



THE DEFENSE MONITOR

The Center for Defense Information believes that strong social, economic, political, and military components and a healthy environment contribute equally to the nation's security. CDI opposes excessive expenditures for weapons and policies that increase the danger of war.

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CDI Welcomes New President

On March 1 the Center for Defense Information welcomed its new President, Mr. Bruce G. Blair. Mr. Blair takes the helm from retired U.S. Senator Dale Bumpers, whose steady hand guided the Center as it made the transition from the 20th to the 21st Century.

Mr. Blair brings to the job first-hand knowledge of the U.S. military and how it works, having served in the U.S. Air Force for four years following his graduation from the University of Illinois. He, like his predecessor, adds another highly complementary and invaluable dimension to CDI's base of experience: more than a decade spent in intense study and research into what may be the two most important continuing national security questions of the 21st century – the future of nuclear weapons and the future of Russia.

This Defense Monitor also features a letter from Mr. Blair outlining his objectives for CDI (p. 6) as well as a capsule biography of Mr. Blair (p. 7). ■

The Fiscal Year 2001 Military Budget

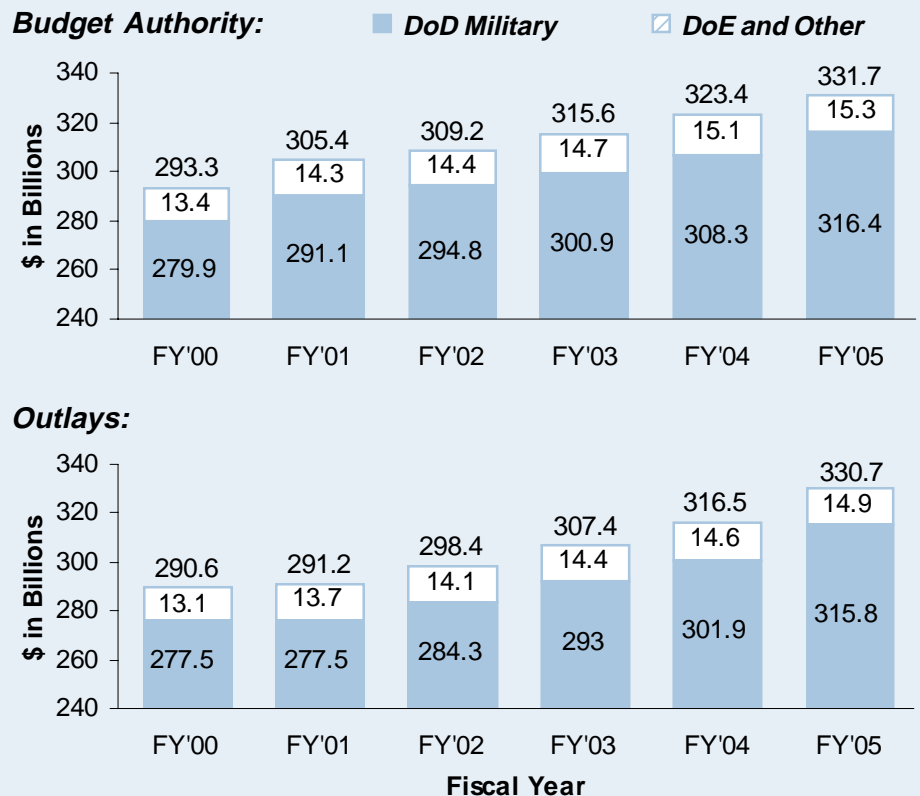
The Clinton Administration's Fiscal Year 2001 budget request for the military totals \$305.4 billion for the Pentagon and the defense functions of the Department of

Energy. It is \$12 billion higher than the current (FY'00) budget, and represents

Continued on page 2

FISCAL YEAR 2001 PENTAGON BUDGET REQUEST

The Clinton Administration has requested the following funding for the military:



Question:

What was the U.S. National Debt on February 29, 2000?

see page 7

The Fiscal Year 2001 Military Budget, from page 1

more than 1% real growth in military spending. And while last year the Administration proposed adding \$112 billion to the Pentagon's multi-year spending plan, the new request goes last year's plan one better, adding another \$15 billion to the original increase. In all, the Administration's request calls for over \$1.6 trillion in military spending for Fiscal Years 2001-2005.

As the chart on page 1 shows, military spending will continue to increase annually over the next five years. By FY 2004, U.S. military spending in real terms will have reached the Cold War average even though the Soviet Union is gone and the U.S. military itself is a third smaller than it was a decade ago.

Military Spending Still Getting Lion's Share of Budget

As it has in past years, military spending dwarfs that of all other discretionary programs. For the first time in recent history, however, it will account for less than 50% of the total discretionary budget.

Or will it? Based on the figures included in the President's budget request, education and housing assistance programs are slated to receive major funding increases from this year's levels. For education, the projected increase represents a 36% growth in federal funding, while the planned increase for housing calls for a 59% jump. Simply put, there is no way that the GOP-led Congress will accept these increases.

Once these unrealistic funding increases are removed from the FY'01 request, the Pentagon will continue to account for over 50% of the discretionary budget.

Spending Priorities: Weapons, Not People

As was the case last year, concerns about troop readiness, spare parts, and attracting and retaining quality people into the military are being used to fuel support for

Pentagon spending increases. But as was also the case last year, the allocation of resources within the military budget request paints a different picture.

The request increases funding for personnel by almost 3% and for operations and maintenance – the so-called "readiness" account – by more than

"We are going to have to put more money in the military - there is no question."

-Rep. John Kasich (R-OH)

Chairman, House Budget Committee

4%. But it also increases funding for procurement – the purchase of new weapons – by more than 11%. By FY 2005 spending for personnel will have increased by 16% and for readiness by 9%, but funding for the purchase of new weapons will rise by nearly 31%. As the chart on page 3 shows, the Pentagon continues to invest billions on Cold War weapons systems.

How Much Will Congress Add?

The ink was not yet dry on the President's budget before congressional "hawks" were voicing their dissatisfaction with the Pentagon funding levels, which they considered inadequate. For example, Representative John Kasich (R-OH), chairman of the House Budget Committee, said: "We are going to have to put more money in the military—there is no question." This sentiment was echoed by the heads of the four military services. Asked by Congress to provide information on unfunded programs which they consider to be high priorities, the Chiefs submitted "wish lists" that totaled over \$15 billion in FY'01 alone.

Despite clear support in Congress for raising military spending, it appears that the ability of members to give the Pentagon a significant increase in FY'01 may be limited. The Balanced Budget

Act (BBA) of 1997 sets specific spending limits for defense and all other federal discretionary programs – those on which Congress and the Administration must act to fund each year. However, the prospect of perceived significant budget surpluses have led some members of Congress to consider using these funds to pay for high priority federal programs, including defense. But do these surpluses really exist? And if so, just how large are they?

According to government accounting methods, when the amount that the government takes in each year, known as revenues, exceeds the amount spent, the difference is the budget surplus.

The problem is that much of what the government takes in each year represents contributions to the Social Security system intended for future benefit payments. Currently the Social Security system is bringing in more than it is paying out in benefits, and the difference is being counted towards the overall federal balance of payments. This has the effect of making the surplus appear much larger than it actually is, and permits the government to spend funds that in future years will be needed to pay Social Security benefits when the system's income no longer is sufficient to cover benefit payments.

In recent weeks leading congressional Democrats and Republicans, along with the Clinton Administration, have decided, at least for the time being, that surplus Social Security revenues will NOT be counted towards the general budget surplus nor used to fund other federal programs. The portion of the surplus not related to Social Security revenues is known as the "on-budget" surplus. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that the total budget surplus for FY'01 will be \$166 billion, while the on-budget surplus will be roughly \$21 billion.

In addition to those supporting increases in Pentagon spending, other members of Congress are trying to fund

their priorities out of the on-budget surplus. Such items as a tax cut and Medicare coverage of prescription drugs are very popular, particularly in an election year. Supporters of critical domestic programs such as education and crime prevention also are interested in securing additional funding. The demands on this relatively small surplus are rising quickly. Democratic staffers at the House Budget Committee estimate that no more than \$5 billion will be available for the military in FY'01, with the likely increase in Pentagon spending in the range of \$2-3 billion.

Budgetary "Sleight-of-Hand"

Congress' ability to raise military spending in FY'01 is restricted only if members continue to take a "hands-off" approach towards the Social Security surplus and if they are disciplined enough to avoid the budgetary gimmicks that have become commonplace in the last few years. For example, last year congressional appropriators declared \$7.2 billion in Pentagon funding to be "emergency spending" and thus not subject to the spending caps set by the BBA. They also agreed to defer \$1.2 billion in FY'00 spending until FY'01 by slowing payments to defense contractors, and by delaying the last payday for military personnel in FY'00 by one working day so that it would fall in FY'01. Similar "magic" occurred elsewhere in last year's budget. Three billion dollars for veterans' health care and \$4.5 billion for the year 2000 census were declared to be spending emergencies even though the VA health care program is an annual expenditure and funding for the census has been included in the normal federal budget for 200 years.

While it is unlikely that Congress will raid the Social Security accounts in an election year, it is far less certain that members will be able to restrain themselves from finding other ways around the BBA's spending limits.

For more details and analysis of the Administration's FY'01 military budget request, contact CDI or visit our website at: <http://www.cdi.org/issues/usmi/highlightsFY01.html>. ■

Fiscal Year 2001 Funding Request for Selected Weapons

(Dollars in Millions)

1

NOTES: 1. Totals do not add up because not all the systems being funded under the TMD program are shown.

* Indicates the per unit cost of the base system only; upgrade costs would increase the total. Per Unit costs are based on DoD's Selected Acquisition Report, November 23, 1999.

The Law of the Sea

The security and economic well-being of the United States are firmly linked to our free access to the seas of the world. The entire history of America demonstrates this truth. Our growth into the preeminent world power coincides with our emergence as the planet's foremost naval power.

This congruence of U.S. national power and mastery of the seas explains why the United States took the lead in 1958 when the United Nations convened a conference to draft a Convention on the Law of the Seas. For the next 24 years United States' representatives were in the forefront of deliberations on this critical effort so that, in its final form, the U.N. Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) would give full recognition to America's vital interests across the seas of the world.

From day one the U.S. Navy provided important members of the American delegation to lead in framing provisions to meet our security needs. Primary attention was given to the definition of territorial seas, freedom of navigation, the right of innocent passage, and overflight rights in order to insure the ability of our naval and air forces to move when and where required for defense purposes. Without exception, every U.S. requirement was met, and to this day the Department of Defense and the U.S. Navy are fully supportive of UNCLOS.

Somewhat less successful were efforts to promote U.S. positions with respect to commercial interests, particularly in the deep seabed. UNCLOS did strengthen national rights in territorial seas, extended areas of national dominion called Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZ), and expanded regulatory control over national fisheries. However, the draft Convention declared the deep seabed outside of national zones to be part of "the common heritage of mankind." Under this rubric, the exploitation of the wealth of the deep seabed was to be for the benefit of all

nations and all would share in the profits from such activity.

When UNCLOS was opened for signature in 1982, the major developed nations led by the United States refused to sign because they were unwilling to share with other nations either the technology needed for deep seabed exploitation or their profits. The Convention languished until 1990 when negotiations resumed to modify the seabed provisions (Article 11).

In July, 1994 all U.S. reservations had been met and the U.S. led the rush to sign the revised Convention. President Clinton promptly submitted the document to the Senate for advice and consent to ratification. Regrettably, UNCLOS was totally ignored by the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. While the U.S. Senate dawdled, 60 other nations formally acceded and on November 16, 1994 UNCLOS came into force provisionally as the primary international law governing 70% of the earth's surface.

Even though declining to ratify the Convention, the United States continued to exercise certain provisional rights in its administration from 1994 to 1998. However, on November 15, 1998 those rights were lost and the United States now is barred from membership on the LOS Tribunal and the Continental Shelf Commission as well as the right to name members to special arbitration panels where interstate disputes will be settled. Furthermore, we are barred from membership in the International Seabed Authority where parties to the Convention organize and direct ventures to exploit the mineral resources of the deep seabed.

In short, the Senate's position has isolated America from participating in the development and application of a body of international law which covers 70% of the earth's surface and protects freedom of navigation, fisheries, the oceanic environment and the wealth of the global seabed. Worse, we have done this even

though the provisions of the Convention were shaped through strong U.S. leadership to protect all of America's political, economic and security interests. It is difficult to conceive of a more foolish, shortsighted failure to advance the rule of law in the world order, nor one more certain to generate unnecessary confrontations with other nations.

What seems to be at work is a strong chauvinistic spirit that refuses to recognize or appreciate the long term strategic benefits of establishing global norms to govern the behavior of the nations of the world. Since the United States spends hundreds of billions of dollars every year to maintain the most powerful military forces on earth, there is a willingness, almost an obsession, to rely on military power to extend and enforce American judgments rather than to rely on non-violent resolution of disputes under procedures now agreed to by more than 130 nations. President George Bush once succinctly summed up this spirit with the arrogant statement that "we call the shots." Jingoism and gun boat diplomacy at sea guarantee stormy relationships with other nations across the world's oceans.

Unfortunately, this is only one egregious example of America rejecting the concept of the rule of law in a peaceful world order. Others include failure to ratify (or even to sign) such progressive measures as the Statute for an International Criminal Court, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, the Ottawa Anti-Personnel Land Mine Treaty and the U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child. By rejecting these constructive efforts to establish and enforce global norms, the United States, as the world's preeminent power, is deliberately isolating itself behind a shield of military force in the mistaken belief that this will advance our agenda and allow us to impose our decisions on other nations.

The Movers and Shakers On Military Issues

As citizens and taxpayers concerned about America's future security, you can contact appropriate members of Congress on military matters in general or on the subjects discussed in this particular Defense Monitor. The following are Washington, DC addresses, telephone numbers, Email addresses/ Internet connection (from which Emails can be sent) for the White House and the chairpersons and ranking minority members on the relevant committees in the Senate and the House of Representatives.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mailing Address:

President William J. Clinton
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D.C. 20500

All Military Issues

President William J. Clinton
Tel. (switchboard): (202) 456-1414
Email: president@whitehouse.gov

UNITED STATES SENATE

General Mailing Address:

Office of Senator (Name)
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

General Military Issues

Committee on Armed Services

John Warner (R-VA) Chairman
Telephone: (202) 224-2023
Email: senator@warner.senate.gov
Carl Levin (D-MI) Ranking Member
Telephone: (202) 224-6221
Email: senator@levin.senate.gov

Budget Issues

Committee on Appropriations

Ted Stevens (R-AK) Chairman
Telephone: (202) 224-3004
Email: senator_stevens@stevens.senate.gov
Robert Byrd (D-WV) Ranking Member
Telephone: (202) 224-3954
Email: senator_byrd@byrd.senate.gov

Appropriations Subcommittee on Defense

Ted Stevens (R-AK) Chairman
Telephone: (202) 224-3004
Email: senator_stevens@stevens.senate.gov
Daniel Inouye (D-HI) Ranking Member
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Email: senator@inouye.senate.gov

Appropriations Subcommittee on Military Construction

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Email: conrad_burns@burns.senate.gov
Patty Murray (D-WA) Ranking Member
Telephone: (202) 224-2621
Email: senator_murray@murray.senate.gov

Law of the Sea Convention

Foreign Relations Committee

Jesse Helms (R-NC) Chairman
Telephone: (202) 224-6342
Email: jesse_helms@helms.senate.gov
Joseph Biden (D-DE) Ranking Member
Telephone: (202) 224-5042
Email: senator@biden.senate.gov

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

General Mailing Address:

Office of Representative (Name)
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

General Military Issues

Committee on Armed Services

Floyd D. Spence (R-SC) Chairman
Telephone: (202) 225-2452
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Budget Issues

Committee on Appropriations

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Email via: www.house.gov/writerep

Appropriations Subcommittee on Defense

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Telephone: (202) 225-2065
Email: murtha@mail.house.gov

Appropriations Subcommittee on Military Construction

David L. Hobson (R-OH) Chairman
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Email via: www.house.gov/writerep
John W. Olver (D-MA) Ranking Member
Telephone: (202) 225-5335
Email via: www.house.gov/writerep

For hotlinks to these web sites and Emails, see

www.cdi.org/dm/addresses

Letter from the President of CDI

Dear Friends of CDI,

As I assume my responsibilities and duties as CDI's President, I wish to express my gratitude for your support and share my thoughts about the future direction of this vital organization.

The challenge is evident. Despite the decline or disappearance of most threats to American vital interests at home and abroad, U.S. military spending is not abating but growing. A drumbeat of threat-mongering amidst warning cries of starvation defense budgets continues to drown out voices of reason in the political debate and drive spending to new heights. That the level of current military spending is scarcely below the Cold-War average and is misallocated to boot is sad testimony to a lack of political leadership, sound financial management, and public attention. Similarly, leadership and judgment are in short supply as nuclear insecurity grows around the world.

CDI needs to raise its voice and make it heard like never before if we are to hold our policymakers accountable and rectify the situation. CDI also needs its messages to flow from solid, objective, and astute analysis conforming to principles of truth-seeking and fairness.

In tackling the problem of military spending, it is important to review, without preconception, the future military needs of the country. This entails a comprehensive analysis of threats and of the military requirements those threats imply, including the strategy and forces the United States should acquire. CDI will undertake this ambitious project which, once completed, will provide a framework for a positive statement of the defense posture, weapons systems, and budget that CDI deems justified, as well as a framework for critically evaluating weapons that deserve scorn and rejection. If done well, this review would fill a void in the debate inasmuch as other official and unofficial efforts along these lines have been either superficial or biased.

In the course of conducting this end-to-end review, we will rigorously illuminate regional military balances such as the confrontations on the Korean Peninsula and in the Taiwan Strait, and become a responsive source of information and commentary whenever crises erupt in

"CDI's tradition of watchdog monitoring of the budget and related defense issues will be intensified."

such regions. CDI will occupy a special niche in providing up-to-date information, images (including video, as discussed later) and analysis.

Another linchpin in CDI's program on military spending will be a stronger effort to investigate and report issues that deserve greater exposure. CDI's tradition of watchdog monitoring of the budget and related defense issues will be intensified.

On the nuclear front, the area of my particular expertise, I foresee a growing portfolio of issues for CDI's attention. As a nation we find ourselves in deepening trouble over our nuclear relations with Russia, China, and proliferant states. Nuclear arms control has a weak pulse, weapons of mass destruction continue to spread, and the deteriorating operational safety of the world's nuclear arsenals, particularly Russia's, poses a growing danger of mistaken or unauthorized use or theft. The nuclear establishments in the United States and Russia continue to keep many thousands of nuclear weapons on hair-trigger alert, poised for launch on a moment's notice, an inherently dangerous stance rationalized on the grounds that they need to be able to promptly destroy thousands of targets in each other's

country in order to deter each other from launching a deliberate cold-blooded attack.

CDI must relentlessly call policymakers to task for this sorry state of affairs. A grain of common sense is sufficient to understand that far smaller arsenals on far lower levels of alert are adequate to deter, and that the more serious threats to our security stem from the risk of accidental use that accompanies the hair-trigger configuration of our missile forces, and from the proliferation of weapons that has been stimulated instead of retarded by the poor examples set by U.S. and Russian nuclear policies. To drive home the fact that U.S. policy in this area defies reason, let me note that during the past five years our nuclear planners have increased the number of targets in the U.S. strategic war plan from 2,500 to 3,000, and added China to the attack plan.

While concentrating on military spending and the nuclear threat, CDI will continue to work on topical subjects on a case-by-case basis. Our rich portfolio of current issues include child soldiers, landmines, failed states, environmental degradation, NATO expansion, U.S. security policy toward Russia, China, and South Asia, national ballistic missile defense, and proliferation.

CDI's success in informing the public and influencing policymakers depends not only on our credibility, but also on our ability to get our message into widespread circulation, reaching audiences inside and outside the Washington beltway with clear and compelling information. It has been my experience that even with excellent contacts with Congress, the Executive Branch, and the media, change occurs slowly in the absence of pressure from constituents around the country.

In addition to The Defense Monitor, CDI possesses a unique asset for popular outreach: television program production and dissemination. Our messages lend

themselves to visual imagery for television and, in the future, for Internet broadcasting over broadband computer networks. We are accelerating our efforts to acquire the capability to stream TV-quality video through our web site. Through this and other media innovations, we will better serve our traditional audience and, hopefully, attract a broader audience that could coalesce into the critical mass of public interest that everyone aspires to catalyze.

"...the more serious threats to our security stem from the risk of accidental use that accompanies the hair-trigger configuration of our missile forces."

Our loyal supporters can look to CDI to take the lead in advancing our common agenda of sensible nuclear policy and military spending. We will work hard to reverse spending growth, and to move us toward the global elimination of nuclear weapons. One ambitious but feasible CDI goal is to help bring about a stand-down of nuclear forces worldwide, getting all the arsenals of all nations off hair-trigger alert, and putting their bombs in storage.

Your dedication to our cause gives me a deep sense of confidence and optimism about our chances of success. I am eager to join you in this quest. I pledge CDI's utmost effort to fulfill the hope that your support represents.

I value your feedback. Please convey to me your views of CDI's goals, effectiveness, and opportunities. My e-mail is bblair@cdi.org and office phone is (202) 332-0600 Ext. 111. I look forward to hearing from and working with you.



Bruce G. Blair ■

Bruce G. Blair: President, Center for Defense Information

Bruce G. Blair came to the Center for Defense Information in March, 2000 after 13 years at the Brookings Institution, where he was a senior fellow in the Foreign Policy Studies Program.

He received his B.S. in communications from the University of Illinois in 1970. He then entered the U.S. Air Force, serving as a Minuteman ICBM launch control officer and support officer for the Strategic Air Command's Airborne Command Post (1970-1974). He earned an M.S. in management sciences at Yale University in 1977 and a Ph.D. in operations research at Yale in 1984. He also was awarded a Russian Language Institute Fellowship at Yale.

Mr. Blair is an expert on the security policies of the United States and the former Soviet Union, specializing in nuclear forces and command-control systems. He also has extensively studied the Russian military-industrial economy, and early in his career was a project director at the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment.

He has frequently testified before Congress and has taught security studies as a visiting professor at Yale and Princeton universities. He was awarded a MacArthur Fellowship Prize in 1999.

Mr. Blair is the author of numerous books and articles on security issues in such publications as *Scientific American*, *National Interest*, *The New York Times*, and *The Washington Post*. His books include *Strategic Command and Control* (Brookings, 1985), winner of the Edgar S. Furniss Award for its contribution to the study of national security; *Crisis Stability and Nuclear War* (Oxford, 1988; co-editor); *The Logic of Accidental Nuclear War* (Brookings, 1993); and *Global Zero Alert for Nuclear Forces* (Brookings, 1995). He also authored a chapter on de-alerting for *The Nuclear Turning Point: A Blueprint for Deep Cuts and De-Alerting of Nuclear Weapons* (Brookings, 1999) and currently is preparing a monograph entitled *De-Alerting Strategic Forces* (Brookings, 2000). ■

March 2000

THE LAW OF THE SEA, continued from page 4

Today it is true that we can exercise unchallenged military power around the globe. If a dispute arises at sea we can dispatch carrier battlegroups to rout any adversary. Who needs a Law of the Sea? But what about the future? How long will American taxpayers accept annual increases in money for the Pentagon to sustain the aggressive projection of U.S. military power around the globe? How long will the world's nations, even those who are now our closest friends and allies, accept U.S. military presence and dominion over events everywhere?

It is clearly in the security interests of all Americans for the U.S. to ratify the U.N. Convention on the Law of the Sea and to become an active supporter and participant in a cooperative process to extend the rule of law over 70% of the earth's surface. Our leadership in this process will do more to promote and protect the security and well being of our children in the new millennium than building the greatest armada the world has ever seen could possibly do. ■

Answer:

\$5,735,333,348,132.58 (\$5.735 trillion)
- *Congressional Record, March 1, 2000*

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