
BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adam, Heribert, "Failure of Military Humanitarianism," *Business Day* (South Africa), June 1, 1999, p. 13.
- Americas Watch Report, *The Laws of War and the Conduct of the Panama Invasion*, May 1990.
- Arkin, William M., "The Cyber Bomb in Yugoslavia," posted October 25, 1999, at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/national/dotmil/arkin.htm>.
- "Armies and Arms," *Economist*, April 24, 1999 (NATO Survey, pp. 11–12).
- Battles, Jan, "Robinson Hits at Clinical Bombing," *Sunday Times* (London), May 16, 1999.
- Berkowitz, Bruce, "Rules of Engagement for UN Peacekeeping Forces in Bosnia," *Orbis*, Vol. 38, No. 4, Fall 1994, pp. 635–646.
- Bird, Chris, "Kosovo Crisis: Yugoslav Media Fear Crackdown Amid War Fever," *Guardian*, October 8, 1998, p. 15.
- Blechman, Barry M., and Tamara Cofman Wittes, "Defining Moment: The Threat and Use of Force in American Foreign Policy," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 114, No. 1, 1999, pp. 1–30.
- Bothe, Michael, Karl Josef Partsch, and Waldemar A. Solf, *New Rules for Victims of Armed Conflicts*, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, The Hague, 1982.

- Bowden, Mark, *Black Hawk Down*, Atlantic Monthly Press, New York, 1999.
- Bulman, Timothy P., "A Dangerous Guessing Game Disguised as Enlightening Policy: United States Law of War Obligations During Military Operations Other Than War," *Military Law Review*, Vol. 159, 1999.
- Butcher, Tim, and Patrick Bishop, "NATO Admits Air Campaign Failed," *London Daily Telegraph*, July 22, 1999, p. 1.
- Byman, Daniel, Matthew Waxman, and Eric Larson, *Air Power as a Coercive Instrument*, RAND, MR-1061-AF, 1999.
- Byman, Daniel, and Matthew Waxman, "Defeating US Coercion," *Survival*, Vol. 41, No. 2, Summer 1999.
- Charney, Jonathan I., "The Persistent Objector Rule and the Development of Customary International Law," *British Yearbook of International Law*, Vol. 56, 1985.
- Cohen, Eliot A., "The Mystique of U.S. Air Power," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 73, January–February 1994.
- Cohen, Roger, "Fighting Rages as NATO Debates How to Protect Bosnian Enclave," *New York Times*, November 25, 1994, p. A1.
- Cook, Joseph W. III, David P. Fiely, and Maura T. McGowan, "Nonlethal Weapons: Technologies, Legalities, and Potential Policies," *Airpower Journal*, Special Edition, 1995 (<http://www.airpower.maxwell.af.mil/airchronicles/apj/mcgowan.html>).
- Crawford, Leslie, "Unrepentant Peacekeepers Will Fire on Somali Human Shields," *Financial Times*, September 11, 1993, p. 4.
- Crawley, Vince, "U.S. Urges Arms Buildup for Allies," *Defense Week*, April 26, 1999.
- Crossette, Barbara, "Civilians Will Be in Harm's Way If Baghdad Is Hit," *New York Times*, January 28, 1998, p. A6.
- Deans, Bob, "War Advisers Gauge Risks of Gulf Attack," *Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, February 14, 1998, p. 1A.
- Department of the Air Force, *Air Force Basic Doctrine*, Air Force Doctrine Document 1, September 1997.

- _____, *International Law—The Conduct of Armed Conflict and Air Operations*, Air Force Pamphlet 110-31, November 1976.
- Department of Defense, *Conduct of the Persian Gulf War*, Final Report to Congress, Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1992.
- Department of Defense, *Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms*, JCS Pub 1/02, Washington, DC, 1994.
- Department of the Navy, *The Commander's Handbook on the Law of Naval Operations*, NWP1-14M/FMFM 1-10/COMDTPUB P5800.7, October 1995.
- DeSaussure, Maj. Ariane L. (USAF), "The Role of the Law of Armed Conflict During the Persian Gulf War: An Overview," *Air Force Law Review*, Vol. 37, 1994.
- Fineman, Mark, "Hussein's Moves Seen as Steps in Calculated Plan," *Los Angeles Times*, January 17, 1993, p. A1.
- Freedman, Lawrence, and Efraim Karsh, *The Gulf Conflict 1990–1991*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 1993.
- Fulghum, David A., "ALCMs Given Nonlethal Role," *Aviation Week & Space Technology*, February 22, 1993.
- _____, "Electronic Bombs Darken Belgrade," *Aviation Week & Space Technology*, May 10, 1999, pp. 34–35.
- Gellman, Barton, "Allied Air War Struck More Broadly in Iraq," *Washington Post*, June 23, 1991, p. A1.
- Gordon, Michael, and Bernard Trainor, *The Generals' War*, Little, Brown, Boston, MA, 1994.
- Gordon, Michael R., "NATO Air Attacks on Power Plants Pass a Threshold," *New York Times*, May 4, 1999, p. A1.
- _____, "U.S. Leads Further Attacks on Iraqi Antiaircraft Sites; Admits Its Missile Hit Hotel," *New York Times*, January 19, 1993, p. A1.
- Hallion, Richard, *Storm over Iraq*, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC, 1992.

- Harden, Elaine, and John M. Broder, "Clinton's War Aims: Win the War, Keep the U.S. Voters Content," *New York Times*, May 22, 1999, p. A1.
- Harden, Elaine, and Steven Lee Myers, "Bombing United Serb Army As It Debilitates Economy; Yugoslav Rift Heals, NATO Admits," *New York Times*, April 30, 1999, p. A1.
- Henkin, Louis, *How Nations Behave: Law and Foreign Policy*, Praeger, New York, 1968.
- Hosmer, Stephen T., *Constraints on U.S. Strategy in Third World Conflicts*, Crane Russak & Co., New York, 1987.
- Howard, Michael, George J. Andreopoulos, and Mark R. Shulman, *The Laws of War: Constraints on Warfare in the Western World*, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 1994.
- Humphries, John G., "Operations Law and the Rules of Engagement," *Airpower Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 3, Fall 1992, pp. 25-41.
- Jehl, Douglas, "Saudis Admit Restricting U.S. Warplanes in Iraq," *New York Times*, March 22, 1999, p. A6.
- Jenkins, Simon, "NATO's Moral Morass," *The Times* (London), April 28, 1999.
- Karnow, Stanley, *Vietnam: A History*, Penguin edition, Penguin Books, Inc., New York, 1997.
- Kitfield, James A., "Another Look at the Air War That Was," *Air Force Magazine*, October 1999.
- Kuehl, Daniel T., "Airpower vs. Electricity: Electric Power as a Target for Strategic Air Operations," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1, March 1995, pp. 237-266.
- Lancaster, John, "Egypt Urges Diplomacy, Not Force, in U.S.-Iraq Dispute," *Washington Post*, November 14, 1997, p. A35.
- Larson, Eric V., *Casualties and Consensus: The Historical Role of Casualties in Domestic Support for U.S. Military Operations*, RAND, MR-726-RC, 1996.
- Lawson, Mark, "Flattening a Few Broadcasters," *Guardian* (London), April 24, 1999, p. 18.

- Lederer, Edith M., "Tuzla Off Limits to Off-Duty Troops," *Detroit News*, February 20, 1997, p. A12.
- Leurdijk, Dick A., *The United Nations and NATO in Former Yugoslavia*, Netherlands Atlantic Commission, The Hague, 1994.
- Lewis, Paul, "U.S.-Led Raids on Iraq Strain Unity of Gulf War Coalition," *New York Times*, January 20, 1993, p. A1.
- Lewy, Guenter, *America in Vietnam*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1978.
- Libicki, Martin C., *What Is Information Warfare?* National Defense University, Washington, DC, 1995.
- Lorenz, F. M., "Rules of Engagement in Somalia: Were They Effective?" *Naval Law Review*, Vol. 42, 1995, pp. 62–78.
- Mann, Paul, "Strategists Question U.S. Steadfastness," *Aviation Week & Space Technology*, August 31, 1998, p. 32.
- Matheson, Michael J., "The United States Position on the Relation of Customary International Law to the 1977 Protocols Additional to the 1949 Geneva Conventions," *American University Journal of International Law and Policy*, Vol. 2, 1987, pp. 419–431.
- McDougal, Myres S., and Florentino P. Feliciano, *Law and Minimum World Order: The Legal Regulation of International Coercion*, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 1961.
- Melvin, Sheila, "Why Chinese Can Believe Worst About U.S. Bombing," *USA Today*, May 12, 1999, p. 15A.
- Meron, Theodor, "The Continuing Role of Custom in the Formation of International Humanitarian Law," *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 90, 1996.
- Meron, Theodor, *War Crimes Law Comes of Age*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1998.
- Middle East Watch, *Needless Deaths in the Gulf War: Civilian Casualties During the Air Campaign and Violations of the Laws of War*, New York, 1991.
- Morin, Richard, "Poll Shows Most Americans Want Negotiated Settlement," *Washington Post*, May 18, 1999, p. A18.

- Mueller, John, *Policy and Opinion in the Gulf War*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, IL, 1994.
- Mueller, John, and Karl Mueller, "Sanctions of Mass Destruction," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 1999.
- Myers, Steven Lee, "All in Favor of This Target, Say Yes, Si, Oui, Ja," *New York Times*, April 25, 1999, sec. 4, p. 1.
- Nurick, Lester, "The Distinction Between Combatant and Noncombatant in the Law of War," *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 39, 1945, pp. 680–697.
- O'Toole, Fintan, "NATO's Actions, Not Just Its Cause, Must Be Moral," *Irish Times*, April 24, 1999, p. 11.
- Parkerson, John Embry, Jr., "United States Compliance with Humanitarian Law Respecting Civilians During Operation Just Cause," *Military Law Review*, Vol. 133, 1991, pp. 31–140.
- Parks, W. Hays, "Air War and the Law of War," *Air Force Law Review*, Vol. 32, 1990.
- _____, "Linebacker and the Law of War," *Air University Review*, Vol. 34, No. 2, January–February 1983.
- _____, "Rolling Thunder and the Law of War," *Air University Review*, Vol. 33, No. 2, January–February 1982.
- Pentagon Papers* (Gravel Edition), Vol. IV, Beacon Press, Boston, MA, (undated).
- "'People's Daily' Observer Slams US Hegemonism," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, June 25, 1999.
- Perlez, Jane, "Serbia Shuts 2 More Papers, Saying They Created Panic," *New York Times*, October 15, 1998.
- Petrowski, Lawrence C., "Law and the Conduct of the Vietnam War," in Richard A. Falk (ed.), *The Vietnam War and International Law*, Vol. 2, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 1969.
- Priest, Dana, and William Drozdiak, "NATO Struggles to Make Progress From the Air," *Washington Post*, April 18, 1999, p. A1.

- Reed, Ronald M., "Chariots of Fire: Rules of Engagement in Operation DELIBERATE FORCE," in Robert C. Owen (ed.), *Deliberate Force: A Case Study in Effective Air Campaigning*, Air University Press, Maxwell Air Force Base, AL, forthcoming.
- Reisman, W. Michael, "The Lessons of Qana," *Yale Journal of International Law*, Vol. 22, 1997, pp. 381–399.
- Reisman, W. Michael, and Chris T. Antoniou, *The Laws of War*, Vintage Books, New York, NY, 1994.
- Report of the Defense Science Board Task Force on Military Operations in Built-Up Areas (MOBA)*, Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition and Technology, Washington, DC, November 1994.
- Restatement (Third) of Foreign Relations Law of the United States, American Law Institute, St. Paul, MN, 1987.
- Risen, James, "To Bomb Sudan Plant, or Not: A Year Later, Debates Rankle," posted on October 27, 1999, at <http://www.nytimes.com/library/world/africa/102799us-sudan.html>.
- Roach, Captain J. Ashley (JAGC, U.S. Navy), "Rules of Engagement," *Naval War College Review*, Vol. 36, No. 1, January–February 1983, pp. 46–55.
- Rosenthal, Elisabeth, "Public Anger Against U.S. Still Simmers in Beijing," *New York Times*, May 17, 1999, p. A11.
- Schmitt, Michael N., "Bellum Americanum: The U.S. View of Twenty-First Century War and Its Possible Implications for the Law of Armed Conflict," *Michigan Journal of International Law*, Vol. 19, Summer 1998, pp. 1051–1090.
- _____, "The Principle of Discrimination in 21st Century Warfare," *Yale Human Rights and Development Law Journal*, Vol. 2, 1999, pp. 143–182.
- Sherman, William T., *Memoirs*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, IN, 1957.
- Shulman, Mark R., "Discrimination in the Laws of Information Warfare," *Columbia Journal of Transnational Law*, Vol. 37, 1999, pp. 939–968.

- “Sonia Misled President on MPs’ Support,” *The Statesman* (India), May 11, 1999.
- Thomson, Alex, *Smokescreen: The Media, the Censors, the Gulf*, Laburnham and Spellmount Ltd., Kent, UK, 1992.
- Tubbs, James O., *Beyond Gunboat Diplomacy: Forceful Applications of Airpower in Peace Enforcement Operations*, Air University Press, Maxwell Air Force Base, AL, September 1997.
- Van Creveld, Martin, *The Sword and the Olive: A Critical History of the Israeli Defense Force*, Public Affairs, New York, NY, 1998.
- Warden, John A. III, “The Enemy as a System,” *Air Power Journal*, Vol. 9, No. 1, Spring 1995.
- Waxman, Matthew C., “Coalitions and Limits on Coercive Diplomacy,” *Strategic Review*, Vol. 25, No. 1, Winter 1997.
- _____, “Siegecraft and Surrender: The Law and Strategy of Cities as Targets,” *Virginia Journal of International Law*, Vol. 39, 1999.
- Weigley, Russell F., *The American Way of War*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, IN, 1977.
- Whitney, Craig R., “Generals Vow to Hit Serb TV but NATO Civilians Say No,” *New York Times*, April 9, 1999, p. A8.
- Wright, Robin, “Diplomacy: U.S. Officials Concede That Discord Within 29-Nation Alliance Served to Limit Actions Against Iraq,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 19, 1993, p. A10.