

# Between Milosovic's Barbarity and NATO's High-altitude Bombing Campaign

by M. A. Bari

**A ground intervention has now become ever more necessary to prevent Kosovo from turning into Europe's 'wasteland'. If humanity has any meaning in the world, two million Kosovars must be restored to their ancient homeland. Kosovars must be allowed to determine their own fate and defend their land.**

KOSOVO not only matters to Kosovar Albanians. Kosovo matters to Europe, the Muslim world and in fact the whole of humanity. It is yet another test to the conscience of the world community. It is the epitome of Balkan tragedy. The affliction, destruction and diaspora of a nation because of their distinct heritage is the latest in the series of Milosovic's crime. It is his final 'revenge' against a nation whose link with the Ottomans is only a history.

The fact that the Kosovars, like their Bosnian brethren in faith, are Europeans does not matter to the butcher of Belgrade. Milosovic's final solution in cleansing Kosovo of Albanians is now near complete. NATO's strategic bombing have failed to stop the genocide. Instead, it has expedited their plight, at least in the shorter term. Milosovic has taken full advantage of NATO's dilemma in committing ground troops in Kosovo. He is also confident of the rear-guard support from his Slav and Orthodox friends. In achieving his goals he cares little about the destruction wrought by NATO in his own country. Once he can finish his job of cleansing Kosovo of Muslims, he knows he can bargain on his own terms and reconstruct his country with the western money and expertise.

War is not simply won by sophisticated military hardware, war needs clarity and conviction. Milosovic has it, NATO lacks it. In terms of military and political objectives Milosovic still has the upper-hand. Aerial bombardment has so far failed in its objectives. The dispersal of thousands of Albanians to far-flung countries is going to serve his purpose. That is what he wants. Killing of thousands of Kosovar

men' is going to drastically change the demography of Kosovo. The Balkan winter is not far away either. With so many odds against the Kosovars, the stark question is — what prospect is Kosovo going to face in the dawn of a new millennium? The collapse of Yugoslavia has caused havoc in the region. Since the eruption of the Balkan conflagration some years ago, the world community was horrified with the slow murder of a nation, the Bosnian Muslims.

The Croats somehow got away with it. Apart from rhetoric and voices of sympathy no world power ever took any meaningful step to stop the carnage. The fear that Kosovo would be Milosovic's next killing field and it could create a nightmare scenario for Europe was raised by many in the West during the Bosnian conflict. As Bosnian hands were tied with the arms embargo and they were allowed to be butchered by Serb paramilitary forces with direct help from Milosovic, the future of Balkan was written on the wall. Only when it became evident that the Bosnians were not to perish, was the unfair Dayton 'peace' agreement was pushed down their throat. Bosnia is still languishing for peace. The promise of indicting the pathological killers, like Karmic and Malefic, remains in the air. The blatant policy of appeasement and indifference adopted by the West has now thrown Europe into political brinkmanship

and humanitarian catastrophe. In this background of scepticism, the world's most powerful military alliance has, for the first time, stepped in to defend a nation. It was supposed to be a swift and sharp blow to Milosovic. Instead, it is taking months. The reason is obvious. From the very outset, NATO's military planning and political objectives were far apart. After two months, the policy is still marred with lack of clarity. NATO seems to be facing a crisis of conviction. In the meantime, humanitarian catastrophe created by a sadistic but well-motivated army and paramilitary on unarmed people is continuing unabated. Large scale bombing is destroying Serb infrastructure but has not deterred Milosovic from achieving his objectives. The war has widened, civilian casualties are mounting and the ordinary Serb people are suffering. Kosovo is a terrorised land, full of occupation army. Out of two million people, more than half are displaced. Over half a million are in the rag-tag refugee camps in the impoverished neighbouring countries. One of these countries, Macedonia, is extremely hostile to the Albanian people. Hundreds of thousands of missing 'men', hundreds of mass graves, rape camps, hunger, death — the horror of war dehumanising a whole nation is recreated again in Europe.

NATO's misjudgement and amateurish conduct of a war of this nature is dawning a new

millennium with uncertainty. To call a spade a spade' is NATO's major policy despair, in terms of its failure to thwart a humanitarian disaster. It is now universally acknowledged that the 'no-risk' strategic bombing from the sky cannot achieve NATO's war objectives in Kosovo, i.e. resettling the inhabitants in their homeland. It has rather provided a wage a propaganda war against NATO countries and given him enough time to execute his scorched earth policy. The expected acquiescence of the Serb regime in NATO fire-power has not occurred. As questions are being raised about NATO unity, Slav nationalism is equating the genocide policy of Milosovic with NATO's counterproductive bombing raids. Questions are also being raised about the marginalisation of the UN. The failure of the League of Nations is haunting many in the world.

Failure to rescue the Kosovars from the inhuman ordeal is raising creeping cynicism in many quarters. By allowing the conflict to drag on for so long, NATO is increasing its enemies. The jubilation of the European Muslims and turning towards scepticism. Many of them are feeling a sense of betrayal. Near-extermination of Muslims in the Balkans is creating imbalance in the region. On the other hand, the destruction of Serb infrastructure is making her ever resentful towards the West. The UN impotence on the issue is bringing forth fatalism in the rest of the world. All these are perfect ingredients to rumours and despondency. The situation is providing pretext

for a long term NATO presence in the Balkans which could, once again, be a powder keg in a global conflict.

We are far away from the days of colonial savagery. The horror of second world war is also a matter of the past. But our generation has also witnessed the traumatization of the Palestinian people, and killings in Vietnam, Afghanistan and other places. Ethnic cleansing is not new in this century. But when are we going to have an end to this? Our tiny planet needs justice more than ever before. This can only be achieved by conviction and sacrifice of those who have power. At this moment in history the NATO and the UN have this power. No noble goal is achieved without some price. Kosovars are ready to pay this price. But they are powerless. They need help. It is their right to exist as a nation. Defending one's life and dignity is an individual human right. Defending a nation from extinction is an international obligation.

Tragically, that was absent in the case of Balkan Muslims. NATO is now in a real mess in the Balkans. It will be extremely hypocritical for them to break their own promise they have been making to the Kosovars and to the world. It has now become incumbent for them to clean up the mess before the coming winter brings more havoc in Kosovo. A ground intervention has now become ever more necessary to prevent Kosovo from turning into Europe's 'wasteland'. If humanity has any meaning in the world, two million Kosovars must be restored to their ancient homeland. Kosovars must be allowed to determine their own fate and defend their land. A strong Kosovo is the only guarantee against future Milosovics.

The writer is with the Centre for Policy Development in London

# Clinton's Fair-Weather War

by John Lehman

**More than half the missions flown have returned without attacking, or even finding, their targets, and it is President Clinton's fault. His decisions inadvertently have provided Serbian forces with sanctuary in the fog and rain common in the region, especially at night. So instead of bombing difficult targets that could help the Kosovars, much of the effort, as in Vietnam, goes against targets like bridges that are easy to hit but of no military effect.**

In an administration so famously incompetent in national security, it seems almost nit-picking to dwell on specific mistakes. But one Clinton military blunder is worth noting. Leave aside the questions of whether bombing alone can be effective and whether the NATO air campaign against Yugoslavia has made matters worse for the Kosovars. The bombing has been far less effective than it should be. More than half the missions flown have returned without attacking, or even finding, their targets, and it is President Clinton's fault. His decisions inadvertently have provided Serbian forces with sanctuary in the fog and rain common in the region, especially at night. So instead of bombing difficult targets that could help the Kosovars, much of the effort, as in Vietnam, goes against targets like bridges that are easy to hit but of no military effect.

Sen. John McCain recently remarked on his years in prison in Hanoi: "We always knew when the B-52s and alpha strikes were coming, because the air-raid sirens went off long before we heard the bombs, and we always knew when the A-6s and F-111s attacked because we heard the bombs first and the sirens afterwards." The Navy A-6 Intruders and the Air Force F-111s were the core of the all-weather precision strike capability of US air power.

Steadily updated with the latest technology, they both had similar capabilities that are indispensable for bombing at night and in bad weather: long range, large payload, a pilot and a full-time bombardier sitting side-by-side, powerful ground-mapping radars, terrain-following systems permitting them to fly nap-of-the-earth at 500 knots, 200 feet altitude, solely on instruments and immune from surface-to-air missiles; laser gyroscope and Global Positioning System navigation accurate to a few feet; imaging infrared and laser targeting systems; Doppler moving target detectors to kill tanks moving under clouds and darkness; radar beacon systems to allow precision bombing from beacons held by inserted reconnaissance teams.

These were the two aircraft types used for the strike on Libya in 1986 and for the most difficult targets in Desert Storm. These are the aircraft now most needed for Kosovo, where it is dark or the weather is bad 80 per cent of the time, and where imprecise bombing, accidentally hitting embassies, hospitals and similar facilities — has an even higher than normal political cost.

So where are these aircraft? At the bottom of the sea. The Clinton administration has scrapped them all. Some of the A-6s went straight from being rebuilt with new carbon wings and new avionics to become an artificial reef off Florida. Even worse than the loss of these airplanes is the loss of the invaluable community of combat-experienced professionals who flew them. At the sad retirement ceremony for the last A-6 at Naval Air Station Oceana in Virginia in March 1997, 1,700 pilots and bombardiers were present.

Nearly all had flown intruders in combat in Vietnam, Lebanon, Libya or Iraq, and had studied and practiced all-weather attacks their whole careers. It was doubtless the

greatest assemblage of bombing experience, wisdom and talent ever in one hanger. Many had left the Navy in disgust after the Tailhook witch hunt, and those who remained in the Navy were dispersed to other jobs. The F-111 community was similarly dispersed.

The Air Force has some dual-role F-15Es that can operate effectively in bad weather, but the Navy carriers are now bereft of all-weather strike aircraft, greatly limiting their usefulness in Kosovo. The single-seat F-16s and F-18s flying most of the missions are fine versatile fighters, but neither can bomb reliably in foul weather. Nor do they have adequate jamming, eavesdropping or photo-reconnaissance support, absolutely critical for the type of mission assigned, because the Clinton team also scrapped the EF-111 jammers, the ES-3 electronic eavesdroppers and the RF-4E reconnaissance aircraft, all without replacement.

How could such things come to pass? In the Clinton effort to re-engineer the military into a kinder, gentler "gen" force, conscious peacekeeping force, aggressive-sounding things like deep-strike attack aircraft were not in favor. And since Truman's day there have always been big-bomber zealots in the Air Force arguing that carrier strike aircraft were not needed. Thus did the administration with its veteran-free cabinet quietly carry out a significant unilateral disarmament.

The author was secretary of the Navy in the Reagan administration. This piece appeared in The Wall Street Journal on May 28, 1999.



Kosovo refugees in Albania.

— AFP photo

THOSE who are involved with museums are faced with certain pertinent questions that are related to the survival of museum. Most common questions asked repeatedly are: How many visitors do you have? Can the success of an exhibition be calculated in numbers of visitors? What are the criteria for assessing a museum's profitability? What is the value of the museum? Internationally, these topics have been the centre of many discussions amongst national and international committees because of the economic liberalization trends facing museums. Internationally, many museums have had cuts in government funding and in some countries there is a process of privatization of museums. As a result, these museums have had to start operating as business, generating funds thereby for their existence. They had to deal with such theme as the intangible economic value of the museum, exploring the relationship between economy and culture in museum management. Such discussions focused mostly on the opportunity, possibility and conditions that the institutions responsible for preserving cultural heritage, i.e. museums have of exploiting what is in their care in economic terms. Up until now the reflection on the management and possible economic use of cultural heritage has remained a matter of economists. Museum managers have ventured little or timidly into this area, a domain which they do not fully master. Unfortunately in some circles the often-heard idea is that museum survival is directly linked to economic profitability. One must look deeper to master the best management method for any museum.

Because museums preserve, study and exhibit the community's cultural heritage, they play an important social role in

democratic societies. All the objects created, used and accumulated over time by a community, and which bear historic witness to that community, allow it to live on. The museum's part in preserving, studying, enriching and exhibiting symbols inherited from past generations and passing them on to future generations, gives it an identifying role vis-a-vis the community, and therefore a means of recognition and social cohesion. The social and cultural role of the museum is therefore difficult to evaluate in economic terms. And it is this difficulty that tends to make museums look like non-productive institutions. And yet, not filling museum coffers is becoming a threat, with dangerous consequences at a cultural and social level.

If you only take the immediate profitability of the museum into account, you can only reach a healthy situation by abolishing or reducing to a minimum the museum's social and cultural actions, favouring sales offer, increasing sales space for items that have no cultural value, and by converting exhibitions into shows so as to attract as many paying visitors as possible — all to the detriment of the quality of what the museum has to offer and of its educational role. If museums have to chase after positive balance sheets, they will have to behave like companies, with results that are accounted for in terms of numbers of visitors who pay admission charges. Museums therefore have to market a product that the public likes, and give the public what it wants although this may not necessarily correspond to what it creates from a cultural point of view. Museums have to act exactly as if they were commercial television, without making an effort to contribute to society's cultural knowledge. While a museum's direct profitability can only be obtained to

the detriment of its social and educational role, its indirect profitability is, on the contrary, considerable. We need hardly mention just how the very presence of the museum and its activities form a part of the local economy and help raise the country's cultural level to stress just how much the museum's cultural impact, through its experience, is likely to contribute to the economy. The sponsorship and development field often gives rise to negative feelings among museum professionals. At best, support from the corporate sector is viewed as a sordid affair, one full of compromise and lacking integrity; a necessary evil that one must endure if the museum is to adequately fund its programmes. As a result, museums are often criticised, justifiably so, in many circumstances, for jeopardising intellectual or artistic integrity in their drive to find the resources that will enable them to satisfy ever-increasing responsibilities. At the 1997 Annual General Meeting of ICOM's International committee for Marketing and Public Relations (MPR) in Copenhagen, Denmark, many delegates expressed concern that commercial interests and the avaricious nature of the corporate sector can be seen to have taken precedence over that which exists at the very core of the museum mission to promote an appreciation and understanding of our rich and diverse natural and cultural heritages, and to ensure a relevance

for visitors. And yet, is it really possible to safeguard against such compromise when trying to match the objectives of the private sector against those of the museum when undertaking cooperative commercial arrangements? It remains a fact of life that private companies will approach our public institutions to undertake commercial operations with or in museums. This may affect the way the shop is run, or form part of corporate sponsorship for public programmes. Whatever the nature of the arrangement (and the increasing scarcity of museum funding has recently prompted suggestions both innovative and outrageous), the spectra of ethical dilemma weighs heavily upon museum management teams responsible for commissioning such ventures. In an age that has witnessed a profound shift in attitude towards the way our public institutions are being evaluated, public accountability so often seems to go hand-in-hand with economic rationalism and viability, thus dictating the need for contemporary museums to adopt commercial practices that would have seemed foreign to them in decades past. Whilst concessions need to be made on all sides to achieve a workable contract, it is nonetheless vital that each stakeholder in the agreement — the museum, the private corporation, the public and the government — must agree to parameters within which they are

# How Do Our Politicians Think?

by A. Maher

COULD we squeeze fast, heady politics into some literature? Or get some literature out of politics? Take the ways politicians here come to their decisions, and how the people at the receiving end come to their terms with them (the decisions and the politicians). Hopefully, and with a bit of luck (in here), decisions are based on time and deliberation and a sensible train of thoughts. So there we have thinking! All the processing that goes on in the minds of our lawmakers. How are they thinking of the present issues and the visible and hidden angles they squint and oggle from? The thinking process has been a mystery to scientists and musing councilors for decades; so far no one's had a brainstrom. But a few distinct elements have stood

out in decision-making. Surrounding environment, personal preferences, outside pressures have all contributed to innumerable resolutions. Politicians in most countries base their policies on public sentiment and existing political scenarios. Here, we couldn't be so sure. Many have decried how politicians have been self-seeking, power-hungry individuals who could not care less for the people. But these have been dismissed as mere faultfinding by the various fronts. Let's side with the politicians — whatever their goals. The kings of democracy rule over this subjects. Sound fuzzy? Well, turn into a politician. Which means I become a power-wielder now. So how do you use you head? For the peo-

ple" is a wonderful cover for making a life out of law-making. Come up with a people-friendly idea and exploit the loopholes to siphon off a little for yourself. This is a one-time chance of a political lifetime so I should practice my opportunistic skills. More in support — only when I am well off can I help the people. Besides, MPs and Ministers should be above the common people, coming down to earth at routine public meetings. An irresistible scenario, must read! A new project is coming up. Have to go over it and give the go-ahead. Fool bureaucrats gave me two months, as if it matters. But the masses go by what they hear so a good performance is necessary. Might even delay a bit and change the fine print for an act.

Not that I understand anything about the physics of a bridge design or the technology of power plants. But can't ask the advisers; most demeaning, loss of vanity. The future is important. Will I be remembered? Hope they don't mess up the foundation stone before the inauguration. Our city units (of the party) in that part of the city are just completing refurbishing of the new offices. So the project has to be diverted. Besides, that's Sentu's area and he bailed me out once six years ago.... How much do I earn? You want (free) service? Right. Keep quiet. They allocated too much anyway. A few digits won't matter. We have family too, in Gulshan, the States..... And so the rickshaw of

thoughts run through the politicians' mind. Come the next elections and we probably have the opposite camp in the same picture. As usual the country comes second in our self-sustaining democracy; sustain for thyself, then let others sustain theirs. Ours seems to be a problem to do with genes, not the ones bootlegged into the local garments-trade, but that in the core of the character. A scientist somewhere once remarked on the animal kingdom: "A species, in its most crude state of development, cannot judge its own kind by being a member of the same species." If he is anywhere near the truth, we are in for several generations for healing. If not, then perhaps we better wage for another 'independence'.

# Economics of Museum

by Akku Chowdhury

**The desire to understand visitors and their behaviour does not come naturally to all museums. Some believe they do not need to take all this into account for museum attendance to recover. However, the regular and inescapable dwindling of state finances and culture budgets is very likely to make these professionals revise their position and begin to listen to visitors.**

## Garfield



© 1998 PINE, INC. Distributed by Universal Press Syndicate



© 1998 PINE, INC. Distributed by Universal Press Syndicate



by Jim Davis

