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

TT OSOVO 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 recon-

western money and expertise. War is not simply won by sophisticated military hardware. war needs clarity and conviction. Milosovic has it, NATO lacks in it. In terms of military and political objectives Milosovic still has the upperhand. 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

struct his country with the

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.

'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 continu-ing 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

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

whole nation is recreated again

millennium with uncertainty "To call a spade a spade" is NA-TO'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 Milosovic with the ammunition to wage a propaganda war against NATO countries and given him enough time to execute his scorchedearth 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

vars 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 at the onset is being muted 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 prefext to

is haunting many in the world.

Failure to rescue the Koso-

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 traumatisation 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 of them to break their open 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'. I 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 Lon-

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.

TN an administration so famously incompetent in na-Ltional 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 allweather precision strike capability of US air power.

Steadily updated with the latest technology, they both had simila, 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 groundmapping 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 recon-

naissance 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 bombingaccidentally 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 allweather 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

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 singleseat 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, "gender"? 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.



democratic societies. All the ob-

jects created, used and accumu-

lated over time by a commu-

nity, and which bear historic

witness to that community, al-

low it to live on. The museum's

part in preserving, studying,

enriching and exhibiting sym-

bols inherited from past gener-

Kosovo refugees in Albania.

HOSE who are involved

with certain pertinent

questions that are related to the

survival of museum. Most

common questions asked re-

peatedly are: How many visi-

tors do you have? Can the suc-

cess of an exhibition be calcu-

lated in numbers of visitors?

What are the criteria for assess-

ing a museum's profitability?

What is the value of the mu-

seum? Internationally, these

topics have been the centre of

many discussions amongst na-

tional and international com-

mittees because of the economic

liberalization trends facing

museums. Internationally,

many museums have had cuts

in government funding and in

some countries there is a pro-

cess of privatization of muse-

ums. 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 eco-

nomic value of the museum,

exploring the relationship be-

tween economy and culture in

museum management. Such

discussions focused mostly on

the opportunity, possibility and

responsible for preserving cul-

tural 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 her-

itage has remained a matter of

economists. Museum managers

have ventured little or timidly

into this area, a domain which

they do not fully master. Unfor-

tunately in some circles the of-

ten-heard idea is that museum

survival is directly linked to

economic profitability. One

must look deeper to master the

best management method for

study and exhibit the communi-

ty's cultural heritage, they play

Because museums preserve.

with museums are faced

- AFP photo

How Do Our Politicians Think? by A. Maher

OULD 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 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 ogle from? The thinking process has been a mystery to scientists and musing columnists for decades; so far no one's had a brainstorm. 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 scenario. 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 asmere 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 politi-

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 peoplefriendly 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

An unresistable 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.

fine clearly the agreed relation-

Not that I understand withing 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 inaugura-

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 selfsustaining democracy; sustain for thyself, then let others sustain thee. Ours seems to be a problem to do with genes, not the ones bootlegged into the loeal 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.

ations 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 convertconditions that the institutions ing 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 televisions, without making an effort to contribute to society's cultural knowledge. While a museum's direct prof-

itability 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

prepared to negotiate. Through such a collective front-end evaluation, the cultural sector will not only begin from a solid and resolute legal and ethical foundation, but will also answer the most difficult question of all: indeed, what price are we willing to place upon our cultural heritage? In fact, these evaluations would have served as readily available frameworks in the past had fundraising professionals not been fearful of divulging market information lest they give away too many secrets. There are of course already established guidelines for approaching this

dilemma. In the first instance, ICOM's Code of Professional Ethics acknowledges the "need" by putting forward a series of guiding principles by which such dynamic economic changes may begin to be accommodated. At the outset, the code emphatically states that sufficient funds must be available on a regular basis, either from public or private sources, to enable the governing body to carry out and develop the work of the museum (Article 2.3). The implication is that, in the absence of adequate government or philanthropic support, it is the responsibility of the museum to redress the fiscal balance by entering into agreements with the private

Furthermore, the code recognizes that commercial support and sponsorship may involve ethical problems, and that great care is needed to de-

sector.

ship (Article 2.9.), so that there is relevance to the collections and the basic educational purpose of the museum and that no compromise to the quality of the collections will result from that commercial activity (Article 2.10.). Immediately we are alerted to the fact that in a very real sense, achievement of a mutually acceptable component of commercialization within the museum will involve, at the very least, some difficulties. But how are we to solve them? In seeking to negotiate the minefield of sponsorship and commercialization, ICOM offers an equally valuable support through its international committees. It is in the annual meetings that an important ingredient for success can be located, in the problem-solving inspiration and case-study innovation that is shared between delegates. Armed with operational guidelines and new ideas about how to approach these delicate issues, cultural institutions are well-positioned to ensure that the "tail does not wag the dog" Why do visitors so often feel that their presence is really not at all necessary, that museums couldn't care less whether they have been before or will come again, and that no one takes their curiosity, interest, needs and financial resources seriously? Why do they feel as if they are being treated like a subject of the authorities and not like customers or guests? While most museum profes-

sionals feel that visitors repre-

sent a specific clientele in the context of their own work in training and presentation, and that visitors pay an entrance fee and therefore finance part of their work, other professionals feel that visitors disturb them in their research and, in the end, damage the exhibition spaces. Let us suppose that there were a museum that did not need visitors, or even researchers. It would, nonetheless, still have to care about society, and especially about the press. 'An analysis of the reasons why visitors feel somewhat hostile towards museums shows that they are offering more in terms of services and returns than museums have the right to expect of them.

They pay an entrance fee and in some cases pay for a guided tour; they buy the documents that go with the tour, the museum guide book, items in the museum shop, and they eat and drink in the cafeteria; they hire the museum for prestigious receptions and use photographs of its works to illustrate their professional documents; they express their professional documents; they express their satisfaction and congratulate the museum in the visitors' book: their reactions and suggestions may lead to certain improvements; they advertise the museum by telling other people about it; they make donations of works or money, either individually or through associations or friends of museums and they support projects that are sometimes controversial. Let us now suppose that we have managed to convince ourselves that museums do need visitors on a lasting basis.

We should then give more importance to visitors' suggestions so that goals for display are reached rather than being held back by a lack of regard for visitors or a feeling of dissatisfaction on their behalf; so that visitors do not feel removed from the "heart of the matter,"

so that they feel "good overall" and as a result have a good opinion of the museum; so that advertising by word of mouth can begin; so that visitors feel that they can react, and that their suggestions are taken into account to bring about improvements ;so that museum professionals feel they are getting support for their work and so feel satisfied; so that the number of visitors can then increase, if so desired; so that the authorities make more financial resources available and so that visitors come out in favour of museums, for instance during politico-cultural debates. Empirical results show that there are many museums with significant visitor potential, with unexplored reserves in terms of visitor relations and

integration. Without even thinking of sponsorship, the contribution that visitors can make to a museum to help it reach its goals are remarkable. So, where are all the detailed behaviour analyses? The analyses of non-visitors? Of competition? Or do we just imagine that there is fierce competition between museums themselves, competition with other institutions, other service providers, and other structures? Where are the profile and positioning surveys? Where are visitors' suggestions really given a proper test? Where are the satisfaction surveys?

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. After all, visitors expect museums to awaken their curiosity and fascinate them, and not make them feel as if they could do without them.

an important social role in

any museum.











