

# CURRENT NEWS

## EARLY BIRD



January 22, 2008

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### IRAQ

1. **Suicide Attack At Funeral In Northern Iraq Kills 17**  
(*Washington Post*)...Joshua Partlow  
A suicide bomber infiltrated a funeral Monday evening and blew himself up among the mourners, killing 17 people in the latest attack in a volatile region of northern Iraq.
2. **Suicide Bomber Kills Up To 17 At Funeral**  
(*Los Angeles Times*)...Kimi Yoshino  
...The U.S. military on Monday also reported the deaths of two personnel over the weekend. A soldier was slain Saturday in a bombing in Arab Jabour, just south of Baghdad. A Marine was killed the same day while conducting combat operations in Anbar province. Their names were not released pending notification of family.
3. **Suicide Bomber Kills 17 At Ceremony Near Capital**  
(*New York Times*)...Alissa J. Rubin  
...Meanwhile, in the wake of a suicide bombing on Sunday near Falluja in Anbar Province, local tribesmen burned the house of the young suicide bomber's family and prevented a female cousin from collecting the bomber's head for burial.
4. **Hopes For Vehicle Questioned After Iraq Blast**  
(*New York Times*)...Stephen Farrell  
...Over a crackling field radio came reports of injuries and then, sometime later, official confirmation of the first fatality inflicted by a roadside bomb on an MRAP, the new Mine-Resistant Ambush-Protected armored vehicle that the American military is counting on to reduce casualties from roadside bombs in Iraq.
5. **Tea And Tribal Conflict In Iraq**  
(*Los Angeles Times*)...Tony Perry  
The possible rise of militias from Sunni groups is the topic for Marine commanders and power brokers in a region bordering Syria.
6. **US Bombs Terror Lair**  
(*New York Post*)...Reuters  
US warplanes dropped 30,000 pounds of bombs on a suspected al Qaeda safe haven south of Baghdad, the Air Force said, the latest in a series of air strikes aimed at disrupting the Sunni Islamist group's operations.
7. **A General's Assessment**  
(*U.S. News & World Report*)...Linda Robinson  
Why David Petraeus wants to go slowly on troop drawdowns.
8. **U.N. Envoy Applauds Cut In Iraq Violence**  
(*Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*)...Edith M. Lederer, Associated Press  
The top U.N. envoy in Iraq on Monday welcomed recent improvements in security and tentative steps towards national reconciliation, urging all parties to maintain the positive momentum.

9. **Asylum Program Falls Short For Iraqis Aiding U.S. Forces**

*(Washington Post)*....Walter Pincus

...But the U.S. asylum program for translators seeking to leave the country has fallen far short of demand and, at times, short of what other coalition countries have offered their Iraqi staff.

## DEFENSE DEPARTMENT

10. **Speculation Surrounds Petraeus's Next Job, Potential Successors**

*(Washington Post)*....Ann Scott Tyson and Thomas E. Ricks

When Gen. David H. Petraeus, the top U.S. commander in Iraq, meets with influential Iraqi leaders, he is often accompanied by a key deputy: Lt. Gen. Stanley A. McChrystal, who leads secretive U.S. Special Operations units working in Iraq.

11. **Pentagon Weighs Top Iraq General As Chief Of NATO**

*(New York Times)*....Michael R. Gordon and Eric Schmitt

The Pentagon is considering Gen. David H. Petraeus for the top NATO command later this year, a move that would give the general, the top American commander in Iraq, a high-level post during the next administration but that has raised concerns about the practice of rotating war commanders.

12. **Military Ouster Of Gays Plunges**

*(Washington Times)*....Rowan Scarborough

The U.S. military says it is enforcing the ban on open homosexuals in the ranks, as it has for decades, in the face of statistics that show a sharp drop in the number of discharged homosexuals as wars in Afghanistan and Iraq continue.

## AFGHANISTAN

13. **Enough U.S. Help For Afghanistan?**

*(Christian Science Monitor)*....Gordon Lubold

Deployment of 3,200 marines will help, analysts say, but will not provide the kind of counterinsurgency now needed there.

14. **Violence Keeps Students From Class**

*(Washington Times)*....Rahim Faiez, Associated Press

About 300,000 Afghan children cannot attend school because of violence in Afghanistan's southern provinces, President Hamid Karzai told parliament on its opening day yesterday.

15. **Hauling Away Trash Helps Bring Back Old Kabul**

*(San Diego Union-Tribune)*....Alisa Tang, Associated Press

Traditional city's restoration is focus of groups.

## NATO

16. **U.S. Lobbies NATO To Expand**

*(Washington Times)*....Nicholas Kralev

NATO is expected to issue membership invitations to as many as three Balkan countries this spring in yet another round of enlargement championed by the United States, alliance diplomats said yesterday.

17. **Nato 'Must Prepare To Launch Nuclear Attack'**

*(London Daily Telegraph)*....Unattributed

Nato must prepare to launch pre-emptive nuclear attacks to ward off the use of weapons of mass destruction by its enemies, a group of former senior military officials has warned.

## MIDEAST

18. **A New Arms Race In The Gulf?**

*(Washington Post)*....Walter Pincus

...Because JDAMs are offensive weapons, their acquisition by Arab states such as Saudi Arabia that are considered hostile to Israel has drawn concern on Capitol Hill, according to a Congressional Research Service report issued last week.

19. **High Stakes In The Gulf**  
(*Newsweek*)....John Barry and Michael Hirsh  
Eager to avoid future confrontations between Iranian boats and U.S. warships in the Persian Gulf, the U.S. government has quietly sent word to Tehran asking for dialogue.
20. **Ayatollah Chides President For Cutting Gas To Villages**  
(*Washington Post*)....Unattributed  
Iran's Ayatollah Ali Khamenei on Monday reversed a decision by President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and ordered him to implement a law supplying natural gas to remote villages as anger rose over the president's performance.
21. **UN Squeeze On Iran Due**  
(*New York Post*)....Associated Press  
The UN Security Council's five permanent members and Germany are expected to agree today on a new resolution to pressure Iran over its nuclear program, a French diplomat said.
22. **Launch Installs New Spy In Sky**  
(*Atlanta Journal-Constitution*)....Unattributed  
Israel launched an advanced spy satellite Monday that will be able to track events in Iran, the country it considers its top foe, even at night and in cloudy weather, defense officials said.

## ASIA/PACIFIC

23. **Musharraf Trip Shadowed By Troubles At Home**  
(*New York Times*)....Jane Perlez  
President Pervez Musharraf is touring European capitals and plans to attend the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, on Wednesday in a bid to show that he remains in charge of his troubled country, where his popular support has never been at such a low ebb.
24. **Musharraf Pledges Free, Fair Elections**  
(*Boston Globe*)....Reuters  
Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf pledged free elections at the start of a European tour yesterday to boost outside support, but urged the West not to set unrealistic rights standards for his troubled country.
25. **North Suspends Inter-Korean Talks**  
(*New York Times*)....Agence France-Presse  
North Korea has postponed the first inter-Korean dialogue of this year, citing time constraints, the Unification Ministry in South Korea said.
26. **Filipino Authorities Capture Terror Figure**  
(*San Diego Union-Tribune*)....Associated Press  
Police and troops captured a suspected member of the al-Qaeda-linked Abu Sayyaf group wanted in connection with the beheading of 10 marines in an ambush last year, officials said yesterday.

## EUROPE

27. **Putting Muscle Back In Europe's Military**  
(*Washington Times*)....Leander Schaerlaeckens  
When France takes over the EU presidency for the final six months of this year, President Nicholas Sarkozy wants to make boosting Europe's military capabilities a top priority.
28. **Poland To Consult With Russia On U.S. Missile Shield**  
(*International Herald Tribune*)....Associated Press  
...The prime minister of Slovakia on Monday criticized plans to deploy components of the U.S. anti-missile shield in two neighboring countries, calling the system pointless, The Associated Press reported from Strasbourg.
29. **A Polish Town Fears Russian Retaliation**  
(*Moscow Times*)....Ryan Lucas, Associated Press  
...The shuttered air base in northern Poland, which dates back to World War II, is a likely site for 10 interceptors for a planned U.S. missile defense program, which Washington says is necessary to counter potential attacks from

so-called rogue states. Poland's new government is sounding increasingly skeptical about the plan, arguing that it won't boost Polish security -- a sentiment echoed throughout the farm country near the Baltic Sea coast, where residents struggle to see any benefits at all.

## AMERICAS

30. **Panel Set To Urge Afghan Extension**  
*(Washington Times)*....Unattributed  
 An independent panel is set to recommend today that Canada extend its mission in Afghanistan by two years to 2011, a course of action that could bring down the minority Conservative Party government.
31. **Down South**  
*(Aviation Week & Space Technology)*....Amy Butler  
 As planning begins to remove U.S. forces from a key air base in Ecuador, the Pentagon is examining new arrangements with countries farther north, in Central America.

## SPORTS

32. **Lieutenant Colonel Greg Gadson Is Giants' Inspirational Co-Captain**  
*(New York Daily News)*....Mike Lupica  
 His name is Lt. Col. Greg Gadson and he used to wear No. 98 for the Army football team and was with the Second Battalion and 32nd Field Artillery, on his way back from a memorial service for two soldiers from his brigade when he lost both his legs to a roadside bomb in Baghdad. It was the night of May 7, 2007, and Lt. Col. Gadson didn't know it at the time because he couldn't possibly have known, but it was the beginning of a journey that brought him to Lambeau Field Sunday night.

## GUANTANAMO

33. **Ex-Md. Resident Writes From Guantanamo About CIA Torture**  
*(Baltimore Sun)*....McClatchy-Tribune  
 In a handwritten plea, a suburban Baltimore high school graduate held at the U.S. detention facility at Guantanamo Bay has written a federal court about his alleged torture in CIA custody - details hidden from public view by censorship.

## TERRORISM

34. **No Answers, But Plenty Of Questions For Al-Qaida**  
*(Atlanta Journal-Constitution)*....Lee Keath, Associated Press  
 Sympathizers submitted hundreds of questions to al-Qaida deputy leader Ayman al-Zawahri's "online interview" before a recent deadline. Among them: Why hasn't al-Qaida attacked the U.S. again, why isn't it attacking the Israelis, and when will it be more active in Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Syria?

## BUSINESS

35. **Northrop Grumman, General Dynamics May Get \$36B Destroyer Program Awards**  
*(Washington Examiner)*....Tony Capaccio, Bloomberg News  
 Northrop Grumman Corp. and General Dynamics Corp., the U.S. Navy's two top shipbuilders, may have a "handshake deal" this month to build the first pair of destroyers in a new program valued at as much as \$36 billion, according to the Navy's head of ship programs.

## OPINION

36. **Tough Calls, Good Calls**  
*(Wall Street Journal)*....J.D. Crouch II and Robert Joseph  
 ...The surge may turn out to be Mr. Bush's most important decision. But he has made other such decisions since 9/11, including to commit ground forces to Afghanistan, to eradicate the regime of Saddam Hussein, to use the CIA to conduct strategic interrogation of high-level terrorists, and to conduct strategic surveillance of terrorists communications. Mr. Bush has faced so many tough choices over the last seven years that his decision to withdraw

from the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty has been at least partially forgotten.

37. **Unfailing Friend Or Failing State?**

*(Washington Times)*....Jane Harman

Years from now, historians will look back at 2007 as the year we lost Pakistan. Evidence of Pakistan's looming disintegration is everywhere.

38. **Home-Grown Jihadists Wake Up Pakistan**

*(Miami Herald)*....Joseph L. Galloway

There are signs that Pakistan's leaders finally are waking up to the threat that faces them from the Islamic jihadists who poured into the untamed provinces bordering Afghanistan six years ago and have spread their poison on fertile ground.

39. **American Honor**

*(Wall Street Journal)*....Bret Stephens

By an apt coincidence, the revival of John McCain's political fortunes takes place close to the 40th anniversary of the Tet Offensive, when some 100,000 North Vietnamese troops and Vietcong irregulars launched a coordinated attack on the South that took the U.S. by surprise and permanently altered the political landscape of the war. That event, far more so than Sept. 11, is what Mr. McCain's candidacy is all about. In many ways it's what this year's election is all about, too.

40. **Pakistan, Terrorism And Drugs -- (Letters)**

*(New York Times)*....Munir Akram; Robert S. Weiner

Suicide bombing is a phenomenon imported from Iraq and Afghanistan, alien to Pakistan. The strategy to support the Afghans against Soviet military intervention was evolved by several intelligence agencies, including the C.I.A. and Inter-Services Intelligence, or ISI.

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January 22, 2008  
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## 1. Suicide Attack At Funeral In Northern Iraq Kills 17

By Joshua Partlow,  
Washington Post Foreign  
Service

The funeral for a local man was being held in a mainly Sunni village south of Baiji, the oil refinery town that was the scene of a major bombing last month. Police there speculated that the bomber might have been targeting Interior Ministry officials attending the funeral.

After the bomber entered the funeral hall, he shook hands with the guests and detonated his explosives, injuring 12 people in addition to those killed, said Capt. Mohammed al-Kaissi of the Baiji police.

Suicide bombers have often targeted funerals because they bring together large crowds of civilians and frequently do not have much security or fortifications. Three weeks ago, a suicide bomber attacked a funeral in Baghdad's Zayouna neighborhood, killing at least 25 people.

To Abdullah Jabbarra, the deputy governor of Salahuddin province, which includes the village of al-Butoma where Monday's bombing took place, the attack was a sign of the vengeful and desperate spirit of Sunni insurgent group al-Qaeda in Iraq.

"Al-Qaeda is at their weakest state now in that area ... because the people and the tribes are fighting them," he said. "These are revenge operations against innocent people."

He said that the funeral was for a man who died of natural causes and that he did not think any prominent officials were present. "Usually they expect important people or officials will attend such funeral services, which is why they attack them," he said.

Kaissi, the police captain,

said the bombing slightly wounded Col. Ahmed Abdullah al-Juburi, a senior Interior Ministry official in the province.

The bombing was the latest in a series of attacks that have rocked Iraq's northern provinces. As violence has declined in historically embattled regions such as Baghdad and Anbar provinces, it has migrated north to places such as Salahuddin province.

In late December, a car bomb exploded near a checkpoint outside a housing complex for oil industry employees in Baiji, killing 22 people. In Kirkuk, another northern city, two civilians were injured Monday by a roadside bomb targeting a police patrol, according to police spokesman Col. Adnan Abdullah Abdullah.

In Mosul, the northern city that the U.S. military describes as a focus of al-Qaeda in Iraq activity, a car bomb blew up in a market near Iraqi army soldiers, killing two people and wounding nine, said Brig. Gen. Abdul Kareem al-Rubaie, a police commander in Nineveh province.

Also Monday, the U.S. military said two American servicemen were killed in recent days. A roadside bomb killed a soldier in Arab Jabour, a district south of Baghdad, and a Marine was killed in Anbar province in western Iraq. The two deaths put the January toll for U.S. troops at 25 through the first three weeks, surpassing December's total of 23.

*Special correspondent Naseer Nouri in Baghdad and other Washington Post staff in Iraq contributed to this report.*

Los Angeles Times  
January 22, 2008

## 2. Suicide Bomber Kills Up To 17 At Funeral

*People were marking the last day of mourning for a tribal leader in Hajaj, a Sunni village near Tikrit.*

By Kimi Yoshino, Los Angeles

Times Staff Writer

BAGHDAD — A bomber walked undetected into a funeral Monday evening and blew himself up, killing as many as 17 others and injuring nine in a predominantly Sunni village near Tikrit, police said.

The explosion in Hajaj village killed Iraqis attending a funeral for Antar Abdullah, a tribal leader and brother of the Salahuddin provincial governor's security chief.

The security officer, Ahmed Abdullah, left the funeral minutes before the attack and was not injured. Many other officials, including tribal chiefs and members of volunteer security forces, also attended the funeral, but police said they had survived the bombing.

The attack comes a day after an 18-year-old walked into a party carrying a box of chocolates and detonated hidden explosives, killing himself, his cousin -- a Sunni fighter working with U.S. and Iraqi forces -- and four others.

Nobody had questioned the teen because he was a family member and known to many in the Anbar province village.

Monday's suicide bomber was able to infiltrate the funeral tent, where people had gathered for the final day of mourning, an event marked by a meal in which people come and go throughout the evening.

Elsewhere, a parked car exploded in Qayyarah, about 50 miles south of Mosul, killing two civilians and wounding nine others. The explosion targeted an Iraqi army patrol unit, said Brig. Gen. Abdul-Kareem Juboori, commander of Nineveh's police operation.

Seven bodies were found around Baghdad on Monday, all men who had been shot, police said.

The U.S. military on Monday also reported the deaths of two personnel over the weekend.

A soldier was slain Saturday in a bombing in Arab

Jabour, just south of Baghdad. A Marine was killed the same day while conducting combat operations in Anbar province. Their names were not released pending notification of family.

Since the American-led invasion of Iraq in March 2003, at least 3,930 U.S. troops have been killed, according to the independent website [icasualties.org](http://icasualties.org).

*Special correspondents in Baghdad, Mosul and Tikrit contributed to this report.*

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January 22, 2008  
Pg. 10

## 3. Suicide Bomber Kills 17 At Ceremony Near Capital

By Alissa J. Rubin

BAGHDAD — A suicide bomber killed 17 people in Salahuddin Province north of Baghdad on Monday in the latest suicide attack outside the capital.

Meanwhile, in the wake of a suicide bombing on Sunday near Falluja in Anbar Province, local tribesmen burned the house of the young suicide bomber's family and prevented a female cousin from collecting the bomber's head for burial.

In the attack on Monday, a suicide bomber in the village of Hajaj near the northern oil refinery town of Baiji entered a communal hall where a feast was under way, observing the end of the seven-day mourning period for the uncle of a high-ranking security official in the Salahuddin provincial government. The bomber detonated his explosive vest, demolishing the hall.

Seventeen people were killed and 11 wounded, according to a senior official, who spoke on condition of anonymity because he was not authorized to speak to the news media.

The level of anger on Monday in Albo Issa, the village where the Sunday bombing took place, laid bare the intensity of the blood feuds

and vengeance killings that often characterize the violence in the provinces. As women keened in the courtyard and men sat somberly in a separate house, family members talked about those they had lost.

"After this crime, we will never allow any of those people to stay in our area," said Mohammed Hadi Hassan, 20, whose father was killed. "Not even their women and children. We will not permit anyone with such an ideology to stay in our village."

The bombing took place at a celebratory lunch among members of the local Awakening Council, the American-backed movement of Sunni Arab tribes opposed to Al Qaeda in Mesopotamia. According to witnesses, the suicide bomber, a boy of 13 or 14 identified as Ali Hussein Allawi al-Issawi, detonated his vest just after handing chocolates to his host. Four people were killed, including the bomber.

On Sunday night, some of the men who lost relatives in the bombing set his house on fire, Mr. Hassan said, setting off explosions because of the amount of ammunition stored there. Mr. Hassan, an AK-47 on his lap, spoke tearfully on Monday about his father, Hadi Hussein al-Issawi, and the split within the Issawi tribe to which he belongs.

The tribe has long been divided between a majority who fiercely oppose Al Qaeda in Mesopotamia and a minority who support the militants, he said. Al Qaeda in Mesopotamia is a homegrown militant group that American officials say has foreign leadership.

The two tribal factions live close to each other in Albo Issa; the bomber's house lies about 500 yards from the house of Mr. Hussein, the victim.

Soon after members of the tribe joined with the Americans to fight Al Qaeda in Mesopotamia, more than a year ago, the men in the area who supported the group fled north, leaving behind their women

and children, Mr. Hassan said.

"The bomber's father was one of the senior leaders in Al Qaeda, which here they call 'the Islamic State of Iraq,'" Mr. Hassan said. "He left his house a long time ago. The child disappeared 10 months ago, but he reappeared 10 days ago. We told the police forces about his return as soon as he got back, but they took no action."

A boy, who was among those mourning the victims, said he remembered the bomber as a normal child.

"He was my classmate in school as well as in the neighborhood," said Dhafer Hussein Ali, 13. "He was very calm, and we used to play together. He joked with all of us. Ten months ago, he disappeared. When he came back recently, he kept to himself and he did not even say hello to us."

Another cousin of Mr. Hussein's, Ghazi Feisal Hashem al-Issawi, 30, said Mr. Hussein had not recognized the young boy at the lunch gathering. He said that as the boy handed Mr. Hussein the chocolates, Mr. Hussein asked him who he was. "The bomber told him, 'I am Hussein Allawi's son,' then he detonated himself," he said.

As the sun began to set on Monday, gunshots rang out in the village. Relatives of Mr. Hussein were trying to keep a female cousin of the bomber from approaching the house where the explosion occurred.

She had wanted to retrieve the young boy's head so that it could be properly buried. But no one would allow her to approach.

The military announced on Monday the deaths of two American soldiers in combat. Both died Saturday. A marine was killed in Anbar province and a soldier was killed by an improvised explosive device while on patrol in Arab Jabour, south of Baghdad, in a new Mine-Resistant Ambush-Protected armored vehicle that the military has

turned to as a way to reduce deaths and injuries from roadside bombs.

Seven unidentified bodies were found in Baghdad and two in Mosul. Two Iraqi civilians were killed near Samarra when an improvised explosive device detonated beneath their vehicle.

*Abeer Mohammed and Qais Mizher contributed reporting from Baghdad, and Iraqi employees of The New York Times from Falluja, Tikrit and Mosul.*

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#### **4. Hopes For Vehicle Questioned After Iraq Blast**

By Stephen Farrell

ARAB JABOUR, Iraq — From the blast and the high, thin plume of white smoke above the tree line, it looked and sounded like any other attack. The bare details were, sadly, routine enough: a gunner was killed and three crew members were wounded Saturday when their vehicle rolled over a homemade bomb buried beneath a road southeast of Baghdad.

Yet, it was anything but routine. Over a crackling field radio came reports of injuries and then, sometime later, official confirmation of the first fatality inflicted by a roadside bomb on an MRAP, the new Mine-Resistant Ambush-Protected armored vehicle that the American military is counting on to reduce casualties from roadside bombs in Iraq.

The military has been careful to point out that the new vehicle is not impervious to attack, and that a sufficiently powerful bomb can destroy any vehicle. Still, a forensic team was flown in immediately to inspect the charred wreckage, from which wires and tangled metal protruded, to determine whether the bombing had revealed a design flaw.

"It's a great vehicle, but there is no perfect vehicle," said Lt. Col. Kenneth Adgie, commander of the battalion that lost the soldier.

Three of the four people aboard suffered only broken feet and lacerations. Pending the results of an investigation, it is unclear yet whether the gunner was killed by the blast or by the vehicle rolling over.

But officers on the scene noted that he was the member of the crew most exposed, and that the vehicle's secure inner compartment was not compromised and appeared to have done its job by protecting the three other crew members inside. "The crew compartment is intact," said Capt. Michael Fritz. He said the blast would have been large enough "to take out" a heavily armored Bradley Fighting Vehicle.

Roadside bombs have been the single deadliest weapon insurgents have directed against American forces in Iraq, and have grown increasingly sophisticated and powerful over the years. As a result, reducing the carnage from the bombs became a strong military and political imperative for the Bush administration.

So important is the mine-resistant vehicle to the United States military that Defense Secretary Robert M. Gates singled it out in his holiday-season message in December, saying, "To ensure that troops have the best protection available on the battlefield, MRAPs became the military's highest acquisition priority, and thousands of these vehicles are in production and en route to theater."

On Friday, Mr. Gates toured an assembly facility for the vehicles in Charleston, S.C., where he described them as "a proven lifesaver on the battlefield." He cited Army reports that there had been 12 attacks on the vehicles with homemade bombs since a push began last summer to send more of them into combat zones, mostly in Iraq. No

soldiers died in those attacks, he said.

The vehicles have distinctive, armored V-shaped hulls that are designed to deflect the force of the explosion from roadside bombs out and away from the vehicle, sparing the occupants in the compartment.

The underbody sits about 36 inches off the ground, higher than the Humvees that have proved susceptible to roadside bombs despite the additional armor added to many of them in combat zones.

The vehicles are much bigger than Humvees, standing 12 feet high, weighing up to 18 tons, and carrying 6 to 10 soldiers, depending on the model. There are more than 1,500 of them in Iraq now, and the military plans to purchase more than 15,000 of them at a cost of \$22.4 billion.

Saturday's deadly attack came on the first day of an operation to clear insurgents from southern Arab Jabour, a rural, overwhelmingly Sunni area less than 10 miles southeast of Baghdad on the Tigris River. The primary target is Al Qaeda in Mesopotamia, the homegrown extremist group that American intelligence says is foreign led.

The bomb went off at 4:45 p.m., as engineers were driving beside an irrigation ditch to support soldiers of the First Battalion, 30th Infantry Regiment, Second Brigade Combat Team, Third Infantry Division, who had been clearing farmhouses and villages since a dawn air assault. The blast threw the vehicle into the air and spun it 180 degrees, with its shattered nose coming to rest beside the ditch.

Pvt. Matthew Hall, 19, saw the bombing while standing on the roof of a nearby farmhouse. "I heard a loud boom," he said Sunday. "I looked over and I saw pieces of vehicle and smoke. I saw a tire flying into the field."

Several vehicles in the convoy had already passed

over the same spot, but failed to set off what officers say they was a deeply buried, homemade bomb, which the military calls an improvised explosive device, or I.E.D., made from about 300 pounds of fertilizer and set off with a pressure device.

Infantrymen who had spent the day carefully maneuvering on foot through fields and ditches heard the blast and saw the smoke.

"That was another I.E.D.," said Capt. John Newman, the commander of Company B, to groans from his men who had walked close to the blast site earlier that morning.

Two minutes later came another report. "It was an MRAP, totally destroyed," the radio operator said.

Two rescue helicopters arrived minutes later to evacuate the wounded.

Dismayed, their colleagues carried on with their patrols, detaining insurgent suspects and searching for other bombs in farmyards and vehicles.

The threat from buried bombs was well known before of the operation. To help clear the ground, the military had dropped nearly 100,000 pounds of bombs to destroy weapons caches and I.E.D.'s.

Colonel Adgie, the battalion commander, stressed that the full details of the attacked vehicle's destruction would not be known until an investigation was completed, but said initial examination suggested a "deep-buried I.E.D.," which was there for some time, rather than one set off by remote control.

Commanders had received intelligence about a bomb buried there, he said, but could not be certain about the report, and were unable to explode or find it despite repeated attempts from the air, and with metal detectors.

He said many of the devices were hard to find and could be set off by a vehicle moving over them at a slightly different spot or at a different angle than previous vehicles

had.

"We had cleared it once and cleared it a second time," he said. "A lot of vehicles had gone over it already, and it was the second-to-last vehicle that got hit. You try your best to find them and roll them up, but we didn't find that one."

Rear Adm. Greg Smith, a spokesman for the American military in Baghdad, confirmed that the attack was "the first death resulting from an I.E.D. attack on an MRAP," but said that he could not comment on specific damage to the vehicle "for force protection reasons."

Admiral Smith said the new vehicle had proven "in its short time here in Iraq that it is a much improved vehicle in protecting troops from the effects of improvised explosive devices."

"However," he added, "there is no vehicle that can provide absolute protection of its occupants."

A few hours before the explosion, Captain Newman's company was led by a farmer to a similarly large device nearby. It was safely detonated.

Captain Newman said that his battalions had been using the new vehicles for about two months, and that this was the first time one had been hit with a bomb.

"Unfortunately we knew our time would probably come," he said. "It was just a very, very big amount of explosives. You can break anything with a big enough hammer."

That sentiment was echoed by other soldiers in the area.

"Before this, lots of soldiers thought the MRAP was indestructible, but nothing is indestructible," Specialist Matthew Gregg, 24, an MRAP gunner, said after driving past the wreckage. "To drive past it three or four times now, it reminds you that everything is unpredictable out here."

## Conflict In Iraq

*The possible rise of militias from Sunni groups is the topic for Marine commanders and power brokers in a region bordering Syria.*

By Tony Perry, Los Angeles Times Staff Writer

HUSAYBAH, IRAQ — The meeting between the Marines and the power brokers of this border region began with pleasantries, an exchange of gifts, and the drinking of small cups of tea, very hot and very sweet.

But within a few minutes the subject turned to one of crucial importance to both sides: the possible rise of militias among Sunni tribes who feel disrespected and shut out of the mild economic upturn the region is enjoying.

The power brokers -- the mayor, the sheiks, and the local Iraqi army general -- are from the Albu Mahal tribe, the most powerful in the region.

The Mahals were the first of the tribes to join with the U.S. in fighting the insurgency while lesser tribes stayed neutral or assisted the insurgents.

Now that the insurgency has been largely suppressed, Mahal leaders feel it is their right to share in the benefits of peace, such as the flourishing downtown market in Husaybah and the recently opened port of entry that allows a free flow of goods to and from Syria.

Other tribes played "an invisible" role when the Americans and the Mahals were fighting the insurgents, Farhan Fetekhan Farhan archly reminded the Marines.

Farhan picks his words carefully and has a knack for a phrase that will resonate with the Americans. He acts as mayor for the Qaim region and as the top administrator of Husaybah, its major city. As a sign of respect, the Marines came to his office there.

The mayor, the sheiks and the general are particularly suspicious that their archrivals, the Al Karbuli tribe, may be trying to form a militia by

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## 5. Tea And Tribal



creating all-Karbuli units within the Iraqi security forces. The Karbulis have denied it, but Brig. Gen. Ayad Ismael remains unconvinced.

"Those people never tell the truth," he said through an interpreter.

It has fallen largely to the Marines, particularly to Lt. Col. Peter Baumgarten, commander of the 3rd Battalion, 2nd Marine Regiment, to deter the Karbulis. He spends much of his time in a kind of shuttle diplomacy among the four major tribes, trying to assure them that they will share in the construction contracts and job creation.

Baumgarten's troops have been the beneficiaries of the current peace. "We haven't shot our weapons at bad guys since we've been here," he said.

The possibility of tribes morphing into militias has been a concern from the beginning of the alliance between the U.S. and the sheiks in Anbar. It is particularly acute here in Qaim, where the pro-U.S. movement called the Anbar Awakening has its roots.

"What goes on here sets the example for all Al Anbar," said Col. Stacy Clardy, commander of the 2nd Marine Regiment.

As the 2nd Regiment is relieved by the Camp Pendleton-based 5th Regiment, one of Clardy's proudest boasts is that no militias arose during his tenure.

Col. Patrick Malay, commander of the 5th Marine Regiment, is determined to continue that record. "We will put our feet in their slippers," said Malay, leaning forward and looking into the mayor's eyes.

The mayor suggested that Qaim's tentative step toward democracy may depend on it.

"We have 20 tribes but only two make trouble," he said. "Those two think they are right, but now we live in democratic times."

The Mahals also believe that the Karbulis have ties with

the Shiite-led government in Baghdad that will allow them to bypass the government in Qaim in securing favors and contracts.

Near the end of the meeting, the older of the two tribal leaders, Sheik Kurdi Raffa Farhan, warned that animosity between tribes runs deep and will not be easily overcome.

The Mahals have a land dispute with the Karbulis that stretches to the era of Saddam Hussein, when the Karbulis allegedly used their friendship with the dictator to seize prime farmland.

"This is the tribal problem for a long time, not one or two years," the sheik said.

Malay, who has extensive combat experience, said later that he does not underestimate the difficulty of an American trying to referee Sunni tribal disputes that stretch to the days when the tribes were nomadic. But he prefers this task to a return to the fighting that marked the first three years of the U.S. effort to bring stability here. "It's a lot better than killing," Malay said.

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New York Post  
January 22, 2008

## 6. US Bombs Terror Lair

By Reuters

BAGHDAD -- US warplanes dropped 30,000 pounds of bombs on a suspected al Qaeda safe haven south of Baghdad, the Air Force said, the latest in a series of air strikes aimed at disrupting the Sunni Islamist group's operations.

The Air Force said the operation, which began on Sunday night and continued yesterday morning, involved B-1 bombers and F/A-18 jets.

Several houses booby-trapped with explosives were destroyed in the air strikes which would allow US and Iraqi troops to move into the area to set up a permanent base of operations.

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U.S. News & World Report  
January 28, 2008  
Pg. 24

## 7. A General's Assessment

*Why David Petraeus wants to go slowly on troop drawdowns*

By Linda Robinson

BAGHDAD--It took 14 days to transport the two 200-ton electric generators, inching along at just 5 miles an hour, across once restive Anbar Province to the Qudas power plant north of Baghdad. They arrived safely last month, with the result that power generation will regularly exceed prewar levels for the first time since the 2003 invasion. "Nothing in Iraq is easy," says Gen. David Petraeus, citing the complex logistics of the move, which included having to provide security and reinforce bridges along the route. "Come to think of it," he adds, "that's a perfect metaphor for Iraq."

His comment may seem understated given the dramatic drop in violence and other signs of progress in recent months. But Petraeus, the top American commander in Iraq, knows that some of the hardest work still lies ahead if the fragile peace is to be converted into a lasting one. The political divisions in Iraq remain deep, and if they are not bridged soon, civil war could well erupt again. Further, a battle royal has begun within the U.S. administration over how quickly to draw down troops. There is pressure for an accelerated withdrawal not only because the five-year war has strained the Army but also because more troops are needed in Afghanistan and as a strategic reserve for troubles elsewhere, such as in Pakistan. The concern here is that reducing troop levels too fast, before there is progress on national reconciliation, would jeopardize the gains that have been made.

Petraeus will soon provide assessments to the Pentagon leadership about force levels

based on scenarios in which the situation gets better, stays the same, or gets worse. "Our requirement, prior to the next [congressional] testimony," he says, "is to provide assessments of the forces required for each of the alternative futures and also to provide a recommendation that is based on our analysis." Petraeus will make his force recommendation to President Bush and the military chain of command a couple of weeks before his required testimony on Capitol Hill, expected in March or early April.

**Debate.** Troop levels are already set to decline to 130,000 by July from the current level of about 160,000 (the peak was more than 170,000), so a key question is how many more troops can be sent home by year's end. Some defense officials are pushing for a reduction to a more sustainable level of 100,000 troops. That, however, is unlikely to be the recommendation from Petraeus and his team, according to a senior diplomat here, who supports a slower drawdown.

Iraq has seen a sharp drop in violence as the Shiite militias have mostly obeyed a cease-fire decreed by their leaders and as nationalist Sunni insurgents have largely stopped fighting. Sunni radicals linked to the terrorist group al Qaeda in Iraq have not called it quits, but they are being squeezed to a few remaining sanctuaries. That progress, though, has not been cemented by the political reconciliation necessary to keep sectarian and ethnic tensions in check. Addressing that issue is the tallest order for Petraeus and his diplomatic counterpart, U.S. Ambassador Ryan Crocker. They are trying to use whatever opportunity the lull provides to get the Iraqi political leaders to reach some kind of entente.

After two years of wrangling, the Parliament took a step in that direction this month by finally passing a law permitting some former

members of Saddam Hussein's Baath Party to return to government jobs or to collect their government pensions. Many technocrats, as well as hard-core Saddam loyalists, were ousted from administrative and security jobs in a 2003 purge of Baathists. But the version of the law that passed may still be used to keep midlevel Baathists from rejoining the now Shiite-run security ministries. And it could be used to force out the current head of the Baghdad Operations Command, Lt. Gen. Abboud Qanbar, who Shiite officials complain has grown too close to the Americans over the past year.

"Much work remains to be done," Petraeus says, adding with a laugh that "we are using all means of persuasion." His staff tracks the legislative process and the maneuvers of the various political parties. During a visit to Baghdad's Dora neighborhood, until September a hotbed of al Qaeda resistance, Petraeus urged Iraqi Parliament member Nada Ibrahim to "tell your party leader that we are watching his vote." Ibrahim's Sunni party, the National Dialogue Front, subsequently boycotted the vote on the de-Baathification bill, regarding the measure as still too restrictive. Petraeus is also pressing the government to provide services to recently pacified Sunni parts of the capital, such as Dora. Sewage, trash, electricity, and health services have been provided in many cases by contractors hired using U.S. aid and military funds.

In weighing the pace of a troop withdrawal, Petraeus is acutely conscious of the high price U.S. soldiers and marines have paid to win the current decline in violence. In Dora and southern Baghdad, for instance, Col. Ricky Gibbs's brigade--roughly 4,000 soldiers--has lost 88 killed in action and more than 700 wounded since arriving in

March. On a recent Saturday, shops were open all along the main commercial road of northeast Dora. "Eighteen months ago, only stray dogs would walk on this street," remarked Ibrahim, the legislator. In Dora since September, no American soldiers have been attacked and Iraqi deaths have fallen dramatically, from 563 in January 2007 to 35 in December. "Sunnis have come to feel liberated over the past year," says Petraeus.

**Volunteers.** The 1,200 so-called Sunni volunteers who have come forward to help guard and clean up Dora include former members of Saddam's security services and even a cardiologist named Moayad Hamad al-Jabouri, who invited Petraeus and a group of Iraqi generals into his home for pastries. The Iraqi government has balked at incorporating the 73,000 volunteers--most now being paid by the United States--into the Iraqi police, although U.S. pressure led Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki to an agreement to admit some 20,000 to the police academy and provide temporary jobs or job training for others.

Whether the deal will be honored remains to be seen, but a few thousand volunteers are being trained, and hiring orders were cut for an additional 5,200. Local residents say they want them to be the police--evidence of the remaining sectarian distrust. A woman in Dora said that she trusted the Iraqi Army but that the National Police, who are largely Shiite, were "not welcome here." Two other women nodded in agreement.

If matters were not complicated enough, Maliki's government may be falling apart. In late December, the two Kurdish parties and the Sunni Iraqi Islamic Party presented him a long list of demands, essentially asking to be included in the insular prime minister's deliberations. The demands carry an implicit

threat of a no-confidence vote in Parliament, which could bring down the government. Warns a senior Iraqi official, "We will wait a few weeks to see if he responds to our requests." Most American officials still back Maliki, in part since a government reshuffling could cost precious time as the U.S. public presses for troops to come home.

Norfolk Virginian-Pilot  
January 22, 2008

## 8. U.N. Envoy Applauds Cut In Iraq Violence

By Edith M. Lederer,  
Associated Press

UNITED NATIONS--The top U.N. envoy in Iraq on Monday welcomed recent improvements in security and tentative steps towards national reconciliation, urging all parties to maintain the positive momentum.

"It needs to be sustained by political activities and dialogue among the Iraqis," Staffan de Mistura said.

He told the Security Council the Iraqi government "is signaling that it recognizes 2008 as the year to demonstrate its ability to administer a state that enjoys the broadest support and can deliver basic services and security guarantees."

But he said much depends on whether the government can enact key legislation and quickly provide economic benefits and essential social services for the Iraqi people - electricity, water and sanitation.

De Mistura was briefing the council on Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon's recent report in which the U.N. chief welcomed the reduction in attacks across Iraq and called for similar improvements in the political arena.

The U.N. envoy cited four positive developments - "surges" in security, in the economy which saw 7 percent growth last year, on the political front, and in U.N.

activities.

He credited "the notable decline in hostile activities" to the increased deployment of the U.S.-led multinational force, the six-month cease-fire announced in August by radical Shiite leader Muqtada al-Sadr, increased security cooperation with Iraq's neighbors, and the role of the Awakening Councils, Sunni Arab groups that switched sides to join U.S. forces against al-Qaida in Iraq.

"The prevailing mood at the end of 2007 was that political advances were not adequate to match and sustain such security gains," de Mistura told the council. "However, the past weeks have witnessed some tentative and overdue, but certainly welcome, steps towards national reconciliation and inclusive political dialogue."

He singled out the Jan. 12 adoption by the Iraqi parliament of a benchmark law allowing lower-ranking former members of Saddam Hussein's Baath party to reclaim government jobs, the first major piece of U.S.-backed legislation it has adopted.

But he stressed that much depends on adhering to the constitution and parliament's adoption of other key laws on oil and resource-sharing, provincial elections, and amnesty.

U.S. Ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad told the council the number of security incidents is now at levels last seen in early 2005, and he said the U.S. "surge" was the key factor.

"The key to channeling this hard-won momentum into long-term success will be the willingness and ability of national leaders to capitalize on the local gains, pass and implement remaining key legislation, and promote reconciliation," he said.

Iraq's U.N. Ambassador Hamid Al-Bayati told the council his government "is determined to continue its efforts to achieve national reconciliation to reinforce

social cohesion and to avoid a civil war."

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Washington Post  
January 22, 2008  
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## 9. Asylum Program Falls Short For Iraqis Aiding U.S. Forces

By Walter Pincus, Washington Post Staff Writer

More than 250 of the interpreters working with the United States -- or with U.S. contractors -- have been killed. But the U.S. asylum program for translators seeking to leave the country has fallen far short of demand and, at times, short of what other coalition countries have offered their Iraqi staff.

This month, Denmark will complete the process of granting asylum to 120 Iraqi interpreters who worked for Danish troops in Iraq, as well as their families. "Interpreters who had been working for the Danish military were given the choice of resettling within [Iraq] with financial help, of being given jobs at Danish mission in the region, or of going to Denmark to apply for asylum with their families," said Thomas Bille Winkel, representative of the Danish Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs. Most chose to go to Denmark, he said.

Denmark's rapid handling of its Iraqi employees and their families -- 364 people -- contrasts with the fate of thousands of Iraqis who have worked, or are working, for the U.S. government or its contractors in Iraq and who also wish to leave the country.

Initially, the U.S. asylum initiative covered only 50 individuals a year beginning in 2006, rising to 500 annually for 2007 and 2008, and scheduled to drop back to 50 next year. Through September of last year, 429 Iraqi and 71 Afghan translators -- plus 482 of their family members -- have been admitted to the United States

as refugees, according to the State Department. An additional 43 special visas for translators were issued in October and November. The Los Angeles Times has reported that about 7,000 interpreters have worked for U.S. forces since the war began.

According to the office of Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), a sponsor of the refugee legislation, 257 Iraqi interpreters working for U.S. forces have been killed since the March 2003 invasion. An amendment by Kennedy to the 2008 defense authorization bill would raise the refugee cap to 5,000 interpreters over the next five years. A revised version of the bill, originally vetoed by President Bush, still contains the measure and is expected to pass.

When Denmark decided in February to withdraw its 480 ground troops from Basra by October, Danish military officers argued that the Iraqis who had worked for them for almost three years receive the opportunity to seek asylum in Denmark because their lives had been threatened in Iraq.

Two of their Iraqi translators had been killed, leading Danish officers to ask the government in February "to treat them the right way when the Danish contingent left," Winkel said.

Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen was initially reluctant to allow the Iraqis to seek asylum, but amid growing political pressure, he decided that "we will take care of these people," Winkel said.

Under Danish law, no one can seek political asylum from outside the country, so Danish military transports quietly flew the Iraqis to Denmark in July, August and October, where they applied for asylum. Their applications were based on the fact that they had been targeted by Iraqi militants, having worked with the Danish troops under British command in southern Iraq as part of the U.S.-led coalition.

So far, 228 Iraqis -- made up of interpreters and their families -- have been granted asylum by the Danish Immigration Service, and the remainder are expected to be approved this month, Winkel said.

In Denmark, the Iraqi asylum-seekers have been housed at government accommodation centers in Jutland while their applications are processed. There they are treated like any other political refugees, receiving a cash allowance from the Danish Immigration Service to cover their expenses for food and personal items, plus a special allowance for those with children.

The Iraqis receive courses to introduce them to Denmark, including an intensive language course. Employment training is also available before refugees are assigned to a municipality to establish residence. Language and other training can last up to three years.

Iraqi interpreters seeking U.S. asylum must file an application, pay a \$375 fee, and provide proof that they worked for U.S. units for more than one year and a recommendation from a flag officer certifying their service and their security clearances. They must be interviewed by the departments of State and Homeland Security, either in Iraq or a neighboring country. The United States does not pay the cost of travel outside Iraq for these interviews.

In the United States, military personnel who worked with Iraqi interpreters have been the driving force behind the effort to bring them to this country. Peter Fish, an Army Reserve captain who recently returned from Iraq, has spent more than six months trying to get two interpreters who worked for his Army hospital in Iraq into the United States. On two occasions, one interpreter leaving Iraq for visa interviews in Jordan and Syria was turned back. Both times,

the interviews were canceled by U.S. officials, and the interpreter was held at the airport because U.S. officials were not there to get him through passport control.

According to the State Department, the United States cannot guarantee entry to a foreign country for a visa interview. Fish said the interpreter has been told by U.S. officials that he should arrange to have the interview in Kuwait.

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## 10. Speculation Surrounds Petraeus's Next Job, Potential Successors

By Ann Scott Tyson and Thomas E. Ricks, Washington Post Staff Writers

Petraeus turns to him for the ground truth about various regions of Iraq where McChrystal's forces conduct raids against "high-value" targets, such as the Sunni extremist group al-Qaeda in Iraq, whose leader Abu Musab al-Zarqawi was tracked down and killed by McChrystal's men in 2006, U.S. military officers and officials said.

For that and other reasons, McChrystal is one of the leading candidates to take over should Petraeus leave his post as part of a series of high-level military personnel changes under discussion, the officials said.

Since assuming command of U.S. forces in Iraq nearly a year ago, Petraeus has become the public face of the war effort, leading the troop increase, offering a pivotal progress report to Congress last September and implementing a counterinsurgency strategy that he helped devise.

For the past two months, however, there has been discussion in military and government circles about whether Petraeus may become the U.S. European Command

chief, who also serves as the supreme allied commander of NATO. In that role, he would oversee NATO's military operations -- including the war in Afghanistan -- as well as U.S. forces in Europe.

Insiders emphasize that no decision has been made on Petraeus's future assignment and that a sharply different course -- including staying in Iraq longer -- is possible. With President Bush entering his final year in office, however, the discussions raise questions about the military leadership that will guide the U.S. wars in Iraq and Afghanistan under a new administration.

Petraeus is said to favor the move, which would enable him to focus on Afghanistan, where violence has escalated over the past year, as opposed to improved security in Iraq. A spokesman for Petraeus declined to comment on the possibility of a new assignment, which was reported yesterday by the New York Times.

"Trying to guess General Petraeus's next assignment is the most popular parlor game in the Pentagon these days," said Pentagon press secretary Geoff Morrell. "Where and when the general goes next is up to Secretary Gates and President Bush, and they have not yet decided those matters," he said, referring to Defense Secretary Robert M. Gates.

With a new president scheduled to take office next January, any reshuffling of U.S. military leadership becomes more complex, as Bush might be seen as preempting decisions better left to his successor. While in theory a new commander in chief could undo such decisions, any moves of wartime military leaders must be weighed carefully because of their impact on how campaigns are waged.

The six-year-old war in Afghanistan has revealed some strains within NATO, with Washington and its European allies recently clashing over

relative troop contributions and disparate missions. Those supporting Petraeus's potential move stress that he has worked with NATO before -- as assistant to the supreme allied commander in the late 1980s and later with the NATO Stabilization Force in Bosnia -- and note that he holds a doctorate in international relations from Princeton.

Previous top U.S. commanders in Iraq have served for varying lengths of time. If Petraeus departs, there are three top candidates to replace him, according to U.S. military and government officials and sources.

The first is McChrystal, whom officers credit with improving cooperation between his troops and conventional Army units and with conducting an effective counteroffensive against al-Qaeda in Iraq. Moreover, his experience would be particularly relevant, as Special Operations forces are expected to remain active in Iraq even after tens of thousands of conventional U.S. troops withdraw.

The second candidate is Lt. Gen. Peter Chiarelli, who was the No. 2 commander in Iraq in 2005 and is now Gates's senior military assistant. His closeness to the defense secretary is seen as an advantage, but some influential figures argue that Chiarelli was part of the failed pre-"surge" strategy in Iraq that emphasized a quick transition to Iraqi security forces, and that he should not preside over the new strategy, which stresses slowing that transition and making the protection of Iraqi civilians the top priority of U.S. forces.

The third candidate is Lt. Gen. Martin Dempsey, the second-ranking officer at U.S. Central Command, the military headquarters for Iraq and the rest of the Middle East, Central Asia and the Horn of Africa.

But one person involved in the discussions said that nothing has been set and that

very different decisions may be made. For example, he said, Petraeus could be promoted next year to take over Central Command from Adm. William J. Fallon. Lt. Gen. Raymond T. Odierno, who has been the chief of day-to-day operations in Iraq for the past year under Petraeus, might then replace Petraeus as the top commander there.

Odierno is also being considered to become the next Army vice chief of staff, replacing Gen. Richard A. Cody, military officials said.

Nevertheless, early speculation over such top-level shifts often proves inaccurate. In the months before Petraeus was sent to Iraq, the rumor was that he would be put in charge at Central Command. Instead, that job went to Fallon. Also, not long before stepping down as defense secretary, Donald H. Rumsfeld appeared close to sending Petraeus to Afghanistan, according to a person familiar with the deliberations.

New York Times  
January 21, 2008

Pg. 1

## 11. Pentagon Weighs Top Iraq General As Chief Of NATO

By Michael R. Gordon and Eric Schmitt

WASHINGTON — The Pentagon is considering Gen. David H. Petraeus for the top NATO command later this year, a move that would give the general, the top American commander in Iraq, a high-level post during the next administration but that has raised concerns about the practice of rotating war commanders.

A senior Pentagon official said that it was weighing "a next assignment for Petraeus" and that the NATO post was a possibility. "He deserves one and that has also always been a highly prestigious position," the official said. "So he is a candidate for that job, but there

have been no final decisions and nothing on the timing."

The question of General Petraeus's future comes as the Pentagon is looking at changing several top-level assignments this year. President Bush has been an enthusiastic supporter of General Petraeus, whom he has credited with overseeing a troop increase and counterinsurgency plan credited with reducing the sectarian violence in Iraq, and some officials say the president would want to keep General Petraeus in Iraq as long as possible.

In one approach under discussion, General Petraeus would be nominated and confirmed for the NATO post before the end of September, when Congress is expected to break for the presidential election. He might stay in Iraq for some time after that before moving to the alliance's headquarters in Brussels, but would take his post before a new president takes office.

If General Petraeus is shifted from the post as top Iraq commander, two leading candidates to replace him are Lt. Gen. Stanley A. McChrystal, who is running the classified Special Operations activities in Iraq, and Lt. Gen. Peter W. Chiarelli, a former second-ranking commander in Iraq and Defense Secretary Robert M. Gates's senior military assistant.

By this fall, General Petraeus would have served 19 months in command in Iraq and would have accumulated more than 47 months of service in Iraq in three tours there since 2003. In the NATO job, General Petraeus would play a major role in shaping the cold-war-era alliance's identity, in coping with an increasingly assertive Russia and in overseeing the allied-led mission in Afghanistan.

General Petraeus, 55, has been criticized by Democratic lawmakers opposed to Mr. Bush's decision to send

additional combat forces to Iraq. A NATO post would give him additional command experience in an important but less politically contentious region, potentially positioning him as a strong candidate in a few years to serve as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, several military officials said. They and some others who discussed the potential appointment declined to be identified because they were speaking about an internal personnel matter.

Some experts, however, say General Petraeus's departure would jeopardize American efforts in Iraq, especially since the No. 2 officer in Iraq, Lt. Gen. Raymond T. Odierno, is scheduled to complete his tour and leave Iraq in mid-February.

General Petraeus "should stay at least through this year," said Anthony Cordesman, a military specialist at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. "We really need military continuity in command during this period in which we can find out whether we can transition from tactical victory to some form of political accommodation.

"We have in Petraeus and Crocker the first effective civil-military partners we have had in this war," Mr. Cordesman added, referring to Ryan C. Crocker, the United States ambassador in Baghdad. Gen. George W. Casey Jr., General Petraeus's predecessor, served nearly three years in the top Iraq job before becoming Army chief of staff.

There has been speculation that General Petraeus's next post might be as head of the Central Command, which has responsibility for the Middle East region. That would enable him to continue to influence events in Iraq while overseeing the military operation in Afghanistan and developing a strategy to deal with Iran. The Central Command post is currently held by Adm.

William J. Fallon. Admiral Fallon, through a spokesman, denied that he intended to retire from the military in the next several months.

General Petraeus, through a spokesman, declined to comment on a possible NATO assignment. Geoff Morrell, the senior Defense Department spokesman, said no decision had been made.

"Trying to guess General Petraeus's next assignment is the most popular parlor game in the Pentagon these days," Mr. Morrell said. "Where and when the general goes next is up to Secretary Gates and President Bush, and they have not yet decided those matters. However, they very much appreciate his outstanding leadership in Iraq and believe he has much more to contribute to our nation's defense whenever his current assignment comes to an end."

Of the potential successors for General Petraeus, Generals McChrystal and Chiarelli would bring contrasting styles and backgrounds to the fight. General McChrystal has spent much of his career in the Special Operations forces. He commands those forces in Iraq, which have conducted raids against Al Qaeda in Mesopotamia, the mainly Iraqi group that American intelligence says has foreign leadership, and against Shiite extremists, including cells believed to be backed by Iran.

In June 2006, Mr. Bush publicly congratulated General McChrystal on the airstrike that killed Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, the Jordanian terrorist who was the head of Al Qaeda in Mesopotamia. The Pentagon does not officially acknowledge the existence of some of the classified units that General McChrystal leads, and Mr. Bush's comments were a rare acknowledgment of the role those troops played in a high-level mission.

General McChrystal, a 53-year-old West Point graduate, also commanded the 75th Ranger Regiment and

served tours in Saudi Arabia during the Persian Gulf war in 1991 and in Afghanistan as chief of staff of the military operation there in 2001 and 2002.

He was criticized last year when a Pentagon investigation into the accidental shooting death of Cpl. Pat Tillman by fellow Army Rangers in Afghanistan held the general accountable for inaccurate information provided by Corporal Tillman's unit in recommending him for a Silver Star. The information wrongly suggested that Corporal Tillman, a professional football player whose decision to enlist in the Army after the Sept. 11 attacks drew national attention, had been killed by enemy fire.

General Chiarelli's strengths rest heavily on his reputation as one of the most outspoken proponents of a counterinsurgency strategy that gives equal or greater weight to social and economic actions aimed at undermining the enemy as it does to force of arms. General Chiarelli, 57, has served two tours in Iraq, first as head of the First Calvary Division, where he commanded 38,000 troops in securing and rebuilding Baghdad, and later as the second-ranking American officer in Iraq before becoming the senior military aide to Mr. Gates.

In a 2007 essay in *Military Review*, he wrote: "Unless and until there is a significant reorganization of the U.S. government interagency capabilities, the military is going to be the nation's instrument of choice in nation-building. We need to accept that reality instead of resisting it, as we have for much of my career."

General Petraeus's last post in Europe was as a senior officer for the NATO force in Bosnia, where he served a tour in 2001 and 2002. "He did a great job for me as a one-star in Bosnia," said Gen. Joseph W. Ralston, who served as NATO commander at the time

and has since retired. "He would have the credibility to keep Afghanistan focused for NATO."

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Washington Times  
January 21, 2008  
Pg. 1

## 12. Military Ouster Of Gays Plunges

*'Don't ask' still Pentagon rule*  
By Rowan Scarborough, The Washington Times

The U.S. military says it is enforcing the ban on open homosexuals in the ranks, as it has for decades, in the face of statistics that show a sharp drop in the number of discharged homosexuals as wars in Afghanistan and Iraq continue.

Homosexual rights advocates cite the plunge as evidence that the military is losing interest in enforcement and lets openly homosexual men and women serve because commanders need every able-bodied troop.

"Truth be told, I don't think the Pentagon is a big fan of the law anymore," said Steve Ralls, spokesman for Servicemembers Legal Defense Network, which is pushing for the ban's demise.

The Pentagon provided a statement to The Washington Times saying it still enforces the exclusion, which was modified in the early 1990s under a policy known as "don't ask, don't tell."

"Our policy implements the law Congress passed after prolonged research and debate," said Pentagon spokeswoman Eileen Lainez. "The Department will continue to follow congressional mandate on homosexual conduct. This law requires the Department of Defense to separate from the armed forces members who engage in or attempt to engage in homosexual acts; state they are homosexual or bisexual; or marry or attempt to marry a person of the same biological sex."

Ms. Lainez said "we can't

speculate as to why the number of discharges has declined" from 1,273 in 2001 to 612 in 2006.

Mr. Ralls understands the decline as "clear evidence that traditionally during a time of war lesbian and gay discharges decline," he said. "Commanders recognize the value of having good quality service members on the job regardless of what their sexual orientation may be."

Elaine Donnelly, who runs the Center for Military Readiness, said no comprehensive evidence supports that theory. She thinks fewer homosexuals are joining the military.

"It's just logical," she said. "If the military is having difficulty recruiting people in general because a war is going on, it discourages people in general and that would include homosexual recruits. The advocates of gays in the military prefer to try to take statistics out of context and then try to make their argument accordingly."

She said anecdotal evidence shows that the military allows personnel to leave service rather than pursuing a homosexual-driven discharge.

The issue of homosexuals in the military — once thought settled in 1993 with President Clinton's adoption of "don't ask, don't tell" — has resurfaced in the current presidential election.

All three leading Democratic candidates, including Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton of New York, say that if they win the White House they will ask Congress to change the law and allow open homosexuals in the ranks.

The U.S. military for years has maintained that homosexuality hurts unit cohesion.

The rules for "don't ask, don't tell" are clear. The military is not to ask recruits whether they are homosexual. In turn, service members are to be discharged if they disclose

their sexuality, either verbally or by conduct.

At the unit level, it is up to superiors to move to discharge. Mr. Ralls contends that, in more and more cases, commanders are ignoring the "tell" because they need the service member. The Pentagon rejects that contention.

Homosexual rights activists are publicizing the case of Sgt. Darren Manzella, an Army medic. He told CBS' "60 Minutes" that he disclosed his homosexuality to superiors in 2005 in Iraq and 2006 in Kuwait, but remains in the Army today.

"Individual commands have always had broad latitude in how they implement the law," Mr. Ralls said.

#### **Military discharges**

The number of service members discharged since 1994, the first full year that the "don't ask, don't tell" policy was enforced.

1994: 617  
1995: 772  
1996: 870  
1997: 1,007  
1998: 1,163  
1999: 1,046  
2000: 1,241  
2001: 1,273  
2002: 906  
2003: 787  
2004: 668  
2005: 742  
2006: 612

Sources: *Servicemembers Legal Defense Network; Pentagon*

Christian Science Monitor  
January 22, 2008

### **13. Enough U.S. Help For Afghanistan?**

*Deployment of 3,200 marines will help, analysts say, but will not provide the kind of counterinsurgency now needed there.*

By Gordon Lubold, Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington--When 3,200 US marines deploy to Afghanistan this spring, the message it sends is that the US remains committed to the

security of the country and its future. But the deteriorating situation there won't turn around until the United States makes changes that recognize the mission's strategic and symbolic importance and raise Afghanistan from "forgotten war" status, analysts and a senior retired officer say.

Defense Secretary Robert Gates had opposed sending more US forces to the NATO-led mission in Afghanistan, but he reluctantly conceded after failing to get a greater contribution from allies, many of whom say they have little more to give.

But the marines destined for Afghanistan are on a one-time, seven-month deployment that fills a gap only for trainers and combat forces, say analysts. They won't supply the kind of counterinsurgency that country needs, they say.

That would require more resources, a more effective organizational structure for NATO, and smarter thinking about how to strengthen Afghanistan's political and economic systems, says one retired senior officer. It also would probably mean a greater commitment of US troops, perhaps thousands more.

"If we're going to be ahead of the insurgency, then you have to have a substantial-sized force," says a retired senior officer who didn't want to be named due to the political sensitivities of the matter.

A new focus in Afghanistan for the US should also include an "empowered US ambassador" overseeing the nonmilitary efforts — akin to the role of Ambassador Ryan Crocker in Iraq — even as American military forces, still under NATO command, conduct a counterinsurgency where it's needed, says the retired officer.

#### **Perspectives on counterinsurgency**

Some 50,000 total forces are currently in Afghanistan, about half of them American. Half of those American forces

fall under a subordinate US command that oversees the country's eastern region, where an effective counterinsurgency is being waged, say many analysts in the US. It is in the southern region, including Helmand and Kandahar Provinces, where Dutch, Canadian, and British troops predominate, where a broader new strategy is most needed, they say.

Pentagon strategists are reportedly refining a review of Afghanistan, which will be discussed during a meeting of NATO ministers in Europe this winter. Deteriorating security in Afghanistan, which has seen more suicide bombings and rising violence over the past year, has also piqued the interest of Congress: The House Armed Services Committee on Wednesday will entertain ideas for changing strategy.

The US had employed a proper counterinsurgency strategy in Afghanistan, but it began to falter after the 2005 announcement that NATO would take over the mission, argued David Barno, a retired Army three-star general, in an article last fall in the Army periodical *Military Review*.

"Unsurprisingly, this was widely viewed in the region as the first signal that the United States was 'moving for the exits,' thus reinforcing long-held doubts about the prospects of sustained American commitment," wrote Mr. Barno, who will testify Wednesday before the House panel. The US must revive a counterinsurgency strategy in Afghanistan, he said.

In a separate development that could shape the future of Afghanistan and NATO, Army Gen. David Petraeus, the top US commander in Iraq and the man credited with creating an effective counterinsurgency strategy there, is being considered for command of NATO later this year, The New York Times reported on its website Sunday.

**Unwieldy command**

## structure?

One crucial move is to refine the complex organizational structure for the NATO force, with its bifurcated commands and complex command-and-control relationships.

"If there is an overhaul needed, it is getting a unity of command," says Jim Phillips, a research fellow at the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank here. "Unfortunately, the military effort is disjointed, with so many different NATO forces pursuing different strategies."

Secretary Gates, however, has already decided not to push for changes to the organizational structure of the mission, after members of the Joint Staff last year recommended no change. "They ... recommended that we leave it as it is, and that is my intent," Gates said Thursday.

A proper counterinsurgency would include more attention to political, economic, and other nonmilitary issues, some say. Abdullah Abdullah, a former minister of foreign affairs for Afghanistan, said at a Washington think tank on Friday that part of what Afghanistan needs is help strengthening trust between Afghans and their central and provincial governments.

"If the US doesn't make some extra efforts to enable the government ... to gain the trust of the people, this will weaken any military strategy," he said.

Education for all Afghans is the ultimate "prerequisite for strategic success," says Paul McHale, assistant secretary of Defense for homeland defense. Mr. McHale wore a different hat last year, taking leave from his Pentagon job and deploying as a reserve officer to help develop the Afghan National police. He says bolstering education initiatives, opening schools, and giving girls more opportunities to learn will help the country to turn the page.

The military fight will set the conditions for success, but

it's not the only thing, says McHale. "Trigger-pulling will not win this war," he says.

Washington Times  
January 22, 2008  
Pg. 13

## 14. Violence Keeps Students From Class

*Karzai decries number spike*  
By Rahim Faiez, Associated Press

KABUL, Afghanistan — About 300,000 Afghan children cannot attend school because of violence in Afghanistan's southern provinces, President Hamid Karzai told parliament on its opening day yesterday.

The number of children unable to go to school is sharply up — by 50 percent — from a year ago, when 200,000 children were forced to stay home because of security concerns, Mr. Karzai said.

Most closures were in the country's southern provinces, where the Taliban insurgency is at its most violent, Mr. Karzai said.

"The Islamic Government of Afghanistan is going to fight with all its power against terrorism," including those who kill religious clerics and schoolchildren, Mr. Karzai told lawmakers.

The president said 5.8 million Afghan children attend classes throughout the country — a huge increase from the less than 1 million students who attended school under the Taliban regime. However, they have been increasingly targeted across Afghanistan by insurgent attacks in recent months.

In November, 61 students were killed in Baghlan province by a suicide bomber and ensuing gunfire from security guards. The bomber, who detonated his explosives during a large procession outside a sugar factory, also killed eight lawmakers. In June, gunmen killed two students walking outside a girls school in Logar province.

Mr. Karzai listed

terrorism, the country's opium poppies and drug trade, and endemic poverty as the country's biggest challenges. He reiterated that the government is ready to welcome back militant fighters who lay down their arms and accept the country's constitution, a theme Mr. Karzai has been hitting hard in recent months.

"We keep the doors open for peace, reconciliation and negotiations for those countrymen who want to return to their country and accept and respect the constitution of Afghanistan," he said.

Meanwhile, an explosion struck a NATO patrol vehicle outside a former Taliban town in southern Afghanistan, killing one British soldier and wounding five others, officials said yesterday.

The British Ministry of Defense said the soldiers' vehicle was hit by a mine Sunday northeast of Musa Qala, a town in northern Helmand province that had been held by the Taliban for 10 months until U.S., British and Afghan forces retook it last month.

One soldier died at the scene and the five others were airlifted to NATO bases for medical treatment, the ministry said. The wounded soldiers were not in a life-threatening condition.

San Diego Union-Tribune  
January 22, 2008

## 15. Hauling Away Trash Helps Bring Back Old Kabul

*Traditional city's restoration is focus of groups*

By Alisa Tang, Associated Press

KABUL, Afghanistan — Last year, the streets in parts of the old city dropped by nine feet.

The reason? A massive garbage haul. Just about every unemployed man in Murad Khane was recruited to clean up years of litter and mud piled

on top of the streets. By the time they were done, the streets and alleys were lower.

The garbage project is part of an effort to clean up and restore old Kabul, after six years of relative peace and with millions of dollars from foreign donors.

The Turquoise Mountain Foundation, dedicated to traditional Afghan arts and architecture, has spent \$1 million on conservation and cleanup in the Murad Khane neighborhood since last year. The Kabul organization is financed by Western and Middle East donors.

The lower street level at first left Abdul Salaam's door looking oddly out of place, perched three feet higher than the square in front of it. So Turquoise Mountain had to fix his door, too. Fresh mud scars show where it used to be.

"It looks much nicer," Salaam said about the cleaned-up neighborhood. "And it doesn't smell bad anymore."

Next door to Salaam's house, Turquoise Mountain has just completed its first full restoration, the 130-year-old Peacock House — so called because of the carved wooden peacocks at the corners of the wooden window screens.

Similar houses are tucked away in the narrow alleys of the old city in this war-torn capital. Walk through a wooden portal and a covered walkway, and a visitor emerges in an intimate courtyard, surrounded on all sides by carved screens — as if encased in a wooden jewelry box. The screens lift in warm weather, opening the house to the courtyard.

These intricate, 19th-century homes barely survived bombardment in the 1990s, when Kabul became the front line of Afghanistan's civil war, and earlier plans to raze them for apartments. But rocket shells and earthquakes have left most teetering in rickety ruin.

Now the mud and timber



homes are being restored to their former splendor, instilling a newfound pride among the mostly working-class residents of the old city.

"It used to be so beautiful, but during the fighting, a couple of rockets landed on the house," said Aminullah, a 63-year-old carpenter whose family has lived in the same two-story wooden structure for nearly two centuries. The roof has been repaired and the courtyard repaved with bricks.

"The houses in the old city are so old," said Aminullah, who uses only one name. "They were handed down to us from our forefathers. If someone asked me to exchange it (for a modern one), I would not trade it because I'm very attached to this house."

His home is one of 11 restored by the Geneva-based Aga Khan Trust for Culture, which has spent more than \$8million on historic conservation in Kabul since 2002, just after the U.S. invasion drove out the Taliban regime.

It has not been easy to convince old city residents of the value of their wooden houses, as wealthier Afghans construct enormous cement houses adorned with mirrors and colorful cement flowers. But as residents see the improvements around them, they are chipping in manpower to help, said Sayed Hassan Parwisi, an old-city community leader.

Washington Times  
January 22, 2008  
Pg. 1

## 16. U.S. Lobbies NATO To Expand

*Croatia, Albania, Macedonia likely*

By Nicholas Krlev, The Washington Times

BERLIN — NATO is expected to issue membership invitations to as many as three Balkan countries this spring in yet another round of enlargement championed by the United States, alliance

diplomats said yesterday.

Although no official decision will be made until a few days before a NATO summit in Romania in April, the diplomats spoke of being "bullish," and said a "strong current" was developing in favor of Croatia, Albania and Macedonia.

All three "are already making significant contributions to NATO's ongoing operations in Afghanistan and Kosovo," a U.S. official said. "These countries, with NATO's full support, have made significant progress in defense-sector reforms."

The alliance has yet to formally discuss further expansion, but there appears to be a consensus that the country most deserving of an invitation is Croatia. The smaller and poorer Albania and Macedonia still have a lot of work to do, officials said.

Many analysts question whether NATO is ready for another wave of enlargement, only four years after seven former communist countries increased the allies' number to 26.

"There is a great deal of opposition to this idea," said Julianne Smith, director of the European program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Washington. "The question will be asked if these countries are prepared for what NATO is going to ask from them. The alliance we have today demands a great deal."

The United States already is having a hard time getting many of the current NATO members to commit adequate human and financial resources for the fight against al Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan.

Although all the countries are contributing to the International Security Assistance Force there, their collective troop numbers total only about 25,000. The United States, by comparison, has about 14,000 troops with the NATO force and an additional

13,000 troops training Afghan forces and hunting al Qaeda terrorists.

"We have to acknowledge the reality that the alliance as a whole has not trained for counterinsurgency operations, even though individual countries have considerable expertise at, and success in, this arena," Defense Secretary Robert M. Gates said last week.

If it is difficult to prepare a 26-member NATO for such missions, it will be even harder if it takes in more members, some analysts said.

"With Russia strengthening its position in Serbia, and Kosovo independence threatening the region with instability, the U.S. and its European allies want to shore up Balkan security," said Ariel Cohen, senior research fellow at the Heritage Foundation.

"However, NATO needs members that can add to regional security, not detract from it," he said. "Albania and Macedonia have still a long way to go to catch up to NATO standards militarily and technologically."

U.S. and European diplomats defended the history of NATO enlargement as a "historic success in advancing democracy, security and stability in the Euro-Atlantic area," in the words of a U.S. official. They noted that NATO is a political, as well as a military, organization.

Both diplomats and analysts predicted a heated debate on the issue in the next two months. One hurdle to Macedonia's membership is Greece's objection to the country's name, which is the same as that of one of its provinces.

The United States, which is eager to see all three candidates receive invitations in April, has intensified pressure on Greece and Macedonia to resolve their long-running dispute. NATO works only by consensus.

Noting NATO's recent

difficulty defining itself, Miss Smith, of CSIS, suggested that "until the alliance determines its mission, perhaps we should hold off on enlarging."

"Fundamentally, we have trouble answering the question, 'What is NATO for?' The alliance has some homework to do," she said.

London Daily Telegraph  
January 22, 2008

## 17. Nato 'Must Prepare To Launch Nuclear Attack'

Nato must prepare to launch pre-emptive nuclear attacks to ward off the use of weapons of mass destruction by its enemies, a group of former senior military officials has warned.

Calling for a major change to Nato's approach to defending its members and their interests, the authors of the report, which has been handed to Nato and Pentagon chiefs, said the first-strike use of nuclear weapons was a "indispensable instrument".

According to a report, the authors of the blueprint for reforming Nato include Lord Peter Inge, the former British chief of the defence staff and US General John Shalikashvili, the former Nato commander in Europe and chairman of the US joint chiefs of staff.

"The risk of further proliferation is imminent and, with it, the danger that nuclear war fighting, albeit limited in scope, might become possible," the report said.

"The first use of nuclear weapons must remain in the quiver of escalation as the ultimate instrument to prevent the use of weapons of mass destruction."

The document reportedly includes Lord Inge's comments on the controversy surrounding nuclear weapons policy: "To tie our hands on first use or no first use removes a huge plank of deterrence."

The report called for a wholesale reform of Nato and a



new pact between Nato, the US and the European union in order to tackle modern military and terrorist threats to the West.

It warned the spread of nuclear technology meant there was "simply no realistic prospect of a nuclear-free world".

Terrorism, political fanaticism and religious fundamentalism were major threats to the West, and organised crime, climate change and migration on a mass scale posed dangers to the way of life of Nato members.

They also cited the weakening of global alliances, including the United Nations.

The authors have proposed major changes to the way Nato operates, including abandoning consensus decision making so fast action can be taken without the threat of vetoes and caveats imposed by some nations.

They also called for military action without ratification by the UN in cases where "immediate action is needed to protect large numbers of human beings".

The report was compiled after authors were briefed by senior serving military officials who are unable to speak publicly about their concerns with Nato's military strategy.

The document may be discussed at a Nato summit in Bucharest in April.

The other three authors are Klaus Naumann, a German former military commander, Henk van den Breemen, a former Dutch military official, and Jacques Lanxade, the former French admiral and chief of defence.

added to the back end of a 500- or 2,000-pound "dumb" bomb, turns it into a lethal, all-weather "smart" weapon. The bomb can hit within four feet of a target when launched from a fighter aircraft more than 10 miles away.

The kits and bombs are a prominent part of the \$20 billion U.S. arms package for Persian Gulf states that has been in the works since last summer. President Bush discussed the package with Arab leaders during his recent trip to the Gulf.

As proposed in a message to Congress on Jan. 14, the Saudis are authorized to buy 900 kits along with 550 500-pound bombs, 250 2,000-pound bombs and another 100 2,000-pounders with penetrating warheads.

The United Arab Emirates, the federation of seven city-states along the southeast corner of the Arabian peninsula, is in line to get 200 JDAM systems, along with 224 2,000-pound hard-target bombs and 488 500-pounders. The UAE has 80 F-16s in its air force.

Because JDAMs are offensive weapons, their acquisition by Arab states such as Saudi Arabia that are considered hostile to Israel has drawn concern on Capitol Hill, according to a Congressional Research Service report issued last week.

Last October, when the Saudi proposal was just a rumor, 188 lawmakers sent a letter to Bush saying they would require assurances that the JDAM kits bought by the Saudis would not "harm U.S. forces in the region or undercut Israel's qualitative military advantage," according to the CRS report.

When Israeli Defense Minister Ehud Barak visited Washington that month, he said he would not oppose the deal because of "understandings and arrangements with the administration," the CRS reported. The administration,

since August, has told Congress of proposals to sell Israel 10,000 JDAM kits.

But there is more involved than just keeping Israel's balance of military power. CRS notes that "significant arms sales, prolonged military training programs, material pre-positioning and basing arrangements, joint exercises and direct military interventions have characterized U.S. policy toward the Gulf region."

In short, without much public debate, the Bush administration has expanded previous multilateral cooperation with Gulf states on defense, including "discussion on securing key sites, in spite of historic sensitivities regarding sovereignty and foreign participation in the regional energy industry," the CRS report says.

Is the United States starting a new arms race? Reviewing the Gulf package, Anthony H. Cordesman, a specialist in Middle East national security affairs at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, said a surge of arms sales to countries in the region is just beginning.

With oil and gas exports providing \$2 trillion in revenue, Cordesman expects that "southern Gulf arms sales will be 50 to 100 percent higher over the next four years." The United States will supply only a quarter of the weapons; Russia and European nations also will push to make sales.

On the other side, Cordesman writes, the Bush administration agreed last summer to give Israel \$30 billion in new funds to finance arms purchases.

The arms package -- much of which is before Congress, which can reject elements of it -- goes far beyond JDAMs and bombs. The Saudis are in line to receive \$631 million in armored vehicles, personnel carriers, towed mortars and machine guns, as well as five sets of airborne early-warning

and command and control systems worth \$400 million. They would also buy for \$220 million 40 Sniper advanced targeting pods, which would upgrade the ability of their F-15s to detect other aircraft at long range.

The UAE hopes to buy 900 Hellfire missiles and 300 blast-fragmentation warheads for use with its U.S. attack helicopters and 2,106 anti-tank TOW missiles that also can be fired from helicopters. Kuwait is to get a \$328 million package of more than 3,500 TOW missiles.

A major share of the UAE package is a \$9 billion advanced Patriot 3 missile defense system with nine fire units, 10 phased-array radar sets and 500 missiles. Kuwait is being offered 80 PAC-3 missiles, kits to upgrade earlier missiles and radars associated with the Patriot anti-missile defense system -- together worth \$1.4 billion.

Although Bush offered the defense systems and emphasized the threat from Iran's nuclear and missile programs in talks with Gulf leaders, the CRS reports that those leaders "continue to reach out to Iranian leaders to avoid the appearance of siding as a consolidated bloc with the United States against their Gulf neighbor."

*National security and intelligence reporter Walter Pincus pores over the speeches, reports, transcripts and other documents that flood Washington and every week uncovers the fine print that rarely makes headlines -- but should.*

Newsweek  
January 28, 2008

## **Periscope** **19. High Stakes In The Gulf**

By John Barry and Michael Hirsh

Eager to avoid future confrontations between Iranian boats and U.S. warships in the Persian Gulf, the U.S.

Washington Post  
January 21, 2008  
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### **Fine Print**

## **18. A New Arms Race In The Gulf?**

By Walter Pincus

The Joint Direct Attack Munition is a kit that, when

government has quietly sent word to Tehran asking for dialogue. The stern four-paragraph message, dated Jan. 10, was delivered to Tehran via a Swiss intermediary.

The communiqué, a copy of which was obtained by NEWSWEEK, notes that Washington had sent an earlier request on Nov. 21, 2007, to limit "the possibility of miscommunication and misunderstanding" in the Gulf, but that "we have not received a response to that message. We believe it is in Iran's interest to consider [it] and avoid any further provocative actions."

U.S. officials say they are not hopeful that Iran will respond now, given its silence before. In December, after the first message was sent, there were two encounters in the Strait of Hormuz; one led the U.S. captain to fire warning shots. During the most recent provocation on Jan. 6, five Iranian launches careered around three U.S. warships for close to half an hour, at one point dropping objects in the path of one of the vessels, according to the Navy. A radio transmission from an unknown source declared a U.S. ship would "explode." "They came at us as a group of five, in a formation," said Cmdr. Jeffrey James, skipper of the destroyer USS Hopper. "They knew what they were doing."

Though Pentagon officials, speaking anonymously because of the topic's sensitivity, stress there is no proof, Navy analysts at Fifth Fleet headquarters in Bahrain have concluded that the Jan. 6 confrontation was most likely a deliberate effort by Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps to persuade U.S. vessels to open fire on them. The purpose: to create an incident prior to President George W. Bush's visit to the region, which was intended in part to rally support from Arab countries against Iran. (An Iranian national-security official called the accusations

"fabricated." Insisting on anonymity, he said they were a "show for the Arab countries.") The increased "buzzing" of U.S. warships by IRGC launches comes as the guard has taken more control of Gulf operations from Iran's regular Navy.

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Washington Post  
January 22, 2008  
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## **Iran** **20. Ayatollah Chides President For Cutting Gas To Villages**

Iran's Ayatollah Ali Khamenei on Monday reversed a decision by President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and ordered him to implement a law supplying natural gas to remote villages as anger rose over the president's performance.

The move was a major rebuke to the president, whose popularity plunged after gas cuts during a harsh winter led to deaths and rising food prices.

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New York Post  
January 22, 2008

## **21. UN Squeeze On Iran Due**

By Associated Press

PARIS - The UN Security Council's five permanent members and Germany are expected to agree today on a new resolution to pressure Iran over its nuclear program, a French diplomat said.

The senior diplomat, who briefed reporters yesterday on condition that he not be identified, said an agreement was very close and should be finalized by US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and the foreign ministers of the other five nations at a meeting in Berlin.

He would not give details on the resolution.

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Atlanta Journal-Constitution  
January 22, 2008

## **22. Launch Installs New Spy In Sky**

Israel launched an advanced spy satellite Monday that will be able to track events in Iran, the country it considers its top foe, even at night and in cloudy weather, defense officials said. The TECSAR satellite is of particular importance for Israel because it can be used to keep tabs on Iran's nuclear program, which the U.S. and Israel fear is a cover for pursuing nuclear weapons, they said.

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New York Times  
January 22, 2008  
Pg. 8

## **23. Musharraf Trip Shadowed By Troubles At Home**

By Jane Perlez

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan — President Pervez Musharraf is touring European capitals and plans to attend the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, on Wednesday in a bid to show that he remains in charge of his troubled country, where his popular support has never been at such a low ebb.

On the tour, his first major trip abroad since stepping down as army chief last month, Mr. Musharraf intends to show his resolve in fighting terrorism and to talk up investment opportunities, his aides said.

But his pitch, after the assassination of the opposition leader Benazir Bhutto, will be made in the shadow of a rapidly escalating jihadist insurgency, an economy suffering from sudden power and wheat shortages, and worries that elections, which have been delayed to Feb. 18, will not be free and fair.

The pillars of Mr. Musharraf's strength as a ruler over the past eight years — national stability and security, with an army capable of withstanding the insurgency, and a flourishing economy — are being severely challenged, his supporters and critics say.

Suicide bombers have struck three of Pakistan's major cities — Karachi, Lahore and Peshawar — killing dozens of people in the past 10 days.

In a public opinion poll by Gallup Pakistan this month, 68 percent of some 1,300 respondents who were asked in random, face-to-face interviews whether Mr. Musharraf should resign or stay said they thought he should go.

The results mirrored an even larger opinion survey by the International Republican Institute, a nonprofit group based in Washington that is affiliated with the Republican Party and promotes democracy abroad. That survey was published in December, before Ms. Bhutto was assassinated and the elections were postponed.

Politicians who have backed Mr. Musharraf say that his popularity among all classes of Pakistanis has plummeted to its lowest point yet, damaged by missteps starting nearly a year ago when he fired the chief justice of the Supreme Court.

They said he was hurt further by his imposition of six weeks of emergency rule late in the year, and by the arrests of thousands of critics, most of them now freed.

Mr. Musharraf has ruled the country since he took power in a bloodless coup late in 1999, retaining his post as military chief while assuming the role of president. Over time, the dual roles stirred popular and judicial resistance, and opponents demanded that he surrender his military post.

In December, Mr. Musharraf stepped down as leader of the army and two days later was sworn in for a new five-year term as president, having been re-elected by national and provincial assemblies in October.

Support for Mr. Musharraf within the army, which is considered Pakistan's most important institution and is

under growing pressure from the insurgency, is hard to gauge accurately, said two Western diplomats who spoke on the condition of anonymity. The successor Mr. Musharraf has chosen to lead the army, Gen. Ashfaq Parvez Kayani, is not expected to abandon him in the short term, the diplomats said.

They noted that General Kayani took steps last week to distance the military from politics by issuing a directive that army officers were no longer permitted to contact politicians. He has also been reported to be likely to recall army officers who had been posted to top slots in government departments when Mr. Musharraf was in charge of the military.

Over all, Mr. Musharraf faces opposition led by the elite of society — doctors, engineers, lawyers — a challenge different from the traditional opposition in Pakistan, which comes from the streets, said Ijaz Shafi Gilani, chairman of Gallup Pakistan, in an interview on Friday.

“These are people who have benefited economically from the Musharraf regime, but what makes them work toward his departure is the feeling of a sense of national humiliation,” he said.

Major business leaders, though, still support Mr. Musharraf, a result of the strong economic growth that has benefited them, if not the average Pakistani, said Wamiq Zuberi, chief editor of The Business Recorder, a daily newspaper, and chairman of an independent television station, Aaj TV. Whether the business support will last, he said, is uncertain.

“By and large, big business has not turned against him, but they’re quite perturbed by the way things are going,” he said. “Definitely nobody in the country can be satisfied with the law-and-order situation and the suicide bombings.”

As the political and security uncertainties have unfolded, shortages of electricity, gas and wheat have compounded anxieties. After the government — relying on what proved to be underestimates of domestic consumption — decided to export wheat last year, its price soared. Lines for flour at high prices have been the norm in the past few weeks.

Similarly, the Musharraf government underestimated sharp increases in energy consumption, while power-plant construction has been slower than expected. One result has been nightly blackouts in cities and villages.

Analysts contend that Ms. Bhutto’s assassination on Dec. 27 has caused widespread resentment of Mr. Musharraf, and that many Pakistanis blame the government for her death.

Increasingly, politicians say Mr. Musharraf’s faction of the Pakistan Muslim League has become so unpopular that candidates who formerly ran on that ticket are jumping ship.

One such candidate who has shifted to the Pakistan Peoples Party that had been led by Ms. Bhutto, Firdaus Ashiq Awan, 35, said she felt let down by the president’s record.

“I joined him because he was going to introduce a seven-point reform agenda, and make the political people accountable to the Constitution,” said Ms. Awan, a physician who is running in the province of Punjab against a more seasoned candidate in Mr. Musharraf’s party. “But instead of being a reformer he has bulldozed everything.”

In a measure of the sea change in attitudes toward Mr. Musharraf, for the first time on Sunday, a major Pakistani newspaper suggested in an editorial that it was time for him to exit.

The editorial in the newspaper, The Daily Times, written under a code of conduct that forbids direct criticism of Mr. Musharraf, appeared two days after Mr.

Musharraf gave a major interview to the editors of Pakistan’s leading newspapers.

The editorial said, “Without being polemical about the right and wrong of presidential actions — or blunders, as some would say — the sheer burden of incumbency points to a transition away from him, even at the risk of getting the war on terrorism wrong.”

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Boston Globe  
January 22, 2008

### **Belgium**

## **24. Musharraf Pledges Free, Fair Elections**

BRUSSELS - Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf pledged free elections at the start of a European tour yesterday to boost outside support, but urged the West not to set unrealistic rights standards for his troubled country. EU foreign policy chief Javier Solana told the former army chief that the Feb. 18 polls meant to complete a transition to civilian rule must be "free, fair, and secure" and their conduct would determine the level of future EU cooperation. Musharraf, his popularity in decline in Pakistan after a year of turmoil that has seen stepped up militant attacks and the assassination of opposition leader Benazir Bhutto on Dec. 27, said he wanted to correct perceptions during his tour.

--Reuters

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New York Times  
January 22, 2008

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## **25. North Suspends Inter-Korean Talks**

By Agence France-Presse

North Korea has postponed the first inter-Korean dialogue of this year, citing time constraints, the Unification Ministry in South Korea said. The countries were to hold talks Tuesday and Wednesday on repairing a cross-border railway and transporting a joint

cheering squad to the Beijing Olympics this year by train. No new date was set. “We don’t know exactly why North Korea decided to suspend this week’s inter-Korean meeting,” a ministry spokesman said. He refused to confirm a report by the Yonhap news agency that the suspension was a sign of uneasiness over the South’s new hawkish president, Lee Myung-bak, who takes office Feb. 25 and intends to make aid packages conditional on nuclear compliance under the six-nation talks. Last week, Mr. Lee unveiled plans to abolish the Unification Ministry, which he has accused of being too soft on the North.

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San Diego Union-Tribune  
January 22, 2008

## **26. Filipino Authorities Capture Terror Figure**

MANILA, Philippines – Police and troops captured a suspected member of the al-Qaeda-linked Abu Sayyaf group wanted in connection with the beheading of 10 marines in an ambush last year, officials said yesterday.

Aramil Sulayman, 29, was working as a pedicab driver when security officers arrested him Saturday in southern Shariff Kabunsuan province, national police chief Avelino Razon said.

The government had offered a \$12,000 bounty for the arrest of Sulayman, one of 128 militants identified by police informants in connection with the deadly ambush on Basilan island, Razon said. All 128 suspects have been charged with murder and attempted murder, but Sulayman is only the second of them to be arrested.

--Associated Press

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Washington Times  
January 21, 2008

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## **27. Putting Muscle Back In Europe's Military**

*Sarkozy to call on members of EU to raise arms spending*

By Leander Schaerlaeckens,  
The Washington Times

BRUSSELS -- When France takes over the EU presidency for the final six months of this year, President Nicholas Sarkozy wants to make boosting Europe's military capabilities a top priority.

"Today, Europe does not make all the efforts needed for the defense and protection of Europeans," Mr. Sarkozy said in his New Year's address.

In the three weeks since, an ugly spat has erupted between Defense Secretary Robert M. Gates and European leaders over a declining commitment by Europe's NATO members to the fight in Afghanistan.

Mr. Gates managed to smooth over the furor sparked by his comments last week that many of the NATO troops in Afghanistan are inadequately trained to fight a guerrilla insurgency.

But deeper questions about Europe's commitment to its own defense go back decades, and Mr. Sarkozy seems likely to reopen those disputes over Europe's military spending.

"Our [gross domestic product] at the end of this year is \$16 trillion, which is more than the United States. We are the richest area in the world," said Jean-Dominique Giuliani, president of the Robert Schuman Foundation, a French think tank that focuses on European issues.

"We have to improve our defense spending in Europe. At the moment, we spend only \$200 billion a year, which is half of the United States.

"If you look at the defense budget all over the world, you would find that the European budget is very limited. Russia's is increasing; China's is increasing — everywhere it's increasing except in Europe."

Of 27 nations in the EU, just 21 belong to NATO, making comparisons somewhat risky. Moreover, Canada, a key NATO member — which is engaged in some of the

heaviest fighting in Afghanistan — lies outside of Europe.

Still, data from NATO, the International Monetary Fund and other international organizations back Mr. Giuliani's claims.

Mr. Sarkozy also wants to revive the concept of an all-European defense force, which some fear would undermine NATO.

"This idea is a massive thorn in the side of Washington and London," said Tomas Valasek of the Center for European Reform. "They see it as a big waste and a competition to NATO. ...

"NATO and the EU make very poor friends," Mr. Valasek wrote in recent report. "Even though the membership of both institutions is nearly identical, the two barely talk.

"Worse, they compete for the member-states' defense money, and for the attention of others."

The concept of a European defense force surfaced in the late 1990s, reflecting Europe's failure to handle the breakup of Yugoslavia. The ultimate humiliation came when Europe had to call on the United States to defend the Kosovo province from an attack by Serbia.

In 2005, NATO and the European Union could not agree on the terms of support for the African Union operation in Darfur, Sudan, leading to two separate operations — one led by the United Nations and another led by France.

An EU force that is preparing for a mission to Chad — a former French colony — to protect refugees from Darfur consists mainly of French troops and resources. Yet France is having difficulty extracting the necessary equipment, primarily helicopters, from other EU members.

NATO also has struggled to get its member states to contribute helicopters to sustain its mission in Afghanistan.

"This competition leaves everybody worse off. Member-states divide their already scarce defense budgets between the EU and NATO," said Mr. Valasek, of the Center for European Reform.

"Both institutions have given their member-states a long 'shopping list' of new equipment needed for military operations, [which] the EU and NATO have failed to reconcile.

"Not surprisingly, when either institution tries to put a military force in the field, it invariably finds that its member-states, torn between competing NATO and EU requirements and desperately short of defense money, do not have enough troops and weapons," he said.

Although the intention is for EU forces to take on missions that the United States — the dominant nation within NATO — wants no part of, the relationship remains uncomfortable.

The root of the problem is not the incompatibility of NATO and EU forces; rather, it's a combination of falling defense expenditures and the need for more humanitarian missions in places like Darfur, analysts say.

With tiny defense budgets, the EU members are drawn to cost savings by consolidating purchases of weapons and material instead of each nation shopping on its own, said Thomas Klau, a senior analyst at the European Council on Foreign Relations.

"There is a feeling that national procurement is enormously wasteful. You get more bang for your buck if procurement were rationalized," he said.

"I'm sure the U.S. administration would welcome that because they have consistently asked the EU to step up militarily."

International Herald Tribune  
January 22, 2008

## 28. Poland To Consult With Russia On U.S.

## Missile Shield

By Associated Press

MOSCOW--The Polish foreign minister pledged Monday that Warsaw would consult with Moscow about the missile defense facility that the United States wants to install in Poland.

Foreign Minister Radek Sikorski, visiting Moscow, also signaled that Warsaw could soon unblock partnership talks between Russia and European Union.

The new Polish prime minister, Donald Tusk, has said he will resume talks with the United States on accepting a missile defense base in Poland but only after consulting with NATO and other neighboring countries - indicating a greater hesitancy over the plan than had the previous government, which firmly supported the U.S. move.

Sikorski, who held talks with his Russian counterpart, Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov, said that missile defense consultations did not signal any concessions to Russia.

"The United States is our ally, and this decision is to be made by the United States and Poland," he said.

Russia has strongly opposed the U.S. plan to deploy interceptors in Poland and a radar in the Czech Republic, saying it would threaten its security. The United States maintains that the system is needed to protect European allies against a possible Iranian missile strike.

Lavrov said Monday that Russia "appreciates the new Polish government's willingness to conduct consultations on the issue."

"We aren't going to exert any pressure on Poland or others," he added. "We simply want our specific concerns to be heard and understood."

After his talks with Lavrov, Sikorski said the removal of Russia's ban on Polish meat last month had paved the way for Poland to consider lifting its veto on talks

between Russia and the European Union on a new cooperation agreement.

"I'm very glad that the trade embargo is gone," Sikorski told reporters. "I think it would allow us to resume talks on providing a mandate for the continuation of Russia-EU contacts."

He later said Russia-EU talks on a new cooperation agreement would likely begin within six months, the Interfax news agency reported.

After his talks with Lavrov, Sikorski said the issue would be discussed when Tusk visited Moscow next month.

Russia had barred meat from Poland since late 2005, citing health concerns amid heightening tensions in bilateral relations. Warsaw responded by vetoing the start of talks on a new EU-Russia agreement.

Tusk, whose EU-friendly Civic Platform party defeated the nationalist Law and Justice party in October elections, pledged to improve relations with Moscow. After taking office in November, he dropped a veto that had blocked the opening of talks for Russia to join the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and Moscow quickly lifted the meat ban.

#### **Slovakia criticizes U.S. plan**

The prime minister of Slovakia on Monday criticized plans to deploy components of the U.S. anti-missile shield in two neighboring countries, calling the system pointless. The Associated Press reported from Strasbourg.

"I refuse the premise that these bilateral talks are of no concern to third countries, especially the ones that border" Poland and the Czech Republic, Prime Minister Robert Fico told the Council of Europe's parliamentary assembly. Slovakia has a border with both.

"We don't see any reason for the defense shield to move to Europe," Fico said, adding

that far-reaching defense decisions should be negotiated by the appropriate organizations, like NATO or the European Union, rather than between the United States and allies.

The parliamentary assembly is a grouping of 315 lawmakers from 47 European member states. It meets four times a year to debate human rights issues and social and political trends in Europe, and Slovakia is its current chairman.

Moscow Times  
January 22, 2008  
Pg. 4

#### **29. A Polish Town Fears Russian Retaliation**

By Ryan Lucas, Associated Press

REDZIKOWO, Poland -- Beyond the barbed wire and camouflaged hangars that once housed Soviet-made fighter jets, some see hope for a small airport and a brighter tomorrow. But the future may hold a different twist -- and has many locals fearful of Russian retaliation.

The shuttered air base in northern Poland, which dates back to World War II, is a likely site for 10 interceptors for a planned U.S. missile defense program, which Washington says is necessary to counter potential attacks from so-called rogue states.

Poland's new government is sounding increasingly skeptical about the plan, arguing that it won't boost Polish security -- a sentiment echoed throughout the farm country near the Baltic Sea coast, where residents struggle to see any benefits at all.

"If they build the missile defense base here, it'll be a magnet and the first place the Russians will shoot their missiles," said Tadeusz Krajnik, a 55-year-old retired air force technician who lives in one of the brightly colored Communist-era apartment blocks next to the base, which has been sitting closed since

1999.

"Let's tell the truth here, it's not aimed against Iran, or against Vietnam or whatever -- it's against Russia."

The United States has been wrestling with such perceptions of its plan to place 10 interceptors in Poland and a radar base in the Czech Republic since opening negotiations with the two countries early last year.

Washington says the system is needed to protect the United States and Europe from emerging threats from states such as Iran. Russia, however, strongly opposes the plan, arguing that such an installation so close to its territory would threaten its security.

Last year, General Nikolai Solovtsov, head of Russia's missile forces, warned that Moscow could target future bases in Poland and the Czech Republic with Russian missiles.

Residents in Slupsk, a town of 100,000 just five kilometers down the road, are worried, despite assurances from Polish officials that the region will be the nation's safest if it hosts the base.

"I don't like it; if the base gets built, the Russians will fire at us for sure, so we will, in fact, be the most threatened," said Zenon Kuwalko, a 54-year-old engineer from Slupsk.

But part of the local opposition to the base stems from a wider perception in Poland that the country has been left empty-handed for its staunch support for the United States in recent years.

"We have not received any benefits from our cooperation with the Americans so far -- not one thing," said Leszek Pieniak, 48, who owns the Pod Kogutem restaurant near the base. "Not in Iraq, not in Afghanistan, not in Poland -- nothing. We don't even have visas. I'll tell my grandchildren that maybe in 20 years they'll have a shot at visa-free travel to the U.S."

"I'm against the base and that's it."

Some local residents say the base -- covering some 400 hectares, with a 2.5-kilometer runway and 28 hangars -- could better serve local interests if it were transformed into a small airport for business and tourism.

"I think that only a civilian airport and the economic development of the region will allow us to overcome unemployment and in the long run create jobs," said Jan Junczyk, 48, a reserve captain in Poland's air force who once flew MiG 23s at the base. "Whereas I think that building the base here will in a sense block off and isolate our region."

Mariusz Chmiel, the county manager for the Slupsk region, which includes Redzikowo, agreed that an airport would help stimulate business and tourism in the area and help cut an unemployment rate that he says hovers above 20 percent.

"From my point of view, it would be better if the base wasn't built here, but I'm aware that if the base is needed for international security, we aren't going to oppose it," Chmiel said.

Washington Times  
January 22, 2008  
Pg. 14

#### **Canada**

#### **30. Panel Set To Urge Afghan Extension**

OTTAWA — An independent panel is set to recommend today that Canada extend its mission in Afghanistan by two years to 2011, a course of action that could bring down the minority Conservative Party government.

Canada has 2,500 troops in the southern city of Kandahar, where the Taliban are concentrated, and 78 members of the armed forces have died.

The mission is due to end in February 2009, and Ottawa will need to inform its NATO

partners soon if it plans to pull out the soldiers. Polls show about half of Canadians think the troops should return on schedule.

Aviation Week & Space  
Technology  
January 21, 2008  
Pg. 34

### 31. Down South

*Regional cost-sharing seems an option for Central American AFs' aging systems*

By Amy Butler, Washington

As planning begins to remove U.S. forces from a key air base in Ecuador, the Pentagon is examining new arrangements with countries farther north, in Central America.

Cooperation with regional militaries and the largely underprivileged indigenous populations in Central and South America is critical to avoid a "repeat" of the extremism now rampant in Iraq and Afghanistan, says USAF Lt. Gen. Norman Seip, commander of U.S. Air Forces in Central and South America. As he works to gain support in Washington for the Regional Aircraft Modernization Program (RAMP), an initiative to pool resources from the U.S. and four Central American countries to modernize their small air forces, he's also beginning to examine how to handle the counter-narcotics mission in the region without access to Manta Air Base in Ecuador. That country's president has told the Pentagon he does not plan to allow further use of the base beyond November 2009.

The Defense Dept.'s withdrawal from Howard AFB, Panama, in 1999 was part of the agreement struck by the U.S. to cede control of the Panama Canal. Manta became the main operating site for the Air Force Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) aircraft, and the U.S. government invested heavily in improving the runway and facilities there after signing a

10-year lease. The Boeing 707-based aircraft use their 360-deg. radars to monitor air traffic, including drug smugglers. Navy E-2s with similar capabilities are also deployed in the region for this mission. A base in South America is desirable to reduce the time to reach orbit locations for monitoring. Basing the systems in the Southern U.S. would decrease a monitoring aircraft's on-station time.

Seip says his staff has only begun to examine alternate basing locations and their impact on tracking suspect drug activities. However, the bulk of the Pentagon's intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance fleet is dedicated to supporting operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. So, the likely outcome of this basing shift will be a reduced intelligence collection from the assets that are available.

Forces in U.S. Southern Command got a taste of the support that could come from unmanned aerial vehicles with a one-time congressionally mandated demonstration of the Northrop Grumman Global Hawk's capabilities there. Seip notes that the long-dwell attributes of UAVs are well-suited to the counter-narcotics mission. But so far, none have been assigned to him for that purpose.

Meanwhile, Seip is promoting a plan for the U.S. to help the governments of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua fund an aircraft modernization program. The age of the A-37s, UH-1s and F-5s used by these nations prohibits life-extension efforts.

The goal is for U.S. forces to introduce aircraft into the fleet, help the nations train and develop operational plans for the systems and, possibly, reduce the need for U.S. assets to conduct operations there.

The recapitalization is itemized in three phases. The first is an inexpensive small

airlifter such as the M-28 Sky Truck capable of various missions including short-takeoff-and-landing, intelligence collecting, personnel recovery and law enforcement. Seip recommends at least four per country at a cost of \$56 million; the ideal objective would be six per nation.

Phase two calls for a medium-lift Huey replacement, such as the Bell 212, at a cost of \$96 million for the purchase of four per nation. An additional four are being sought.

Phase three would provide an interceptor; Seip favors the AT-6B Texan II. Four per nation would come to about \$128 million, with an additional four being recommended.

Cost-sharing details are to be determined; these nations would not be able to afford the systems on their own. Seip said it is realistic to anticipate the U.S. would pick up at least 90% of the cost. He hopes to have memoranda of agreement drawn up by June.

The plan also calls for long-term cost-sharing among the Central American nations for training and logistics and the establishment of a regional maintenance hub. These measures would produce whatever economies of scale are possible with the purchase of the systems.

New York Daily News  
January 22, 2008

### 32. Lieutenant Colonel Greg Gadson Is Giants' Inspirational Co-Captain

By Mike Lupica

His name is Lt. Col. Greg Gadson and he used to wear No. 98 for the Army football team and was with the Second Battalion and 32nd Field Artillery, on his way back from a memorial service for two soldiers from his brigade when he lost both his legs to a roadside bomb in Baghdad. It

was the night of May 7, 2007, and Lt. Col. Gadson didn't know it at the time because he couldn't possibly have known, but it was the beginning of a journey that brought him to Lambeau Field Sunday night.

He was there as an honorary co-captain of the Giants, there on the sideline at Lambeau because this Giants' season has become his season now and he wasn't going to watch from some box. This is a Giant at the Super Bowl worth knowing about, as much as any of them.

"Me being a part of this team," Gadson was saying Monday night from his home in Virginia, having made it back there from Green Bay, "really starts with the team I played on at West Point."

He played at West Point between 1985 and 1988, and one of his teammates was Mike Sullivan, who played cornerback and some safety and is now one of Tom Coughlin's assistants with the Giants. When Sullivan and so many other of Gadson's teammates found out what had happened on the night of May 7, found that Gadson had first lost his left leg to arterial infections and then his right, it brought that old Army team back together.

"My injury turned out to be a catalyst event," Gadson said. "These were guys who hadn't talked in years, but now were rallying around me, and my family. Some of us had stayed in contact, but not to any great degree. But now an incident in a war reminded us that we were still brothers."

Sullivan visited Gadson at Walter Reed, came back in June, this time with a No. 98 Giants jersey, Gadson's own name on the back, signed by several Giants players. When Sullivan left that day in June, he said to Gadson, "What else can we do?"

Greg Gadson said he'd love to take his family to a Giants game.

It was the Giants-Redskins game, in Washington, third

Sunday of the season, Giants 0-2 by then. The tickets were arranged and then the Friday before the game Mike Sullivan called and asked if Gadson would be interested in addressing the team on Saturday night.

Gadson's wife Kim drove him to the Giants' hotel. Lt. Col. Greg Gadson, Second Battalion, 32nd Field Artillery, old outside linebacker from Army, spoke to the Giants. And just as no one knew that the Giants would begin a 10-game road winning streak the next day, just as no one knew this could ever become a Super Bowl season, no one in that room including Gadson himself knew that the soldier in the wheelchair was joining the season that night.

"I just spoke from the heart, as a soldier and as a former football player," he said, "for about 10 or 15 minutes. I talked to them about appreciating the opportunities in their lives, how special and privileged they were, how everybody needs to understand what they truly have. And I talked to them about the power of sports in people's lives, especially soldiers' lives, how many times I'd watched soldiers get up in the middle of the night after a 12-hour shift if there is a chance to watch a game, or how soldiers would do anything to watch a game before they went on that kind of shift.

"I told them that of course after all the exteriors had been stripped away, they played the game for themselves. But that they had to play the game for each other. Then I talked about myself, how my old teammates came to my need, and how I was reminded again the power of a team, the emotional commitment teammates have for each other, that when a team finds a way to do things greater than they thought they could do, that they couldn't have done individually, that a bond is formed that can live forever.

"I told them that truly

great teams usually form that bond by going through something together, and how whatever they were going through at that point in the season that no success ever came easy. And finally I reminded them that nothing is promised to anybody in this life, starting with tomorrow."

The Giants won the next day against the Redskins, and began a six-game winning streak, and began that road winning streak that now takes them on the road to Super Bowl XLII. It began Greg Gadson's road to Lambeau, and being wheeled out by his 13-year old son Jaalen as an honorary co-captain of the Giants along with the great Harry Carson.

"I can't even remember the last time I was actually out on the field," he said. "Maybe when I played."

Gadson had been on the sidelines when the Giants won their first playoff game against the Bucs. The team wanted him in Dallas, but he was having more surgery, on what is left of his right leg, and his right arm, which had also been damaged by the IED. But he was well enough to travel to Green Bay, and strong enough to spend the whole game on the sideline with his son, the players calling him what they have all along:

Sir.

"I wouldn't say I was warm," he said. "But I was comfortable enough not to be hugging one of those heaters all day."

He watched from the sidelines at Lambeau as the team he met at 0-2 played the way it played against the Packers and played itself to the Super Bowl, watched as the Giants came back from that missed field goal at the end of regulation, finally saw Lawrence Tynes kick it through from 47 yards out.

"When the ball went through, you could feel the elation on our sidelines, and hear the stadium go quiet at the same time," Gadson said. "It was like the air being let out of

a whole state's soul. And then the next thing I saw was my son jumping in the air and running on that field."

The boy ran for both of them.

Baltimore Sun  
January 22, 2008

### **33. Ex-Md. Resident Writes From Guantanamo About CIA Torture**

By McClatchy-Tribune

MIAMI--In a handwritten plea, a suburban Baltimore high school graduate held at the U.S. detention facility at Guantanamo Bay has written a federal court about his alleged torture in CIA custody - details hidden from public view by censorship.

"Think of me as a human being ... not a terrorist," Majid Khan, 27, wrote last month in careful English penmanship between heavily censored portions of a federal court filing made public Friday.

Lawyers for Khan also argue in the filing that CIA Director Michael V. Hayden "was demonstrably incorrect" when he said in a statement issued last month that videotaping of interrogations stopped in 2002.

"The agency stands by that statement," George Little, a spokesman for the CIA, said yesterday.

"At a bare minimum, General Hayden is not fully informed about the CIA torture program," countered Wells Dixon, one of Khan's attorneys.

The documents are part of the latest legal salvo between the Bush administration and Khan's attorneys, who allege he was subjected to "a ruthless program of state-sponsored torture" during three years of secret CIA custody at a so-called "black site" overseas.

The CIA and the Bush administration contend that they do not engage in torture. There is no way to independently verify either Khan's claims or those of the

government.

Now, the letters are part of an additional filing in the case, written by Khan last month at the U.S. Navy base in southeast Cuba. All references to what he says happened to him are concealed by a censor's pen.

In one five-page handwritten account from Khan to his lawyers, only a single sentence survives the censor's pen. It says, "I was 'practically' an American who lived a comfortable live [sic] under freedoms of America, who never lived in caves or Afghanistan."

The U.S. government alleges that Khan was tasked by Sept. 11 mastermind Khalid Sheik Mohammed to conduct research on poisoning reservoirs and blowing up gas stations in the United States.

Born in Pakistan, Khan moved with his family to the United States at age 15 and became a legal resident. In 2002, while he was visiting Pakistan, security forces captured him and handed him over to the CIA, which held him secretly until he was sent to Guantanamo in September 2006.

None has been charged with crimes. But Khan is the only one of the 15 to see an attorney so far, spending days describing his treatment to Gitanjali Gutierrez and Dixon of the New York Center for Constitutional Rights.

Based on those interviews, they have filed sworn statements, now sealed at the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit.

His lawyers have filed a petition asking the court to rule that he was tortured in U.S. custody; it's the only court empowered by Congress to review the detention of Guantanamo captives, who today number about 275.

At Guantanamo, his lawyers say, Khan has only shared recreation time and the opportunity to speak with one other detainee, an alleged senior al-Qaida operative

named Abu Zubaydah.

The CIA has said it created its "terrorist detention and interrogation program" after capturing Zubaydah in Pakistan and videotaping his interrogations in 2002. It said the videotapes were destroyed three years later to spare agents retribution by al-Qaida or its sympathizers.

A former CIA agent, John Kiriakou, who was involved in the program, has said in successive media interviews that the agency engaged in waterboarding, strategically, in the war on terrorism as part of special techniques made legal by President Bush. Waterboarding simulates drowning.

In his letters, Khan describes himself as a one-time U.S. resident who paid \$2,400 a month in U.S. taxes, now caught in a "big mistake" by the CIA. "I ask you to give me justice ... in the name of what U.S.A. once stood for and in the name of what Thomas Jefferson fought for ... allow me a chance to prove that I am innocent."

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Atlanta Journal-Constitution  
January 22, 2008

### **34. No Answers, But Plenty Of Questions For Al-Qaida**

By Lee Keath, Associated Press

Cairo, Egypt -- Sympathizers submitted hundreds of questions to al-Qaida deputy leader Ayman al-Zawahri's "online interview" before a recent deadline. Among them: Why hasn't al-Qaida attacked the U.S. again, why isn't it attacking the Israelis, and when will it be more active in Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Syria?

So far, there have been no answers.

Al-Qaida's media arm, Al-Sahab, announced in December that al-Zawahri would take questions from the public posted on Islamic militant Web sites and would

respond "as soon as possible."

More than 900 entries--many with multiple questions--were posted on the main Islamist Web site until the cutoff date of Jan. 16. After the deadline, the questions disappeared from that site and no answers have yet appeared.

One thing is clear from the questions: Self-proclaimed al-Qaida supporters are as much in the dark about the terror network's operations and intentions as Western analysts and intelligence agencies.

Some of those posing questions sound worried: Does al-Qaida have a long-term strategy?

Like many in the West, the questioners appear uncertain whether al-Qaida's central leadership directly controls the multiple, small militant groups around the Mideast that work in its name or whether those groups operate on their own.

The vast majority of questioners, identified only by their computer usernames, appear to be supporters of al-Qaida or the jihadi cause, often expressing praise for "our beloved sheik" and "the lion of jihad, Sheik Osama."

Many appear frustrated that al-Qaida is not doing more.

"When we will see the men of al-Qaida waging holy war in Palestine? Because frankly our situation has become very bad," writes one, with the username "Seeking the Path." "As for al-Qaida in Saudi Arabia," he asks, "are there efforts to revive jihadi action there after the blows that hurt us?"

Another, signed "Osama the Lion," asks: "Why doesn't al-Qaida open a front in Egypt, where there are wide opportunities and fertile ground for drawing in mujahedeen?"

Another, called "Knight of Islam," asks, "We are awaiting a strike against American soil. Why has that not been done? Why are the Jews in the world not struck?"

In videos over the past

years, al-Zawahri has repeatedly spoken of opening new fronts against all those lands--but little has occurred. Saudi Arabia has waged a fierce crackdown that has killed or captured many in al-Qaida's branch there. In 2005, al-Zawahri announced the formation of a branch in his homeland, Egypt, but nothing has been heard of it, although Egypt has suffered terror attacks.

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Washington Examiner  
January 21, 2008

Pg. 15

### **35. Northrop Grumman, General Dynamics May Get \$36B Destroyer Program Awards**

By Tony Capaccio, Bloomberg News

Northrop Grumman Corp. and General Dynamics Corp., the U.S. Navy's two top shipbuilders, may have a "handshake deal" this month to build the first pair of destroyers in a new program valued at as much as \$36 billion, according to the Navy's head of ship programs.

Each of the first two DDG-1000 Zumwalt class of destroyers is estimated to cost \$3.1 billion, a price that is still in flux as negotiations continue, Rear Admiral Charles Goddard told reporters yesterday. The Navy plans to buy seven of the ships through 2013.

The Zumwalt is the Navy's newest class of destroyer. Northrop and General Dynamics would build parts of each vessel and final assembly would take place at alternating shipyards. Congress in 2005 prohibited the Navy from conducting a winner-take-all competition so it settled on shared production.

"We've made a lot of progress over the last month," Goddard said. "We are very, very close to striking a deal so I would expect this month that the Navy will have a handshake deal in terms of

moving forward on this contract."

The Navy and the companies are discussing the percentage of cost overruns the contractors will share, Goddard said, as well as how much extra profit the builders will earn for producing vessels under cost. Northrop Grumman and General Dynamics early last year received design contracts for the ships. Part of the program's \$36 billion cost is for about \$8 billion in research and development.

The destroyers will be used to escort aircraft carriers and to shell inland targets. The new vessel will be hard for enemies to detect, as it features a hull structure that projects a radar image the Navy claims is similar to that of a small fishing boat. Greater use of electronics will allow the DDG-1000 to operate with 142 crew members, compared with the 300 needed on destroyers now in use.

General Dynamics' Bath Iron Works will build its vessels in Bath, Maine. Northrop Grumman's vessels will be built at its Pascagoula, Mississippi, shipyard.

General Dynamics spokesman Jim DeMartini said in an e-mail today that the parties "continue to have productive discussions." Northrop Grumman spokesman Randy Belote said in an e-mail that "as we near the end of negotiations on the DDG-1000 contract we look forward to moving ahead with the production of this great ship."

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Wall Street Journal  
January 22, 2008

Pg. 19

### **36. Tough Calls, Good Calls**

By J.D. Crouch II and Robert Joseph

One of the most difficult and consequential decisions of the Bush presidency took place in January of last year: the decision to fundamentally change our strategy by "surging" more U.S. forces to



Iraq.

This decision was taken against the backdrop of escalating violence in Iraq, calls for immediate or "phased" withdrawal, prognostications of imminent defeat, and an abundance of political blame directed at the White House. The president's move was met with skepticism and outright vilification, except for a few principled politicians like John McCain and Joe Lieberman. Today, people are getting in line to claim credit for the "surge."

Mr. Bush's decision was guided by a clear strategic principle. The president wanted the U.S. to win, and refashioning our strategy was the best opportunity to succeed in this goal, as well as to leave Iraq policy on a sounder basis for his successor. Whoever wins the presidency in 2008 will be pleased that he did. What a difference a year makes.

The surge may turn out to be Mr. Bush's most important decision. But he has made other such decisions since 9/11, including to commit ground forces to Afghanistan, to eradicate the regime of Saddam Hussein, to use the CIA to conduct strategic interrogation of high-level terrorists, and to conduct strategic surveillance of terrorists communications.

Mr. Bush has faced so many tough choices over the last seven years that his decision to withdraw from the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty has been at least partially forgotten. Yet this decision, announced in December 2001, was no less consequential. It also defied the critics who argued that it would lead to a new arms race, increase nuclear proliferation and ruin cooperation with Russia on nuclear arms control and terrorism.

None of these things have happened as a result of the ABM Treaty withdrawal. But the decision will enable us to counter a still-growing 21st

century threat.

In the summer of 2006, when Kim Jong Il was again seeking to intimidate America and its allies with medium and long-range missiles, the president had no real options short of pre-emptive attack or retaliation. And yet here, as with the surge, our next president will have tools at his or her disposal because Mr. Bush did not hesitate to do what was necessary for U.S. security.

Mr. Bush has assigned direction of our missile-defense capabilities and their integration into our overall defense strategy to the United States Strategic Command, part of whose mission is the responsibility for defending the nation from strategic missile attack. A global command and control system is being built, and is already functioning, to network our existing sensors and weapons. This can exercise real forces against current and emerging threats.

Meanwhile, a test bed has been built in the Pacific that includes operational assets -- sensors and shooters -- from California to Alaska, from the Aleutian Islands to Hawaii. Despite critics' claims to the contrary, test after test of kinetic kill interceptors has demonstrated the effectiveness of our defenses.

The first strategic missile interceptors since 1975 are deployed in Fort Greely, Alaska and Vandenberg AFB, Calif. They stand guard against an attack on the entire country. Sea-based interceptors that have far greater capability than the Patriots of Iraq are being deployed, using the SM-3 missile and Aegis radars.

Cooperation with key allies on missile defense is at an all-time high, and we are finally able to cooperate in ways that protect both American and allied territory. In Japan, we have deployed a radar capable of providing data for protecting both Japanese and U.S. territory. We are also

co-developing a new version of the SM-3 that will have greater capability against long-range threats.

None of this could have happened if President Bush had not decided to withdraw from the ABM Treaty. What are the next steps that the country should take to capitalize fully on this strategic choice?

First, the president's call for a third strategic missile defense site in Europe must be carried out. This site provides additional capability to protect the U.S., and to protect as well our European allies from a growing Iranian missile threat. The site would further cement the development of a global sensor-and-interceptor network necessary for effective missile defense. Failure to follow through would have implications for our alliances both inside and out of Europe.

Second, we can expect that rogue states such as North Korea and Iran are already looking at ways to counter our existing defenses. One way they might do this is to deploy decoys or other countermeasures on their existing offensive missiles that must be attacked, and could thus exhaust our limited supply of interceptors. Fortunately, we can now explore cost-effective solutions to this threat.

One solution is to develop interceptors with multiple kill vehicles -- something that was explicitly banned by the ABM Treaty. Another solution is to develop advanced discrimination techniques to tell the decoys from the real threats. These techniques include using radars, space-based sensors, or a new concept that uses dozens of miniature interceptors that can literally sweep away an entire threat cloud of decoys, allowing the missile interceptor to hone in on the real warhead.

None of these techniques is fully proven, but neither was the hit-to-kill technology begun by President Reagan and later successfully deployed by President Bush. We must focus

investment in the discrimination problem and improve our existing systems with these new capabilities.

Third, we can do more to increase the capabilities of existing assets. We can, for example, improve our sea-based capabilities -- both our performance against long-range missiles and the number of assets deployed. Under the ABM Treaty, we had to "dumb down" our so-called theater systems to ensure that they could not be used to defend the U.S. from attack. Free from this restraint, as well as from the Treaty's prohibition on mobile-launch platforms, we can now do much more to integrate our defense with that of our allies and make the most of the assets we have deployed.

Finally, we must look again at space as a place to deploy interceptors.

There is no question that space provides the highest leverage against the missile threat: Targets are more visible, more accessible and more vulnerable when attacked from space. While there are concerns about "weaponizing space," these pale in comparison to the increasing vulnerability of U.S. space-based satellites by weapons from the ground traversing space. The recent Chinese anti-satellite test was a wake-up call.

Space-based interceptors, like those proposed by former President George H. W. Bush in 1991, have the potential to strengthen missile defense, and to provide protection for key intelligence and communications assets in space that are now vulnerable from ground-based attack.

The progress of the past six years stems from one tough decision. That very same decision will allow us to stay ahead of the 21st century ballistic-missile threat.

*Messrs. Crouch and Joseph are senior scholars at the National Institute for Public Policy. Mr. Crouch was*

formerly deputy national security adviser and Mr. Joseph was formerly undersecretary of State in the George W. Bush administration.

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January 22, 2008  
Pg. 19

### 37. Unfailing Friend Or Failing State?

*U.S. must regain Pakistan as key ally in 2008*

By Jane Harman

Years from now, historians will look back at 2007 as the year we lost Pakistan. Evidence of Pakistan's looming disintegration is everywhere.

The year 2007 started with President Pervez Musharraf's failed peace deal with tribal elders. Then came his war against the Courts and the revolt of the lawyers, followed by former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's return to Pakistan and immediate deportation (and subsequent return).

Last fall, Mr. Musharraf declared a state of emergency. Then came the attacks on former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto upon her triumphant return to Pakistan, and finally the one that killed her in Rawalpindi.

There is new fighting in the Swat valley, where Islamic extremists have gained a foothold, and now news that the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) Pakistan's leading military intelligence agency has lost control of its networks to al Qaeda sympathizers. We always suspected that ISI's networks had Taliban leanings, but this is the clearest evidence that Pakistan's extremists may be cannibalizing the country's security forces.

Why should Americans care? Two main reasons.

1) Who, now, is watching the terrorist training camps in Western Pakistan? This region is not only home to Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda's top leadership, it is where all of the major plots against European

and Western targets were hatched, and it is public knowledge that more and more Westerners are being trained there.

Britain is on high alert: thousands of Pakistani-Britons spend a month a year in Pakistan. No doubt some trainees and their handlers are hatching plots against America too. Without question, these camps are a potent threat to American security.

2) Who, now, is watching Pakistan's nuclear program? Everyone focuses, rightly, on locking down weapons and facilities. But it is the know-how the centrifuge technology, the bomb design that is unguarded. Al Qaeda does not need the keys to a facility if it has or can acquire a blueprint and can obtain fissile material on the black market.

Just five years ago, the Bush administration trumpeted the arrest of A.Q. Khan, the architect of Pakistan's nuclear weapons program and the wrapping up of his international proliferation network. But Mr. Musharraf never imprisoned Khan and never permitted us to question him. Is it credible that, as he remains under house arrest, he is refraining from restarting his old network? How did we lose Pakistan? Consider these four points.

1) We began a war of choice in Iraq. Major miscalculations in the post-war phase required us to take our eye off al Qaeda.

2) We gave Mr. Musharraf a blank check. American taxpayers are sending him some \$150 million a month with next to no strings attached. He has taken this aid for granted and used it in ways that are not helpful in the fight against al Qaeda such as buying fighter jets to tweak and intimidate India.

3) We allowed Mr. Musharraf to call the shots in the Federally Administrated Tribal Areas (FATA) along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border.

American officials episodically pressed Mr. Musharraf to take action in the FATA, such as when Vice President Dick Cheney and a senior CIA official visited Islamabad in early 2007. But when Mr. Musharraf said no, we had no recourse.

4) America has not done enough to support moderate Islamic forces in Pakistan or elsewhere. The radicalization of Pakistan's youth mirrors a trend across the Islamic world. America has done precious little to arrest this trend.

Perhaps there was a rationale for supporting Mr. Musharraf immediately after September 11. He offered to join the fight against radical jihadists and made early efforts to police the FATA. But then, to preserve his power, he backed off.

Events at the end of 2007 have sorely tested the Musharraf first policy.

In 2008, America must explore ways to shift its approach to Pakistan and do more to support education and enterprise there, instead of focusing on maintaining Mr. Musharraf in power.

As the administration belatedly promotes Arab-Israeli reconciliation, a worthy effort, it must also recognize that Iran's ability to make mischief through proxies like Hamas and Hezbollah is enhanced by the chaos in Pakistan. Ranting about Iran as President Bush is doing on his Middle East trip is not the answer. Getting Pakistan right is.

*Rep. Jane Harman, California Democrat, is chairman of the Homeland Security Subcommittee on Intelligence and Terrorism Risk Assessment.*

Miami Herald  
January 22, 2008

### 38. Home-Grown Jihadists Wake Up Pakistan

By Joseph L. Galloway

There are signs that Pakistan's leaders finally are waking up to the threat that faces them from the Islamic jihadists who poured into the untamed provinces bordering Afghanistan six years ago and have spread their poison on fertile ground.

For most of those years, Pakistan's military and government ignored the fact that the leaders of al Qaeda and of Afghanistan's Taliban not only had found shelter on their territory but also were beginning to realize that Pakistan, with its nuclear arsenal, is a much juicier target than Afghanistan.

America's top commander in that volatile region, Adm. William J. Fallon of the U.S. Central Command, has said that the increased terrorist violence in Pakistan in recent months has convinced Pakistan's leaders that they need to address the problem more intensively.

Fallon said the Pakistanis now realize that they have some real internal problems. Until now, they considered the al Qaeda and Taliban terrorists a problem for the United States and Afghanistan and only a distant threat to themselves.

The admiral said he believes that the Pakistanis are now more open to American suggestions that U.S. troops help train and advise the Pakistani army and border police.

Whether cozying up to the Pentagon at this stage will help an already beleaguered government in transition from military rule to a civilian democracy or only stoke the anger of Pakistan's own Muslim fundamentalists remains to be seen, however.

It also could be too little, too late. Meanwhile, things aren't going all that well across the border in Afghanistan, either.

Defense Secretary Robert Gates has approved a modest deployment of U.S. reinforcements to Afghanistan, ordering a full brigade of some

3,200 Marines into the fight and raising the total number of American troops there to fewer than 30,000.

Gates acted after it became clear that our NATO allies were resisting requests to increase the number of troops they have provided for Afghanistan duty, and that some of the NATO troops that have been sent have little or no training in counter-insurgency warfare. Others are under orders to avoid taking casualties.

U.S. commanders have been asking for reinforcements for months as Taliban insurgents ("resurgents" might be more appropriate) have grown ever bolder and more aggressive, seeming to shrug off the heavy casualties they suffer from U.S. warplanes when they operate in the open. They have no trouble getting replacements and reinforcements from their Pakistani sanctuaries.

The fear is that spring will bring an even greater Taliban offensive, backed by explosive devices and suicide bombers -- al Qaeda tactics tested, refined and exported from the war in Iraq.

All this because the Bush administration started taking its eye off the ball in Afghanistan in late 2001, siphoning off money, equipment and manpower for the invasion of Iraq. That's translated into penny-pinching the rebuilding of badly damaged or destroyed infrastructure in a country that has been at war for three decades and a very slow stand-up of Afghan army and police forces capable of dealing with the insurgents.

Last week, suicide bombers attacked a luxury hotel that caters to foreigners and wealthy Afghans in the capital of Kabul, underscoring the boldness of the Taliban resurgents and offering a glimpse of what's to come when the snows melt in the high mountain passes that are the guerrilla highways between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

There's nothing like benign neglect of a dangerous place to make more trouble than you ever thought possible. By early 2002, we had toppled the Taliban government and had them and their al Qaeda guests on the run. But before the mission was accomplished, our leaders turned away from Job One to prepare to invade Iraq and topple Saddam Hussein.

Now, if losing or fighting to a draw in Iraq would be a disaster, consider what the return to power of the Taliban in Afghanistan would mean. Then consider what it would mean for the world's only superpower to watch helplessly as Pakistan falls into the hands of jihadists allied with al Qaeda and the Taliban.

That's the real nightmare that should be disturbing the sleep of President Bush and whoever hopes to succeed him.

*Joseph L. Galloway is a military columnist for McClatchy Newspapers.*

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January 22, 2008  
Pg. 18

### **Global View**

## **39. American Honor**

By Bret Stephens

By an apt coincidence, the revival of John McCain's political fortunes takes place close to the 40th anniversary of the Tet Offensive, when some 100,000 North Vietnamese troops and Vietcong irregulars launched a coordinated attack on the South that took the U.S. by surprise and permanently altered the political landscape of the war. That event, far more so than Sept. 11, is what Mr. McCain's candidacy is all about. In many ways it's what this year's election is all about, too.

There are two narratives about Tet, which began on the night of Jan. 30, 1968. In the liberal version, the sheer scale of the North's offensive exposed America's politicians and generals as dupes or liars when they claimed that

progress in the war was being made and that victory was within reach. "We have been too often disappointed by the optimism of the American leaders, both in Vietnam and Washington, to have faith any longer in the silver linings they find in the darkest clouds," said CBS anchorman Walter Cronkite in his broadcast of Feb. 27, 1968, adding that "we are mired in a stalemate" that could only be ended by negotiation, not victory. The comments reportedly prompted Lyndon Johnson to remark that "If I've lost Cronkite, I've lost middle America."

Conservatives tell a different story. While the U.S. might have been caught off guard by the offensive, the result was nonetheless a rout for the North, which lost every significant tactical engagement and suffered tens of thousands of casualties. Contrary to Johnson's grim political assessment, public support for the war effort actually *rose* in the wake of Tet: A Gallup poll showed that the percentage of Americans who considered themselves "hawks" on the war went to 61% from 56% following the offensive, while the number of self-declared "doves" dropped to 23% from 27%.

In fact, what Johnson had lost was the support of the media elite, who (conservatives say) used their privileged positions to skew perceptions of what was actually happening in the war. "In all honesty, we didn't achieve our main objective [in the offensive]," admitted North Vietnamese general Tran Do, who in later life became a pro-democracy dissident. "As for making an impact in the United States, it had not been our intention -- but it turned out to be a fortunate result."

It is this second narrative that largely explains why Mr. McCain is succeeding among Republicans in 2008 in a way he did not eight years ago. Last time, he ran and lost as an anti-establishment, "moderate"

Republican. This time, although he continues to depend heavily on the votes of independents, his fundamental appeal is to American honor, which is also the trait he uniquely embodies among the GOP contenders. He seeks to turn his personal code of honor -- the "No Surrender" slogan -- into a national code. He rails against a news media that only begrudgingly recognizes American military gains, repeatedly citing as Exhibit A Time magazine's refusal to name Gen. David Petraeus as its Person of the Year for 2007. Above all, he not only warns against the policy consequences of a failure in Iraq, but also stands against a philosophy, or psychology, that seeks to make a virtue of failure.

This is another Vietnam legacy. Beyond the purely pragmatic argument that the war in Southeast Asia was unwinnable, there was also a sense among opponents of the war that defeat would, in some deep way, be balm for America's soul. "For all the anguish felt over the loss of American lives, can we acknowledge there is something proper in the way that hubristic American power has been thwarted?" asked antiwar writer James Carroll in 2006, explicitly making the connection between the wars in Vietnam and Iraq. On the subject of honor, Mr. Carroll added that "the goal of 'peace with honor' assumes the nation's honor has not already been squandered."

Mr. Carroll penned those lines when American fortunes in Iraq were approaching their nadir. Since then, the military balance has shifted dramatically in America's favor, just as it did following Tet with the appointment of a new commander (Creighton Abrams) and the implementation of a new strategy (focused on providing security at the local level). In Vietnam neither of those changes proved sufficient for

victory, partly because the moral and strategic case for involvement had become so muddled, partly because the consequences of withdrawal were dimly perceived, and partly because the constellation of political circumstances -- Watergate above all -- conspired against sustaining the gains that had been achieved.

Yet there is no cosmic rule that says that all that will again come to pass with Iraq, and the essence of Mr. McCain's message is that it must not. His case is easier to make because this time Americans do have the benefit of hindsight about the consequences of defeat, and they are not the redemptive ones imagined by Mr. Carroll. Among them: the mass murder of the people who stood with us; the enslavement of entire nations by fanatical and confident ideologues; the blow to U.S. interests and the stain on American prestige.

These are some of the practical and ethical arguments for seeing the Iraq war through to a decent conclusion. But honor is a different, deeper matter. For the Democratic candidates in this race, it has only a conditional and tenuous relation to the word "victory" in its usual sense. If it means anything at all to them, it seems to be mainly in the sense of the good opinion of America's traditional friends, many of whom opposed the Iraq venture from the start. This kind of honor, also known as ingratiation, is gained by improving America's poll numbers in global opinion surveys.

There is another kind of honor, however, which is uniquely bestowed by one's adversaries and enemies. It is the honor one acquires by defying temptations of popularity, by the acceptance of long odds, by suffering, by what is called the nobility of the last-ditch defense. It is the honor many Americans feel they lost in Vietnam, and which, through Mr. McCain's

not-so-improbable resurgence, they now seek to regain and make their own.

New York Times  
January 22, 2008

#### 40. Pakistan, Terrorism And Drugs

To the Editor:

Re "Militants Escape Control of Pakistan, Officials Say" (front page, Jan. 15):

Suicide bombing is a phenomenon imported from Iraq and Afghanistan, alien to Pakistan. The strategy to support the Afghans against Soviet military intervention was evolved by several intelligence agencies, including the C.I.A. and Inter-Services Intelligence, or ISI.

After the Soviet withdrawal, the Western powers walked away from the region, leaving behind 40,000 militants imported from several countries to wage the anti-Soviet jihad. Pakistan was left to face the blowback of extremism, drugs and guns.

The post-9/11 intervention in Afghanistan led to a further inflow of extremists and terrorists from Afghanistan. As Pakistan's national security objectives have changed, so have the policies and personnel of ISI. Since 9/11, the Pakistani Army, including the ISI, have been in a front-line role in the fight against terrorism, capturing more than 700 Qaeda operatives, including most of its top leaders.

The ISI has played a pivotal role in aborting several terrorists' plots against Western countries. It works closely with the agencies of allied countries.

Like the United States and NATO forces in Afghanistan, Pakistan also faces challenges in fighting the terrorists in a difficult terrain. Tactics often evolve through trial and error. Anti-insurgent capacity has to be built up. Yet, given our role and sacrifices, Pakistan's commitment to combat terrorism cannot be questioned.

**Munir Akram,**  
Ambassador and Permanent  
Representative,  
Pakistan  
Mission to the U.N., New  
York, Jan. 17, 2008

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To the Editor:

"Militants Escape Control of Pakistan, Officials Say" doesn't cite perhaps the prime factor assisting the rebels, including Al Qaeda and the Taliban: the opium and heroin produced and transited in that nation and neighboring Afghanistan.

Pakistan is fast evolving into the same drug-financed chaos, financing Al Qaeda and Osama bin Laden, which Afghanistan has already become. Afghanistan supplies 92 percent of the world's heroin-producing opium, and Pakistan now transports a growing 36 percent of Afghanistan's illicit opium, according to a State Department report last year.

Afghanistan and Pakistan are the No. 1 export and transit nations in the world for opium used for heroin. Opium production, on our watch, has increased 33-fold from 185 tons in 2001 to more than 6,000 tons in 2006.

As Senator Charles E. Schumer reported during passage of an amendment in 2006 to strengthen counternarcotics assistance to Afghanistan, stripped by the administration and Republicans in conference, "The Taliban generates roughly 70 percent of its income through the production and sale of opium."

It appears that the United States military presence, afraid to disrupt supposedly friendly Afghanistan and Pakistan's economies, has maintained a blind eye rather than eradicate the drug trade.

Far from blocking drug trafficking, the government of Pakistan's negotiated truce with rebels in northwestern Pakistan, with ties to the Taliban and Al Qaeda, has provided carte blanche to grow, transport and get big money from the illicit crops.

In both Afghanistan and Pakistan, our military should be helping theirs to fight drugs. There must be bolder surveillance and eradication of poppy fields, stronger enforcement of cross-border anti-smuggling measures, and bank financing freezes of traffickers' finances.

**Robert S. Weiner,**  
Washington, Jan. 17, 2008

*The writer was spokesman for the White House Office of National Drug Control Policy, 1995-2001.*

**Editor's Note:** The article by Carlotta Gall and David Rohde appeared in the *Current News Early Bird*, January 15, 2008.