went on to say that previous "treatment options for patients with these chronic illnesses have been ineffective, and patients rarely recover from their conditions." </P>

<P> But if this statement sparked terror in readers, it ended on a more positive note. The AAPS said the outlook for patients with such long-term illnesses could be much improved, given that the study in the Medical Sentinel identified the presence of "mycoplasmal infections with these diseases," and that the pathogens respond to common antibiotics. </P>

<P> Mycoplasmas are organisms with characteristics of both bacteria and viruses. They reproduce slowly, are much smaller than bacteria, but unlike viruses, respond to some antibiotics. </P>

<P> The study's author, Garth L. Nicolson of the Institute for Molecular Medicine in Huntington Beach, Calif., concludes that "long-term treatment with common antibiotics, combined with nutritional and vitamin support and other immune enhancers, could reduce death rates and help patients regain health," if mycoplasmal infections are factors in these illnesses, the AAPS said. </P>

<P> Dr. Nicolson suspects that mycoplasmal infections may be linked with a number of other chronic diseases, including rheumatoid arthritis, fibromyalgia (pain in the ligaments, tendons, and muscles); asthma and inflammatory bowel disease. </P>

<P> Those who have followed the writings of Dr. Nicolson, former chairman of tumor biology at the University of Texas' M.D. Anderson Cancer Center in Houston, are well aware he believes mycoplasmas - and particularly a strain of mycoplasma known as fermentans - are a factor in these conditions. But not everyone accepts his argument. </P>

<P> The data the AAPS touted in its announcement of Dr. Nicolson's latest study are not new. In one study he referred to, he used a DNA (deoxyribonucleic acid) analysis technique called forensic polymerase chain reaction to detect the presence of the mycoplasmal germs in the blood of 200 patients with the Gulf war syndrome. Forty-five percent tested positive for mycoplasmas, compared with fewer than 6 percent in a control group of healthy subjects. </P>

<P> In another test group of 203 patients diagnosed with chronic fatigue syndrome - commonly known as "yuppie flu" - Dr. Nicolson found that 70 percent showed signs of mycoplasmal DNA in their bloodstreams. That compared with only 9 percent of healthy subjects in the control group. </P>

<P> However, "folks have had trouble duplicating his results," said Dr. John R. Feussner, chief research development officer for the Department of Veterans Affairs. </P>

<P> What's more, Dr. Feussner says, Dr. Nicolson's theory that mycoplasmas

may have been used as a biological weapon during the Persian Gulf war has little credibility.

For a long time, Dr. Nicolson's assertions that mycoplasmal infections were a factor in some cases of Gulf war syndrome were largely ignored. He became convinced of this after treating a woman with the Gulf war syndrome with an antibiotic, and she was cured.

Dr. Nicolson's claims were bolstered by congressional testimony from Dr. Victor Gordon, a VA physician in Manchester, N.H., who said he's treated many patients with Gulf war syndrome with the antibiotic tetracycline. "Dr. Gordon has seen some get better, though he's not saying they have mycoplasmal infection," said Dr. Feussner.

While Dr. Nicolson's claims are still debated, the VA and Department of Defense have launched an \$8 million study to determine if Gulf war vets who test positive for mycoplasmal infections get better with a year's treatment with the antibiotic, doxycycline, a tetracycline derivative, and whether the infection leaves their bloodstream.

A total of 450 veterans will be examined in this multicenter national study. And Dr. Feussner says thousands of Gulf war veterans will be screened to find 450 having mycoplasmal DNA in their blood. This large-scale screening will help determine the prevalence of such infection among this population, he said.

Dr. Nicolson argues that persons with untreated mycoplasmal infections can spread them to others, as mycoplasmas are contagious organisms. There's currently disagreement over whether Gulf war syndrome can be spread.

"There have been veterans who've felt family members have gotten the same symptoms they've had, but the evidence is anecdotal," Dr. Feussner said. He said another VA study now under way is testing 2,000 Gulf war veterans with "documented symptoms" of the syndrome and 3,000 spouses and children to determine if there is a sharing of medical problems.

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<P>Washington Post

November 1, 1999

Pg. 22</P>

<P>Conflict Tops Clinton Meeting Agenda</P>

<P>By Steven Mufson, Washington Post Staff Writer </P>

<P> Russian Prime Minister and presidential candidate Vladimir Putin will meet President Clinton in Oslo Tuesday against a backdrop of heavy-handed Russian military action and mounting civilian casualties in Chechnya.</P>

<P> With Russian President Boris Yeltsin's term coming to an unpopular end, the Clinton administration is straining to distance itself from Russia's invasion of the rebellious Chechen republic without alienating the Russian public or politicians who will remain after Yeltsin is gone from the scene.</P>

<P> The five-week-old Russian war in Chechnya--which has claimed thousands of lives and created nearly 200,000 refugees--complicates an already awkward moment in U.S.-Russia relations and will top the meeting's troublesome agenda.</P>
>

<P> The Clinton administration also is pressing a reluctant Moscow to agree to changes in the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty before June, when Clinton will decide whether to deploy a national missile defense system still in the research stage. In addition, Congress, citing recent banking scandal allegations, is pressing the administration to take a tougher stand on Russia's economic reforms. Moreover, Russia is still angry over the NATO air war in Kosovo and U.S. plans for NATO expansion.</P>

<P> "Relations aren't good, and they're not getting any better," said Thoma

s Graham, a senior fellow in Russian studies at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "Chechnya, coming on the heels of the banking scandals, is doing a lot of damage to Russia's reputation in the United States and is making it difficult for the Clinton administration to get the support it needs for aid to Russia. And it is hardening positions here on U.S.-Russia relations."

Though senior U.S. officials have denounced bombardments of civilians, U.S. policymakers are perhaps even more worried about the possibility of Russian military casualties, new acts of terrorism and the impact those might have on Russian domestic politics with parliamentary and presidential elections approaching. One worry: a nationalist backlash prompted by new evidence of Russia's impotence. Another: instability spreading to the neighboring countries of Georgia and Azerbaijan.

"I think that if this situation does not develop in a favorable and acceptable manner, it will jeopardize everything else that we are talking about of a positive nature in Russia today, including Russia's evolution as a civil society," Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott said in recent congressional testimony.

So far, the Clinton administration has adopted a position tougher than the one it took during the 1993-94 Russian conflict in Chechnya. On Tuesday, Clinton is expected to echo other senior administration officials who have affirmed Russia's right to take action in the wake of terrorist bombings of apartment buildings in Moscow and violence Chechens helped foment in the Russian republic of Dagestan. But like those American officials, Clinton is expected to criticize the massive attack on the entire Chechen republic as the wrong way to respond.

"We're just concerned that the escalation of violence is disproportionate and is leading to too many civilian casualties," said a senior administration official. "This is not any way to solve the problem. Russia needs to find a way to open dialogue with Chechen leaders."

On Friday, Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright met with Russian Interior Minister Vladimir Rushaylo, and, according to State Department spokesman James P. Rubin, "the subject was nearly exclusively Chechnya." Rubin said Albright was "profoundly troubled about the strategy underlying Russia's actions in Chechnya and the fact that there did not seem to be an exit to a political solution."

"We don't question Russia's right to deal with terrorism within its borders, and we do recognize Russia's territorial integrity, including Chechnya in side of that," Rubin said. "The difference between their right to act and the wisdom in the way they're acting is the essence of the discussions."

Some U.S. officials believe Putin will want to avoid making Chechnya th

e focus of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe meeting later this month. But any international intervention is problematic because Chechnya is an internal Russian issue. Though it has sought independence, Chechnya is internationally recognized as one of the 89 distinct parts of the Russian federation.

"From the standpoint of international law, there is not a damn thing the United States can do, should do or needs to do," said Thane Gustafson, a professor at Georgetown University and a business consultant on Russia. "That puts us in the ghastly situation of standing by and witnessing a tragedy we cannot do anything about."

Moreover, many Russia analysts say that the invasion of Chechnya has boosted the popularity of Putin because Russians want to strike out against an ethnically distinct group that has been blamed for the Moscow apartment bombings.

U.S. officials acknowledge that their leverage is limited. Though the Clinton administration can threaten to pressure the International Monetary Fund to cut off funds, it isn't clear whether that would hurt Russia more than it would Western banks and other creditors. Other U.S.-funded programs, such as ensuring the security of Russian nuclear materials, are in the U.S. interest, officials said.

But Rushaylo's presentation to Albright is an indication that Russia, which was starting to recover from its 1998 financial crisis, is carefully watching U.S. reaction.

So far, the Clinton administration has been urging Moscow to negotiate with Chechen officials and other leaders in the Caucasus. But some Russia experts say that such negotiations would be fruitless because the moderate Chechen leaders most likely to negotiate hold little sway with the more extreme Chechens responsible for the fighting against Russia.

Reaction against Russia might carry stronger domestic implications, both in the United States and in other countries, had not the rebellious republic alienated virtually the entire international community since Russia withdrew its soldiers from the region in 1996. Congressional sources said a series of incidents have cost Chechnya sympathy, including the killing of British telecommunications workers, the unsolved massacre of sleeping Red Cross workers, the unsolved disappearance of a U.S. human rights scholar, the fomenting of violence in neighboring Dagestan and the destabilization of neighboring Georgia.

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Defense Daily

November 1, 1999

Pg. 5

Stevens, Young Rebuke Shelton For Remarks On DoD Cut

By Sheila Foote

The chairmen of the House and Senate Appropriations Committees, angered by the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staffs testimony that an across-the-board federal spending cut would be "devastating" to the Pentagon, have sent a letter to Army Gen. Henry Shelton emphasizing that the Republican Congress has been responsible for providing billions of extra dollars for defense.

Shelton had testified before the Senate Armed Services Committee that a GOP proposal for a 1.4 percent across-the-board cut to federal discretionary spending would hurt the improvements made in military readiness that have been made as a result of recent additions to the defense budget (Defense Daily, Oct. 27). The cut agreed to by the House last week is a .97 percent cut to all the federal agencies in FY 00.

"The fact of the matter is that the national security budgets submitted year after year by this administration, and which you have testified in support of before our Committee the past two years, would have been devastating to our nations military," said Senate Appropriations Committee Chairman Te

d Stevens (R-Alaska) and House Appropriations Committee Chairman Bill Young (R-Fla.) in an Oct. 27 letter to Shelton.</P>

<P> "In fact, the gains you referred to in your testimony yesterday to start readiness moving back in the right direction, were initiatives of our Committee, not this administration, throughout the past five years, including the four years that we have had the privilege to jointly chair the Defense Subcommittee and this year in partnership with Chairman Jerry Lewis," Stevens and Young said.</P>

<P> The legislators noted that in FY 99, Congress provided \$17.8 billion in emergency appropriations in addition to the FY 99 Defense Appropriations Bill to cover expenditures made in operations in Iraq and the Balkans. They also note that even after an across-the-board cut, the FY 00 Defense Appropriations Bill would be almost \$2 billion more than the level requested by the administration. "And at \$265 billion, this bill is still \$15 billion above the Fiscal Year 1999 Defense Appropriations Bill enacted by Congress last year," Stevens and Young said.</P>

<P> Stevens and Young said that they have opposed the across-the-board cut. They held out the hope that in continuing negotiations with the administration, Congress can find a way to complete the FY 00 appropriations process without making such a cut.</P>

<P> House Majority Leader Dick Armey (R-Texas) and Majority Whip Tom DeLay (R-Texas) were two of the initiators of the idea of the across-the-board cut.</P>

<P> "There has been no greater opponent of an across-the-board reduction in discretionary spending this year than us," said Stevens and Young. "Unfortunately, this administration has given us no help, other than recommending higher taxes, in identifying offsets to pay for the increases the president requires in foreign aid and other non-defense discretionary spending accounts as a condition for signing the bills into law.</P>

<P> "You should know that our Committee continues our efforts to make any across-the-board cut that may be required as small as possible. In just the past two days, we have found enough savings to reduce the cut from 1.4 to .97 percent," they said.</P>

<P> "With the administration's help, we can complete our appropriations work this year without any across-the-board reduction," they added.</P>

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<P>Washington Post

November 1, 1999

Pg. 22</P>

<P>Russia Denies Targeting Civilians </P>

<I><P>Putin Says 'Some Mistakes' Possible in Bombing of Chechnya</P>

</I><P>By Daniel Williams, Washington Post Foreign Service </P>

<P> MOSCOW, Oct. 31Prime Minister Vladimir Putin acknowledged today there "might have been some mistakes" during Russia's relentless bombing of Chechnya, but dismissed the charge that Russian forces deliberately target civilians.</P>

<P> His remarks, made in a radio interview, marked the first time a top Russian official had responded with anything but a flat "no" to reports of indiscriminate bombing, rocketing and shelling during the month-long assault on separatist guerrillas. They came a day after the International Committee of the Red Cross said trucks bearing Red Cross emblems and carrying civilians were bombed from the air Friday. Twenty-five people, including two Chechen Red Cross workers, were killed and 70 others were injured.</P>

<P> "Everything that concerns the bombing of peaceful residents is the ill-intended propaganda of terrorists," he said. "No special actions to inflict damage on the peaceful population are being carried out or will be carried out."</P>

<P> Russian warplanes continued to hit the Chechen capital Grozny, the Interfax news agency said. Also hit were the railroad station and neighborhoods near the downtown office of President Aslan Maskhadov.</P>

<P> Troops also surrounded Chechnya's second-largest city Gudermes, Russian reports said. Taking Gudermes would complete a three-sided control of the approaches to Grozny. </P>

<P> Assaults on civilians have begun to rattle Western governments, which had been restrained in their criticism of Russia. The West, including the United States, regards the war as an internal Russian affair. They are also unsympathetic to lawless Chechnya, which Russia says harbors terrorists who bombed five apartment buildings in Russia last month, killing at least 300 people.</P>

<P> Russian officials insist only terrorist bases have been subject to attack. "We have tasks other than forcing the Chechen people to their knees," Putin said.</P>

<P> The prime minister is trying to win the Chechens' hearts and minds, but the reality is that the very people he's trying to win over are being punished.</P>

<P> Yusup Magomedov, 14, was lying in the Sunzhensk Hospital in Ingushetia, west of Chechnya on Saturday. He has no legs. They were amputated after he was wounded in an Oct. 24 attack on Novy Sharoi, about 20 miles west of Grozny.</P>

<P> He was among about 50 wounded civilians ferried Friday from Chechnya to the neighboring region of Ingushetia by special permission of Russian border troops. Eight days ago, Russia sealed the frontier to refugee traffic, and since then has let only a handful of women, ill children and injured Chechens pass.</P>

<P> Yusup's mother, Leila, said he was wounded at their home when Russian jets bombed. "In Chechnya, there are no medicines. We had to bring our own blankets," she said.</P>

<P> Sunzhensk Hospital's surgical ward was overflowing with the seriously injured. Most were women, but there were also children and adult men.</P>

<P> Fruit vendor Towaha Bibalatov, 31, lost both legs in the Oct. 21 Russia n attack on Grozny's central market. His sister, who had accompanied him to Ing ushetia, said Grozny's Hospital No. 9, one of the few still functioning, lacks enough medicine and anesthetics to treat the wounded. "They amputate because th ere's nothing else they can do," she said. "It is like a factory conveyor belt. "</P>

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<P>USA Today

November 1, 1999

Pg. 12</P>

<P>No Handover For Bin Laden</P>

<I><P>Afghanistan's Taliban may help relocate the suspected terrorist</P>

</I><P>By Jack Kelley, USA Today</P>

<P> WASHINGTON -- The Taliban's supreme leader in Afghanistan, Mullah Moham mad Omar, assured indicted terrorist Osama bin Laden over the weekend that the

Islamic army would not hand him over to the United States for trial as requested, the Taliban's foreign minister said Sunday.</P>

<P> Wakil Ahmed Muttawakil said that Omar's assurance was in response to bin Laden's offer Friday to leave Afghanistan for an undisclosed location. The United Nations has given the Taliban, which control nearly 90% of Afghanistan, until Nov. 14 to hand over bin Laden or face economic sanctions.</P>

<P> "We want to be sure that he is not feeling any pressure to leave," Muttawakil told The Associated Press. "If he wants to leave on his own then we will decide what help we can give."</P>

<P> Bin Laden has been indicted by a U.S. federal court on charges of masterminding the August 1998 bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania which killed more than 200 people, including 12 Americans. Bin Laden, who has been in Afghanistan since 1996, has denied any involvement.</P>

<P> As the Nov. 14 deadline approaches, U.S. intelligence officials, using wiretaps, satellite photos and informants, are watching bin Laden's movements more closely than ever. "He's under the microscope," says a senior U.S. intelligence official.</P>

<P> U.S. officials say the FBI, Justice Department, CIA's counter-terrorism center and the U.S. military have set up a task force to take custody of bin Laden if the Taliban change their mind.</P>

<P> The task force is standing by in the region, but officials wouldn't say where. They say, however, that it won't try to take bin Laden by force.</P>

<P> "There will be no snatch operation," says a senior intelligence official. "Bin Laden is too well-protected. It would be a blood bath."</P>

<P> Still, bin Laden isn't taking any chances. He has stopped using satellite phones out of fear that he could be tracked, officials say.</P>

<P> Instead, he is writing encrypted messages on floppy disks that are delivered to neighboring Pakistan where they are distributed or phoned out on pay phones to his members, they add.</P>

<P> Satellite photos show that bin Laden, 42, his three wives and 13 children, spend most of their time at his base in the southeastern Afghan city of Kandahar and at a farm near the east Afghan village of Farmada, Middle East intelligence officials say.</P>

<P> The photos show that bin Laden's compounds are protected by trucks carrying rocket-propelled grenades, anti-aircraft cannons, assault rifles and a mounted multiple-rocket launcher, they said. The Farmada compound is located along the Ningahar Canal and is landscaped with orange and olive trees.</P>

<P> Bin Laden rarely leaves his compounds but when he does, he travels in a white Toyota pickup that flies the Taliban's white flag, the Middle East intelligence officials say.</P>

<P> His convoy includes a 250-person guard, mostly made up of Sudanese men, and trucks carrying surface-to-air missiles. The missiles were supplied to Afghanistan by the CIA in the 1980s to aid Afghan rebels who were fighting the Soviet occupation of the country. U.S. officials say the missiles, which require a battery pack to fire, are probably inoperable.</P>

<P> Meanwhile, lawyers for Saudi businessman Mohammad Hussein al-Amoudi disputed a USA TODAY report Friday that U.S. and British officials are investigating whether Amoudi or the Capital Trust Bank, which they alleged he was involved with, had ever transferred money to bin Laden.</P>

<P> Amoudi "has never knowingly had dealings of any kind with Osama bin Laden," his lawyers said in a statement. "Sheik Mohammed H. Al-Amoudi does not have any knowledge of any money transfers by Saudi businesses to Osama bin Laden."</P>

<P> U.S. intelligence officials told USA TODAY that Saudi businessmen have been transferring tens of millions of dollars to bank accounts linked to bin Laden. The transfers were made to two Islamic charities, the Islamic Relief and Blessed Relief, in Khartoum, Sudan.</P>

<P> More than a dozen other charities, also named "Islamic Relief," do not appear to be involved in the money transits, the intelligence officials say.</P>

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<P>Pacific Stars and Stripes

November 2, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>North Korea Stockpiling Chemical Weapons, South Reports</P>

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

<P> South Korean intelligence officials have reported that North Korea has been stockpiling chemical and biological weapons.</P>

<P> South Korean national assemblymen were told by the Defense Ministry that Pyongyang has produced and stored more than 5,000 tons of chemical agents. Additionally, North Korea has a "significant amount" of biological agents, the ministry said.</P>

<P> Those stockpiles, the ministry said, are "growing continuously." Last week, U.S. Forces Korea officials announced they would begin distributing gas masks and protective hoods to all U.S. military family members and nonessential government employees stationed in South Korea in mid-November. But they say the move is not in response to any new threat on the peninsula.</P>

<P> "This has been in planning for more than a year as part of our Family and Force-Protection program," said Col. David Apt, U.S. Forces Korea spokesman. "This was just the best time to put it into effect."</P>

<P> People receiving the devices which are effective against both chemical and biological agents should not be alarmed, Apt said. Command officials are simply taking responsibility for protecting the community. South Korean, Japanese and U.S. officials contend that North Korea is the greatest threat to peace in Northeast Asia.</P>

<P> South Korean authorities say the Norths chemical and biological warfare stockpile is significant and growing. As a matter of policy, U.S. military authorities do not comment on intelligence matters. The Center for Defense Information a private, non-profit research organization based in Washington, D.C., which monitors the military is not so reticent. North Koreas chemical agents include mustard gas, phosgene, sarin and VX agents, the center said, citing the 5 ,000- ton stockpile figure.</P>

<P> Many North Korean troops are outfitted with protective gear, chemical weapons detectors and decontamination systems, indicating that the country has not ruled out the possibility of using chemical and biological weapons, the center said.</P>

<P> "Pyongyang has been involved in biological weapons research and development for the past three decades," the center said, including research has centered on anthrax, cholera and bubonic plague.</P>

<P> Producing and stockpiling chemical weapons was outlawed in 1997 by the Chemical Weapons Convention. Under the convention, signatories are to destroy all stocks of chemical weapons by 2007. A total of 169 countries have signed the convention, but North Korea did not. The center says Pyongyang probably will not sign because the convention includes a verification system, which requires international inspection.</P>

<P> In 1987, North Korea signed the Biological Weapons Convention, which prohibits development, production and stockpiling of biological weapons. That agreement, however, does not include a verification-inspection system. </P>

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<P>New York Times

November 1, 1999</P>

<P>East Timorese Celebrate In Their Newly Freed Capital</P>

<P>By Seth Mydans</P>

<P> DILI, East Timor -- East Timor began its rebirth on Sunday with a huge and solemn religious procession down the waterfront road where just hours before tanks had escorted the last departing Indonesian soldiers to their ships. </P>
>

<P> The city had been mostly emptied last month when local militias backed by the military terrorized the population. Sunday the waterfront was packed with thousands of people, singing hymns and offering Roman Catholic prayers. </P>

<P> At an open-air ceremony, participants broke into applause when the Roman Catholic bishop, Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, addressed the territory's former occupiers, saying: "You have had 24 years to build up East Timor, but what is the result? Nonsense. Zero." </P>

<P> The crowd cheered when he offered a hand of friendship but added, "With or without Indonesia, East Timor can stand alone and can thrive." </P>

<P> Sunday was the first day since the invasion in 1975 that East Timorese had gathered in the streets of a city free of Indonesian control. "This is our country now," said one of the participants, Florentina Reis, a poet and human rights worker. </P>

<P> But in fact, East Timor is not yet fully theirs. It is now a "non-self-governing territory" administered by the United Nations for an undetermined period of transition that could last two or three years. </P>

<P> And the weight of foreign military power was still heavy on the streets Sunday. </P>

<P> The procession, honoring the feast Our Lady of Fátima, was held two weeks late because the international peacekeeping force that is now here has

d deemed the city not yet secure enough earlier. </P>

<P> The hard work that must still be done to achieve full independence was a theme of address by Bishop Belo, co-winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1996 for his efforts to free the territory. </P>

<P> "In two or three years, we'll have a big party to celebrate our independence, but only in two or three years," he said. </P>

<P> "Independence will be empty if East Timor just waits for others to help," he cautioned the crowd. "If you don't work hard, you'll be like beggars. You will be holding out your hand for help from other countries." </P>

<P> Nevertheless, he gave abundant thanks to those who have come to East Timor's aid. </P>

<P> "Without you, we would never have survived," he said, switching to English. </P>

<P> The procession on Sunday was the start of a period of remembrance and reaffirmation here as East Timor struggles to recover from the traumas of recent weeks. </P>

<P> With an estimated 200,000 people having died at the hands of the Indonesian military and with a population that now stands at 800,000, mourning the dead is a central ritual of national identity. </P>

<P> All Souls' Day, celebrated on Tuesday with special Masses and visits to cemeteries, "is bigger than Christmas," said the Rev. Rene Manubang, a Filipino missionary. </P>

<P> Most homes throughout the territory were destroyed in the militias' campaign of destruction, and most of the population fled their homes or were forced into exile in a mass movement of people. </P>

<P> Many of them are still trapped by the militias in encampments in the neighboring Indonesian territory of West Timor. Most of them, as well as many others who are still hiding in the hills of East Timor, remain unaccounted for. </P>

<P> Even as the procession began to mobilize this afternoon, a small crowd of people sat under a tree outside a refugee staging point in central Dili -- as they do every day -- hoping that a missing relative will suddenly appear. </P>

>

<P> One is Teresa Perrera, a vegetable seller, whose 14-year-old son is missing. One is Maria Freitas, whose son and daughter-in-law have disappeared. One is Fernando dos Reis, a civil servant, who shows people a typed list of the names of eight missing family members. </P>

<P> A girl of about 10 who waited here every day in hopes of meeting her missing parents has stopped coming. Nobody knows why.</P>

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<P>Washington Post

November 1, 1999

Pg. 22</P>

<P>Indonesian General Vows Wide Army Role</P>

<P> SINGAPORE--Indonesia's influential security minister has reportedly said that the military will have a "much wider role" in the future under the country's new government.</P>

<P> Gen. Wiranto's statements follow mass student protests in recent weeks

demanding that the military get out of politics, where it has played a dominant role.

The military will make "various efforts in helping the people's welfare , which we call nation-building and national development," Wiranto was quoted as saying in Singapore's Straits Times newspaper.

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Washington Post

November 1, 1999

Pg. 22

Inquiry Says Army Killed Civilians In Aceh

JAKARTA, Indonesia--A July attack by Indonesian soldiers on a village in Aceh province left 51 unarmed civilians dead, a government fact-finding team has announced.

The military's claims that many of those killed and the five missing had been separatist rebels were dismissed, Indonesia's official Antara news agency

y reported Saturday. Investigation team member Azhary Basar said there was little evidence that there were any rebels in the village of Beutong Ateuh at the time.

Witnesses said soldiers rounded up a group of villagers attending an Islamic class and took them to a nearby forest where they were killed. The army contended that the victims were rebel fighters killed in a gun battle with troops.

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<P>Baltimore Sun

November 1, 1999</P>

<P>Japanese Leader Seeks Greater Military Readiness </P>

<P> TOKYO -- Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi called yesterday for laws that would allow Japan's military to rapidly respond to outside aggression, a news agency reported.</P>

<P> "It is essential to prepare the necessary framework to counter possible attacks on our country," Kyodo News quoted Obuchi.</P>

<P> Japanese have been on edge since communist North Korea test-fired a missile a year ago that sailed over their country and into the Pacific Ocean.</P>

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<P>New York Times

November 1, 1999</P>

<P>Iraqi Opposition Groups Meet In New York</P>

<P>By Christopher S. Wren</P>

<P> NEW YORK -- Even in exile, Iraq's fractious opposition groups have spent more time divided against one another than uniting against their common enemy, Saddam Hussein. But with the United States acting as midwife, more than 300 of their representatives converged on New York City over the weekend to try to forge a credible alternative to the present dictatorship in Baghdad. </P>

<P> "We know what they're against," a senior State Department official said. "The question is what are they for? They have not been as clear on this message as they need to be." </P>

<P> The conference took place at the Sheraton New York hotel under the umbrella of the Iraqi National Congress, a coalition of political organizations opposed

osed to Saddam. Some came from inside Iraq but many more from exile. The coalition is recovering from a setback inflicted by Saddam's Republican Guards who defeated its forces in northern Iraq in 1996. </P>

<P> The conference was financed with the last of \$3 million that Congress gave for a series of meetings among Iraqi dissidents this year. The first session took place in Britain last April. The funds came from \$8 million allocated to support the Iraqi opposition in the current budget. </P>

<P> Last year, Congress authorized another \$97 million in government goods and services to be drawn upon by Iraqi opponents of Saddam. This week, four Iraqi rebels, two of them Kurds, are attending a 10-day course in military-civilian relations at an Air Force base near Pensacola, Fla. The administration has also offered Iraqi opposition groups \$2 million worth of surplus office supplies. U.S. officials do not rule out providing actual weapons later. </P>

<P> An American presence was conspicuous at the conference, though the Iraqis conducted their animated debates in Arabic. </P>

<P> The conference opened Friday evening with an address by David Scheffer, the administration's ambassador at large for war crimes issues, who explained his plan for having Saddam indicted for crimes against humanity. It ends Monday with an address by Thomas Pickering, the undersecretary of state for political affairs. </P>

<P> The schedule was sprinkled with pep talks from members of Congress, who coupled pledges of support with pleas for the rival groups to start working with one another. </P>

<P> Rep. Benjamin Gilman, R-N.Y., who is chairman of the House Committee on International Relations, said in a speech on Sunday, "We in Congress have given our president and his administration all the tools they need to help you press forward with your struggle." </P>

<P> "But in order for us to persuade our administration to do more, you in turn have to do more," he added. "First of all, this meeting must be a success in bringing all the conference groups together." </P>

<P> On Saturday, Sen. Sam Brownback, R-Kan., told the Iraqis: "You will need the support and assistance of the United States and of countries in the region. But most of all, you will need to become a potent, unified force." </P>

<P> On Saturday, Sayyid Qadhimi al Battat, a guerrilla leader who slipped out of southern Iraq on Oct. 10 to attend the conference, urged his fellow Iraqis to put aside their differences. Resplendent in a brown robe and white Arab headdress

ddress, Battat said that his troops were fighting "continuously" against Saddam and deserved to hear that the Iraqi opposition groups meeting in New York had solidified their own ranks. </P>

<P> In an interview later, Battat spoke obliquely of "discrepancies" among the groups at the conference. "Some are extending big efforts" to attain the objective of unity, Battat said in Arabic. "And there are some who have taken stands that may lead to preventing success, for various rationalizations." </P>

<P> The State Department official said that Saddam's subordinates telephoned some opposition members in exile and warned them against going to the New York conference. Ayad Allawy, the head of the Iraqi National Accord, a group that did attend, said that Saddam routinely accuses opponents of being puppets of the Americans. </P>

<P> "We don't consider ourselves puppets of anybody," Allawy said. "We want to get rid of the dictatorship." </P>

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<P>Washington Post

October 31, 1999

Saudi Bombing Suspect Questioned

KUWAIT CITY--A top Saudi cabinet minister was quoted as saying that Saudi Arabia was still questioning a dissident extradited from the United States for suspected links to a 1996 bombing that killed 19 Americans.

Interior Minister Prince Nayef, a brother of Saudi King Fahd, told the English-language newspaper Arab News that he appreciated Washington's role in the extradition of Hani Abdel Rahim Sayegh but rejected any foreign intervention in the investigation into the bombing at Dhahran.

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New York Times

November 1, 1999

A Plan To Rebuild Danube Bridges Widens Gap On Aid To Serbs

By Marlise Simons

<P> BUCHAREST, Romania -- Over strong American and British opposition, France and Germany are backing a European Union plan to aid Yugoslavia by building a temporary bridge over the Danube and clearing the wrecks of the bridges bombed by NATO earlier this year.</P>

<P> Under the plan, the European Union would provide \$25 million and the technical means to haul away debris of three bombed bridges at Novi Sad, Serbia's second-largest city, which block traffic on Europe's longest river. </P>

<P> The plan would include sending an old dismantled Danube bridge now stored near Vienna and temporarily installing it at Novi Sad. </P>

<P> European officials and experts involved in the negotiations, some of whom attended a conference here led by Patriarch Bartholomew of the Eastern Orthodox Church, said that details were being worked out and the money was available. </P>

<P> If approved, aid is likely to cause new friction between Europe and the United States, which has argued it would violate sanctions that prohibit economic assistance and trade with the government of President Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia. </P>

<P> Washington's backing is important because the Americans can best assess whether there is still unexploded ordnance on the river bed, and, if so, how to clear it. </P>

<P> The United States and its European allies have already clashed over how best to isolate and weaken Milosevic. </P>

<P> Washington objects to a European plan to send heating oil to two Serbian cities, Nis and Pirot, that are controlled by Milosevic's opponents. The shipments are to start in mid-November. </P>

<P> Washington argues that Milosevic could use assistance to his advantage; the Europeans, led by France and Germany, counter that an American policy that envisages a cold and hungry population ousting Milosevic is too tough on ordinary people, and unlikely to succeed. </P>

<P> In the case of the bridges, there are other practical concerns: blockage of the Danube is crippling shipping and trade along the 1,800-mile waterway, which links 10 countries. There are also fears of flooding. </P>

<P> "Freeing this great European river has important practical and financial consequences for all the Europeans who live on its banks, but most significant

tly for the people of Romania and Bulgaria," Patriarch Bartholomew wrote in an appeal for European Union aid sent after he traveled through the region. </P>

<P> Losses in trade and shipping revenues, estimated at some \$200 million, have had the most impact in the poorest countries, notably Bulgaria, Romania and Ukraine, where hundreds of barges lie idle and some shipping companies have laid off half their workers. </P>

<P> "Moving cargo like coal, iron ore or wheat is four to five times cheaper by river," said Anatoli Georgiev, a director of the Ukrainian Danubian Shipping Company, which he said has had to let go of many dockworkers and boat crews. </P>

<P> There is almost no traffic on the Danube, normally bustling. At Galati, a Romanian port, several boat captains said they had not worked for four months. "The few barges going up the river are heading for Serbia, with Russian cargo and oil," said Valerio Panzar, a boat captain. His remarks indicated that Russia is not adhering strictly to the sanctions against Milosevic. Experts from the Danube Commission, which oversees navigation, said that Milosevic has been receiving Russian oil via barges that use a bypass channel. </P>

<P> Some scientists also warn of the danger of vast flooding if ice piles up and effectively forms a dam behind the wrecks of the bridges and a pontoon bridge the Serbs recently put across the Danube at Novi Sad. </P>

<P> Under a treaty regulating traffic on the Danube, Milosevic's government is obliged to clear obstacles from the river, or let others do so. But Serbia says the wrecked bridges can be cleared only if the West pays and builds three new bridges. </P>

<P> If agreement is reached, the big question remains whether the work can be done before winter. The Danube is low now, which will ease the clearing work. Once frost sets in, work would be impossible, experts say, meaning the river would remain closed until next spring or summer. </P>

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<P>Washington Post

November 1, 1999

Pg. 22</P>

<P>U.N. Flies Clothing To Kosovo</P>

<P>By Associated Press </P>

<P> PRISTINA, Yugoslavia, Oct. 31 With concern rising over the lack of adequate shelter, the U.N. refugee agency flew tons of warm clothing into Kosovo today to help hundreds of thousands of people cope with the coming Balkan winter.</P>

<P> Elsewhere, Yugoslavia's independent Beta news agency reported two weekend grenade attacks on Kosovo's dwindling Serbian community.</P>

<P> An Antonov 124, the world's largest transport plane, landed at Pristina's airport with 60 tons of winter underwear, coats and boots for women and children, according to Peter Kessler, spokesman for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees.</P>

<P> Last week, European Union officials said about 300,000 of the province's 1.4 million people lack adequate shelter because so many homes were destroyed during the 18-month Yugoslav crackdown on ethnic Albanians, which triggered the 78-day NATO bombing.</P>

<P> NATO-led peacekeepers entered the province June 12 after the Yugoslavs withdrew. But delays in committing funds and other bureaucratic hurdles have prevented

evented a major reconstruction effort. Nighttime temperatures in mountainous parts of Kosovo are already approaching freezing.

The advent of winter adds a new dimension to a NATO and U.N. mission that has spent months trying to restore order and curb revenge attacks by ethnic Albanians angry over the brutality of the Serb-led Yugoslav crackdown.

Ethnic rage has also spread to other Slavic minorities--such as Croats, Montenegrins and Bosnian Muslims--who share a common language with the Serbs.

In Belgrade, Beta said three Serbian youths were injured Saturday night when someone in a passing car hurled a grenade at them in the village of Lipljan, six miles south of Pristina. Beta also said a grenade was hurled into the home of a Serbian couple today in the northern town of Zubin Potok, injuring the man.


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<P>New York Times

October 31, 1999

Pg. 1</P>

<P>Ignoring Scars, Milosevic Is Stubbornly Pressing On</P>

<P>By Steven Erlanger</P>

<P> BELGRADE, Serbia -- Slobodan Milosevic -- gray and remote, internationally isolated and politically unpopular, charged with war crimes, his army restless and its reservists outraged, his economy ruined and his factories bombed, his refineries and electricity system smashed and his sources of fuel unclear, his roads and railways holed and his bridges collapsed -- has not only survived the loss of Kosovo, but gained a second wind. </P>

<P> How he has managed to do so over the last five months is a testament to his grit, preparation and peculiar world view, as well as to his strict control over the levers of the state. </P>

<P> Through the police, the army and the official news media, he has sown fear and uncertainty and belittled any pretenders to his throne, while deepening the divisions among his opposition. The possibility of a violent explosion is always here in this bruised, sometimes desperate nation. But with less need than ever to please the West, Milosevic has shown a tougher, combative, intimidating side and intensified the sense of threat in the society, being more willing, even avid, to beat protesters, shut down newspapers and send people to jail. </P>

<P> The Milosevic era may be coming to an end, but it will not happen quickly. He has made clear that he will not be forced from his office as Yugoslavia's President without a fight for which his opponents lack the courage and the troops, and he has managed to extend a degree of confidence to the rest of his regime. </P>

<P> He has also benefited from the manifold mistakes of his divided enemies, both foreign and domestic, to become a sort of European Saddam Hussein -- isolated, unpopular, but apparently unmovable. </P>

<P> In late August, sensing the panic in his regime after the loss of Kosovo and a sizable opposition rally in Belgrade, Milosevic summoned the leaders of his party to stop the rot. </P>

<P> According to some who were there, he said the main task was to get through the winter, week by week, month by month. While opposition figures try to finish NATO's job and pull him down, and all of them with him, he said, the Government and the party must concentrate on the reconstruction of the country and patriotic activities of all kinds. </P>

<P> They must rebuild the bridges and the power and heating plants, and insure that every person whose house or apartment was destroyed by a NATO bomb had

a new dwelling for the winter. </P>

<P> "Our companies must provide and help," he said, implying that it was time for those who had made money from their coziness with the Milosevic clan to stump up, for their own preservation. "We need full mobilization of every segment in order to achieve the maximum." </P>

<P> The world would change, he said. President Clinton would go. The Russians would elect a new President, more nationalist, closer to Serbia. The world was tired of American hypocrisy and hegemony, he said. The Europeans understood that the region needs Serbia. Just hang on. He would outlast them all, he said. </P>

<P> Whatever his peculiarities, Milosevic, now 58 years old, is described by everyone who meets him as possessing a strong will and an aura of confidence, and he rarely shows fear or unease. During the war, as one air-raid siren sounded 10 seconds after the others, he turned to a visitor with a genuine grin, saying, "That one's always late." </P>

<P> He is fond of indulging in the Serbian pastime of vulgar speech in private, over whisky and cigars, as a way of establishing intimacy, and he draws others out, leading them on to judge their loyalty, while keeping his real feelings to himself. </P>

<P> He listens but makes his own decisions in private, usually after consulting his wife, Mirjana Markovic, whom he met at 17 and with whom he shares an extremely close and obsessional relationship. </P>

<P> He tends to stay out of the limelight, though he is making a few more public appearances these days, to show his vitality. Still, as is habit when he appears on the state television news, an announcer summarizes his comments, and his voice is rarely heard. He is a distant patriarch, generally floating above the swamp of daily politics and squabbles. </P>

<P> In what one Serbian analyst calls a "Slobocentric universe," created over the last 10 years of international isolation, he sits, like a gnomish sultan, high above a ruined landscape where he remains the arbiter of what few benefits are still to be had. Aleksandr Tijanic, Milosevic's former spokesman, calls him "an element in the Serbian periodic table." </P>

<P> He cultivates and drops allies with political acumen, using influence, money and pressure. Currently, he favors the ultranationalist Vojislav Seselj, a tough politician who has brandished a gun outside Parliament and punched opponents, to protect his right wing and to threaten his foes.</P>

<P> In a group, according to those who know him, Milosevic is a stiff, self-conscious and rather clumsy man, with the fake air of a Roman senator, and he carries himself with a kind of artificial dignity, despising flattery and imitation. </P>

<P> Here, in a meeting of his Socialist Party of Serbia's Glavni Odbor, or main committee, Milosevic was both steely and soothing. </P>

<P> "If anyone feels tired, he may feel free to withdraw," he said calmly. "I will understand this. I have nothing against this." Then he paused. "We are still a rasadnik for cadres," he said, using the Serbian word for tree nursery. "We have so many cadres that we could make 20 more governments as good as the one we have now." </P>

<P> Despite such an invitation, despite the West's ban on foreign travel for more than 300 Milosevic associates, and despite the most fervent hopes of the Clinton Administration and the divided Serbian opposition, no one of any consequence has left the Milosevic Government. There has been no significant split, not even any large cracks. </P>

<P> His indictment on charges of war crimes weakened him, but the simultaneous indictment of four top aides -- including his most plausible internal successor, the Serbian President, Milan Milutinovic -- was an additional inducement for Milosevic's elite to stick together. </P>

<P> He has maneuvered within narrow boundaries and with few resources to underline his control over the country and the fate of its people, especially those who fear losing what little they have left. His Government and his crony capitalists have gone into high gear to fix the war damage, covered lavishly on state television, which he has controlled throughout his 12-year rule, and they have secured contracts somehow for Russian natural gas, so people do not freeze this winter. </P>

<P> He has made sure that the police get paid, that his nationalist right wing is covered, and that his opposition is excoriated for its weakness and divisions, while painting the opponents as agents of the very countries that bombed Serbia. </P>

<P> He has been greatly aided in making those charges by his control over the state news media, especially broadcasting. But he is able to make them so plausible only because of two developments that the West should have been able to control, officials close to him say. </P>

<P> First, the chaos in Kosovo, where NATO has not prevented the flight of Serbs in the face of organized Albanian revenge and the destruction of treasured Serbian monasteries and churches. A democratic, multiethnic Kosovo would have

hurt Milosevic badly, making Serbs wonder what the war was all about. There is in the population considerable knowledge and some shame over the deaths of at least 10,000 Kosovo Albanians, by Western estimates, and the expulsion of some 800,000. </P>

<P> But the current state of Kosovo and the mistreatment of even innocent Serbs let the regime argue that Washington forced the war on Belgrade, which could not win. The inability of the West to bring order to Kosovo or to control Albanian crime underlines the message sent by most Serbian news media that Milosevic had no option but to fight the rebel Kosovo Liberation Army, even if the war was fought with all the atrocities that Bosnia made so familiar. </P>

<P> Feeding the sense of paranoia and victimization on which Milosevic survives are the perceptions of many Serbs about the West's attitudes toward them: its embrace of collective guilt and its lip service toward Belgrade's sovereignty. </P>

<P> Second, the United States and the West made an open embrace of opposition figures like Zoran Djindjic of the Democratic Party and his rival, Vuk Draskovic of the Serbian Renewal Movement, urging them to overthrow Milosevic in a popular uprising, without a democratic process. By meeting them in Montenegro, in public, and providing them with money, however late or limited, Western diplomats made it easy for Milosevic and his news media to portray the opposition as paid agents of NATO, continuing its war against Belgrade. </P>

<P> The Serbs, who rarely see themselves as the world does, do not need much prodding to feel that they are the victims of an American vendetta against one man in a highly personalized battle, antithetical to America's democratic values, to save the reputations of President Clinton and Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright. </P>

<P> The Americans are perceived as promoting revolution against a despised but elected leader. That revolution is supposed to be assisted by the American-promoted deprivation of the Serbian people, by their lack of heat, gasoline and food, while Washington tries to veto European efforts to provide such assistance even to opposition-run towns. </P>

<P> "With enemies like NATO and the Serbian opposition," says Aleksa Djilas, a political scientist who has followed Milosevic's career, "Milosevic doesn't need many friends." He thrives on an atmosphere in which Serbs feel the world is being biased and unfair, an autism only aided by 10 years of Washington-driven isolation of Serbia. </P>

<P> Like any incumbent, Milosevic benefits from this atmosphere of emergency and threat, hardly exaggerated when Washington makes his overthrow the explicit price of any aid or reintegration for the Serbs. Even Serbs who agonize over the killings and expulsions of Kosovo's Albanians find this blackmail hard to

take. </P>

<P> After all, argues Milan Milosevic, a veteran analyst at the independent Vreme magazine who is no relation to the President, Milosevic was the supreme commander in a war for the fatherland against an enemy 60 times stronger. Given that "his head is one of the declared war aims, it's not entirely cynical for him to argue that the war continues by other means and to justify wartime measures," Milan Milosevic said. </P>

<P> Milosevic himself, says Djilas, has an extraordinary stamina that derives from his own calculation of interests. "In politics, as in war, defeat is often when you think you're defeated," he said. "If you don't recognize defeat, or you don't show it, you can last a great deal longer." </P>

<P> By any objective terms, Milosevic should be finished. He wanted to be a Serbian Tito. But Yugoslavia continues to unravel, and Serbia has lost its fourth war in nine years: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and now Kosovo, which was an integral part of Serbia itself. With Montenegro restive and aiming for independence, the orbit of Serbian control has shrunk to its smallest this century. </P>

<P> Serbia is home to some 700,000 refugees and internally displaced people -- an estimated 200,000 from Kosovo alone. That represents nearly a tenth of the Serbs in the Balkans. As Djindjic has said, "Four times the Serbs have gone forth on tanks, and four times they have come back on tractors." </P>

<P> Real unemployment is widespread, the Serbian economy is a third its size in 1989, and average wages are now below 80 German marks a month, or about \$45. </P>

<P> But Milosevic is in a good mood nonetheless, says a man who has seen him regularly, having constructed his own peculiar notion of how the world now works. For a man who fancies himself a worldly figure and likes nothing better than visits from American crisis solvers like Richard C. Holbrooke, the isolation in which Milosevic now lives is exasperating. </P>

<P> Milosevic once worked as a banker in New York, and he talks about America all the time, the man said. He seems not to understand that while he was indispensable to the United States for regional security after the 1995 Dayton accords that ended the Bosnian war, he now has little left to offer. He still believes that the Americans will understand the importance of Serbia to the region, as the Europeans do. He fails to see that Serbian atrocities in Kosovo, which he regards as an internal matter and less severe than in Bosnia, have altered views in America and made him an untouchable pariah. </P>

<P> Milosevic regards the Clinton Administration as having gone mad, this v

isitor said. "He can't believe that the American leadership has been hoodwinked into supporting the Kosovo Liberation Army and 'the narco-traffickers, black marketeers and mafiosos' of Albania," the man said, using Milosevic's own terms. "He says the only survival is internal, that we've got to save ourselves until sanity befalls them. He says: 'I've got to run my country and rebuild. While they were bombing, we were planting.' "

Milosevic, who does not always get a balanced view from relatively unsophisticated aides, regards the current anathema aimed at him as wholly personal, because he would not play to the American script and give up Kosovo after a few days of bombing, the man said.

"He thinks he'll be there after they're gone and writing their memoirs, and that someone else will come along, George Bush Jr., with less passion about him and more sensible answers. He feels like he's defending his country and fought a bloody civil war, and he's not making nuclear weapons and selling them to anybody with cash or threatening anybody else."

While he has failed as a Serbian Tito, he sees himself as leading a new nonaligned movement, of countries like Russia, China, India and Belarus, who reject Washington's hegemony. Yet much of this is wishful thinking, and his heart still appears to lie in America.

Those who see him frequently say he is beginning to believe that fresh elections, much as Draskovic has called for, not only can be won, but will be an answer to Serbia's postwar isolation. If the ruling coalition now of his Socialists, his wife's Yugoslav United Left party, and Seselj's ultranationalist Radicals, running a single slate of candidates, can win the next Serbian elections, there will be new legitimacy, his officials say.

Even if they do not win a majority, as is more likely, given his political weakness and the fatigue of 12 years of Government, they believe that the opposition will not win a majority either. They believe that some part of the opposition -- in particular Draskovic, who started the war as a deputy prime minister -- will be willing to make a deal with Milosevic.

All that may be wrong, of course. The 70 percent who consistently tell pollsters that they want a new Government may have the nerve to vote for one in the polling booths. And the United States' pressure on Draskovic -- plus his own continuing anger at what he regards as a regime-directed attempt on his life in early October -- may be enough to keep him from again making a deal.

But elections would leave Milosevic in his post. And the essence of his power has never been elections so much as his ability to create inner conflict, discredit his opposition, manage self-created crises and rule beyond the institutions he himself has degraded.

<P> In a recent poll of 1,500 Serbs published in NIN magazine, there were startling figures that go a long way toward explaining the survival of Slobodan Milosevic. </P>

<P> Asked who was the first person they thought of as Serbia's leader, 34.9 percent of the respondents answered, "no one." Milosevic came second, with 18.3 percent. Third came "undecided," with 16.8 percent. The top opposition figure was Draskovic, with 5.4 percent. Djindjic got 3.7 percent, and Seselj got 3 percent. </P>

<P> In an isolated, fearful universe where nearly 52 percent of the people are unable to articulate an alternate leader for Serbia, the man who commands a solid 20 percent of the vote can remain king. </P>

<P> But the current mood of tentative confidence should not disguise the fear in early June, as Milosevic accepted NATO's ultimatum and agreed to pull out of Kosovo. </P>

<P> The regime was in a significant panic, unsure of what to do, acknowledged Ljubisa Ristic, the president of the vanity party that Milosevic created for his wife and that serves as one of several ways to funnel private money into the regime. But it was obvious that the West's final offer, negotiated with the Russians, had to be taken, Ristic said. </P>

<P> The Serbs could not shoot down NATO aircraft, despite propaganda claims. It was the last moment to save the civilian population of Belgrade from a more permanent loss of bridges, electricity and infrastructure, Ristic said, while acknowledging that it was also the best moment for Milosevic and the regime to save themselves. </P>

<P> Close aides found the courage to tell Milosevic that he should not reject this deal only to accept a worse one later. </P>

<P> Faced with an ultimatum, an imminent NATO decision to introduce ground troops if the war continued much longer and a threat that Belgrade would soon lose its bridges and electrical power, the officials say, Milosevic decided to make an offer that included benefits he could sell at home. A peace settlement would be sanctioned by the United Nations, as the war never was. Kosovo would be explicitly left in Belgrade's sovereignty, with no reference to any referendum on its future status, a form of absurdity in a province so heavily Albanian. And Kosovo would be administered by the United Nations, not by NATO, which would also have to accept Russian troops as peacekeepers. </P>

<P> But the army generals were appalled, and so was Milosevic's key coalition

on partner, the ultranationalist Seselj, who had sworn that no foreign soldier would ever enter Kosovo. </P>

<P> Gen. Nebojsa Pavkovic, the commander of the Third Army Corps that controlled Kosovo as well as southern Serbia, was said to have been shocked by the sudden news of capitulation. He turned pale and sweaty, slumping silently in the back of his car. </P>

<P> But General Pavkovic did not rebel, remembering Milosevic's methodical humiliation of the army from 1992-95 as he built up the police, gave them military equipment and military ranks, and paid them three times better. And General Pavkovic, just weeks later, served Milosevic by calming angry army reservists who wanted their combat pay and by warning the opposition that the army would defend the legitimate Government. </P>

<P> Seselj was a harder problem. In a late-night meeting with party leaders after accepting the NATO-Russian offer, Milosevic asked for Seselj's support in a parliamentary vote the next day. </P>

<P> Milosevic told him that if he could not vote for the deal, he should at least abstain. Seselj said that he was not sure he could even do that. But if the party voted against the deal, Milosevic said, Seselj must promise not to pull down the Government in the Parliament. </P>

<P> The next day, Seselj and his Radicals voted against and vowed to leave the Serbian Government out of protest. But they remained. Not only that, but as opposition protests peaked and then began to wane, Seselj agreed to join the federal Government as well, taking the seats vacated by Draskovic. </P>

<P> Still, the failure of Djindjic to bring large numbers of protesters into the streets was a happy surprise for the Government. There had been serious talk earlier in the summer about a deal with Draskovic that would have made him Serbian Prime Minister of a transitional Government, with Milosevic stepping back toward a more constitutional role as Yugoslav President, officials say. Some businessmen in or close to the Government, like Bogoljub Karic and Milan Beka, found themselves on the list of 300 or so Milosevic associates barred from travel or tending their assets abroad and approached Draskovic to hedge their bets. </P>

<P> But the United States objected fiercely to the idea that Milosevic would remain in office at all and threatened Draskovic himself with indictment on war crimes charges stemming from the activities of his short-lived Serbian Guard in the Croatian war in 1991. To try to push Draskovic closer to the rest of the opposition, Washington also put him on the visa watch list, meaning that he could not travel to America. </P>

<P> It is not clear how much Milosevic himself, who usually uses go-between
s, was involved in these discussions with Draskovic. But they fell apart, the o
pposition wasted the summer, and Milosevic gained confidence. </P>

<P> In a rare speech Oct. 11 in Leskovac, where some of the first postwar u
nrest appeared, Milosevic acknowledged that life is hard for most people in Ser
bia. "It does not take CNN or Deutsche Welle to tell the citizens of this count
ry that -- I, your president, am telling you that." </P>

<P> And he challenged the opposition, saying: "If citizens feel that despit
e all those misfortunes, there are representatives of the people who could insu
re a better life for a majority of the people, let them elect them at the next
elections. And that is all I have to say on that subject."</P>

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<P>Newsweek

November 8, 1999

Pg. 6</P>

<U><P>Periscope</P>

</U><P>Double Trouble </P>

A new CIA report says ex-CIA director John Deutch may have tampered with evidence in an inquiry into his misuse of classified files, sources say. Deutch lost his security clearance in August for transferring CIA files to an unsecured home computer. As the Feds investigated, Deutch tried to erase them. The report also says Deutch had mishandled secret files at the Pentagon in the early '90s. Congressmen, angered that Justice hasn't prosecuted, are now livid. "It's very troubling," says Senate intelligence chair Richard Shelby. Deutch's lawyer had no comment.

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Defense Week

November 1, 1999

Pg. 5

DaimlerChrysler Aerospace Bars U.S.-Made Components

By Tony Capaccio

DaimlerChrysler AG's aerospace group, one of Europe's top three defense contractors, said it won't buy parts made in the United States because it's difficult to obtain export permits, making the supply unreliable. DASA, based in Ottobrunn, Germany, directed its engineers in July to choose European components instead of those from companies such as Honeywell and to ensure future design

s arent dependent on U.S. components that would be subject to export approval.</P>

<P> The Pentagon in the past year has strongly encouraged closer cooperation among U.S. and European companies and NATO allies, including mergers and joint ventures. That was accelerated after the Kosovo conflict. Dasa is frustrated at an export-control system that's been criticized for stifling trans-Atlantic business.</P>

<P> "Because of this uncertain export-license situation, with the exception of certain government-to-government cooperative projects, the use of U.S. goods, especially U.S. defense goods, should be avoided at all costs," the Dasa directive said. "Wherever U.S. goods are being used, they should be substituted as quickly as possible with non-U.S. goods."</P>

<P> The order affects various components, such as chemicals, capacitors, resistors, memory chips and gyroscopes for satellites, said Manfred Von Nordheim, president of Dasa North America.</P>

<P> "This is being implemented, and regrettably, because we are in the process of cutting off relationships with American suppliers that have served them and us extremely well over the last 20 or 30 years," he said.</P>

<P> The policy was news to Deputy Defense Secretary John Hamre. "That's a really bad development," Hamre said. "That undermines our ability as an alliance to stay together."</P>

<P> Dasa will look to French companies, including Aerospatiale Matra and Sagem SA, Europe's third-largest defense-electronics maker, to provide parts now supplied by U.S. companies such as Moog Inc. and Honeywell, Von Nordheim said.</P>

<P> Honeywell's space-and-aviation-control division, based in Clearwater, Fla., sells Dasa gyroscopes, memory devices and other equipment used in satellites. Dasa is now qualifying European companies, such as Sagem, to provide the parts, Von Nordheim said.</P>

<P> "There is a clear contradiction between the pronouncements of [the Pentagon] and State [Department] about the need for greater cooperation with the allies and the reality of the licensing process getting worse and worse and worse. The rhetoric is one thing, the reality is something else," Von Nordheim said.</P>

<P> David Oliver, the Pentagon's No. 2 acquisition official, is leading an effort to reform the export-license system. The Dasa policy will play a prominent

t role in his effort, he said.</P>

<P> "It reinforces the inputs we are getting that say, Weve got to wor
k on the export-control process, " Oliver said.</P>

<P> Honeywell also was unaware of the Dasa policy.</P>

<P> "We are concerned about any explicit bias away from U.S. suppliers
due to export-license issues," spokesman Mike Varga said. "Ironically,
y, we have made significant progress this year in developing and improving rela
tionships with Dasa."</P>

<P> Dasas directive came before its proposed merger with Aerospatiale to cr
eate the worlds third-largest defense contractor.</P>

<P> "If this spreads, and more and more European defense companies dec
ide not to procure in the United States, I think American jobs are going to be
lost," Von Nordheim said. </P>

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<P>Los Angeles Times

October 30, 1999

<P>McDonnell Douglas, Chinese Plead Not Guilty </P>

<P>By Reuters</P>

<P> McDonnell Douglas Corp. and a Chinese government-owned company pleaded not guilty to charges they conspired to divert sophisticated machine tools to the Chinese military in violation of U.S. export laws. The pleas were entered by attorneys representing McDonnell Douglas, which was acquired by Boeing Co. in 1997, and China's National Aero-Technology Import Export Corp., known as CATIC, during a brief court arraignment in Washington. </P>

<P> Robert Hitt, director of McDonnell Douglas' China program office, also pleaded not guilty and was released without bail, though he did have to turn over his passport to his lawyer and was required to give prosecutors 24 hours' notice before traveling abroad. Two other defendants, both Chinese citizens employed by CATIC, did not appear at the hearing. U.S. District Judge Paul Friedman said he would issue arrest warrants for them. The two executives are believed to be in China.</P>

<P> The 16-count indictment alleged that the defendants made false and misleading statements and key omissions about the export by McDonnell Douglas to the Chinese company in 1994 and 1995 of 13 pieces of state-of-the-art equipment that was supposed to be used to build commercial aircraft parts. Some of the equipment ended up at a military project in Nanchang, China, where missiles and attack aircraft are made, according to the indictment that was handed up last week. </P>

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<P>U.S. News & World Report

November 8, 1999

Pg. 7</P>

<U><P>Washington Whispers</P>

</U><P>Target Raytheon</P>

<P>By Paul Bedard </P>

<P> Another big U.S. defense contractor is in trouble for technology deals overseas, this time in Pakistan. Whispers learns that federal investigators are wrapping up a probe of Raytheon Co. for trying to sell a satellite communications system to the Pakistani military. After military sales were banned in the wake of the India-Pakistan nuclear tests last year, the company tried to complete the deal through its Canadian subsidiary, say U.S. officials. A grand jury has heard testimony in the case. Prosecutors hope to strike a plea bargain with the troubled Massachusetts firm; if not, look for an indictment. Raytheon is cooperating and says the gear in question is commercial, not military.</P>

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<P>Wall Street Journal

November 1, 1999</P>

<P>Lockheed Lowers 1999 Forecast; Two More Top Officials To Leave</P>

<P>By Jeff Cole, Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal</P>

<P> The future of Lockheed Martin Corp. and its chairman and chief executive, Vance Coffman, remains under a cloud, following the announcement that two more top executives are leaving and that next year's earnings could be less than half of the projection issued by the defense company Sept. 27.</P>

<P> The latest in a year-long series of developments and disappointments were unveiled Friday along with the company's as-expected third-quarter 1999 earnings of \$217 million, or 57 cents a diluted share, a 32% decrease from year-earlier results of \$318 million, or 83 cents a share. The latest quarter included gains from sales of real estate and other assets that contributed nine cents a share to earnings.</P>

<P> A day of board deliberations Thursday led to the retirements of President and Chief Operating Officer Peter Teets, as well as James A. Blackwell, long time chief of the company's military-airplane unit. Along with Mr. Coffman, those two men until now have been the only senior officers not replaced during the past year of descending profit projections, weak sales of some types of airplanes and satellites, production snarls and rocket-quality woes.</P>

<P> The 56-year-old Mr. Coffman remains chairman and CEO. But one person familiar with the developments said Mr. Coffman "probably" would stay longer term, but that directors will monitor the situation as some among them begin the search for a new president and chief operating officer.</P>

<P> 'Painful' Developments</P>

<P> A Lockheed Martin spokesman said Mr. Coffman has "the full confidence of the board." In remarks to analysts during a conference call, Mr. Coffman promised newly redoubled efforts at success, saying the developments are "painful for all of us. Most of you have lost value and reputations, as have we."</P>

<P> Investors watched the Bethesda, Md., company's shares plummet to nearly

\$16 in Friday trading on the New York Stock Exchange, before they rebounded to close down \$2.9375, or 13%, at \$20. That compares with a 52-week high of \$56.75.

Mr. Coffman and Robert Stevens, the chief financial officer named Sept. 27, said earnings of \$1.50 still are expected for 1999, but expectations for year 2000 profit are \$1, instead of the \$2.15 projected in late September. The executives outlined general plans to trim overhead costs and capital spending to pay down debt and reduce burdensome interest.

In the series of announcements, Mr. Teets said he is leaving because he "must step up to being accountable" for the dimming year-2000 prospects. Those people close to the situation said Mr. Teets submitted his retirement before the board had a chance to deliberate his status. They declined to discuss the details of Mr. Blackwell's exit. Mr. Coffman and board member Eugene Murphy, a General Electric Co. vice chairman, will oversee a search for a successor to Mr. Teets. Mr. Blackwell has been succeeded by Dain Hancock, chief of the company's Texas-based tactical-aircraft operations.

Takeover Is Unlikely

Analysts see a takeover of the world's largest defense contractor as unlikely, despite its depressed share price. Any buyer would have to absorb about \$11 billion in debt, and would need Pentagon clearance to buy a company producing top-secret systems.

Lockheed Martin's difficulties have drained confidence among investors and some military officials, as they watch the suffering in an industry that was rapidly consolidated under orders from the Defense Department during the 1990s. Defense-electronics maker Raytheon Co. also has seen surprising setbacks of late. Boeing Co. has stabilized financially after difficulties that followed its own big acquisitions.

Some Lockheed Martin managers have hoped leaders from the past, such as Mr. Coffman's predecessor, former Chairman Norman Augustine, would temporarily take over to restore confidence. People familiar with the developments said that expectation is unrealistic.

Unduly Optimistic

Mr. Coffman unveiled in late September a major reorganization and planned divestitures of assets with \$1.4 billion in sales. In the early months of 1999, he denied the existence of any broad problems, though he has since conceded certain communication ills and other shortcomings.

<P> In the problem-plagued space sector, quality problems help explain the failure of some heavy-lift Titan rockets and other difficulties. In military-aircraft and commercial-satellite units, weak oversight of subcontractors, or unduly optimistic sales and production forecasts have been blamed. A newer factor is slowing demand for satellites and rockets, stemming partly from bankruptcy filings by satellite-telephone systems operated by other companies.</P>

<P> Mr. Stevens, the chief financial officer, told analysts that declining profit, higher tax rates and increased interest expense account for the \$1.15 reduction in the projected 2000 earnings. Shrinking demand for launches and loss of big government satellite contracts also factor into a new projection that year-2000 cash flow will drop to less than \$500 million, from the \$900 million forecast earlier.</P>

<P> Mr. Stevens said investment would be cut in a new generation of satellite-launch rockets under development, along with certain projects at a new global-telecommunications subsidiary.</P>

<P> Sales for third quarter of 1999 were \$6.16 billion, a slight decline from year-earlier sales of \$6.35 billion. The backlog of unfilled contracts totaled \$44.2 billion at end of the recent quarter.</P>

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<P>Washington Post

November 1, 1999

A Way Out Of Nuclear Stalemate

By Stansfield Turner

The Senate's rejection of the test-ban treaty, whether you think it a good or bad thing, has had the good result of forcing us to reevaluate our approach to limiting and controlling nuclear weapons.

The fact that 30,000 nuclear warheads are around in Russia and the United States and that our government has no plan for reducing that number below 20,000 in the next decade should be unacceptable to us as citizens. No military officer could imagine a war that required 30,000 of these warheads. And it is not only costly to maintain them, it is dangerous. It tells the world how important we believe these weapons to be, even though without them we are still the strongest military power in the world.

Why has our government not been doing more? Because it, and the arms control community that lobbies it, are fixated on using treaties to reduce and control these weapons. Treaties are inherently slow and cumbersome. Their sole virtue is that they establish rigorous standards for verification.

Yet the most successful of all efforts to control nuclear weapons was conducted by President George Bush in 1991 outside the treaty process and lacking any provision for verification: a unilateral reduction in the alert status of our nuclear arsenal through withdrawing most of our tactical weapons from overseas positions and placing some strategic bombers in lesser readiness.

Within nine days, Mikhail Gorbachev reciprocated with similar actions. Those moves have held, and the world has been a safer place. It was a quick, clean and effective process.

Citizens must insist that our government look for some such way out of this stalemate. There is an easy one -- a procedure known as strategic escrow. President Clinton unilaterally could remove the nuclear warheads from, say, 1,000 missiles, place them in storage at least 300 miles away and invite President Yeltsin to send observers to count what went into and out of that storage. Yeltsin could reciprocate, and we would have a process started that could gain momentum. Through it the two sides could reduce their immediately ready nuclear arsenals to less than 1,000 warheads each within four to five years.

Would Yeltsin go along? He would have no choice. The chairman of the Russian Duma's defense committee confirmed on Aug. 23 that the shelf life of Russian

ia's nuclear weapons is much less than that of ours. He predicted that by 2008, the Russian arsenal would be only one-fourth to one-sixth the size of ours. Russia will be desperate not to let that happen, but it will have neither the time nor the money to prevent it by buying new weapons. Strategic escrow would at least mitigate the problem. It would do so at no risk to us because our warheads would be available for reconstitution if needed.

This would be less than a total solution to the problems posed by the excessive numbers of nuclear weapons around, but it would be certain and soon, rather than problematic and distant. It is urgent to act now, though, before Russia stumbles into greater chaos while still sitting on 20,000 nuclear warheads.

Rather than wring our hands over the fact that the nuclear treaty process is moribund, we could explore strategic escrow, or some other nontreaty alternative, to exercise meaningful and visible global leadership.

The writer, a retired admiral, was director of the Central Intelligence Agency from 1977 to 1981.

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Washington Times

November 1, 1999

Gaps, Real And Imagined

American society vs. military culture

By Mackubin Thomas Owens

In his remarkable 1997 book, "Making the Corps," Thomas Ricks raised the specter of a growing gap between the U.S. military and the society it is sworn to protect. Mr. Ricks claimed that the U.S. military was increasingly alienated from American society and that the officer corps, once apolitical, was growing both more conservative and politically active than ever before.

Concern about this alleged gap has evolved into a staple of recent debate over the status of civil-military relations in the post-Cold War era. Following Mr. Ricks' lead, both academics and policy-makers have warned of the dire consequences for liberal democracy of a "nearly unbridgeable divide" between the military and American society. Indeed, Mr. Ricks' 1997 claim generated two major scholarly studies devoted to examining this issue, the first conducted by the Triangle Institute for Security Studies (TISS) in North Carolina, the second by the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS).

The results of the TISS study have now been released. The study concludes that over the last two decades, a substantial gap concerning politics and values has opened between the nation's increasingly conservative military elite and prominent civilians without military service. The TISS study notwithstanding, there is hardly unanimity among scholars regarding even the existence of a growing "gap" between American civil society and those sworn to protect it, much less the potential danger that such a gap might pose to the Republic if it does exist.

On the one side are those who fear that current trends will result in a large, semiautonomous military so different and estranged from society that it will become unaccountable to those whom it serves. Those who advance this view fear the expansion of the military's influence and are concerned that the result will be a military contemptuous of American society and unresponsive to civilian authorities.

On the other side are those who argue that such concerns discount the degree to which the military profession in this country is committed without reservation to the principle that the military is subordinate to civilian authority. But while acknowledging that the military must remain subordinate to civilian authority, they contend that it must also meet the hard requirements of the battlefield. Success in war is the military's functional imperative. To fulfill its functional imperative, the military must govern itself according to principles different from those of liberal society. Those who have experienced combat or at least have seen "Saving Private Ryan" can understand why.

<P> Those who hold this view argue that the real danger to the Republic does not arise from any militaristic threat to American society, but from the reverse. They are concerned about the "civilianization" of U.S. military culture as the civilian elite seeks to subordinate the military's functional imperative to a societal one.</P>

<P> In order to fulfill its functional imperative, the military has adopted a culture that constitutes an evolutionary response to the nature of war. To maximize the chances of battlefield success, the military places a premium on such factors as unit cohesion and morale. It stresses such martial virtues as courage, both physical and moral, a sense of honor and duty, discipline, a professional code of conduct, and loyalty. These characteristics are dictated by the requirements of a workplace foreign to most civilians.</P>

<P> All too often, the American civilian elite sees military culture not as something that contributes to military effectiveness, but as a problem to be eradicated in the name of multiculturalism, sexual politics, and the politics of "sexual orientation." The assault on the military ethos by the American civilian elite undergirds the ongoing process of softening military discipline and reducing training standards within the U.S. military. The decision last year by Secretary of Defense William Cohen to reject, on the advice of the chiefs of the Army, Navy and Air Force, his own hand-picked panel's recommendation to separate basic training by "gender" is a case in point.</P>

<P> In October 1997, the Los Angeles Times published an article titled "Boot Camp Kicks Its Harsh Image," describing how "the military is stripping away the sharp edges and hard knocks from this fabled test of manhood." As an example of today's "kinder, gentler" training, the article described the Navy's approach at its Great Lakes Training Center, where a trainee who needs extra motivation is "offered emotional support, instructed on deep breathing and stress reduction, and given a chance to explore his feelings by pasting cut-out magazine photos on a piece of cardboard." Only one-half of the U.S. Army's men (and only one-third of its women) believe that the mission of the Army is to fight and win in combat.</P>

<P> A liberal democracy such as the United States faces a dilemma when it comes to its military: if it is to fulfill its functional imperative, that military cannot govern itself by the liberal principles it ultimately defends. As T. R. Fehrenbach wrote, "By the very nature of its missions, the military must maintain a hard and illiberal view of life and the world. Society's purpose is to live; the military's is to stand ready, if need be, to die." If we cannot count on the military to prepare itself for that eventuality, it will fail. And if it does, the liberal American society that the military protects will go down with it.</P>

<I><P> Mackubin Thomas Owens is professor of strategy and force planning at the Naval War College.</P></I>

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<P>Washington Post

November 1, 1999

Pg. 27</P>

<P>Bombs Away -- From Puerto Rico</P>

<P>By Manuel Rodriguez-Orellana</P>

<P> VIEQUES, Puerto RicoAlmost 30 years ago, I served a three-month federal sentence for interrupting the U.S. Navy's military maneuvers in the Puerto Rican island-municipality of Culebra. As in Culebra then, the Navy has been conducting military exercises in Vieques, Puerto Rico's other island-municipality, for almost 60 years. Puerto Rican residents have been threatened by the Navy's bombardment and squeezed into a narrow strip of land. Once more, I am defying federal authorities from a Navy firing range.</P>

<P> I have lived in a tent since May 8. I have pledged to continue until the Navy decides to stop the bombing and declares its intention to leave or until I am arrested. The Navy's inaction displays the lack of moral authority of its unwanted presence in Vieques. If arrests take place, public opinion will force the Navy to leave even sooner.</P>

<P> Only days before we entered this range, a Puerto Rican civilian employee d by the Navy was killed and four others injured by a stray bomb. The governor then responded to public outrage by commissioning a panel of representatives from all political parties and other notables. </P>

<P> Its unanimous report, proclaimed by the governor as Puerto Rico's public policy, demanded "the permanent and immediate cease-and-desist of all Navy activities [in Vieques] and the prompt and orderly devolution of all Navy land."</P>

<P> For the first time since the 1898 invasion, all political sectors in Puerto Rico have defied the U.S. government. My opponents for the governorship in next year's elections have pledged to join in civil disobedience if the Navy resumes bombing. So have Puerto Ricans of all religious denominations -- including Bishop Alvaro Corrada of the Vieques diocese. The Rev. Jesse Jackson visited our camp with the archbishop of San Juan last summer, and both promised to return in fast and prayer as part of a hemispheric effort. U.S. Senate hopefuls Hillary Clinton and Rudolph Giuliani, the New York City Council, prominent members of the Hispanic Congressional Caucus and even presidential contenders Al Gore, Bill Bradley and George W. Bush have expressed their sympathy with the will of the Puerto Rican people.</P>

<P> But this is not a mere conflict between the Navy and a local community. It is a confrontation by a people with a separate and distinct nationality that strikes at the heart of our colonial problem. Internationally, traditional allies of the United States in the Permanent Conference of Latin American Political Parties and the Socialist International Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as the United Nations decolonization committee have supported the Navy's withdrawal from Vieques.</P>

<P> In civil disobedience, we came to this beach as human shields. Now we are the spearheads of the will of the Puerto Rican people.</P>

<P> Vieques also presents important environmental issues. Here, next to the idyllic beach from which I write, lies a lunar wasteland of unexploded ordnance and depleted uranium-tipped radioactive shells littered about in dead wetlands and lagoons, scorched earth and devastated marine turtle nests.</P>

<P> Nevertheless, the Navy insists on Vieques. It disingenuously argues that nowhere else on earth can it conduct its practices without compromising U.S. national security. It has engaged in manipulative browbeating of Puerto Rican officials through its mouthpieces in the Senate Armed Services Committee to force a supposedly balanced solution to enable them to retain control while the old practices continue. But ultimate responsibility lies with the U.S. president.</P>

<P> As commander in chief, Bill Clinton either will cave in to the Navy or

stand up to its obstinate insubordination to civilian authority and human rights. To veto the will of the Puerto Rican people would be no mere exercise of imperial discretion but an act of tyranny.

Beyond these concerns stands Puerto Rico's inalienable right to self-determination and independence. In this post-Cold War age of nationalities, the most powerful enemy of the Puerto Rican people in their struggle for sovereign equality is the sense of impotence born of 500 years of colonialism -- 101 under U.S. rule.

In 1898 the Navy was a primary force behind the invasion of Puerto Rico and, since then, the omnipresent spur of our colonial status. The Puerto Rican people must prevail in Vieques. The victory of the Puerto Rican people in their quest for self-respect and human dignity in Vieques is the metaphor for and the prelude to our freedom.

The writer is president of the Puerto Rican Independence Party and a candidate for governor of Puerto Rico in next year's election.

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Washington Post

October 30, 1999

U.S. Out Of Panama

Robert Pastor's comments regarding U.S. military environmental stewardship of our military bases and firing ranges in Panama were off the mark [op-ed, Oct. 12]. The Department of Defense has met all requirements of the 1977 Panama Canal Treaty and cares for installations overseas using the same management tools, diligence and seriousness used for installations at home.

As part of an assessment of all the ranges in Panama that was initiated in 1996, the United States put together a transfer plan and provided equipment and training to Panama to help it manage the ranges. As a result, more than 6,600 items of unexploded ordnance and 2 million pounds of scrap material were removed.

By the end of this year, we will have completed the transfer of the remaining Defense Department areas in the former Canal Zone. Close to 98 percent of the land then will be available for unrestricted use. Also, 14 installations and 4,827 buildings will have been turned over to Panama before the treaty's expiration.

About 2 percent of the former Canal Zone -- generally steep, inaccessible, forested areas -- will be left in its natural state for possible use as a nature preserve. Operations to clear military material from these areas would damage the environment and could endanger clearance personnel.

The United States leaves Panama with a proud legacy of environmental stewardship and fulfillment of our treaty commitments.

R.A. McSeveney

Director, Panama Canal Treaty, Implementation and Planning Agency, Department of Defense, Washington

Editor's Note: The op-ed referred to appeared in the *Current News Early Bird*, October 12, 1999.

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<P>Washington Times

October 28, 1999

Pg. 22</P>

<P>Article An Unfair Shot At Anthrax Vaccinations </P>

<P> I would like to correct some misconceptions in the Oct. 26 article "Pentagon's anthrax program found plagued with problems." </P>

<P> Our program is not troubled with delays or supply problems, despite concerns of the General Accounting Office. We are managing our stockpiles carefully, anticipating the new production lots to be approved soon, and we are continuing in Phase I implementation and are on track. </P>

<P> We are confident that the vaccine is safe and effective and have seen local reaction rates in troops that have been as predicted. These local and occasional systemic reactions are normal and require no medical attention. Like all other vaccines used by the Department of Defense, the Vaccine Adverse Event Reporting System can be used by anyone to report reactions. There has been no special need or special requirement to track a vaccine that has been approved by the Food and Drug Administration for almost 30 years. Detractors of the Anthrax Vaccination Implementation Program would like to raise questions and create concerns by attempting to subject the program to this new standard. We remain convinced the vaccine is safe, as nearly all the members of Congress have agreed when presented with the facts. </P>

<P> America's sons and daughters may be called on to go into harm's way, to include facing the threat of anthrax. The threat is real. It is our obligation to protect them with this safe vaccine. </P>

Dr. Kevin C. Kiley, Brigadier general, Medical Corps, Assistant surgeon general for force projection, Washington

Editor's Note: The article referred to appeared in the *Current News Early Bird*, October 26, 1999.

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New York Times

October 31, 1999

An Island Bombing Range

A presidential panel created by Defense Secretary William Cohen recommended earlier this month that the Navy cease all training activities on the island of Vieques near Puerto Rico in five years. In the interim, the Navy would be allowed to use the island for live bombing exercises. That phase-out plan is not fast enough. The Navy should discontinue the shelling right now and promptly return the land to Puerto Rico.

About 9,300 people live on Vieques, a small island six miles off the coast of Puerto Rico. The Navy controls two-thirds of its 33,000 acres. Aerial bombing and naval gunfire over the past two decades have degraded the environment and stymied efforts to increase tourism and maritime jobs. Angry protests from local residents, who are American citizens, and the Puerto Rican government er

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<P>Inside The Army

November 1, 1999

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<P>Military Groups Told Savings From QDR Reserve Cuts Already S
pent

<P> Defense Secretary William Cohen has not yet made a final decision on whether the Army will have to follow through with a mandate to cut 25,000 slots from the reserve component, but in recent correspondence he tells the directors of three military associations that the service already has made plans to spend the \$1 billion those cuts would make available.

<P> To the heads of these organizations, that means the Pentagon intends to make at least some of the reductions in fiscal year 2001. Accordingly, the National Guard Association of the United States, the Reserve Officers Association and the Association of the U.S. Army have intensified their efforts to prevent the downsizing.

<P> "We're going to fight it tooth and nail next year," said Jayson Spiegel, ROA executive director, in an Oct. 29 interview with Inside the Army. Spiegel added he has already met with about 100 lawmakers in recent months, and "not one of them has expressed support for this cut."

<P> "I believe . . . if the Army or OSD came to Congress and said 'give us some more money' [to pay for the personnel] I suspect Congress would be supportive."

<P> The 1997 Quadrennial Defense Review directed that a total of 45,000 positions be eliminated from the Army reserve component. A total of 20,000 slots have been cut from the Army National Guard and Reserves through FY-00. The remaining 25,000 slots were to be trimmed in FY-01.

<P> But in recent months, lawmakers, governors and military associations have called for the Defense Department to reconsider the personnel reductions, arguing the Army cannot afford to lose more people at a time when overseas deploy

ments are at an all-time high. That interest, coupled with statements by Army Chief of Staff Gen. Eric Shinseki and Secretary Louis Caldera that they may push for increasing Army end strength, has stalled a decision on whether the cuts will be made in 2001, and thrown into question whether all of them would be required (ITA, July 19, p1).

<P> According to an association information paper dated Oct. 26 obtained by ITA, OSD is considering making only 17,500 reductions, with 12,500 coming in FY-01 and 5,000 in FY-02. The breakdown includes cutting 8,929 Guard slots and 3,571 Reserve slots in FY-01, followed by 3,571 Guard slots and 1,429 Reserve slots in FY-02. The remaining 7,500 positions would be deferred.

<P> In an Aug. 9 letter to Cohen, Spiegel, along with retired Maj. Gen. Richard Alexander, executive director of NGAUS, and retired Gen. Gordon Sullivan, president of AUSA, stated that a Manning reduction "significantly degrades the Army's ability to execute the National Military Strategy."

<P> They ask that Cohen put off the reductions until the personnel issue can be reviewed in the next QDR, which is set to occur in 2001.

<P> To consider the cuts at a time when the Army relies heavily on the reserve component to assist in contingency operations "sends a mixed signal to the communities across the nation that have repeatedly supported our troops" and strategy, they state.

<P> "Uncertainty is never productive. Deployed troops wonder if they will have a unit position when they return. The dialogue itself fosters unreadiness. It is time to end the uncertainty," they add.

<P> The association leaders note that "there has been discussion about increasing the size of the Army and its Reserve components by 50,000 personnel," a number that includes restoring the cut and adding Army end strength. Inside the Pentagon reported that the Army is looking at adding as many as 20,000 slots.

<P> Cohen responded Oct. 21 in identical letters sent to Alexander, Spiegel and Sullivan, stating that "although a final decision has not been made," the Army's POM for FY-01 to 05 and the FY-01 budget estimate "anticipated savings from the additional personnel reductions."

<P> "The anticipated savings were used to add nearly \$1 billion to Army modernization to buy the equipment for new Army National Guard and U.S. Army Reserve combat support and combat service support units vital to the Army's ability to conduct its wartime missions," Cohen wrote.

<P> Senior officers from all three components formed a force structure comm

ittee that has been reviewing the QDR cuts, and Shinseki and Caldera have both reviewed the options proposed, Cohen stated. The associations' view will be "given careful consideration before a final decision is made," he added. Not knowing to what extent OSD plans on making the reductions is the source of "a lot of anxiety," Alexander told ITA. But it has all three associations working fervently to keep the dialogue going with the Pentagon.

<P> AUSA's Sullivan was traveling last week and could not be reached for comment.

<P> Alexander said NGAUS is looking for other billpayers to take the place of the manning reductions. A proposal to spread the personnel cuts across the active Army and reserve components is still being discussed, he said.

<P> "We're looking for some objectivity here. From what we understand right now it's dollars," Alexander said. "There are always competing priorities. We want to discuss those priorities in an attempt to [mitigate] this remaining QDR decision.

<P> "It's a reality" that reductions have to be made somewhere in order to pay for modernization, he added, but now is not the time to be cutting solely from the reserve component. The mandate was made "in an environment that doesn't exist today," he added. "The reserve components are just so engaged and they need manpower, I think, to maintain that engagement."

<P> Alexander added that even with the differences over the cuts, discussions have been open and the associations' input has been welcomed.

<P> But Spiegel said if the Army or Pentagon really wanted to forgo the manning cuts, they would find the money. Spiegel said the reductions would produce a savings of \$49 million in FY-01 and \$153 million in FY-02 to fund modernization. Overall, the reductions are expected to net \$1 billion in savings.

<P> "Time has passed the QDR by. We're only pursuing this because the money's gone," Spiegel said, adding that nobody will argue that the reserve component soldiers are not necessary to fulfill the military's missions. "We're in a budget drill right now."

<I><P>-- Kim Burger </I>

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<P>Inside The Army

November 1, 1999

Pg. 1

<P>First Strike Against Crusader Comes From Pentagon Comptroller

<P> Noting that technical problems and rising costs have "plagued" the Crusader program from the beginning, the Pentagon comptroller has recommended slicing more than \$220 million from the artillery system's budget in fiscal year 2001 while the Army addresses software concerns that have forced an 18-month schedule delay, according to Defense Department and industry sources and documents.

<P> In a draft program budget decision issued for comment last week, the comptroller states that while hardware development is proceeding as planned, "software development lags dangerously behind schedule and threatens the program's ability to field Crusader in FY 2005." Accordingly, the document recommends cutting the FY-01 funding intended for engineering and manufacturing development of the Crusader system, which may not start until FY-02 because of the software-related delays.

<P> "What DOD acquisition officials and the Congress have been told is that the Milestone II decision scheduled for February 2001 will have to slip about one year; EMD long-lead procurement scheduled to begin in FY 2000 will likewise slip; and the completion of the two 'full-up' vehicles required for Milestone II will be delayed eight to 12 months," states the PBD, obtained by Inside the Army.

<P> Congressional appropriators, it adds, responded to this news by cutting \$75.8 million in FY-00 funds requested for Crusader, eliminating all money earmarked for EMD. This, Crusader officials say, will cause an additional six-month slip, leaving the program 18 months behind.

<P> The PBD characterizes the cut as a "fact-of-life" adjustment to compensate for the Army's budget estimate submission for FY-01/05, given to the Office of the Secretary of Defense in September, which "does not take into account the stretch-out in software development and the delay in testing and the initiation of long-lead procurement," it states.

<P> The PBD also adds \$2.9 million in FY-01, and \$12.1 million in FY-02, for Crusader advanced development.

<P> Whether the Army will agree to the cut is uncertain, but one source believes the program will be "unexecutable" in FY-01 if the \$220 million -- about half of the planned budget for that year -- is removed.

<P> Asked why the PBD targets Crusader funding, an OSD official said "they've had a restructuring of the program" that "slips it a bit," thus leaving some money the comptroller could strip away for other uses.

<P> Inside the Army reported Sept. 27 that software integration problems had forced the program office into an eight- to 12-month delay. "Central to the current software setback is the development of the command and control software necessary for synchronization of critical component activity," the PBD states. "The problems surfaced as the program transitioned from preliminary to detailed design." The software concerns first came to light last December, leading to a four-month delay. Recently, however, more serious problems were confirmed, leading the Army and UDLP to institute the longer slip.

<P> Crusader is known as a software-intensive system, with more than a million lines of code. Indeed, the PBD notes that the Air Force's F-22 fighter, considered the Pentagon's most sophisticated weapon system in development today, requires two million lines of software code, while Crusader relies on 1.8 million lines.

<P> Initial software work went well, but as Deputy Program Manager Kevin Fahey said in a September interview, once performance started to slip, the service and the contractor began an in-depth review of the system's software and found that system engineers were "taking shortcuts" because of schedule pressures. "People knew they weren't exactly done with something, but they were moving on," Fahey said.

<P> "It is likely that the schedule pressures of the streamlined acquisition approach led to the taking of shortcuts during the early stages of development without appreciation for the ramifications," the draft PBD states.

<P> The program office expects hardware development to remain on track despite the software integration difficulties, and the PBD states that a howitzer configured as a working firing stand is still scheduled to be delivered by the end of the year to Yuma Proving Ground, AZ.

<P> A far larger problem for Crusader may be looming, however. Many in the Army and OSD believe the program is a prime target for budget cuts as the Army searches for ways to pay for its new medium-weight force (see related story). The service is expected to give OSD more details on how the new plan will affect its spending priorities next month, throwing the annual budget process into some confusion.

<P> The PBD, No. 105, deals primarily with Army tracked and wheeled combat and support vehicles, although it also touches on small arms and an Air Force program.

<P> Another potentially significant maneuver recommended by the comptroller in the draft document affects the Bradley M2A3 Fighting Vehicle (see related story).

<P> In addition, the PBD recommends slicing \$71.4 million from the Army's FY-01 budget for a plan to qualify a second source for the production of the Family of Medium Tactical Vehicles. While the Army -- and some in OSD -- continue to advocate a second-source plan, Congress prohibited it in the FY-00 Defense Authorization Act and called instead for a full-blown competition for one FMTV contractor. The trucks are currently built solely by Stewart & Stevenson.

<P> Citing the authorizers' action, the comptroller says a total of \$71.4 million can be removed from FY-01: \$11.1 million in FY-00 second-source money would be moved to FY-01, combined with the \$60.3 million requested for that year, and excised from the budget. The following year, the PBD states, \$85.1 million can be removed from the FMTV account.

<I><P> -- Daniel G. Dupont </I>

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<P>Norfolk Virginian-Pilot

October 29, 1999

<P>State Board Of Education OKs Military Teaching-License Plan

<P>By Nancy Young, The Virginian-Pilot

<P> WISE -- The alternative route to a teacher license for experienced military personnel was paved Thursday by the State Board of Education.

<P> The board unanimously approved a preliminary proposal that would save time and money for those wishing to get into teaching, but who would otherwise be intimidated by the traditional route.

<P> ``Yes, we're facing a shortage of teachers. We're facing an acute shortage in math and science. But we'd also do this if there wasn't a shortage because this is a good quality program to bring in quality people," said board member Mark C. Christie. ``To bring people in from different backgrounds will enrich the faculty of any school."

<P> The proposal now will go to public comment, before a final vote early next year.

<P> ``We'll accept constructive suggestions, but we're adamant we're going to do this alternative licensure for the military," Christie said.

<P> Here are the highlights of the proposal:

<P> Experienced military personnel are eligible if they have a college degree -- in the case of liberal arts courses such as English, math and science -- or relevant work experience in technical areas -- such as electronics.

<P> Those with college degrees should either have majored in the subject they're interested in teaching, or shown that they have had relevant work experience.

<P> They must pass the required national teacher examination known as Praxis I and Praxis II.

<P> Upon completion of a short, intensive summer training program, program participants are issued a temporary "eligibility" license.

<P> "We're not guaranteeing that local divisions will hire them. We're simply making the person eligible to be hired," Christie said. "You'd hire them the same way you'd hire anybody else, based on interviews and recommendations. We're simply expanding the pool."

<P> Once hired, the participants would be assigned a mentor and would take part in teacher training during the school year, Christie said. At the end of the school year, the school division would recommend whether or not to issue the teacher a regular license.

<P> If the plan works for military personnel, the hope is to expand to other career-switchers considering teaching, Christie said.

<P> The plan has not been universally praised. Some, including Virginia Education Association president Cheri James, have criticized the plan, saying the training is too skimpy. They also are concerned that it will discourage others from going the traditional route.

<P> But retired naval officer and now teacher John Jones said there is nothing quick or easy about getting experience through a 20-year career in the military.

<P> "There's a lot of things they carry with them that a 21-year-old doesn't," said Jones, a special education teacher at Hickory Middle School in Chesapeake.

<P> Jones' path to teaching included participation in a program at Old Dominion University that prepares military personnel to teach. He tailored that program to fit his needs. For example, he beefed up his classroom experience by volu

nteering in schools while he was still in the military.

<P> ``I wanted to know, first, if this was something I wanted to do," Jones said.

<P> Now that he has been teaching since 1994, he has a verdict.

<P> ``This is the most important job I've ever done."


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<P>Orlando Sentinel

October 30, 1999

<P>Air Force Drops Bomb On Gulf Oil-Drilling Idea

<P>By Associated Press

<P> EGLIN AIR FORCE BASE -- A federal agency's proposal to lease another large section of the eastern Gulf of Mexico for oil and natural gas exploration would have a negative impact on military missions, an Air Force official says.

<P> The area proposed for leasing includes air space Eglin uses for air-to-air combat training and testing missiles and other weapons, said Bob Arnold, chairman of the base's Encroachment Committee, at a news conference Thursday.

<P> "Increasingly, we'll use more of the gulf," Arnold said. "We'll do everything to make sure the area is free of all encumbrances."

<P> That includes offshore oil rigs.

<P> Defense Department officials have voiced strong opposition to a proposal by the federal Minerals Management Service, part of the Interior Department, to lease the tract shaped like the state of Idaho by 2001.

<P> The proposed lease area would be about 100 miles south of the Florida Panhandle and 213 miles west of Tampa, with a narrow section extending north to about 25 miles off the Alabama coast.

<P> One of the weapons the military wants to test in the area is a new anti-missile missile that would be fired from Eglin at targets launched from aircraft or ships in the gulf.

<P> Defense Department and Minerals Management officials have been negotiating since early this year. Officials are looking at deferring sales in some areas and putting tight restrictions on other sections, Arnold said.

<P> "We don't get into politics, but we do look at our mission," Arnold said.

<P> Offshore drilling is politically explosive in Florida.

<P> Most Florida politicians have joined forces with environmentalists and business people who are worried drilling would pollute the state's waters and beaches, even though industry officials insist that would not be the case.

<P> The most immediate drilling possibility is a plan by Chevron USA to produce natural gas from up to 21 wells about 25 miles south of Pensacola. Florida officials have rejected the plan as being incompatible with Florida's coastal zone management plan, but Chevron has asked U.S. Commerce Secretary William Daley to overrule the state.

<P> Arnold said the Chevron drilling would have minimal impact on Eglin's mission.

<P> The proposed lease area, however, is part of a 76 million-acre area in the Air Force's long-range plans for military use of the gulf.

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<P>European Stars and Stripes

October 31, 1999

Pg. 7

<P>Search Is On For New USAEUR Top Enlisted

<P>By Jon R. Anderson, Stars and Stripes

<P> HEIDELBERG, Germany The search has begun to find a replacement for the Armys top enlisted post in Europe. Those who may be contending for the job may also be called to judge him in a court-martial.

<P> Messages shot out from the Armys personnel center in Washington, D.C. last week asking top commanders around the globe to send in recommendations to fill the command sergeant majors seat for U.S. Army Europe. That job went empty last week when Command Sgt. Maj. Riley Miller was charged with kidnapping and sodomizing one of his own soldiers. He also faces charges of fraternization and maltreatment of a subordinate.

<P> Army officials are now weighing whether or not there is enough evidence to prosecute him. Eventually, the commander of the Armys V Corps will make the final decision on whether Miller will be court-martialed. If Miller does face a general court-martial, he has three options in terms of how he is judged. He can elect to be tried by a military judge or juries of either officers or both officers and enlisted soldiers.

<P> The catch, however, is that enlisted jury members must be senior in date of rank to him. Because Miller is about as senior as they come, that leaves a pretty slim pool of potential candidates. In fact, Miller already needs a waiver to remain on active duty because he went over the mandatory retirement wicket of 30 years service in August.

<P> In the meantime, Millers replacement needs to be found.

<P> "A message has gone out to the field announcing that a slate is being put together for the USAREUR (command sergeants major) job," said Sgt. Maj. Fernando Casao, a top personnel expert at USAREUR.

<P> A "slate" is personnel management lingo for list of candidates that are interested in taking over the job. Because this is one of the top enlisted jobs in the Army, only a few dozen soldiers will be eligible. Among the prerequisites, candidates must have served as command sergeant major for a general officer and get the recommendation of current commanding officer. "This is a nominative process," Casao said.

<P> Command Sgt. Maj. of the Army Robert Hall will review the list of those interested and recommended for the job and then put together the final slate to be considered by USAREUR commander Gen. Montgomery Meigs. Judging from previous selections, the slate in this case will likely include three to five candidates, said Casao.

<P> From there, he explained, its all up to Meigs. If hes like many commanders, hell probably interview those hes interested in hiring before making his final decision.

<P> The job of command sergeant major is often considered one of the most critical in any military unit from battalions on up. While senior commanders have their official chain of command battalion commanders issue their orders and get feedback from their company commanders, for example command sergeants major typically act as the unofficial eyes and ears of their boss, keeping their fingers on the pulse of the enlisted ranks. While the Army scrambles to find Miller's replacement, V Corps Command Sgt. Maj. Charles L. Jackson is filling in for him. Although he has not been officially titled "interim command sergeant major," a spokesman says "actions and issues involving command sergeant

t major involvement" are being handled by Jackson.

<P> Officials emphasize Miller was not removed from the post because of any presumption of guilt, but rather to allow him to concentrate fully on his defense. He has been reassigned to an undisclosed unit within V Corps.

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<P>Navy News & Undersea Technology

November 1, 1999

Pg. 4

<P>Bright Star '99 Proves Interoperability Within Nations' Amphibious Operations

<P> All five countries assets participating in amphibious operations in the current Bright Star 99 exercise are interoperable, Capt. Stephen Jasper (USN), and Commodore of the Bataan Amphibious Ready Group (BATTANARG), told Navy News. The six countries participating in the exercises amphibious objective area (AOA) are the United States, Egypt, the Netherlands, Greece, Italy, and the United Kingdom. Bright Star is a 20-year old biennial exercise that trains allied forces for southern Mediterranean and Middle-Eastern conflicts.

<P> "The interoperability is working well," Jasper said while he was onboard

d USS Bataan in the southern Mediterranean. "We have not had any major difficulties or loss of events because we were not able to communicate. We ensure that everyone understands the frequencies we were working on, and has appropriate crypto and security devices. We lay out in plain detail what we were going to do, and walk before we run. An example of interoperability: This evening one of the U.K. ships will move Greek Marines ashore with U.K. landing craft in darkness to participate in a land assault exercise with U.S. Marines tomorrow morning.

<P> The Bataan ARG consists of USS Bataan (LHD 5), USS Whidbey Island (LPD 41) and USS Shreveport (LSD 12).

<P> "I report to a British Admiral, who is overseeing the bigger group," Jasper continued. "Our communications are all aligned, we talk to them every day to coordinate actions. And then on a bigger scale, the higher-up commanders oversee even more groups."

<P> Jasper said that "renewing a level of interoperability with various nations" is one of the main purposes of the exercise that started Oct. 2 and will end this week. He pointed out that the United States and NATO nations involved in Bright Star already have a history of interoperability. "The United States has worked frequently over the years with its NATO partners, including the U.K. and the Netherlands," he said. "We're finding here in the amphibious objective area, that once again it is easy to work with our NATO partners.

<P> "In the first two weeks, we spent a lot of time with our Egyptian partners doing training and showing them how we do business," Jasper said. Raising their training in amphibious operations an area I don't think they practice that often. For example, we have exchanged personnel with the Egyptian-trained with Egyptian soldiers in our helicopters and landing craft and flown off of their ships. We call this affiliation training; giving soldiers and sailors the opportunity to work with other countries."

<P> But interoperability on the scale of the Bright Star landings is "something new to the USCENTCOM area," according to a recent article written by the American Forces Press Service.

<P> An AOA exercise was described as such by the American Forces Press Service:

<P> More than 20 ships launched the landing force. First, the Egyptians took air superiority over the landing beaches, then Egyptian, British and Dutch special operations members landed in rubber rafts; U.S. Marine AV-8B Harriers from Bataan ARG provided close air support; U.S., British, Egyptian, Dutch, Italian and Greek troops landed via helicopters; and U.S., Greek, Italian and British troops landed from Italian, British and U.S. craft. Next Egyptian airborne troops landed in a British landing craft and U.S. Marines landed in amphibious assault vehicles. Next came the U.S. Navy LCAC (landing craft air cushion) and f

our of the hovercraft carried Egyptian and U.S. tanks from the USS Bataan right onto the beach. Egyptian airborne forces also rode a British light hovercraft from an Italian ship. Combat support equipment piled out of a British vehicle landing craft.

<P> Exercise Bright Star 99, the 11th Bright Star exercise to date, is a multinational military training exercise that started in the early 1980s to support Egypt in its peace process. Since 1980, the exercise has grown in number of countries and participants involved. This year is the largest to date; the "most significant coalition military exercise ever conducted by USCENTCOM outside the Arabian Gulf," according to Bataan ARG public affairs; as well as the largest exercise the United States will participate in this year. Eleven nations are participating, with a total of 50,000 warfighters involved.

<P> "The focus of Bright Star is to strengthen the coalition between participating nations. To make them more familiar with how each other operates, to strengthen ties," a Bataan ARG public affairs representative said.

<P> The other nations participating this year that contributed land and air forces are France, the United Arab Emirates, Jordan, Kuwait and Germany. Egypt has the most participants in the entire exercise 42,200 troops. The United States is next with 18,300 troops, including Navy, Marine Corps, Army and Air Force. Of the U.S. total, 1,800 are sailors and 2,200 are Marines. Next comes the United Kingdom with 5,300 troops involved.

<P> When asked in an Oct. 22 news briefing in Washington if Bright Star 99 is in preparation of a "replay of another Gulf War, Secretary of Defense William Cohen responded, "I think that Iran should take note....that they should not seek in any way to attack their neighbors or try to undermine stability in the region, because each country now working together is going to be that much stronger, that much more capable and I think Iran, and especially Iraq, know that we maintain our containment policy and will continue that policy until such time as the Security Council Resolutions are abided by."

<P> The U.S. force in Bright Star 99 is being led by the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM). When in the Mediterranean, Navy units are typically under the command of the U.S. Sixth Fleet and U.S. Naval Forces Europe. These fall under Commander in Chief, U.S. European Command, the joint commander for the European region. However, when participating in the Bright Star, Navy units come under the tactical control of U.S. Fifth Fleet and U.S. Naval Forces Central. The ARG is working on amphibious missions with the U.S. 22nd Marine Expeditionary Unit (Special Operations Capable).

<P> Also involved is the USS John F. Kennedy Battle Group and a U.S. land warfare contingency.

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<P>Defense Week

November 1, 1999

Pg. 12

<P>Former 2nd Fleet Boss: Navy Can Do Without Vieques

<P>By David Abel

<P> The Navy is exaggerating and relying on outdated doctrine when it argue
s that continuing bombing exercises on a small island off the east coast of Pue
rto Rico is vital to national security, according to a retired vice admirals sw
orn statement, obtained by Defense Week.

<P> Until now, John Shanahan, former commander of the 2nd Fleet, has not pu
blicly detailed his dissident opinions. Shanahan has become well known for crit
icizing the Pentagon since he retired in 1977 and went on to direct Washingtons
left-leaning Center for Defense Information. But the one-time Pacific fleet re
adiness officer and commander of NATOs Strike Fleet Atlantic is one of the few
to break ranks on the emotionally charged issue of Vieques, where the Navy drop
ped almost half of all the live ordnance it used nationwide for training in 199
8.

<P> "I cannot support the Navy claims that Vieques is critical for pre

-deployment Navy and Marine Corps training and that training obtained at Vieques cannot be duplicated elsewhere," says Shanahan, who supervised Navy training at Vieques and has been retained as a national-security consultant by the Puerto Rican government.

<P> "While training at Vieques was invaluable for Navy readiness in earlier years, that is no longer the case," he says. "The current training is neither unique nor, in most instances, necessary for modern amphibious warfare."

<P> In his sworn statement provided to Puerto Rican officials preparing a lawsuit against the Navy, Shanahan rebuts the Navys arguments in several areas. He says large-scale cross-beach amphibious operations are not vital to readiness because they're no longer part of Navy and Marine Corps doctrine.

<P> Close ship-to-shore bombardment, he says, is an obsolete tactic because of technological advances and the threat of cruise missiles. And, he says, the increased reliance on precision munitions makes accidents and miscalculations increasingly dangerous for nearby communities.

<P> Furthermore, Shanahan says, while the Navy has argued Vieques is crucial because it's the only place the Atlantic Fleet can integrate the training of Marines storming beaches, Navy ships lobbing shells off the coast and carrier-launched bombers, the training isn't as much integrated as it is simultaneous. The amphibious assaults on Vieques are separated by several miles, he says. Bombers and Navy ships slam targets on a different side of the island from where the Marines land.

<P> "This sort of training can be replicated most anywhere with a beach and bombing ranges, for example, at Fort Stewart, Ga., and Fallon, Nev.," ; Shanahan said in his sworn statement.

<P> In a phone interview, Shanahan admitted it's wise to train for all contingencies, but the Navys current line that Vieques is vital to national security is an overstatement. For example, he says, current amphibious doctrine calls for troops to move from over the horizon (out of cruise-missile range) directly to an objective area using the Marine Corps expensive new V-22 tilt-rotor aircraft.

<P> He also argues the Navy is moving away from the use of guns in favor of striking targets with more precise, heavier payload missiles such as the Tomahawk, which is not tested on Vieques. With only two 5-inch guns on Ticonderoga-class cruisers, two 5-inch guns on Spruance-class destroyers and only one 5-inch gun on Arleigh Burke-class destroyers, the most numerous of the three ship classes, he says, "It isn't wise to employ her in naval gunfire support since she lacks a counter-battery capability."

<P> Navy officials and others start their rebuttal against Shanahan by questioning his authority after more than two decades in retirement.

<P> "He is not versed on current military operations," says Cmdr. Karen Jeffries, a Navy spokeswoman. "Modern training operations are a little different than when he served."

<P> Without specifically rebutting his comments, Jeffries added: "Hes making very general statements. We train to the entire continuum of operations. As long as this is the requirement, we have to train to that."

<P> In an interview with Defense Week, Sen. James Inhofe (R-Okla.), the chairman of the Armed Services Committees readiness panel, went further in questioning Shanahans credibility.

<P> "I dont know whether he has other motivations; I suggest he does," Inhofe said. "Because every single military person to the very last one, from General Shelton on down ... says its absolutely imperative to remain in Vieques."

<P> Inhofe, who has visited Vieques and has taken a leading role in pressuring Puerto Rico to let the Navy train on its range, said it didnt matter if the ship-to-shore fire didnt land right next to the invading Marines. And, he added, Vieques is invaluable because the high-altitude bombing adds a dimension of reality that cant be practiced anywhere else.

<P> "It goes right back to the football analogy," Inhofe said. "If you have your quarterbacks over here, wide receivers training somewhere else by themselves and blockers somewhere else ... how can they be expected to play together?"

<P> Shanahan dismissed questions of his credibility and said as a retired vice admiral he has followed the evolution of the Navy and Marine Corps as closely anyone. And as a veteran of World War II, the Korean War and the Vietnam War, he says its unfair for anyone to question his interest in seeing sailors and Marines get the best training.

<P> One congressional official, who spoke on condition of anonymity, added Shanahan may be right in at least one area: Improvement in technology might soon offset the need to practice naval gunfire support on land targets. Simulation using specially designed targets on sea ranges may be just as good as firing on land ranges.

<P> To Shanahan, thats one of the main reasons why the Navy can do without

Vieques. That's because Vieques is the only place where the Atlantic Fleet can do such ship-to-shore shooting. However, he says, the sea service can practice taking beaches and aerial bombing at many other ranges.

"The point is that kind of gunfire support is no longer essential," he says. "You can practice it other ways and you really can't get close enough to firing without jeopardizing the ships. The main point here is it's not essential to national security."

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Washington Post

October 30, 1999

Pg. 7

P.R. Protesters Cut Off Navy Base's Water

By Reuters

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico, Oct. 29The Navy's sprawling Roosevelt Roads base was cut off from its main source of water for much of today as part of the latest protest against the U.S. military in the island territory.

<P> Water for All Movement members said protesters had blocked the water intake to the Navy base because of inaction by Puerto Rican officials over the Navy's alleged illegal use of water from the Blanco River in Naguabo. Neighboring towns have had chronic water shortages.

<P> Navy spokesman Robert Nelson said the base was cut off from its main source of water and used a small reservoir until Puerto Rican officials reopened the intake this afternoon. The Navy says it gets 2 million gallons a day from the river.

<P> Commonwealth officials charged in July that the Navy needed a permit to use Blanco water, but the Navy disagreed, saying it was issued a permit in 1942 and need not pay because it transports and treats the water itself.

<P> The confrontation exacerbated tensions between the Navy and Puerto Rico, where political leaders and residents have been trying to halt military maneuvers on Vieques.

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<P>Inside The Navy

November 1, 1999

<P>Gen. Jones Bringing Back Marine Expeditionary Brigade

<P> Marine Corps Commandant Gen. James Jones is taking steps to resurrect the Marine Expeditionary Brigade, often called the "middle tier" of the Marines' expeditionary warfighting force.

<P> Jones told reporters last week that he is about to designate a brigade commander and that the brigade will be a part of the service expeditionary package.

<P> About 10 years ago the Marine Corps had a standing brigade headquarters that was deployed during the Gulf war, Jones said. But due to the force structure cuts absorbed by the service over the last number of years the brigade headquarters was dissolved.

<P> "It was decided that we would subsume that [brigade] mission into the bigger Marine Expeditionary Force," Jones said.

<P> The idea was that the Maritime Prepositioning Force, which formed the heart of the Marine brigade, would still exist and the brigade would continue to exist in a sense, Jones added. The new term became "MEF-forward."

<P> "In other words, anytime you sent a small element of the MEF out to support the warfighter, you would have that equipment forward positioned, but what he would really be getting is the brigade headquarters," Jones said.

<P> The resurrected brigade is smaller than the MEF but larger than a Marine Expeditionary Unit (Special Operations Capable), according to Jones. The notional size is about 15,000 Marines. The idea of the brigade got a little complex in the joint arena, Jones admitted, and the terms brigade and brigade lift disappeared from the scope.

<P> "We have used MEF-forward but it has been such an amorphous organization that nobody really knows what it is or how to use it," he said.

<P> The result has been that the "coin of the realm" for the last six or seven years has been the MEU(SOC), he said. Jones said when he would visit with various commanders-in-chief when he was the military assistant to Defense Secretary William Cohen, he found out that the CINCs understood the MEU(SOC) and the MEF concepts but were not very well informed about the MPF idea.

<P> "During one of my initial conversations with [Army Chief of Staff] Gen. [Eric] Shinseki, he said he was running out of army to respond to contingencies," Jones said. "I told him I was interested in resurrecting the brigade conce

pt. He said he did not know it existed."

<P> Jones said he does not have the manpower nor the luxury of standing up a separate brigade headquarters. "But I can say the expeditionary brigade is part of our warfighting kit," he added. "I can designate a brigade commander and we are in the process of doing that." The brigade commander will be the MEF deputy, he said.

<P> Jones said he has spoken with Gen. Anthony Zinni, commander-in-chief of U.S. Central Command, and Gen. Wesley Clark, commander-in-chief of United States European Command, about his idea. "They are both enthusiastic about the resurgence of that capability," Jones said. "We have always thought we had it ready to go and were mystified why no one ever called on it. It was because they did not know what it was. I am trying to add clarity to that."

<P> As Jones continues to refashion the Marine Corps organization and equipment to make it a stronger land fighting force, he is cognizant that the Army remains the land force of dominance. Jones and Shinseki have had several informal discussions about how the two services can better understand each other and work together, he said. The first official discussion between them will take place next spring, Jones added. "We will have some serious dialogue about our missions, our capabilities, and how we can do things in common," he said.

<P> According to Jones, Shinseki has shown interest in the Marine Corps' light armored vehicle program, which the Army actually started in the late 1970s before abandoning the effort. "We now have a well-defined mission for LAVs and what they do," Jones said. "But they are getting old. If the Army is interested in an LAV [follow-on] program, we would be too, as a way to modernize ours."

<P> Another area Jones wants to look at is fire support, both land-based and sea-based. "The Marine Corps did not go into rockets," Jones said. "We have, in my judgment, a decaying artillery fire support system that we did not properly invest in over the years. One of my priorities as commandant is to reform that within the Marine Corps. One of the ways we can look at that is to see what the Army can do to support us, if it is the Multiple Launch Rocket System or any other type of rocket system. Or maybe we can acquire our own."

<I><P> -- Thomas Duffy </I>

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<P>Inside The Navy

November 1, 1999

Pg. 1

<P>Marine Commandant Remaking Corps Requirements, Acquisition System

<P> Now in his fourth month as Commandant of the Marine Corps, Gen. James Jones is wrestling with one of the thorniest problems facing each of the service chiefs: untangling the existing acquisition system so that technologies and new weapon systems can be fielded quicker than is now possible.

<P> Jones said last week that he is in the midst of remaking the Marine Corps' requirements and acquisition process and expects to have new guidance issued early next summer.

<P> The commandant said he agreed with the comments of Lt. Gen. John Rhodes, who recently told a House subcommittee that the existing bureaucracy that supports the acquisition of new weapons systems is too slow and cumbersome. Rhodes, the director of the Marine Corps Combat Development Command, said he was in favor of being able to waive some of the current acquisition regulations to accelerate technology development.

<P> "I think our internal [requirements and acquisition] systems are too slow as is the Defense Department's acquisition system," Jones said during a Oct. 27 breakfast meeting with reporters. "We have made a lot of changes in the past three months as to how we are going to determine our requirements. That process is going to be faster."

<P> Jones said the service can quicken the process by reaching down into each element of the Marine Air Ground Task Force and ensuring commanders at every level are articulating requirements on a regular basis and that those requirements are being efficiently delivered to officials at Marine Corps Headquarters

<P> Shortly after he took over last July, Jones created the Marine Corps Requirements Council, the service's mirror image of DOD's Joint Requirements Oversight Council. Assistant Commandant of the Marine Corps Gen. Terrence Dake is the director of the council. "At that council, which is the most powerful one in the Marine Corps in terms of determining requirements, we resolve the issues of resources vs requirements," Jones said. "There is a tension between the two and I believe it is a healthy tension. When you educate the leadership that there are finite resources but that you have virtually unlimited requirements then you have to have some rigor applied. This is a major restructuring internally so that we become more efficient."

<P> One piece of Jones' acquisition overhaul is to put aside a portion of each budget to be used specifically for quickly fielding new technologies. "The Army puts money aside each year for rapid acquisition technologies," Jones said. "We are starting to do that." As an example, Jones pointed to the way the service replaced the fast attack vehicles used by Marine Expeditionary Units (Special Operations Capable). It took only 62 days from the time a requirement was defined, a supplier was found, the vehicles were bought from Mercedes Benz, and they were delivered to the field.

<P> Jones will need a more streamlined acquisition system in place to fulfill one his top priorities: modernizing the Marine Corps. "We have always had equipment that is at least perceived to be inferior or not up to the standards of the Army," he said. "I want to change that notion. I would like to make sure that the individual Marine is as well outfitted for the potential of combat as we can possibly afford to do. I think we need to modernize our systems and get into a regular life-cycle replacement of our major end items that is much more realistic than what we are currently doing."

<P> Jones said there are "no plans on the books" for the Marines to extend their current deployment cycles such as spending up to a year as a peacekeeping force as the Army does.

<I><P> -- Thomas Duffy </I>

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London Sunday Telegraph

October 31, 1999

US Soldiers Rely On Charity To Support Families

By David Wastell in Quantico, Virginia

Thousands of American soldiers serving in the world's most powerful armed forces are so poorly paid that they are having to depend on charity to provide their families with basic household necessities.

The spectacle of America's defenders standing in line at social service offices, or raking through discarded furniture to find beds for themselves and toys for their children, has horrified the nation and is emerging as a potent issue in the forthcoming presidential election.

Although military authorities insist that the problem is small, and only affecting young men with unusually large families, soldiers' wives and welfare organisations say that many more service personnel are struggling to make ends meet - but are too proud to seek the help which they need.

Tony Bradshaw, a 19-year-old lance-corporal at Quantico, a US Marine base 30 miles south of Washington, who has been receiving food stamps - vouchers that can be exchanged for goods at shops - for the past two months, said: "It's very hard to realise and admit it. I have to do whatever I can to provide for my family. But I did not expect it to be like this when I joined up."

A family of three - with one child and the wife not working - would qua

lily for food stamps if their pre-tax income is less than \$873 (528) per month.

A two-child family would qualify on income less than \$1,176 (705) per month, rising to \$2086 (pounds 1252) for a family with five children.

<P> Food stamps worth \$142 (85) a month have helped eke out the \$1,000 (600) monthly pay cheque on which L/Cpl Bradshaw, his wife Tenille and their two young children must live in a small, tin house in the middle of the base. Mrs Bradshaw said: "Without food stamps my children would not be having much of a Christmas."

<P> But the system can be humiliating. Despite having no other means of paying, L/Cpl Bradshaw was not allowed to buy a loaf of bread at the base's military supermarket recently because although he had his food stamps, he did not have with him an official card stating he was entitled to them. A long line of other shoppers, many of them fellow marines, saw him being refused.

<P> Denis McFeely, food stamps programme manager at the nearest social services office to the base, said: "The coupons identify an individual in a check-out queue as being on a low income. Other people look to see what is being bought with their tax dollars. The programme has a stigma attached to it."

<P> That is one reason why the true number of US servicemen and their families entitled to receive food stamps is almost certainly far higher than the 12,000 who actually do so.

<P> The problem for young recruits to the American forces is that many in the junior enlisted ranks earn only just over \$1,000 a month before tax. Even after allowing for free - if rudimentary - housing and other benefits, a package that may be adequate for single soldiers puts those with even small families well below the official American poverty line.

<P> Military pay has fallen behind the rest of the American economy as a result of budget squeezes over the last decade, and a recent vote by Congress to grant a 4.8 per cent increase from January still leaves a wide gap. Senator John McCain, who is trying to beat George W Bush for the Republican presidential nomination, is repeatedly raising the subject in his election campaign.

<P> He said: "These enlisted service members proudly wear their uniforms on our behalf, ready to make the ultimate sacrifice. They are the very same Americans sent into harm's way in recent years in Somalia, Bosnia, Haiti, Kosovo and now East Timor. They have a right to a decent salary."

<P> It is a sentiment shared by many at Quantico, where 7,200 marines, many of them officers in training, live and work inside the sprawling, 10 square-mile base with a small civilian town at its centre. Although the base boasts a marina and a leafy golf course, frequented by the marines' upper echelons, living

conditions for lower ranks are more down-to-earth.

<P> In one recent case a young soldier, his wife and their baby lived without furniture in their newly-allotted house for three weeks before contacting a voluntary group in desperation.

<P> Tobias Miller, 18, who arrived at the base in March from Missouri with her husband Mike, a lance-corporal, shortly after he completed his basic training, said: "We slept on the floor for three weeks before I got up the guts to call someone." Almost all the furniture in their two-bedroom home was subsequently given to them by an organisation called Help - Help Enlisted Lives Prosper.

<P> Mrs Miller and her husband also reluctantly decided to apply for food stamps. But after three separate visits to a social services office outside the base, during the last of which they were forced to wait for three hours, they gave up because they could not endure the humiliation.

<P> Mrs Miller said: "My mother was on food stamps and I never wanted to be on them myself. This isn't what my husband's recruiter led us to expect." Lisa Joles, 35, the energetic founder of Help and the wife of a local marine, has become an unofficial welfare officer for many of the young families who arrive on the base, often to set up home for the first time.

<P> She encourages them to apply for food stamps and other welfare benefits. She has also worked hard to publicise the problem, something which has not endeared her to the marines' authorities. They have their own support system which Mrs Joles insists she is trying to complement. They point out that any problems are not unique to Quantico.

<P> Most weekends Mrs Joles and her husband, Baron, an infantryman, distribute large quantities of furniture, clothing and other household goods which have been donated either by better-off marines or by sympathisers.

<P> Families like the Bradshaws and the Millers have equipped most of their homes that way. Last week L/Cpl Eric Clay and his family - wife Alisha and children Kelsey, aged three and one-year-old Emily - were praising Mrs Joles as they sifted through the mound of material she had gathered in a shed behind her house.

<P> Mrs Joles also organises small squads of wives to do temporary work for local employers, helping boost their families' income. But she is no soft touch: if the women do not learn how to manage the extra money they earn she will not ask them back. She said: "I don't want them coming back two weeks later saying they don't have enough money to buy diapers."

<P> "I am teaching them to take care of their young man - that he belongs to the country - and if the country needs him, he will go. If his family is in chaos the marines are not getting 100 per cent from him."

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<P>Bangor Daily News

October 30, 1999

<P>Maine Guard Members Recall Learjet Pilot's Skill, Warmth

<P>By Russell Hargreaves, Of the News Staff

<P> BANGOR - The pilot of professional golfer Payne Stewart's aircraft, which crashed Monday in South Dakota, was a highly skilled, brave aviator and a credit to his profession, according to fellow officers from the 101st Air Refueling Wing in Bangor.

<P> Michael Kling, 42, and another pilot were among the six individuals, including Stewart, who died when the Learjet slammed into a hayfield near Mina, S.D., after flying nearly 1,400 miles from Orlando, Fla.

<P> "The problem with the plane must have developed incredibly fast, otherwise I know Michael would have been able to deal with it," said Col. Doug Damon, operations officer of the 101st, during a Friday interview. "There is no other

member of the Air Force that I would rather fly with when in danger. He was a steadfast pilot that no emergency would rattle."

<P> Kling rose to the rank of major in the Air Force before retiring from full-time service to Maine in 1988, to spend more time with his family. He served as a pilot and instructor in the Maine Air National Guard until 1992, flying several support missions during the buildup to the Gulf War in 1990.

<P> "Michael was a tremendously high-quality individual and a wonderful family man," said Damon. "We loved having him serve with us - this is a catastrophic loss to us all."

<P> Kling spent much of his four years in Maine remodeling an old house in Brewer that served as the family home for his wife, Donna, and three stepchildren. "That was a fun time for him," said Kling's stepson Cliff Stout, in a Thursday interview with the Orlando Sentinel Tribune. "He was a ball of fun who loved all of us in an indescribable way."

<P> The only concept that rivaled Kling's devotion to family was his love for God, said former colleagues. After he left the Maine Air National Guard, the family moved to central Florida where Kling founded Eagles Wings International, a private airline that delivered food and the Gospel to developing countries such as the Dominican Republic.

<P> Kling "was an ordained minister, and he really loved God and the Church," Stout added, certain that his stepfather's humanitarian venture "is going to continue - he just won't be the pilot."

<P> The Milwaukee native was "an extremely skilled" aviator, said Lt. Col. Jim Trudel, assistant operations manager of the 101st at Bangor. "He was specifically selected to teach new recruits, as he was highly skilled and meticulous in his approach. He really tried to help each recruit approach his own high level of proficiency."

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<P>Washington Post

November 1, 1999

Pg. B6

<P>Adm. David M. Cooney Dies At 69; Became Goodwill Industries
CEO

<P> David M. Cooney, 69, a retired Navy rear admiral and chief of Navy information who went on to serve as president and chief executive officer of Goodwill Industries, died Oct. 24 at his vacation home in Virginia Beach after a heart attack. He lived in Alexandria.

<P> He served on active Navy duty from 1951 to 1981, the last five of those years as chief of Navy information. He was Goodwill Industries' president and CEO from 1981 until retiring again in 1995.

<P> Adm. Cooney, a California native, was captain of the national debate team at the University of Southern California, from which he graduated in 1951. He received a master's degree in international relations from George Washington University and also graduated from the Naval War College.

<P> He received his Navy commission in 1951 and spent much of his career in public affairs. He served with the Atlantic and Mediterranean fleets before joining the Navy Office of Information at the Pentagon in 1971. He was selected for flag rank in 1976.

<P> Adm. Cooney's Navy decorations included two awards of the Legion of Merit and the Distinguished Service Medal.

<P> During his years with Goodwill, he helped expand the organization's reach in assisting the vocationally disadvantaged as well as the physically or mentally disabled. He also led its expansion into the former communist states of Eastern Europe.

<P> Adm. Cooney also served on the President's Commission on the Employment of People with Disabilities and the Social Security quadrennial review for disability programs appointed by Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush. He was chairman of an advisory committee on special wages to the secretary of labor and treasurer of the United Nations Agency for Disability Issues.

<P> He had served on the board of directors of the Naval Institute Foundation and had been a consultant on organizational planning and training programs. A former Eagle Scout, he had served on the National Council of the Boy Scouts of America.

<P> Survivors include his wife, Beverly Satchwell Cooney of Alexandria; a son, Navy Cmdr. David M. Cooney Jr. of Newport, R.I.; three daughters, Dr. Kathleen Cooney Lambert of Arlington, Mass., Karen Cooney Newman of Reston and Kacy Cooney Lypka of Fairfax; and seven grandchildren.


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<P>Defense Week

November 1, 1999

Pg. 1

<P>Adversaries Vie Over Vieques

<P>By David Abel

<P> At a recent Senate Armed Services Committee hearing, Sen. John Warner (R-Va.), the panels chairman, called for a dialogue between those arguing to keep the Navy training facility in Vieques, Puerto Rico, and those calling for the sea service to leave.

<P> In an effort to stimulate that dialogue, Defense Week interviewed the most outspoken public officials on each side of the controversy. Carlos Romero-Barceló, Puerto Ricans sole member of Congress, who can vote at the committee level but not on the House floor, wants the Navy out of Vieques. Sen. James Inhofe (R-Okla.), chairman of the armed services committees readiness panel, staunchly defends what he sees as the Navys right and obligation to stay there.

<P> The controversy erupted in April after a Marine Corps F/A-18 fighter dropped two 500-pound bombs on the Vieques range, accidentally killing a Puerto Rican civilian security guard and wounding four other Puerto Rican civilians, all of whom worked for the Navy. The following are excerpts from the two interviews:

<P> Interview with Carlos Romero-Barceló

<P> DW: Have you had any recent conversations with the Navy, or is there anything new relating to a possible compromise over Vieques?

<P> Romero-Barceló: I dont think there can be anything new to discuss with the secretary of the Navy. As far as were concerned, the Navy everyday loses more and more credibility.

<P> DW: Bombing has been going on for 58 years with a nearly perfect safety record. Why not just let the USS Eisenhower (CVN 69) train and negotiate a settlement that would allow the Navy to leave after a certain period of time?

<P> Romero-Barceló: That might have been feasible years ago. But not now. Because of what has happened. Because of coincidences in other parts of the world, such as when the Chinese Embassy [in Belgrade] was blown up also by mistake. In a world where extremely accurate bombs could be given wrong information, when they are dropped from 20,000 feet, a small error can make a bomb [go] instead of two miles off course, eight or nine miles off course. Who will be able to explain to the people there if a school gets hit?

<P> DW: But youve accepted much of this danger for the past 58 years

. Why not at least give the Navy some leeway and give it time to find another site?

Romero-Barceló: Because they have lost their right to leeway. They lost their credibility. We don't believe this is indispensable to national security.

DW: Gov. Pedro Rosselló's administration has pushed very strongly to make Puerto Rico the 51st U.S. state. But doesn't his stand on Vieques risk making Puerto Ricans appear unpatriotic and casting the U.S. government as imperialists?

Romero-Barceló: We believe this controversy in the long run will help. We think that the people will understand what human rights are, what the safety of a community is.

DW: Some say the unified position of Puerto Ricans against the Navy's presence is a reflection of Puerto Ricans expressing their self identity, their distinction from the United States. Doesn't that hurt the statehood movement?

Romero-Barceló: I think it's much more of an expression of powerlessness as U.S. citizens. This would not be happening in Martha's Vineyard.

DW: Many in the military are nervous Vieques is another of many important bases being lost. They fear the loss of Vieques might trigger a domino effect.

Romero-Barceló: The domino theory is something that has always been disproven. This was the greatest flaw in the argument used in Vietnam.

DW: Will you support civil disobedience if the president calls for training to resume on Vieques?

Romero-Barceló: We feel that we are right. That the only reason this hasn't been solved is because we don't have the political leverage When everything else fails, and you're convinced that you're in the right, and you've gone through the courts, and you have used all your resources, civil disobedience is a last resort.

DW: In your eyes, is there any way for the Navy to salvage Vieques?

<P> Romero-Barceló: I dont think so.

<P> Interview with Sen. James Inhofe:

<P> DW: How did you come to take such a strong interest in Vieques?

<P> Inhofe: Im the chairman of the readiness committee. And when the issue was first introduced, I did some checking within the services to see whether this thing [training at Vieques] was necessary. I came to the conclusion that it wasnt just necessary, it was life-threateningly necessary. If we dont use it, people are going to die. There is no place else where we can do this training. So I decided to do everything with every fiber of my being to make sure we got that back.

<P> DW: Critics argue Vieques might become obsolete in the future because the Navy is moving toward primarily precision-guided munitions, which are often dropped from very high altitudes or launched from very far away. That, critics say, might make it more dangerous if theres an accident.

<P> Inhofe: I dont think so. Until we get technology that shows we would be able to do it in a different manner, and something that could happen in the future that shows that [the training] wouldnt be necessary, but until that happens, what are you going to do about the USS Eisenhower? Thats the immediate thing. Theyre going to be going through the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf. And the chances of combat there are better than two to one.

<P> DW: But how essential is some of this training to readiness, when not only has it been about 50 years since ship-to-shore fire has been used to support Marines, but it is no longer part of Marine Corps doctrine to storm beaches?

<P> Inhofe: Well, I think it could be essential because we cant predict what kind of combat could be in the future.

<P> DW: You often talk about this controversy in a political context; but have you considered it in a historical context? To many on the island, the range on Vieques is a symbol of colonialism. They have complained about the bases for many years. From that perspective, can you empathize with those Puerto Ricans who say the death of David Sanz-Rodriguez is the final straw?

<P> Inhofe: Except theyre getting premier treatment compared even to those states they say theyre getting sub-treatment from ... Theyre getting sup

erior treatment.

<P> DW: How far should the government go in trying to remove the protesters? And is it worth risking massive public protests and civil disobedience?

<P> Inhofe: If we were as a nation to lie down every time somebody was going to do something to us if we didnt do exactly what they wanted, then I dont know what kind of foreign policy we would have. But in this case ... if theyre going to threaten and they have down there well just have to put it in the proper context. We as a nation should look out for our national- security interests, which are the same national-security interests for Puerto Rico.


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<P>San Diego Union-Tribune

October 31, 1999

Pg. 1

<P>Lawmakers Look Harder At Arms Funding

<I><P>F-22 production delayed; post-Cold War budgets tighte
r

</I><P>By Stephen Green, Copley News Service

<P> WASHINGTON -- Rep. Randy "Duke" Cunningham had political heartburn. The Escondido Republican, a member of the House military appropriations subcommittee, had just learned that the panel's chairman wanted to block production of the Air Force F-22 Raptor -- a bold move to end open-spigot spending on expensive weapons.

<P> Cunningham agreed there was reason to delay production of the jet fighter, as proposed by subcommittee chairman Jerry Lewis, R-Redlands. But Cunningham was in a bind.

<P> The avionics -- the guts of the plane's automated guidance systems -- were to be manufactured by TRW in San Diego under a subcontract worth \$585 million and 600 skilled jobs over six years.

<P> "I thought I'd be burnt toast," said Cunningham, who nonetheless supported Lewis, becoming a key figure in the debate. The House went along with Lewis, while the Senate wanted to give the Air Force the entire \$1.9 billion sought for production next year by the prime contractor, Lockheed Martin.

<P> The two chambers battled over whether the military and its contractors -- traditionally lavish with campaign contributions -- could do business as they have for years, or whether tighter post-Cold War budgets and strategic realities would prevail.

<P> Ultimately, Congress agreed to pay for six planes for testing only. No combat-ready versions will be produced until the plane has been fully tested.

<P> Although the compromise allowed both sides to claim victory, Congress withheld funds for a plane long coveted by the Air Force. Republicans and Democrats usually supportive of Pentagon requests blocked production money.

<P> "We've tried to send a signal there's a new way of doing business," said Lewis, who took over the subcommittee a year ago. "There has to be real dialogue with Congress about major procurement affecting the future of the military. It just can't be a conversation between manufacturers and the Pentagon."

<P> But John Douglass, president of Aerospace Industries Association of America, maintained that nothing fundamental has changed.

<P> "Lawmakers always get sticker-shock," he said, "but you can't project f

orce around the world without air superiority."

<P> Whether the F-22 battle signifies Congress is taking a harder look at big-ticket weapons in an era of flat defense spending may not be known for certain until the next military budget.

<P> If sticker-shock becomes buyer frugality, it will mean more dire consequences for the defense industry, which has experienced contraction and consolidation since the Cold War ended.

<P> The industry still remains a significant source of political funding. It gave \$41.4 million in soft money, political action committee and individual donations to parties and federal candidates in the 1997-1998 election cycle.

<P> But legislators of both parties have concerns that the Pentagon has not been candid about the actual price of military readiness in an era of post-Cold War defense budgets.

<P> "What they are looking at is a 10-pound defense program trying to squeeze into a five-pound budget," said Andrew Krepinevich, director of the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessment.

<P> Over the next two decades, the Pentagon wants to spend \$340 billion on the F-22 and two other advanced warplanes -- the Joint Strike Fighter for use by all the services and an upgraded version of the Navy's F/A-18 Hornet fighter.

<P> Some \$20 billion already has been spent on the F-22. It's estimated the program eventually will cost \$70 billion.

<P> "The F-22 was going to be the most expensive fighter program in U.S. history," said Lewis. "But the reason for its existence -- potential emergence of a new-generation Soviet fighter -- evaporated.

<P> "America has to dominate in this field, but we need to rethink how we get there, reflecting the needs of the Air Force but also the needs of the rest of the military," said Lewis, who received \$7,750 in Lockheed Martin-connected donations in the last election cycle.

<P> Rep. Duncan Hunter, R-El Cajon, chairman of the House military procurement subcommittee, said he decided to support Lewis after the Joint Chiefs of Staff admitted that the services would lack sufficient money for basic combat readiness.

<P> "With full funding for the F-22, there just wouldn't be enough money for other military needs," said Hunter, who received \$10,000 from Lockheed Martin

<P> Cunningham, who received \$9,500 from Lockheed Martin, said that while the F-22 is needed, the plane is not scheduled for combat availability until about 2008. Before that, the current generation of fighters should be upgraded, Cunningham said, and that can't be done with the F-22 eating up so much money.

<P> In August, Cunningham visited the San Diego TRW plant, addressing some 500 workers wearing F-22 T-shirts.

<P> "They were trying to tell me, 'Duke, our jobs depend on the F-22.' I told them I don't think the F-22 should be canceled, but I do think there should be more testing before we jump into boiling water," Cunningham recalled.

<P> "Neither jobs, nor political pressure, nor campaign contributions will matter to me, if I have to put a young man or woman in an airplane that I don't feel gives them a good chance to survive," said Cunningham, a former Navy fighter pilot.

<P> Cunningham was not the only subcommittee member whose constituents have an economic interest in the F-22. Rep. Norm Dicks, D-Wash., who also backed Lewis, represents constituents employed by Boeing, a major F-22 subcontractor.

<P> Before agreeing to compromise, Senate Appropriations Committee Chairman Ted Stevens, R-Alaska, took the position of the Air Force and Lockheed Martin -- postponing production would kill the plane.

<P> Rep. John Marsha, D-Pa., ranking minority member of Lewis' subcommittee, said Cunningham made a difference in negotiating with the Senate "because of his experience testing airplanes."

<P> John Pike, a military expert with the Federation of American Scientists, said he is skeptical of a sea change in military procurement. But, he said, what transpired with the F-22 "is sufficiently out of character to raise the possibility things may be different."

<P> "At the very least," Lewis said, Congress has embarked on "a very healthy procurement debate."

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<P>San Diego Union-Tribune

October 30, 1999

<P>Funds Urged For N-Test Detection

<P>By Associated Press

<P> WASHINGTON -- Any move to cut U.S. financing for a global monitoring system to detect nuclear tests clearly would damage U.S. national security, the White House said yesterday.

<P> The \$300 million International Monitoring System, eventually to comprise 321 stations in 90 countries, is part of the enforcement mechanism for a treaty to stop all nuclear testing.

<P> In the aftermath of the Senate's Oct. 13 rejection of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, however, some test-ban opponents have proposed eliminating a \$16 million monitoring allocation from the United States.

<P> David Leavy, a White House spokesman on national security issues, said such a step would be "clearly damaging to our national security, and it makes no sense whatsoever in terms of America's interests."

<P> "After voting down the CTBT, to say we don't care if anyone else is tes

ting is a ludicrous position," Leavy said.

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<P>New York Times

October 31, 1999

Pg. 18

<P>Gentler Look At The U.S. World Role

<P>By John M. Broder

<P> WASHINGTON, Oct. 30 -- In the aftermath of the White House's acrid defe
at on a treaty banning nuclear testing, President Clinton declared that the Rep
ublicans in Congress are now driven by a reckless "new isolationism." The Treas
ury Secretary charged Congress with "malign neglect" of America's obligations.
The national security adviser accused Republicans in Congress of pursuing a "su
rvivalist" foreign policy.

<P> But within days of delivering these broadsides, Administration official
s began to backpedal. Lawrence H. Summers, the Treasury Secretary, said in a sp
eech that economic isolationism "does not spring from a single party or agenda."
" Samuel R. Berger, the national security adviser, said that he did not intend
to label all opponents of the weapons treaty isolationists or to tar the entire

Republican Party with the label.

<P> "I don't want to reduce this to Republicans versus Democrats," Mr. Berger said in an interview. "But there are serious issues and we ought to talk about them. We are at the pinnacle of our power," he said, adding, "are we going to seize this opportunity to lead the world, or are we going to pull back?"

<P> Ostrichism and nativism will always be found in American politics. But the debate, many foreign policy experts say, is about what form of internationalism makes sense for an unchallenged superpower.

<P> After the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty was spiked, Mr. Clinton noted that a majority of Republicans wanted to delay consideration of the treaty rather than kill it outright, as a determined minority of Republicans, with the blessing of Trent Lott, had done.

<P> These lawmakers reject the isolationist label, but their views could fairly be characterized as unilateralist. They believe that by agreeing to the treaty the United States would be foolishly risking America's nuclear superiority over an unverifiable arms control regime.

<P> By casting the entire Republican Party as captive to its isolationist wing Mr. Clinton alienated those Republicans who believe the United States has global obligations but who question the Administration's strategy for meeting them.

<P> "These attacks are both dangerous and bad judgment," said Robert B. Zoellick, Under Secretary of State in the Bush Administration and an adviser to George W. Bush, the Texas Governor and presidential candidate. "That pattern is to brand all opponents as isolationists. It's not only inaccurate, it runs the serious risk of undermining the larger case for America's engagement in the world."

<P> Mr. Zoellick believes the American people today favor an active role but prefer to leave the terms of engagement up to the President. He believes that Mr. Clinton has squandered the opportunity. But Republicans are also to blame, Mr. Zoellick said, for letting distaste for Mr. Clinton to cloud their judgment.

<P> Republicans like Senator Richard G. Lugar, a moderate from Indiana, agree. "The President and the national security adviser have attempted to use the word 'isolationist' as a political attack word," Mr. Lugar said. Mr. Clinton has resorted to name-calling rather than making a good-faith effort to narrow differences of opinion in how the United States should be engaged in fulfilling its international goals," he said.

<P> Certainly, there are Republicans -- and former Republicans, like Patrick J. Buchanan -- who argue that the United States need not sully itself in the Balkans or East Timor, nor participate in the mushy do-goodism of international bodies. But there are Democrats as well who opposed American military intervention in Haiti and Bosnia and who question the value of free trade.

<P> There is a long tradition -- in both parties -- of mistrust of foreign entanglements and multinational organizations.

<P> Democrats overwhelmingly opposed intervention in the Persian Gulf in 1991 and voted heavily against the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1993. For decades during the cold war, Republicans opposed internationalism, preferring robust military spending and unilateral intervention in conflicts from Southeast Asia to Central America.

<P> But the larger discussion since the end of the cold war is not about treaties or trading arrangements, but about the American identity and national purpose.

<P> It is a debate that predates the republic and that George Washington addressed in his Presidential farewell in 1797, warning against "permanent alliances." (It was Jefferson who warned of "entangling alliances" four years later.)

<P> The debate has been renewed after every major conflict, from the War of 1812 to World War II.

<P> "One side believes the United States is exceptional and unique, unique because it is isolated by the oceans and uncontaminated by foreign influences," said Michael J. Hogan, dean of the College of Humanities at Ohio State University. "They believe that the more the country enters into entangling alliances, the more likely it is that it will be corrupted."

<P> The other side argues that while the United States is singular, Mr. Hogan continued, "it has the mission to spread the blessings of American liberty to people around the world."

<P> That tension was largely stilled during the cold war. Congresses and Presidents, from Truman to Reagan, shared a broad consensus on the need to pay the price of advancing liberty around the globe, although there were deep and even violent disputes on where and when to use American troops. That consensus has now broken down.

<P> "It was much easier during that era to rally the public and the Congress

s to engagement under the banner of containment," Mr. Berger said. "But with the end of the cold war, it is tempting to some to want to pull back, but it is equally dangerous. There is a range of threats out there that will affect America's prosperity and security."

<P> Republicans mostly agree, but their quarrel is with the Administration's approach. They do not want to see American troops under United Nations command. They believe that Europeans should take the lead in the Balkans. They think that global treaties infringe on American sovereignty. And they resent the charge of isolationism.

<P> "The reality is, we've got a President who very few people up here trust and, on the Republican side, very few like," said Senator Chuck Hagel, a Nebraska Republican on the Foreign Relations Committee. "He's never gone out of his way to develop any kind of relations up here, and this is all coming home now."


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<P>U.S. News & World Report

November 8, 1999

Pg. 8

<U><P>Washington Whispers

</U><P>Clunker To The Rescue?

<P>By Paul Bedard

<P> Washington, which spends nearly \$10 billion to fight terrorism, can't seem to agree on even the most basic tools. The State Departmentthe lead agency on international terroruses a 37-year-old aircraft to respond to attacks overseas, but it breaks down lots. Last year, en route to Africa after the embassy bombings, the clunker caught fire; later it was grounded for nearly two days during a Mideast exercise. Replacing the KC-135 has been slowed by squabbling: The White House wants a wide-body jet while State and Justice favor a smaller craft

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<P>Jerusalem Post

October 31, 1999

<P>US Set To Sell Israel Apache 'Longbow' Helicopters

<P>By Arie O'Sullivan

<P> JERUSALEM - The Pentagon announced over the weekend that the US is to sell Israel advanced AH-64 Apache "Longbow" attack helicopters in a deal worth o

ver half a billion dollars.

<P> The tank-hunting Longbows would be equipped with Hellfire II laser-guided missiles, the Pentagon said, adding that it would not upset the region's military balance.

<P> The Americans said the deal was valued at \$508 million and included 480 of the Hellfire missiles. Congress must still review and approve the deal. If it goes through, it follows the decision to purchase 50 F-16Is for \$2.5 billion

<P> The money for the procurements comes from the nearly \$2b. in annual US military aid to Israel, since most of that money has to be spent in America.

<P> Despite the announcement, the air force said it had still not received the final price tag for the advanced attack chopper, which contains sophisticated targeting and radar systems. OC Air Force Maj.-Gen. Eitan Ben-Eliahu said last week that they are still waiting for the formal price from Boeing, the manufacturers of the Longbow, and that there had not yet been a decision on whether the IAF would purchase the Longbow or the cheaper Super Cobra.

<P> But air force sources said that it was more likely that the Israel would opt for the Longbow once the price came down.

<P> The Apache Longbow attack helicopter is a deadly armor-hunting platform, equipped with Hellfire missiles, 30mm cannon, and forward-looking infrared equipment and is especially well-suited for repelling Syrian armored assaults by day or by night. It has two engines and is built for survivability.

<P> The IAF has decided to enlarge its helicopter attack fleet as part of its reorganization and modernization. The Apache Longbow is capable of firing at multiple targets simultaneously, and is considered greatly superior to the Apache and Cobra choppers used by the IAF today.

<P> In a statement, the Pentagon said the proposed sale will give Israel a better capability to attack armored vehicles, "provide for the defense of vital installations" and provide better close air support for its ground forces.

<P> In addition to the Longbow, the Pentagon also said the US is to sell Israel 518 heavy trucks for \$117m. The 10-ton trucks will be used to carry artillery ammunition.

<P> In its announcement, the Pentagon also said that the US is to sell aircraft to Egypt, specifically two Gulfstream IV-SP aircraft, valued at \$180m., to

be used to transport national leaders. Egypt also is asking to buy 239 Humvee utility vehicles for \$30m. to replace jeeps and to outfit with TOW anti-tank weapons systems.

<P> Also, the Pentagon said that America would sell Norway, a member of NATO, 30 F-16 fighters for \$2.6b. South Korea is buying 20 F-16s, minus the engines, for \$379m.

<P> South Korea also will buy 29 multiple-launch rocket systems, which are long-range artillery, plus associated equipment for \$498m. The weapons are needed to counter North Korean long-range artillery and rocket systems, the Pentagon said, in justifying the deal.


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<P>Boston Globe

October 30, 1999

Pg. C1

<P>Raytheon Averts Ariz. Strike

<P>By Globe Staff and Wires

<P> Raytheon Co. said it reached a tentative agreement with machinists at its primary missile plant in Tucson, Ariz., to avert a threatened strike at the facility. Negotiations over wages and benefits had been at an impasse between the Lexington-based defense contractor and a local unit of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, which represents 1,625 of the 9,500 employees of the plant. The site is the chief production facility for Raytheon's Tomahawk cruise missile and other munitions, and disrupted deliveries could have had a financial impact on the company. Raytheon didn't disclose the specifics of the new contract it said was accepted by a majority of the union's negotiating committee late yesterday. The deal still requires approval of the union's general membership. Union officials could not be reached for comment.

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<P>Washington Post

October 30, 1999

Pg. 1

<P>Boeing Delayed Fuel Tank Report

<I><P>Problem Studied In 1980 Linked To '96 TWA Crash

</I><P>By Michael Grunwald, Washington Post Staff Writer

<P> The Boeing Co. studied fuel tank problems in one of its jumbo jets in 1980--16 years before similar problems in a similar jet apparently contributed to the explosion of TWA Flight 800--but failed to give its report to safety investigators until this June.

<P> Congressional investigators are probing why Boeing never told the National Transportation Safety Board that it had completed a report on center fuel tank overheating in its E-4B, the military version of the civilian 747 that went down over the Atlantic Ocean in July 1996.

<P> Safety board officials believe the report could have helped focus the TWA 800 investigation on mechanical failure much earlier, and one senator argued that its conclusions could have helped prevent the tragedy if they had been released after a 1990 fuel tank explosion.

<P> The board released a terse statement yesterday expressing "dismay" and "displeasure" about Boeing's failure to produce its study, and attorneys for families of the 230 people killed aboard TWA Flight 800 warned that the March 14, 1980, report is sure to resurface in their multimillion-dollar lawsuits against the manufacturer.

<P> Boeing declined official comment. Sources said company officials have acknowledged that they should have produced the report earlier, but have contended that it would not have affected the TWA 800 investigation.

<P> The 1980 Boeing report focused on one of the key issues that preoccupied TWA 800 investigators--the possibility that excess heat from the jet's air conditioning bay could create highly flammable fuel vapors in the central tank--and it even made one of the safety recommendations that the board issued in December 1997.

<P> Sen. Charles E. Grassley (R-Iowa), chairman of a subcommittee that oversees airline disaster investigations, said Boeing was under a legal as well as moral obligation to produce the study after TWA 800 went down.

<P> He said that if the company had volunteered its four-volume report after a center fuel tank explosion in a different kind of Boeing jet--a Philippines Airlines 737--killed eight people at the Manila airport in 1990, American safety officials might have recommended changes that could have prevented the TWA 800 tragedy.

<P> "The government and the manufacturers need to have an ethic that overreporting is better than underreporting," Grassley said. "This was too important to fall through the cracks."

<P> In recent months, the Office of Special Investigations arm of the General Accounting Office, which conducts probes for Congress, has interviewed more than a dozen Boeing employees from the civilian and military wings of the company, and more than a dozen federal employees at the Air Force and the NTSB. Sources say that the investigators have no evidence of any intentional coverup at Boeing or at the Air Force, which commissioned the original report, but that Boeing officials admitted to the investigators that they should have produced the report earlier.

<P> Safety board officials say that Boeing was legally bound to surrender the document and let them decide whether it was relevant to their investigation. And in fact, they say, the document was relevant. "It would have been very helpful to us," one official said. "I think even Boeing would admit that they should have told us about what they had."

<P> In an interview, a Boeing official who spoke on condition of anonymity noted that the E-4B, which is used for special aircraft such as Air Force One, is not the same as the 747; for one thing, it has four air conditioning units in its main bay, vs. the 747's three. And he argued that the Boeing report was not "directly" related to the TWA 800 investigation, because it focused on testing the temperatures of different fuels in different situations, instead of searching for the ignition source of an explosion.

<P> "I wouldn't say it's irrelevant, but I don't think there's a direct correlation between the results of this study and the conclusions of the TWA investigators," the official said.

<P> The E-4B report did foreshadow the 747 investigation. In 1980, the Air Force directed Boeing "to provide a detailed analysis of the [center fuel tank] heating problem" with the E-4B; the board has focused on the same problem with the 747.

<P> In 1980, Boeing concluded that "the dominant source of heating into the [center fuel tank] is . . . the air conditioning equipment bay" of the E-4B; the safety board has also focused on that air conditioning bay, which is directly below the 747's central fuel tank.

<P> In fact, after TWA 800 went down, Boeing officials bolstered investigators' suspicions of sabotage, arguing that there was no way the central tank could get hot enough to become susceptible to an explosion; the E-4B report could have cast doubt on that argument. And ultimately, the safety board recommended adding insulation between the air conditioning bay and the fuel tank in the 747; in 1980, Boeing had made the same recommendation for the E-4B.

<P> Nevertheless, the safety board did not learn about the Boeing report until March, when it was listed on the agenda for a meeting of an Air Force task force studying the safety implications of the TWA 800 crash for the E-4B. And i

t did not get the report until June. Sources say Boeing officials told the investigators that they could not have turned it over to the board because they considered it an Air Force report, but that miscommunications between the company's civilian and military wings may have contributed to the problem.

<P> "We of course were dismayed that we did not receive a copy of this report in the early weeks of the TWA Flight 800 investigation," the safety board said in its statement. "We have expressed our displeasure to Boeing about their failure to inform us about the study and the three-year time span it took for us to receive it. . . . Its contents will be considered in the formulation of our final accident report on the crash of Flight 800."

<P> The board hopes to finish that report next spring; it has yet to determine the source of the spark that caused the blast. But it has located the explosion in the center fuel tank, which would not have been possible if overheating had not produced flammable vapors. Steven Pounian, an attorney on the plaintiff's committee representing the families of TWA 800 victims, said that if Boeing knew about the problem, it should have done something about it.

<P> "They definitely should have taken some action," Pounian said. "This report shows they knew the air conditioning bays were causing too much heat. So they knew the problems that could occur."


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<P>New York Times

October 31, 1999

Last Indonesian Troops Leave East Timor, Ending 24-Year Occupation

By Seth Mydans

DILI, East Timor -- Ending a failed 24-year occupation that culminated in a rampage of destruction, the last 900 Indonesian soldiers left on this island territory pulled down their red-and-white flag and departed from East Timor on Sunday.

With a shout to the Australian harbormaster of "O.K. sir, thank you, sir," the Indonesians' crowded troopship cast off from Dili's dark and deserted harbor one hour after midnight.

Their officers were seen off earlier at the airport by the people who took their place: the United Nations representative, the Australian general who heads an international peacekeeping force, and José Alexandre Gusmão, the guerrilla chief who led a separatist war against them.

"I feel sensational," said Gusmão with a delighted grin after sharing polite smiles and handshakes with the departing officers. Freed from seven years in detention in Indonesia, he is now the effective leader of an emerging new East Timorese nation. He and his countrymen had battled the Indonesians since they invaded in 1975, occupying the vacuum left when Portugal abandoned this land, its former colony, a year earlier.

"Now, beginning today, there is no more Indonesia here," said Lieut. Col. J. D. Sembiring, one of the departing officers, who said he thought the East Timorese had erred in voting for independence, but wished them well. "Now we want to leave this area because in the struggle so many people have died," he said.

An estimated 200,000 East Timorese have been slain or died of disease and starvation since Indonesia invaded and annexed this land as its 27th province. Tens of thousands of Indonesian soldiers have also lost their lives.

As the sun sank on Saturday, young men danced around a small fire on the beach, singing a song of freedom and shouting, "Yeehah! Viva East Timor!"

"Laughingly, we celebrate our freedom," said one, Santos Kosme. "Today

is happy."

<P> Hours later, the last of the Indonesian soldiers filed aboard their transport ship, each with his bag on his shoulder, in a silence broken only by their low murmuring.

<P> In the last action of their long years here, a small guard unit crouched behind a perimeter fence at the port with a machine gun pointed at the empty street.

<P> The troop departure was the final step in a painful separation that began with a referendum on Aug. 30 in which 78.5 percent of those voting chose to break away from Indonesia.

<P> The vote was followed by a rampage of terror and destruction by militias backed by the Indonesian military that destroyed or damaged an estimated 70 percent of the buildings in East Timor and forced most of its 800,000 people to become refugees.

<P> As a result, an international peacekeeping force of 7,500 troops was deployed here on Sept. 20. The Indonesian Parliament accepted East Timor's vote for independence late this month. And four days ago, the United Nations voted to set up an interim administration here for two to three years, including the deployment of 9,000 troops.

<P> The loss of East Timor and the presence of foreign troops here have humiliated Indonesia and aroused a defensive wave of nationalism.

<P> But these were only side issues in an intense political upheaval that ended last week with the parliamentary election of Abdurrahman Wahid, a Muslim cleric, as the new President of the world's fourth largest nation.

<P> In a gesture of conciliation, Wahid said he would greet Gusmão at the airport if he traveled to Jakarta, the Indonesian capital. Gusmão said on Saturday that he planned to accept the invitation and also intended to talk with Indonesian military leaders.

<P> Almost whispering as he spoke to reporters in a light rain, sometimes opening his eyes wide, sometimes breaking into a bright smile, Gusmão said he hoped Indonesia and East Timor could be good neighbors.

<P> "We are all in a position to look at the future and we hope that the two countries can develop friendly and cooperative relations," he said.

<P> As if he did not want the moment to end, Gusmão chatted at length in the airport departure lounge with the Indonesian officers. Most of them managed to continue smiling as long as he did.

<P> On the wall was a newly painted advertisement for beer that read, "Welcome to the Nation of Lorosae," the local name for East Timor.

<P> The focus of the day's emotion was the port, where a ferryload of 1,400 returning refugees docked on Saturday morning, just 300 yards from the gray transport ship where soldiers were preparing to leave.

<P> Because of previous incidents of rock-throwing, the peacekeepers had erected a huge burlap shield along the perimeter fence to block the departing soldiers from view. The troops were escorted through the streets by Australian armored vehicles.

<P> For days, crowds of men had gathered outside the port to jeer as they watched the departing remnants of an Indonesian force that once numbered as many as 24,000 men.

<P> "I am glad they are going because now we are free from intimidation, free from terror, and now we can develop our own country," said José Barros, 34, who worked until the recent wave of violence as an official in a local government office.

<P> "I respect what they built for us here," he said, "but what is more important for us than roads and houses and schools is our right to determine our lives for independence."

<P> During its quarter-century of occupation, Indonesia poured an estimated \$100 million a year into the small territory -- much of it spent in trying to subdue the small but stubborn guerrilla resistance.

<P> "There was a lot of blood spilled over the decades in keeping their empire together," said Eric Chamberlain, a former Australian military attaché; in Indonesia who now works for a relief organization here.

<P> "But they spent a fortune trying to make it a showplace," he said. "They used to tell me a lot of soldiers were angry about how much more money was being poured in here than into their own towns. So they made it a showplace and now they've trashed it, and they did it with such a vengeance."

<P> The campaign of destruction, he said, was clearly meant to send a message

ge -- a message sprayed in graffiti on the side of one of the burned builings i
n Dili's commercial district.

<P> "The consequences of making the wrong choice," it said, referring to th
e vote for independence.

<P> Dili remains in ruins today, but is swarming with life as refugees retu
rn from the hills or on boats and aircraft from camps in Indonesian West Timor.

<P> People are moving back into their burned-out homes, though many must us
e blue tarpaulins issued by aid agencies as roofs.

<P> As the Indonesian troops have departed over recent weeks, they have car
ried off whatever furniture or other loot they could.

<P> The returnees who will now take their places as masters of East Timor b
egin with almost nothing.

<P> "They get the basics of life," said Luciano Calestini of the aid agency
World Vision, who was handing out supplies Saturday. "The basics of life is a
plastic sheet, a blanket, a couple of bars of soap, a jerrycan for water and fi
ve kilograms of rice."


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<P>Washington Post

October 31, 1999

Pg. 34

<P>N. Korea, Neighbors Improve Relations

<I><P>Berlin Deal Spurs Chances for Trade

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

<P> SEOULNorth Korea's neighbors have detected a slight thaw in their chilly relations with the Stalinist state after its recent pact with the United States, leading to a number of proposals for more commerce with the usually closed country.

<P> The Japanese are forming a delegation, led by a former prime minister, that will likely propose resumption of charter airline flights between the two countries. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Seoul wants to send a group to explore business opportunities now that the United States has relaxed its trade embargo. And Hyundai, the South Korea multinational, is shuttling back and forth with hopes to build an industrial park in North Korea.

<P> North Korea is expected to reciprocate these signs of interest by sending at least a mid-level official in coming months to visit its two chief antagonists: the United States and South Korea.

<P> These moves follow negotiations in Berlin last month in which North Korea agreed to stop testing new missiles in return for a relaxation of economic and political sanctions by the United States. Even as Congress debates the strategy of gradually improving relations with North Korea proposed by U.S. envoy William J. Perry, the Berlin agreement has launched the two countries along that path.

<P> Pyongyang has not changed its public persona--its propaganda outlets continue to churn out fierce rhetoric--but some see indications of a new attitude.

<P> "It seems North Korea is finally making a shift in direction toward accommodation," said South Korea Foreign Minister Hong Soon Young. "It doesn't mean it's speedy, but it is a shift."

<P> "At least they have shown some signs they can negotiate with South Korea," agreed Hyun In-Taek, a political scientist at Korea University. "I don't think we don't have to expect too much from North Korea, but this is a little meaningful sign."

<P> Others are more wary of declaring that North Korea, which has a history of contradictory signals, has made any fundamental change.

<P> "I think it's far too early to tell," said Lho Kyongsoo, a political scientist at Seoul National University. "All the Berlin agreement says is North Korea wants to stay engaged with the United States. It's inevitably going to be a process of two steps forward and one step back."

<P> Still, even the talk of new relations with North Korea is in sharp difference to the mood in early August. Then, North Korea was threatening to test-fire a new long-range missile and the drumbeat of warnings to North Korea by the United States, Japan and South Korea was at a near-crisis tempo.

<P> They feared a second launch of Pyongyang's Taepodong missile. The first sailed over Japan on Aug. 31, 1998, causing considerable consternation. The three-stage rocket, if perfected, would put targets as far away as Hawaii and Alaska in the range of North Korea, which has sought nuclear weapons and is thought to possess chemical and biological weapons.

<P> In the Berlin agreement, the North Korean government agreed to forswear further test launches and the United States agreed to take steps to ease the half-century-old political and economic sanctions. On Sept. 17, Washington lifted key parts of a trade embargo, permitting trade in consumer goods and raw materials, U.S. investment and landings in North Korea by U.S. airlines.

<P> Pyongyang, in return, resumed the stalled process of repatriating the remains of Korean War soldiers. This week it turned over the suspected remains of four U.S. servicemen.

<P> Even North Korea's reclusive leader, Kim Jong Il, seemed to get in the cooperative spirit. In a meeting Oct. 1 with officials of the Hyundai business group, Kim is reported to have remarked positively that Seoul appears to be a "global city"--a rare compliment that made headlines here. And North Korea has begun satellite TV broadcasts that can be seen outside the country.

<P> Hyundai's chairman, Chung Mong-hun, has met with Kim to advance plans to build an industrial complex for production of cars, garments and electronic goods in North Korea close to the border. South Korea's President Kim Dae Jung has encouraged the Hyundai contacts and welcomed the Berlin agreement as in line with his own "sunshine" or "engagement" policy of improving ties with the North.

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<P> Previous South Korean administrations had objected to any negotiations between Pyongyang and Washington that excluded Seoul and demanded government-to-government contact with the North Korean government. Hong said Seoul is no longer worried about the order of steps.


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<P>Baltimore Sun

October 31, 1999

<P>Terrorist Sighted At Camps Near Afghanistan's Border

<I><P>Osama bin Laden, wanted in embassy bombings, offers to leave country

</I><P>By Associated Press

<P> JALALABAD, Afghanistan -- One day after terrorism suspect Osama bin Laden offered to leave Afghanistan, residents of this rugged eastern city said that they saw him and his men yesterday at a training camp nearby.

<P> On the dusty, clogged streets of Jalalabad, barely 45 miles from the Pa

kistani border, a man who refused to give his name said, "With these two eyes I saw him" in a community called Farmada.

<P> Nearby was Mohammed Naseem, who said, "Bin Laden is bringing bad things to Afghanistan." With a flick of his hand, Naseem said bin Laden should go: "He is taking the food from our mouths."

<P> Bin Laden's request to leave Afghanistan, comes as the United Nations has threatened to impose sanctions against Afghanistan if it doesn't turn over bin Laden by mid-November. The Saudi-born bin Laden is suspected in the 1998 U.S. Embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania.

<P> Afghanistan's economy has been shattered by the protracted civil war. Most wealthy and educated people have fled the country, while investments are halting because of the fighting.

<P> Earlier this year, the United States banned U.S. trade with and investment in Taliban-controlled parts of Afghanistan, barred Americans from using the Taliban-run Ariana Afghan airlines and started seizing the airline's \$500 million in U.S. assets.

<P> On Friday, bin Laden asked the Taliban for permission to leave Afghanistan. He also asked them to provide him with security while he is moving out and not to disclose his destination, Taliban spokesman Tayyab Agha said by telephone from Kandahar.

<P> A Clinton administration official, who insisted on anonymity, said that the U.S. government had seen the report of bin Laden's request but that it "falls far short" of the U.N. resolution that the militia deliver him for trial in the United States or another country.

<P> Some in this city of nearly 1 million people -- many of whom are refugees from elsewhere in Afghanistan, displaced by the war -- said they are not interested in bin Laden or his organization.

<P> "We have nothing no industry, no agriculture anymore," said one resident, who gave his name only as Razzak. "We need help."

<P> According to a Taliban commander who spoke on condition of anonymity, bin Laden has two camps near Jalalabad, one at Farmada and one west of the city at Darunta. About 1,000 men are at the two camps, he said.

<P> The United States accuses bin Laden of masterminding the twin bombings of its embassies last year in East Africa. Washington is offering a \$5 million

reward for his capture and wants him expelled to a country where he can stand trial on charges in connection with the bombings.

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<P>Washington Post

October 30, 1999

Pg. 1

<P>China Confronts A Silent Threat

<I><P>Despite Arrests, Falun Gong Continues Peaceful Protests

</I><P>By John Pomfret and Michael Laris, Washington Post Foreign Service

<P> BEIJING, Oct. 29Thousands of adherents of Falun Gong, a popular spiritual movement drawing on Buddhism and Taoism, have poured into Beijing over the past few weeks--arriving in buses, on trains and by air--to launch a quiet but stubborn challenge to the Chinese government.

<P> In five straight days of silent protests in Tiananmen Square, and in th

ousands of trips to a small national government office designed to allow citizens to file formal complaints, they have expressed, peacefully but determinedly, their refusal to accept the ruling Communist Party's decision on July 22 to ban Falun Gong and its practice of "truth, compassion and tolerance."

<P> Security forces have responded each day by arresting at least some of the demonstrators as soon as they assemble on the broad square, driving them off in vans. Faced with resistance by some Falun Gong members in today's protests, police got rough, dragging several participants away by their hair.

<P> It is unclear how this confrontation between Chinese security services and a mass movement that is difficult to control will play out. But for now, an intriguing standoff has arisen between the Communist Party, which seems to view Falun Gong as a threat to its hold on power, and the large, loosely organized, somewhat unfocused movement with no clear political aims but with potentially great political significance.

<P> A scholar with close ties to the government said authorities in Beijing have arrested 3,000 Falun Gong practitioners since Sept. 30, when a handful of devotees suddenly appeared on Tiananmen Square and were hustled off by policemen. The scholar said the city government estimates that thousands more practitioners are in Beijing in small guest houses, private homes, on university campuses and in factories with friends, waiting to add their voices to this unusual defiance of a Communist Party decision.

<P> The protests are a clear sign that, despite its ban and a subsequent crackdown, the Communist Party has failed to crush Falun Gong, which is reputed to have a strong but flexible organization and about 10 million adherents throughout China. The protests also underscore the willingness of many followers to endure jail sentences and rough treatment at the hands of police to further their cause.

<P> "It doesn't matter what they do to me," said a man named Richard, who is a university-educated Falun Gong follower and also a member of the Communist Party. "My practice is legal. I never broke the law. My practice has helped me. I really don't know why the government is doing this."

<P> At times the government has appeared desperate to paint Falun Gong followers as political dissidents and thereby turn the campaign into an ideological battle, similar to its movement to suppress the China Democracy Party, something many Chinese can understand. To this end, on Monday it accused a dozen practitioners of trafficking in state secrets.

<P> The crackdown shows that the Communist Party is unwilling to bend on the question of its authority, even though its tough tactics appear not to be working. Many ordinary Chinese now refer to the crackdown as a "little issue made big" and scoff at the government's Cultural Revolution-style propaganda campaign.

n against Falun Gong.

<P> [In another sign of the Chinese government's determination, the top body of China's parliament passed a law Saturday outlawing cults in general and called on the legal system to "smash them rigorously," the official Xinhua news agency reported.]

<P> One Falun Gong practitioner, Zhao Jinghua, died in police custody in Shandong province after officers beat her because she refused to renounce her beliefs, according to a human rights group in Hong Kong and a friend of the woman. A police official in the northeastern province of Heilongjiang confirmed that a second Falun Gong follower died in police custody. Chen Ying, 18, jumped out of a train while being taken from Beijing to her hometown of Jiamusi, the official said, adding that Chen had traveled to the capital "to make trouble."

<P> In a lightning raid tonight, Chinese police struck a sharp blow against the most prominent members of the banned movement, capturing at least six Falun Gong leaders who were attempting to hide in a village on the outskirts of Beijing.

<P> "I love my motherland," said Wang Baogang, 25, a bank teller from the northern city of Changchun who barely escaped the dragnet. "I don't know why they are doing this. Everyone back home knows I am a good person. Our master says we have to take responsibility in society."

<P> Wang and another woman noticed undercover police waiting for them in the courtyard of a farmer's house and fled Fangshan, a county southwest of Beijing where they had been lured with a promise of safety. Wang's wife was one of the six leaders taken into custody.

<P> Also arrested was She Jingsheng, a police officer from the northeastern industrial city of Anshan, who in an interview Wednesday became the first member of China's public security apparatus to openly call for the Chinese government to end its persecution of the exercise and meditation group.

<P> Qu Dehong, another escapee, has been in Beijing since July 22 battling the ban. He has been arrested three times and released. "We wanted our leaders and the public to know," he said. "They said we were a cult. We needed to show them we aren't."

<P> Chinese analysts in Beijing are split about whether the Falun Gong movement poses a serious challenge to the government.

<P> To analysts such as Wang Shan, who runs a private research institution in the capital, Falun Gong is the first mass movement made up mostly of workers

and not controlled by the party since the Communist revolution in 1949. As such, he said, Falun Gong reflects a deep-seated opposition among many of China's dispossessed who, over the last few years, have not benefited from economic reforms.

<P> "It represents their alienation from society," he said.

<P> But other analysts, looking to the fact that Falun Gong's leadership is sprinkled with high ranking, retired military officers and party members, said they believe the movement represents a broader challenge to the government.

<P> "Many people, especially older cadres, are bothered by the moral vacuum in China today," said a senior Western diplomat. "With its Chinese roots and its emphasis on clean living, Falun Gong has provided a convenient way to express opposition to the direction the party is taking--toward patronage, corruption and sleaze."

<P> China banned Falun Gong after 10,000 adherents surrounded the Communist Party headquarters in Beijing on April 25. The party says Falun Gong is a dangerous cult and blames it for the deaths of at least 1,400 people. It accuses Falun Gong's leader, Li Hongzhi, a New York-based martial arts master who says he can cure cancer with a jolt from his fingertips, of being a charlatan and a scam artist.

<P> But Falun Gong followers say their practice is beneficial to the body's qi, or fundamental energy. Before the exercise was banned, scores of people in cities throughout China would practice Falun Gong together at sunrise and sunset. With hands held in front of their bellies, they would "spin the wheel of energy" in trancelike movements.


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<P>Los Angeles Times

October 30, 1999

Pg. 2

<P>Cambodian Mine-Clearing Agency's Reputation Tainted

<P>By David Lamb, Times Staff Writer

<P> Siem Reap, Cambodia -- In a country where mismanagement and graft are common, the Cambodian Mine Action Center long stood as a notable exception, its reputation unsullied, its effectiveness unquestioned.

<P> CMAC, as it is called, is entrusted with one of the most crucial jobs in Cambodia: clearing mines and unexploded ordnance from a country racked by three decades of warfare involving the United States, Vietnam and Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge army.

<P> Together with other agencies, CMAC has made great progress. But with upward of 6 million mines still to be cleared, Cambodia remains one of the world's most heavily mined countries. Hidden mines and unexploded bombs still claim scores of civilians and keep many potentially productive areas off-limits to farmers.

<P> Two months ago, an independent audit leaked to the local press threw the entire CMAC effort in doubt. It said the state-run, donor-supported center was guilty of fraud, nepotism and mismanagement--charges that threatened the flow of international funds.

<P> Specifically, it mentioned 120 acres in Kompot province, once a Khmer Rouge stronghold, that were cleared of mines in 1998 at a cost of \$500,000 and now produced some of the world's finest black pepper, along with corn, bananas and sugar cane.

<P> It turned out that the beneficiary of the effort was Col. Chhouk Rin, a former Khmer Rouge commander, whose underlings held up a train in 1994, killing a dozen civilians and kidnapping an Australian, a Briton and a Frenchman who were later killed.

<P> The audit also found that some state-provided funds could not be accounted for and that inventories of equipment were incomplete. It questioned the appropriateness of providing CMAC Chairman Teng Mouly with a Lexus limousine and making his brother, Ieng Vuthea, CMAC's vice treasurer.

<P> Although another audit showed that there had been no tampering with donors or funds, the timing of the allegations was embarrassing, coming before a visit to Cambodia this month by Queen Noor of Jordan to publicize the plight of land-mine victims.

<P> With donors nervous about the future of CMAC, the U.S. responded to the scandal by transferring \$1 million allocated for the center to Halo Trust, a British agency active in mine-removal efforts in Cambodia.

<P> "Despite the CMAC problem, demining in Cambodia is still ongoing," said William Longe, Halo's Cambodia program director. "It remains a top priority, and the effort is not going to be derailed because of CMAC. Demining is extremely important to Cambodia's future."

<P> CMAC costs \$800,000 a month to run, and most donors appear to believe that the government of Prime Minister Hun Sen--which relies heavily on foreign assistance to support its economy--will straighten out the mess. Once it does, U.S. diplomats said, Washington hopes to resume its CMAC funding.

<P> Donors have presented Hun Sen with a 50-point list as a prerequisite for resuming CMAC support. Most of the points have not yet been answered, but donors were encouraged that CMAC Director General Sam Sotha was fired and replaced by a general, Khem Sophoan, who has impressed foreign diplomats.

<P> The donors also are willing to make allowances. Cambodia's most heavily mined areas were once under Khmer Rouge control, and if Hun Sen is to reintegrate the former guerrillas into society, it is important to clear their land so it can again be productive, diplomats said.

<P> Most nations have signed a treaty banning the use, sale and production of land mines. The treaty, which the United States has not signed, is due to become international law in March.

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New York Times

October 31, 1999

Pg. 5

Bosnia Has Achieved Peace But Not Ethnic Unity, A Study Finds

By Jane Perlez

WASHINGTON, Oct. 30 -- Four years after the fighting stopped in Bosnia, an international study group has concluded that Western efforts have failed to realize the driving principle of the Dayton accords: a single, multi-ethnic country.

A lengthy paper released by the International Crisis Group, an independent group consisting of former national leaders, diplomats and analysts concerned with the Balkans, paints a bleak picture of Bosnia as a place divided into three ethnic entities propped up almost entirely by Western economic assistance. As aid begins to drop, social and economic tensions will increase, threatening the tangible success of peace, the report says, urging more robust action by outside governments to get what they want in Bosnia.

The hard tasks in Bosnia -- insuring the return of refugees, reconstruction, building an economy -- have been largely overshadowed in the last year as attention focused on the war in Kosovo and its aftermath.

The assessment by the group, which was formed to monitor events in the

Balkans and is chaired by former Senator George Mitchell, coincides with other assessments of what has happened in Bosnia, where NATO troops have been deployed since the peace accord reached in Dayton, Ohio, on Nov. 21, 1995 was signed that December.

<P> Not all conclusions are as grim as those of the Crisis Group. In the coming issue of Foreign Affairs, the journal of the Council on Foreign Relations, in New York, two former Clinton Administration officials, Ivo Daalder and Michael Froman, argue that Bosnia remains deeply divided, with corruption and ethnic politics dominating society. But Mr. Daalder and Mr. Froman give credit for the reconstruction that has taken place in Sarajevo and elsewhere, and praise the fact that most people in Bosnia do not fear for their safety.

<P> Like the Crisis Group, Mr. Daalder and Mr. Froman state that peace is the main accomplishment, but argue that peace in itself is probably a sufficient achievement for the outsiders who intervened to stop the three-and-a-half year war.

<P> The architect of the Dayton accords, Richard C. Holbrooke, who is now the United States representative to the United Nations, wrote in a Sept. 14 Op-Ed article in The New York Times that "many of the forces of darkness -- separatists, racists, war criminal and crooks -- are still there, continuing their efforts to keep the people in the Dark Ages."

<P> The White House has been more upbeat. In July, the Clinton Administration said that the "rate of refugee returns in Bosnia is exceeding that of the past two years." However, only about 8,000 people returned to areas where they are in the ethnic minority.

<P> The Crisis Group said that the ability of refugees to return to homes they fled during the 1992-95 war was the key measure of whether the accords were working. On this score, it concluded, they have failed.

<P> The Crisis Group report said the failure to get refugees back home bodes poorly for Bosnia's future, predicting that the longer the absence from home, the more likely it would become that refugees would resort to violence against local authorities preventing their return.

<P> One of the most troubling prospects was the likelihood of reduced economic assistance from the West. "The inability of donors to hold out the promise of aid could cause local leaders to be even more noncompliant than now," the report said. Social unrest could increase, especially since unemployment is already very high and pensions continue to be unpaid.

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<P>Los Angeles Times

October 31, 1999

Pg. 25

<P>Attack On Serbs Draws NATO Rebuke

<P>By Reuters

<P> PRISTINA, Yugoslavia -- The commander of peacekeeping troops in Kosovo on Saturday expressed fury over an ethnic Albanian attack on a NATO-protected Serbian convoy last week and said he had taken action against officers responsible.

<P> Gen. Klaus Reinhardt of Germany, who took command of the NATO-led peacekeeping force three weeks ago, also appealed for Serbs still in Kosovo to stay and for others outside the Serbian province to return.

<P> He said his troops would do everything possible to protect them, adding that one of his main goals was to build trust between the Serbian and majority Albanian communities in Kosovo.

<P> "You should know that I was furious to see what happened," Reinhardt said of the incident in the western town of Pec on Wednesday, when an estimated

1,500 ethnic Albanians attacked a NATO-protected convoy of Serbs leaving nearby Orahovac for Montenegro.

<P> The convoy originally was to have consisted of four buses, but some Serbs insisted on bringing their cars, and Reinhardt said it had been a mistake not to create two convoys or increase the North Atlantic Treaty Organization forces guarding the group.

<P> About 20 Serbian civilian cars that became separated from the main convoy made a wrong turn into the center of Pec, where they were stopped by a huge crowd in town for market day.

<P> Eighteen Serbs were beaten, including some children who suffered serious injuries. The cars, including one belonging to the United Nations refugee agency, were burned, and the Serbs had to be rescued by Italian police who helped them to the safety of a police building.

<P> "I was very happy to see how fast and how professionally our Italian friends reacted once the situation blew up," Reinhardt said at his first news conference since taking over the peacekeeping force, known as KFOR.

<P> "But everything else was not done according to my ideas, and I have taken some prompt consequences and, I tell you, I don't believe that a thing like this will happen again," he said.

<P> Reinhardt declined to give details of any disciplinary actions but said: "Some of the measures I have taken I wouldn't have liked to be exposed to if I were one of those people."

<P> Wednesday's attack on the 155 Serbs traveling from Orahovac to Montenegro was the worst such incident involving a humanitarian convoy since NATO and the United Nations took control of Kosovo from Yugoslav authorities in June.

<P> "What I detest so much is this lack of tolerance," Reinhardt said. "Because, if you see those poor Serbs leaving the country with the rest of their stuff in the car, why attack them?"

<P> "We have to get some change in the mental process. As long as we don't get this I cannot do enough--I only can tread water."

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Washington Post

October 31, 1999

Pg. 34

Some U.S. Troops To Leave Bosnia

TUZLA, Bosnia--About 30 percent of U.S. troops in NATO-led peacekeeping forces in Bosnia will be sent home by next April, NATO officials said.

The reduction is part of NATO plan to reduce the number of troops because of improved security conditions in Bosnia, according to Maj. Gen. James Campbell, commander of Multinational Division North.

About 6,200 U.S. men and women are among the 31,000 NATO-led peacekeepers in Bosnia, responsible for helping to carry out the Dayton peace agreement, which ended the 1992-95 war.

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<P>Los Angeles Times

October 31, 1999

Pg. 23

<P>Anti-Drug Hero Target Of Embezzlement Probe

<I><P>Colombia: Ex-Head Of Police Narcotics Unit Accused Of
Stealing U.S. Funds. Americans To Begin Own Audit.

</I><P>By Juanita Darling, Times Staff Writer

<P> BOGOTA, Colombia -- While the U.S. government is considering Colombia's
 request for \$1.5 billion in anti-narcotics aid, authorities here are investiga
ting charges that a police anti-drug hero stole American funds, according to co
urt documents.

<P> Both the Colombian police and U.S. officials confirmed that Maj. Oscar
Pimienta--the helicopter pilot credited with hunting down Medellin cocaine cart
el kingpin Gonzalo Rodriguez Gacha, "The Mexican," a decade ago--is the target
of an investigation over alleged embezzlement of U.S. funds.

<P> A former subordinate has accused Pimienta of writing checks to a nonexi
stent company, falsifying travel expenses and approving bills from vendors who
overcharged when he was administrative head of the Air Service Division of the
National Police from 1996 to 1997. The funds involved were part of the U.S. gov
ernment operational support fund for Colombian anti-narcotics efforts, accordin
g to U.S. officials and sealed court documents obtained by The Times.

<P> The money pays for ground transportation and official travel.

<P> Maintenance and fuel for airplanes used to eradicate drug crops, as well as support and recruitment of the pilots that fly them, are administered directly by the Narcotics Affairs Section in the U.S. Embassy, according to an agreement between the U.S. and Colombian governments.

<P> Americans are about to commence a formal audit, which has been delayed by police concerns about security, according to a U.S. official. "This does not cause us undue concern," the official said. "We have a process in place that, if it does not prevent embezzlement, it at least detects" it.

<P> The amount of the alleged theft was still not clear after an initial court-ordered audit was completed in July. Auditors found that between \$200,000 and \$450,000 in expenditures was unaccounted for and that 180 receipts were missing.

<P> The sums from receipts and two different ledgers were all at odds. All fell short of the \$2 million that the Air Service Division withdrew during that period from a bank account set up to cover the expenses, according to bank records.

<P> The auditors criticized the accounting methods used by the Air Service Division as "not reasonably reflecting expenditures, as this audit showed." They also recommended verifying whether the receipts were valid.

<P> Earlier this year, an "Administration and Finance Procedures Manual" for the National Anti-Narcotics Police was adopted. But the accounting system in place during the period investigated was so haphazard that expenditure records for gasoline and repairs were not detailed enough to allow auditors to determine whether police had been overcharged, the audit concluded.

<P> The preliminary audit focused mainly on receipts for gasoline and repairs, which together accounted for about 45% of the anti-narcotics unit's operational expenditures of \$2 million over a two-year period. Auditors found that the U.S.-funded police anti-narcotics unit spent an average of \$11 a day in gasoline for each of the unit's 45 vehicles and \$683 a day on repairs for the entire motor pool. The auditors did not state whether that expenditure was reasonable.

<P> "As a defense attorney, I tell you there is absolutely no proof," said Hector Arcadio Pulido, who is Pimienta's lawyer and a consultant to the police. "We are proving that the merchandise was bought and that the services were performed."

<P> Since the audit in July, the defense has produced receipts that reduce to about \$4,000 the amount of the discrepancies between the funds provided by the United States and the documented expenditures, he said.

<P> The judge refused to comment on the case, even to confirm or deny Pulido's statement. U.S. officials are awaiting the outcome of their own audit before commenting on the amounts involved.

<P> "This has been done with bad intentions and bad timing," Pulido said of public revelations about the investigation. Colombian military courts are structured to prevent any publicity about trials until a verdict is rendered.

<P> Sixto Pinto, a court reporter at the respected newspaper El Tiempo who has covered the investigation closely, said: "I congratulate the police for their actions against drug traffickers, but I criticize them for trying to cover this up. . . . They should pay more attention to the poor management of their subordinates, such as Capt. Pimienta."

<P> Police See Accusation as Attack on Institution

<P> Police sources respond that they are obeying the law by not commenting publicly on a case that is still in progress. They consider the accusation and the leak that brought it to public attention to be an attack on the police as an institution and on widely respected National Police Commander Gen. Rosso Jose Serrano as an individual.

<P> The accusation undermines Serrano, they said, because after Pimienta left the Air Service Division he was the general's administrative assistant and accompanied him on at least one visit to Washington as an interpreter.

<P> Pimienta was promoted from captain to major between the time the accusation was filed in July 1997 and when he was formally charged last May. He is free on his own recognizance and is performing administrative duties, Pulido said.

<P> Police sources defended Pimienta as a pawn who is being used to embarrass the police. They suspect that the accusation was prompted and later leaked by other parts of the armed forces or by some of the 8,000 police officers whom Serrano has fired for corruption or incompetence. They say other branches of the armed forces are jealous because the police receive nearly all of the U.S. anti-narcotics aid to Colombia--\$289 million this year.

<P> Whistle-Blower Reportedly Had Been Fired for Misconduct

<P> The whistle-blower who filed the complaint, Orlando Olivares Duarte, had been fired for bad conduct, Pulido said. Sources close to Olivares Duarte said he was accused of having stolen several airline tickets during the time he worked for Pimienta.

<P> He has since been absolved and is seeking reinstatement in the police force, one source said. Police could not confirm the information because the records are sealed.

<P> In court documents, Olivares Duarte accused Pimienta of four specific methods of stealing funds:

<P> * Pimienta allegedly bought goods and services from a company called Esgon that did not provide them. Pimienta had on his desk blank receipts from the company, whose phone number turned out to be a residence where no one had heard of either Esgon or its supposed proprietor, said Olivares Duarte. Police employees cashed checks written to Esgon and gave the money to Pimienta, he said.

<P> * A company called Grupo Importadora allegedly was allowed to overcharge for automobile parts and repairs, and another called Interamericana de Suministros was allowed to overcharge for electrical parts.

<P> * Pimienta supposedly presented claims for 10 days or more of food and lodging expenses when he was away from his post for only a day or two and stayed in police installations.

<P> * He paid a contractor \$2,000 to build a fence around a repair area. The fence should not have cost that much, according to Olivares Duarte, who provided the court with a copy of the receipt.

<P> Pulido said investigators had found only one receipt from a company that had not provided the respective service. That receipt had been stolen from the company for unknown reasons by the supplier who had provided the service, he said. The preliminary audit did not look into the legitimacy of the receipts provided.

<P> "My client has done nothing wrong," Pulido said. "He is very upset, not from fear for himself but because of the damage that has been done to the institution."

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Orlando Sentinel

October 31, 1999

Bullets, Bloodshed And Ballots

By Pedro Ruz Gutierrez of The Sentinel Staff

(Sentinel staff writer Pedro Ruz Gutierrez spent three weeks in Colombia preparing this and other articles about the embattled nation.)

The Colombian government and powerful Marxist guerrillas are now talking, but if history is any guide, don't count on peace taking hold any time soon.

Political violence is not new to that South American nation of 38 million people. In the past 100 years, more than 500,000 Colombians have died in it.

From the "War of the Thousand Days," a civil war at the turn of the century that left 100,000 dead, to a partisan clash between 1948 and 1966 that claimed nearly 300,000, violence has defined that nation.

The causes -- poverty, social reform and political maneuvering -- remain unchanged through the generations.

"The land -- its distribution, its appropriation -- is at the heart of the problem that we have been trying to solve for 50 years," Alfredo Molano, a

Colombian political scientist and journalist, recently wrote in one of Bogota's leading newspapers.

<P> After the 1948-1966 partisan turmoil known as "The Violence," firefight s among rural-based leftist movements, right-wing groups and the government left another 70,000 dead through the mid-1980s. By then, impotent and weak -- yet Democratic -- administrations negotiated amnesties and short-lived ceasefires with more-brazen guerrillas as the country unraveled. Adding the Medellin and Cali drug cartels in the mid-1980s made the mix explosive.

<P> The modern ingredients of drug production and trafficking, combined with the associated graft and violence, led to the social disintegration of one of the longest-running democracies in Latin America. Colombia has had only five years without democratic rule since 1819.

<P> "The problem of the guerrillas was manageable," said Rodrigo Losada, a political-science professor at Bogota's Javeriana University. "At the end of the 1970s, it got complicated with the eruption in drug trafficking, the intimidation and the corruption."

<P> Assassinations have been common. In 1948, the killing of potential presidential candidate and Bogota Mayor Jorge Eliecer Gaitan elicited the worst blood bath ever to consume the country.

<P> In 1989, another charismatic leader and presidential candidate -- Luis Carlos Galan -- was gunned down during a televised campaign appearance.

<P> Galan's death, later blamed on the Medellin cartel, epitomized the reign of terror unleashed by drug barons wanted by the U.S. government but protected by a fearful, terrorized country. Frequent murders of government officials, prominent dissidents, former peace negotiators, college professors and journalists continue today.

<P> History of distrust

<P> From the 1970s until the late 1980s, the April 19 Movement (M-19) urban guerrillas wreaked havoc. They took their name from what they considered a rigged election campaign on April 19, 1970. With support within cities -- not the countryside -- the group brought the country to a standstill, most noticeably in 1985, when it took over the Palace of Justice in a battle with the military that killed 100 people.

<P> The M-19 and other guerrilla groups eventually negotiated cease-fires with the government, briefly disarmed and became a political force in a leftist coalition. But more than 3,000 coalition members, leaders and sympathizers were

killed by opponents in the late 1980s.

<P> Despite some short-lived gains, M-19 politicians today do not have much to show. That's why the country's largest force, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, known as the FARC, point to the M-19 as reason not to put down their weapons.

<P> FARC Comandante Ivan Rios argues that demobilization "does not suit us because we do not trust the government."

<P> It was the collusion between guerrillas and the drug cartels this decade that dealt the most serious blow to the country's stability. In the last 10 years, about 35,000 people have died in the fighting among the various factions. Left- and right-wing fighters saw opportunities as the cartels hired armies for protection. With their newfound source of income, the guerrillas gained a growing share of the country's illicit wealth, plus legitimacy with the peasants, neither of which they could achieve politically or militarily.

<P> This marriage of convenience, in which leftist guerrillas sacrificed ideology to survive through capitalism, occurred as the country's social and political decline began in the early 1990s. The disgraced presidency of Ernesto Samper, who ruled from 1994 to 1998, was the most apparent sign that drug money permeated Colombia. Samper was accused of taking \$6 million from the Cali drug cartel. Relations with the United States soured greatly.

<P> Klaus Nyholm, director of the United Nations Drug Control Program office in Colombia and Ecuador, compares the current drug fiefdoms to the United States' 19th century "Wild West." But in Colombia, these events are unfolding in the "Wild East," a large swath of plains and Amazon jungle on the country's eastern flank, where most of the coca is harvested.

<P> Bolivar's vision

<P> Contraband has been a way of life since shortly after Colombia gained its independence from Spain in 1819. In the 19th century coastal populations circumvented the central government, which attempted to collect taxes on imports arriving at the country's Caribbean ports.

<P> "There was never much state control in Colombia, which has a long tradition of contraband and smuggling" that continues today, Nyholm said.

<P> Once part of "Greater Colombia," a nation envisioned and founded by the Venezuelan and Latin American statesman Gen. Simon Bolivar, Colombia always has been torn geographically. Bolivar's vision of a strong unified nation crumbled with the breakaway of Venezuela and Ecuador in 1830.

<P> Three mountain ranges dominate the topography and form the political landscape. They separate the major population centers and make transportation outside them difficult and often unsafe because the guerrillas control much of the countryside in between.

<P> Large tracts remain undeveloped while economic and political power is concentrated in the country's more populous, accessible and wealthy valley regions. Two-thirds of the population live in the western-most part of the country where the ranges are, leaving undeveloped, sparsely populated areas as guerrilla breeding grounds.

<P> Bolivar's "Greater Colombia" took in what are now neighboring lands. However, ironically, given Bolivar's reputation for integrity, these days there really is a multinational alliance there -- of drug traffickers who operate along Colombia's porous borders.

<P> To many outsiders, particularly businessmen, Colombia offers vast, untapped promise. If corruption and traffickers were eliminated, 80 percent of Colombia's problems would be resolved, they say. Colombia is home to some of Latin America's oldest universities, dating from the 1620s, and has an educated, skilled labor force.

<P> "I believe that when an investor comes to Colombia, he becomes aware that there are problems but there are many more opportunities than problems," said Gianfranco Arfinungo, director of advertising giant J. Walter Thompson's Bogotá office. "And there are people and there is talent, which is a very good combination."

<P> Until this year, when economic woes surfaced for the first time, Colombia's economy had been growing at an average of 4 percent annually. But years of fiscal mismanagement, lower prices for Colombia's coffee and oil exports, and high risks for foreign investment stalled the economy. Additionally, inadequate banking and financial reforms contributed to the current recession.

<P> But even the country's sustained economic growth, the only consistent positive note over the years, has not helped most of its citizens. More than half the population lives in poverty, and wealth is highly concentrated in few hands.

<P> According to Social Watch, an international watchdog agency, five major consortiums control 92 percent of the financial sector's assets, and 48 percent of the land is in the hands of 1.3 percent of landowners.

<P> Colombia is the world's second-largest coffee producer behind Brazil and

d the second-largest flower exporter after the Netherlands. But it tops the list in producing cocaine and exports a growing share of heroin that is flooding U.S. cities.

<P> It holds rich deposits of natural gas, coal and oil fields. If it weren't for all its troubles, the country would be self-sufficient.

<P> "We have had such an unusual experience," said Professor Losada. "With relative economic stability since the 1940s, Colombia may be the only country where the gross domestic product had never diminished."

<P> A determined people

<P> Despite the adversities, Colombians are resilient.

<P> Culturally, Colombia is one of the richest Spanish-speaking countries. Its Castilian Spanish is highly admired for linguistic purity. Its literature is best exemplified by 1982 Nobel Laureate Gabriel Garcia Marquez, Colombia's pride and a world-renowned novelist and journalist affectionately known by the masses as "Gabo." The country's music industry has seen a rebirth as of late with international stars such as pop sensation Shakira and folklore-inspired Carlos Vives singing Colombia's hopes and longings to the world.

<P> Colombians' entrepreneurial spirit and determination are best reflected by the common term rebusque, which describes the view that no matter what, they will survive anything.

<P> President Andres Pastrana is trying his best to change the course of Colombian history. Even his most ardent critics concede that there is a glimmer of hope behind his carrot-and-stick approach to the peace process, which has him strengthening the military with U.S. support while negotiating with the rebels.

<P> There is also a history of anti-U.S. sentiment in Colombia that stems from the United States promoting the 1903 independence of Panama, which was once part of Colombia. But despite that, some Colombians have supported calls for a full-fledged U.S. military intervention because of the scale of the unrest.

<P> The stalemate between the government and guerrilla forces on the battlefield prevents both sides from eliminating the other and has led to the current talks.

<P> Although peace signs and ribbons fill decals, fluttering white flags and large road signs throughout Colombia, peace seems far away. It is a difficult

concept to grasp in the face of weekly massacres, kidnappings, the displacement of nearly 1.5 million people.

Moreover, the talks have not included right-wing forces or smaller, leftist groups.

"Peace. It's a cheapened discourse," said Professor Gonzalo Medina, who teaches mass communications at the University of Antioquia in Medellin.

This year, the university has endured three politically motivated slayings on or near campus. As Medina said, "They kill in the name of peace; they massacre in the name of peace; and people disappear in the name of peace."

[s19991101mexico.htm](#)

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New York Times

October 30, 1999

Mexico: Troops Tied To Drug Haul

More than 500 army soldiers in the northern border state of Chihuahua were confined to barracks and placed under investigation after an unidentified amount of impounded cocaine disappeared just before it was to be burned. The regional army commander, Gen. Juan Morales Fuentes, said flour had been substituted for as much as 20 pounds of cocaine.

<P>Julia Preston (NYT)</I>

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New York Times

October 31, 1999

As The Battlegrounds Shift, The Draft Fades In Europe

By Craig R. Whitney

TAVERNY, France -- Nicolas Dombroski, an 18-year-old mathematics student, was not happy at having to spend his whole Saturday at the French air force base here learning about what soldiers do.

"It's a waste of time," he said of the movies and lectures that filled the morning and the afternoon. "I didn't even listen."

One reason that Dombroski did not have to pay attention was the fortunate timing of his birth.

As Europe strives to build nimbler, lighter armies, France is among the

nations that have dropped conscription. Dombroski and the 40 other young men at the air force base had only to be informed about the army before departing again, with hair still long and, in some cases, body jewelry still attached.

<P> French men born after Jan. 1, 1980, no longer face an obligatory 10 months in the army. Like Britain and the United States before it, France plans to have an all-volunteer armed force by 2002.

<P> Spurred first by post-Cold War cuts in defense spending and more recently by superior U.S. technological and logistical performance in the NATO air war over Kosovo last spring, Europe wants more agile, better equipped armed forces. Conscription-based armies, heavy with tanks and artillery designed to defend against invasion, are becoming a thing of the past, with Spain and perhaps Italy set to follow the French example. Soon, among the big Western European countries in NATO, only Germany will continue the draft.

<P> Mindful of the German militarism that caused two world wars this century, Germany still views conscription as an instrument of democratic civilian control over the military -- as the Americans and, for two centuries, the French did before it. But now many European military planners and commanders see the draft as an obstacle to the slimmed-down, technologically advanced, rapidly deployable forces that the allies are trying to build to deal with trouble spots far from home -- the main mission that NATO is planning for in the 21st century.

<P> The 20th century mission was territorial defense. But the last threat of outside invasion vanished with the Soviet Union, and that has changed everything for allied armies.

<P> Marianne, the French version of Uncle Sam, still wants you all right, but only for a day. And military recruiters hope you remember the day fondly enough to come back as a volunteer.

<P> "If I didn't have a diploma, I'd think of volunteering," said Louis Gauthron, a 19-year-old economics student who got his baccalaureat last year, entitling him to go to a university. "I had no idea how many job skills you could learn in the army."

<P> He spoke midway through the "call for defense preparation day" that was held here and at 247 other sites around the country on Oct. 9. There have been 58 of these days since the first one a year ago. Not all are on weekends, and none are held in the vacation months of July and August. Starting next April, young French women will also be required to come spend a day learning at least a little about the military.

<P> In the first year, 514,664 young men heard what the army had to say in these sessions, which also involve a test of reading comprehension. Roughly a third of them, according to French military surveys, would be interested in coming

ng back at least once to learn more.

<P> Military recruiters hope these sessions will make it easier to fill the
ir volunteer quotas. The slimmed-down French armed forces of 2002 will still ne
ed 357,183 people in uniform -- 259,299 if the members of the gendarmerie, a na
tional police force under the Ministry of Defense, are not counted. There were
500,000 people in the French military in early 1996, when President Jacques Chi
rac announced the new plan.

<P> "We've been reducing by roughly 30,000 draftees a year," Defense Minist
er Alain Richard, a member of the Socialist government that inherited the plan
in 1997 from Chirac's Gaullists, told local elected officials at Taverny. The a
ir base, at the edge of a suburb northwest of Paris, has no airplanes but a lar
ge underground command center in a bunker.

<P> The local mayor had a question for Richard familiar to any U.S. secreta
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<P> Richard smiled. "I don't know what my successor 20 years from now will
do," he answered, "but for the foreseeable future, I want to keep all large ins
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forces up again some day."

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<P> "The British and the French are the only countries in Europe that have
readily deployable forces," Richard said. With changes in the structure of its
armed forces, Germany, too, might have them in 10 years, he said.

<P> "But some countries took two months to send troops to Kosovo," he added
, referring to some smaller NATO allies.

<P> European defense ministries were shocked by their own slow and cumberso
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eans could. Reorganizing European defenses, he and other officials said, will s

shorten reaction times, and volunteer professional soldiers and reservists will be easier to move on short notice than draftees.

<P> Part of the French plan would create a 50,000-strong reserve to reinforce the regular army, as National Guard units do in the United States.

<P> Britain also designed a reserve flexibility into its system when it moved to all-volunteer forces in the early 1960s, with a Territorial Army of 40,000. A strategic defense review last year, aimed at reorganizing and redesigning British armed forces to make them more rapidly and easily deployable to places like Bosnia, Kosovo and now East Timor, allowed for an increase in the planned size of the army in 2005, to 114,000 soldiers from 109,000.

<P> "Moving from conscription to volunteer forces, you find that for the same amount of money, you can get a much more effective and easily deployable fighting force," said Lord Gilbert, until this summer a minister of the British Defense Ministry.

<P> Spain, like Britain and now France, plans to abolish the draft by the end of 2002, and to reduce its armed forces to about 168,000 by 2003, from 175,000 now. But Spanish Defense Ministry officials said that, with about three-quarters of the 300,000 Spanish men who come of draft age every year never actually spending a day in uniform, there were discussions about ending conscription even earlier.

<P> Germany, where 40 percent to 45 percent of the young men called choose alternative civilian service as firemen, paramedics, orderlies and the like, is the only major Western European country still committed to maintaining the draft. Defense Minister Rudolf Scharping has repeatedly supported conscription, which was adopted, along with ways of teaching soldiers when it is correct to disobey orders, when Germany's allies allowed the country to rearm in the 1950s.

<P> One reason for keeping the draft, some officials say, is that Germany's social services and hospitals may have to shut down if they suddenly have to do so without all those volunteers doing alternative service.

<P> Italy's Parliament is considering a bill to reduce the size of the armed forces over three years. Now numbering 280,000 men, of whom 136,000 are draftees, the armed forces would drop to 200,000 volunteers -- including, for the first time, some women.

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<P>London Sunday Telegraph

October 31, 1999

<P>Russia Building A Czech Base To Spy On Nato, Says Report

<P>By Francis Harris in Prague

<P> Russian spies are rebuilding a vast espionage network in the Czech Republic at a time when the country is being integrated into Nato's command structure as one of its newest members.

<P> According to a confidential Czech government report, seen by The Telegraph, half of the 63 diplomats and 104 other staff at Russia's palatial Prague embassy are spies protected by diplomatic immunity - giving them a safe window on the West. There are significantly more Russian diplomats in Prague than in the other Nato newcomers Poland and Hungary.

<P> In Britain, which has a population six times that of the Czech Republic, Moscow has only 47 diplomats at its London embassy. Prague's Social Democratic government, eager to foster warm relations with Moscow, has shown little apparent concern. Ministers also appear somewhat ambivalent towards Nato.

<P> When the Kosovo conflict erupted a month after the Czechs joined the Western military alliance, Prague worked with the Greeks to construct a peace deal

l acceptable to President Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia. Prague has now become the regional centre of operations for Russia's military intelligence agency, the GRU.

<P> The Czech report points to a high volume of communications between the GRU's Prague residence and stations in Germany and Austria - suggesting that it co-ordinates activities over a wide area.

<P> The 16-page counter-intelligence summary adds that Russian spies are seeking to establish networks among high-priority groups, including Left-wingers, ambitious young politicians, trade unionists, businessmen with Russian connections and students. Policemen and army officers have also been approached.

<P> The spymasters are aided by a number of "illegals" - agents without diplomatic immunity. These are thought to include former Red Army officers who married Czechs during the Cold War, and Russian businessmen. The Czechs even suspect that Moscow's spies have gone into business with the Russian mafia to help overcome cuts in funding imposed since the end of the Cold War.

<P> They are said to join forces through companies that can be divided into legal and illegal entities, with one part making money and the other conducting covert espionage activities. Embassy staff are active in hiring new agents and reviving dormant networks left behind when Soviet forces withdrew eight years ago. The aim of the espionage is intended to "maintain, stabilise and gradually renew Russia's position in the region".

<P> Anatol Lieven, of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, said former Warsaw Pact states such as the Czech Republic provided fertile territory for Moscow. He said: "Russian spies obviously didn't tear up or forget about what they inherited.

<P> "They have endless contacts and very many opportunities to blackmail people using information gleaned in the past. The Czech Republic, in particular, may be attractive because, let's be honest, it's easier to give the Czechs the run-around than the Poles."

<P> In the past decade, Germany has expelled 150 alleged Russian spies and Poland 11. In the same period, the Czechs have demanded the removal of just one Russian diplomat, and he was allowed to leave in secret. Official indifference is causing increased concern among pro-Western Czech politicians.

<P> Michal Zantovsky, chairman of the Czech senate's foreign affairs committee, asked: "Is the Czech counter-intelligence service [the BIS] actually interested in unmasking Russian agents, or has it reconciled itself to their presence here?"

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<P>London Sunday Telegraph

October 31, 1999

<P>'Smart' Shells Use Satellite Technology To Revolutionise War

<P>By Rajeev Syal

<P> Scientists at the Ministry of Defence have invented the world's first "smart", satellite-guided artillery shell, which military analysts believe will revolutionise warfare.

<P> A prototype with a range of more than 23 miles has been successfully tested. It is hoped the development will replace standard long-range shells, which are unpredictable and accurate only within several square kilometres. Military specialists believe that the shell will arouse interest from modern forces across the world. Each shell costs a few thousand pounds compared to the 200,000 needed to launch a guided missile.

<P> Clifford Beal, editor of Jane's Defence Weekly, the British military magazine, said that the newly developed weapon will be used to home in on particular targets and avoid civilians. He said: "This invention will radically change modern warfare. It allows armies to shell the enemy quickly and with accuracy and thus minimise casualties on both sides."

<P> Long-range shells currently employed by the army are unpredictable because a number of variable factors - such as the temperature of the gun barrel, the weather and altitude - can affect their trajectory. Scientists from the Defence Evaluation and Research Agency have introduced a global positioning system into the shell so it can read its location in flight.

<P> The prototype shell, 2ft long and 6in wide, encases a tiny global positioning system receiver and a computer which tracks its position. After it is fired, the munition tracks its distance from the target and its trajectory by reading signals from 24 military satellites. Revolving at 300 cycles a second, it adjusts its flightpath with a "course correction system" attached to the front of the shell.

<P> This equipment includes a computer which reads height and distance from its target and a metal "fan" around the shell which opens to slow it down so it drops onto the target. Scientists hope that the shells will be manufactured for use by 2005. The first tests took place in February this year at Shoeburyness in Essex and were completed in August at a US military site.

<P> Forces around the world are moving towards precision weapons because of the need to avoid killing civilians, which is seen as politically unacceptable in modern warfare. Conflicts in the Balkans and the Gulf have underlined what senior officers describe as the West's "squeamishness" over civilian casualties and the need for clean and clinical strikes on key targets such as command and control centres and bridges.

<P> Most modern armies are working on ways of tracking long-range shells and retaliating by returning fire, making it vital to build accurate weapons which can strike swiftly and move on. The invention comes as the Government looks for cheaper ways of arming the forces.

<P> The cost of bombs during the conflict in the Balkans was at least 60 million. Each of the Navy's Tomahawk cruise missiles costs nearly 750,000. The Government rejected plans in August to buy the next generation of Tomahawk missiles from the United States, despite the guarantee of greater accuracy and reliability.

<P> Lord Robertson of Port Ellen, the former Defence Secretary, decided to stick with the existing missile - the Block III Tomahawk - although stocks are low. The new GPS shell is especially welcome following criticisms of laser-guided bombs - such as those used in the Balkans - which failed to remain locked on to targets that were obscured by clouds or smoke from previous strikes. Serbs were said to have used simple smoke pots to "fool" Nato.

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<P>Washington Post

October 31, 1999

Pg. 32

<P>Russia Detains Arms Expert

<I><P>Two Others Searched Over Possible Secrets Leak

</I><P>By David Hoffman, Washington Post Foreign Service

<P> MOSCOW, Oct. 30The Russian Federal Security Service has searched and in
terrogated three arms control and nuclear weapons specialists--two Russians and
one American--and one of the Russians has been detained, the specialists said
today.

<P> Igor Sutyagin, a senior researcher at the Institute for the Study of th
e United States and Canada, has been taken into custody by the security service
, or FSB, a successor of the Soviet KGB. The investigators have been asking que
stions about a possible leak of classified information, others said.

<P> Sutyagin has not been formally charged, but the other specialists said
he has been told he is a suspect in a criminal case, and, after several days of

questioning, has been detained in the city of Kaluga, south of Moscow.

<P> A team of FSB agents also interrogated Joshua Handler, a Princeton University researcher who has been gathering material in Russia for his PhD thesis on disarmament in the 1990s. They confiscated a laptop computer, research papers and newspaper clippings, among other things, from his Moscow apartment, Handler said. Eight agents spent seven hours searching his apartment and questioning Handler, who has been affiliated with the U.S.-Canada institute.

<P> The agents also interrogated and seized materials from Pavel Podvig, a researcher and editor of a groundbreaking book published last year on Russian strategic nuclear weapons. Sutyagin contributed a chapter to the book, which was reviewed in advance by the Russian military.

<P> Handler, a one-time Greenpeace activist, said, "Over the last 10 or 15 years of my work, all I have been trying to do is improve U.S.-Russian relations and to encourage greater steps toward nuclear disarmament and to try to improve the international environmental situation and the environment in Russia. I have never sought and never intended harming the security of the Russian federation."

<P> Podvig said neither he nor Sutyagin has done anything wrong.

<P> The searches and detention are reminiscent of FSB arrests and charges against two military men who sought to expose nuclear waste dumping and safety risks by the Russian navy in recent years. The authorities had charged Alexander Nikitin and Grigory Pasko with espionage for revealing what were said to be secrets. Pasko was acquitted of espionage but Nikitin's case is dragging on.


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<P>New York Times

October 30, 1999

<P>Refugee Problem In Chechnya Alarms Relief Agencies

<P>By Celestine Bohlen

<P> ORDZHONIKIDZEVSKAYA, Russia -- An early autumn chill has already descended on the border regions around Chechnya, fast on the heels of fighting that has forced almost 200,000 Chechens to flee their homes as Russian troops bomb and strafe their breakaway republic.

<P> For Haji Zubarev and his extended family of 25 people, who fled the Chechen town of Sernovodsk two weeks ago, home is now an empty field here about a mile inside the Ingushetia side of the border. At night, when the temperatures drop, the men huddle for warmth on the back of an open truck, while the women gather in a beat-up van, bundling up their infants in layers of clothes.

<P> The creeping cold is a major worry of the few international aid agencies working to help refugees. Chechens have been fleeing their homes in droves since late September, when Moscow began its military campaign against guerrillas whom it blames for attacks in neighboring regions and for masterminding bombings in Russian cities.

<P> Most of the Chechen refugees have come to Ingushetia, and they have found lodging with the local population, in some cases paying exorbitant rents. About 15,000 are housed in railway carriages and tent cities set up by Russian authorities. But another 12,000 people are still sleeping in bus and rail stations, in sheds and warehouses or, like the Zubarev family, inside their vehicles.

<P> "Shelter and winter, these are very important and serious worries," said Viktor Andreyev, a Moscow-based policy adviser for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, which has delivered \$600,000 worth of food, tents and other assistance to refugees from Chechnya since the fighting began.

<P> The Russian Government, which initially was slow to react to the flow of refugees from Chechnya, resists calling it a crisis, or even asking foreign organizations for help.

<P> But international agencies have additional concerns in the North Caucasus and those are kidnapping and violence, which over the last several years, have driven nearly all foreign aid and human rights workers out of Chechnya and its surrounding regions, including Ingushetia.

<P> Soon after the 1994-96 war here, when Russian troops tried unsuccessfully to put down a secessionist movement in Chechnya, the region was swept with a wave of lawlessness, as Chechen warlords -- some of them former war heroes -- turned to hostage-taking as a way to finance their operations.

<P> One of the most shocking cases of violence was the murder in December 1996 of six foreign hospital workers of the International Committee of the Red Cross, who were killed by armed assailants in their dormitory in the Chechen town of Novye Atagi. In January 1998, the director of the United Nations refugee agency's office for the North Caucasus, in northern Ossetia, was kidnapped and held hostage for 11 months.

<P> All told, Russian security officials say that more than 2,000 people -- including Chechens, Russians and foreigners -- have been taken hostage in and around Chechnya since 1996.

<P> "There was one case after another," said Mamar Melzouk, who heads the Moscow-based mission of Doctors Without Borders, the French organization that recently was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for its work in war zones around the world. "The humanitarian world became a target. It is obvious that the risk is very, very high."

<P> Doctors Without Borders maintained a large and visible mission in the region during the 1994-96 war, in which tens of thousands of civilians were killed. But in 1996, when the war ended with a victory for the Chechen rebels, the organization withdrew from the region, soon after two of its employees were kidnapped.

<P> So far in the current conflict, Doctors Without Borders has not returned. "The security and access to beneficiaries are not assured and because of those criteria, we are not planning to intervene for the moment," said Melzouk. "We know problems are arising, especially with the oncoming winter. But it is a very complicated issue."

<P> According to Ingush security forces, no kidnappings are known to have taken place in the region in the last two months, although a reporter for the newspaper Moscow News, who has been missing for two weeks, was last seen in Ingushetia. But local authorities concede that the situation is dangerous, and they provide armed guards to journalists and aid workers who come in for short trips to the border regions.

<P> "You can go for a few days but not longer, and it is better to go without warning," said Samuel Marie-Sanon, general coordinator for Doctors of the World, another French medical aid organization, who made his last trip to Ingushetia two weeks ago. "You make the opportunities rare so as to limit the risks."

<P> [Doctors of the World, the last foreign aid agency to maintain a presence in the Chechen capital, Grozny, withdrew its Chechen staff on Thursday.]

<P> According to Marie-Sanon, Chechen doctors -- left in charge when his group's French doctors left Grozny in 1998 -- continue to monitor the estimated 4,000 refugees living in camps inside Chechnya, where he said medicine is in critically short supply, especially for people suffering from chronic conditions like diabetes or heart disease.

<P> The International Committee of the Red Cross, in cooperation with the Russian Red Cross, has brought in 60 tons of food as well as other aid supplies to the border region from its stockpiles in Nalchik.

<P> But the biggest burden has fallen on Ingushetia itself, a region with a population of about 300,000 which is still coping with refugees from the previous Chechen conflict, in addition to the 65,000 Ingush refugees who arrived here in the early 1990's from North Ossetia.

<P> "We have to feed an entire city," said the Ingush President, Ruslan Aushev, who has continually pressed the Russian Government to step up assistance for a "catastrophe" that Moscow refuses to recognize.

<P> "I keep telling them, this is not my problem, it is your problem, one that you created, not me."

<P> [At a news conference in Moscow on Thursday, Aushev said that more than 10,000 refugees have received medical care, and 1,500 have been hospitalized, including 50 who were wounded in the fighting, the Interfax news agency reported.]

<P> According to Marie-Sanon, the cold weather has already compounded health problems among the refugees, with cases of respiratory diseases rising sharply among children and the elderly. He said the current fighting has also set off a rise in mental health problems, especially among children. "We are seeing children who can't sleep, who have nightmares, and show aggressive behavior," he said. "For them, the sight of an airplane can be a real trauma."

<P> For the Zubarev family, the latest war is merely a continuation of the

first. When the Russian planes started attacking Sernovodsk, Zubarev, a 42-year-old chauffeur, drove his family into nearby Ingushetia, leaving them near the border so he could go back and forth to check on his house and livestock.

<P> When he went back the last time, he said, Russian troops had intensified their attacks.

<P> "I wouldn't be sorry if they were going after the guerrillas, but they are attacking the civilian population," he said. "I don't know if there were any guerrillas in Sernovodsk, but if there were, they are gone now, and the only ones left are old people."

<P> As Zubarev talked to reporters, one of his relatives, a young woman with her black scarf tied around her hair, interrupted the conversation. "For eight years now, we have been giving interviews," she said, her voice shifting to a shout. "Talking isn't enough. When is somebody going to come and help us?"

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<P>Washington Post

November 1, 1999

Pg. 22

<P>Fighting Begins Anew In Sierra Leone

FREETOWN, Sierra Leone--Fighting has erupted again between rebel factions in the northern Sierra Leone towns of Lunsar and Makeni, military officials said.

The officials, from the West African peacekeeping force and from the fledgling Sierra Leone army, said the death toll from the clashes, which began in mid-October, could run into the hundreds and that tens of thousands had fled their homes.

The latest clashes, which began Friday, have delayed disarmament under a peace deal signed in July in Togo by veteran rebel leader Foday Sankoh and elected President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah.

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**<P>Boston Globe
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**October 31, 1999
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In Africa, Hired Guns Help Keep The Peace

By Colin Nickerson, Globe Staff

FREETOWN, Sierra Leone - A generation ago, in the blood-soaked Belgian Congo, in Biafra, and in other gruesome conflicts of post-colonial Africa, they were known as "les affreux" - the terrible ones.

They were the white mercenaries, the Wild Geese, the "dogs of war," freebooting soldiers of fortune who, for a suitcase full of hard currency, would pull the trigger for any cause, no matter how dubious or despicable.

By the early 1980s, most had limped off into retirement or had disappeared into a jungle grave. Their day seemed done in Africa.

But now, a new breed of Western soldier for hire is looming large on the continent, where endless woe is matched only by boundless and still largely unexploited natural riches. In some countries, including Angola and Sierra Leone, the freelance soldiers are quietly encouraged by the United States, Britain, and other Western nations alarmed by Africa's descent into greater chaos but fearful of risking their own troops on peacekeeping expeditions.

Lured by the glitter of diamonds, the whiff of crude oil, and, above all, the prospect of fat contracts from African countries under the gun or Western mining companies trying to operate in those same countries, a host of security specialists, military consultants, and combat operatives from corporate armies based in London, Pretoria, and Washington, D.C., are flocking to Africa's woes.

And if the old mercenaries were a relic of Africa's colonial past, the new mercenaries may be a portent of an even grimmer future - for they appear to be filling a vacuum created by the increasing refusal of Western nations, and of the United Nations, to intercede in the world's ugliest "humanitarian disasters," euphemism for the famines, genocides, and other massive miseries spawned by brutal internecine conflicts.

The deadliest wars of the second half of the 20th century are the bush wars of Africa, with millions of lives already lost in obscure conflicts, from Angola to Sudan, expected to become even more savage and intractable as the continent lurches into the next millennium. The combination of upheaval and almost incalculable mineral riches - especially in such "failed states" as Sierra Leone - is an irresistible magnet for the new soldiers of fortune.

<P> "It's a fast-expanding business," said Jim Davis, partner in a small firm, Globe Risk Inc., that offers security services to mining companies operating out of this steamy capital, where mercenaries quaff beer in the same bars frequented by the relief workers also descending in droves. The country ranks last on almost every UN index of misery, but boasts diamond deposits so rich that in some places the raw gems can be kicked from the ground.

<P> "We're politically correct alternatives to the old-style mercenaries," said Davis, a former paratrooper with Canada's elite Airborne Regiment. "We don't overthrow governments. We don't do combat operations. We do training and security."

<P> Other firms are less squeamish.

<P> The new age mercenary was created by a South African firm, Executive Outcomes Ltd., which beginning in 1989 dispatched military professionals, from machine gun squads to air crews, to fight for profit in Sierra Leone, Angola, and other hot spots in Africa and beyond.

<P> Executive Outcomes, whose executives, like so many corporate honchos, often seemed torn between a lust for publicity and a love for cloak-and-dagger secrecy, announced this year that it was shutting down in compliance with a new South African law restricting mercenaries. But the company lives on in an array of cross-linked specialized military, logistics, and communications firms whose arsenal-for-hire includes military transport planes, attack helicopters, heavy machine guns, light artillery, and even field hospitals.

<P> On one extreme of the modern mercenary spectrum are the handful of firms able to provide serious military firepower for paymasters with deep pockets, usually governments. For example, Sierra Leone's democratically elected president, Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, was ousted in a 1997 coup but shot his way back to power last year with assistance from Sandline International, a British firm.

<P> On the other extreme are small security teams, like Globe Risk, staffed by former soldiers willing to work in regions of hair-raising hazard. In between are companies with specialized expertise, whether flying cargo into hot zones, training artillery teams or performing such nonviolent but high-risk tasks as clearing land mines, arranging release of corporate kidnap victims, or cutting deals with guerrilla warlords for safe passage of mining equipment.

<P> The mercenary trade is nearly as old as warfare itself. A mercenary is a contract soldier in foreign service. The Romans used them. King George III paid German mercenaries to fight American revolutionaries. And France's Foreign Legion is essentially a mercenary force of hirelings from around the world, including criminals on the lam.

<P> What makes the new companies converging on Africa different from the old white mercenaries are high standards of military professionalism coupled with a corporate structure little different from any other international business.

<P> "Instead of organizing clandestinely, today's mercenaries operate out of office suites, have public affairs staff and Web sites," said David Isenberg, analyst with DynMeridian, a security and military consulting firm in Virginia.

<P> "They are usually highly trained and organized into incorporated, registered businesses," he said. "As conflicts continue, and major states become more reluctant to undertake humanitarian interventions, these private military companies are going to play a significant future role."

<P> There are still plenty of murderous misfits and outright psychopaths playing the mercenary trade in Africa. The "white legion" of Serb militiamen and French thugs recruited by Zaire's dictator, Mobutu Sese Seko, certainly wreaked mayhem, and may have been guilty of massacres, as that country collapsed in 1997. Freebooters from Europe are still running guns to UNITA rebels in Angola, while Israeli commandos have been linked to arms supplies reaching the butchered insurgents of Sierra Leone.

<P> According to intelligence sources, at least 90 private armies - mostly composed of former military personnel from the United States, Britain, Canada, Israel, France, and South Africa - are selling their services in Africa, not only to governments but also to Western-owned mining operations, UN agencies, and even humanitarian agencies working under cross-fire conditions.

<P> Hundreds of mercenaries are working in Africa today, compared with dozens a decade ago. But companies like Sandline and Military Professional Resources Inc. claim to have thousands of military specialists on call, ready for rapid deployment to any trouble spot in the world - and they boast that they can respond to military emergencies more rapidly than can any national army.

<P> "State systems are breaking down in parts of Africa. At the same time, the end of the Cold War has resulted in a loss of appetite among nations of the West, especially the US, for direct intervention in Africa," said Douglas Fraser, executive director of the Canadian Council for International Peace and Security.

<P> "For better or worse, these private military companies are stepping in to the void," Fraser said. "Privatization of security is a growth industry, and there's concern that African nations may be mortgaging their natural resources and surrendering some of their sovereignty to these groups."

<P> While most private military companies work under straightforward terms

of payment, others barter their skills for lucrative mining concessions and other unusual incentives, pledged by impoverished nations with nothing else to offer.

<P> Such organizations as Sandline International or Executive Outcomes Ltd. provide client states with front-line firepower capable of turning the tide of a bush war - combat helicopters, mortar teams, commando units, and armored assault vehicles.

<P> "Yes, we expect to get paid, but we are a lot less expensive than a sovereign or UN force," said Tim Spicer, the much-decorated former British Army colonel who heads Sandline. "And casualties among private military companies don't have the same emotional impact as among national forces."

<P> Other firms, notably Military Professional Resources Inc., a Virginia-based company founded by retired US Army generals that claims to offer "the world's greatest corporate military expertise," restrict themselves to training and support operations, refusing combat roles as a matter of policy. MPRI reported \$48 million in earnings in 1997.

<P> "We're trying very hard to eliminate the mercenary image," said Ed Soyster, vice president of international operations for MPRI. He is a retired US Army general who served as head of the Defense Intelligence Agency. "No one at MPRI carries a gun, although we all carried guns in our former lives."

<P> But whether they fight, train others to fight, or provide military-style security services in violent realms, many of these private organizations are serving as proxies for Western foreign policy.

<P> In Angola, for example, the Clinton administration is quietly nudging the government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to hire MPRI to provide training and other assistance, according to military analysts.

<P> With the end of the Cold War, Africa is no longer a prize. Western military aid to Africa has plunged precipitously. That may be a good thing, but, in backing away, the West also has lost the ability to restrain African governments and insurgency movements from the worst excesses.

<P> The West's fear of wading into another African quagmire is the main reason mercenary soldiers are staging a comeback.

<P> The most surprising aspect of the surge of private military and security operations in Africa in recent years is that, though still controversial, these new hired guns are increasingly perceived as potential guardians of whatever order still exists in the countries most savaged by violence.

<P> "It speaks to how bad things have turned in parts of Africa that the arrival of mercenaries on the scene is no longer always seen as bad news by humanitarian groups," said a European surgical nurse, Greta Van Ryswyk, treating war victims in Sierra Leone.

<P> "When mercenaries arrive, the rebels run and fighting stops," she said.

<P> "And when fighting stops, that's when people finally get help, that's when babies get fed."


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<P>Boston Globe

October 31, 1999

Pg. E1

<P>Hostage-Takers Rethink Their Role

<P>By Charles M. Sennott, Globe Staff

<P> TEHRAN - To commemorate this week's 20th anniversary of the day Iranian student radicals stormed the US Embassy here and took 52 Americans hostage, the anti-American murals on the walls of the compound are being freshly repainted.

<P> To many who led the Nov. 4, 1979, assault, there is irony in the walls of the old embassy, home now to an Iranian Revolutionary Guard military academy. The young revolutionaries have become Iran's graying intellectual reformers who believe it's time now to reconcile with the United States, not repaint static slogans of an anti-Western orthodoxy they see as anachronistic.

<P> Leading what they call "the second revolution," they are challenging the crushing puritanism of the Islamic clerical conservatives. And they are again in challenging forces within those walls - not Americans in the US State Department, but Iranian teenagers fresh out of the Revolutionary Guard academy who become the conservative clerics' muscle in the battle over Iran's future.

<P> "Sometimes history makes fun of us," says Abbas Abdi, 41, with a shrug of his narrow, stooped shoulders.

<P> In 1979, Abdi, wearing a thick shock of black hair, was one of the masterminds of the taking of the embassy. Now he is a balding journalist for the liberal newspaper Sobh-e-Emrooz, and an articulate spokesman for the yearning for change and a democratic form of Islamic rule expressed by reformist president Mohammad Khatami.

<P> Another leading reformer who was among the handful of student leaders who planned and executed the embassy takeover is Mohammed Ibrahim Asghar-Zadeh. There are flecks of gray in his neatly trimmed beard, and he is, at age 41, a managing director of the Iranian National Steel Co. Now he favors tweed sports jackets and is proud of his recent election to Tehran's influential City Council as a reform leader.

<P> "We want to be able to breathe," Asghar-Zadeh says, sitting in his plush office. "For Khatami to succeed he has to achieve his economic program. The US is strangling that. And if Khatami is not allowed to succeed, the fight for civil society will collapse."

<P> Both former revolutionaries are now strategizing for candidates in parliamentary elections scheduled for February. The elections are shaping up to be a definitive battle between Khatami's reformers and the hard-line Islamic clerics.

<P> To the hard-liners, the two are apostates who have lost their way, turning to Western values that run counter to the goals of the Islamic revolution. But to a growing majority, especially among youth and women, they are the vanguards.

ard of a movement that recognizes it is time to renounce revolutionary excesses and open Iran to what they call "civil society."

<P> Both men have paid a price for their beliefs. Abdi spent nine months in prison in 1993 when he made his first statements supporting change in Iran. He was sentenced to solitary confinement in Tehran's infamous Evin prison, where, in the early years, many who were deemed counterrevolutionary were hanged. In 1998, his name was placed on a "death list" established by the intelligence ministry. Five people on that list were assassinated by an intelligence ministry death squad late last year.

<P> Asghar-Zadeh has been repeatedly threatened as well. Late last year, he was physically attacked by conservative students after he spoke at Tehran University.

<P> Abdi's shy demeanor and mild manner seem worlds away from the wrath of fury that he and his fellow students unleashed in the early days of the Islamic revolution. He seems to embody the writhing change in Iran.

<P> As part of his transformation, Abdi met in July with Barry Rosen, a former embassy hostage who is now an administrator at Teachers College of Columbia University. The meeting was part of a cautious reevaluation underway in Iran of the hostage-taking. Abdi says he is not seeking forgiveness but wants to reach an understanding with his former captives of how they were all "brought to that particular point in history."

<P> Abdi does not disavow the taking of the hostages, but he openly recognizes the suffering it caused the individuals and hopes that Iran and the United States will reach a form of rapprochement. "The majority of the goals of the revolution have been fulfilled," he says. "What took your country 200 years, took us 20. And we are proud of that."

<P> "When we took the embassy, it was a necessary action in the context of the time. We were reacting to despotism," Abdi says. "Now it is time for a different course. Now it is time for us to build a society based on what we have learned."

<P> Both Abdi and Asghar-Zadeh came to the forefront of the student movement from poor backgrounds. They had been able to attend university because of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi's effort to offer free public education in the early 1970s.

<P> And they both saw that their traditional, religious background was the strongest framework for opposition to the shah, who was brutally suppressing religious communities and the clerics who were speaking out against him. They were zealous supporters of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, who would become absolute

ruler in February 1979, when the shah's rule crumbled. (Khomeini died in 1989.)

<P> The two men were both leaders of a committee of students from three universities. They began planning a taking of the US Embassy - getting blueprints of the layout from sympathetic Iranian staff inside the compound.

<P> The capturing of the embassy was fairly spontaneous and took on a life of its own, remembers Asghar-Zadeh: "In less than 24 hours we were transformed into a professional organization of hostage-takers. We were not at all like that; it was not the goal of the action."

<P> A woman carried steel cutters under her chador to cut the chains that padlocked the wrought-iron gates, he remembers. Then when the gates burst open, a rush of approximately 400 students charged the embassy. None of them was armed, he said. They ripped the steel grates off windows and poured in through a basement window. There was virtually no resistance from the Marines in the compound and the United States seemed remarkably off guard.

<P> Abdi showed a collection of photos the students took the first morning inside the building, an archive of the decisive moment in Iran's history. In one, a smashed and tattered picture of President Carter lies in a pool of water, and shredded documents are strewn everywhere in the hallways.

<P> Other photos show students with images of Khomeini around their necks, students wearing the styles of the 1970s, V-neck sweaters, big collars, bell-bottoms. Abdi points to faces and struggles to remember them: "He is in advertising, he runs a paper company, he is a schoolteacher."

<P> The plan was to hold the hostages for only several days to protest Carter's fateful decision to admit the shah to the United States for medical treatment, both men say. But when the United States did not back down, the hostage-taking became Khomeini's way to consolidate power in a fractious revolutionary time.

<P> The taking of the embassy has become canonized in the history of the revolution. Conservatives consider anyone who challenges it or wishes to rethink its impact a counterrevolutionary. Here, that can easily mean a prison sentence. It can easily mean death.

<P> Yet, there are some who cautiously express their criticism.

<P> Fariborz Rais-Dana, 50, a prominent economist and author, was a mentor to the student radicals. He was 30 when the hostage crisis began, and his students looked up to him throughout, even though he had cautioned them against taki

ng the embassy.

<P> "In my opinion it was a very big mistake. We delivered an image to America of violence and recklessness, when, in fact, we were under siege and fragile and struggling to do the right thing, which was overthrowing a corrupt, tyrannical king just like you did in America."

<P> Ibrahim Yazdi, a political activist who has been jailed on and off in recent years for his opposition to the clerical establishment, is also cautiously critical, despite the risk of being so. In 1979, he was on the 15-member Revolutionary Council and later the foreign minister under the provisional government.

<P> The hostage-taking occurred at a time when they were trying to stabilize the revolution, says Yazdi, and political change was moving in the right direction. If they hadn't stormed the embassy, "all of it would have been in favor of a democratic government - a traditional, liberal government not controlled by rightists, but more moderate elements," Yazdi says.

<P> Yazdi even goes so far as to suggest that unseen forces in the US intelligence community actually pushed the students to act so that the revolution would be discredited.

<P> "Iran did not achieve anything from taking the hostages. We hurt American pride. But are we supposed to build Iranian interest or merely wound the pride of a superpower? That was the question of the day. We as revolutionaries should have focused on protecting our own interests.

<P> "Even the students recognize it as something they regret," he says, explaining that privately many of them have expressed this to him.

<P> "It ended up helping to impose the conservative clerical government that now restricts their vision of what this country should be," Yazdi says. "It took 20 years, lots of suffering, eight years of war, billions of dollars, many lives, just to find out that it was a mistake."

<P> Abdi and Asghar-Zadeh dismiss such questioning of the past.

<P> "If you want to question the US embassy capture, you have to question the revolution itself ...," Abdi says. "It gave the revolution momentum."

<P> He adds that even if there were forces in the United States that wanted the taking of the embassy for their own political purposes, it would not matter.

<P> "It would make no difference. We had to defend our own interests," Ab di says. "We feared war, we feared a coup. And we had to act."

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<P>Washington Post

October 30, 1999

Pg. 19

<P>Anti-Saddam Forces Hope To Enlist Army

<I><P>Exiles Seek to Rejuvenate Campaign

</I><P>By Colum Lynch, Special to The Washington Post

<P> NEW YORK, Oct. 29More than 300 members of the Iraqi opposition gathered at a Times Square hotel tonight to rejuvenate their U.S.-backed campaign to overthrow Saddam Hussein, but last-minute cancellations punched holes in the opposition's newfound unity.

<P> The National Assembly of the Iraqi National Congress, financed and prom

oted by the United States, is expected to select a new slate of leaders and is intended to foster unity after years of infighting.

<P> Iraqi exile leaders, interviewed at their headquarters in the Liberty Suite of the Sheraton Hotel, conceded they have little chance of mounting a military challenge to the Iraqi president, despite a U.S. pledge last year of \$97 million in surplus military equipment and training. Their real hope, they said, is that their display of unity will persuade Iraq's military to turn against its leader.

<P> "We want to get rid of Saddam. And we have young Iraqis skilled in the arduous task of overthrowing Saddam Hussein," said Ahmed Chalabi, a London-based opposition leader. "But we are not here to fight the Iraqi army. We are here to attract the Iraqi army to our side."

<P> While Congress has appropriated money to support the opposition, the Clinton administration has had difficulty finding ways to spend it productively. The Pentagon plans to give a 10-day training course to a handful of opposition members starting Monday at a base in Florida. But the course will focus on management skills and civics lessons and will not involve weapons or combat training.

<P> Sen. Bob Kerrey (D-Neb.), Sen. Sam Brownback (R-Kan.) and David Scheffer, the U.S. ambassador at large for war crimes, pledged their support in an opening ceremony tonight.

<P> "Containment has failed, and it's in our national interest to change our policy from containment to regime change," Kerry said in an interview. "We're not picking a leader. We're not picking a president. We're saying we will support you with such force as necessary for the liberation of Iraq."

<P> Organizers portrayed the event as the first gathering since 1992 of opposition groups, including rival Kurdish factions, the umbrella Iraqi National Congress and the Constitutional Monarchist Movement, headed by a member of Iraq's former royal family.

<P> But on the eve of the event, Hamid Al Bayati, a representative of a key Shiite group, the Tehran-based Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq, decided not to attend. Massoud Barzani, president of the Kurdistan Democratic Congress, also declined to come, though he sent a large delegation to meet with his longtime rival, Jalal Talabani.

<P> A few other Iraqi opposition organizations--such as the Iraqi Communist Party, the Islamic Al Dawa party and the Syrian Baath Party--also stayed away, said Mike Amitay, an analyst at the Washington Kurdish Institute.

<P> Amitay said many of the invitees were afraid to be too closely associated with Washington. "They are reluctant to do anything to upset Saddam Hussein, because the U.S. has not given them ironclad assurances that [the United States] will prevent the Iraqi leader from moving against them," Amitay said.

<P> The unusual venue, in the Broadway theater district, was not the opposition's first choice. As he distributed "Free Iraq" T-shirts, Chalabi said U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright had vetoed a proposal to hold the event in northern Iraq because the United States could not guarantee the attendees' security. Instead, the State Department hired a public relations firm, Burson-Marsteller, and a Springfield contractor, Quality Support, to organize the event, Chalabi said.

<P> Brownback called the meeting a "first step" toward ousting Saddam Hussein, but said he is not convinced that the Clinton administration is committed to completing the job. The White House is moving at a "snail's pace" and probably will just "hand it off to another administration," he said.

<P> Washington's last effort to overthrow Saddam Hussein ended in disaster. In September 1996, the Iraqi military rolled into northern Iraq, crushing a CIA-sponsored insurgency and executing about 100 members of the Iraqi National Congress. "We were let down by the Americans," said Latif Rashid, a London-based representative of Talabani's Patriotic Union of Kurdistan.

<P> Scott Ritter, a former U.N. arms inspector, said he was asked by a group of Republican senators to participate in the campaign to oust Saddam Hussein. But after meeting with Chalabi, he said, he came away convinced that the effort was not serious.

<P> "Americans supporting this haven't a clue what's going on in Iraq. This is a political cause celebre that has no chance of succeeding," Ritter said.


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<P>New York Times

October 30, 1999

<P>Turkey: 2d Kurdish Group Surrenders

<P> A second group of eight Kurdish guerrillas gave themselves up in Istanbul in what they said was a gesture intended to help the search for peace. They were taken into custody. This month another group of eight Kurds also surrendered, but they were detained and face possible prison sentences of up to 20 years.

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

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<P>Middle East Policy Survey

October 29, 1999

Pg. 1

<P>Representatives Of The Five Permanent Members. . .

<P> . . . of the United Nations Security Council are working to fashion what is now called the "omnibus resolution" for dealing with Iraq.

<P> Sources close to these talks, which have taken place in New York and London describe them as a "roller coaster" ride, one day high hopes for agreement, the next, extreme pessimism about the outcome.

<P> On one side is the US and Great Britain, arguing for a resolution that would very strictly define (and some critics say make impossible) Iraqi compliance with UN conditions necessary for suspension of the international trade embargo.

<P> On the other side is Russia and France, equally determined to pass a resolution that would open Iraq once again to the international community, especially in terms of trade and investment.

<P> As the two sides explore ways of compromise, attention has been focused on the Anglo-American insistence on Iraqi "compliance" with a new UN weapons' inspection program.

<P> The French argue, logically, if somewhat self-servingly that compliance would require a full lifting of sanctions, so only Iraqi "cooperation" should be necessary to allow a temporary suspension of sanctions.

<P> With British urging, it seems the US is slowly moving towards the French position.

<P> In defense of this watered-down approach, US officials say that the key is not the language but who at the UN will determine whether Iraq is "cooperating".

<P> The American model is Richard Butler, who headed UNSCOM.

<P> The French lean towards an institution such as the International Atomic Energy Agency, which has historically pursued a much less aggressive investigation of Iraq's nuclear capabilities.

<P> But most important, say US officials, is that regardless of the finding by the UN investigatory body (now called the Monitoring and Inspection Commission), approval of its recommendations could be vetoed by any permanent Council member (ie. the US).

<P> The French appear interested in this approach because they believe that the US could not sustain a position at the Security Council if it were outvoted 14-1 or 13-2.

<P> But as one US official says, the French are "...underestimating the persuasive powers of the world's only 'hyperpower'" (a new French phrase which is intended to supplant "superpower").

<P> And the French and Russians have another problem -- their unpredictable client, Iraq.

<P> Baghdad has repeatedly announced it will accept nothing less than a complete lifting of sanctions.

<P> US officials say part of the reason that the talks are dragging is that Paris has been unable to determine if there is flexibility in the Iraqi position.

<P> That effort is not made any easier, much to the glee of US officials, by the new Administration policy of importuning western governments to prosecute Iraqi officials who visit even on official business.

<P> With the precedent of the detention of former Chilean President, Auguste Pinochet, in Britain, US officials are actively seeking similar treatment for top Iraqis including the globe-trotting Tariq Aziz.

<P> "While the governments themselves may not want to lock-up their Iraqi guests, human rights groups are all too willing to press the legal system independently," says one top US official.

<P> "And we stand ready to help."

<P> Adds this official, "It does tend to have a chilling effect on Iraqi diplomacy."

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<P>Newsweek

November 8, 1999

<P>'Doomed To Disappear'

<I><P>The reformer on the last days of the walland why comm
unism crumbled</I>.

<P>By Mikhail Gorbachev

<P> The Berlin Wall didn't come down in a day or even a season. The crisis
in East Germany began four years before the dramatic events of 1989, and many m
iles awaywith perestroika and democratization in the Soviet Union. By the time
discontent in East Germany had been transformed into a mass movement, the peopl
e there knew that my policy of "freedom of choice" was not just a propaganda sl
ogan. They knew there would be no repeat of the events of the Prague Spring in
1968, and that Warsaw Pact tanks would not intervene. So they exercised their f
ree choice by breaking down the wall.

<P> I never regretted my decision. To resist the will of a people to save t
he doomed regime of Erich Honecker would have been hopeless. The use of force c
ould have resulted in a huge bloodbathafter all, the desire for unification had
seized millions of Germans in the fall of 1989and might have led to a military
confrontation between the superpowers. Even if we could have avoided that, int
ervention would have meant reversing the basic principles of my political philo

sophy. Military action would have ruined the trust that was developing with the West and the United States, and would have cut off vital foreign economic and political support for perestroika. And it would have meant shooting ordinary people, which was against my moral principles. The cold war would have been revived and my political position as a whole would have been discredited.

<P> At the time, nobody argued otherwise. None of the members of the Politburo, or indeed anyone from the senior Soviet leadership, suggested the use of force. Nobody recommended that Soviet troops in East Germany be mobilized. It's true that several generals privately discussed such a possibility and openly criticized me later for not sending in troops. But at the time, not even Marshal Yazov, the Defense minister and future coup leader, lobbied for intervention.

<P> What was there to fight for? Communism as the inventors of the theory imagined it never existed anywhere: not in Eastern Europe, not in the U.S.S.R. What did exist was Stalinist socialism. That system had exhausted itself and was doomed to disappear. As early as 1988, I insisted that the party abandon its monopoly on power, on property, on ideology. The idea was to liquidate the political power structures which had ruled Russia since Stalin's time.

<P> Once the forces of glasnost and democracy were let loose, they worked in unpredictable ways. They were decisive in spurring changes in Eastern Europe, but I can't deny that those same forces encouraged separatist tendencies in the national republics of the U.S.S.R. Now I see no threat to Russian security because of the entry of Eastern European countries into NATO. Yet their understandable early aversion to their "big brother to the East" has turned into a policy of refusing to have any significant relations with Russia. This is not good for Russia, nor for East Europe, nor the world.

<I><P> Gorbachev's new book, "On My Country and the World," will be published on Nov. 11.</I>

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<P>New York Times

October 31, 1999

<P>The Last 100 Days

<P>By Thomas L. Friedman

<P> I don't know how Al Gore will do in the upcoming race. I think he's got a lot more substance than the press has given him credit for. But if Mr. Gore's candidacy does go down early, it could have one interesting side effect. It might actually free up the Clinton Administration to govern in its final months without worrying about politics. Having missed out on its first 100 days -- due to a variety of scandals and mishaps -- the Clinton Administration could be the first in history to be known for its last 100 days. Imagine if the President, unconstrained by any campaign, actually felt free to do only the right things in foreign policy with his last 100 days.

<P> Here's the speech Mr. Clinton would give:

<P> "My fellow Americans, I intend to use these last 100 days to make up for some of the mistakes in the previous 2,820. The first thing I will do is something I never did in foreign policy -- set some clear priorities. My last 100 days are going to focus on the two biggest relationships we have -- Russia and China -- because unless we manage those right, the rest won't matter. With Russia I did the wrong thing and with China I failed to do the right thing. Not anymore.

<P> "Let's start with Russia. We never had it in our power to determine how the democratic experiment in Russia would come out. We did have it in our power, though, to make Russia a less dangerous place and a less angry and isolated place -- no matter how its experiment evolved. Unfortunately, driven by a need to win Polish votes in the Midwest, I opted to do just the opposite. We expanded NATO, which, in one fell swoop, alienated the Russian elites, undermined our moderate, pro-Western allies inside Russia, and so angered the Russian Duma that it refused to ratify the Start II treaty, which would have cut Russia's long-range nuclear arsenal in half. Madeleine and Strobe kept telling me we could expand NATO and get START II. But it never happened.

<P> "The critics of arms control say: 'No problem. We don't need Start II.

Our strength will protect us.' What these guys don't grasp is that it's not Russia's strength that threatens us. It's Russia's weakness. I'm not worried about Russia using a nuke. I'm afraid of it losing a nuke. The danger is not that a strong Russia will launch a missile at us, but that in a weak Russia one will fall off the back of a truck and end up in Iraq. And the way to reduce that threat is by making Start II and Russian integration in the West our top priorities

<P> "Therefore, on this eve of Russian presidential elections, I am announcing the following: The U.S. will support bringing Russia into NATO and the E.U. by 2010, provided Russia meets a specific set of democratic, legal, arms-control and economic criteria. Most of the top politicians in Russia today are just corrupt old Bolsheviks, but by the next election in 2004, you are going to have a new generation running that gets it. I want to empower these young Russians in their internal fights with Russia's old guard by laying out a clear, strategic pathway for them. I want these young Russians to know, and to be able to say, that if they make the right choices, Russia will get what it wants and what we should want -- that it become part of a free and undivided Europe.

<P> "As for China, we don't have the power to transform China. But we do have the power to make it a more open, rules-based society. We have a great tool for doing that -- bringing China into the World Trade Organization, which would force upon it a set of legal norms, and a degree of openness, that would be unprecedented. With a W.T.O. deal, U.S. Internet firms would be much freer to invest in China and the Chinese would have many more ways to interact with the world -- without having to go through their government. I made a huge mistake last April when I let John Podesta, Gene Sperling and Bob Rubin talk me out of finishing the W.T.O. deal with Zhu Rongji when he was here. We could have had it. But after all the support we had gotten from House Democrats on the Monica thing, my aides didn't want to rile up the Dems and the unions by pushing through W.T.O. for China. So I let the deal go. I regret that, and I'm going to fight to get it back.

<P> "You know, every time I did the politically hard thing -- Kosovo, NAFTA, the Middle East -- I made history. And every time I did the politically expedient thing, I made trouble. I'm going to use these last 100 days to fix both China and Russia. And while I am at it, I'm going to lift the embargo on Cuba too. I never did like Florida anyway."

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<P>Washington Post

October 31, 1999

Pg. B3

<U><P>A Look At . . . America's Role

</U><P>New Isolationists, Old Fallacies; The Speech

<I><P> The Clinton administration's argument that a new isolationism has taken hold was made most forcefully by national security adviser Samuel R. Berger in a speech to the Council on Foreign Relations on Oct. 21 in New York City. It is excerpted below:

</I><P> The internationalist consensus that has prevailed in this country for more than 50 years increasingly is being challenged by a new isolationism, heard and felt particularly in the Congress. . . . It's tempting to say that the isolationist right in the Congress has no foreign policy, that it is driven only by partisanship. But that underestimates it. I believe there is a coherence to its convictions, a vision of America's role in the world.

<P> Let me tell you what I think [the five principles of the new isolationism] are:

<P> First: Any treaty others embrace, we won't join. The new isolationists are convinced that treaties--pretty much all treaties--are a threat to our sovereignty and continued superiority. That's what they say about the [nuclear] test ban [treaty]--though it requires nothing more of us than we've already undertaken to do ourselves. . . . They think there is no point in trying to raise standards of international behavior, because rules can be violated, because perfect verification is impossible, because other countries can't be counted on to keep their word. Never mind that the alternative is a world with no rules, no verification, and no constraints at all.

<P> We have a different vision--and by "we" I mean the Clinton administration, members of Congress of both parties and countless others who want to preserve America's tradition of leadership. We agree it would be foolish to rely on arms control treaties alone to protect our security. But it would be equally foolish to throw away the tools good treaties offer: the restraint and deterrence that comes from global rules with global backing; the ability to shine a light on threatening behavior through inspections, and to mobilize the whole world against it.

<P> The second plank of the new isolationism: Burden sharing is a one-way street. [Isolationism's] proponents rightly insist that Europeans fund the lion's share of reconstructing the Balkans, because we carried the heaviest burden of the conflict. But then they balk at doing our part. They oppose American involvement in Africa's tragic wars, but refuse to help fund the efforts of others, like Nigeria, when they take responsibility to act. And when it comes to paying America's part of the cost of U.N. peacekeeping missions, they're not interested, even if it is to uphold a peace we helped to forge. This year, Congress has cut our request for peacekeeping by more than half.

<P> We believe that is dangerous and wrong. Unless we want to be the world's policeman, we must support the institutions and arrangements through which we share the responsibilities of leadership. That's why we've maintained our commitment to a revitalized NATO, while urging our allies to take on new responsibilities, with the capabilities to match. It is why we have aided Asian nations as they step up to the challenge of stopping the violence in East Timor. It is why we have helped to launch the African Crisis Response Initiative to train African forces for peacekeeping. And it is why all Americans, whether they are internationalists or those who wish to limit our involvement, should agree it is utterly self-defeating to fail to pay our dues and debts to the U.N.

<P> The third plank: If it's over there, it's not our fight. Foreign wars may hurt our conscience, but not our interests, and we should let them take their course. That is what many said about the war in Bosnia--let it go on until they get tired of killing themselves. A part of the Congress would have let the brutal onslaught in Kosovo rage until it spread.

<P> Let me be clear: America cannot do everything or be everywhere. But we also cannot afford to do nothing, and be nowhere. The new isolationism of 1999 fails to understand precisely what the old isolationism of 60 years ago failed to understand--that local conflicts can have global consequences. In an era of worldwide communication, we cannot choose not to see; we can only choose not to act. Sometimes that's right. But not acting must be a conclusion, not a conviction. We have learned the hard way that when the spread of conflict threatens our interests and our values, often the only realistic choice we have is between acting sooner and acting later.

<P> The fourth plank: We can't be a great country without a great adversary

. Since the Cold War ended, the proponents of this vision have been nostalgic for the good old days when friends were friends and enemies were enemies. We've seen lately how easily Russo-phobia can be revived. But the new enemy number one, China, [has become] most popular with some, with its growing economy, its nuclear program, its missiles aimed at Taiwan.

<P> We should not look at China through rose-colored glasses; neither should we see it through a glass darkly, distorting its strength and ignoring its complexities. Here is the China we see: A country that has lifted tens of millions of its citizens from poverty and expanded personal freedoms, but whose progress is constrained by its resistance to the political reforms necessary for its long-term growth and stability. A country that could, if it chose, pour much more of its wealth into military might and try to dominate its region, but which has not yet decisively made that choice. Our interest lies in protecting our security while encouraging China to make the right choices. We can only do that if we continue a policy of principled, purposeful engagement with its leaders and people.

<P> The final plank of new isolationism: Billions for defense, but hardly a penny for prevention. The president [recently] vetoed the foreign operations bill, the vehicle for much of our international resources. It was about 40 percent below what America spent on international engagement in 1985, despite the fact that the world has become more, not less, complex; it is \$2 billion below what the president requested. It does not fund our request for a vitally needed expansion in the effort to safeguard nuclear technology and expertise in the former Soviet Union, increasing the likelihood that deadly weapons will fall into dangerous hands. It does not fund our initiative to help relieve the debts of impoverished countries that are finally embracing freedom, increasing the likelihood of humanitarian crises that will cause instability and conflict. Astonishingly, it does not fund the commitments to the Middle East peace process growing out of the Wye Accords. Meanwhile, the Congress is trying to add \$5 billion to the defense budget this year for projects our military says it doesn't need. . . [Clinton signed the defense bill last week with the additional defense funds.]

<P> The outlines of this debate are, I believe, quite clear. The Clinton administration believes we must use all the tools of our leadership to maintain our strength. The new isolationists would have us rely solely on our military defenses to protect our security. For example, to us, a missile defense is part of a sound national security strategy. To them, missile defense is the strategy.

<P> In effect, they believe in a survivalist foreign policy--build a fortified fence around America, and retreat behind it. And if other nations complain that we're abdicating our responsibilities--or if they start abdicating their own--let them, because we are stronger and richer than they are. As the president said [after the Senate treaty vote], that is a recipe for a "bleak, poor, less secure world."

<P> The outcome of this debate about our role--between leading the world and hunkering down--is hardly academic. The test ban vote and the devastating cuts to our foreign affairs budget make clear that our most fundamental interests are at stake. I believe those interests are clear.

<P> America must continue to be a peacemaker. . . . We must keep working to integrate Russia and China into the global system as open, prosperous, and stable societies. . . . We must continue the struggle to stop the spread of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, and to be especially vigilant where proliferation intersects with the threat of terrorism. . . . and yes, [that means we must work] to build a consensus for eventually ratifying the test ban treaty. . . .

<P> History teaches us that this moment of preeminence for America may be fleeting. Common sense tells us it won't be self-sustaining. That may be hard for many people to imagine, in part because there is no real threat to our power in the world today. But there is a very real threat to our authority. It lies in the impulse to withdraw from the world in a way that would squander our advantages, alienate our friends, diminish our credibility, betray our values and discredit our example. We cannot let that happen. Every chapter in American history of which we're proud was written by people who refused to let that happen.

<P> The Senate vote on the test ban treaty was a cloud, but there is a silver lining. The stakes of our engagement in the world have been made clear. The lines have been drawn. And an old debate has begun anew. I have no doubt how it will end. The American people will choose as they have chosen so many times before: to keep America engaged in a way that will benefit our people and all people. That is a goal for which this president and his administration will work every single remaining day of our term.


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<P>Washington Post

October 31, 1999

Pg. B7

<P>America The Menacing

<P>By Jim Hoagland

<P> Escalating foreign policy conflicts between a narrow, mean-spirited Congress and an inept, breathtakingly partisan White House now cloud U.S. strategy on nuclear deterrence. Strategic splintering threatens to replace consensus in Washington and undermine U.S. leadership abroad.

<P> The question of endangered leadership lies at the heart of a private letter written in September to President Clinton by French President Jacques Chirac, who has seen his worst fears confirmed in the five weeks that have passed without any reply from Clinton to the French leader.

<P> In that time, Senate Republicans rejected U.S. participation in a global ban on nuclear testing. The administration accelerated its search for modification to the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty. And the White House launched a politically driven effort to brand all Republicans as "new isolationists," reducing even more the chances for bipartisanship on deterrence--a policy that depends on unity and clarity of purpose.

<P> Perhaps the big news in all this is that 10 years after the Cold War began to end, nuclear arsenals and the strategies that govern them still occupy a central place in global and American politics. The Berlin Wall went quietly into history's long night. But Dr. Strangelove is alive and flitting--stirring ambitions and concerns on Capitol Hill, at the Kremlin, in grubby think tanks in New Delhi and in gilded salons at the Elysee Palace.

<P> Congress and the White House must now look at the cumulative and schizophrenic effect of their recent political sparring and piecemeal decision-making on strategy. The result is increasingly to isolate the United States and to bring together the world's other declared nuclear powers in opposition to a growing strain of U.S. unilateralism.

<P> America is becoming a far more domineering abroad than most Americans can comprehend. Congress requires the Pentagon to keep 6,000 warheads deployed and available for launch on intercontinental missiles, bombers and submarines--even though the Pentagon says it does not need more than 5,000 to destroy all possible adversaries. It could in fact live with many fewer warheads.

<P> At the same time the Senate insists on keeping the option to increase U.S. dominance by new testing, and the administration and Congress both demand that Russia agree to ABM treaty changes to permit building of a U.S. national missile defense system no other nation can match on its own.

<P> Strong arguments can be made for each of these steps on its own merits. But U.S. policymakers and legislators are missing the wider repercussions of their deeds and words on cooperative international efforts to limit the spread--and importance--of nuclear weapons as the 21st century begins.

<P> China, Russia and France now form a united front in opposing U.S. efforts to change the ABM treaty. Beijing and Moscow have drafted a U.N. resolution to prohibit any treaty changes. Even in Britain there is unease in official circles with the direction of U.S. strategy, although Prime Minister Tony Blair is too close to President Clinton to permit any expression of disquiet at a political level.

<P> Chirac is not so inhibited. He wrote Clinton in September to warn of the risks of an emerging strategic incoherence. The pressure to change the ABM treaty had to be seen in the light of U.S. failure or reticence to ratify a string of other international arms control accords, Chirac counseled.

<P> A Clinton response to Chirac's letter is finally in the pipeline, I am told. But Chirac has gone public in the meantime. Standing beside Chinese President Jiang Zemin at the Elysee last week, the French leader described their common view that "any calling into question of the ABM treaty would bring danger and destabilization" for the rest of the world.

<P> France, Russia and particularly China have their own axes to grind on this score. But Chirac touches on a genuine problem. The United States needs to show that it is not embarked on a selfish, self-protective policy of deterrence that disregards everyone else. The image being created feeds the efforts of Chirac, Jiang and others to reduce U.S. domination and create a "multipolar world."

<P> A meaningful first step in a new U.S. approach would be an immediate unilateral reduction of 1,000 strategic warheads in the U.S. arsenal, with more cuts related to progress on a more verifiable test ban treaty, modest changes in the ABM regime worked out not only with Russia but also France and Britain and greater cooperation from other countries with U.S. efforts to contain the arsenals of rogue states.

<P> The United States can go it alone in setting deterrence strategy and counterproliferation if it must. But Congress and the White House must not let unilateralism be the only option available to Americans. Like economics, security is a global matter now.

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<P>Maine Sunday Telegram

October 31, 1999

<P>Republicans Tied To Jesse Helms' Petty Politics On Test Ban

<I><P>Their acquiescence in this defeat for world peace shouldn't be forgotten.

</I><P>By Nancy Grape

<P> Jesse Helms, the Republican senator from North Carolina, is a man of vision. Unfortunately, Helms' vision stops somewhere short of Winston-Salem's city limits.

<P> Yet Helms is chairman of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee, with solemn responsibilities for issues of survival such as nuclear testing.

<P> This month, the world saw how Helms uses his power, not to make the world safer but to ridicule and thwart an American president.

<P> He did so in a derisive speech in the wrong setting.

<P> "And give Monica my regards," Helms suggested airily in an ill-conceived impersonation of British Prime Minister Tony Blair speaking to the president.

<P> The comment came not in a smoke-filled room or at a table of cronies in a Washington restaurant. Helms delivered it on the Senate floor as part of his drive to derail the nuclear Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

<P> The narrow partisan effort succeeded. But hold any applause.

<P> At a time when Maine workers are told they must adjust to new globalization to jobs leaving this state for cheaper labor abroad, to adjustments dictated by international trade pacts and to self-denial designed to revive the North Atlantic fishery they share with others they look for assurance that what they're being told about their changing world is true.

<P> The petty politics Helms delivered on the Senate floor gave them no such assurance. Never mind that the issue Helms found appropriate for ridicule transcends partisan politics.

<P> Surely it has been clear since Peter Sellers lifted his arm as "Dr. Strangelove" that a comprehensive nuclear test ban agreement may be a matter of life and death both for us and for our planet.

<P> Helms chose to ignore that prospect. He chose instead to play "Get The President" even as countries an eyelash away from their next coup play "Get The Bomb."

<P> That choice may make sense to Clinton-haters in North Carolina, but it does not make sense to thoughtful Mainers. Still, Sens. Susan Collins and Olympia Snowe, like most GOP senators, voted against the treaty.

<P> Helms doesn't care about political fallout in Maine, however. He won't ever appear on a Maine ballot. Mainers have no way to hold him accountable for his conduct. Other Republican candidates, walking carefully around him, however, may not be so fortunate.

<P> It is serious business to extract major changes from people's lives in the name of a new millennium with economic priorities that wrench them loose from ways they have always worked and thought.

<P> It is serious business to tell women on welfare that they must work or watch their children lose out because national expectations are changing.

<P> And it is serious business to send young Americans into areas of the world in turmoil, telling them the dangerous journey is necessary because the world's only remaining superpower must work for peace and then to ignore that dictate in the U.S. Senate.

<P> Republicans and Democrats alike must defend far-reaching changes when they go before the voters next November. Republicans, like it not, also must confront the conduct of Jesse Helms.

<P> Helms did more than show contempt for President Clinton. He showed contempt for nine American presidents five of them Republican who, over the last half century, have placed their faith in a strong, verifiable nuclear test ban treaty.

<P> Helms directed his venom at Clinton, but he hit the office all these leaders have occupied.

<P> It is not necessary to accept or excuse Clinton's personal conduct in order to condemn Helms' hateful decision to inject it into a debate that deserved far better. When the issue is nuclear arms control, the world's most powerful nation has a mandate to lead that far outweighs its need to wash dirty political linen in public.

<P> Republicans are hoping their refusal to delay negative action on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty this month will be a political action without notable international consequences.

<P> I suspect they are hoping, too, that American voters, interested now in baseball, football and Halloween, are not paying attention.

<P> They may be right. Yet just as Clinton has forfeited moral leadership of Americans by his personal conduct, the United States has forfeited moral leadership abroad on the vital issue of banning nuclear testing.

<P> And some with agendas of their own, in Pakistan, China, North Korea and

elsewhere, are watching and waiting.

<P> The comprehensive Test Ban Treaty deserves better from the U.S. Senate. Democrats should keep its defeat and the man who led it front and center in the year ahead. Let Jesse Helms win the battle and a safer world win the war.

<I><P>Nancy Grape comments on state and national issues for the Maine Sunday Telegram.</I>

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<P>Los Angeles Times

October 31, 1999

Pg. M2

<P>A Loss For The U.S. In World

<P>By Raymond Garthoff

<P> WASHINGTON -- Real U.S. security interests were damaged not only by what the recent Senate rejection of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty does, but also by what the stand represents. In effect, the Senate jeopardized a half century of bipartisan support for a responsible international U.S. role. To be sure,

it was easier to create consensus during the Cold War, when the United States faced an implacable foe, but that is the point: We are defining the U.S. role in the post-Cold War world. The Senate's action goes a long way toward telling the world that the United States places not only its own parochial interests, but even domestic partisan interests, above its responsibilities in the world.

<P> The Senate's rejection of the test-ban treaty does not stand alone in cultivating that impression. The world's wealthiest country persists in thumbing its nose at the international community by failing to pay its agreed share of financing for the United Nations. Now, the world's mightiest nation, which has conducted more nuclear-weapons tests than all other countries combined, airily declines to ratify a treaty that would require us to accept a modest constraint on what remains an unparalleled technological capability for preserving and even enhancing U.S. nuclear-weapons superiority. Washington declares it will not even join the lesser nuclear powers (committed to real constraints) in taking a cautious step toward our end of the deal with nonnuclear countries in forging an international regime of nuclear weapons nonproliferation, a matter of great importance to U.S., as well as world, security.

<P> The most dedicated opponents of the test-ban treaty saw its defeat as the first major step in rolling back the existing arms-control regime. They do not just oppose a test ban; indeed, it probably doesn't even rank high in their concerns. But it was the most vulnerable. The Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty is next. If so, then strategic-arms limitations: the Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty of the 1970s, through the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty I, the START II Treaty still awaiting Russian ratification and, prospectively, a START III treaty.

<P> The same hard-line opponents of the test-ban treaty already argue that the ABM treaty is defunct because the Soviet Union no longer exists. It is an untenable position, but Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) has insisted that the protocols on ABM treaty succession be considered by the Senate together with amendments to START II and promised to press for renunciation of the ABM treaty. The greater threat, however, is that the pursuit of a national missile defense system, now accepted by both Congress and the Clinton administration, may lead Russia to renounce all strategic-arms control.

<P> The rejection of the test-ban treaty is a challenge to strategic stability that defies common sense. The purported reasons for rejecting the treaty are, if not contrived, weak. If some small nuclear tests could evade detection by our existing technical means, that would, of course, also be true under the treaty--but the treaty provides additional verification and recourse for clarifying possible noncompliance, as well as the sanction of an internationally approved repudiation of any testing. In the unlikely event that U.S. national-security interests were threatened by any evasion of compliance (or the actions of a non-signatory) the treaty provides for withdrawal. We would be no worse off than had the treaty and its powerful inhibitions on testing not been in effect.

<P> There is no need for testing for the United States to assure reliability of proven nuclear weapons, and no identifiable requirement for any nuclear-weapons designs that would require testing. The test ban would, however, constrain potential proliferation. The real concern underlying these objections is one of principle: Blanket opposition to U.S. participation in a global security regime. There are those who do not favor international arms control any more than they do gun control at home.

<P> The impact of the Senate action on U.S. relations with Russia is indirect, but not inconsequential. It was seen as but the latest sign of U.S. arrogance and unilateralism. From the Russian standpoint, the United States first chose the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, rather than the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe, which includes Russia, as the principal security organization in Europe; then it expanded NATO to the East over Russian objections and with no evident need to do so; and, finally, it abandoned its reassurances that NATO was just a defensive alliance and bulldozed through a NATO intervention in Kosovo without mandate from either the U.N. Security Council or the O.S.C.E. Now, the United States has abandoned the collaborative effort to build a global nonproliferation regime with the comprehensive test ban as a key component. And it has announced another "not whether but when" decision to proceed with a national missile defense--regardless of the outcome of talks with Russia on amending the ABM treaty.

<P> Senate rejection of the test-ban treaty is widely recognized to have been a serious failure of U.S. responsibility as a world power. Even many who had reservations about terms of the treaty, including some senators who voted against ratification, have conceded that there would be adverse international repercussions. Indeed, nearly two-thirds of the senators signed a letter urging that a vote not be taken at this time. Yet, it was held, and, on nearly straight party lines, the treaty was rejected.

<P> Predictably, Democrats (and some Republicans) blamed the rejection on the capitulation of GOP leadership to a strident minority determined to both trash the treaty and deal a blow to President Bill Clinton and the Democrats. And Republicans (and some Democrats) have put much of the blame on Clinton for a poorly managed effort to push the treaty through, gambling on traditional reluctance to undercut not only a president but also U.S. standing. Blame enough to share there may be, but the rejection of the treaty bespeaks insufficient awareness in the Senate, and the country, of the wide repercussions and extent of the damage.

<P> It is ironic that the strategic-arms-control regime now threatened by GOP attack largely rests on achievements of GOP administrations (albeit with Democratic support): SALT and the ABM treaty under President Richard M. Nixon; the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces Treaty under President Ronald Reagan; and START under President George Bush. And, of course, the Comprehensive Test Ban has been a goal of all administrations, beginning with President Dwight D. Eisenhower, 41 years ago.

<P> But, as Sen. Arlen Specter (R-Penn.) remarked after the Senate vote, "There are some who just want to have Fortress America." This reflects the real agenda of those who maneuvered a minority of Republicans into a partisan majority. They are not isolationist, as some have labeled them. They are unilateralists, who want the United States to call the tune, and go it alone when necessary. Many are also supremacists, who think Washington can, and should, use its power, unfettered, to manage the new world order.

<P> Paradoxically, this turn toward unilateral supremacism undermines the U.S. leadership role in the world. This was clear when the Senate ignored a rare appeal by President Jacques Chirac of France, Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain and Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder of Germany, all staunch U.S. allies.

<P> Another disturbing aspect of the Senate action is its reflection of a new partisanship. It is sad when knowledgeable and responsible members of either party, in this case, Republicans such as Sen. Richard G. Lugar of Indiana, Sen. Pete V. Domenici of New Mexico, Sen. John W. Warner of Virginia and Sen. Ted Stevens of Alaska, bow to partisan discipline in support of Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott's deference to such hard-liners as Sen. James M. Inhofe of Oklahoma, Sen. Jon Kyl of Arizona and Helms. Rancor is high, and some Republicans are too eager to find any way to vent their hostility to Clinton.

<P> The test-ban treaty was, in effect, a stand-in victim of impeachment. Nonetheless, it is a sad and dangerous matter when U.S. security interests and a constructive role in the world become a political football. World politics do not wait on hold while U.S. politics are indulged. We need to think more seriously about creation of a new world order and our role in the process. We must all strive to make the Senate's recent action on the test ban an exception rather than see it establish a new broader pattern.

<I><P>Raymond Garthoff, retired senior fellow at the Brookings Institute, served as counselor to the U.S. Mission to NATO and as U.S. ambassador to, Bulgaria. His books include "The Great Transition: American-Soviet, Relations and the End of the Cold War."</I>

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<P>Washington Post

October 31, 1999

Pg. B7

<P>The Taiwan Security Reduction Act

<P>By David M. Lampton

<P> The most dangerous piece of foreign policy legislation in memory is moving through Congress. It is titled the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act. Introduced in the Senate by Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) and Robert Torricelli (D-N.J.) and in the House by Rep. Tom DeLay, it ought to be called the Taiwan Security Reduction Act.

<P> If enacted, the legislation would diminish Taiwan's security, alarm friends and allies and greatly increase the chances of armed conflict between America and China. Though a watered-down version of the act probably soon will pass the House, its future is less certain in the Senate. If the bill passes the Senate too, the president must (and I believe will) veto it. If the president rolls over, the American people can expect renewed military tension in the Taiwan Strait. Taiwan citizens will risk falling markets, fleeing capital and diminished security. Washington can forget Sino-American cooperation on major issues. And East Asia can prepare for an arms race.

<P> That the bill is moving through the legislative process now is due, in part, to a Taiwan lobbying effort fueled by money given to politicians, Washington think tanks and law and public relations firms through a variety of probably legal channels. This river of money makes the alleged illegal campaign contributions from the People's Republic of China (PRC) look like chump change.

<P> Beyond money, the legislation draws life from a genuine problem. Over the past two decades, Washington has negotiated complex arrangements with Beijing governing ties with the PRC and Taiwan. These agreements, along with the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act, create ambiguities about the circumstances under which Washington would respond to violence in the Taiwan Strait.

<P> Generally, such ambiguity is undesirable, because uncertainty can foster dangerous miscalculations. In this case, however, if Washington makes it clear that it will support Taipei militarily no matter what it does, we inadvertently encourage unnecessarily provocative behavior by Taiwan that might draw the United States into bloody conflict with Beijing. Conversely, were Washington too timid in deterring Beijing from resorting to force in the Taiwan Strait, we could jeopardize Taiwan's security by leading the PRC to think we might not respond. Some ambiguity is the most prudent middle course.

<P> And in fact there isn't that much ambiguity in the current situation, if Taiwan is not provocative. After all, President Clinton sent a 16-ship flotilla, with two aircraft carriers, to the waters off Taiwan in 1996 when Beijing fired missiles in the island's direction. Further, from 1994 to 1996 Taipei was the fourth largest recipient of U.S. arms, with the pace of deliveries jumping dramatically in 1997, largely because of the sale of F-16s. Taiwan buys so much weaponry that it has had difficulty absorbing, maintaining and operating the equipment. In 1997 the United States sold 8.5 times the value of weapons to Taiwan (in constant dollars) that it did in 1981.

<P> The U.S. legislation is doubly provocative because it both inflames Chinese nationalism and strengthens the PRC military's claims for more weapons and money, on the one hand, and reinforces those in Taiwan who think they can manipulate the U.S. political system at will, on the other. Further, the act perpetuates the myth in Taiwan's presidential palace that with 1.3 billion people only 95 miles away, Taiwan's security can be principally secured by military means.

<P> If this legislation emerges from Congress in anything like the Senate version, it deserves a presidential veto for five reasons:

<P> * It is unnecessary. The president already has the legal authority to sell Taiwan the weapons it needs.

<P> * The framework by which U.S.-PRC-Taiwan relations have been managed for the past 20 years has permitted Taiwan to make dramatic economic and political progress. If the current framework "ain't broke, don't fix it."

<P> * The legislation directs the executive branch to establish direct military communications, training and other relationships with the Taiwan armed forces, which amounts to a functional reestablishment of the 1955 Mutual Defense Treaty with the island. This would run counter to the terms on which diplomatic relations between Washington and Beijing were established in 1979.

<P> * The bill encourages the transfer of upper-tier antimissile defenses to Taiwan that do not yet exist and which the United States may eventually wish

to keep under its own control. Such a declaration would fuel a PRC missile build up now, while an easily overpowered defense for Taiwan is years away.

<P> * The U.S.-China relationship has enough problems now without saddling this administration with still more--or a new administration with a deteriorating security environment.

<I><P> The writer is director of China studies at the Nitze School of Advanced International Studies of Johns Hopkins University and the Nixon Center in Washington.</I>

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<P>London Sunday Times

October 31, 1999

<P>Lost In The Kosovo Numbers Game

<I><P>As doubts rise about the number of dead in Kosovo, Jon Swain, who reported the war, says Serbian barbarity must not be forgotten

</I><P> In a grim and icy-cold corner of northern Kosovo is the site of what was suspected to be the country's largest mass grave. To date, however, four months later, the International War Crimes Tribunal at the Hague has had

to admit that its investigation of the site has turned up no evidence of bodies or of any wrongdoing by the Serbs.

<P> Back in June, in the full heat of a Balkan summer, some Nato officials and local residents said the deep shafts, the vats and the hydrochloric acid tanks of the Trepca mining complex where gold, silver, lead and zinc are extracted, were used as a disposal site to hide the bodies of ethnic Albanians killed by Serbian forces. The bodies were brought in trucks in the dead of night escorted by Serbian jeeps and troop carriers. They were dropped down the shafts, incinerated or dissolved by the acid.

<P> The first day local Kosovan Albanians said they saw the trucks was back in September 1998 and they said they continued to enter the mine until a few days before Nato troops arrived in June. Some reports at the time said as many as 1,000 bodies a day had been incinerated in the mine over the past two months.

<P> "There are Kosovar witnesses and still photos of these trucks," an anonymous American official was quoted as saying in Koha Ditore, the Kosovo Albanian daily, giving the report the imprint of authenticity.

<P> The idea that the Serbs were using Trepca to hide the evidence of mass killings quickly caught on in western newspapers. "Trepca - the name will live alongside those of Belsen, Auschwitz and Treblinka," said The Mirror. "It will be etched in the memories of those whose loved ones met a bestial end in true Nazi final solution fashion." Another report, in The New York Times, said residents on the edge of the mine reported an "unusual, pungent bittersweet smell, which they assumed to be burning bodies".

<P> Trepca is near the town of Kosovska Mitrovica, in the sector of Kosovo assigned to the French forces. It was one of the first places to be searched by Nato peacekeeping troops after the war's end. And the French troops who entered the mines were certainly suspicious of Serb activities. They informed the Hague tribunal (ICTY) that they had uncovered piles of Albanians' clothing, shoes, family photographs and identity documents when they searched the smelting area and mine shafts. The French also found that the vats had been cleaned before the Serb troops stationed in the complex had left, suggesting they had destroyed the evidence of their crimes.

<P> Trepca was clearly earmarked to be one of the keys to documenting mass killings of ethnic Albanians by Serbs in Kosovo, and the mine was immediately made a priority investigation site for the ICTY's forensic scientists, who began arriving in Kosovo in droves in June on the heels of the Nato victory. Their mission was to conduct a war crimes investigation unprecedented in military history.

<P> The finding by the tribunal that there are no bodies at Trepca, and the

fact that another infamous mass grave site at Ljubenic, near Pec, which was widely publicised as containing 350 bodies and which turned out to hold only five, are now being presented as evidence that the number of civilian ethnic Albanians killed by the Serbs is much lower than Nato had originally claimed.

<P> One analysis by Stratfor, a private analytical group that looked at reports from the FBI and other police agencies sent to Kosovo to exhume bodies, suggests that the final death toll might be in the hundreds, not thousands. And the estimate of a Spanish forensic surgeon, Emilio Perez Pujol, who has just returned home, disillusioned after investigating war crimes in Kosovo, is that as few as 2,500 civilians were killed.

<P> In an outspoken interview, Pujol complained he had been sent to head a large investigation team attached to the ICTY, consisting of pathologists and police specialists, to work in the north of the country. But he found that what was publicised as a search for mass graves was "a semantic pirouette by the war propaganda machines, because we did not find one - not one - mass grave".

<P> Pujol said his team had material for 2,000 autopsies and had expected to be in Kosovo for two and a half months. But in mid-September, after digging up 97 bodies in a cemetery, which showed "no signs of mutilation or torture, but rather death from shrapnel or bullets", he decided to go home.

<P> "I called my people together and said: 'We've finished here.' I informed my government and told them the real situation. We had found a total of 187 bodies, 97 in one place, eight in another, four in another and so on. Four or five had died from natural causes." He added: "A military action prejudices truth and I want to stress that trying to manipulate an international court does not benefit anyone."

<P> There never was much doubt in many reporters' minds, including my own, that the final death toll in Kosovo would turn out to be significantly lower than the more outrageous claims made by Nato. How much lower is still a question that cannot yet be answered.

<P> As we roamed the devastated countryside we calculated that it probably was somewhere between 10,000 and 20,000. There are 2,000 villages in Kosovo and, if each village lost on average five people, perhaps a conservative figure, that would suggest 10,000 killed.

<P> The ICTY is rightly cautious about revealing its findings, although Kelly Moore, a spokeswoman, said thousands of bodies had been exhumed. The American State Department says international investigators have recovered just 1,400 bodies, but these come from only 20% of the suspected grave sites.

<P> The ICTY was never mandated, however, to do a proper body count. Its ro

le is to prosecute individuals accused of serious human rights violations in Kosovo, including genocide and crimes against humanity. What is important so far is that it has been able to turn up valuable forensic and documentary evidence of war crimes that it believes will help it establish a chain-of-command responsibility that will help in its indictment of President Slobodan Milosevic and four of his top aides.

<P> In May the tribunal indicted Milosevic on charges of crimes against humanity and war crimes committed by his forces in Kosovo, and further indictments of figures in the Serbian war machine are in the pipeline.

<P> The tribunal has now packed up for the winter as snow and cold weather grips Kosovo. It will resume next summer when the bulk of its work will be done, said Paul Risley, another spokesman.

<P> In the past four months the tribunal has investigated 150 of 400 crime sites. There have been many chilling discoveries of grievous human rights abuses. Even though no evidence of disposed human remains were found down the Trepca mine shafts, in a mass grave nearby French troops recently discovered 28 bodies of ethnic Albanians, all believed to be the victims of a raid by Serbian paramilitaries. Four people have been arrested.

<P> It is a pity that, during the war, Nato and western politicians repeatedly and deliberately overstepped the mark in their passionate justification of military action against Serbia to end atrocities in Kosovo.

<P> The gap between the hyperbole of the western propaganda machine and the realities of Kosovo were wide throughout the air campaign and led to the publication of wild, misleading and just plain untrue stories. Above all, there was a tendency to claim there was a systematic campaign of genocide in Kosovo.

<P> Just some examples. On April 19, in the midst of Nato airstrikes against Serbia, the American state department reported that up to 500,000 Kosovar Albanians were missing and feared to be victims of Serbian genocide. On May 16, William Cohen, the American defence secretary, said that up to 100,000 ethnic Albanian men in Kosovo had vanished and might have been killed by the Serbs. "We've now seen about 100,000 military-aged men missing," Cohen told CBS. "They may have been murdered." A column of 35,000 refugees vanished and Kosovar Albanian sources reported that tens of thousands of people had been rounded up in a sports stadium and were never heard from again.

<P> The war in Kosovo was Nato's first intervention in a sovereign country, so building a case to sway public opinion was crucial for it and member governments. "Public opinion wins wars," General Eisenhower said during the second world war; a remark that is as apt today as it was then.

<P> War reporting is now experiencing extraordinary changes. In the case of Kosovo, western military officers, officials and ministers all conspired to push out the party line. There was spin-doctoring on an unprecedented scale, which has damaged Nato's reputation for fairness and truth. And journalists as well as some military officers have been angered by the way Nato tried to stop its own mistakes and incompetences being exposed.

<P> All this has left a dedicated forensic scientist such as Pujol, who had come to Kosovo to help establish the truth, deeply irritated. In an interview with El Pais, he says: "We had been working with two parallel problems. One was the propaganda war. This allowed them to lie, to fake photographs for the press, to publish pictures of mass graves, or whatever they had to influence world opinion in favour or against Milosevic or in favour of the Nato bombings. At first, based on the 'witnesses' who arrived in Albania, they spoke of the massacre of 22,000 people by the troops of Milosevic. Later, when the Nato troops entered, they spoke of 11,000 dead. Later they started to talk of 9,000, but I believe they will arrive at a much lower figure."

<P> There never was a genocide in Kosovo. It was dishonest and wrong for western leaders to adopt the term in the beginning to give moral authority to the operation. Contrast the stark and emotive language over Kosovo, accompanying intervention, with the inaction of western governments when faced with a real genocide, as in Rwanda. When at least 500,000 people perished in 13 weeks in 1994, the American government forbade its officials to use the word "genocide" because of the moral and legal imperatives attached to it. The extermination continued.

<P> The only point that has ever needed to be made over Kosovo is that Serbian forces were committing atrocities on a scale that had to be stopped militarily because Milosevic was impervious to all forms of diplomatic, economic or moral pressures since the war began early in 1998.

<P> They rounded up and executed young and old men. They murdered children and expelled tens of thousands of people from their villages and then burnt them in a systematic ethnic-cleansing campaign which the tribunal's evidence suggests was planned in advance at a high level. In Kosovo, as in Bosnia, aid workers and journalists came across conduct reminiscent of the holocaust.

<P> Personal observation and the evidence of refugees was much more telling than Nato's dubious information campaign.

<P> A lower death toll, if indeed there is one, which has yet to be proved, does not erase the culpability of the Serbian leadership and its military forces in trying to destroy Kosovo. One western doctor I have talked to can, from her own experience, account for at least 50 deaths, mostly elderly people, women and children.

<P> In Glina, for example, the doctor has a young patient who says 93 people were taken from a convoy. He personally was in a group of 10-15 boys and he escaped. He does not know what happened to the rest, but included in the doctor's list of patients are the female relatives who cannot find the bodies of the 93. Perhaps they are in prison in Serbia. Their relatives would be delighted if they were.

<P> In Kosovo, it was not often necessary for the Serbs to kill masses of people in large-scale massacres, because they could be driven out at speed. Small amounts of terror were horribly effective. But there was also deliberate killing, for example the rounding up of a family who had rented their house to the OSCE, which I know about personally.

<P> Today there is one surviving member of that family. She watched while they were gunned down, including her four children. All of them were under 14 and they clung to her body as the bullets flew. She was then put in a lorry with all the bodies. The Serbs thought she was dead as well, but she managed during the journey to throw herself off the lorry.

<P> So what the Kosovar revisionists may be forgetting, as they bandy about lower death-toll figures, is that the quality and nature of the Serbian attack is more significant than the numbers of dead. How one incident like the murder of that woman's children resonates through her village.

<P> My doctor friend still has five children in hospital undergoing treatment because they managed to survive while the rest of their family was gunned down - 22 people, in all, including the eldest girl's mother, brothers and sisters. They saw it happen in their garden. The dead are buried and they wish the war crimes investigators would come and interview them. It would make some sense of the tragedy and help them come to terms with their loss.

<P> The bottom line in Kosovo has to be that one murder is one murder too many. It is not the size of the figures that matters, but what was done: and that was the murder of civilians.

<P> Nato was wrong to exaggerate as it did. The final death toll will never match its hyperbole. But just because fewer Kosovar Albanians may have been murdered than was originally thought can never mean that we should not pursue the normal course of criminal justice.

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New York Times

October 31, 1999

In Panama, A Party But No Guests

By David E. Sanger

WASHINGTON -- When the United States gave up its colonial ambitions and handed over the Philippines to the Filipinos in 1946, Harry S. Truman sent the living symbol of American power in the Pacific -- Gen. Douglas MacArthur -- to do the deed. When Richard M. Nixon returned Okinawa to Japan 30 years ago, he dispatched a man capable of teaching even Japanese politicians a thing or two about mixing business and politics: Vice President Spiro Agnew.

So here's the delicate diplomatic question of the moment for President Clinton: Who will lead the American delegation to the formal handover of the Panama Canal in December?

It's a good bet that Vice President Al Gore can think of better ways to occupy his time than posing for a photo-op surrendering the canal and the huge American military installations around it.

Some in the White House have mused about sending Jimmy Carter. After all, he was the President who signed the two treaties in 1978 to hand back the canal zone after 96 years -- and the one who assured the world that if things go bad in Panama, the American military still has the unilateral right to regain control.

When Panama's new President, Mireya Moscoso, visited Clinton recently t

o urge him to show up himself for the ceremony, Clinton said he was still thinking about it. (The Panamanians want to hold the ceremony in mid-December, after belatedly realizing that on the actual date of the transfer -- Dec. 31 -- people around the world will be busy with other celebrations.)

<P> "I think it's fair to say there's some ambivalence around here about whether the President should go," one White House official said. It's no surprise. Giving up territory is never exactly popular; Queen Elizabeth stayed as far away from Hong Kong as possible during the handover to China in 1997, sending Prince Charles instead.

<P> But in the case of Panama, the pain of surrendering 364,000 acres is eased by the fact that the main argument made by opponents of the treaty in 1978 -- that America was paving the way for Communist naval power to be extended out from Cuba -- seems a bit farfetched today.

<P> Nonetheless, there is suddenly talk in the Senate of new threats to the canal, which handles five percent of world trade. Isn't Fidel Castro still in the neighborhood? And a host of conservative lawmakers have complained that the Hong Kong-owned company that runs the canal's container ports, where cargo is handled on the Atlantic and Pacific sides, could help China seize control of the canal. Congress just finished hearings on the issue, replete with testimony from the Central Intelligence Agency.

<P> "Cuba and China have strong economic interests in Panama, but do not pose a threat to the security of the canal at this time," Gen. Charles Wilhelm, chief of the U.S. Southern Command, told a Senate committee. In fact, the Pentagon doubts the Chinese have the naval power to take Taiwan, a bit closer to its shores.

<P> So are the Panamanians thrilled with how the handover has worked out? Not exactly. Some politicians in Panama were clearly hoping that the United States would pay big money to lease back the bases, a business strategy that didn't count on the end of the cold war.

<P> After lengthy negotiations, the Clinton Administration said no thanks. So that leaves Panama with a canal that is expensive to run and a big party in December -- to which Washington has yet to send an R.S.V.P.

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<P>Washington Times

October 30, 1999

Pg. 12

<P>Focus On Croatia

<P>By Georgie Anne Geyer

<P> ZAGREB, Croatia - One might think this beautiful little nation would deserve some congratulations from the world. It was the 4.5 million people of Croatia, with nobody behind them, who fought the Serbs to a standstill in 1995, thus saving themselves and Bosnia as well. It is the Croatians who have welcomed back 65,000 Serbs to the Krajina area and cooperated with the war crimes tribunal in The Hague.

<P> Yet something odd and deeply disturbing is happening here. As the murderer Slobodan Milosevic hunkers down once more in Belgrade - making himself, as always, so peskily unaccommodating to the international organizations - those organizations have turned their "attentions" to Croatia.

<P> Vukovar, the once-glorious German baroque city in Eastern Croatia, lies in grotesque ruins from the Serb onslaught in the fall of 1991. But one plot of land is spanking clean and neat: This is the Serb cemetery, built by the brutal attackers for their "fallen." The monuments of marble graves have atop them, in stone, the hats of the hated World War II Serb Chetnik fighters.

<P> Despite the Serb destruction and despite the fact that the Serbs brashly blew up a group of Croat houses to build the cemetery, the Croats, who won back the area in 1995, are not permitted to remove the offensive monuments. That

is because international organizations such as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, or OECD, have deemed that nothing should be changed for at least five years.

<P> In that same spirit, the Serbs changed the name of one of Vukovar's lovely old avenues from the name of a Croatian leader to the name of his assassin. That cannot be changed, either.

<P> In Zagreb, there have been an abnormal number of suicides of young Croatian soldiers who fought in the Croatian-Serbian war of 1995, an effort that was derided by all the Western nations (including the United States) until the Croats rolled right over the Serbs, thus essentially ending the war. At first, social scientists couldn't understand this.

<P> "They were unique volunteers in Croatian history," Professor Slavica Letica, a respected Croatian writer and intellectual, told me. "They believed they were fighting a noble war for Croatia. But the only thing they've got was threats from The Hague, and from people who could not differentiate between justice and war crimes."

<P> And, indeed, one can feel it everywhere here: The Croats are the ones now often blamed by the international organizations for being too aggressive. There are constant rumors, which drive the government quite mad, that Croatian generals from the Krajina war might be indicted by The Hague (even though their war was clearly fought only to defeat the Serb aggressors).

<P> One leading American diplomat told me this is in part because many of the foreign diplomats and workers came here only in 1995, saw the Croatian attack and did not know the history of how determinedly the Serbs began the war.

<P> But then we are dealing here with an international-institution mentality that calls the Serb onslaught, which took as many as 250,000 innocent Croatian and Bosnian lives, a "conflict." To call it an "aggression" is not considered pleasant. When the Croats mention finding the bodies of their loved ones in order to have "justice," that is considered "Croat-centric."

<P> This new free-floating international mentality prides itself on being, above all, "nonjudgmental" and that talks constantly of "reconciliation" as though it were as simple as having the right thoughts.

<P> These infantile - and dangerous - new modes of thinking became evident to me when I covered the Bosnian wars between 1991 and 1995. The U.N. workers then, and now the OECD, always wanted, as they told me, "the atrocities to be balanced." In short, they did not want to have to find one side innocent, one side guilty.

<P> One perspicacious American diplomat told me in 1993, "What we are seeing here is the Stockholm syndrome all over again." He recalled the incident in Sweden in the early '70s, when several young Swedish women were taken hostage by terrorists. When they were released, everyone was stunned to find them in love with their attackers. This is very much what was happening here during that period when Serb power was admired by an alarmingly large number of Westerners.

<P> Thoughtful people like Professor Letica see these supposedly well-meaning foreigners, who are now often setting down the principles for international governance in foreign crises from Croatia to Indonesia to Rwanda, with their alphabet soup of organizations, as "postnational" human beings, or "ciphers with no emotions." To them, people who still have emotions, and who still talk in terms of right and wrong, good and evil, nation and patriotism, are "tribal." Emotions and patriotism are retrograde; borders like those fearsome ones in the Balkans are unfashionable. These are the men and women of a borderless world.

<P> The Croatians say: "We believe that truth and justice are the only criteria under which we can return to normal life; therefore, we have to find the bodies of our slain compatriots and the perpetrators need to be punished." But the international institution mentality sniffs that such excavations would be a "provocation" to the Serbs and therefore a threat to "reconciliation."

<P> In the end, then, by being so nonjudgmental, the OECD makes the most horrible judgment of all. By judging that human justice does not exist and that there were no aggressors, but only conflict, it takes the side of the killers. That is not neutrality.

<I><P> Georgie Anne Geyer is a nationally syndicated columnist.</I>


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<P>Washington Times

October 30, 1999

Pg. 12

<P>Will Panama Be The Biggest Blast Of Y2K?

<P>By Phyllis Schlafly

<P> While many Americans are making party plans to celebrate Y2K on New Year's Eve, Panamanian officials are lobbying to get President Clinton or Vice President Al Gore to attend their unique Y2K revelry. That's the day when the U.S. flag over the Panama Canal will be lowered for the last time as we abandon ownership of one of the most valuable pieces of real estate in the world.

<P> If Mr. Clinton and Mr. Gore are smart, they will stay as far away as possible from the Panama Canal, because the festivities will be a photo-op reminder of the foolish legacy of the Carter administration. It was the Carter-Torrijos Panama Treaties of 1978 that put Dec. 31, 1999, in the history books as the date when the Panamanians take over our Canal.

<P> Maybe former President Jimmy Carter will attend. After all, he was principally responsible for persuading the U.S. Senate, by one vote, to give away this great strategic U.S.-built waterway.

<P> Rumors have been floating that the Panamanians have also invited Fidel Castro to attend. It would be fitting that he join the merrymaking because it was Mr. Castro who thumbed his nose at the Monroe Doctrine when he allowed Soviet missiles to be stationed in Cuba in 1962.

<P> The Monroe Doctrine enunciated the U.S. policy that it is "dangerous to our peace and safety" for any foreign power to extend its system to the Western Hemisphere. In 1962, we were worried about the Soviet Union's nuclear missiles deployed to Cuba; in 1999, we face the possibility China may put its nuclear missiles in Panama for a possible blackmail threat about Taiwan.

<P> This danger comes from the fact Panama has granted a Chinese "front" 50-year leases to occupy the U.S.-built ports of Cristobal on the Atlantic end of the canal and Balboa on the Pacific end.

<P> Rather than addressing the real arguments, Mr. Clinton had his spokesman Joe Lockhart call these concerns "silly stuff," and had an unnamed White House official assert the Chinese corporation holding the leases "is a legitimate company." But, as the Cox report showed, the Chinese have totally integrated military and industrial operations under policies established by the late Deng Xiaoping.

<P> Immense pressures are working to close our eyes to the national security danger from the Panama-China leases. Mr. Clinton doesn't dare upset the Chinese with whom he has suspect political and financial ties, and too many senior Republicans are committed to the fantasy China is just a trading partner, not a potential enemy.

<P> Contrary to what we are led to believe, the Panama Canal giveaway is not a "done deal." Here are some constructive steps we can take.

<P> (1) Renounce or renegotiate the Panama Canal Treaties in light of new evidence the United States and Panama did not ratify the same text. The DeConcini Reservation, which was added to get the treaty through the Senate, gave us the unilateral right to intervene in Panama if we believe the canal is threatened

<P> Mr. Carter hid from the American people the fact that Panama ratified the treaty without our reservation. Panama's version contains a three-paragraph counterreservation, never submitted to the U.S. Senate, that requires Panama's "cooperation" before we try to defend the canal.

<P> Another reason to renounce the treaty is that Panama's Law No. 5 violated the Panama Canal treaties over and over again. The Panama Canal treaties can also be declared void because of "changing circumstances" as authorized by Article 62 of the 1969 Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties.

<P> (2) Demand that Panama nullify the lease agreements granted to the Chinese and initiate a new bidding process that is open and fair. No one should be bound by the current agreements because the process was corrupt and discriminatory against a U.S. company.

<P> (3) Exercise our rights under the 1978 Panama treaties to protect and defend the canal beyond the year 2000. Halt any more transfers of U.S. military installations, including Howard Air Force Base, the most important U.S. base south of the Rio Grande; Rodman Naval Station, a deep-draft port capable of logistic support for any warship; and Fort Sherman, the only base in the world specializing in jungle warfare and survivor training.

<P> Depending on Panama to defend the canal against China's aggressive acts , or against the Colombian drug cartel, is a bad joke. Panama has no army, navy or air force, and the country's police are completely unable to defend the canal against sabotage or terrorism by narcotics-funded forces already coming in from Colombia.

<P> Former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs Adm. Thomas Moorer told the U.S. Senate that "we are on what I consider to be a collision course with disaster in the very near future. . . . I truly can't remember a time when I have been more concerned about the security of the country."

<P> Panama has a new government and frequent polls show a majority of Panamanians support a continued U.S. military presence. Time is running out to do something to stop China from establishing its threatening beachhead in the Western Hemisphere.

<I><P> Phyllis Schlafly is a lawyer and conservative political analyst.</I>

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<P>San Diego Union-Tribune

October 29, 1999

<P>Was It Counterterrorism Or Subterfuge?

<P>By Joseph Perkins, The San Diego Union-Tribune

<P> Dan Coats was right. The now-retired senator was one of the very few members of Congress, Democrat or Republican, to question the cruise missile attack President Clinton hastily ordered 14 months ago against purported "terrorist installations" in Sudan and Afghanistan.

<P> Now comes a special report, published this week by The New York Times, that casts serious doubts upon the Clinton administration's claim that the pharmaceutical plant destroyed in Sudan was a secret chemical weapons factory financed by Osama bin Laden, the shadowy Saudi figure said to be responsible for blowing up the American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.

<P> The report also reveals that senior administration officials, up to and including the president, ignored the counsel of intelligence analysts who concluded that there was insufficient evidence to justify the bombing of the Al Shifa plant in Sudan.

<P> Coats, a two-term Indiana Republican, found the timing of the missile strikes suspicious, inasmuch as they were carried out a mere three days after the president confessed to a sexual relationship with the White House intern Monica Lewinsky.

<P> The president's track record, said Coats, "raises into doubt everything he does and everything he says, and maybe everything he doesn't do and doesn't say."

<P> Coats' remarks were dismissed by the president's White House apparatchiks and his Democratic loyalists on Capitol Hill as partisanship of the most virulent order.

<P> How dare the Republican senator question Clinton's motive when, as Defense Secretary William Cohen said, the commander in chief was acting upon his duty to "defend U.S. citizens and interests abroad against the very real threat posed by international terrorists."

<P> But had Clinton not been embroiled in a sex scandal that threatened to bring his presidency down in disgrace, were he not obviously eager to change the sensational subject that everyone in America was talking about at the time, would he have been in such great haste to bomb the Al Shifa plant.

<P> Or might he have asked Secretary Cohen, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, CIA Director George Tenet and other senior administration officials to come up with far more substantial evidence that the plant really was involved with

h chemical weapons, really was bankrolled by bin Laden, before ordering a missile attack that killed one innocent person and wounded seven others?

<P> As it was, the pretexts for bombing Al Shifa were rather dubious. The administration said it had obtained a soil sample from the plant that was found to contain two and a half times the normal trace amounts of EMPTA, a chemical used in the production of nerve gas.

<P> Administration officials also said that they had seen "no products that are sold out of this facility" and that the factory "has a secured perimeter and is patrolled by the Sudanese military."

<P> Well, as it turned out, the soil sample was not actually collected on Al Shifa's grounds -- located in an industrial area of Khartoum -- but on land across the road from the plant (and it wasn't Al Shifa's property).

<P> And even if the sample was from Al Shifa, the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, the international agency overseeing the treaty banning chemical weapons, said that EMPTA could be used for "legitimate commercial purposes."

<P> In fact, the chemical structure bears resemblance to that of an agricultural insecticide, FONOPOS, which is commercially available in Africa.

<P> As to claims that Al Shifa produced no products and was heavily fortified by Sudan's military, reporters who visited the bombed-out facility right after missile attack saw bottles of medicine and no signs whatsoever of a military presence.

<P> Finally, as to the alleged link with the terrorist bin Laden, the Al Shifa plant was actually owned by a Sudanese businessman, Salah Idris. After the missile attack, Clinton had the Treasury Department's Office of Foreign Assets Control freeze his accounts at Bank of America branches in London and in the Channel Islands while, presumably, the administration tried to find a paper trail linking the pharmaceutical plant's owner to bin Laden.

<P> Idris promptly filed suit against the administration, and just before the administration's response was due in court, this past May, the Treasury Department agreed to release his assets. So, obviously, the administration turned up no evidence that the Sudanese businessman was somehow fronting for bin Laden.

<P> It is possible that Clinton's decision to bomb the Al Shifa plant in Sudan was an honest (albeit deadly and destructive) mistake that had absolutely nothing to do with his White House sex scandal.

<P> But to believe that is to give the president the benefit of the doubt. And as Dan Coats said 14 months ago, Clinton doesn't deserve it.


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<P>Washington Times

October 29, 1999

Pg. 19

<P>'Something Wicked This Way Comes'

<P>By Ed Timperlake and William Triplett II

<P> A sailor standing watch with the U.S. 7th Fleet in the South China Sea may soon have reason to remember his Shakespeare. Because in the near future "something wicked this way comes" - a Sovremenny class Russian Destroyer flying the naval battle flag of the People's Republic of China. The first of two nuclear-capable warships is scheduled to be commissioned in the People's Liberation Army Navy's (PLAN) fleet on Dec. 25. Merry Christmas.

<P> Let there be no doubt, in a conventional tactical situation the U.S. Navy can sink any ship, any fleet day or night, in any weather around the globe.

This is the capability of the most powerful nation in the world. The only question is how many casualties are the commander in chief, the U.S. Congress and the American public prepared to accept if a crisis comes. With the PRC acquisition of two Sovremennys the "butchers bill" for the 7th Fleet to defend Taiwan if the People's Republic of China attacks becomes much higher and there is an immediate shift to potential nuclear war at sea or worse.

<P> A visitor to a Sovremenny notes immediately that he may suffer a bad fall over tracks on the deck for rolling sea mines off the stern. But the PLAN didn't spend a billion dollars for a mine-layer. Rather the ship has one simple mission strike first. It's mission kill or die (probably both). The Destroyer is pure non-stealth offensive fire power. According to Jane's, the class has the capability for eight nuclear-tipped SS-N-22 Sunburn anti-ship missiles, four 130 mm guns, and nuclear-armed wake-homing torpedoes.

<P> The Sovremenny and its SS-N-22 missile system were designed by the old Soviet Union to do one thing: kill American aircraft carriers and Aegis-class cruisers. The SS-N-22 missile skims the surface at two-and-a-half times the speed of sound until just before impact, when it lifts up and heads straight down into the target's deck. In addition to the nuclear warhead it can also be fitted with a high-explosive version that may also sink an aircraft carrier or Aegis cruiser.

<P> It is the nuclear option that will give defense planners the most concern. The SS-N-22 200-kiloton nuclear warhead has almost 20 times the explosive power of the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima, and the U.S. Navy has no completely effective defense against this weapon. Eight nuclear-tipped Sunburns fired in a barrage at an aircraft carrier battle group would result in the immediate death of thousands of American sailors and onboard marines. It is unlikely anyone would survive.

<P> Thus the balance of power in the Pacific is shifting because in the hands of the PLAN the Sovremenny becomes a very credible high-stakes deterrent. The message to the U.S. Navy is clear: Stay away. As retired Rear Adm. Eric McVadon, former U.S. defense attache in Beijing stated, "It's enough to make the U.S. 7th Fleet think twice"

<P> The immediate question for America's commander in chief is what to do about these nuclear-capable destroyers in the event of a PRC military move on Taiwan. We are well aware that the Navy's attack submarine fleet could quickly take out a PLAN Sovremenny. The question is who will get off the first shot. The military decision to sink the Sovremennys is not so simple because it is not beyond the PRC leadership to simply declare the two Sovremennys as "strategic assets" similar to America's Trident Fleet of submarines.

<P> In the beginning of a PRC military move against Taiwan, which the PRC views as an internal domestic matter the PLAN can station the two warships at sea as a "strategic deterrent" for protecting their homeland. Then at the commence

ement of combat action against Taiwan the PRC leadership informs the U.S. State Department to have America stay out of the conflict. Regardless of all the war-gaming and planning, such a move could paralyze America's national command authority because an attack on a "strategic system" is seen as a very strong precursor to nuclear World War III. Tragically, time is against Taiwan if the U.S. doesn't rush to its military assistance.

<P> Is the PRC capable of making nuclear threats over Taiwan? Well, remember with even less military credibility during the 1995 Taiwan/ PRC crisis the PLA's chief spymaster Gen. Xiong Guanki, already infamous for his role in the Tiananmen Square massacre, threatened the United States with attack. Gen. Xiong sent a thinly veiled threat that American officials "care more about Los Angeles than they do about Taiwan." Backing up the Sovremenny's deterrence against 7th Fleet involvement is a real possibility.

<P> Thus, the Sovremenny sale by Russia becomes very significant. Also note that a Russian Sovremenny Surface Action force made an Oct. 1 friendship call to Shanghai to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the founding of communist China. This was not widely reported in the Western press. And it was just announced that joint Russian Navy/PLAN combat training will be held in the year 2000.

<P> We must conclude that highly capable, well-trained naval assets will soon be in the hands of the PRC, and the balance of power in the Pacific will continue to shift away from America.

<I><P> Ed Timperlake and William C. Triplett II are co-authors of the just released book, "Red Dragon Rising, Communist China's Military Threat to America."


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<P>Los Angeles Times

October 29, 1999

Pg. B9

<P>Where's The Evidence Of Genocide Of Kosovar Albanians?

<I><P>Yugoslavia: Uncertainties Are Immense, But Body Counts Still Don't Show Extermination Plan</I>.

<P>By Alexander Cockburn

<P> So, is there serious evidence of a Serbian campaign of genocide in Kosovo? It's an important issue because the NATO powers, fortified by a chorus from the liberal intelligentsia, flourished the charge of genocide as justification for bombing that destroyed much of Serbia's economy and killed about 2,000 civilians.

<P> Whatever horrors they may have been planning, the Serbs were not engaged in genocidal activities in Kosovo before the bombing began. They were fighting a separatist movement, led by the Kosovo Liberation Army, and behaving with the brutality typical of security forces. One common estimate of the number of Kosovar Albanians killed in the year before the bombing is 2,500. With NATO's bombing came the flights and expulsions and charges that the Serbs were accelerating a genocidal plan; in some accounts, as many as 100,000 were already dead. An alternative assessment was that NATO's bombing was largely to blame for the expulsions and killings.

<P> After the war was over, on June 25, President Clinton told a White House news conference that tens of thousands of people had been killed in Kosovo on Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic's orders. A week before came the statement from Geoff Hoon of the British Foreign Office that, according to reports, mostly from refugees, it appeared that about 10,000 Kosovar Albanians had been killed in more than 100 massacres.

<P> Of course, the U.S. and British governments had an obvious motive in painting as horrifying a picture as possible of what the Serbs had been up to, since the bombing had come under increasingly fierce attack, with rifts in the NATO alliance.

<P> The NATO powers had plenty of reasons to rush charges of genocide into the headlines. For one thing, it was becoming embarrassingly clear that the bombing had inflicted no significant damage on the Serbian army. All the more reason, therefore, to propose that the Serbs, civilians as well as soldiers, were collectively guilty of genocide and thus deserved everything they got.

<P> Teams of forensic investigators from 15 nations, including a detachment from the FBI, have been at work since June and have examined about 150 of 400 sites of alleged mass murder.

<P> There's still immense uncertainty, but at this point it's plain that there are not enough bodies to warrant the claim that the Serbs had a program of extermination. The FBI team has made two trips to Kosovo and investigated 30 sites containing nearly 200 bodies.

<P> In early October, the Spanish newspaper El Pais reported what the Spanish forensic team had found in its appointed zone in northern Kosovo. The U.N. figures, said Perez Pujol, director of the Instituto Anatomico Forense de Cartagena, began with 44,000 dead, dropped to 22,000 and now stand at 11,000. He and his fellows were prepared to perform at least 2,000 autopsies in their zone. So far, they've found 187 corpses.

<P> A colleague of Pujol, Juan Lopez Palafox, told El Pais that he had the impression that the Serbs had given families the option of leaving. If they refused or came back, they were killed. Like any murder of civilians, these were war crimes, just as any mass grave, whatever the number of bodies, indicates a massacre. But genocide?

<P> One persistent story held that 700 Kosovars had been dumped in the Trepcan lead and zinc mines. On Oct. 12, Kelly Moore, a spokeswoman for the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia, announced that the investigators had found absolutely nothing. There was a mass grave allegedly containing 350 bodies in Ljubenic that turned out to hold seven. In Pusto Selo, villagers said 106 had been killed by the Serbs, and NATO rushed out satellite photos of mass graves. Nothing to buttress that charge has yet been found. Another 82 Kosovars allegedly were killed in Kraljan. No bodies have been turned up.

<P> Although surely by now investigators would have been pointed to all probable sites, it's conceivable that thousands of Kosovar corpses await discovery. As matters stand, though, the number of bodies turned up by the tribunal's teams is in the hundreds, not thousands, which tends to confirm the view of those who hold that NATO bombing provoked a wave of Serbian killings and expulsions, but that there was and is no hard evidence of a genocidal program.

<P> Count another victory for the Big Lie. Meanwhile, the normally reliable Society for Endangered People in Germany says 90,000 Gypsies have been force

d to flee since the Serbs left Kosovo, with the KLA conducting ethnic cleansing on a grand scale. But who cares about Gypsies?

<P> <I> Alexander Cockburn writes for the Nation and other publications
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<P>Washington Times

October 29, 1999

Pg. 18

<P>Anatomy Of A Massacre

<P>By David Satter

<P> MOSCOW - It is hard to imagine a tragedy more fortuitous for the present Russian government than the bombings last month of apartment buildings in Moscow, Buinaksk and Volgodonsk.

<P> With the Yeltsin government enjoying the support of 2 percent of the population and many members of the Yeltsin political family threatened with the loss of their wealth or prison once Boris Yeltsin leaves his post, the explosion

s united the country in support for a military campaign against Chechnya. The early success of this campaign, in turn, has led to a sharp rise in the popularity of Prime Minister Vladimir Putin, the man Mr. Yeltsin wants to succeed him. It has also created the conditions for declaring a state of emergency in the country and canceling the presidential elections.

<P> These advantages may be purely coincidental. After all, it is hard to believe the leaders of any country would seek to achieve their political ends by blowing up nearly 300 of their own citizens. As the investigation into the bombing progresses, however, the possibility that bombings were planned by elements of the Russian leadership becomes more plausible not only because they were so politically useful but also because the official version - that they were exclusively the work of Chechen terrorists - makes increasingly less sense.

<P> According to persons close to the investigation, the four bombings, which were carried out in a two-week period, all had the same "handwriting," as attested to by the nature of the destruction, the way the buildings' concrete panels collapsed and the volume of the blast. In each case, the explosive was hexogen, a critical component in a new generation of Russian artillery shells. The bombs in three cases were placed in basements (in Volgodonsk, in a truck) and all four were set to go off in the middle of the night to kill as many people as possible.

<P> To do what they are accused of having done without expert assistance, Chechen terrorists would have needed the ability to organize nine explosions (the four that took place and the five that the Russian authorities claim to have prevented) in widely separated cities in the space of two weeks. They also would have had to be able to act with lightning speed. In the case of the bombing on Kashirskoye Highway, the police checked the basement where the bomb was placed three hours before the blast.

<P> In addition, the Chechen terrorists would have needed the ability to penetrate top secret Russian military factories. Investigators believe each bomb contained 200 to 300 kilograms of hexogen of Russian manufacture. Hexogen is produced in Russia in only one factory, which is located in the Perm Oblast. Its distribution from there is tightly controlled. Despite this, the presumed Chechen terrorists were able to transport tons of hexogen to locations all over Russia.

<P> Finally, Chechen terrorists, if they acted alone, would have had to demonstrate technical virtuosity. In Moscow, the bomb on Gurianov Street caused an entire stairway to collapse. On Kashirskoye Highway, an eight-story brick building was reduced to rubble. In Volgodonsk, the truck bomb, which killed 17 people, also damaged 37 buildings in the surrounding area.

<P> To achieve this type of result, the explosives had to be carefully measured and planted. In the case of the Moscow apartment bombings, they had to be placed to destroy the weakest, critical structural elements so each of the build

dings would collapse "like a house of cards." Such careful calculations are the mark of skilled specialists and the only places where such specialists are trained in Russia are the army spetsnaz forces, military intelligence and the Federal Security Bureau.

<P> As it presses its second Chechen campaign, the Russian government has been careful to depict itself as a victim of international terrorism.

<P> The West, however, should use extreme caution in accepting the Russian version of events. The bombing of Russian civilian apartment buildings by Chechen terrorists, if it did occur, would not necessarily justify the invasion of Chechnya but the bombing of Russian civilians by their own government would be a certain sign that both Russia and the West face serious dangers from the lengths to which some members of the present regime may go to protect the corrupt Yeltsin government.

<I><P> David Satter is a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute and a visiting scholar at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). He is the author of "Age of Delirium: The Decline and Fall of the Soviet Union" (Knopf).</I>


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<P>Fort Lauderdale (FL) Sun-Sentinel

October 28, 1999

U.S. Should Examine Basis Of Righteous Wrath

By Kingsley Guy, Editorial Page Editor

After reading about Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's condemnation of the Russians for their attacks on insurgents in Chechnya, which have caused civilian casualties, I looked up the definition of "hypocrisy."

According to Mr. Webster, hypocrisy is: "The false assumption of the appearance of virtue . . ."

"Does the definition apply to Albright?" I asked myself. "Probably not," I decided, since it implies the person practicing hypocrisy knows better and is only feigning righteousness.

Albright isn't feigning anything. I think she actually believes in her righteousness, as do a lot of other Americans in high places who are quick to condemn others for their actions, but are unwilling to examine their own. No, Albright isn't a hypocrite.

She just doesn't have a clue.

America's secretary of State, if you recall, was one of the engineers of the NATO air war against Yugoslavia. When it became obvious NATO could not accomplish its objective of halting "ethnic cleansing" in the province of Kosovo by bombing Serbian military targets, NATO leaders decided to bomb Serbian civilian targets.

Taking the war to the home front eventually caused the Serbs to capitulate, but the price was high in lost civilian lives. It also was high in lost civilian jobs, and depriving people of a way to make a living can kill, too.

Every time a wayward NATO bomb or missile caused death and injury to civilians in Yugoslavia, a NATO spokesman would appear on television not to apologize, but to say civilian casualties are a regrettable byproduct of war.

It's easy to agree that war is hell. But if it's acceptable for United States forces to accidentally kill civilians in a military operation, why isn't it acceptable for the Russians to do the same? Are we so morally superior to the Russians, Mrs. Albright, that we have the right to kill civilians but they don't?

<P> American officials also are quick to condemn the Indians and Pakistanis for their nuclear programs, but the U.S. Senate just refused to ratify an underground nuclear test ban treaty.

<P> Americans chastise the Chinese, too, for pointing a few nuclear weapons at us, but the United States has been rattling its nuclear saber at China for the last half century. The United States maintains a strategic nuclear arsenal of 6,000 warheads, which is more than a hundred times larger than China's.

<P> The Russian Duma was about ready to ratify the START II treaty at the end of last year. The U.S. Senate undoubtedly would have followed suit. Then serious discussions could have begun on reducing nuclear arsenals to 3,000 warheads for each side, or fewer.

<P> But just before the Duma vote, the United States launched a major bombing campaign against Iraq, causing the Duma to postpone action.. The Duma was about to approve the treaty a second time when NATO launched its Yugoslavian campaign. What timing!

<P> The United States outspends the Russians in defense by a factor of 4:1. Add the military spending of our NATO allies into the equation, and the West outspends the Russians by about 8:1. The military spending of the United States alone is nearly eight times greater than China's, and it is about 200 times greater than the combined spending of the so-called "rogue states."

<P> American military budgets are huge, and the politicians are clamoring for more -- particularly if the money can be spent in their home states and districts to manufacture weapons the generals and admirals sometimes don't even want.

<P> It's especially frightening to contemplate that all the nation's military might can be employed at the will and the whim of one person, the president of the United States.

<P> Certainly, there are emergencies when the president has to dispatch troops quickly to defend the nation or its vital interests, but Yugoslavia wasn't one of them. There was plenty of time for Bill Clinton to try to gather congressional authorization for military action, as President George Bush did before launching the Gulf War. Clinton didn't seriously try for the authorization because he knew he couldn't obtain it, so he acted on his own.

<P> There's a word that begins with a "d" for a form of government where a single person can exercise such unfettered power, and it's not "democracy."

<P> It's time for Albright, President Clinton, the Congress and the American people to focus their attention not outward, but inward for a while, and to engage in some serious introspection. It's time to ask if the course America has been charting as the world's only superpower truly is a righteous one, or whether the nation is in a state of denial.

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<P>Minneapolis Star Tribune

October 31, 1999

<P>In Favor Of Arms Control, But Opposed To Test Ban Treaty

<P> While not surprised the Star Tribune took a position different from mine on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), I was disappointed that it used the occasion to mischaracterize my support of arms control (editorial, Oct. 17).

<P> The goal of achieving arms control is one of utmost importance. I supported the START II Treaty, the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Flank Agreement, and the Convention on Nuclear Safety because they all advanced our national security interests. I opposed the CTBT because it did not, and because it was unlikely to achieve its goals.

<P> The CTBT would undermine the safety and reliability of our nuclear arsenal, as it is both unverifiable and unenforceable. For these reasons, the CTBT was also opposed by representatives from both Democratic and Republican administrations, including six former secretaries of defense, four former CIA directors, four former National Security Agency directors and two former joint chiefs of staff (including Minnesota's Gen. John Vessey Jr.). These experts found the CTBT a detriment to the safety and welfare of the American people. Even traditional arms control advocates such as Henry Kissinger and Sen. Richard Lugar opposed this treaty; Lugar stated that the CTBT was such a poor treaty that its ratification "could risk undermining support and confidence in the concept of multilateral arms control."

<P> In contrast, I am aware of only one former Cabinet official who came out in support of the Star Tribune's position on the CTBT.

<P> Today, any nondeclared nuclear country that tests has already violated the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Foreign policy experts like John Deutch and Brent Scowcroft recognize that "no serious person should believe that rogue nations such as Iran or Iraq will give up their efforts to acquire nuclear weapons if only the United States ratifies the CTBT."

<P> I hope there will be a workable test ban treaty I can support in the future. Unfortunately, this was not the one.

<P>U.S. Sen. Rod Grams, R-Minn., Washington, D.C.

<P>Editor's Note: The editorial referred to appeared in the <I>Current News Supplement</I>, October 20, 1999.


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<P>New York Times

October 30, 1999

<P>Policy By Coercion

<P> To the Editor: William Kristol and Robert Kagan (Op-Ed, Oct. 25) argue that "American dominance can be sustained for many decades to come, not by arms control agreements, but by augmenting America's power and, therefore, its ability to lead."

<P> What Mr. Kristol and Mr. Kagan are really talking about is not the ability to lead but the ability to coerce. Moreover, they fail to say what happens after many decades when our ability to coerce fails. No country, not even the United States, is wealthy enough to sustain global military dominance indefinitely.

<P> We have a historic opportunity to make major advances in relations between nations. Would it not be wise for the us to seize this opportunity and exercise true leadership by moving the world away from confrontation and toward a cooperative global security system?

<P>Eugene Carroll, Washington, Oct. 27, 1999

<I>The writer is deputy director of the Center for Defense Information.

</I><P>Editor's Note: The op-ed referred to appeared in the <I>Current News Supplement</I>, October 25, 1999.

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<P>New York Times

October 31, 1999

<P>Isolationism's Return

<P> Isolationism -- the notion that American interests are best served by minimal involvement in foreign affairs and alliances -- has been a recurrent issue in American political debate. The issue has now resurfaced with surprising passion, with President Clinton, Vice President Al Gore and their senior advisers joining in an attack on those they call the "new isolationists." Their main targets are the senators who voted to kill the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, but lately their ire has expanded to include almost anyone who has opposed military intervention in Kosovo, full financing of foreign aid and the repayment of America's \$1 billion debt to the United Nations. For their part, Republicans have accused the White House of caricaturing honest differences of opinion on complicated issues.

<P> This is the kind of exchange that can either degenerate into partisan name-calling or add something useful to what could be a healthy debate over America's role in the world as it approaches a new administration, not to mention a new millennium. The early signs are not reassuring. The White House argument -- that the test-ban vote proves that the G.O.P. has been hijacked by America Firsters -- ignores the fact that those voting no included such principled Republican internationalists as Senators Richard Lugar of Indiana and Olympia Snowe of Maine. The argument from some Republicans -- that the White House's squishy internationalism would make America hostage to utopian and unenforceable treaties -- is similarly overdrawn.

<P> Historically, isolationism has taken different forms. But only once -- the years following the post-World War I decision not to join the League of Nations -- has it taken root for any length of time. Since then, isolationism has been regularly trumped by the pressure of world events. Pearl Harbor undercut the most virulent America Firsters, while the need for postwar reconstruction and the onset of the cold war trumped the opposition of Senator Robert Taft and other isolationist Republicans to multilateral institutions like the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and NATO.

<P> The collapse of the Soviet Union, however, has created uncertainties about America's global role and given life to two quite different forms of isolationism. One is Patrick Buchanan's, a blend of nativism and protectionism that rests partly on a fearful assessment of America's ability to compete in a global economy. The other derives not from the insecurities that afflict Mr. Buchanan but, conversely, from a supreme self-confidence that America can go it alone, that its wealth and military power make international treaties unnecessary. This is the smug and shortsighted isolationism of the Republican Congressional leadership, people like Trent Lott and Dick Armey.

<P> This Republican insularity on Capitol Hill is all the more striking given that the leading Republican Presidential candidates, George W. Bush and John McCain, are both internationalists, as are Bill Bradley and Mr. Gore on the Democratic side. With the Congressional leadership frozen in place, the presidential campaign becomes an important arena for defining what sort of internationalism the United States should embrace, and where and when it should exercise its moral influence, its military power and its economic clout. These are fundamental questions. Today's furor over neo-isolationism will have served a purpose if it forces the leading candidates in both parties to engage them.

<P> Indeed, as a number of analysts have noted, the real threat to America's tradition of global engagement may not be political but generational.

<P> An entire generation, the one just below George W. Bush's, is growing up with no connection to World War II and only the dimmest memories of the cold war. This generation is clearly comfortable with economic engagement abroad. The task for internationalists in both parties will be to make the case for an expansive world view that defines broader diplomatic engagement and leadership by the United States as necessary components of national security and global stability.


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<P>San Antonio Express-News

October 31, 1999

<P>Courts Must Clarify Power To Make War

<P> Since January 1998, while many Americans were preoccupied with President Clinton's soirée into adultery, he has ordered U.S. forces to attack sites in Sudan and Afghanistan, extended the stay of U.S. troops in Bosnia and led the U.S.-NATO offensive in Yugoslavia.

<P> While many wondered "did he or didn't he?", violation of the War Powers Act wasn't the object of the question. It should have been. A more worthy question: Did the president, without congressional approval, send U.S. troops into battle?

<P> Such approval is required by the War Powers Act, but such approval is not always easy and is never quick.

<P> But should the commander in chief send U.S. forces into harm's way without the moral and financial support of the legislative branch?

<P> Thirty-one members of Congress, led by U.S. Rep. Tom Campbell, R-Calif., say no and have filed suit, arguing President Clinton violated the War Powers Act when he engaged U.S. fliers in the war in Kosovo.

<P> Congress passed the act in 1973, a reaction to the long, bloody Vietnam War, which divided households and cost 58,000 American and more than a million Vietnamese lives.

<P> Then-U.S. Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez, D-San Antonio, cited the War Powers Act in trying to impeach Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush. HBG was ignored, but Republicans are pursuing charges against Clinton.

<P> Retired U.S. Rep. Bob Eckhardt, an Austin resident and a co-author of the War Powers Act, contends Reagan violated that law in Grenada, Bush in Panama and Clinton in Somalia and the three offensives above.

<P> No chief executive should bear the burden of sending U.S. forces into combat alone, without congressional approval. And quite clearly, Article I, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution gives the legislative branch the power to declare and finance war.

<P> The Campbell suit is in a federal appellate court now, but should be decided by the Supreme Court.

<P> It is appropriate the third branch of government will decide this grave dispute between the other two.


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<P>Baltimore Sun

October 31, 1999

<P>Turmoil In Caucasus

<I><P>Bloodshed: From Armenia to Chechnya and Georgia, violence engulfs strategic border region.

</I><P> SUDDENLY, the strategic land bridge between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea is in flames. If the situation gets worse -- as is likely -- Russia's security concerns could prompt its greater involvement in the region.

<P> In Armenia, gunmen invaded the parliament, killing the prime minister and seven other top politicians. In Georgia, tensions are palpable before today's parliamentary elections.

<P> Next door in Chechnya, Russian troops are killing anything that moves as they retake the rebellious republic.

<P> Already, Moscow is worried about the pro-Western tilt of Georgia's President Eduard A. Shevardnadze, who pledged this week to apply for NATO membership by 2005. The Shevardnadze announcement came about the same time as a Russian general was expelled for interfering with Georgia's elections.

<P> Relations with Russia have gotten increasingly frosty during Georgia's eight years of independence. Moscow's involvement has been suspected not only in separatist fighting in Abkhazia but also in a recent plot to kill Mr. Shevardnadze. Tensions are expected to continue after today's balloting because Mr. Shevardnadze himself will face re-election in April.

<P> Two main concerns -- Caspian oil and security of a strategic buffer along the Turkish and Iranian border -- drive Moscow's actions.

<P> In deciding to reclaim Chechnya, President Boris N. Yeltsin concluded Russia could not take any further risks with a nominally independent Islamic border state that was spreading terrorism and drawing holy warriors and soldiers of fortune from Afghanistan to Saudi Arabia.

<P> While the Armenian violence seems unconnected with the wider strife, Russia lumps it with other forms of terrorism.

<P> Moscow wasted no time this week in dispatching an anti-terrorism squad and special troops to Armenia, where they remain on standby.

<P> As the extraordinarily brutal Chechnya campaign continues, Russia's preoccupation with its southern border is likely to intensify. Russia's parliamentary election in December as well as next June's presidential election will further escalate demands for toughness and resolute action.

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<P>Boston Globe

October 30, 1999

Pg. 18

<P>The Terrible Truth In Chechnya

<P> The longer the war in Chechnya goes on, the clearer Russian intentions become. This week Kremlin officials and top military officers dropped their pretense of conducting a limited antiterrorist operation. With the confidence that comes from knowing that this time their assault on the Chechens has domestic support, Russia's political and military officials are trumpeting their aim of reconquering the Chechens.

<P> This clarifying of intentions is crucial. It sheds light on Moscow's preparations for the current assault and on Russian war aims.

<P> Since it is clear that the current military campaign had to be planned well in advance of the provocations that were used to justify it, no one should accept the Kremlin line about a retaliation against Chechen bandits. Even if one honors Russia's right to pursue terrorists in Chechnya, Russia's bombing and shelling of Chechen cities and villages leave no doubt that the purpose of the war is not to clean out terrorist nests but to recapture a rebellious region of the northern Caucasus before Russian parliamentary elections in December and the presidential election scheduled for next summer.

<P> Defense Minister Igor Sergeyev could not have been more explicit about Kremlin war aims when he declared Thursday, during a visit to troops in Chechnya: "We have come to never go away."

<P> These are the words of a colonialist reconqueror, and for Chechens they have terrible reverberations. They signify a cruel coda to the czarist military campaigns described in Tolstoy's novella "Hadji Murad" and remind Chechens of Stalin's deportation of nearly the entire population of Chechnya.

<P> Beyond domestic politics and old imperialist reflexes, the war in Chechnya is a Russian attempt to gain control of the pipelines for oil and natural gas from the Caspian Sea. Russia's aggression in Chechnya is the barbaric expression of a kleptocratic state, and US officials should not go on pretending to accept the Kremlin's prattle about a war against terrorism.


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<P>Washington Times

October 30, 1999

Pg. 11

<P>How's Your Emotional Level?

<P> No doubt you'll be happy to learn that your tax dollars have been used, apparently, to teach the principles of Scientology to civilian employees of the United States Navy. According to a retired Navy purchasing manager who has filed a complaint with the Navy's inspector general, the service spent

\$25,000 on a "team building" management course taught by consultant and former Scientologist Edward E. Morler - who appears to have "borrowed heavily" from church teachings to develop his program. according to news accounts of the developing fiasco.

<P> Roger Helbrig, 52, the former Navy purchasing manager, attended one of the courses taught by Mr. Morler and found the course suffused with the jargon of Scientology. For example, Mr. Morler's course uses a scale to measure "Characteristics related to emotional levels," which Mr. Helbrig says is pretty close to Scientology's "Tone Scale." Both Scientology and the Morler course measure "emotional attitudes" and assign them "weights" - such as a 4.0 for "enthusiasm" and a .05 for "apathy." The Navy is investigating the affair but had no specific comment other than to confirm the monies were indeed disbursed.

<P> Irrespective of the source, the fact remains this fuzzy attitude engineering - whether it's fuzzy Scientological attitude engineering or just the generic variety - cost taxpayer dollars. The Navy doesn't dispute that it cut Mr. Morler a check for \$25,000 - a pretty nice chunk of change - demonstrating yet again the attitude of pervasive indifference government (and government bureaucrats) have towards the use of taxpayer dollars. After all, it's only money.

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<P>St. Louis Post-Dispatch

October 29, 1999

<P>Congress Brings Home The Bacon

THE \$268 billion defense spending bill President Bill Clinton grudgingly signed Monday was one of the biggest barrels of pork rolled from Capitol Hill to the White House in recent memory. The bill included \$4.5 billion more in spending than Mr. Clinton requested and \$17.3 billion more than last year's defense budget.

Several factors contributed to the bloat. There was bipartisan consensus that the bombing in the former Yugoslavia, and other international military actions in the past year, warranted an increase in defense spending to replenish equipment and supplies. Those arguments prompted President Clinton for the first time to request an increase in real defense spending.

Some members of Congress used support for a larger military budget as an opportunity to pack more pork into the bill. Among the spending contracts that the Pentagon did not request was \$375 million to begin building helicopter carriers in the home district of Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott, R-Miss. Missouri got some too: \$275 million for five F-15 fighters to be built in St. Louis by Boeing Co. Wisely, Congress decided against giving the Air Force all that it requested for procurement of F-22 stealth fighters, at \$200 million each, unless test planes pass stringent new flight tests.

Ultimately, the consensus for increased spending and the final bill's much-deserved 4.8 percent pay raise for military employees made it politically difficult to sustain a presidential veto.

This rallying around the flag ignores the question of whether the United States really needs to be increasing military spending after the end of the Cold War. The current spending levels are tied to the dubious strategy of being prepared to fight two major wars almost simultaneously while still carrying out smaller missions such as peacekeeping. It is vital that the United States maintain its military superiority. But some defense experts have questioned whether the two-war scenario is even plausible.

Under U.S. budget caps, the hike in defense dollars means more will have to be cut from the domestic budget. Military spending will consume a greater percentage of our discretionary budget, reversing the downward trend that began in the late '80s. Lawmakers will not be able to justify continued defense increases at the cost of education, technology, housing and transportation spending.

To some extent, the fight to pack pork into the defense bill is a normal prelude to the 2000 elections. Mr. Lott, for example, is up for another six-year term next fall. It's difficult to see how our lawmakers' appetite for pork can be suppressed as long as their constituents reward them for bringing home the bacon. Lawmakers' tastes will change when and if voters voice their distaste for raiding domestic programs for defense spending.

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<P>Chicago Tribune

October 29, 1999

<P>The Folly Of Russian Fury

<P> Russia insists its brutal assault on Chechnya is an internal matter. That is true. Russia insists its weapons are aimed at Islamic militants blamed for invasions into the neighboring region of Dagestan and for a series of deadly apartment bombings in Russia. That also may be true. But it becomes increasingly hard to buy that argument as the bombardment has escalated over the past month into a full-scale assault that has thrown the entire north Caucasus into chaos and created nearly 200,000 refugees.

<P> Russia's assault on Chechnya so far is enjoying broad public support among Russians and has boosted the political fortunes of President Boris Yeltsin's chosen successor, tough-talking Prime Minister Vladimir Putin. But in its fury to punish the Chechen guerrillas, Russia may have lost sight of this uncomfortable question: What comes after you have bombed Chechnya back to the stone age, killing innocent civilians and hardening anti-Russian sentiment in the bargain?

<P> The region is historically unstable but--ultimately--it must be governed. If it is indeed an internal matter, then--ultimately-- it must be governed by

Russia. A military solution only succeeds when followed by a political solution.

<P> Deferring that political solution until another day, as Russia tried to do after its disastrous 1994-96 war on Chechnya, it is now clear, served only to increase the violence of this day of reckoning. Then, Russian troops pulled out of Chechnya and a tenuous peace accord essentially left open the tough decisions about the republic's future. Chechnya was left armed and dangerous, devastated and virtually lawless.

<P> U.S., European and U.N. authorities properly have expressed increasingly vocal concern about Russia's brutal handling of this internal matter and the humanitarian crisis that approach has created. U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright called last weekend's missile attack on a market in Chechnya's capital, Grozny, "deplorable and ominous." German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder condemned the marketplace "massacre." U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan is sending a humanitarian mission to the area amid concerns about civilian casualties.

<P> Russia no doubt realizes U.S. complaints about Chechnya will be diplomatic because America has stakes in Russia that go well beyond Chechen policy. But the Russians should recognize that the brutality they unleash in the Caucasus today could come back to haunt them tomorrow.


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<P>Augusta (GA) Chronicle

October 27, 1999

Move Ahead On ABM

President Clinton is offering the Russians a deal. If they agree to alter the Anti-Ballistic Treaty to allow the U.S. to build a national missile defense, then the U.S. will help them build a key radar site in Siberia to monitor North Korea and other rogue nations.

In one sense this is very good news. The administration, after years of giving lip service about building an ABM system, seems to finally be getting serious about it.

We suppose Vice President Al Gore's campaign team has been reading polls showing that most Americans already believe they're protected from incoming nuclear missiles.

Imagine how surprised those voters would be to find out, from next year's GOP presidential nominee, that not only are they unprotected, but the Clinton-Gore administration did nothing to secure their protection for eight long years.

In any event, this does prove that sometimes good politics produces good policy. Whatever the political motivation, any positive move to put up an anti-ballistic missile system should be encouraged.

If the Russians want to accept the Siberia radar deal, that's fine. But so far they have shown no inclination to do so. However, it's not necessary for the U.S. to get the Kremlin to approve ABM treaty changes before moving ahead.

In the view of many experts, including former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, the primary architect of the 1972 pact, the treaty is now null and void. This is because the other signatory to the pact, the old Soviet Union, no longer exists. According to scholars of treaty law, neither Russia nor any former Soviet state can legally stand in for the old U.S.S.R.

The U.S. can -- and should -- proceed with an anti-ballistic system in good conscience without breaking its treaty word. So, for a change, let's just do what's in our national interest: build a protective shield to protect Americans from incoming N-missiles.

