

CURRENT NEWS

EARLY BIRD

June 3, 2012

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Item numbers indicate order of appearance only.

PANETTA TRIP

1. **Panetta Is First Top U.S. Official Since War In Cam Ranh Bay**
(*Bloomberg.com*)....Gopal Ratnam, Bloomberg News
U.S. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta today met U.S. personnel at Cam Ranh Bay, becoming the top most American official to visit the former U.S. military base since the end of the Vietnam War.
2. **Panetta Arrives At Former US Base In Vietnam**
(*Norfolk Virginian-Pilot (pilotonline.com)*)....Lolita C. Baldor, Associated Press
...Panetta says he hopes to encourage efforts with Vietnam to locate and identify more of the U.S. war dead who are still missing.
3. **Panetta To Visit Former US Base In Vietnam**
(*Yahoo.com*)....Agence France-Presse
...The two countries signed a memorandum on defence cooperation last year and Panetta planned to discuss how to carry out the agreement during his two-day visit, officials said.
4. **Panetta: Better Military Ties With Burma Possible**
(*Washington Post*)....Associated Press
...Assuming that Burma is able to make such changes and continue efforts to open up its political system, the Pentagon would be willing to have discussions about how the countries can improve their military relationship, Panetta said.
5. **US Navy To Move 60% Of Warships To Asia**
(*Singapore Straits Times*)....Jermyn Chow and Ben Nadarajan
...Mr Panetta said the US would also increase the number and size of the training exercises it conducts alongside its allies in the region.
6. **Asia To Be Base For 60% Of U. S. Fleet**
(*South China Morning Post*)....Greg Torode
...Speaking to the informal Shangri-La Dialogue on security in Singapore, Panetta also vowed to push for deeper military relations with China and insisted that Beijing should not fear Washington's growing role as a Pacific power.
7. **U.S. Navy's Pacific Presence To Expand, Panetta Says**
(*Bloomberg.com*)....Gopal Ratnam, Bloomberg News
U.S. naval power in the Pacific will increase as the Pentagon rebalances American forces toward the Asia-Pacific region, Defense Secretary Leon Panetta said in Singapore while calling on countries to beef up their capacity.
8. **U.S. Will Put More Warships In Asia: Panetta**

(Reuters.com)....David Alexander, Reuters

...China has downgraded its representation to the Shangri-La Dialogue from last year, when Defence Minister Liang Guanglie attended and met then-U.S. Defense Secretary Robert Gates. This year the Chinese military was represented by the vice president of the Academy of Military Sciences. Panetta, by contrast, was accompanied by General Martin Dempsey, the military's top officer as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Admiral Samuel Locklear, the head of the U.S. Pacific Command.

9. **Leon Panetta: U.S. Navy Is 'Re-Balancing' To Asia**

(TheDailyBeast.com)....Dan Levin

...Throughout the day, in panel sessions and in hushed discussions in hallways, U.S. officials and their allies pressed for diplomatic progress on a host of issues from the South China Sea to North Korea. But the elephant in every room was China, which this year declined to send a top-level government or military official to the conference.

10. **'Mature Relationship' With China Needed: Panetta**

(DefenseNews.com)....Marcus Weisgerber

U.S. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta has emphatically called for China to partner with the United States and develop better lines of communication and collaboration on areas of mutual interest.

11. **Who Is Panetta Meeting In Singapore?**

(The Cable (thecable.foreignpolicy.com))....Josh Rogin

Following his keynote address at the 2012 IISS Shangri-la Security Dialogue, Defense Minister Leon Panetta embarked on a series of bilateral and small group meetings here, taking the action behind the scenes.

ASIA/PACIFIC

12. **Hanoi Plays Up Beijing Ties Ahead Of Panetta Visit**

(South China Morning Post)....Greg Torode

A senior Vietnamese military official yesterday sought to head off Chinese anger over US Defence Secretary Leon Panetta's visit today to the strategic southern port of Cam Ranh Bay, where US navy resupply ships are repaired.

13. **US Pacific Build-Up Gets Nod In Beijing Snub**

(Sydney Morning Herald (smh.com.au))....John Garnaut

AUSTRALIA has thrown its support behind a "rebalancing" of American military might in the Pacific region, which promises to deepen strategic rivalries with China.

14. **Uneasy US-China Relationship Overshadows Amicable Summit**

(Singapore Straits Times)....William Choong

Compared to previous years, when the verbal sparring in the cavernous hall of the Shangri-La Hotel's Island Ballroom was heated, all sides played nice this year.

15. **China Says To Step Up Vigilance After U.S. Navy Shift**

(Reuters.com)....Reuters

China will intensify its vigilance, but not lash back, after the United States announced it will shift most of its warships to the Asia-Pacific region by 2020, media reported on Sunday.

16. **China Warns US From 'Muddying Waters' In South China Sea**

(Times of India)....Press Trust of India

It was no time to "make waves" in the disputed South China Sea and dance behind a "Pied Piper", China's official news agency warned today, after US said it would shift the bulk of its naval fleet to the Pacific Ocean by 2020.

17. **US Tries Not To Make Waves With 'Pacific Pivot'**

(Arizona Daily Star (Tucson))....Associated Press

As the United States moves to bolster its military position in Asia, it faces severe budget cuts from Congress, an increasingly powerful rival in China and a hornet's nest of regional political sensitivities.

18. **Japan, U.S., Australia To Boost Military Ties**
(*Japan Times*)....Kyodo
Senior defense officials from Japan, the United States and Australia agreed Saturday to draw up an action plan on increased military cooperation.
19. **Gazmin, Dellosa Tackle Regional Security Challenges In Singapore Summit**
(*Philippine Star*)....Jaime Laude
...United States Defense Secretary Leon Panetta, the keynote speaker at this yearly regional security event, declared during the same forum that the US is closely watching the development in Panatag Shoal.
20. **Canada Defends Military Drone Attacks**
(*Atlanta Journal-Constitution (ajc.com)*)....Associated Press
Canada has defended the use of military drone attacks, saying technological advances have reduced civilian casualties.

MIDEAST

21. **Increase In Drone Strikes In Yemen Raises Questions**
(*Washington Post*)....Greg Miller
More lower-level operatives are being targeted for attack.
22. **Lebanon Clashes Raise Fear Of 'Spillover' In Syria Violence**
(*Los Angeles Times*)....Patrick J. McDonnell and Alexandra Sandels
Deadly sectarian street battles linked to strife in neighboring Syria erupted Saturday in northern Lebanon, as special United Nations envoy Kofi Annan warned about "regional spillover" from a possible "all-out civil war" in Syria.
23. **Houla: Shadows Of Srebrenica**
(*Washington Post*)....Michael Dobbs
As deaths mount in Syria, Obama finds himself being compared to Clinton, who was widely criticized for his tardy response in Bosnia.
24. **Oil Output Soars As Iraq Retools**
(*New York Times*)....Tim Arango and Clifford Krauss
Despite sectarian bombings and political gridlock, Iraq's crude oil production is soaring, providing a singular bright spot for the nation's future and relief for global oil markets as the West tightens sanctions on Iranian exports.
25. **US Asks Iraq To Extradite Hezbollah Suspect**
(*Jerusalem Post*)....Phil Stewart, Reuters
The United States has formally asked Iraq to extradite a suspected Hezbollah operative accused of killing American troops, a US official told Reuters, amid heightened concerns in Washington that he may go free.
26. **New Turmoil In Egypt Greeted Mixed Verdict For Mubarak**
(*New York Times*)....David D. Kirkpatrick
...By nightfall, demonstrators filled Tahrir Square in a protest that matched the size and ideological diversity of the early days of the revolt, with Islamists and liberals once again protesting side by side. Protesters poured into the streets of Alexandria, Suez and other cities to rail against what they saw as a miscarriage of justice.
27. **Sherif Mansour Returns To Egypt To Face NGO Trial**
(*NationalJournal.com*)....Sara Sorcher
...Mansour, who is due to appear in court on Tuesday, believes the charges against him and 42 other workers from U.S.-funded nongovernmental organizations are politically motivated and without legal merit. The Obama administration agrees. But if convicted, he could face up to six years in an Egyptian prison.
28. **Iran Military Commander Again Threatens To Target US Bases If Attacked**
(*Jerusalem Post*)....Marcus George, Reuters

Iran has once more warned the United States not to resort to military action against it, saying US bases in the region were vulnerable to the Islamic Republic's missiles, state media reported on Saturday.

AFGHANISTAN

29. U.S.-Pakistan Freeze Chokes Fallback Route In Afghanistan

(*New York Times*)....Rod Nordland

Nowhere is the impact of Pakistan's ban on NATO truck traffic more visible than here at the top of the Hindu Kush, on one of the only alternative overland routes for supply convoys to reach Kabul and the rest of the country. For 20 miles north and south of the old Soviet-built tunnel at Salang Pass, thousands of trucks are idled beside the road, waiting for a turn to get through its perilous, one-and-a-half-mile length.

30. China Steps Up Afghan Role As Western Pullout Nears

(*Reuters.com*)....Sanjeev Miglani, Reuters

China and Afghanistan will sign an agreement in the coming days that strategically deepens their ties, Afghan officials say, the strongest signal yet that Beijing wants a role beyond economic partnership as Western forces prepare to leave the country.

31. Aid Workers Who Were Held In Cave Are Rescued From Taliban

(*New York Times*)....Alissa J. Rubin and John F. Burns

...The rescue was carried out by the allied coalition working with Afghan forces, and Gen. John R. Allen, the senior allied commander in Afghanistan, took the unusual step of issuing a public statement about the rescue.

32. SAS Night March Frees Hostages

(*London Sunday Times*)....David Leppard and Miles Amore

THE SAS made a daring nighttime march across the mountains in Afghanistan in a "breathtaking" operation to free the British aid worker Helen Johnston and three other hostages, David Cameron revealed yesterday.

PAKISTAN

33. US Drone In Pakistan Kills 10 Suspected Militants

(*Arizona Daily Star (Tucson)*)....Associated Press

An American drone strike in the frontier tribal areas of Pakistan killed 10 suspected militants Sunday, Pakistani officials said as the U.S. pushes ahead with its drone campaign in the face of Pakistani demands to stop.

34. Pakistan Acquits Four Men In Times Square Bomb Plot

(*New York Times*)....Declan Walsh

A Pakistani court on Saturday acquitted four men accused of assisting Faisal Shahzad, the Taliban-trained militant who tried to explode a car bomb in Times Square two years ago, a lawyer and several relatives said.

MARINE CORPS

35. For These Camp Pendleton Contestants, Their Game Is Mud

(*Los Angeles Times*)....Tony Perry

Weekend athletes run, jump and slither in the World Famous Mud Run, complete with hills, tire obstacles, river crossings and, near the finish, a 30-foot mud pit.

NAVY

36. USS Mississippi Is Placed Into Active Duty In Pascagoula

(*Biloxi (MS) Sun Herald*)....Michael Newsome

The \$2 billion USS Mississippi nuclear submarine was set into active duty today at 11:28 a.m. by Navy secretary Ray Mabus, a former Miss. governor, at the Port of Pascagoula in a public event that drew thousands of spectators and a host of dignitaries.

WHITE HOUSE

37. **Abroad, Obama Puts Focus On Economic Issues**
(*Washington Post*)....Scott Wilson
Critics say events such as the Syrian massacres deserve more attention.
38. **Drone One Force**
(*London Sunday Times*)....Christina Lamb
Obama was elected to end wars, but to defeat Al-Qaeda he has deployed a squadron of silent killers, writes Christina Lamb.

AFRICA

39. **In Timbuktu, Harsh Change Under Islamists**
(*New York Times*)....Adam Nossiter
...Rebels who captured the city in northern Mali in April have imposed a form of hard-edged Islamic rule, prompting many residents to flee in fear and changing the face of what had been a tolerant and easygoing destination that drew tourists from around the world.

ARCTIC

40. **Clinton Urges Cooperation In Resource-Rich Arctic**
(*Washington Post*)....Bradley Klapper, Associated Press
U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton on Saturday ventured north of the Arctic Circle and urged international cooperation in a region that could become a new battleground for natural resources.

CYBER WARFARE

41. **Cyberspace The Fragile Frontier**
(*Washington Post*)....Robert O'Harrow Jr.
Recent revelations about the Stuxnet and Flame attacks show that threats in the digital universe are becoming more urgent. To defend themselves, everyone must now decipher one of the most mystifying places on Earth.
42. **Cyber Missiles Mean War Without Bloodshed**
(*Los Angeles Times*)....Michelle Maltais
What do you need to disrupt nuclear facilities of your enemy? A thumb drive.

TERRORISM

43. **Mullahs Stopped Bin Laden Killing Children**
(*London Sunday Times*)....Christina Lamb
A MEMBER of Osama Bin Laden's inner circle, the man who shaved his head, has given the most detailed picture to date of how Al-Qaeda was run.

MILITARY

44. **South Florida Military Recruits Embark On Their Next Journey**
(*Miami Herald*)....Kristofer Rios
Hundreds of high school graduates and their families gathered to salute the youth on their next endeavor: the U.S. Armed Forces.
45. **Program Helps Civilians Understand Veterans' Views**
(*Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*)....Corinne Reilly

It's a simple story, and to those with a connection to the Army or Marine Corps, it might even be a cliché. But when Eric Endries tells it to outsiders, particularly those in law enforcement, he says it packs just the right punch.

WORLD WAR II

46. **Victory At Sea**
(*Weekly Standard*)....Geoffrey Norman
The Battle of Midway at 70.

MOVIES

47. **Documentary Unveils Rape In US Military With Testimonials**
(*Stripes.com*)....Stars and Stripes
A new feature film documentary is winning festival awards and garnering national attention for its in-depth focus on the thousands of women raped every year within the U.S. military.

COMMENTARY

48. **The Perils Of Intervention In Syria**
(*Washington Post*)....Henry A. Kissinger
...As military force is considered, several underlying issues must be addressed: While the United States accelerates withdrawals from military interventions in neighboring Iraq and Afghanistan, how can a new military commitment in the same region be justified, particularly one likely to face similar challenges?
49. **Helping Syria Would Help Obama**
(*Washington Post*)....Danielle Pletka
Foreign policy expert Danielle Pletka says intervening is good policy -- and good politics.
50. **Mutually Assured Cyberdestruction?**
(*New York Times*)....David E. Sanger
IT took years after the United States dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima for the nation to develop a common national understanding of when and how to use a weapon of such magnitude. Not until after the Cuban Missile Crisis, 50 years ago this October, did a consensus emerge that the weapon was too terrible ever to employ again, save as a deterrent and a weapon of last resort.
51. **The Spies Who Hacked Him**
(*London Sunday Times*)....Christopher Goodwin
Three years ago I was sitting in an airconditioned trailer just outside Las Vegas watching the awesome and terrifying future of war. In the trailer, British RAF pilots were peering at computer monitors that showed images from Reaper drones they were controlling which were flying thousands of miles away above the battlefields of Afghanistan.
52. **Petraeus Finds A Home**
(*Washington Post*)....David Ignatius
...The bottom line is performance, and here Petraeus gets good marks both from his senior colleagues and the administration.
53. **Africa: The Taking Of Timbuktu**
(*Financial Times*)....Xan Rice
...But what initially appeared to be a quest for a secular homeland has turned into something much more dangerous, for Mali and far beyond: the possibility of an Islamist-aligned mini-state that could offer a base to the jihadist groups and criminal gangs that roam the Sahara.
54. **Servicewomen Violated Twice**
(*Newport News Daily Press*)....Tamara Dietrich

...Studies have long shown that a woman doubles her risk of sexual assault just by joining the military. And every year, reports of sexual assault increase.

55. **Cpl. Joe's Long Journey Home**

(*Arizona Republic (Phoenix)*)....E.J. Montini

On April 22, 2004, at a checkpoint outside of Fallujah, Iraq, a news photographer caught 21-year-old Marine Lance Cpl. Joe McCarthy in the act of being exactly who he was.

56. **58,282 Names And Each One Hits Close To Home For Somebody**

(*Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*)....Dermot Cole

As Fairbanks TV reporter Tom Hewitt put it, "It's surprising how powerful something so simple as names on a wall can be."

57. **Safeguarding The Right To Trial**

(*Los Angeles Times*)....Editorial

Can a U.S. citizen arrested in this country on terrorism charges be detained without trial? As with other aspects of the war on terror, the answer isn't clear.

Bloomberg.com

June 3, 2012

1. Panetta Is First Top U.S. Official Since War In Cam Ranh Bay

By Gopal Ratnam, Bloomberg News

U.S. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta today met U.S. personnel at Cam Ranh Bay, becoming the top most American official to visit the former U.S. military base since the end of the Vietnam War.

"This is a historic trip," Panetta told sailors aboard the USNS Richard E. Byrd, a U.S. merchant marine supply ship. "The fact that the ship is here and being serviced by Vietnamese contractors is a tremendous indication of how far we have come"

Cam Ranh Bay, a deep-water port located about 220 miles (354 kilometers) north of Ho Chi Minh city, hosted the U.S. naval and air base that was the main point of entry for equipment and supplies during the Vietnam War.

Panetta's visit signals closer military ties between one-time foes who resumed diplomatic relations 17 years ago. The warming relationship with Vietnam, which shares a land border to the north with China, has received a boost since President Barack Obama announced a strategy to rebalance U.S. military forces toward the Asia-Pacific region.

"This is the place where lots of ships, troops and supplies" came through during the war and a "tremendous amount of blood was spilled on all sides," Panetta said. "Access to U.S. naval ships to this facility is a key component" of the U.S. strategy for the Asia-Pacific region and "we see a tremendous opportunity" to take the relationship with Vietnam "to the next level," Panetta said.

Vietnamese ports

U.S. vessels including non-military medical and supply ships began calling at Vietnamese ports after relations were normalized in 1995. In November 2003, the missile frigate USS Vandegrift arrived in Ho Chi Minh City, the first U.S. Navy ship to dock in Vietnam since the end of the war.

Panetta travels to Hanoi tonight and will meet with his counterpart, Defense Minister Phung Quang Thanh, to discuss implementing a defense memorandum of understanding the two countries signed last year, according to U.S. defense officials who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss diplomatic talks.

The agreement made in September calls for regular top-level meetings as well as cooperation on maritime security, search and rescue, peacekeeping activities and humanitarian aid and disaster relief.

Panetta is on a three-country trip to Asia including Singapore, Vietnam and India to bolster military ties in a region that Obama has said is critical to U.S. interests.

The U.S. will increase its naval power in the Pacific, Panetta said yesterday at the Shangri-La Dialogue security talks held in Singapore.

Norfolk Virginian-Pilot
(pilotonline.com)
June 2, 2012

2. Panetta Arrives At Former US Base In Vietnam

By Lolita C. Baldor,
Associated Press

CAM RANH BAY, Vietnam--U.S. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta has arrived at a former U.S. air and naval base at Cam Ranh Bay, Vietnam, becoming the most

senior American official to go there since the war ended.

Panetta says he hopes to encourage efforts with Vietnam to locate and identify more of the U.S. war dead who are still missing.

He plans to visit the USNS Richard E. Byrd, a cargo ship operated by the Navy's Military Sealift Command. The ship has a largely civilian crew and is used to move military supplies to U.S. forces around the world.

The U.S. military's Joint POW/MIA Accounting Command has six recovery teams and two investigative teams in Vietnam searching for troop remains. There are about 1,200 unaccounted for service members believed to be in Vietnam.

Yahoo.com

June 2, 2012

3. Panetta To Visit Former US Base In Vietnam

By Agence France-Presse

US Defense Secretary Leon Panetta will travel on Sunday to Vietnam's Cam Ranh Bay, a major base for American forces in the Vietnam War, underscoring improved ties between the former enemies.

Panetta is the most high-ranking US official to visit Cam Ranh Bay since the end of the Vietnam War in 1975.

The two countries signed a memorandum on defence cooperation last year and Panetta planned to discuss how to carry out the agreement during his two-day visit, officials said.

"We've had a great trajectory with Vietnam over a number of years," said a senior US defence official, who spoke on condition of anonymity.

"Seventeen years into normalisation of relations, we really have a robust relationship with the

Vietnamese government as a whole and our mil-to-mil (military) relationship is really healthy as well," the official said.

Cam Ranh Bay airfield, one of three main hubs used by US forces in the war, once hosted squadrons of fighter jets, cargo planes and troops at the height of the Vietnam conflict.

The Vietnamese handed over the air base and naval port to the Soviet Union after the war, with Moscow deploying fighter jets, nuclear submarines and a spy station during the Cold War.

The Russians left the base in 2002 and Vietnam has decided to open the port on a commercial basis to foreign naval ships to resupply and undergo repair work.

Panetta was due to visit an American naval cargo ship currently at the port, the USNS Richard E. Byrd, which moves cargo for the naval fleet with a mostly civilian crew, officials said.

The Cam Ranh Bay base lies in one of the region's best natural harbours and the United States sees it an ideal spot to bolster an American naval presence in the strategically vital South China Sea.

China claims all of the South China Sea, which is believed to encompass huge oil and gas reserves. One-third of global seaborne trade passes through the region.

Hanoi and Beijing have rival claims to the Spratly Islands and a long-standing dispute over the Paracel island group.

A more aggressive approach from China in the South China Sea has prompted Vietnam to forge closer defence cooperation with its former foe the United States, analysts say.

"Vietnam is arguably the crucial swing state when it comes to the South China

Sea," according to a recent report from the Center for a New American Security, a US-think tank with close ties to President Barack Obama's administration.

"If Vietnam does not resist China's rising power, weaker and less assertive states such as the Philippines have little chance of blocking Chinese hegemony," said the report.

On a nine-day regional tour, Panetta's visit to Vietnam follows a speech on Saturday at a security summit in Singapore in which he said the US Navy would shift the majority of its ships to the Pacific by 2020, as part of a strategic focus on Asia.

Washington Post
June 3, 2012
Pg. 15

4. Panetta: Better Military Ties With Burma Possible

By Associated Press

SINGAPORE--The United States is open to improving military ties with Burma if the country continues to enact political and human rights reforms, Defense Secretary Leon E. Panetta told Asian leaders Saturday.

His comments at a defense conference here reflected new efforts by the Obama administration to ease penalties against the Asian nation as it moves to put in place democratic reforms.

Assuming that Burma is able to make such changes and continue efforts to open up its political system, the Pentagon would be willing to have discussions about how the countries can improve their military relationship, Panetta said.

"In dealing with the countries of the Asia-Pacific region, this is not a Cold War situation where the U.S. simply charges in, builds permanent

bases and tries to establish a power base in this region," he said, responding to a question after his speech at the Shangri-La Dialogue, a prominent defense conference.

In today's world, he said, the United States must engage with other countries to help them build their military capabilities so they can defend themselves.

A senior defense official traveling with Panetta said the secretary expects the government of Burma to continue on the path of reform and promotion of human rights, and once it shows progress, then stronger military ties could be possible.

The official spoke on the condition of anonymity to reflect internal discussions.

Burma is emerging from decades of authoritarian rule and diplomatic isolation. Last month, President Obama eased an investment ban on Burma, also known as Myanmar, and named the first U.S. ambassador to the country in 22 years.

Human rights activists, however, criticized the move, saying it was too soon to reward the country because hundreds of political prisoners are being held there.

Panetta's speech was designed to promote America's new effort to focus more attention on the Asia-Pacific region, both militarily and diplomatically.

Also Saturday, Burma's opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi made her first foreign trip in 24 years, visiting Thailand for a firsthand look at her nation's longstanding refugee crisis.

The 1991 Nobel Peace Prize winner had spent 15 years in the past two decades under house arrest and had previously refused to leave the country because she feared the ruling generals who were in charge would not let her return.

Singapore Straits Times
June 3, 2012
Pg. 6

5. US Navy To Move 60% Of Warships To Asia

Redeployment by 2020 'a clear-cut message on its large footprint in region'

By Jermyn Chow and Ben Nadarajan

The United States will move the bulk of its warships to this part of the world, as it grapples with China's rising military power and a tightening defence budget.

US Defence Secretary Leon Panetta said the US Navy will reposition 60 per cent of its warships in Asia by 2020, as part of its new military strategy that focuses on Asia.

This is up from the current 50 per cent of its fleet that is in this region, including six aircraft carriers, destroyers, combat ships and submarines. The other half of the fleet is based in the Atlantic.

Mr Panetta said the US would also increase the number and size of the training exercises it conducts alongside its allies in the region.

'Make no mistake, in a steady, deliberate and sustainable way, the United States military is rebalancing and is bringing an enhanced capability development to this vital region,' he said.

Mr Panetta gave these details in a speech to some 350 top military brass and defence ministers on the second day of the Shangri-La Dialogue yesterday.

This is the first time that Mr Panetta is elaborating on the new US defence policy announced in January to 'pivot' or 'rebalance' towards Asia, even as he downplayed concerns that the shift would raise tensions with China.

'We are not naive about the relationship and neither is China,' Mr Panetta said.

'We both understand the conflicts we have, but we also both understand that there really is no other alternative but for both of us to engage and to improve our communications.'

Despite looming defence spending cuts and fiscal uncertainty, the American defence secretary said the US would be able to implement its new strategy and achieve its long-term goals, while 'still meeting our fiscal responsibilities'.

Part of the new Asia-focus strategy will be the deployment of the US' latest naval ships, dubbed the littoral combat ships, to Singapore.

Yesterday, Singapore announced that it has agreed to the US request to deploy up to four littoral combat ships to the Republic on a rotational basis from the second quarter of next year.

The approval came after Mr Panetta met his Singaporean counterpart Ng Eng Hen yesterday.

One of the hot button issues discussed yesterday was the territorial dispute in the South China Sea, involving nations including China, Vietnam and the Philippines.

Mr Panetta urged Asean and China to put in place a mechanism to settle regional disputes in the hopes of reaching a peaceful resolution to the issue.

'It is not enough to simply develop a code of conduct,' Mr Panetta said in response to a question from one of the delegates. He was referring to ongoing talks between China and the 10-member Asean bloc, about how to govern movements in the disputed waters.

Dr Chung Min Lee, a professor of international

relations at Yonsei University, said he was sceptical of the impact the American defence secretary's speech would have on the issue.

'People will not change their opinions because of this one speech,' he said.

'What the secretary of defence did was that he gave a very comprehensive overview but most importantly, he was able to tell the region that we (the US) are not moving out, we are not coming back in, because we never left Asia...

'It's a clear-cut message that the US will have a large footprint in this region.'

South China Morning Post
June 3, 2012
Pg. 1

6. Asia To Be Base For 60% Of U. S. Fleet

Defence chief Panetta says majority of America's warships will be in Asia-Pacific by 2020 but China has nothing to fear; it's no big deal, PLA general says

By Greg Torode, Chief Asia correspondent

Most of America's warships will be stationed in the Asia-Pacific region by 2020, US Defence Secretary Leon Panetta said yesterday.

He revealed about 60 per cent of the US naval fleet would be assigned to the region, as he spelled out the meaning of the Pentagon's "pivot" towards Asia.

Senior US defence officials also told the Sunday Morning Post that Panetta would today visit Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam, a move that will be closely watched by Beijing.

Speaking to the informal Shangri-La Dialogue on security in Singapore, Panetta also vowed to push for deeper military relations with China and insisted that Beijing should

not fear Washington's growing role as a Pacific power.

The top Chinese official at the Singapore event, Lieutenant General Ren Haiquan, told Phoenix TV that while China should not take the move lightly, he wouldn't call it a "big deal".

Panetta said the quota of US warships in the Asia-Pacific would rise from the current 50 per cent to 60 per cent by the end of the decade.

"That will include six aircraft carriers in this region, a majority of our cruisers, destroyers, littoral combat ships and submarines," he said.

The navy has about 285 ships, but the total may fall as ships are retired without being replaced.

Ren, vice-president of the Academy of Military Science of the People's Liberation Army, said: "It seems to me the overall naval strength [in the region] would be more or less the same - it is a 10 per cent increase but you have to take into account that they are downsizing their total number [of battleships and planes after withdrawing from Afghanistan and Iraq]."

Still, he said, China should not drop its guard.

Xinhua warned it was no time to "make waves" in the disputed South China Sea.

Panetta defended efforts to deepen and broaden US alliances.

Confirming his visit to Cam Ranh Bay - the first by a US official to the port since the end of the Vietnam war in 1975 - officials also said the Pentagon chief would board the USNS Richard E Byrd, a civilian supply ship being repaired at a shipyard there.

The South China Morning Post reported yesterday that Panetta was expected to push for greater access for US ships during his trip.

Panetta spoke repeatedly yesterday of the shared Sino-US interest in a stable and peaceful region, but at the same time said neither side was naive about their differences.

In contrast to previous years, when Chinese officials and scholars questioned Panetta's predecessors about their "cold war mentality" or attempts to contain China, he faced no such attacks from the unusually low-level Chinese delegation this time.

Ren's academy colleague Senior Colonel Bao Bin said China welcomed the US playing a role in regional peace and stability.

Bloomberg.com
June 2, 2012

7. U.S. Navy's Pacific Presence To Expand, Panetta Says

By Gopal Ratnam, Bloomberg News

U.S. naval power in the Pacific will increase as the Pentagon rebalances American forces toward the Asia-Pacific region, Defense Secretary Leon Panetta said in Singapore while calling on countries to beef up their capacity.

By 2020, the "Navy will re-posture its forces from today's roughly 50/50 percent split between the Pacific and the Atlantic to about a 60/40 split between those oceans -- including six aircraft carriers, a majority of our cruisers, destroyers, Littoral Combat Ships, and submarines," Panetta said yesterday at the Shangri-La Dialogue. He heads to Vietnam today before a visit to India.

Panetta is using his first visit to the annual Asian security conference to elaborate on the U.S. military's revamped global strategy laid out in January. Pentagon officials have billed the approach as an effort to focus more attention

on a region where China's growing economic and military power is causing friction with its neighbors.

Countries in the region must develop their own military capacities as well as create rules to deal with territorial disputes in the South China Sea, Panetta said.

Panetta is trying to show support for allies in the region without encouraging them to be reckless in dealings with China, said Bonnie Glaser, an Asia specialist at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington.

Panetta, more than any other U.S. official, has made it clear "we want the countries in the region to have the capability to defend themselves and not take for granted or rely on the U.S. to come and put out fires when there's a problem," Glaser said in an interview in Singapore.

Oil reserves

Disagreements and clashes in the South China Sea have been building since 2009, according to "Stirring Up the South China Sea," a report published in April by Brussels-based International Crisis Group.

Oil reserves in the South China Sea may be as much as 213 billion barrels, according to Chinese studies cited in 2008 by the U.S. Energy Information Administration.

In the most recent incident, China and the Philippines have been in a standoff since April over the Scarborough Reef in the South China Sea, which is claimed by both countries.

The U.S. opposes coercion, provocation and the use of force to settle such disputes by either country and has told both China and the Philippines -- a U.S. treaty ally -- that they must resolve the matter peacefully under international law, Panetta said.

Geographic distribution

The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea may be the best mechanism to resolve such disputes, according to the Congressional Research Service. The U.S. hasn't ratified its participation in the convention. Panetta and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton urged the U.S. Senate to do so in testimony last month.

The U.S. will increase the size and scope of military exercises in the region and expand port visits by Navy ships, Panetta said yesterday. In 2011, the U.S. Pacific Command participated in 172 multilateral and bilateral exercises with 24 countries in the region, according to Panetta's spokesman Carl Woog.

U.S. Navy warships as well as cargo and hospital ships attached to the Pacific Command made approximately 700 port visits during 2011, according to Captain Lydia Robertson, a command spokeswoman.

Panetta didn't say how forces would be deployed across the Pacific from the U.S. West Coast to Guam, Japan and the Indian Ocean. His 60 percent estimate encompassed all ships to be based in Pacific waters, including three aircraft carriers in San Diego; two in Everett, Washington; and one in Yokosuka, Japan, according to Woog.

New weapons

"The United States will have a significant forward deployed and rotational presence in the Asia-Pacific region," Woog said in an e-mail. "We continue to work with partners and allies on a geographically distributed fleet in the theater."

Panetta told his audience in Singapore that the U.S. is investing in new classes of

weapons required to operate in the Asia-Pacific region.

He said that key to the strategy are new weapons such as Lockheed Martin Corp. (LMT)'s F-35 Joint Strike Fighter that's capable of evading enemy radar; new Virginia-class nuclear-powered submarines built by General Dynamics Corp. (GD), and Huntington Ingalls Industries Inc.; "improved precision weapons;" electronic warfare systems; a new Air Force long-range bomber and refueling tankers.

Sino-U.S. relations

On Panetta's three-country trip, his Asian counterparts may press him on how the strategy will affect them and what it will mean for U.S.-China relations.

The region's leaders, such as Singapore's Defense Minister Ng Eng Hen, have said a lack of clarity about the U.S. strategy risks creating friction if China sees the moves as an attempt to contain its increasing power.

"I reject that view entirely," Panetta said yesterday of the prospects for a clash with China. The U.S. refocus is "fully compatible with the development and growth of China," he said.

China can advance prosperity and security in the region by "respecting the rules-based order" that has worked well for six decades, Panetta said.

During a 30-minute question-and-answer session after his speech, Panetta downplayed concerns that the U.S. shift to the Pacific might raise tensions with China. He emphasized a need to boost cooperation on common security challenges such as piracy and disaster relief while noting the "ups and downs" in relations.

'Not naive'

"We are not naïve about the relationship and neither is China," Panetta said. "We both understand the conflicts we have, but we also both understand that there really is no other alternative but for both of us to engage and to improve our communications."

Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono on June 1 called on the U.S. and China to work together for the benefit of countries throughout Asia.

"With their enormous economic potential, it is natural that many countries want to build good relations with both China and the United States," he said in a speech opening the conference. "Both the U.S. and China have an obligation not just to themselves, but to the rest of the region to develop peaceful cooperation."

The Philippines and Vietnam have expressed alarm as China has confronted them over territorial disputes and oil exploration rights in the South China Sea. China's neighbors reject its map of the sea as a basis for oil and gas development.

Military exchanges

The Philippines and the U.S. have stepped up military cooperation and exchanges of high-level visits. Panetta and Clinton met with their Filipino counterparts Voltaire Gazmin and Albert del Rosario in Washington last month.

The U.S. is helping the Philippines draft a long-term military modernization plan that calls for the Pentagon to supply coastal patrol vessels and maritime radar as well as assisting the country in obtaining equipment from U.S. allies in the region, according to U.S. officials who spoke with reporters May 3 on condition of anonymity to discuss diplomatic matters.

Army General Martin Dempsey, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, will visit the Philippines after attending the security conference in Singapore, Panetta said.

Rotating troops

The U.S. is moving away from an era of permanent bases it built in Europe after World War II that have proved to be expensive to maintain.

Instead, the Pentagon will seek arrangements for U.S. troops to rotate through the region. Australia already has agreed to host a contingent of Marines at its northern port city of Darwin, and the U.S. is working on "developing the same kind of approach in the Philippines and elsewhere in the region," Panetta told reporters traveling with him to Singapore.

The U.S. is expanding partnerships with countries including India, Singapore and Indonesia, Panetta said. With current treaty allies such as Japan, the U.S. is stepping up joint military exercises and maritime surveillance missions as well as developing new missile-defense technologies, he said.

As part of the Asia-Pacific strategy, the U.S. is trying to determine what combination of military advice, technical assistance and weapons sales will help each country in the region, Panetta told reporters.

Diplomacy, trade

President Barack Obama's administration also is pursuing diplomatic and trade measures to strengthen cooperation across the region, Panetta said.

Developing the new classes of weapons and the successful implementation of the Pentagon's strategy depend on Congress averting budget cuts of about \$500 billion over the next 10 years, in addition to the \$487 billion in reductions already planned, Panetta told reporters.

The added cuts will take effect in January under a so-called sequestration mechanism, unless Congress and the president agree on an alternative to meet deficit and debt reduction goals.

If additional budget cuts take place, "it's going to seriously impact our strategy and we may have to throw the strategy out the window," Panetta said.

Reuters.com
June 2, 2012

8. U.S. Will Put More Warships In Asia: Panetta

By David Alexander, Reuters

SINGAPORE--The United States will shift a majority of its warships to the Asia-Pacific region by 2020, Defense Secretary Leon Panetta said on Saturday, giving the first details of a new U.S. military strategy.

Fleshing out details of a strategic pivot to Asia announced in January, Panetta said the United States would reposition its Navy fleet so 60 percent of its battleships would be assigned there, up from about 50 percent now, while maintaining six aircraft carriers in the region.

The U.S. defense secretary, speaking at an annual security forum in Singapore, also sought to dispel the notion that the shift, after more than a decade of war in Afghanistan and Iraq, was designed to contain China's emergence as a global power.

He acknowledged differences between the world's two largest economies on a range of issues, including the South China Sea.

"We're not naive about the relationship and neither is China," Panetta told the Shangri-La Dialogue attended by senior civilian and military leaders from about 30 Asia-Pacific nations.

"We also both understand that there really is no other alternative but for both of us to engage and to improve our communications and to improve our (military-to-military) relationships," he said. "That's the kind of mature relationship that we ultimately have to have with China."

Some Chinese officials have been critical of the U.S. shift of military emphasis to Asia, seeing it as an attempt to fence in the country and frustrate Beijing's territorial claims.

China has downgraded its representation to the Shangri-La Dialogue from last year, when Defence Minister Liang Guanglie attended and met then-U.S. Defense Secretary Robert Gates. This year the Chinese military was represented by the vice president of the Academy of Military Sciences.

Panetta, by contrast, was accompanied by General Martin Dempsey, the military's top officer as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Admiral Samuel Locklear, the head of the U.S. Pacific Command.

The U.S. Defense Secretary was at the start of a seven-day visit to the region to explain to allies and partners the practical meaning of the U.S. military strategy unveiled in January that calls for rebalancing American forces to focus on the Pacific.

The trip, which includes stops in Vietnam and India, comes at a time of renewed tensions over competing sovereignty claims in the South China Sea, with the Philippines, a major U.S. ally, and China in a standoff over the Scarborough Shoal near the Philippine coast.

Flashpoint

Panetta met Philippines Defense Secretary Voltaire Gazmin on the sidelines of the conference and discussed

areas of future cooperation, including maritime awareness and cyberspace, and called for peaceful resolution of the South China Sea dispute.

The South China Sea is a flashpoint but, with about 90 percent of global trade moving by sea, protecting the teeming shipping lanes in the Indian Ocean and the Strait of Malacca is equally vital.

"Maritime freedoms cannot be the exclusive prerogative of a few," Indian Defence Minister A.K. Antony told the forum. "We must find the balance between the rights of nations and the freedoms of the world community."

Overlapping maritime claims - often fuelled by hunger for oil, gas, fish and other resources - are compounded by threats from pirates and militants, delegates said.

Panetta also met Korean Defense Minister Kim Kwan Jin and Japanese Defense Vice Minister Shu Watanabe on the sidelines of the conference. They issued a statement saying North Korean provocations like its April missile launch "pose a serious threat to the peace and stability" of the region and the world.

Panetta said he was committed to a "healthy, stable, reliable and continuous" military-to-military relationship with China but underscored the need for Beijing to support a system to clarify rights in the region and help to resolve disputes.

"China has a critical role to play in advancing security and prosperity by respecting the rules-based order that has served the region for six decades," he said.

Under the plans Panetta announced on Saturday, the Navy would maintain six aircraft carriers assigned to the Pacific. Six of its 11 carriers are now assigned to the Pacific but

that will fall to five when the USS Enterprise retires this year.

The number will return to six when the new carrier USS Gerald R. Ford is completed in 2015.

The U.S. Navy had a fleet of 282 ships, including support vessels, as of March. That is expected to slip to about 276 over the next two years before beginning to rise toward the goal of a 300-ship fleet, according to a 30-year Navy shipbuilding projection released in March.

But officials warned that fiscal constraints and problems with cost overruns could make it difficult to meet that goal. U.S. Senator John McCain told a news conference he was concerned about the decline in the size of the U.S. fleet.

"At some point - and I think we may be at that point - we are not going to be able to carry out the kinds of commitments to the region that the secretary outlined in his speech," said McCain, a top Republican senator on defense issues.

Panetta underscored the breadth of the U.S. commitment to the Asia-Pacific region, noting treaty alliances with Japan, South Korea, Thailand, the Philippines and Australia as well as partnerships with India, Singapore, Indonesia and others.

He said the United States would attempt to build on those partnerships with cooperative arrangements like the rotational deployment agreement it has with Australia, and is working on with the Philippines.

Panetta said Washington would also work to increase the number and size of bilateral and multilateral military training exercises it conducts in the region. Officials said last year the United States carried out 172 such exercises in the region.

--Additional reporting by
John O'Callaghan

TheDailyBeast.com
June 2, 2012

9. Leon Panetta: U.S. Navy Is 'Re-Balancing' To Asia

At a Singapore summit, Defense Secretary Leon Panetta announced a bold new focus of the Navy's resources on the Pacific. Dan Levin on why a Chinese land dispute has the region on edge.

Standing before an auditorium of defense ministers, generals, and politicians from across Asia and the West in Singapore on Saturday, U.S. Secretary of Defense Leon E. Panetta gave the most detailed description yet of America's new military strategy in the Asia-Pacific region. The speech was intended to soothe China, which is suspicious of an American presence in the region, but also calm the fears of Asian allies wary of Beijing's rising power. A highlight of the new strategy will be a boost in "force projection," allocating 60 percent of the Navy's warships to the Pacific by 2020--up from a current 50 percent.

Panetta sought to clarify the Obama administration's previously stated intent to "pivot" toward Asia by saying the U.S. will return in greater force to a region long a major focus of American military strength.

"Make no mistake--in a steady, deliberate, and sustainable way--the United States military is rebalancing and brings enhanced capabilities to this vital region," Panetta said.

Mindful of Beijing's repeated claims that the U.S. is seeking to contain China and meddle with its core

interests, Panetta grounded the new strategy in geographic legitimacy. "We take on this role not as a distant power but as part of the Pacific family of nations," he told those gathered for the annual Shangri-La Dialogue, organized by the International Institute for Strategic Studies.

Panetta's declaration comes at a time of increasing tension in the region as China and the Philippines are locked in a diplomatic tussle over an outcropping in the South China Sea. Both countries claim the shoal as their own, though what's at stake goes far beyond some rocks. Beneath the sea's waves lie immense deposits of oil and gas, while the surface is a major international shipping route: \$1.2 trillion worth of U.S. trade passes through the sea each year. A number of other Asian nations that border the sea, including Vietnam, Singapore, and Malaysia also have territorial claims and are watching the dispute warily.

The dispute has triggered something of an arms race in the region as Asian nations scramble to protect themselves in light of China's growing military prowess. Citing the International Institute for Strategic Studies, Panetta stated that this year total projected military spending by all Asian nations would surpass that of Europe for the first time.

Throughout the day, in panel sessions and in hushed discussions in hallways, U.S. officials and their allies pressed for diplomatic progress on a host of issues from the South China Sea to North Korea.

But the elephant in every room was China, which this year declined to send a top-level government or military official to the conference. Some observers have interpreted this as a deliberate slight so as to avoid a confrontation that might

upset the Chinese government's carefully laid plans.

"The Chinese don't want to be caught against a wall and forced to show their hand," said an analyst who asked to remain unidentified because of the political sensitivity of the issue. "They prefer to operate behind closed doors in the setting of their own choosing."

In his speech, Panetta denied that the U.S. rebalancing was all about China, instead focusing on the importance Asia will play in a modern era where American interests are tightly interwoven with the global economy. "In this century, the 21st century, the U.S. recognizes our prosperity and our security depends even more on the Asia-Pacific region," Panetta said.

Those were common themes of Panetta's speech, which delineated a military doctrine that protects international order while deepening and broadening bilateral and multilateral relationships in Asia.

Other U.S. officials were less guarded in their criticism of China. Sen. Joseph Lieberman of Connecticut, the chairman of the Senate's Committee on Homeland Security and Government Affairs, was in attendance along with Sen. John McCain of Arizona. Both supported the new strategy and said it would help the world promote peace.

"We need to find a middle path that doesn't allow China to bully its neighbors," said Lieberman in an interview. Speaking of the current maritime dispute, he said, "If it gets worse and affects our ability to do commerce in the South China Sea, it would have a devastating affect on our economy."

During his speech, Panetta decreed that the U.S. intends to replace retiring ships with the

most technologically advanced fleet available and send them to the Pacific. In a few years, he said, six aircraft carriers will ply the region along with a majority of the Navy's cruisers, submarines, destroyers, and littoral combat ships.

The U.S. military buildup in Asia is nothing new, Panetta said, but rather a return to region that has been home to an American presence for six decades: "We were here then, we are here now, and we will be here in the future."

Dan Levin is a Beijing-based journalist who has written for The New York Times, New York magazine, Forbes, the International Herald Tribune, and Monocle, among other publications.

DefenseNews.com
June 2, 2012

10. 'Mature Relationship' With China Needed: Panetta

By Marcus Weisgerber
SINGAPORE--U.S.

Defense Secretary Leon Panetta has emphatically called for China to partner with the United States and develop better lines of communication and collaboration on areas of mutual interest.

Speaking June 2 at the Shangri-La Dialogue, a meeting of regional defense leaders, Panetta said that broadening relations between Washington and Beijing could foster mutual trust between the two powers.

The Pentagon and China have discussed developing teams "that can work together to focus on some of these more difficult areas, such as cyber, and what we can do to exchange information," Panetta said.

This could possibly include developing standards for the use of cyber and space technology, he said.

The Pentagon also plans to continue the high-level meetings of its military commanders in the coming months. Gen. Liang Guanglie, China's defense minister, visited the Pentagon last month and Panetta has been invited to China, a trip that could happen this summer.

Adm. Samuel Locklear--the head of U.S. Pacific Command, which oversees all U.S. military operations on the region--is also expected to travel to China in the coming months.

"The key here is to try to strengthen our mil-to-mil contacts so that we can have greater transparency between our two countries, but more importantly we can take steps to confront the mutual challenges that both of our countries face," Panetta said.

Areas of common interest include humanitarian assistance, disaster relief, nuclear proliferation, "trying to deal with North Korea," drug trafficking, piracy, maritime navigation and improving lines of communications, the U.S. defense secretary said.

"These are all common challenges that we face," he said.

As CIA director, Panetta said the U.S. and other countries had disputes and differences, but strong intelligence relationships prevailed because both parties knew it was in their best interest.

"That's the kind of mature relationship that I think we ultimately have to have with China," Panetta said. "We will have ups and downs. That's the nature of these kinds of relationships. We have that with Russia, we have that with other countries in the world."

Panetta is in the midst of a nine-day trip to the Asia-Pacific region where he has spoken at length about a new

U.S. military strategy that calls for an increased emphasis on the area.

If the United States and China "work together, if both of us abide by international rules and international order, if both of us can work together to promote peace and prosperity and resolve disputes in this region, then both of us will benefit from that," he said.

Asked about Panetta's visit to Vietnam, Singapore and India, Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Liu Weimin told Agence France-Presse that China hoped the United States would "play a positive and constructive role in the region."

"We also hope the U.S. will respect China's interests and concerns in the region," he added.

Panetta said there is "no other alternative" but for the two countries "to engage and to improve our communications and to improve our mil-to-mil relationships."

"It isn't just military, it isn't just defense," Panetta said. "It's diplomacy, it's trade, it's economic. It's the ability to share in a number of areas that will determine the future of our relationship."

"But if we can broaden that relationship, if we can establish that kind of relationship and that kind of trust ... I think it will be to the benefit of all the countries in the Asia-Pacific region," he said.

The Cable
(thecable.foreignpolicy.com)
June 2, 2012

11. Who Is Panetta Meeting In Singapore?

By Josh Rogin

Singapore - Following his keynote address at the 2012 IISS Shangri-la Security Dialogue, Defense Minister Leon Panetta embarked on a series of bilateral and small

group meetings here, taking the action behind the scenes.

Highlighting the prominence of the South China Sea issue here, Panetta held his first bilateral meeting with Philippines Secretary of National Defense Voltaire Gazmin, the latest in a series of senior level interactions between the two allies that takes place amid rising tensions between the Philippines and China. In his speech, Panetta directly addressed the strengthening of the U.S.-Philippines relationship and the U.S. vision for the way forward in resolving the growing regional maritime dispute.

"We are energizing our alliance with the Philippines," Panetta said. "Last month in Washington, I joined Secretary Clinton in the first-ever '2+2' meeting with our Filipino counterparts. Working together, our forces are successfully countering terrorist groups. We are also pursuing mutually beneficial capability enhancements, and working to improve the Philippine's maritime presence."

Joint Chiefs Chairman Gen. Martin Dempsey, who is also here in Singapore, will travel next to the Philippines, as Panetta goes on to Vietnam and then India. Panetta reiterated the U.S. policy toward the South China Sea issue in his speech, emphasizing that the U.S. is not taking sides but wants China to sign on to a binding code of conduct that will govern such disputes.

"We are paying close attention to the situation in Scarborough Shoal in the South China Sea," he said. "The U.S. position is clear and consistent: we call for restraint and diplomatic resolution; we oppose provocation, coercion, or the use of force; we do not take sides on the competing territorial claims; but we do

want this dispute resolved peacefully, and in a manner consistent with international law. We have made our views clear to our close treaty ally the Philippines, to China, and to other countries in the region."

In a readout of the Panetta-Gazmin meeting, Pentagon spokesman George Little said the two leaders reaffirmed their respective commitments to the 1951 mutual defense treaty and pledged to increase U.S.-Philippines military cooperation in a range of areas, including cyberspace; and expanding joint information sharing, surveillance, and reconnaissance activities.

"The cornerstone of the existing and any future enhancements of our security relationship will be to assist with capacity building of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, safeguard stability in the region, and increase interoperability so that we can effectively provide humanitarian assistance and disaster relief and counter the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction together," Little said.

Next, Panetta went straight into a trilateral meeting Japanese Parliamentary Senior Vice Minister of Defense Shu Watanabe and South Korean Minister of Defense Kim Kwan-Jin. After that, Panetta will attend another trilateral meeting, this time with Japan's Watanabe and Australian Minister of Defense Stephen Smith. Japanese Defense Minister Naoki Tanaka was supposed to come to Singapore but pulled out at the last minute due to an impending cabinet reshuffle that might see him lose that post.

Before Panetta leaves town, he will have a series of short meetings with local leaders, including a bilat with Singaporean Defense Minister

Ng Eng Hen, a meeting with Singaporean Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loon, *and* pull-aside with Malaysian Defense Minister Ahmad Zahid Hamidi.

We'll have read out of those meetings after they occur. Watch this space. Of course, Panetta won't have any meetings with senior Chinese officials here in Singapore, because none of them decided to attend.

South China Morning Post
June 3, 2012
Pg. 1

12. Hanoi Plays Up Beijing Ties Ahead Of Panetta Visit

Hanoi seeks 'equal relationship'

By Greg Torode

A senior Vietnamese military official yesterday sought to head off Chinese anger over US Defence Secretary Leon Panetta's visit today to the strategic southern port of Cam Ranh Bay, where US navy resupply ships are repaired.

Deputy Defence Minister Nguyen Chi Vinh said stronger Sino-Vietnamese military relations had reduced the risk of confrontation. Vinh told the Sunday Morning Post Hanoi and Beijing recognised that increased military-to-military links had "contributed to the overall relationship". "Both countries are aware that the increase in defence-to-defence relations can prevent confrontation and conflict," he said.

"We attach great importance to the exchange of delegations, especially of border guards and the navy. It is a specific step to realise what has been agreed by the countries and militaries."

While Vinh stressed the "untouchable" importance of Vietnam's territorial integrity,

he repeatedly appeared to strike a conciliatory tone towards China, in contrast to the tensions of recent years.

"To have peace, stability and security in the region, it is very important for us to have good relations with China so that we can enjoy mutual benefit," he said, while stressing the need for transparency.

Two years ago as he led a successful drive to push South China Sea disputes onto the international agenda, Vinh told the Post that Vietnam had "all capabilities" to defend its sovereignty.

Yesterday he said Sino-Vietnamese tensions over the disputed area had dropped, though there was still friction each year over the capture of fishermen and Vietnam remained concerned about China's unilateral fishing ban.

Vietnam and China claim the Paracels and Spratlys archipelagoes in their entirety, while China's controversial nine-dash line - by which it justifies its claim to virtually the entire South China Sea - bisects Vietnam's claimed economic zone, including oilfields.

Panetta, the Pentagon chief, begins a visit to Vietnam today to explore ways of expanding the fledgling relationship between two former enemies - including the prospect of increased US naval ship visits and the lifting of a US ban on arms sales.

Vinh, who was speaking before the US confirmed Panetta would travel to Cam Ranh Bay, said Chinese officials had told him they accepted that the relationship was "the business of Vietnam and the US". Many regional analysts believe, however, that China is watching the relationship closely, fearing it may represent an attempt at containment.

"Vietnam knows it must not act to contain China - that has been made very clear," one Chinese envoy said recently.

Vinh said that he "did not share" the idea that Vietnam - which has embarked on its own naval build-up - was attempting to create a deterrent to China's military rise.

"We have two key principles," Vinh said. "Our sovereignty and our territorial integrity are something untouchable, something ultimate to us."

He said small countries like Vietnam had to be "very determined" to protect their sovereignty. "Only in that way can we achieve an equal relationship."

Looking ahead to Panetta's visit, he confirmed that the US and other navies would continue to have access for non-combat ships to commercial repair and resupply facilities around Cam Ranh Bay. This was a commercial operation separate from the closed military facilities within the bay, he said.

The Post reported yesterday that Panetta was expected to push for greater flexibility in repair missions after an initial agreement to host four civilian-manned resupply ships.

Senior US officials played down the prospect of an actual US warship visit to Cam Ranh any time soon, even though they occasionally visit other Vietnamese ports.

On possible future arms sales, Vinh said the long-standing congressional ban on the sale of lethal US weapons "made a nonsense of the mutual trust" inherent in the evolving relationship. Some reports suggest that US senators have already been given a "wish list" of arms by Vietnam.

However, Vinh said Vietnam did not need US

weaponry at this point. Hanoi has in recent years broadened its sources of arms from traditional patrons such as Russia.

He said Hanoi "had nothing to hide" from China about its relations with Washington.

China provided weapons and sanctuary to Vietnamese communist revolutionaries from the earliest days of their long but successful wars against French colonialists and then American forces.

But souring relations between Beijing and Hanoi degenerated into violence in early 1979, when then-paramount leader Deng Xiaoping ordered People's Liberation Army troops to cross Vietnam's border to "teach Hanoi a lesson" for its invasion of Cambodia, which drove the China-backed Khmer Rouge from power.

Ties were restored in 1991.

Sydney Morning Herald
(smh.com.au)
June 3, 2012

13. US Pacific Build-Up Gets Nod In Beijing Snub

By John Garnaut, Beijing

AUSTRALIA has thrown its support behind a "rebalancing" of American military might in the Pacific region, which promises to deepen strategic rivalries with China.

Defence Minister Stephen Smith yesterday spoke of the "positive impact" of the United States on regional security, just hours before the US presented its most detailed plan of how it will bulk up military might into the Pacific region while making budget cuts elsewhere.

Chinese analysts said the US and Australian comments will provide more ammunition to those in China who argue

that the US is using its allies to "contain" China's rise.

But, they said, the civilian Chinese leadership in unlikely to be drawn into a new verbal spat with the US or Australia as it continues to play down diplomatic incidents - including the arrest of an alleged American spy - in an attempt to smooth the road to a once-a-decade leadership transition later this year.

"By 2020, the navy will reposition its forces from today's roughly 50-50 split between the Pacific and the Atlantic to about a 60-40 split between those oceans," US Defence Secretary Leon Panetta told Asian officials at a conference in Singapore yesterday.

"That will include six aircraft carriers in this region, a majority of our cruisers, destroyers, combat ships and submarines," he said.

"Make no mistake - in a steady, deliberate and sustainable way - the United States military is rebalancing and brings enhanced capabilities to this vital region."

Mr Smith spoke at the same Shangri-La conference in Singapore, en route to Beijing, making his first visit as Defence Minister.

A new book has revealed the existence of a secret chapter in Australia's 2009 Defence White Paper that contemplated war with China, *The Kingdom and the Quarry: China, Australia, Fear and Greed*, by David Uren.

Mr Smith yesterday dismissed the possibility that American military and economic power would "somehow be rapidly eclipsed overnight as a result of the new distribution of power to Asia".

"In Australia's view, the United States has underwritten stability in the Asia-Pacific for the past half-century and will

continue to be the single most important strategic factor in our region for the foreseeable future," he said.

But the US announcement is one more step towards a militaristic rivalry between the world's two largest powers.

"The strategic rivalry between Beijing and Washington is becoming more profound," said Shi Yinhong, professor of international relations at People's University.

"At least into the next generation we will continue to see strategic rivalry becoming more profound and more widespread."

Andrew Davies, director of military operations and capabilities at the Australian Strategic Policy Institute, said there was too much economic integration between China and the US to allow a Soviet-style Cold War to develop between the two powers.

But, he said, the strategic rivalry was becoming more militaristic.

Beijing and Washington have managed to smooth over a series of diplomatic incidents in recent months.

In recent days it has emerged that the personal assistant to a vice-minister at China's Ministry of State Security has been detained in China on charges of spying for the US.

Last month the US gave political refuge to the Chinese human rights activist Chen Guangcheng.

In February China's most famous policeman, Wang Lijun, sought refuge in another US diplomatic mission, precipitating the purge of a Politburo member, Bo Xilai.

Singapore Straits Times
June 3, 2012
Pg. 6
News Analysis

14. Uneasy US-China Relationship Overshadows Amicable Summit

By William Choong, Senior Writer

Compared to previous years, when the verbal sparring in the cavernous hall of the Shangri-La Hotel's Island Ballroom was heated, all sides played nice this year.

Speaking to delegates at the Shangri-La Dialogue yesterday, United States Secretary of Defence Leon Panetta stretched out an olive branch to China, saying Washington would do everything in its power to keep the world's most important relationship on an even keel, even as the US military 'pivots' to Asia.

A senior People's Liberation Army officer welcomed Mr Panetta's speech and asked how the two countries could improve their interactions.

The lower temperature didn't give journalists present much to go on in terms of quotable quotes. 'Compared to previous years, this is so boring,' a broadcast journalist was overheard saying in the press room.

Despite the amicable atmosphere, doubts remained as to whether the US pivot will work.

Granted, Asian countries welcome the pivot, as it would foster regional stability and, in their mind, help manage the rise of China at a time when it has showed some degree of assertiveness.

But the pivot would still face funding problems as the Pentagon could suffer up to US \$1 trillion (S\$1.25 trillion) in budget cuts in coming years.

A so-called sequestration mechanism of budget cuts will kick in if the White House and Congress fail to agree on ways to slash the budget deficit.

Even Mr Panetta admitted as much. If additional budget cuts take place, 'it's going to seriously impact our strategy and we may have to throw the strategy out the window', he told reporters.

A British academic attending the dialogue summed up the challenge beautifully by tweeting: 'Leaner. Flexible. Agile. Euphemisms all: We got no money.'

And while Mr Panetta has called for restraint amid rising tensions in the South China Sea, the dispute remains on slow boil. As one delegate pointed out, the fact that the US is providing military assistance to the Philippines, a US ally, could embolden the latter in its confrontation with China over the disputed Scarborough Shoal.

More importantly, Chinese officials still don't buy the idea that the US pivot is not directed at China - despite repeated assurances from their American counterparts.

In a strident commentary published yesterday, Xinhua, the state-run Chinese news agency, told Asian countries that it would be futile to seek US support vis-a-vis China.

'It is advisable for some to refrain from muddying the waters and fishing therein and for some others to desist from dancing behind a Pied Piper whose magic tone, as tempting as it is, might lead its followers astray,' it wrote.

The South China Sea issue, after all, is a major reason why Chinese Defence Minister Liang Guanglie was not present at the dialogue this year, said observers. Last year's dialogue marked the first time a Chinese defence minister had attended the gathering.

The Chinese knew that the controversial South China Sea issue would be raised, and

hence had decided not to send Gen Liang, one delegate said.

'Mr Panetta can say what he wants, but the Chinese have already decided not to send their defence minister. What the Chinese are saying is this: 'You can say what you want about the South China Sea and other things about China, but we're not there. Dialogue or no, life goes on for us'.'

Reuters.com
June 2, 2012

15. China Says To Step Up Vigilance After U.S. Navy Shift

By Reuters

China will intensify its vigilance, but not lash back, after the United States announced it will shift most of its warships to the Asia-Pacific region by 2020, media reported on Sunday.

People's Liberation Army (PLA) Lieutenant General Ren Haiquan's comments were Beijing's first public reaction to the statement on Saturday by U.S. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta that the Pentagon will reposition its naval fleet so 60 percent of its battleships are in the Asia-Pacific by the end of the decade, up from about 50 percent now.

"First, we should not treat this as a disaster," said Ren, who is leading the Chinese delegation to the regional security dialogue in Singapore where Panetta also announced the shift.

"I believe that this is the United States' response to its own national interests, its fiscal difficulties and global security developments," Ren said in comments reported by Hong Kong's Phoenix Television.

Beijing has long been wary of U.S. intentions, with more hawkish voices in the PLA saying that Washington is

bent on encircling China and frustrating its rise.

Ren, who is a vice president of the Chinese Academy of Military Sciences, which helps shape PLA strategy, said Beijing would not be complacent about U.S. moves.

"The second sentence (of my response) is that we should not treat this indifferently," Ren said, according to Phoenix.

"We must see that we're facing extremely complex and one could sometimes even say quite serious developments, and we must raise our awareness of peril, and prepare to cope with all kinds of complex and serious circumstances."

China's fast-modernizing navy has stirred worries among neighbors, including in southeast Asia, where several countries are in dispute with Beijing over rival territorial claims in the South China Sea.

Under the plans Panetta announced, the U.S. Navy would maintain six aircraft carriers assigned to the Pacific. Six of its 11 carriers are now assigned to the Pacific, but that will fall to five when the USS Enterprise retires this year.

The number will return to six when the new carrier USS Gerald R. Ford is completed in 2015.

The U.S. Navy had a fleet of 282 ships as of March. That is expected to slip to about 276 over the next two years before beginning to rise toward the goal of a 300-ship fleet, according to a 30-year Navy projection released in March.

Times of India
June 3, 2012

16. China Warns US From 'Muddying Waters' In South China Sea

By Press Trust of India

BEIJING--It was no time to "make waves" in the disputed

South China Sea and dance behind a "Pied Piper", China's official news agency warned today, after US said it would shift the bulk of its naval fleet to the Pacific Ocean by 2020.

"It is advisable for some to refrain from muddying the waters and fishing therein and for some others to desist from dancing behind a Pied Piper whose magic tone, as tempting as it is, might lead its followers astray," said Xinhua in a commentary, referring to the sea, which is part of the Pacific and the subject of overlapping territorial claims.

China claims the South China Sea in full, and it is also claimed in whole or part by Taiwan, Brunei, Vietnam, Malaysia and the Philippines.

The much-hyped China threat to the freedom of navigation in South China Sea is a pure invention, Xinhua said.

"China has seen its political, economic and military strengths growing markedly, fabricating new claims is not in its blood," said the agency.

It was Beijing's "genuine wish" to turn the South China Sea "into a sea of peace, friendship and cooperation," added Xinhua, in the commentary titled 'Not to make waves in South China Sea'.

In a major re-posturing, US today announced it will shift the bulk of its naval fleet including as many as six aircraft carriers to the Pacific by 2020 as part of new strategic focus on Asia.

The decision to deploy more warships to the Pacific Ocean, defence secretary Leon Panetta said, was part of a "steady, deliberate" effort to bolster the US role in the area, deemed vital to American interest recently by President Barack Obama.

Arizona Daily Star (Tucson)

June 3, 2012

17. US Tries Not To Make Waves With 'Pacific Pivot'

By Associated Press

As the United States moves to bolster its military position in Asia, it faces severe budget cuts from Congress, an increasingly powerful rival in China and a hornet's nest of regional political sensitivities.

The shift in U.S. policy puts Asia and the Pacific front-and-center of its strategic priorities and is driven by concerns that China has raced ahead in the world's most economically dynamic region while the U.S. was tied up fighting its wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. But in a region rife with disputes and increasingly beholden to China's economic engine, the Pentagon is being careful its "pivot to the Pacific" doesn't create too many waves.

Defense Secretary Leon Panetta, who is spearheading the U.S. effort to sell the new strategy in Asia, told regional defense leaders at a major security conference in Singapore that it is only natural for the Asia-Pacific to be in the spotlight because it is home to some of the world's biggest populations and militaries.

Before moving on to Vietnam and India, Panetta said Washington will "of necessity" rebalance toward the Asia-Pacific region and vowed 60 percent of the Navy's fleet will be deployed to the Pacific by 2020. He said the U.S. presence will be more agile, flexible and high-tech. Troops may increase overall, but no major influx is expected.

Long-term allies such as Japan, Australia and South Korea strongly support a robust U.S. presence and see the shift as a welcome development.

"The U.S. has made the Asia-Pacific its top priority to reflect the fact that the world

economic center of gravity now resides in this region," said Carlyle Thayer, a professor at the University of New South Wales, in Australia.

But others worry the U.S. could try to isolate China, at the rest of Asia's expense.

"With their enormous economic potentials, it is natural that many countries want to build good relations with both China and the United States," Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono said at the three-day Singapore meeting, which ended Sunday. "Asia is certainly big enough for all powers--established and emerging."

U.S. officials stress they are not seeking new permanent facilities on foreign shores and instead are looking at a slew of less-threatening and less-expensive deals to rotate troops into existing bases throughout the region, step up joint military maneuvers and push for access to key ports.

"This is not a Cold War situation in which the United States charges in," Panetta said. He assured his audience that U.S. budget problems and cutbacks of nearly \$500 billion over the next decade would not get in the way of changes, and he said the Defense Department has money in its five-year budget plan to meet its goals.

The United States has for decades maintained tens of thousands of troops in South Korea and Japan. But while Washington was waging its wars elsewhere and staying relatively static in Asia, China was vastly improving its military.

Beijing has used a 500 percent increase in defense outlays over the past 13 years to develop everything from better submarines and missiles to state-of-the-art fighters, aircraft carriers and electronic warfare systems. That has helped spawn

an arms race across Asia--which now has the world's top five arms importers and will this year surpass Europe in total arms expenditures.

Concerns over China in the past were focused mostly on its claims to Taiwan, which it considers a renegade province. But that has broadened out to Beijing's increasingly aggressively claims to the South China Sea, where it has territorial disputes with a half dozen countries.

Those rival claims came to a head in April, when the Philippine navy accused Chinese boats of fishing illegally around Scarborough Shoal, which Manila claims as part of its exclusive economic zone, but which Beijing insists has been Chinese for centuries. The standoff has yet to be resolved, though no shots have been fired.

China says its actions are justified.

"China will be especially cautious about using military force to solve the disputes," an op-ed in the China Daily newspaper said last week. "China sticks to a defensive national defense policy, but it will firmly defend its sovereignty and territory to the best of its ability, just as any other country would."

Even so, Beijing's perceived heavy-handedness in such confrontations appears to be strengthening Washington's hand:

*Singapore has agreed to allow the U.S. to deploy four new Littoral Combat Ships designed to fight close to shorelines to its main naval port starting next year. But to avoid the appearance of opening up too much, it has demanded the ships' crews live on board while in port and their families stay elsewhere.

*Indonesia, which had only limited military relations with

Washington in the 1990s because of U.S. human rights concerns, is now looking to buy a broad range of American hardware and is joining in joint maneuvers.

*The Philippines, which kicked U.S. forces bases off their soil in 1992, is actively courting increased U.S. military support, including allowing more troops in on a rotational basis.

Washington is already testing out that approach in Australia, which has agreed to allow up to 2,500 Marines to deploy to the northern city of Darwin. The Marines will use Australian facilities, not a new U.S. base, and the plan has met with little opposition. The first detachment of Marines arrived in April.

Most of the troops going to Darwin were freed up by another deal aimed at placating a key ally--an agreement with Tokyo this year to move about 9,000 Marines off of the island of Okinawa.

Japan Times

June 3, 2012

18. Japan, U.S., Australia To Boost Military Ties

By Kyodo

SINGAPORE--Senior defense officials from Japan, the United States and Australia agreed Saturday to draw up an action plan on increased military cooperation.

Senior Vice Defense Minister Shu Watanabe, U.S. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta and Australian Defense Minister Stephen Smith met in Singapore on the sidelines of a conference of the Asia Security Summit, also known as the Shangri-La Dialogue.

The action plan aims to strengthen solidarity among the three countries to ensure security in the Asia-Pacific

region, which has been unsettled by territorial disputes in the South China Sea and North Korea's recent rocket launch that was widely seen as an ICBM test.

Tokyo, Washington and Canberra also agreed to expand joint exercises between their militaries, with the specific details likely to be included in the action plan.

Earlier Saturday, Panetta said the United States will boost its naval presence in Asia-Pacific seas as it refocuses its defense strategy and redeploys forces to counter China's rise. Japan and Australia reportedly welcomed the move.

The conference was organized by the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies think tank.

Philippine Star

June 3, 2012

19. Gazmin, Dellosa Tackle Regional Security Challenges In Singapore Summit

By Jaime Laude

MANILA, Philippines - Defense Secretary Voltaire Gazmin and Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) chief Gen. Jessie Dellosa tackled before Asia's top defense and military delegates to the 11th Asia Security Summit of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) in Singapore the multi-faceted security challenges the region is facing while battling for a peaceful resolution to the country's prevailing territorial standoff with China in the West Philippine Sea.

Discussions yesterday at the three-day summit currently being held at the Shangri-La Hotel centered on regional balance of power, transnational threats, climate change and natural disasters.

United States Defense Secretary Leon Panetta, the keynote speaker at this yearly regional security event, declared during the same forum that the US is closely watching the development in Panatag Shoal.

"Simultaneous special sessions are also being undertaken, paving the way for the discussions on West Philippine Sea disputes, armed forces and domestic emergencies, Northeast Asian dangers and opportunities, submarines and regional security and South Asia's growing security threats," AFP spokesman Col. Arnulfo Marcelo Burgos said.

Aside from plenary and special discussions, Gazmin also held bilateral talks with Panetta.

In their bilateral meeting, the two defense chiefs reaffirmed their respective countries' commitments to the 1951 Mutual Defense Treaty (MDT), with a pledged to increase US-Philippine military cooperation in a range of areas, including cyberspace, and expanding joint information sharing, surveillance, and reconnaissance activities.

"The cornerstone of the existing and any future enhancements of our security relationship will be to assist with capacity building of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, safeguard the stability in the region, and increase interoperability so that we can effectively provide humanitarian assistance and disaster relief and counter the proliferation of weapons of mass destructions together," Pentagon spokesman George Little quoted him as saying.

Dellosa, for his part, had direct exchanges with his counterparts in the region to discuss wide ranging security

issues, particularly the West Philippine Sea dispute.

Aside from Panatag Shoal, which is 120 nautical miles from mainland Zambales that Beijing is claiming to be an integral part of its territory, China also declared total ownership of the entire South China Sea to include islets, reefs, atolls, cays, sandbars in the Spratly archipelago, which the Philippines, Vietnam, Malaysia, Brunei and Taiwan have interlocking territorial claims.

"The Shuangi-La dialogue is a very timely venue where we can discuss with foreign defense and security counterparts the pressing security challenges and concerns that the Philippines, the Asia-Pacific region as a whole, is facing at present," said Dellosa, without mentioning the country's prevailing territorial standoff with China.

Before his meeting with Gazmin, Panetta highlighted in his speech the South China Sea territorial dispute, while giving emphasis to the strengthening relations between the Philippines and the US.

"We are energizing our alliance with the Philippines," said Panetta, as reported in online news.

US Joint Chiefs chairman Gen. Martin Dempsey, who is also attending the Singapore Shangri-La security summit, is reportedly traveling to the Philippines while Panetta is scheduled to visit Vietnam and later India.

Days after the standoff in Panatag Shoal and with Chinese warships reportedly conducting joint maritime training in international waters between Luzon and Taiwan, US nuclear powered submarine USS North Carolina silently surfaced at the former US Naval Base in Subic, Zambales followed by the visit of two Indian warships.

Three Japanese training warships were also in the country last week.

But the US defense chief stressed that the US government position in resolving any territorial dispute among countries is consistent and that these issues must be resolved through diplomacy and in a manner consistent with international law.

He said the US government will oppose any moves to provoke, to coerce and use force to resolve and settle these territorial disputes.

"We have made our views clear to our close treaty ally the Philippines, to China, and to other countries in the region," said Panetta, who after his bilateral meeting with Gazmin met with Japanese Parliamentary Senior Vice Minister of Defense Shu Watanabe and South Korean Minister of Defense Kim Kwan-Jin.

Atlanta Journal-Constitution (ajc.com)

June 3, 2012

20. Canada Defends Military Drone Attacks

By Associated Press

SINGAPORE--Canada has defended the use of military drone attacks, saying technological advances have reduced civilian casualties.

National Defense Minister Peter Gordon MacKay told an Asian security summit Sunday that the "intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance capabilities we saw in Libya and Afghanistan prove the effectiveness" of unmanned systems.

MacKay said at the IISS Shangri-la Dialogue that "these eyes-on systems that can literally read a license plate from outer space."

MacKay was responding to a question about U.S.

drone attacks in Pakistan, a key tactic in the campaign against al-Qaida and its Taliban supporters.

Canada's military has participated in the U.S.-led decade-long war in Afghanistan and also in NATO strikes in Libya last year.

Washington Post

June 3, 2012

Pg. 1

21. Increase In Drone Strikes In Yemen Raises Questions

More lower-level operatives are being targeted for attack

By Greg Miller

There is little doubt among U.S. intelligence officials that Kaid and Nabil al-Dhahab — brothers who reportedly survived a U.S. airstrike in Yemen on Memorial Day — are associated with the al-Qaeda insurgency in that country. Less clear is the extent to which they are plotting against the United States.

"It's still an open question," a U.S. counterterrorism official said. The siblings were related by marriage to Anwar al-Awlaki, an al-Qaeda operative killed in September, but they have not been connected to a major plot. Their focus has been "more local," the official said. But "look at their associations and what that portends."

The quickening pace of the U.S. drone campaign in Yemen this year has raised new questions about who is being targeted and why. A review of strikes there so far suggests that the Obama administration has embraced a broader definition of what constitutes a terrorism threat that warrants a lethal response.

In more than 20 U.S. airstrikes over a span of five months, three "high-value" terrorism targets have been

killed, U.S. officials said. A growing number of attacks have been aimed at lower-level figures who are suspected of having links to terrorism operatives but are seen mainly as leaders of factions focused on gaining territory in Yemen's internal struggle.

News accounts from inside the country — which vary in their reliability — also suggest that U.S. airstrikes have hit military targets, including a weapons storage facility near Jaar, a city in southern Yemen. In some cases, U.S. strikes appeared to be coordinated with Yemeni military advances on al-Qaeda positions in the southern provinces of Abyan and Shabwa.

Current and former U.S. officials familiar with the campaign said restrictions on targeting have been eased amid concern over al-Qaeda's expansion over the past year. Targets still have to pose a "direct threat" to U.S. interests, said a former high-ranking U.S. counterterrorism official. "But the elasticity of that has grown over time."

The adjustments in the drone campaign carry risks for the Obama administration, which had sought to minimize the number of strikes out of fears of radicalizing local militants and driving them into al-Qaeda's ranks. Growing unrest in Yemen has blurred the boundaries between al-Qaeda cells plotting terrorist attacks and a broader insurgency that operates under the terrorist network's brand.

A White House spokesman said the U.S. mission in Yemen remains narrow.

"We're pursuing a focused counterterrorism campaign in Yemen designed to prevent and deter terrorist plots that directly threaten U.S. interests at home and abroad," said Tommy Vietor, spokesman for

the National Security Council. "We have not and will not get involved in a broader counterinsurgency effort."

But other U.S. officials said that the administration's emphasis on threats to interests "abroad" has provided latitude for expanding attacks on al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), as the Yemen affiliate is known.

In early May, a U.S. attack killed an operative, Fahd al-Quso, tied to the latest AQAP plot to smuggle explosives-laden underwear onto a flight to the United States. But officials said the campaign is now also aimed at wiping out a layer of lower-ranking operatives through strikes that can be justified because of threats they pose to the mix of U.S. Embassy workers, military trainers, intelligence operatives and contractors scattered across Yemen.

Asked about the reported March 12 attack on the weapons site, a U.S. military official said, "That sounds like a counterterrorism target."

That official, and others, spoke on the condition of anonymity, citing the sensitive nature of U.S. operations in Yemen. Spokesmen for the CIA and Pentagon declined to comment.

One of the U.S. objectives in Yemen has been "identifying who those leaders were in those districts that were al-Qaeda and also in charge of the rebellion," said a former senior U.S. official who was involved in overseeing the campaign before leaving the government. "There was a little liberalization that went on in the kill lists that allowed us to go after them."

The nerve center of those operations is a joint targeting cell on the outskirts of Sanaa, the capital. Inside, teams from Yemen's special forces and the U.S. Joint Special

Operations Command (JSOC) comb through intelligence to identify targets and coordinate which side should carry out strikes.

The effort nearly ground to a halt last year amid a political crisis that finally forced Yemen's leader for three decades, Ali Abdullah Saleh, to step down. As he fought to cling to power, U.S. officials said they became concerned that he was trying to direct U.S. strikes against his adversaries under the guise of providing locations of supposed terrorist groups.

"There were times when we were intentionally misled, presumably by Saleh, to get rid of people he wanted to get rid of," said the former U.S. official involved in overseeing the campaign.

Since Saleh was replaced by Abd Rabbuh Mansur al-Hadi, the targeting work has resumed, and U.S. military advisers who had been pulled out of the country have returned.

U.S. officials said the U.S. presence in Yemen has included members of SEAL Team 6, the unit used in the Osama bin Laden raid. The rules of engagement allow U.S. special operations forces to get no closer to the enemy than the "last position of cover," meaning the final staging areas from which Yemeni units mount assaults.

The airstrikes in Yemen this year have been split fairly evenly between operations carried out by CIA Predators and those conducted by JSOC using Reapers and other drones as well as conventional aircraft, U.S. officials said.

The CIA had pushed for an expansion of the targeting rules in Yemen, seeking to replicate aspects of its drone campaign against al-Qaeda in Pakistan. President Obama recently authorized the

agency and JSOC to carry out "signature strikes" that are based on patterns of suspicious behavior, even when the identities of those who would be killed is not clear.

According to the Long War Journal, a Web site that tracks drone activity, there have been 22 strikes so far this year in Yemen, more than in the previous 10 years combined. U.S. officials said the pace has accelerated even though there has not been a proliferation in the number of plots, or evidence of a significantly expanded migration of militants to join AQAP.

The group has been linked to a series of high-level plots, including the attempt to bomb a Detroit-bound airliner on Christmas Day in 2009.

That attack and others prompted a shift in resources to the region by the CIA, the National Security Agency and other spy services. U.S. officials said the spike in the number of drone attacks this year has been driven in part by intelligence gains and the ability to identify more targets.

The disruption of an underwear-bomb plot last month illustrated the extent to which the CIA, along with partners including the spy services of Britain and Saudi Arabia, have been able to penetrate AQAP.

But the expansion of the campaign is traced mainly to rising concern over AQAP's territorial expansion. The group and its Ansar al-Sharia wing have seized control of cities including Jaar, potentially providing sanctuary for the planning of terrorist attacks.

The Dhahab brothers are examples of the murky overlap between the regional and transnational factions of AQAP.

Their feud-divided family had seized control of the city of Radda earlier this year.

Their sister had been married to Awlaki, the U.S.-born cleric and operative who was killed in a CIA drone strike.

They are primarily seen as leaders of an al-Qaeda insurgency in Baydah province, but the U.S. counterterrorism official said there is concern that their roles have grown "possibly beyond that."

Los Angeles Times
June 3, 2012

22. Lebanon Clashes Raise Fear Of 'Spillover' In Syria Violence

At least 10 are killed in sectarian street battles in Tripoli, Lebanon, resulting from tension related to the Syrian conflict. U.N. envoy Kofi Annan warns of a possible 'regional spillover.'

By Patrick J. McDonnell
and Alexandra Sandels, Los Angeles Times

BEIRUT--Deadly sectarian street battles linked to strife in neighboring Syria erupted Saturday in northern Lebanon, as special United Nations envoy Kofi Annan warned about "regional spillover" from a possible "all-out civil war" in Syria.

Gunfights raged Saturday in the Lebanese coastal city of Tripoli, where supporters and opponents of Syria's President Bashar Assad exchanged machine-gun fire and rocket-propelled grenade volleys across a densely populated urban cityscape.

By early evening, Lebanon's official National News Agency reported at least 10 people had been killed and more than two dozen wounded.

The gun battles in Tripoli highlight the bitter sectarian and political rivalry between adjoining neighborhoods: Bab al Tabbaneh, a largely Sunni Muslim area where anti-

Assad sentiment is strong; and the Jabal Mohsen district, a pro-Assad stronghold. Jabal Mohsen is home to many adherents of the Alawite sect, whose members include Assad and much of the Syrian president's security leadership.

The split in Tripoli reflects the divisions in Syria, where Sunnis, the majority population, have been at the forefront of the year-plus rebellion, while Alawites and other minority groups have generally supported Assad.

Tension linked to the Syrian revolt has been boiling over in Tripoli for months, occasionally resulting in open urban warfare.

But the intensity of Saturday's clashes renewed concern that the fighting next door could destabilize Lebanon, with its own complex mix of rival sects and history of civil strife.

Late Saturday, Lebanese Prime Minister Najib Mikati and Interior Minister Marwan Charbel rushed to Tripoli in a bid to end the latest round of clashes there, underscoring the gravity of the situation.

Meanwhile, in Qatar, Annan gave one of his bleakest assessments to date of the situation, conceding that his six-point peace plan is in peril.

"The specter of all-out civil war, with a worrying sectarian dimension, grows by the day," Annan said in an address to ministers in Doha, the Qatari capital. "The crisis is having regional spillover."

Annan, who has acknowledged being frustrated, again put the onus on Assad to "make bold and visible steps immediately to radically change his military posture and honor his commitment to withdraw heavy weapons and cease all violence."

The Syrian government maintains that it has complied

with Annan's peace plan and blames armed "terrorists" — its shorthand for antigovernment rebels — for having failed to stop the violence. The U.N. and independent experts say both sides have largely ignored the peace blueprint.

In a pointed warning, Annan said that "things cannot continue as they are," though he did not elaborate on what the next step might be.

Qatar, a small but wealthy monarchy that has assumed a robust role in regional affairs, urged Annan to set a deadline for his Syrian peace mission and asked the U.N. Security Council to consider other unspecified actions.

"It is unacceptable that the massacres and bloodshed continue while the mission is ongoing indefinitely," declared Qatari Prime Minister Sheik Hamad bin Jassim al Thani, whose government supports the Syrian rebels.

In Tripoli, authorities said, gunfire broke out around midnight Friday and continued sporadically through the night, intensifying Saturday.

Video from the city showed plainclothes gunmen squeezing off AK-47 rounds while crouching behind walls, apartment buildings and mounds of tires, as armored vehicles carrying Lebanese security forces rumbled through the deserted streets.

The National News Agency reported that "rocket bombs" could be heard every 10 minutes Saturday afternoon and that snipers were targeting people at two traffic roundabouts and along the international highway.

Amid the heightened tension related to the violence in Syria, 11 people were killed and 100 were wounded in a wave of street battles last month in the coastal city, according to

the Daily Star, a Beirut-based English-language daily.

Sandels is a special correspondent.

Washington Post
June 3, 2012
Pg. 10

23. Houla: Shadows Of Srebrenica

As deaths mount in Syria, Obama finds himself being compared to Clinton, who was widely criticized for his tardy response in Bosnia.

By Michael Dobbs

SREBRENICA, BOSNIA — When Emir Suljagic saw the television footage last week of grieving families and burned-out houses in the Syrian town of Houla, he felt a sickening sense of déjà vu.

"It's bizarre how 'never again' has come to mean 'again and again,'" said the Srebrenica survivor, 37, who blames the United States and other Western governments for failing to take timely action to prevent Europe's worst massacre since World War II. "It's obvious that we live in a world where Srebrenicas are still possible. What's happening in Syria today is almost identical to what happened in Bosnia two decades ago."

Bosnian journalist Srećko Latal agreed that there were points of similarity between Syria and Bosnia but was also struck by the differences. He is wary about talk of a "Srebrenica moment" in U.S. policy toward Syria, in the sense of a humanitarian crisis large and embarrassing enough to force a decisive U.S. response, as happened in Bosnia in summer 1995 after the massacres of more than 8,000 Muslim men and boys by Bosnian Serb forces.

"There are no simple answers," said Latal, who lived through the 31 / 2-year siege

of Sarajevo. "You can't copy a solution that was applied to Bosnia and paste it someplace else."

The contrasting points of views from two survivors of the first great conflict of the post-Cold War era outline the contours of the foreign policy debate triggered by the mounting violence in Syria. The gruesome television images, culminating in the pictures of coffins of dozens of young children in Houla, have stirred plenty of moral outrage but failed to generate any clear consensus on what should be done to punish and deter the perpetrators.

Only weeks after announcing a government-wide "genocide prevention" initiative, President Obama finds himself in the uncomfortable position of being compared unfavorably to his Democratic predecessor, Bill Clinton, who was widely criticized for his tardy response in Bosnia.

Clinton sought to keep the United States out of the Bosnian imbroglio — until he was shamed into action by the killings of Muslim prisoners in Srebrenica and the continued shelling of Sarajevo.

Combined with a ground offensive by Croat and Muslim forces, a U.S.-led bombing campaign succeeded in breaking the back of the Bosnian Serb army in September 1995, paving the way for the Dayton peace pact two months later. The settlement confirmed the division of Bosnia into rival Serbian and Muslim-Croat statelets but put an end to a war that claimed 100,000 lives and drove more than a million people from their homes.

"Say what you will about Clinton, but he eventually sent Tomahawks and cruise missiles," Suljagic said. "The

present crowd is drafting memos."

'Awareness without action'

The contrast between the two Democratic presidents is made more stark by the fact that the Obama genocide prevention initiative is being shaped by staffers who were profoundly affected by the spectacle of Western inaction in Bosnia and Rwanda. The key figure here is Obama adviser Samantha Power, who worked in Bosnia as a journalist in 1995 at the time of the Srebrenica massacre and wrote a Pulitzer Prize-winning book, "A Problem from Hell," now regarded as a seminal work in the rapidly expanding field of mass atrocity studies.

Obama outlined his new strategy and the appointment of a government-wide Atrocities Prevention Board in a speech last month at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum that included the line, "awareness without action changes nothing." He was gently taken to task by Nobel laureate Elie Wiesel, who wondered pointedly whether world leaders had learned anything from the Holocaust when men such as Bashar al-Assad and Mahmoud Ahmadinejad were still in power in Syria and Iran.

Wiesel's presence endowed the occasion with a certain historic symmetry, as he had delivered a very similar public rebuff to Clinton at the height of the Bosnia war. Speaking at the dedication of the Holocaust museum in 1993, the Auschwitz survivor said he was "unable to sleep" after a visit to the former Yugoslavia. "People fight each other and children die," he told Clinton. "Something, anything, must be done."

But other commentators note that the level of violence

in Syria has yet to reach the proportions of Bosnia, much less Rwanda, where about 500,000 Tutsis were killed in just 100 days in 1994 in an orgy of state-sponsored killings. By independent estimates, about 10,000 Syrians have been killed by government security forces over the past year.

"There are big differences between Bosnia and Syria," said Mort Abramowitz, a retired U.S. diplomat who led a public campaign for American intervention in the Balkans. "In Bosnia, you had three years of war, massive ethnic cleansing, 100,000 casualties, a conflict that involved Europeans, not Arabs. The administration is embarrassed by the deaths of the hundred or so kids, but they are not going to do anything unless there is a lot more violence."

While the scale of the violence is different, there are sufficient similarities between the methods used by Assad and his Serbian counterparts, Slobodan Milosevic and Radovan Karadzic, to be deeply disturbing to many people who experienced the Bosnia war.

"Take a look at what the Syrian government forces are doing and what happened in Bosnia in 1992," said Suljagic, who worked with the United Nations during the war as a translator. "Surrounding villages with the army, shelling civilian homes, separating the men from the women, raping the women, killing the men. It is straight out of the Karadzic-Milosevic playbook."

Suljagic said he shared his concerns about Syria with an American diplomat in Sarajevo only to be told that the United States "did not have a dog in that fight," a remark that echoed a now-celebrated comment by Secretary of State James Baker in 1991, before the breakup of Yugoslavia.

Mixed success

One big difference between Syria and Bosnia is the impact of the Internet and social media, which have resulted in the almost immediate distribution of shocking images from obscure villages such as Houla. In July 1995, by contrast, it took weeks to build up a complete picture of the atrocities in Srebrenica, despite the presence of a large international press corps in Sarajevo that included Power.

The Obama administration has contributed to the dissemination of information about the Syrian atrocities by releasing satellite imagery of Syrian army units moving against towns and villages controlled by the Free Syrian Army, a loosely knit coalition of anti-Assad forces. The Clinton administration eventually released similar imagery of the Srebrenica crimes, but only after an anguished internal debate.

The U.S.-led military intervention in Bosnia has been a mixed success. On the one hand, it belatedly ended a brutal 31 / 2-year war. On the other, few of Bosnia's underlying problems have been resolved and the country is now more deeply divided than ever, ethnically, religiously and politically.

"One lesson I draw from the Bosnian experience is that the international community should not try to create countries or democratic systems because that does not work," said Latal, the former Bosnian journalist who is now an analyst with the International Crisis Group, a Washington-based think tank. "It did not work in Bosnia, and it did not work in Iraq or Afghanistan."

Latal fears that Western governments, and particularly the U.S. government, have become "victims of a 24/7 news cycle" in which they are forced

to respond to television and YouTube images rather develop a coherent long-term strategy.

"Jumping from one intervention to another without a clear idea of where you are going can create problems down the road," said Latal, pointing to the upsurge in ethnic bloodletting after the U.S. invasion of Iraq. "If you don't have a very clear idea of who is doing what to whom, or what is likely to happen afterwards, then you shouldn't intervene."

Dobbs, a former Washington Post reporter, has been researching the Srebrenica case as a fellow for the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum.

New York Times

June 3, 2012

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24. Oil Output Soars As Iraq Retools

By Tim Arango and Clifford Krauss

BAGHDAD--Despite sectarian bombings and political gridlock, Iraq's crude oil production is soaring, providing a singular bright spot for the nation's future and relief for global oil markets as the West tightens sanctions on Iranian exports.

The increased flow and vital port improvements have produced a 20 percent jump in exports this year to nearly 2.5 million barrels of oil a day, making Iraq one of the premier producers in OPEC for the first time in decades.

Energy analysts say that the Iraqi boom — coupled with increased production in Saudi Arabia and the near total recovery of Libya's oil industry — should cushion oil markets from price spikes and give the international community additional leverage over Iran

when new sanctions take effect in July.

"Iraq helps enormously," said David L. Goldwyn, the former State Department coordinator for international energy affairs in the Obama administration. Even if Iraq increased its oil exports by only half of what it is projecting by next year, he said, "You would be replacing nearly half of the future Iranian supply potentially displaced by tighter sanctions."

For Iraq, the resurgence of oil, which it is already pumping at rates seen only once — and briefly — since Saddam Hussein took power in 1979, is vital to its postwar success. Oil provides more than 95 percent of the government's revenues, has enabled the building of roads and the expansion of social services, and has greatly strengthened the Shiite-led government's hand in this ethnically divided country.

Oil has also brought its share of pitfalls for the fledgling democracy, fostering corruption and patronage, and aggravating tensions with the Kurdish minority in the north over the division of profits, a festering issue that could end up fracturing the country.

The Iraqi government says it can add an additional 400,000 barrels a day of production by next year, and it has announced a goal of producing 10 million barrels a day by 2017, which would put it in a league with Saudi Arabia.

Few independent analysts say they believe the larger goal is realistic, but oil company executives have been impressed by Iraq's progress and ambition.

"What the government is embarking on and the increase in production they are looking for under all of these contracts is unique in the world," said Michael Townshend, president of BP Iraq. But, he cautioned, "Nobody has yet managed to

increase oil production in their country to the extent Iraq is planning to. It's hugely ambitious, and it will take a lot of things to work correctly."

The country's improving oil fortunes are well timed to compensate for Iran's declining oil output, which according to OPEC fell by 12 percent in the first three months of the year as India, China and other Asian nations have gradually cut purchases under pressure from the United States and Europe.

With little if any progress achieved so far in negotiations between the West and Iran over its nuclear program, and Iran's nuclear chief reaffirming last weekend that the country would continue producing higher-grade uranium, Western sanctions are set to tighten in July.

Iraq's role in ameliorating the effects of those sanctions in the oil market could create tensions with Iran, a strong backer and ally of the Iraqi government. But oil experts say exports are too valuable for Iraq to allow its relationship with Iran to impede production.

The recovery of Iraq's oil industry after decades of wars, sanctions and neglect began in 2009 and 2010 as security improved and Baghdad signed a series of technical service contracts with foreign companies like Exxon Mobil, BP, China National Petroleum Corporation and ENI of Italy. The companies brought in modern seismic equipment and modern well recovery techniques to resuscitate old fields.

The deals have been only modestly profitable for the foreign companies, but foreign executives express cautious optimism that Iraq can eventually produce oil in amounts that could put it in an elite group of exporters

with Saudi Arabia and Russia sometime in the 2020s.

Iraq produces around three million barrels a day, and few analysts believe it can reach its goal of 10 million barrels a day by 2017, a target Baghdad recently reduced from a previous estimate of 12 million barrels a day by that year. But Hans Nijkamp, Royal Dutch Shell's Iraq country chairman, estimates that Iraq could produce 6 million to 10 million barrels a day by early next decade, "which is really substantial."

International oil executives say the government bureaucracy is still slow and poorly coordinated in building new port and pipeline infrastructure to get oil to the tankers from the fields. The political battle over divvying up profits has prevented the enactment of a national oil law, meaning that the companies need to follow myriad regulations, some of which date back to the Ottoman Empire. Electrical shortages are forcing politicians to choose between serving the oil companies or restive civilian populations that want more reliable utility service.

To increase output, the country will need to develop a huge water project to filter and pump seawater into old oil fields to increase the pressure required to coax crude out of the ground. Planning has begun, but the project is progressing slowly.

Iraq will also need to negotiate a sizable export quota within OPEC to accommodate its increasing potential, a nettlesome process that could produce tensions with Saudi Arabia and Iran.

Some of the problems were on display at last week's oil and gas auction, the country's fourth postwar bidding round, where

only 3 contracts were awarded out of 12 up for bid.

The auction, in an auditorium at the Ministry of Oil, had the trappings of a militarized movie premiere, with red carpets, velvet ropes, hordes of photographers and a white-uniformed honor guard carrying Kalashnikov rifles fixed with bayonets. The proceedings were carried live on state television. An elevator-music rendition of Lionel Richie's "Hello" played over and over.

The room was packed with diplomats, politicians and foreign oil executives, but few actual bidders.

"There are three minutes left and it seems like no one wants to bid," Abdul Mahdy al-Ameedi, the ministry official overseeing the auction, said at one point.

The disappointing auction was less a reflection of lack of interest in Iraq's energy sector than of the tough terms demanded by the government, the location of some of the fields in dangerous and remote regions of the country, and the fact that many of the blocks up for bid were for natural gas, which is less attractive to foreign companies than oil.

Iraq also used the auction to slap Exxon Mobil's hand for signing production sharing contracts for 850,000 acres in the Kurdistan region without getting permission from the central government, denying the company the right to bid.

But at the same time, Iraq has not touched Exxon Mobil's oil contracts in the south, a sign of pragmatism, or perhaps paralysis, international oil analysts said.

Exxon Mobil has by far the largest stake of any American company in Iraq, but most of the major players are European and Asian, like Lukoil and Gazprom from Russia, and Chinese

companies like China National Petroleum and China National Offshore Oil Corporation.

Despite the uncertainties, the foreign companies say they are staying.

"We are in Iraq because we think there is big potential, huge production growth," said Claudio Descalzi, chief operating officer for exploration and production at ENI, the Italian oil giant. "In the future, things can only get better."

Tim Arango reported from Baghdad, and Clifford Krauss from Houston.

Jerusalem Post
June 3, 2012
Pg. 3

25. US Asks Iraq To Extradite Hezbollah Suspect

By Phil Stewart, Reuters

WASHINGTON--The United States has formally asked Iraq to extradite a suspected Hezbollah operative accused of killing American troops, a US official told Reuters, amid heightened concerns in Washington that he may go free.

It was not immediately clear when the request was filed and Iraqi officials approached by Reuters denied knowledge of it, casting doubt on whether an extradition was seriously being considered at this point in Baghdad.

The fate of Ali Mussa Daqduq has been vexing American officials since last December, when the United States was forced to hand him over to Baghdad after failing to secure a custody deal ahead of the US military's withdrawal from the country.

At the time, the White House said it had received assurances from Baghdad that Daqduq would be tried for allegedly orchestrating a 2007 kidnapping that resulted in the

killing of five US military personnel. But an Iraqi court earlier this month cleared him of the charges, citing a lack of evidence.

Daqduq's attorney confirmed that the Lebanese-born suspect remained in Iraqi custody but scoffed at the suggestion that Daqduq might face American courts.

"The Americans have no right to get him," Abdulmehdi al-Mutiri, Daqduq's lawyer, told Reuters. "Whatever they claim that he did, it would have happened on Iraqi soil and that means he is under Iraqi jurisdiction."

Indeed, there are real questions about whether Iraq – which previously shunned US efforts to retain custody of Daqduq – would respond positively to an extradition request.

The White House declined comment on whether any request had been made but President Barack Obama's government has said it will pursue all legal options to bring justice to Daqduq.

Republicans have sharply criticized Obama's handling of the case. In a May 10 letter to Defense Secretary Leon Panetta and Attorney-General Eric Holder, Republican members of the Senate Judiciary Committee asked whether any formal extradition request had been made for Daqduq, who was born in Lebanon.

"The US has filed a formal extradition request" with the Iraqi government, a US official said, speaking on condition of anonymity.

Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al Maliki's media adviser Ali al Moussawi said he was unaware of any extradition request for Daqduq and declined to be drawn into what he saw as a hypothetical question about how the Iraqi government would respond to one.

Asked about the possibility Daqduq might soon go free, the US official confirmed: "That's a real worry."

Daqduq was captured in March 2007 and initially claimed he was a deaf mute. US forces accused him of being a surrogate for Iran's elite Quds force operatives and say he joined the Lebanese Hezbollah in 1983.

Daqduq's attorney said a representative of Hezbollah had come to Iraq but left "because he felt he could not do anything more."

"But legally Daqduq is clear, there are no charges against him," Mutiri said.

If Daqduq were extradited, he would face charges for war crimes. A second US official confirmed that charges filed against Daqduq in the US military commissions system earlier this year included murder, attempted murder, attempted taking of hostages, spying and terrorism.

It was not immediately clear where the US military commission trial for Daqduq would be held if he were ultimately extradited. But Panetta last year told Congress that Daqduq would face "better justice" if tried by the United States.

New York Times
June 3, 2012
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26. New Turmoil In Egypt Greets Mixed Verdict For Mubarak

By David D. Kirkpatrick

CAIRO--An Egyptian court on Saturday sentenced former President Hosni Mubarak to life in prison as an accomplice in the killing of unarmed demonstrators during the protests that ended his nearly 30-year rule.

But a conviction that once promised to deliver a triumph

for the rule of law in Egypt and the Arab world — the first Arab strongman jailed by his own citizens — instead brought tens of thousands of Egyptians back into the streets. They denounced the verdict as a sham because the court also acquitted many officials more directly responsible for the police who killed the demonstrators, and a broad range of lawyers and political leaders said Mr. Mubarak's conviction was doomed to reversal on appeal.

Presiding over a three-judge panel, Judge Ahmed Rafaat said that prosecutors had presented no evidence that either Mr. Mubarak or his top aides had directly ordered the killing of protesters. Instead, the judge found that Mr. Mubarak, 84, was an "accessory to murder" because he failed to stop the killing, a rationale that lawyers said would not meet the usual requirements for a murder conviction under Egyptian or international law.

The judges also sentenced Mr. Mubarak's feared former interior minister, Habib el-Adly, to the same penalty for the same reason. But they dismissed corruption charges against Mr. Mubarak and his deeply unpopular sons, Alaa and Gamal, on technical grounds.

By nightfall, demonstrators filled Tahrir Square in a protest that matched the size and ideological diversity of the early days of the revolt, with Islamists and liberals once again protesting side by side. Protesters poured into the streets of Alexandria, Suez and other cities to rail against what they saw as a miscarriage of justice.

"It is all an act. It is a show," said Alaa Hamam, 38, a Cairo University employee joining a protest in Tahrir Square, the symbolic heart

of the uprising. "It is a provocation."

For many Egyptians, the court's handling of the case was the latest disappointment in a 16-month-old transition that has yielded some major accomplishments, but has not yet delivered the ratification of a constitution, the election of a president or the hand-over of power by interim military rulers.

Against an opaque backdrop of military rule, in which the generals, prosecutors and judges were all appointed by Mr. Mubarak, the degree of judicial independence is impossible to know. Demonstrators slammed the decision as a ruse designed to placate them without holding anyone accountable for the violence or corruption of the old government.

The ruling immediately became a political battleground in Egypt's first competitive presidential race, expected to be decided this month by a runoff between the candidate of the Muslim Brotherhood and Ahmed Shafik, Mr. Mubarak's last prime minister. Most analysts called the decision a blow to Mr. Shafik because of his close ties to Mr. Mubarak, but any further protests could increase public receptiveness to Mr. Shafik's law-and-order message.

Mr. Mubarak's conviction and court appearance — on a hospital gurney in the metal cage that holds criminal defendants in Egypt — offered the kind of vivid example of the humiliation of their once-invincible ruler that thrilled Egyptians with a feeling of liberation.

Mr. Mubarak, in dark glasses and a light-colored track suit, showed no reaction to the verdict.

Both sons stood in front of their father to try to shield

him from the cameras. Alaa Mubarak appeared to recite verses from the Koran as the verdict was read. And after the ruling, both sons had tears in their eyes. They remain in jail while they face charges in an unrelated stock-manipulation case announced last week.

During the trial, Mr. Mubarak was housed in a military hospital, where he enjoyed visits from his family and a daily swim, according to news reports. After the verdict, a helicopter flew him to a Cairo prison.

State news media reported that after complaining of a "medical crisis," Mr. Mubarak was treated in the helicopter on the ground, then refused to leave it and enter the prison for two and a half hours, complaining that he needed the support of his family.

The court session had opened with unusual promptness at 10 a.m. Judge Rafaat pronounced that "defendant Mohamed Hosni Mubarak be sentenced to a life term for the allegations ascribed to him, being an accessory to murder" in the killing of more than 240 demonstrators during the last six days of January 2011.

He called Mr. Mubarak's tenure "30 years of intense darkness — black, black, black, the blackness of a chilly winter night." And he said officials had "committed the gravest sins, tyranny and corruption without accountability or oversight as their consciences died, their feelings became numb and their hearts in their chests turned blind."

"The peaceful sons of the homeland came out of every deep ravine with all the pain they experienced from injustice, heartbreak, humiliation and oppression," he added. "Bearing the

burden of their suffering on their shoulders, they moved peacefully toward Tahrir Square in Cairo, Egypt's capital, demanding only justice, freedom and democracy."

But if Judge Rafaat hoped the people would cheer the verdict, he was soon disappointed as scuffles and chaos broke out in the courtroom. "The people want to cleanse the judiciary," chanted an angry crowd of lawyers for the victims and other supporters.

The ruling appeared for the first time to bring together a broad spectrum of both liberal and Islamist political leaders in united opposition to Mr. Shafik. By Saturday afternoon, protesters were tearing down Mr. Shafik's billboards and burning his campaign posters. "Shafik, you disgrace, the revolution continues," protesters chanted.

Early Sunday morning, protesters in the town of Fayoum invaded a Shafik campaign office, Reuters reported.

As Mr. Mubarak's last prime minister, Mr. Shafik presided over the cabinet when the police failed to protect unarmed protesters in Tahrir Square from a deadly assault by a mob of Mubarak supporters known as the "battle of the camels."

In a statement, Mr. Shafik said the next president should "comprehend the historic lesson" of the decision. "This means that nobody in Egypt is still above punishment or accountability," he added.

The other lesson, he said, was that the police must respect human rights, which he said that in its new form most of the "security apparatus already wants to do."

His opponent, Mohamed Morsi of the Muslim Brotherhood, pledged that if

elected, he would assemble a team of top prosecutors to determine who was responsible for the killings and press new charges against Mr. Mubarak and his aides. Around 9 p.m., Brotherhood members formed two long rows so Mr. Morsi could safely walk into the Tahrir Square crowd, and then cheering supporters carried him on their shoulders.

"The verdict means that the head of the regime and the minister of interior are the only ones who have fallen, but the rest of the entire regime remains," the Brotherhood, Egypt's largest Islamist group, said in a statement. It added, "The Egyptian people have to sense the great danger that threatens their revolution and their hopes, and wastes the blood of the martyrs and the sacrifices of their children."

Ayman Nour, a liberal candidate who had opposed both Mr. Shafik and Mr. Morsi, announced that "after this flimsy verdict" he was endorsing Mr. Morsi.

In the parking lot outside the makeshift courthouse in a police academy, some initially celebrated the verdict. "I am so happy — this is the greatest happiness I have ever felt," said Rada Mohamed Mabrouk, a 60-year-old retiree. "The martyrs are all of our children."

But the elation soon gave way. "They are all innocent? Gamal and Alaa are innocent?" asked Hanan Mohamed el-Rifai, 28, of Alexandria. She said that during protests, the police killed her younger brother, Kareem, 15, with a bullet to the heart. "We will turn the world upside down," she said.

Other demonstrators brandished nooses to symbolize the sentence they sought.

The credibility of the Mubarak trial was in many ways compromised from the start.

It took place under the rule of the generals who seized power at Mr. Mubarak's ouster rather than under a permanent constitution guaranteeing judicial independence. Instead of a sweeping examination of the corruption and political repression of the Mubarak government, the prosecutors rushed the case toward trial last spring in an apparent attempt to soothe protesters.

Prosecutors charged Mr. Mubarak and Mr. Adly with directing the police to shoot unarmed protesters during just the first six days of the uprising. Although Health Ministry officials said that about 840 civilians were killed during the protests and thousands of others injured, prosecutors narrowed the case to only about 250 deaths that took place in public squares and under other circumstances in which it is hard for the police to argue self-defense.

The prosecutors also charged Mr. Mubarak and his two sons with just one instance of profiting from their positions. The prosecutors charged that Mr. Mubarak and his sons had received steep discounts on several luxurious vacation homes near the Red Sea from a crony, Hussein Salem. Mr. Mubarak later allowed companies controlled by Mr. Salem to make profitable deals to resell Egyptian natural gas to Israel and buy public land on the Red Sea for development.

The judge dismissed the corruption charges against Mr. Mubarak and his sons on the grounds that a statute of limitations had expired since the three Mubaraks were said to have received the vacation homes. Prosecutors had evidently hoped to date the crime from the subsequent favors Mr. Mubarak did for Mr. Salem. It was unclear why the

judge had not raised the statute of limitations issue earlier.

Lawyers said the final legal verdict on Mr. Mubarak would await not only lengthy appeals but most likely further trials as well.

"The trial is far from over," Hossam Bahgat, director of the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights, said from outside the courthouse. "We will be in this for years."

Kareem Fahim, Mayy El Sheikh and Liam Stack contributed reporting.

NationalJournal.com

June 2, 2012

27. Sherif Mansour Returns To Egypt To Face NGO Trial

By Sara Sorcher

Sherif Mansour heads to the airport on Saturday. There is a cage in an Egyptian courtroom waiting for him in Cairo.

Anyone at Washington's Dulles airport wouldn't know the 32-year-old Egyptian, who recently became an American citizen, is wanted as a fugitive in Cairo just by looking at him. Clean cut, with a bright checkered shirt tucked into khaki pants, Mansour just days ago was swiping his card to accrue points at Yola yogurt bar in Dupont Circle, near the Washington office of Freedom House, where he worked for five years until this week. He is more than halfway toward winning a "parfait party," during which the café delivers frozen treats.

But the former senior officer for Freedom House's Middle East and North Africa programs won't win this prize anytime soon. Mansour is putting his life on hold to return to Egypt to fight charges of illegally operating pro-democracy programs and stirring unrest.

Mansour, who is due to appear in court on Tuesday, believes the charges against him and 42 other workers from U.S.-funded nongovernmental organizations are politically motivated and without legal merit. The Obama administration agrees. But if convicted, he could face up to six years in an Egyptian prison.

Accused American NGO workers from the National Democratic Institute and the International Republican Institute—including Sam LaHood, the son of Transportation Secretary Ray LaHood—paid \$5 million in bail and left Egypt in March after being prevented from leaving the country for more than a month. Their impending trial threatened the worst crisis between Washington and Cairo in decades, and the highly publicized exodus led many Egyptians to believe the NGO workers were guilty, Mansour said.

"That's what sticks in people's minds: That they've been doing something wrong, that's why they escaped, and that's why they are not challenging [the charges]," Mansour, who was not in Egypt when the charges were announced, said. "It makes sense. Why wouldn't you stand by what you're doing? We know it's a fake trial. It's a political case. But there have been so many political cases in Egypt after the revolution. But people fought it—and they won."

Having appeared in person to try to register Freedom House's operations in Egypt, Mansour believes he has done everything possible to win accreditation and the group is operating according to the law.

Mansour says he was indicted before being granted an appearance in court. "My name is 'Fugitive Sherif Mansour,' "

he said. "I was never asked to appear in front of any judge. I was never asked or investigated for anything in this case. I was never even served papers to say, 'You should be coming to trial.'" There is still a chance, he said, to refute the charges through the Egyptian judicial system and explain his views to the media.

His planned return to Cairo against Freedom House's wishes cost Mansour his job. The organization warned Mansour that his presence could inflame the situation. But he feels pressure to return because he is a prominent human-rights defender--and many local workers on trial are accountants or translators.

"It's not fair to them that they have to lead the battle from within," Mansour said. "[Appearing in court] should be a part of everyone's job if they are working for freedom and democracy and human rights. But there are a lot of risks involved, and I understand why organizations cover their bases."

For months, Mansour has been adamant about his desire to return, penning a February op-ed in *Foreign Policy* magazine calling for Washington to "stop subsidizing repression" in Egypt with taxpayer money and take a moral stand. "Leverage is useless if one chooses not to use it," the graduate of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University wrote at the time.

Mansour was disappointed by Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton's March 23 decision to waive new congressional conditions linking military aid to human rights and due process in Egypt. Days after Clinton signed off on \$1.3 billion in aid, Egypt ramped up the prosecution by requesting that Interpol issue worldwide

notices for the arrests of other NGO workers--12 of them Americans, including Mansour--who were not in the country. Interpol eventually dismissed Egypt's request as politically motivated, but Mansour refuses to be sentenced in absentia while working from the "luxury" of his Washington office.

"The charges against him--just as the charges against all others in this case--are in our view spurious. And the charges should be dropped against all 43 people, because none of them has done anything wrong," said David Kramer, president of Freedom House. "My hope is that the hearing on June 5 will be procedural in nature and that this will quietly go away."

After waiting for the U.S. "to work its magic" with its Egyptian allies, Mansour is frustrated: "The more I wait, the more liable I become, the more I feel like I'm not doing my job." Despite hopes by some in Washington that the case will simply "fizzle away," he said, "nothing happens quietly in Egypt. You have to defend it to win it."

This mentality is not surprising given Mansour's background. A 10-year career advocate for human rights, he moved to the U.S. in 2006 seeking political asylum, having been subjected to security interrogations and other harassment by then-President Hosni Mubarak's government after leading a national coalition of NGOs to monitor the presidential and parliamentary elections.

Mansour's American wife, who hails from Iran, understands his desire to return. So does his father, a prominent human rights defender who also came to the U.S. seeking political asylum. But they're not exactly happy about it, and Mansour's Facebook page is

peppered with comments from friends wishing him the best of luck and promising to keep him in their prayers.

Mansour, however, considers potential jail time a small price to pay to support the goal of an independent Egyptian civil society. With some 400 NGOs targeted for investigation, local groups worry for their future in Egypt, he said. "If they get us, they'll get the rest."

Jerusalem Post

June 3, 2012

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28. Iran Military Commander Again Threatens To Target US Bases If Attacked

By Marcus George, Reuters

DUBAI--Iran has one more warned the United States not to resort to military action against it, saying US bases in the region were vulnerable to the Islamic Republic's missiles, state media reported on Saturday.

The comments by a senior Iranian military commander were an apparent response to US officials who have said Washington was ready to use military force to stop Iran from developing a nuclear weapons capability.

World powers held talks with Iran in Baghdad on May 23-24 in an attempt to find a diplomatic solution to their concerns over its nuclear program. Another round was set for June 18-19 in Moscow.

"The politicians and the military men of the United States are well aware of the fact that all of their bases [in the region] are within the range of Iran's missiles and in any case... are highly vulnerable," Press TV reported Brig.-Gen. Yahya Rahim Safavi as saying.

Safavi is a military adviser to Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei and was until

2007 the commander in chief of the Revolutionary Guards, the force that protects Iran's Islamic system of governance.

He also warned that Iranian missiles could reach all parts of Israel but played down any possibility of military action against his country as "faint" because of the economic condition of the United States.

Analysts say Iranian military officials use such fiery rhetoric as a way of keeping the West on edge over the possible disruption to global oil supplies in the event of US or Israeli military action.

Tehran has previously threatened to close the Strait of Hormuz -- a vital crude shipping lane -- if it is attacked, which experts say would result in a spike in the price of oil and could hit the US economy as it seeks to recover from the financial crisis.

Last month the US ambassador to Israel, Dan Shapiro, said plans for a possible military strike on Iran were ready and the option was "fully available."

US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said Iran needed to take steps to curb its nuclear activities during the next round of talks in Moscow. Israel is skeptical any progress can be made and has accused Tehran of simply buying time.

New York Times

June 3, 2012

Pg. 14

29. U.S.-Pakistan Freeze Chokes Fallback Route In Afghanistan

By Rod Nordland

SALANG PASS, Afghanistan--Nowhere is the impact of Pakistan's ban on NATO truck traffic more visible than here at the top of the Hindu Kush, on one of the only alternative overland routes for

supply convoys to reach Kabul and the rest of the country.

For 20 miles north and south of the old Soviet-built tunnel at Salang Pass, thousands of trucks are idled beside the road, waiting for a turn to get through its perilous, one-and-a-half-mile length.

This is the only passable route for heavy truck traffic bringing NATO supplies in from the Central Asian republics to the north, as they now must come.

There are other roads, but they are often single-lane dirt tracks through even higher mountain passes, or they are frequently subject to ambushes by insurgents and bandits. So a tunnel built to handle 1,000 vehicles a day, and until the Pakistani boycott against NATO in November handling 2,000, now tries — and often fails — to let 10,000 vehicles through, alternating northbound and southbound truck traffic every other day.

"It's only a matter of time until there's a catastrophe," said Lt. Gen. Mohammad Rajab, the head of maintenance for the Salang Pass. "One hundred percent certain, there will be a disaster, and when there is, it's not a disaster for Afghanistan alone, but for the whole international community that uses this road." He said 90 percent of the traffic now was trailer and tanker trucks carrying NATO supplies.

The tunnel near the top of this 12,000-foot pass is so narrow — no more than 20 feet across at the base, and less toward the top — that the heavily laden trucks often jam as they try to pass one another, lodging in tightly against the sloping, rough-hewn walls. The trucks have to be winched apart and dragged out by heavy equipment.

Other trucks get stuck when their drivers deliberately

underestimate their overhead clearance — the tunnel is 16 feet high, but only in the very center.

"It's a nightmare," one tank truck driver said.

The tunnel lighting does not work, nor do closed-circuit television cameras installed to warn of problems. The tunnel's roof leaks water, rendering the savagely potholed road surface a mixture of mud, chopped-up asphalt and broken concrete. Ventilator fans in most of the tunnel are out of order, leading to such high levels of carbon monoxide that officials are talking about a system to pump emergency oxygen in, General Rajab said.

The roadway, with only patches of paving, has ruts so deep that trucks sometimes just tip over on their sides, as happened last week with a tanker truck carrying fuel for NATO. It flipped over just south of the main tunnel, cracking the tank and spawning a small stream flowing down the steep switchbacks, which enterprising Afghans quickly diverted into makeshift canals and impoundments so they could carry out the dangerous work of filling containers from the flow.

That was the second day in a row that a truck tipped over near the top of the pass, blocking all daytime traffic for most of those two days. In between, the road opened at night, but then a NATO military convoy came along, forcing all civilian truck traffic to cease for 12 hours, General Rajab said.

With the increased traffic and the deterioration of the roads it has caused, a journey that used to take a day, from Kabul to Hairatan, a fuel and freight depot town on the northern border with Uzbekistan, now requires 8 to 10 days for trucks, according to interviews with many drivers. For cars it takes two days.

"Yesterday I slept over there," said Sayid Ali, a tractor-trailer driver who was hauling cement, pointing at the next switchback down, less than a mile away. "Tonight I'll probably sleep here." He had so far spent five days just in a 25-mile-long climb to the tunnel, and was still two miles away, stuck by the fuel spill.

A tanker driver named Mohammadullah, hauling fuel for a NATO contractor, was eight days out of Kabul and still climbing. He said the drivers often ran out of food and were forced to pay exorbitant prices to vendors who drove up with supplies. He expected the round trip would take him most of a month.

"I'd rather be driving to Kandahar," he said. Trucks need to have armed guards because of insurgents on that route, he said, "but I'd rather do that than all this waiting."

The much-shorter Pakistani routes, from seaports like Karachi on better roads, were closed to protest the deaths of 24 Pakistani soldiers in an American airstrike. But Pakistan has expressed willingness to reopen the frontier: for a fee of thousands of dollars per truck, compared with \$250 previously. "We're not about to get gouged in the price," Defense Secretary Leon E. Panetta said on ABC's "This Week."

The Salang Pass tunnel, built in 1964 by the Soviets and never completely finished (it lacks amenities like interior surfacing of the walls and an escape tunnel), has a tragic history. Nine hundred Russians and Afghans reportedly died of asphyxiation in the tunnel in 1982 when a military convoy was trapped inside by an accident or an explosion.

Two years ago, huge avalanches at the southern mouth of the tunnel killed at

least 64 people, buried alive in cars and buses.

General Rajab says he worries that the tunnel could even collapse — no thorough overhaul has ever been done, he said, because the route is too vital to close long enough for major repairs.

"It's crazy to use this road; there are just too many problems," he said. "They should open an alternative or we will never solve this."

A spokesman for the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force, Lt. Col. Jimmie Cummings, said the military had no comment. "We do not discuss the particular road routes that we use for movements of logistics," he said.

The only remotely viable alternative route, General Rajab said, is over the Shibar Pass, farther west. It involves a three-day detour, which could be an improvement over Salang these days. However, the military would have to work at improving security on that route, he said — when he recently detoured trucks that way, they were looted before reaching the pass.

Reuters.com

June 3, 2012

30. China Steps Up Afghan Role As Western Pullout Nears

By Sanjeev Miglani, Reuters

KABUL--China and Afghanistan will sign an agreement in the coming days that strategically deepens their ties, Afghan officials say, the strongest signal yet that Beijing wants a role beyond economic partnership as Western forces prepare to leave the country.

China has kept a low political profile through much of the decade-long international effort to stabilize Afghanistan, choosing instead to pursue

an economic agenda, including locking in future supply from Afghanistan's untapped mineral resources.

As the U.S.-led coalition winds up military engagement and hands over security to local forces, Beijing, along with regional powers, is gradually stepping up involvement in an area that remains at risk from being overrun by Islamist insurgents.

Chinese President Hu Jintao and his Afghan counterpart Hamid Karzai will hold talks on the sidelines of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation summit in Beijing this week, where they will seal a wide-ranging pact governing their ties, including security cooperation.

Afghanistan has signed a series of strategic partnership agreements including with the United States, India and Britain among others in recent months, described by one Afghan official as taking out "insurance cover" for the period after the end of 2014 when foreign troops leave.

"The president of Afghanistan will be meeting the president of China in Beijing and what will happen is the elevation of our existing, solid relationship to a new level, to a strategic level," Janan Musazai, a spokesman for the Afghan foreign ministry, told Reuters.

"It would certainly cover a broad spectrum which includes cooperation in the security sector, a very significant involvement in the economic sector, and the cultural field."

He declined to give details about security cooperation, but Andrew Small, an expert on China at the European Marshall Fund who has tracked its ties with South Asia, said the training of security forces was one possibility.

China has signaled it will not contribute to a multilateral

fund to sustain the Afghan national security forces - estimated to cost \$4.1 billion per year after 2014 - but it could directly train Afghan soldiers, Small said.

"They're concerned that there is going to be a security vacuum and they're concerned about how the neighbors will behave," he said.

Beijing has been running a small program with Afghan law enforcement officials, focused on counter-narcotics and involving visits to China's restive Xinjiang province, whose western tip touches the Afghan border.

Training of Afghan forces is expected to be modest, and nowhere near the scale of the Western effort to bring them up to speed, or even India's role in which small groups of officers are trained at military institutions in India.

China wants to play a more active role, but it will weigh the sensitivities of neighboring nations in a troubled corner of the world, said Zhang Li, a professor of South Asian studies at Sichuan University who has been studying the future of Sino-Afghan ties.

"I don't think that the U.S. withdrawal also means a Chinese withdrawal, but especially in security affairs in Afghanistan, China will remain low-key and cautious," he said. "China wants to play more of a role there, but each option in doing that will be assessed carefully before any steps are taken."

Jostling for influence

Afghanistan's immediate neighbors Iran and Pakistan, but also nearby India and Russia, have all jostled for influence in the country at the crossroads of Central and South Asia, and many expect the competition to heat up after 2014.

India has poured aid into Afghanistan and like China has

invested in its mineral sector, committing billions of dollars to develop iron ore deposits, as well as build a steel plant and other infrastructure.

It worries about a Taliban resurgence and the threat to its own security from Pakistan-based militants operating from the region.

Pakistan, which is accused of having close ties with the Taliban, has repeatedly complained about India's expanding role in Afghanistan, seeing Indian moves as a plot to encircle it.

"India-Pakistan proxy fighting is one of the main worries," said Small.

In February, China hosted a trilateral dialogue involving officials from Pakistan and Afghanistan to discuss efforts to seek reconciliation with the Taliban.

It was first time Beijing involved itself directly and openly in efforts to stabilize Afghanistan.

Afghan foreign ministry spokesman Musazai said Kabul supported any effort to bring peace in the country. "China has close ties with Afghanistan. It also has very close ties with Pakistan and if it can help advance the vision of peace and stability in Afghanistan we welcome it."

New York Times

June 3, 2012

Pg. 14

31. Aid Workers Who Were Held In Cave Are Rescued From Taliban

By Alissa J. Rubin and John F. Burns

KABUL, Afghanistan-- Four aid workers, including two women, who were abducted May 22 were freed early Saturday in a NATO rescue operation in northern Afghanistan, according to a

NATO spokesman and a Swiss-based aid organization, Medair.

Captured by insurgents while returning from a visit to a nutrition and hygiene project in the remote mountainous region of Badakhshan Province, the group included two Afghans who worked with the aid organization. The area is so remote that it can be reached only on horseback, and the four were riding back when they were abducted.

The rescue was carried out by the allied coalition working with Afghan forces, and Gen. John R. Allen, the senior allied commander in Afghanistan, took the unusual step of issuing a public statement about the rescue.

"I'm extremely grateful to the Afghan authorities and proud of the ISAF forces that planned, rehearsed and successfully conducted this operation," said General Allen, referring to the International Security Assistance Force, as the coalition is known. "Thanks to them, Ms. Helen Johnston, Ms. Moragwe Oirere and their two co-workers will soon be rejoining their families."

Ms. Johnston, 28, is a British citizen, and Ms. Oirere, 26, is Kenyan, said Aurélien Demaurex, the spokesman for Medair, which is based near Lausanne, Switzerland. The two Afghan workers were not identified for their own safety.

The British prime minister, David Cameron, confirmed the rescue at a morning news conference at 10 Downing Street, after the hostages had been brought to the British Embassy in Kabul. He said he had personally approved the operation after concluding that the number of Taliban fighters involved in the kidnapping was rising continually.

Military officials in London said American helicopters carried the troops

to the target area and American forces fought Taliban fighters while British troops converged on a cave in the Badakhshan mountains where the hostages were being held. The rescue followed more than 10 days of surveillance of the hostage site by drones and piloted reconnaissance planes using full-motion video and laser sensors, often in severe weather, a senior allied officer said Saturday. British military officials said the captors had demanded a ransom of \$10 million.

Taliban insurgents and criminal groups are both active in Badakhshan Province. The line between the two is sometimes unclear, but the British military officials said the Taliban had moved into the area and taken over the gangs' operations. The officials said seven of the kidnappers were killed.

Also on Saturday, the Afghan government criticized an article published last week in The New York Times on the status of the handover of the main American-run detention facility in Parwan to the Afghan government, saying it was unbalanced and inaccurately described the government's new authority over the detainees.

At a news conference in Kabul, the Foreign Ministry spokesman, Janan Mosazai, said that the Afghan government would respect the views of the Americans about whom to release, but that the ultimate decision belonged to the Afghans. Among the detainees are some senior Taliban members who have targeted Americans.

In background briefings with reporters, however, American officials have said that they — as well as the Afghans — would have to approve the decisions to

release detainees. If there is a disagreement, a committee made up of the ISAF commander and the Afghan defense minister must decide, according to the memorandum of understanding signed on March 9.

Rohullah Qarizada, chairman of the Afghanistan Bar Association, said it suited both sides to play down the Americans' final say in detainee releases. "If the Americans don't agree," he said, "no one gets released."

Alissa J. Rubin reported from Kabul, and John F. Burns from London. Eric Schmitt contributed reporting from Washington.

London Sunday Times
June 3, 2012
Pg. 1

32. SAS Night March Frees Hostages

By David Leppard and Miles Amoores

THE SAS made a daring nighttime march across the mountains in Afghanistan in a "breathtaking" operation to free the British aid worker Helen Johnston and three other hostages, David Cameron revealed yesterday.

Johnston, a 28-year-old nutritionist who lived in Stoke Newington, north London, while studying at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, was rescued unharmed with her three colleagues. More than 10 of the heavily armed kidnappers were killed just after midnight yesterday.

The SAS opted for what Cameron called their "long route march at night" because they did not want to tip off the hostage-takers by arriving in a helicopter.

A helicopter raid to rescue another British aid worker, Linda Norgrove, in

2010 backfired disastrously. The Taliban panicked when they heard the helicopters and Norgrove was killed in the ensuing chaos.

Yesterday's operation was authorised by the British prime minister late on Friday afternoon after he was told by military leaders that the hostage-takers had split into two groups and there was an increased threat to their captives' lives.

In a significant toughening of the government's stance towards those who kidnap Britons, Cameron said the outcome served as a warning that such groups could expect "a swift and brutal end".

Speaking outside Downing Street, he praised the courage of the strike force of about 30 SAS troops who carried out the rescue: "It was an extraordinarily brave, breathtaking even, operation that our troops had to carry out."

Last night all four hostages were said to be in "good condition".

Johnston is understood to have thanked Cameron after he telephoned her at the British embassy in Kabul, where the hostages were flown by helicopter.

Her parents, Philip and Patricia Johnston, said: "We are deeply grateful to everyone involved in her rescue, to those who worked tirelessly on her behalf, and to family and friends for their love, prayers and support."

Johnston, Moragwe Oirere, a 26-year-old Kenyan medic, and two Afghan aid workers were all employees of the Swissbased aid group Medair. They were kidnapped on May 22 by a group of armed men while they were trekking on horseback to treat villagers suffering from malnutrition in the remote mountainous province of Badakhshan. After

learning of their abduction, Cameron convened daily meetings of Cobra, the government committee that deals with emergencies.

By the beginning of last week reports filtering through to the Nato-led International Security Assistance Force (Isaf) in the country located the hostages in a complex of caves outside Gulati, a village in the remote mountains near the Tajikistan border in the extreme north of Afghanistan.

Their captors, said to be 10-15 heavily armed men, were understood to be a loose-knit group of local criminals with some ties to the Taliban. Whitehall officials described them as "criminally motivated rather than politically motivated".

A council leader in the provincial capital of Faizabad claimed the kidnappers had demanded the release of two local criminals. He said they were being held in Kabul accused of murder, robbery and rape. "They [the kidnappers] were simply criminals who wanted their commanders released from jail," he said.

A Whitehall official said that by Thursday the Cobra team had learnt that the kidnappers had split into two groups.

It was initially believed that Johnston and Oirere were being held by one group in an area of mud huts.

The two Afghan hostages were thought to be being held by a second group in a network of caves a few miles away. The area is known as the Valley of the Ants.

Cameron approved the operation at a final meeting of Cobra on Friday afternoon and Isaf's commander, General John Allen, ordered the go ahead.

A contingent of British and American special forces supported by a dozens more

paratroopers had been flown by helicopter into the area early in the week. While the American special forces headed towards the cave complex, about 30 British SAS undertook a long march to the mud hut compound.

The Americans found a group of kidnappers in the caves and killed them. But there were no hostages.

At about the same time the SAS came across all four hostages being held by the second group.

Although the kidnappers were armed with machine guns, rocket-propelled grenades and AK-47s, the SAS killed them after a firefight.

The hostages, shocked but unharmed, were then flown back to Kabul.

Additional reporting: Tim Ripley

Arizona Daily Star (Tucson)
June 3, 2012

33. US Drone In Pakistan Kills 10 Suspected Militants

By Associated Press

An American drone strike in the frontier tribal areas of Pakistan killed 10 suspected militants Sunday, Pakistani officials said as the U.S. pushes ahead with its drone campaign in the face of Pakistani demands to stop.

It was the sixth American drone strike over the last two weeks and emphasized the importance the U.S. government puts on the drone campaign, which it considers to be a vital tool in the war against al-Qaida and the Taliban.

Two Pakistani intelligence officials say four missiles were fired at the village of Mana Raghzai in South Waziristan near the border with Afghanistan on Sunday morning.

At the time of the attack, suspected militants were gathered to offer condolences to the brother of a militant commander killed during another American unmanned drone attack on Saturday. The brother was one of those who died in the Sunday morning attack. The Pakistani officials said two of the dead were foreigners, and the rest were Pakistani.

The American drone campaign has been a source of deep frustration and tension between the U.S. and Pakistan.

Under President Barack Obama, the U.S. stepped up its drone campaign in the Pakistani border areas as a way to combat al-Qaida and Taliban fighters from using Pakistan as a base for attacks against American and NATO forces in Afghanistan. However, the number of drone attacks has eased in recent years.

Secretly, many Pakistani military commanders are believed to support the drone campaign. But among the Pakistani public, where the U.S. is viewed with mistrust, the drone strikes are considered an affront to their sovereignty.

The Pakistani government and parliament has repeatedly asked the U.S. to stop the drone strikes.

The ongoing attacks are also complicating efforts for the U.S. and Pakistan to come to an agreement over reopening the supply routes to NATO and American forces in Afghanistan. American airstrikes inadvertently killed 24 Pakistani soldiers in November, prompting Islamabad to block U.S. and NATO supply lines into Afghanistan.

Pakistan has demanded an apology over the raid and an end to drone strikes against militants along the Afghan border as a precursor to reopening the

supply lines. But the U.S. has shown no intention to ending the attacks.

New York Times
June 3, 2012
Pg. 13

34. Pakistan Acquits Four Men In Times Square Bomb Plot

By Declan Walsh

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan-- A Pakistani court on Saturday acquitted four men accused of assisting Faisal Shahzad, the Taliban-trained militant who tried to explode a car bomb in Times Square two years ago, a lawyer and several relatives said.

Malik Imran Safdar, a lawyer for one of the men, said prosecutors had failed to prove their case against the defendants during a 20-month trial that was conducted partly inside a jail.

"They are feeling so relaxed, so comfortable and so satisfied," he said. "But their families have suffered a lot."

The four men — Muhammad Shouaib Mughal, Shahid Hussain, Humal Akhtar and Faisal Abbasi — were arrested in Pakistan shortly after Mr. Shahzad, a naturalized American citizen of Pakistani origin, tried to detonate an S.U.V. packed with explosives in Times Square on May 1, 2010. The bomb, which did not go off, was deactivated by the police in New York.

Mr. Shahzad, 32, who called himself a "Muslim soldier," pleaded guilty at trial and was sentenced to life imprisonment without parole in October 2010.

Pakistani authorities accused the four men of providing financial and logistical support to Mr. Shahzad, who told the court that before the attack he had traveled to Pakistan's tribal belt for five

days of explosives instruction under the Pakistani Taliban.

Three of the men were indicted in November 2010 by one of Pakistan's antiterrorism courts, which have special powers to try religious and political extremists. All three denied the charges.

The trial has been quietly under way for 20 months but has gone largely unnoticed in the Pakistani news media.

Contacted by telephone, several relatives of the four defendants confirmed their acquittal but were otherwise reluctant to speak.

The men were among 20 people known to Mr. Shahzad who were picked up by Pakistani intelligence after the attacks.

One of them was Salman Ashraf Khan, the co-owner of Hanif Rajput, a well-known catering company in Pakistan where one of the accused worked. Mr. Khan was arrested after the United States Embassy in Islamabad posted a notice on its Web site saying the company might have links to terrorism, but he was later released without being charged.

By Saturday evening, Mr. Safdar said, the men had been released from jail except for Mr. Abbasi, who remained in custody to face charges under a separate case. Mr. Safdar said he was not aware of the details of that case.

"Our justice system is very slow and cumbersome," he said.

The acquittals are unlikely to quiet the sharp criticism of Pakistan's criminal justice system and its failure to prosecute terrorism suspects. Analysts say the police lack basic investigative skills, witnesses are intimidated, and judges often fear violence.

Salman Masood contributed reporting.

June 3, 2012

35. For These Camp Pendleton Contestants, Their Game Is Mud

Weekend athletes run, jump and slither in the World Famous Mud Run, complete with hills, tire obstacles, river crossings and, near the finish, a 30-foot mud pit.

By Tony Perry

CAMP PENDLETON — For football fans, it's the Super Bowl. For followers of horse racing, the Kentucky Derby. Baseball? The World Series.

But for the weekend athlete who likes to run, jump, slither and dog-paddle through mud, it's the World Famous Mud Run at Camp Pendleton, complete with hills, tire obstacles, river crossings, two 5-foot walls, a slushy tunnel, a slippery hill climb and, near the finish line of the 10K course, a 30-foot mud pit.

For the true mudder, it's catnip — and on Saturday, 6,500 runners of various sizes and athletic accomplishments showed up to compete in the first of five races over three weekends. When it's over, 32,500 contestants, 97% of them civilians, will have run, crawled and struggled for bragging rights.

"We're the biggest and we're the best," said event coordinator Christina Chilleme, operations manager with Marine Corps Community Services, the mud run organizer.

Fun in the mud has long been associated with youthful rebellion, but the idea of mud running as a semi-organized sport has exploded in popularity only in recent years.

Organizations such as Tough Mudder, Muddy Buddy and Warrior Dash now host events throughout the U.S., some attempting to out-Ironman the Ironman contests and others geared toward the fun-loving.

A consensus in the mudder community suggests that the Camp Pendleton run, which dates to the early 1990s and has trademarked the name World Famous Mud Run, is the event from which others have sprung.

The contestants came from near and far Saturday morning, each paying \$58. Last year, with three races, Marine Corps Community Services netted \$1.5 million for programs for Marine families; this year, with five races — well, you do the math.

This year's opening race featured more of everything: more contestants, more food booths, more bands, more outdoor showers, more portable toilets, more shuttle buses. And more Marines eager to explain to the civilians what they do for a living — like those stationed beside the M777 howitzers that can direct a shell at a target 18 miles away.

Many of the contestants were individualists, lean as whippets and determined to set a personal best. Others were members of teams, determined to break the finish line in unison and then head to the beer or food booths.

There were corporate teams, neighborhood teams, solo-gender teams, mixed-gender teams and teams made up of people from the same fitness club or school.

There was the "2 Legit 2 Quit" team, using a phrase from rapper MC Hammer or the movie "Hot Rod," take your pick. "The Wild Ones," three seventh-grade girls from Anaheim, were making their first appearance.

The "6:41" team, whose name is based on their habitual lateness to a 6:30 fitness class, was there.

There was also Laura Romero, 42, who wore a bridal dress and veil; her intended, Mark Imhoff, 41, wore a tuxedo

T-shirt with a Styrofoam ball and chain on his leg. The Irvine couple are set to be married July 15.

The wives of Marines from a Special Operations battalion had a team, wearing pink tutus and tops that said: "Spartan Wife."

Where were their husbands? "At home with the kids; it's role reversal," came the joyous response.

The "Slijivo Sisters" team was there. Slijivo is a Serbian plum brandy best downed quickly. The sisters all attend St. Steven's Serbian Orthodox Cathedral in Alhambra.

No one has taken an in-depth sociological look, but organizers are convinced that mud runners are unique from your average dry-land runners attracted to the 5K and 10K races that seem ubiquitous on weekends.

"Mud runners are a different breed," Chilleme said. "They're a little wacky, and their idea of fun is getting down and dirty."

Michael Erickson, 39, a medical supplies salesman from Sacramento, agreed. His team was dressed like rock stars from the 1980s.

"It's dirty and it's noncompetitive," he said. "It's perfect."

Biloxi (MS) Sun Herald
June 3, 2012

36. USS Mississippi Is Placed Into Active Duty In Pascagoula

By Michael Newsome

PASCAGOULA -- The \$2 billion USS Mississippi nuclear submarine was set into active duty today at 11:28 a.m. by Navy secretary Ray Mabus, a former Miss. governor, at the Port of Pascagoula in a public event that drew thousands of spectators and a host of dignitaries.

Gov. Phil Bryant, son of a WWII Navy Veteran, drew a parallel between the resiliency of the people of Mississippi who have rebounded from Hurricane Katrina and other obstacles in recent years to the submarine.

"Mississippi rises each time the water the water goes around us," Bryant said.

The submarine arrived last week to the commissioning site on the west bank of the Pascagoula River. It was commissioned at a highly secure event, for which the public was able to sign up to receive an invitation. U.S. Navy Capt. John McGrath, a native of Neptune N.J., is the Mississippi's commanding officer. He told reporters recently the submarine has performed well so far, easily passing sea trials and other tests. It's combat ready, he said.

"We're very proud to be here and happy to share the commissioning of this great warship with the people of the state of Mississippi," McGrath said.

The commission of the submarine was delayed for 30 minutes today due to traffic congestion.

Washington Post
June 3, 2012
Pg. 4

37. Abroad, Obama Puts Focus On Economic Issues

Critics say events such as the Syrian massacres deserve more attention

By Scott Wilson

One foreign policy crisis this week brought action from President Obama, another only silence.

As Europe's economy teetered, Obama held a video-conference call with the leaders of Germany, France and Italy and dispatched his top Treasury official to the continent in

the hopes of averting a collapse that could carry the American economy down with it. The poor monthly jobs report released Friday underscored the political stakes for Obama in preventing a European collapse, which would drive down demand for U.S. exports.

But in the furious aftermath of a massacre in Syria that resulted in the deaths of 108 civilians, most of them women and children, Obama has remained quiet. The reticence from a president who has made repairing America's moral leadership in the region a central premise of his administration, and who delivered a speech from the heart of the Arab world three years ago designed to do just that, has disturbed those pressing for stronger international response to the crisis.

"There was a time when this president looked for opportunities to put his imprint on world events," said Jon B. Alterman, the Zbigniew Brzezinski Chair in Global Security and Geostrategy at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. "He's doing less and less of that now, and the reason may have to do with the campaign."

Any incumbent president hopes for a quiet world during campaign season to avoid the distractions that can upset a successful reelection effort. That is especially true for Obama, who is making his case for a second term in part on the argument that he has been an effective steward of America abroad, concluding its long wars and rejuvenating its alliances.

Although the election will likely be determined by the health of the American economy in a handful of swing states, both Obama and the presumptive Republican nominee, Mitt Romney, have

begun to describe the management of foreign affairs as a proxy for presidential leadership.

For example, Obama's decision in May to produce a campaign video on the anniversary of the operation that killed Osama bin Laden is the clearest example yet of how he has sought to cite foreign affairs as proof of his effectiveness.

When Obama has addressed issues and crises overseas, he has focused on areas that either improve or help preserve his re-election prospects.

In discussing the euro-zone crisis, he highlights the threat it poses to the U.S. economy. He has urged European leaders, most recently in last week's teleconference call that was a follow-up to the Group of 8 summit at Camp David last month, to take decisive steps to prevent a collapse.

In outlining the end of the war in Afghanistan, he emphasizes the importance of bringing troops home and investing the peace dividend. Polls show that a majority of Americans no longer believe the war is worth fighting.

And in pledging to prevent Iran from developing a nuclear weapon, he describes the need to avert a war with potentially devastating consequences for the oil-rich Middle East, the world economy and an ally with a large political constituency in the United States.

"If during this political season you hear some questions regarding my administration's support for Israel, remember that it's not backed up by the facts," Obama told the American Israel Public Affairs Committee in March. "And remember that the U.S.-Israel relationship is simply too important to be distorted by partisan politics."

In other areas, some arguably just as urgent, he has been far less visible. Led by the nascent civil war in Syria, those issues carry more political peril than benefit for Obama.

He has not spoken for months about the moribund Israeli-Palestinian peace process he pledged to revive or on the election in Egypt where a candidate from the Muslim Brotherhood, an Islamist movement, will face a former ally of ousted president Hosni Mubarak for the presidency.

He has also said little publicly about the rising violence in Yemen, a new focus of the U.S. counter-terrorism effort, or on Sudan, where fighting along the border with South Sudan threatens a successful independence drive that Obama helped promote.

High-profile presidential involvement in those areas could have the adverse effect of highlighting his inability to resolve problems. As White House Press Secretary Jay Carney noted last week, "There is no question that as mighty as the United States is, that we cannot end all atrocities around the globe."

As the violence in Syria has spiked in recent weeks, Obama has mentioned the situation only in passing, most extensively before a May 19 meeting of the G8. He said the leaders are "deeply concerned about the violence that's taking place there and the loss of life."

But Syria was barely discussed days later when Obama attended the NATO summit in Chicago, where alliance leaders ruled out military intervention in Syria, even as they celebrated the Libya operation of a year ago.

During the teleconference last week, Obama and European leaders spoke about Syria, according to a White House

statement. But deputy press secretary Josh Earnest told reporters Friday that "the bulk of the call was devoted to the euro-zone challenges."

So far, Obama has also ruled out arming Syria's opposition, arguing that doing so would only inflame an already volatile situation. He has helped organize strict economic sanctions against the Syrian government — and created some new ones of his own targeting those who use technology to carry out mass killings.

By contrast, Romney has called for working with "partners to arm the opposition so they can defend themselves."

"President Obama's lack of leadership has resulted in a policy of paralysis that has watched [Syrian President Bashar al-] Assad slaughter 10,000 individuals," Romney said in a statement last week.

Obama continues to hold out hope that a plan put forward by former U.N. secretary general Kofi Annan will stop the fighting and start a political transition that would usher Assad out.

"It horrifies him," Carney told reporters this week, adding that Obama, while "taking into account that kind of suffering," also "has to make practical judgments about what steps we can take, both acting alone and in concert with partners, to bring about the result that we want."

Obama has left some of the public pronouncements on Syria to his senior advisers.

U.N. Ambassador Susan Rice and Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton have both spoken out against the violence in recent days, and both have blamed Russia for hampering international action against the Assad government.

It was also Clinton, not Obama, who issued a statement

condemning the May 25 killing of 108 civilians in the town of Houla. The administration expelled Syria's senior diplomat in Washington following the massacre but the mass killings have continued.

Romney, a former Massachusetts governor, has no foreign policy experience. But his advisers say they intend to offer a broad critique of Obama's record abroad, and the candidate has done so in television interviews and through press releases.

Romney has yet to offer a detailed address on the subject this year. His advisers indicated a few months ago that he intended to deliver one by the end of May, but campaign officials said this week that he has yet to schedule one.

Obama last delivered a wide-ranging address on America's place in the world last fall at the U.N. General Assembly, an annual event.

His advisers say he has also given substantive speeches on the U.S. shift toward Asia during a trip to the region late last year, traveled to South Korea in March, where he spoke about nuclear security and Korean unification, and delivered an important address on food security before the G8 summit last month that was praised by many in the development field.

None of those public remarks held obvious political benefits.

But on his April trip to Colombia, where he attended a regional summit, he brought together foreign policy and domestic politics by promoting U.S. exports and their impact on creating of American jobs.

His last foreign trip before the November election is scheduled for later this month — a visit to Mexico for the G20 summit, where again the economy will be the chief focus.

"That's what he is going to be elected on — not whether we are exporting democracy or carrying out nation building successfully," said Marina Ottaway, a senior associate at the Middle East Program of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

She said it is "too risky before the election" for Obama to support military intervention in Syria, and that other parts of the world remain too unpredictable to feature in a campaign.

"What is he going to say about Yemen? That it is a great success? It is not a great success," she said, citing that case as an example of the ambiguous results the Arab Spring has so far yielded. "That's what leads to these strange silences that you are noticing from the president."

London Sunday Times

June 3, 2012

Pg. 15

38. Drone One Force

Obama was elected to end wars, but to defeat Al-Qaeda he has deployed a squadron of silent killers, writes Christina Lamb

President Barack Obama welcomed George W Bush back to the White House on Thursday for the unveiling of his predecessor's official portrait. Bush joked that in a crisis Obama could look at the painting and ask, "What would George do?" Obama had a more serious message. Nobody could appreciate the difficulties of being president until they sat in the chair, he said. "In this job no decision that reaches your desk is easy. No choice you make is without costs."

Usually the hardest decision for a president is to send troops into war. But Bush and Obama share a rare bond: deciding who will die in

countries with which the US is not at war.

Decision days are known as Terror Tuesdays. Obama sits in the black swivel chair at his desk in the Oval Office with John Brennan, his counterterrorism czar, and General Martin Dempsey, his chief military adviser, and scrutinises photographs and sketchy biographies one official refers to with macabre humour as the "J Crew catalogue of jihad".

Together they select who will be the next target of unmanned drones 7,000 miles away in the mountains of Pakistan, the deserts of Yemen or the streets of Somalia. Once Obama approves a killing, instructions are transmitted to an office block in northern Virginia. Inside are computer monitors, keyboards and maps. A person who looks like an office worker sits at a desk with a hand on a joystick and watches a live feed from a drone hovering over the tribal areas of Pakistan. When he sees figures entering a vehicle, he presses the button and an explosion fills the screen. It might look like a video game but in the real world the button has launched a 5ft Hellfire missile at 1,000mph.

Unless the person killed is a top target with a recognisable name, no information is released. This is a CIA operation that officially did not exist until the president confirmed the programme in an online chat in February.

The greatest impact the drones have had in the US is through the television thriller *Homeland*, starring Damian Lewis as a marine captured by Al-Qaeda who becomes radicalised when a CIA drone kills scores of civilians, including a child he had grown close to. But controversy is growing about the extent to

which Obama has ramped up the programme.

AFTER lunch in Virginia on May 21, 2010, missiles slammed into houses in the mountain village of Mohammed Khel in North Waziristan where it was about midnight.

To the CIA it was a success. Six militants were killed including the main target, Al-Qaeda's chief finance official, Mustafa Abu al-Yazid — aka Saeed al-Masri. But two women and three children also died, one of them a 10-year-old girl named Fatima, about the same age as Obama's younger daughter. A local journalist went to the hospital and took a photograph of Fatima shortly before she died, then returned to the scene of the explosions where he found fragments of a US-made Hellfire missile.

The image of Obama personally signing off on attacks such as the one that killed Fatima raises questions. Not only is he a devoted father but he campaigned as the anti-George Bush, opposed the war in Iraq and pledged to close Guantanamo Bay, end rendition and bring terrorists to trial in civilian instead of military courts. So lofty was his rhetoric that Obama was awarded the Nobel peace prize in his first year in office.

Yet within days of his inauguration, on January 20, 2009, Obama was using the killing machine he inherited from Bush. On January 23, missiles hit a roomful of what the CIA call "people of interest" in the village of Karez Kot. They were the wrong people: 19 civilians died, including four children.

Until now it had been thought Obama was initially unaware of the civilian deaths. But a new book, *Kill or Capture* by Daniel Klaidman, reveals that Obama knew within hours. Klaidman quotes an anonymous

participant at a subsequent meeting with the president: "You could tell from his body language that he was not a happy man."

Yet the strikes continued and the programme expanded. From 2004 to 2008, Bush authorised 42 drone strikes, all in Pakistan, according to the New America Foundation, which catalogues them. Obama has authorised more than 300, sometimes up to three a week.

Beyond the battlefields of Afghanistan, Libya and Iraq, US drones have been used to target suspected militants and terrorists in Pakistan, Yemen and Somalia, as well as to conduct surveillance over Colombia, Mexico, North Korea, the Philippines, Turkey and Iran. There is a network of bases in at least 12 locations on three continents from Jalalabad to Djibouti to the Seychelles. Yet the programme has never been approved by Congress and there has been remarkably little debate about it. How did Obama grow to embrace this deadly form of mechanised technology?

Partly it was due to frustration with Pakistan, which has refused to close havens for Islamist militants. The vast majority of the 314 drone strikes believed to have been personally authorised by Obama occurred there; strikes in warzones such as Afghanistan can be authorised by the military. Conveniently, the tribal areas are off limits to reporters so graphic reports of civilian deaths are rare. For the Obama administration, drones have been a vital tool in eviscerating Al-Qaeda. The letters of Osama Bin Laden, captured in Abbottabad, warned operatives to travel only on cloudy days.

Most of the estimated 2,000 to 3,000 suspected militants or terrorists killed by the US

outside the battlefield have died via drone strikes. They were chosen by a sort of Grim Reaper debating society.

According to a report in *The New York Times*: "Every week or so, more than 100 members of the government's sprawling national security apparatus gather, by secure video teleconference, to pore over terrorist suspects' biographies and recommend to the president who should be the next to die."

CIA lawyers then write a cable asserting that that person poses a grave threat to the United States. These are legalistic and carefully argued, often running up to five pages. Once approved the CIA general counsel signs "concurred" in a box and they go to the president for his final say.

Reverend Alvin Love, a Chicago preacher and friend of Obama's, says the president has never specifically mentioned drones but has told him some parts of his job weigh heavily on him. "If a decision like that has to be made he'd rather be the one to make it," he said. "He wouldn't push the responsibility on someone else."

How many killings will be enough? Obama's former chief of staff, William Daley, told *The New York Times* that the president and his advisers understood they could not keep adding names to a kill list, from ever lower in Al-Qaeda's ranks: "At what point are you just filling the bucket with numbers?"

Obama has also approved "signature" strikes targeting training camps and suspicious compounds in areas controlled by militants from Pakistan to Yemen. Critics say the target criteria are not stringent enough. Pointing out that men loading a truck with fertiliser could be bomb-makers but could also be farmers, one State

Department official told the newspaper that "when the CIA sees three guys doing jumping jacks, the agency thinks it is a terrorist training camp".

One attack killed 42 people in North Waziristan on March 17 last year, the day after Pakistan released Raymond Davis, an American CIA contractor jailed for killing two motorcyclists in Lahore. He was freed after payment of blood money said to be about \$2.3m. Pakistani officials believed the attack was retaliation.

Brigadier Abdullah Dogar, who commanded Pakistani forces in the area, said: "I was sitting there where our friends say they were targeting terrorists and I know they were innocent people."

The strikes hit a tribal meeting to resolve the disputed ownership of local mines, he said. "It was held in broad daylight, people were sitting out in [the] bus depot when the missile strikes came. Maybe there were one or two Taliban — they have their people attending — but does that justify a drone strike which kills 42 mostly innocent people?" "Drones may make tactical gains," he added, "but I don't see how there's any strategic advantage. When innocent people die, then you're creating a whole lot more people with an issue."

Gregory Johnsen, an expert on Yemen at Princeton University, believes drones have served as a recruiting tool for Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), which has tripled its membership to more than 1,000 since attacks started there in 2009. "Mistakes made by the US killing innocent women and children has led to a significant recruiting boom — AQAP use the pictures of shattered women and kids to stir up anger," he said. Brennan, the president's counterterrorism

czar, argues that the US has the right to strike terrorists anywhere in the world. "The United States takes the legal position that ... we have the authority to take action against Al-Qaeda and its associated forces," he said last year.

Some international law experts disagree, asking how the US would react if another state, such as China or Russia, took similar action.

Drone use is likely to spread as ground troops leave Afghanistan and the US relies more on covert air action. The Congressional Research Service says the military's cache of unmanned aerial vehicles has grown from just 10 in 2001 to more than 7,000. These range from missile-launching Predators and the larger Reapers to tiny prototypes shaped like hummingbirds.

Some senior military staff are unhappy that the CIA has its own fleet.

"If we have a CIA drone programme that operates on the premise that the president can tell anyone to pull the trigger and kill someone anywhere at any time, then have we not undermined the Geneva conventions and the whole rationale behind international humanitarian law?" asks Colonel Morris Davis, former chief prosecutor at Guantanamo.

"Why have a military and the rules that go with it when the president can just pick and choose when and where the law applies?" Yet Obama seems eerily reconciled. At a White House correspondents' dinner two years ago, he noted that in the audience were the Jonas Brothers — an American boy band. "Sasha and Malia [Obama's daughters] are huge fans," he said, "but boys, don't get any ideas. Two words for you: Predator drones. You will never see it coming."

Assassinated by drone

August 2009 Baitullah Mehsud Pakistan The head of the Pakistani Taliban, Mehsud was reported to command a 20,000-strong army of militants. He was killed in a missile strike on a farmhouse

May 2010 Mustafa Abu al-Yazid Pakistan A founding member of al-Qaeda, and third-incommand.

He is thought to have helped finance the 9/11 attacks and was killed in a night-time missile strike

August 2011 Atiyah Abd al-Rahman Pakistan Appointed second-incommand of al-Qaeda after Osama bin Laden's death, but was killed shortly afterwards with three others in a drone attack

September 2011 Anwar al-Awlaki Yemen An extremist preacher who inspired several attacks, including the plot to blow up a plane with a bomb concealed in underpants. Killed by a squadron of four drones

May 2012 Fahd al-Quso Yemen An al-Qaeda leader who had a role in the bombing of the USS Cole warship which killed 17 American sailors in 2000. Killed by a drone-fired missile as he stepped out of his vehicle

Remote control

1 CIA HQ Langley Intelligence from spies is used to compile a list of terrorist targets that should be killed or captured

2 The White House On 'Terror Tuesdays', President Obama is presented with the list, which includes pictures of potential targets and a biography. He personally approves or rejects each one

3 Local intelligence Missions to attack selected targets are planned out

4 Local airfield A ground crew launches the Predator drones using a remote control

5 CIA control room Once the drone is airborne, control

switches to Langley. When the target has been located, final approval is given to strike

6 Target locked The drone's operator, sitting in an air-conditioned office, sends the command to fire one or more Hellfire missiles

All the president's drones

MQ-1 Predator Length 27ft Wingspan 55ft Range 770 miles Cruise speed 84mph Weapons Two Hellfire missiles

MQ-9 Reaper Length 36ft Wingspan 66ft Range 1,150 miles Cruise speed 230mph Weapons Four Hellfire missiles and two bombs

RQ-170 Sentinel* Length 15ft Wingspan 85ft Range More than 550 miles Cruise speed 400mph Weapons None

*Estimated statistics

New York Times

June 3, 2012

Pg. 6

39. In Timbuktu, Harsh Change Under Islamists

By Adam Nossiter

BAMAKO, Mali--Isolated for centuries by the harsh desert that surrounds it, Timbuktu now finds itself even more cut off from the rest of the world.

Rebels who captured the city in northern Mali in April have imposed a form of hard-edged Islamic rule, prompting many residents to flee in fear and changing the face of what had been a tolerant and easygoing destination that drew tourists from around the world.

Women are now forced to wear full, face-covering veils. Music is banned from the radio. Cigarettes are snatched from the mouths of pedestrians. And the look of the ancient mud-brick town is changing. A centuries-old monument, the shrine of a 15th-century saint, has been defaced; bars have been demolished; and black flags have been hung around town to honor Ansar Dine,

or Defenders of the Faith, the radical Islamist movement that emerged from the desert and turned life upside down.

"There is no liberty," said Abdoulaye Ahmed, a tailor who fled Timbuktu and came to Mali's capital last week. He added that the Islamist rebels "are constantly circulating with their guns. This is scaring people. The town is sinister."

The situation is said to be especially troubling for women in Timbuktu. "Women are living in terrible fear," said Baba Aicha Kalil, a well-known civic activist who is still living in the town, which once had a population of more than 50,000 but has experienced a significant exodus since the rebels moved in.

"They want to put a veil on everything," Mrs. Kalil said, reached over a crackly telephone line from Timbuktu, which is about 440 miles northeast of Bamako, at the edge of the Sahara. "They are everywhere, everywhere with their guns."

All of northern Mali, an area the size of France, has been in the hands of a loose coalition of Islamists and nomadic Tuareg rebels since late March, when resistance by the Malian Army collapsed after a coup d'état by junior military officers in the capital.

Since the takeover, however, the Islamists of Ansar Dine, supported by Al Qaeda, have gained the upper hand over the Tuaregs, and they are aggressively promoting their brand of Islamic law, or Shariah.

Black billboards with Koranic inscriptions have replaced advertisements, residents said. Leading figures in the regional Qaeda affiliate, Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, have also been spotted there.

A Swiss missionary who was among the last Westerners in Timbuktu was kidnapped in April by gunmen said to have been acting under the orders of the Qaeda faction. She was later released, after negotiations.

The area is not considered safe for Westerners, and Western journalists have not been there since the Islamist takeover. The Qaeda offshoot has taken in tens of millions of dollars in ransom payments from Western governments over the last decade, and it was still holding over a dozen hostages in the desert, those with knowledge of the region said.

Mrs. Kalil said that when the Islamists encountered young people of the opposite sex together, they forced them to marry on the spot.

"We don't want the Shariah here," she said. "Truly we are living in misery. Personally, I am deeply concerned."

Alpha Sane Haïdara, a farmer with deep ties to the region, said: "They have brought the population to heel through terror. I've seen them beat up youth watching television in the street."

Restrictions range from the petty to the serious. In the northern town of Gao, Ansar Dine followers defaced the ear of a woman for wearing a short skirt and flogged men who drank alcohol and were accused of petty theft, Human Rights Watch reported.

Mahaman Alidji Touré, a history teacher at a leading school in Timbuktu, said in a telephone interview, "They've told us our trousers can't descend to our ankles." He added, "If they find you with a cigarette, they will take you directly to the Islamic police."

A spokesman for Ansar Dine in Timbuktu angrily rejected the picture drawn by residents and said that if people

were fleeing the town, it was because they feared the United States might bomb the Islamists who now controlled it.

"We have bad memories of you because of Falluja and Afghanistan," the spokesman, Sanda Ould Boumana, said by telephone. "You are not well placed to talk about liberty, when we see what is happening in Guantánamo, Iraq and Palestine."

Mr. Boumana added that "when you accept that there is Islam, you have to accept that there is Shariah." He said that "if Shariah obliges us to cover women, we are obliged to apply it," adding, "We have not chosen you as judge."

Al Qaeda "are our Islamic brothers," Mr. Boumana said.

Ever since the coup, Mali, a nation of 14 million that until recently was considered a democratic model in Africa, has been in administrative chaos, with a power vacuum in the south and a would-be breakaway state in the north. Two weeks ago, the junta's leader, Capt. Amadou Sanogo, promised to step down, lured by a lucrative deal brokered by Ecowas, a regional alliance of West African states.

But the disarray here in the capital was underscored two weeks ago when the interim president, Dioncounda Traoré, was severely beaten by pro-junta activists. He was sent to Paris for treatment, and had not returned.

In a recent report, Human Rights Watch documented a large number of rapes and other abuses immediately after the Tuareg takeover, by armed men speaking the Tuareg language and driving cars with the flag of the Tuareg rebel movement, which is known as the M.N.L.A. Among the disturbing accounts, a 14-year-old girl in Gao described being abducted from

her home and repeatedly gang-raped by M.N.L.A. rebels.

Although the M.N.L.A. is still present in the principal northern towns, Timbuktu, Gao and Kidal — and has thoroughly looted the former offices of the Mali government in Timbuktu, down to the air-conditioners, according to residents — it is Ansar Dine, led by a former Tuareg military commander named Iyad Ag Ghaly, that is aggressively promoting its brand of Shariah and exercising most authority.

Mr. Boumana, the Ansar Dine spokesman, said that the Islamists were now "negotiating" with the M.N.L.A. over power sharing, and that Ansar Dine did not reject the rebel group's notion of an independent state in northern Mali, which it calls Azawad, "as long as there is total application of Shariah."

But he quickly dismissed the idea that Ansar Dine might retreat or give up control of Timbuktu. "It is not our preoccupation that other states accept us," Mr. Boumana said. And in any event, there is no military threat to the northern rebels' supremacy.

The Malian Army, weak and fragmented after the coup, is in no position to take on the rebels and Ansar Dine, diplomats in the capital said. The United Nations said that more than 160,000 Malians have fled to the neighboring countries of Mauritania, Burkina Faso and Niger, with many living in refugee camps, and that more than 140,000 were displaced in Mali itself.

In the meantime, residents say that Timbuktu has taken on the air of a ghost town.

Most stores have closed, and streets are deserted. With banks also shuttered, money is running out. The traditional evening gatherings of young

men who drink tea and chat on doorsteps have dispersed.

Mr. Haïdara, the farmer, encountered at a cafe in Bamako, was nonetheless preparing to head back to Timbuktu. "It's my city," he said, "and it's my land."

Washington Post
June 3, 2012

Pg. 2

40. Clinton Urges Cooperation In Resource-Rich Arctic

By Bradley Klapper,
Associated Press

TROMSO, Norway--U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton on Saturday ventured north of the Arctic Circle and urged international cooperation in a region that could become a new battleground for natural resources.

On her trip to the northern Norwegian city of Tromso, she conveyed that message of working together in one of the world's last frontiers of unexplored oil, gas and mineral deposits. The region is becoming more significant as melting ice caps accelerate the opening of new shipping routes, fishing stocks and drilling opportunities.

To safely tap the riches, the United States and other countries are trying to cooperate to combat harmful climate change, settle territorial disputes and prevent oil spills.

"The world increasingly looks to the North," Clinton told reporters after a two-hour boat tour of the nearby Balsfjord and meeting with Arctic scientists. "Our goal is certainly to promote peaceful cooperation," she said, adding that the United States was "committed to promoting responsible management of resources and doing all we can

to prevent and mitigate the effects of climate change."

At the least, the United States and the other Arctic nations hope to avoid a confrontational race for resources. Officials say the picture looks more promising than five years ago, when Russia staked its claim in the Arctic and its \$9 trillion in estimated oil reserves by planting a titanium flag on the ocean floor. The United States does not recognize the Russian assertion and has its own claims, along with Denmark, Norway and Canada, while companies from Exxon Mobil to Royal Dutch Shell want to get in on the action. China also is keeping an eye on the region.

Moscow eased tensions somewhat by promising to press any claims through an agreed U.N. process. But Washington has yet to ratify the 1982 Law of the Sea treaty regulating the ocean's use for military, transportation and mineral extraction purposes.

With 160 countries signed on, the Obama administration is making a new push for Senate approval. Refusal puts the United States at risk of getting frozen out of its share of resources.

At a recent Senate hearing, Clinton said the treaty would offer oil and gas rights about 600 miles into the Arctic, and U.S. companies were "equipped and ready to engage in deep seabed mining," pending approval of the treaty.

On Saturday, in the eight-nation Arctic Council's home city, she stressed that the international agreement "sets down the rules of the road that protect freedom of navigation and provides maritime security, serving the interest of every nation that relies on sea lanes for commerce and trade."

Washington Post

June 3, 2012

Pg. 1

Zero Day: The threat in Cyberspace

41. Cyberspace The Fragile Frontier

Recent revelations about the Stuxnet and Flame attacks show that threats in the digital universe are becoming more urgent. To defend themselves, everyone must now decipher one of the most mystifying places on Earth.

By Robert O'Harrow Jr.

Charlie Miller prepared his cyberattack in a bedroom office at his Midwestern suburban home.

Brilliant and boyish-looking, Miller has a PhD in math from the University of Notre Dame and spent five years at the National Security Agency, where he secretly hacked into foreign computer systems for the U.S. government. Now, he was turning his attention to the Apple iPhone.

At just 5 ounces and 4 1/2 inches long, the iPhone is an elegant computing powerhouse. Its microscopic transistors and millions of lines of code enable owners to make calls, send e-mail, take photos, listen to music, play games and conduct business, almost simultaneously. Nearly 200 million iPhones have been sold around the world.

The idea of a former cyberwarrior using his talents to hack a wildly popular consumer device might seem like a lark. But his campaign, aimed at winning a little-known hacker contest last year, points to a paradox of our digital age. The same code that unleashed a communications revolution has also created profound vulnerabilities for societies that depend on code for national security and economic survival.

Miller's iPhone offensive showed how anything

connected to networks these days can be a target.

He began by connecting his computer to another laptop holding the same software used by the iPhone. Then he typed a command to launch a program that randomly changed data in a file being processed by the software.

The alteration might be as mundane as inserting 58 for F0 in a string of data such as "0F 00 04 F0." His plan was to constantly launch such random changes, cause the software to crash, then figure out why the substitutions triggered a problem. A software flaw could open a door and let him inside.

"I know I can do it," Miller, now a cybersecurity consultant, told himself. "I can hack anything."

After weeks of searching, he found what he was looking for: a "zero day," a vulnerability in the software that has never been made public and for which there is no known fix.

The door was open, and Miller was about to walk through.

Holes in the system

The words "zero day" strike fear in military, intelligence and corporate leaders. The term is used by hackers and security specialists to describe a flaw discovered for the first time by a hacker that can be exploited to break into a system.

In recent years, there has been one stunning revelation after the next about how such unknown vulnerabilities were used to break into systems that were assumed to be secure.

One came in 2009, targeting Google, Northrop Grumman, Dow Chemical and hundreds of other firms. Hackers from China took advantage of a flaw in Microsoft's Internet Explorer browser and used it to penetrate the targeted computer systems.

Over several months, the hackers siphoned off oceans of data, including the source code that runs Google's systems.

Another attack last year took aim at cybersecurity giant RSA, which protects most of the Fortune 500 companies. That vulnerability involved Microsoft Excel, a spreadsheet program. The outcome was the same: A zero-day exploit enabled hackers to secretly infiltrate RSA's computers and crack the security it sold. The firm had to pay \$66 million in the following months to remediate client problems.

The most sensational zero-day attack became public in the summer of 2010. It occurred at Iran's nuclear processing facility in Natanz. Known as Stuxnet, the attack involved a computer "worm" — a kind of code designed to move throughout the Internet while replicating itself. Last week, the New York Times reported that President Obama had approved the operation as part of a secret U.S.-Israeli cyberwar campaign against Iran begun under the Bush administration.

Among other things, the worm was built to infect thumb drives. Investigators think that when one of the infected drives was inserted into a computer at the Natanz plant, its code quickly found its target: It made hundreds of centrifuges designed to refine uranium run too fast and self-destruct, while sending signals to monitors that all was well.

To complete its mission, the Stuxnet worm relied on four zero days.

Just days ago, researchers released information about Flame, another cyberattack. It appears to be designed as a massive espionage and surveillance tool, also aimed at Iran, that can steal data and listen in on phone calls.

Some researchers believe it exploits zero-day vulnerabilities similar to those in Stuxnet.

The vastness of cyberspace

Miller and his kind are masters of code. At a fundamental level, there is almost nothing simpler than the stuff of their obsessions. There is software, which is written computer language. Computers transform software into machine code, which is simply 0's and 1's. Those "binary digits," or bits, organized in trillions of combinations, serve as both the DNA and digital blood of our modern electronic world.

Bits guide the electrical impulses that tell the world's computers what to do. They enable the seemingly magical applications that computer and smartphone users take for granted. Bits have also given life to the most dynamic man-made environment on Earth: cyberspace.

Not too long ago, "cyberspace" was pure fiction. The word appeared in "Neuromancer," a 1984 novel that described a digital realm in which people, properly jacked in, could navigate with their minds. Author William Gibson described it as a "consensual hallucination experienced daily by billions of legitimate operators."

Now cyberspace is a vital reality that includes billions of people, computers and machines. Almost anything that relies on code and has a link to a network could be a part of cyberspace. That includes smartphones, such as the iPhone and devices running Android, home computers and, of course, the Internet. Growing numbers of other kinds of machines and "smart" devices are also linked in: security cameras, elevators and CT scan

machines; global positioning systems and satellites; jet fighters and global banking networks; commuter trains and the computers that control power grids and water systems.

So much of the world's activity takes place in cyberspace — including military communications and operations — that the Pentagon last year declared it a domain of war.

All of it is shot through with zero days.

"We have built our future upon a capability that we have not learned how to protect," former CIA director George J. Tenet has said.

Researchers and hackers, the good guys and bad, are racing to understand the fundamental nature of cyberspace. For clues about how to improve security — or to mount better attacks — they have turned to physics, mathematics, economics and even agriculture. Some researchers consider cyberspace akin to an organism, its security analogous to a public health issue.

One of the things they know for sure is that the problem begins with code and involves what "Neuromancer" described as the "unthinkable complexity" of humans and machines interacting online.

"The truth is that the cyber-universe is complex well beyond anyone's understanding and exhibits behavior that no one predicted, and sometimes can't even be explained well," concluded JASON, an independent advisory group of the nation's top scientists, in a November 2010 report to the Pentagon. "Our current security approaches have had limited success and have become an arms race with our adversaries."

Hacker life

To picture the scale of cyberspace and the scope of the

cybersecurity problem, think of the flow of electronic data around the world as filaments of light. Those virtual threads form a vast, brilliant cocoon around the globe.

The electronic impulses that carry the data move at lightning speed. A round-trip between Washington and Beijing online typically occurs in less time than it takes for a major leaguer's fastball to cross home plate. Blink, and you miss it.

It almost doesn't matter where hackers work. In the physics governing cyberspace, hackers, terrorists and cyberwarriors can operate virtually next door to regular people browsing the World Wide Web or sending e-mails or phone texts.

Charlie Miller works in suburban St. Louis, in a room that has a small desk, a laptop, a large monitor and power cords that snake across the floor. A wooden bookshelf holds technical manuals alongside his kids' plastic toys and stuffed animals.

The main clue about what he does for a living is a wall poster for the movie "Hackers." "Their Crime Is Curiosity," it says.

The 39-year-old Miller is regarded by some as among the best hackers in the world, but he does not fit the stereotype of an alienated outsider. For starters, he is one of the good guys, a white-hat hacker. He is a security consultant, and he hunts zero days as a hobby. A father of two, trim and balding, he is deceptively modest about his special talents. But his résumé entry about his NSA experience speaks volumes:

"Performed computer network scanning and reconnaissance. Identified weaknesses and vulnerabilities in computer networks. Executed numerous computer

network exploitations against foreign targets."

Apple would not be happy about his plan to attack the iPhone. Like other technology companies, Apple does not want questions about security to taint its products. The company has a well-deserved reputation for developing strong software systems. (Apple officials declined to comment for this article.)

But Miller wasn't being malicious. He wanted to have fun, prove that it could be done and let the attack serve as a warning about the insecurity of the networked world.

Most of all, he wanted to win a prestigious annual contest where hackers convene to show off the skills that they generally keep to themselves. To win the contest, known as "Pwn2Own," Miller had to discover a zero day and exploit it. (Pwn is hacker lingo for taking control of a computer.)

If he won, he would receive \$15,000, the device he had pwned and a white blazer (modeled on the green jacket worn by winners of the Masters golf tournament). He had won the prize before for hacking Apple products, but it was getting harder.

As he settled into a large black swivel chair in his office, Miller knew he had a challenge on his hands. He did not doubt whether he would find a flaw. He only wondered how bad it would be.

Cracking the iPhone

In December 2010, Miller reached out to a friend and security colleague, Dionysus Blazakis.

Blazakis, 30, started hacking in 1994 and has been breaking code ever since. But instead of breaking the law, he decided to become a software developer. He and Miller worked for the same computer security

firm in Baltimore, Independent Security Evaluators. He's also a zero-day hunter.

In instant chat messages, the two bantered about the technical details of the iPhone's software. Like hackers everywhere, they wanted to find the easiest route to a vulnerability that would let them take control. Unlike most hackers, they had a deadline: The contest began on March 9, 2011.

"Where do you start? ... What do you focus on?" Miller recalled asking himself. "The hard part is figuring out the soft part to go after."

Reading through all the software instructions was out of the question. That might have worked two decades ago, when computer systems were simpler and the Web was still a novelty. A desktop computer then might have a million lines of software. Today, the software in a desktop computer could have 80 million lines or more. Finding the zero days by hand would be like searching a beach for a grain of sand of a particular shade of tan.

Miller and Blazakis decided to rely on a hacker technique known as "fuzzing" — inserting random data into applications and trying to force them to crash.

Making systems crash is easier than it might seem. Software programs are miracles of human ingenuity, veritable cathedrals made of letters and digits. But unlike Notre Dame in Paris or the Duomo in Milan — which took lifetimes to build and remain sturdy to this day — digital architecture is constantly evolving and can be made to crumble with the right push at the wrong spot.

Miller attributes that fragility to companies that place sales and novel applications over computer security.

"Companies want to make money," he said. "They don't

want to sit around and make their software perfect.”

Many of those vulnerabilities are related to errors in code designed to parse, or sort through, data files sent over the Internet. A typical computer has hundreds of parser codes in its operating system. One good example is an image parser. It identifies the information that makes up a digital photo, processes it and then sends the file to the part of the machine designed to display the image.

Hackers will insert corrupted data in the photo's code to disrupt the parser software, cause it to crash and open the way for it to be hijacked.

“If an application has never been fuzzed, any form of fuzzing is likely to find bugs,” Microsoft researchers said in a recent paper on the use of fuzzing to improve security.

No human being fuzzing by hand could cause a sufficient number of crashes to routinely allow a hacker to identify a zero day. So Miller and others write programs to do it. Miller's fuzzing program enables him to connect to a variety of computers and keep track of thousands of crashes, including where in the software the crash took place.

“99.999 percent of the time, nothing bad happens,” Miller explained. “But I do it a billion times, and it happens enough times it's interesting.”

The heart of his program is a function that randomly substitutes data in a targeted software program. He called the 200 lines of code that make up this function his “special sauce.”

To begin his iPhone hack, he took four Apple computers, one a laptop borrowed from his wife, and connected them to another computer holding the iPhone's software, the entire

amalgamation spread over the benchlike desks of his home office. The homey set-up, complete with an overstuffed bookcase crowned by a bowling pin, looked like the lair of a graduate student pursuing a science project.

Miller ran the mini-network 24 hours a day for weeks. One machine served as the quarterback, launching and coordinating the fuzz attacks, tracking the crashes and collecting the details. Before 7 most mornings, he woke up, went into the office, signed into the quarterback computer and checked on the progress, like a kid hoping for snow.

He was on the lookout in particular for failures that involved computer memory management — a serious flaw that could offer the way in.

“The memory manager keeps track of where things are, where new things should go, et cetera,” Miller recalled. “If a program crashes in the memory manager, it means the computer is confused about what things are located where. This is pretty serious, because it means it is in a state where it might be persuaded to think my data is something it thinks is entirely something else.”

For now, most of the crashes were trivial. February was approaching, and time was short. Miller and Blazakis still did not have their zero day.

The hunt for flaws

Zero days have become the stuff of digital legend. In the 1996 science-

fiction movie “Independence Day,” characters played by Will Smith and Jeff Goldblum launched a “virus” that took advantage of a zero-day vulnerability, crashed the computer system of an alien mothership and saved the world.

But they have always been more than just science fiction.

For decades, hackers and security specialists have known about the existence of zero days. And as software proliferated, along with computers and networks, so have zero days. The researchers who found them often had no incentive to share their finds with the affected companies. Sometimes the researchers simply released the vulnerabilities publicly on the Internet to warn the public at large.

Government agencies that secretly engaged in hacking operations, along with some affected software makers, bought information on zero days from a thriving gray market, according to interviews with hackers and security specialists.

In 2005, a security firm called TippingPoint began offering bounties to researchers. Executives of the Austin-based firm reasoned that they could learn much for their own use while spurring the industry to fix threats by creating a master list. They called their effort the Zero Day Initiative.

Since then, more than 1,600 researchers have been paid for reporting almost 5,000 zero days. Starting at hundreds of dollars, the bounties soar into the tens of thousands. A hacker in Shanghai named Wu Shi has earned close to \$300,000 for reporting more than 100 flaws in Web browsers.

The system seemed ideal, except for one thing: The software makers often failed to heed the warnings. Some vulnerabilities remained for two years or more.

In 2007, TippingPoint, now owned by Hewlett-Packard, decided to underscore the problem by holding a high-profile event. The Pwn2Own contest would require hackers to not only find zero days but to put them into action in what is known as an “exploit” or attack.

Getting closer

On Jan. 24, 2011, Miller and Blazakis saw a glimmer of hope. An especially promising crash appeared ripe for exploitation.

“Figuring out what to look at,” Miller wrote to his partner, “so we're ready to rock.”

They had found it inside the part of the browser software that enables iPhone users to view PowerPoint presentations. It involved portions of the file that stored information about the location and size of shapes, such as a circle, square or triangle that would appear on a page of a presentation.

“Really, it was just bytes in a file. It just happened that it had something to do with a shape. We didn't really care,” Miller said later. “As long as it was doing something wrong with the data.”

This could be their zero day, but more testing was required to see if they could exploit it.

Both men dived back into the technical details of the iPhone's PowerPoint software. It was hard labor, even for highly skilled hackers. Blazakis stopped shaving and grew a “hacker's beard.” He put in 18-hour days as he tried to reverse engineer the PowerPoint application in order to take control of it without causing too much disruption.

Bit by bit, they began mastering the layout of the PowerPoint software. They developed an understanding of it that rivaled those who designed it.

Finally, they found a way to insert their malicious code into the application and take control of a part of the iPhone.

“I think it's under control now,” Miller wrote during an instant-message exchange on Jan. 27. “Sweet.”

Now they had to complete the exploit by figuring out a

way to insert that code into an iPhone and ensuring that they could consistently hijack the device. Unlike the movies, where hackers are portrayed as breaking into computers as if they were cracking into digital safes, successful hacks often require deception and the unwitting complicity of the victim.

On Feb. 3, Miller joked to his friend about their struggle: "Looking for bugs fame money girls glory."

Miller and Blazakis decided to create a way to lure an iPhone user to a bogus Web page. They would set up the page and trick a user into downloading a PowerPoint file. The file would appear normal, but it would contain their malicious code. (Known as "social engineering," it's the same technique used in the Google and RSA attacks.)

With the deadline looming, they began having video conference calls. They linked their computers in cyberspace and worked in tandem. They were a tired but formidable pair, cutting corners on their day jobs as security researchers as they closed in on the elusive exploit.

"The last two days were chaotic," Blazakis said. "I stayed up most of the night doing this."

On March 8, Miller flew to the contest, which was part of a security conference in Vancouver, B.C. But they still were not sure of the exploit. They continued fiddling with it right up to the eve of the event, including during Miller's stopover in Seattle.

Their chance came on March 10. As he sat with judges and other hackers in a narrow conference room set up in the hotel, Miller had lingering fears that the hack still might not work on demand. Under the contest rules, he had just five tries to make it work.

When Miller's turn arrived, he went behind a long table at one end of the room, where the judges sat with their own computers. Yellow cables snaked through the area (the hackers use cables instead of wireless to prevent other hackers from swiping the zero days in play). Miller connected his old white Apple laptop and looked out at other hackers, spectators and some reporters milling about.

A judge played the role of the unwitting iPhone user. The test phone was placed in an aluminum box to block unwanted wireless signals as an additional measure against any attempted theft of a zero-day exploit by other hackers. Miller told him to browse to the phony Web page holding a PowerPoint presentation that Miller had created. Hidden in the presentation's data was the malicious code.

The image of the phone's browser was projected onto a large screen. The judge typed in an address for the Web page, but the presentation never appeared. Instead, the image on the screen jumped back to the home page of the phone.

Miller, sitting with his own computer, knew just what had happened. In that moment, he had gained access to all the names and other information on the phone's address book. He had found a way to strip privacy protections from a key part of the device.

He nudged one of the judges sitting near him and pointed to his screen, which was displaying the iPhone's address book. He and Blazakis, who was looking on via a video feed to an iPhone he was holding in Baltimore, had won.

The next day, Miller received an oversize check worth \$15,000 and beamed as he put on the white winner's jacket.

Several weeks later, Apple acknowledged the exploit indirectly when the company issued a "patch." As a result of the hackers' work, the flaw they found and exploited was no longer a zero day.

Miller and Blazakis knew that behind the contest's irreverent fun was a sobering reality.

"We're smart and have skills and such, but we're not that extraordinary," Miller said later. "Imagine if you were a government or a Russian mob or a criminal syndicate and you could get 100 guys like us or 1,000 guys?"

Los Angeles Times
June 3, 2012

42. Cyber Missiles Mean War Without Bloodshed

By Michelle Maltais

What do you need to disrupt nuclear facilities of your enemy? A thumb drive.

Well, that and a virulent cyber weapon such as Stuxnet that works so effectively that it takes out nothing but its target in a way that is more subtle than explosive.

Stuxnet, a seek-and-disrupt cyber missile enshrouded in mystery and first publicly identified in 2010, has been attributed to U.S. efforts to interfere with and slow Iran's nuclear endeavors, according to the New York Times.

"You're seeing an evolution of warfare that's really intriguing," said Phil Lieberman, a security consultant and chief executive of Lieberman Software in Los Angeles. "Warfare where no one is dying."

Cyber warfare, while the subject of thrilling movies and espionage novels, isn't quite revolutionary.

"The ability to inhibit [an enemy's] infrastructure has been part of warfare since the dawn

of electronic communication," Lieberman said.

Cyber missiles are evolving and becoming more sophisticated, targeted and devastatingly effective. And, when done properly and under the radar, you get "outcome without attribution," he said. "That's the beauty of it."

What we're talking about is not your typical click-and-disturb computer virus that most of us update to guard against.

It is sophisticated malware that can camouflage itself with the "signature" of innocuous files already in the computer, adjust tactics and adapt their DNA, said Leonid Shtilman, chief executive of Viewfinity in Waltham, Mass.

"They are exploiting very tricky parts of operational systems.... This is not for amateurs," he said, including that code of this nature would probably take about a year and 15 to 20 people to develop it. "Those cyber attacks are planned by security forces."

High-tech weapons, yes, but with low-tech distribution methods. In the case of Stuxnet, the virus entered the system on a thumb drive, according to the New York Times.

Lieberman said there are two distinct categories of target machines: Internet connected and disconnected.

With those not connected to the Internet, the attackers have to "parachute in," so to speak. "You leave USB keys on the ground in discrete areas, say a parking lot or coffee shop," where the desired target is likely to pick it up and eventually plug it into the desired entry point to release the code. To make the USB drive more attractive, or "honey pot" it, it might include intriguing content on it or have a distinctive design, Lieberman said.

In addition to outright cyber warfare with guided code

missiles such as Stuxnet and now Flame, there's probably a lot of "capture the flag" going on, said Charles Kolodgy, research vice president for security products at IDC in Framingham, Mass. In other words, entities are simply getting into systems, creating administrative profiles and then going dormant.

Another area that's likely to be building in activity is "digital privateering," he said.

Kolodgy, who worked in information assurance and signal intelligence during his 16 years with the National Security Agency, talked about these hackers for hire possibly being given wish lists of targets by governments and corporations. It's what he called the intersection between cyber warfare and cyber crime.

"Everyone blames nation-states for going in and stealing a technology or intellectual property," he said. "I think it's more this privateer-type thing."

So are there large-scale cyber attacks going on under our noses? Not likely.

"If the [New York Times] story's accurate, it was intended as a limited operation," Kolodgy said. "This form of cyber warfare is going to be rather scarce. It was a very specific operation."

More of what's probably going on, Kolodgy said, is good old intelligence gathering. "We're more dealing in cyber intelligence gathering ... in the shadows like all other intelligence gathering."

While all of this is intriguing, what you and I and the rest of the computer-dependent world really need to worry about are low-level criminals, though.

"The real damage is being done to people individually through cybercrime," Kolodgy said. "So keep your guard up."

London Sunday Times

June 3, 2012

Pg. 25

43. Mullahs Stopped Bin Laden Killing Children

By Christina Lamb

A MEMBER of Osama Bin Laden's inner circle, the man who shaved his head, has given the most detailed picture to date of how Al-Qaeda was run.

Among the new details is the existence of a legal committee of Islamic scholars which often vetoed terrorist attacks because it did not deem them "lawful" and advised how operations should be run. In a strange parallel with CIA and Pentagon lawyers, the committee assessed targets, approving only those regarded as military, economic or political.

It vetoed bombing the Israeli embassy in Nairobi in 1998 because it was next to a school and recommended the US embassy be bombed on a Friday between 10am and 11am as Muslim workers would be at the mosque. The committee also ruled that captured US soldiers were not to be killed as they were no longer a threat.

The revelations come in an autobiography of Fadil Harun, also known as Fazul Abdullah Mohammed, who was on Al-Qaeda's military committee and had unique access to all its secrets. He was one of the first to be briefed on the 9/11 plot.

"It's the richest primary source on Al-Qaeda we've ever seen," said Nelly Lahoud, a jihadi expert at the combating terrorism centre at West Point military academy which analyses captured documents. Lahoud, who also worked on the Bin Laden letters from Abbottabad, has spent 20 months analysing Harun's work and describes it as more important and compelling.

"When I started reading it I couldn't let go," she said. "I

would carry it on the train, take it to bed. It's an incredible mix of his own personal story, marrying his wife who he loved, having children, even detailing how the cat died because it missed the children, as well as getting the trucks ready for bombing attacks, working with Osama Bin Laden, meeting Mullah Omar [the Taliban leader]."

Born in 1972 in the Comoros Islands in the Indian Ocean, Harun travelled to Pakistan because his mother wanted him to study abroad. She bought another boy's scholarship for her son.

At university in Karachi he heard of training camps and in 1991 decided to go to Peshawar and Afghanistan. There he met Bin Laden and decided jihad was his future.

"He got the best of what Al-Qaeda had to offer," said Lahoud. "As well as military skills he learnt forgery, computer skills, photography, spying."

He also took a course for "elite" students run by Ali Mohammed, a US army captain who was working for Al-Qaeda.

Harun was sent on Al-Qaeda's first mission to Somalia in 1993 and was the lead planner for the 1998 bombings of the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania which killed more than 200.

He was rewarded with the post of confidential secretary.

"In US terms he had top level clearance", explained Lahoud.

Harun details the workings of the organisation in his writings, details of which have been obtained exclusively by The Sunday Times. At the top was Bin Laden, to whom everybody had to report, although Harun said he was highly consultative.

He describes the organisation as "a bureaucracy"

with legal, economic, political and media committees, all subordinate to the military committee. When he was on the military committee Harun became close to fellow member Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, known as KSM, who would mastermind the September 11 attacks in 2001. KSM encouraged him to turn his diary into a book.

It was a mark of his closeness to Bin Laden that the Al-Qaeda leader asked him to shave his head. "He doesn't trust his head to anyone but he let me," Harun boasted.

He made travel arrangements for Bin Laden's wives and read the Koran to his sons.

In 2000 he travelled with Bin Laden and KSM to the home of Omar, the Taliban leader, in Kandahar to convey greetings for the Muslim holiday of Eid. Bin Laden told Omar: "We thank you for your sincerity and bearing our burden."

Omar replied: "We're doing this in the service of God, you are our brothers. The most important thing we ask is you inform us of your actions in advance."

Harun was one of the first to know about the 9/11 plan along with Bin Laden and Mohammad Atef, Al-Qaeda's military chief.

Knowing the Americans would retaliate and they might have to leave Afghanistan, Harun travelled on a secret mission across the Pakistan border to try to find a safe place for Bin Laden. He left before the attacks, moving to east Africa where he was involved in the 2002 Mombasa bombings and then settling in Somalia.

It was there he learnt about the arrest of KSM in 2003, an event he describes as "catastrophic" and the start of the demise of Al-Qaeda.

Harun was appalled by the spread of attacks by other regional jihadi groups, which he saw as having no discipline, launching "unlawful" attacks in marketplaces and at roadsides.

His dismay prompted him to write the autobiography to "distinguish Al-Qaeda from the rest of the jihadi groups".

He regarded it as a mistake to let Al-Qaeda in Iraq into the organisation and was frustrated with the political immaturity of Al-Shabaab, the Somali group. It is clear he disagreed with Ayman al-Zawahiri, now Al-Qaeda's leader, who favoured alliances with regional jihadi groups.

Harun was killed a month after Bin Laden in June last year by Somali government forces when he mistakenly drove into a checkpoint. Lahoud believes it may have been a trap set by Al-Shabaab as "a gift to Zawahiri". In February Zawahiri had admitted Al-Shabaab into the fold.

Miami Herald
June 3, 2012

44. South Florida Military Recruits Embark On Their Next Journey

*Hundreds of South Florida
Armed Forces recruits are
saluted as they begin their
military training.*

By Kristofer Rios

Hundreds of high school graduates and their families gathered to salute the youth on their next endeavor: the U.S. Armed Forces.

Our Community Salutes of Miami-Dade County held the ceremony at Jungle Island to honor and support the families and mentors of the future service members as they embark on their careers in the military.

Brig. Gen. Hector Pagan, the former head of Special

Operations Command South based in Homestead, candidly addressed the young recruits and their families on the expectations and challenges ahead.

"Your sons and daughters need you now more than they needed you ever before," Pagan told parents. "But you will talk to your friends with pride when you tell them about your children's service."

At the end of the ceremony, Vice Admiral Joseph D. Kernan of the U.S. Navy, led 87 future Army soldiers, 95 future Marines, 21 future airmen and 84 future Navy sailors in the oath of service. Many will leave for training in the coming months.

Miguel Alejandro Alvarez, who is an Army recruit, was eager to start his training so that he could move forward with his plans to become an officer and eventually a pilot.

"I've always wanted to join the Army," Alvarez said. "I have all the support I need."

"He's my only son, but it's his decision," said Alvarez's mother Iliana Puerto. "But I'm so proud of him and so happy for him."

Norfolk Virginian-Pilot
June 3, 2012

45. Program Helps Civilians Understand Veterans' Views

By Corinne Reilly, The
Virginian-Pilot

Hampton--It's a simple story, and to those with a connection to the Army or Marine Corps, it might even be a cliché. But when Eric Endries tells it to outsiders, particularly those in law enforcement, he says it packs just the right punch.

Now a civilian with the state-funded Virginia Wounded Warrior Program, Endries starts by explaining that he used to

be in the Army and did three tours in Iraq. The longest was 15 months, and he spent a lot of that time behind the wheel of an armored vehicle. In part because the military drilled it into him in training and in part because he saw firsthand the grave dangers of driving in Iraq, he learned how to decrease the risks:

*Look out for irregularities in dirt roads; they might indicate a buried explosive.

*Never go in reverse; it leaves you vulnerable.

*Avoid bridges and guardrails.

*Be aggressive.

*Don't stop.

Then Endries explains how difficult it can be to dial those instincts down upon returning to the United States, and how, soon after his own homecoming, his wife made him hand over his keys because he was driving, in Endries' words, "like a maniac."

"To people in the military, it's something we're warned about when we get back. We've all heard the stories about driving after a deployment," he said in a recent interview. "But when you tell it to a police officer who's never been in the military, you see it click. You plant that seed that in some cases, when they pull someone over, there might be more going on than what's obvious."

That's the thinking behind a new course offered to criminal justice workers across the state by the Wounded Warrior Program, which is part of the Virginia Department of Veterans Services (and which is not to be confused with the nonprofit Wounded Warrior Project). Besides effects on driving and other difficulties of transitioning back to civilian life, the two-hour course touches on combat-related post-traumatic stress disorder and traumatic brain injury, substance abuse among

veterans, suicide and domestic violence. The Partnership for People with Disabilities at Virginia Commonwealth University and the Mental Health Association of the New River Valley helped design the curriculum and launch the sessions.

Endries directs the Wounded Warrior Program's Hampton Roads chapter, headquartered in Hampton. So far, the chapter has given the training five times across the region. A sixth session is planned for Monday at the Newport News Police Training Academy.

Besides police officers, participants have included judges, lawyers, probation and parole officers and social workers, said Harry Davis, a 21-year Army veteran and a Wounded Warrior Program employee who leads the local sessions. Two volunteers help Davis by sharing their personal stories. Both are combat veterans who've been incarcerated and have struggled with PTSD and traumatic brain injury.

Davis and Endries said they may arrange for more sessions if demand warrants. So far, they said, feedback has been positive. In pre- and post-training surveys, participants have shown a better understanding of veterans' issues.

That's exactly the aim, Endries said.

"The goal isn't to get special treatment for veterans," he said. But their military service and any aftereffects "should at least be a piece of the puzzle in terms of figuring out what comes next."

The unfortunate reality is that many veterans end up in the criminal justice system, Davis said. If more workers within that system are trained to recognize problems such

as combat-related PTSD, more veterans can be referred to the help they need, he said.

The trainings are only a small part of what the Wounded Warrior Program does. It offers a range of services for veterans of all eras, as well as their families, including financial assistance, support groups and help with Veterans Affairs, medical care and mental health treatment.

Davis said he ends each of the trainings with information on the program's services and how veterans can reach them.

"That's probably the most important part," he said. "We let people know we're here. The veterans just need to call us."

Weekly Standard

June 11, 2012

46. Victory At Sea

The Battle of Midway at 70

By Geoffrey Norman

In the six months after its surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, the Japanese Navy sailed from one victory to another, across the Pacific and into the Indian Ocean, until it seemed as though it was not merely unbeaten, but unbeatable. The Japanese conquered everything they attempted to conquer—including the Philippines and Singapore—and they defeated every fleet they encountered. Perhaps the most heavily symbolic of those early victories was the Battle of the Java Sea, in which a force of cruisers and destroyers fighting as part of something known as American-British-Dutch-Australian (ABDA) Command, was routed and its commander, Rear Admiral Karel Doorman, killed when his flagship, the Dutch cruiser *De Ruyter*, was hit by a Japanese torpedo that blew up one of the ship's magazines.

That victory, and others, were so conclusive—even easy—that the Japanese Navy began

to think of itself as invincible and became infected with what some of its officers would call, ruefully, "the victory disease." But that was later. After Midway.

Despite its astounding run of victories, Japan had still not fully settled accounts with the Americans. Faced with the decision of "what next?" the Japanese high command designed an operation to force America's aircraft carriers into a decisive battle and sink them. The U.S. Navy would be left without carriers, with its battleships mostly resting on the mud in Pearl Harbor, and with its submarines shooting torpedoes that routinely malfunctioned. In this state of helplessness, the Americans might be persuaded to negotiate. If not, Japan could defend its empire from behind a barrier of island fortresses that ran from the Aleutians to New Guinea, with its invincible navy sailing out to meet and engage any threat.

One more decisive battle might do it. This, anyway, was the thinking of many in the Japanese high command. They did not believe the Americans had the will to fight the kind of war it would take to reclaim the Pacific. One conspicuous exception was Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, who had spent time in America—even studied at Harvard—and believed he knew the American character. He was opposed to war, believing that Japan would be overwhelmed by American industry.

He had that right. Even before the opening of hostilities, America was building new vessels. Carriers, especially, which Pearl Harbor had conclusively established as the new capital ship for the world's navies. But in June 1942, America's new *Essex*-class carriers were still in the yards, in construction, or

undergoing sea trials, and the U.S. Navy was limping by on what it had left after Pearl Harbor.

Which wasn't much. The nucleus consisted of three carriers--*Enterprise*, *Hornet*, and *Yorktown*. The Japanese believed they had sunk the *Yorktown* in the Battle of the Coral Sea in May. And they nearly had. But the ship made it back to Pearl Harbor, badly damaged and trailing oil. First estimates were that repairs would take three months and that they would need to be made in one of the West Coast yards, not in Hawaii.

After the wounded ship had arrived in Pearl and the water had been pumped out of the dry dock, Admiral Chester Nimitz, who commanded the Navy in the Pacific, pulled on a pair of hip boots and sloshed around beneath her hull with the repair crew inspecting the damage.

"We must have this ship back in three days," he said.

"Wilco," someone must have said. Or, in modern parlance, "Can do, Admiral."

With the urgency of a NASCAR pit crew changing all four tires and gassing up its car in a matter of seconds, the yard crew went to work, pulling so much power for their floodlights and welding torches that parts of Honolulu lost electricity. The repairs were made, in large part, without the benefit of blueprints and schematics. Things were done by eyeball, and the American art of jury-rigging and improvisation may never have been more historically decisive. The ship was ready to make steam and to launch and recover aircraft in just over 48 hours. It was one of many turning points in a battle not yet fought and in which *Yorktown* would play a critical role. And, sadly, be sunk.

Nimitz had set his deadline for the return of the *Yorktown* on the basis of something between intuition and scientific certainty. His code-breakers had been intercepting and analyzing Japanese radio traffic that they believed indicated the objective of the enemy's next major offensive was Midway. The code-breakers were not able to read every word of every message, as the Bletchley Park team did with the German radio traffic that had been coded by the famous Enigma machines. The people working for Nimitz were able only to tease out bits and pieces from which they made very informed estimates. In one celebrated episode, they used a ruse to trick the Japanese into identifying the target of a large operation that went by the code letters "AF" and turned out, indeed, to be Midway, a cluster of forlorn little islands 1,300 miles west of Hawaii; close enough to be strategic.

As expert and clever as they were, the code-breakers' work was treated with skepticism by some of their superiors. And some of Nimitz's superiors, as well, including his boss, Admiral Ernest King, the highest ranking officer in the Navy, and Henry Stimson, the secretary of war, who believed the approaching great sea battle would be fought just off the coast of California.

This may seem preposterous to generations of Americans who have assumed that their country always has the military upper hand and decisively so. But in June 1942, it was absolutely not the case. As Stimson wrote in his diary, "It is a serious situation for [the Japanese] greatly outclass us in the strength of carrier vessels. . . . [N]evertheless, if the Navy uses good judgment and doesn't run the risk of getting out from under the air umbrella, we may entice them

into a position where we may get a chance to do something--some hit and run blows which may even up the situation navally and make it a little more possible."

Nimitz had other--and considerably more aggressive--ideas. Trusting his code-breakers had correctly teased out Japanese intentions and plans, Nimitz doubled down and decided to send his three carriers to meet the attack on Midway. The Japanese carrier fleet normally included six carriers. For the Midway operation, it would consist of four. The two left behind had been in the Coral Sea fight and had lost flight crews. One had been damaged and required repairs. But the Japanese command did not see the urgency that Nimitz had impressed on the yard personnel repairing *Yorktown*.

So it would be four carriers to three. *Yorktown*, like the two missing Japanese carriers, had suffered serious losses among its air group's pilots. But, again, instead of taking the time to bring in replacements and reorganize, Nimitz simply cannibalized from squadrons that had been orphaned after the loss of other carriers. The *Yorktown* was a jury-rigged man-of-war, with a patched-together air group. Still, it was in the fight.

But the odds favored the Japanese, in numbers, experience, and weaponry. The Japanese Zero was one of the finest fighter planes in the world, and the F4F Wildcat was not in its class. The U.S. dive-bomber, the SBD Dauntless, was dependable. But the torpedo plane, the TBD Devastator, was obsolete even before the war. It was slow in the attack and pitifully vulnerable to fighters. Against the Zero it had no chance.

But as events were to prove, the aviators flying the TBDs were as aggressive as the admiral who commanded them. The pilots made up for what their planes lacked in speed with what still seems incredible boldness. And they were as resourceful--especially one of their leaders--as the people at Pearl who had patched up the *Yorktown*.

The battle eventually turned on just these qualities: aggressiveness and the ability to improvise. It was a battle of many "what ifs," and when viewed that way, the American victory can be seen as lucky. What if the Japanese float plane from the cruiser *Tone* had launched on time and searched its sector according to plan? Perhaps it would have alerted the Japanese admiral to the presence of the American fleet in time for him to strike first.

Maybe.

And what if the American submarine *Nautilus* had not played an aggressive cat-and-mouse game with a Japanese destroyer that, as a result, was racing to catch up with the rest of the fleet and leaving a wake that pointed, like an arrow, to the position of the Japanese carriers?

And what if Wade McClusky, leading American dive bombers off the *Enterprise*, had not seen that destroyer's wake and followed it to the Japanese fleet, which he attacked?

And what if McClusky had not arrived at precisely that moment, when the Zeros were all at low altitude, having nearly wiped out three squadrons of American carrier-based torpedo planes and leaving the sky above undefended against dive bombers?

And what if the commander of one of those American squadrons--Torpedo 8, off the USS *Hornet*--had not been an

aggressive junior officer willing to disobey a direct order and risk court-martial in order to fly a course he knew would take him to the Japanese fleet while the rest of his ship's air group spent the day over empty ocean with none of its planes engaging the enemy and many of them splashing into the Pacific, out of gas?

The story of the last flight of Torpedo 8, the bravery of the attack and the death of all but one pilot and every radio gunner--15 planes down, 29 of 30 men dead--has been told many times. But in Craig L. Symonds's *The Battle of Midway*, the most recent and, by far, most satisfying account of the battle yet, readers learn just how badly handled the *Hornet's* air group was that day and how insubordinate John Waldron, Torpedo 8's commander, had been when he broke off formation to fly his own course, which he believed (correctly it turned out) would take him to the Japanese fleet.

When his commander ordered him not to break formation and go out on his own, Waldron replied, "Well, the hell with you. I know where they are, and I'm going to them."

Had he lived, Waldron would have been court-martialed. He was, instead, awarded the Navy Cross, posthumously.

His squadron flew directly to the Japanese fleet and attacked without scoring a hit. But the raid of the torpedo planes brought the Zeros down low, leaving the sky above open to McClusky and the dive-bombers. In five minutes, three of the Japanese carriers were in flames, so badly damaged that they eventually sank. The fourth, now heavily outnumbered by the Americans, was attacked and sunk later that afternoon.

The Japanese lost the initiative in the Pacific in five minutes. And, of course, eventually lost the war. Which, from this distance, seems inevitable.

Not so, however, early on June 4, 1942, when the loss of Midway seemed likely, the loss of Hawaii seemed probable, and attacks on the West Coast of the United States or the Panama Canal seemed all too possible.

One can read the accounts and conclude that the fortunes of war (read: luck) went the Americans' way. Or one can read more closely and see that while the Americans may have gotten some breaks, they made the most of them. What John Keegan has called "the most stunning and decisive blow in the history of naval warfare" was, above all, a victory of spirit.

Geoffrey Norman, a writer in Vermont, is a frequent contributor to The Weekly Standard.

Stripes.com

June 2, 2012

47. Documentary Unveils Rape In US Military With Testimonials

By Stars and Stripes, Stars and Stripes

A new feature film documentary is winning festival awards and garnering national attention for its in-depth focus on the thousands of women raped every year within the U.S. military.

The makers of "The Invisible War" solicited personal stories from victims and interviewed about 70 for hours each.

At one point in the theatrical trailer, one woman, Kori Cioca, who was raped by her supervisor in the U.S. Coast Guard, brandished a hand knife with a blade longer than

her fingers, explaining how she carries it on her at all times.

"You always have protection with Jesus but sometimes you need just a little bit more," said Cioca, who was also holding a metal cross.

According to the Defense Department's Sexual Assault Prevention and Response report for 2011, of the 2,617 reported assaults, it is estimated that the figure represents only 14 percent of all actual offenses, making the total number of victims at 19,000 last year.

Of the 2011 sexual assaults, 191 military members were convicted as courts-martial, according to the film's website.

In addition to numerous victims, the documentary interviews military and defense personnel, elected officials, mental health professionals and others.

Besides attempting to chronicle the crimes, the film aims to expose how the threat persists and how wide-spread the damage can be.

"The military is a very effective fighting force when it comes to dealing with the enemy without. It's really now time for them to start dealing with this enemy within," said one of the filmmakers Kirby Dick.

Among other awards, "The Invisible War" won the Sundance Film Festival Audience Award and is set to open at select theaters June 22.

Washington Post
June 3, 2012
Pg. 19

48. The Perils Of Intervention In Syria

By Henry A. Kissinger

The Arab Spring is generally discussed in terms of the prospects for democracy. Equally significant is the increasing appeal — most recently in Syria —

of outside intervention to bring about regime change, overturning prevalent notions of international order.

The modern concept of world order arose in 1648 from the Treaty of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years' War. In that conflict, competing dynasties sent armies across political borders to impose their conflicting religious norms. This 17th-century version of regime change killed perhaps a third of the population of Central Europe.

To prevent a repetition of this carnage, the Treaty of Westphalia separated international from domestic politics. States, built on national and cultural units, were deemed sovereign within their borders; international politics was confined to their interaction across established boundaries. For the founders, the new concepts of national interest and balance of power amounted to a limitation, not an expansion, of the role of force; it substituted the preservation of equilibrium for the forced conversion of populations.

The Westphalian system was spread by European diplomacy around the world. Though strained by the two world wars and the advent of international communism, the sovereign nation-state survived, tenuously, as the basic unit of international order.

The Westphalian system never applied fully to the Middle East. Only three of the region's Muslim states had a historical basis: Turkey, Egypt and Iran. The borders of the others reflected a division of the spoils of the defunct Ottoman Empire among the victors of World War I, with minimal regard for ethnic or sectarian divisions. These borders have since been subjected to repeated challenge, often military.

The diplomacy generated by the Arab Spring replaces Westphalian principles of equilibrium with a generalized doctrine of humanitarian intervention. In this context, civil conflicts are viewed internationally through prisms of democratic or sectarian concerns. Outside powers demand that the incumbent government negotiate with its opponents for the purpose of transferring power. But because, for both sides, the issue is generally survival, these appeals usually fall on deaf ears. Where the parties are of comparable strength, some degree of outside intervention, including military force, is then invoked to break the deadlock.

This form of humanitarian intervention distinguishes itself from traditional foreign policy by eschewing appeals to national interest or balance of power — rejected as lacking a moral dimension. It justifies itself not by overcoming a strategic threat but by removing conditions deemed a violation of universal principles of governance.

If adopted as a principle of foreign policy, this form of intervention raises broader questions for U.S. strategy. Does America consider itself obliged to support every popular uprising against any non-democratic government, including those heretofore considered important in sustaining the international system? Is, for example, Saudi Arabia an ally only until public demonstrations develop on its territory? Are we prepared to concede to other states the right to intervene elsewhere on behalf of coreligionists or ethnic kin?

At the same time, traditional strategic imperatives have not disappeared. Regime change, almost by definition, generates an imperative for nation-building. Failing that,

the international order itself begins to disintegrate. Blank spaces denoting lawlessness may come to dominate the map, as has already occurred in Yemen, Somalia, northern Mali, Libya and northwestern Pakistan, and may yet happen in Syria. The collapse of the state may turn its territory into a base for terrorism or arms supply against neighbors who, in the absence of any central authority, will have no means to counteract them.

In Syria, calls for humanitarian and strategic intervention merge. At the heart of the Muslim world, Syria has, under Bashar al-Assad, assisted Iran's strategy in the Levant and Mediterranean. It supported Hamas, which rejects the Israeli state, and Hezbollah, which undermines Lebanon's cohesion. The United States has strategic as well as humanitarian reasons to favor the fall of Assad and to encourage international diplomacy to that end. On the other hand, not every strategic interest rises to a cause for war; were it otherwise, no room would be left for diplomacy.

As military force is considered, several underlying issues must be addressed: While the United States accelerates withdrawals from military interventions in neighboring Iraq and Afghanistan, how can a new military commitment in the same region be justified, particularly one likely to face similar challenges? Does the new approach — less explicitly strategic and military, and geared more toward diplomatic and moral issues — solve the dilemmas that plagued earlier efforts in Iraq or Afghanistan, which ended in withdrawal and a divided America? Or does it compound the difficulty by staking U.S. prestige and morale on domestic outcomes that America has even fewer

means and less leverage to shape? Who replaces the ousted leadership, and what do we know about it? Will the outcome improve the human condition and the security situation? Or do we risk repeating the experience with the Taliban, armed by America to fight the Soviet invader but then turned into a security challenge to us?

The difference between strategic and humanitarian intervention becomes relevant. The world community defines humanitarian intervention by consensus, so difficult to achieve that it generally limits the effort. On the other hand, intervention that is unilateral or based on a coalition of the willing evokes the resistance of countries fearing the application of the policy to their territories (such as China and Russia). Hence it is more difficult to achieve domestic support for it. The doctrine of humanitarian intervention is in danger of being suspended between its maxims and the ability to implement them; unilateral intervention, by contrast, comes at the price of international and domestic support.

Military intervention, humanitarian or strategic, has two prerequisites: First, a consensus on governance after the overthrow of the status quo is critical. If the objective is confined to deposing a specific ruler, a new civil war could follow in the resulting vacuum, as armed groups contest the succession, and outside countries choose different sides. Second, the political objective must be explicit and achievable in a domestically sustainable time period. I doubt that the Syrian issue meets these tests. We cannot afford to be driven from expedient to expedient into undefined military involvement in a conflict taking on an

increasingly sectarian character. In reacting to one human tragedy, we must be careful not to facilitate another. In the absence of a clearly articulated strategic concept, a world order that erodes borders and merges international and civil wars can never catch its breath. A sense of nuance is needed to give perspective to the proclamation of absolutes. This is a nonpartisan issue, and it should be treated in that manner in the national debate we are entering.

Henry A. Kissinger was secretary of state from 1973 to 1977.

Washington Post
June 3, 2012
Pg. B2

49. Helping Syria Would Help Obama

Foreign policy expert Danielle Pletka says intervening is good policy -- and good politics

In the days after the massacre of more than 100 Syrians in the town of Houla — a killing spree by regime loyalists that left 34 women and 49 children under age 10 dead — Washington's U.N. ambassador, Susan Rice, reportedly told a closed-door Security Council meeting that "we're just sitting here watching this movie in slow motion, and we all know what's going to happen."

The Obama administration's approach to Syria is little more than this sort of hand-wringing, which plays to Bashar al-Assad's regime as tacit permission to continue killing thousands.

But it need not be this way. President Obama has asserted that "Assad must lead a democratic transition or get out of the way," even issuing a presidential directive underscoring that "preventing mass atrocities and genocide is

a core national security interest and a core moral responsibility of the United States." Pretty rhetoric, but the president has the chance to actually do the right thing, to go beyond saying we should prevent atrocities and truly prevent them. And in this election year, intervening in Syria — to support the rebels and boost security for the people — is good policy for Obama the president and good politics for Obama the candidate.

Despite helping to oust Libyan dictator Moammar Gaddafi last year, the president made clear his distaste for getting involved in the Libyan conflict, and he has been even more squeamish about tackling the more formidable problem of Assad. As administration and military leaders constantly point out, Syria is no Libya. The opposition is divided, with al-Qaeda groups and ultraconservative Salafist Muslims among its ranks. The regime is well-armed, there have been few defections, and neither NATO nor the Security Council has the appetite to topple another Arab tyrant. All this is true, but mutable.

Obama could double down on the light arms that the Saudis and Qataris are supplying to the Free Syrian Army and could transfer more substantial weaponry to groups reportedly in line to be vetted by the CIA. Far from intensifying a conflict that is claiming thousands of lives, effective weapons may finally give the edge to the opposition and coax more significant defections from the Syrian army.

This is the kind of boldness that would suit Obama politically; it would illustrate that he is not bound by the veto of the international community, nor held back by Russian President Vladimir Putin's refusal to abandon an allied thug. Arming the

opposition, which some claim would be the prelude to another Iraq war, would in fact be an un-Bush strategy of allowing others to fight a war that America wishes won.

Also in the un-Bush category, which appears to be dear to this president, the administration could work more closely with the Syrian political opposition to develop a blueprint for a transition. It's true that the opposition is divided, but that hardly distinguishes it from any other dissident political movement. It requires a firm guiding hand to focus on planning a transitional government, along with financial and technical support — in other words, policies Washington could embrace without great cost. The prospect of a U.S.-assisted democratic transition would assuage the concerns that many in the West and in Syria have about a post-Assad government.

Another political virtue is the impact intervention would have on Iran. Ousting Tehran's last reliable satellite regime and replacing it with a Sunni, democratic government would reassure our friends in the region that Washington is determined to stand up to Iran when necessary. Even those who oppose involvement in the Syrian conflict allow that the loss of Assad would be a blow to the Islamic republic.

There is another strategic dimension to Assad's ouster. Right now, the fighting in Syria risks spreading to the rest of the Middle East. Lebanon, intertwined with Syria for decades, has seen violence between pro- and anti-Assad factions. But Jordan and Iraq also risk being drawn in. Both governments rule fractious populations that could be moved to take on their U.S.-supported leaders. Far from increasing the odds of spillover,

facilitating a resolution in Syria would probably contain the fighting and undercut outside groups such as al-Qaeda, which look to take the battle to Syria's neighbors. This is the kind of confrontation with "violent extremism in all of its forms" that Obama promised in his 2009 speech in Cairo.

Word throughout the region is that Obama is comfortable subcontracting U.S. Middle East policy to Qatar and Saudi Arabia. Both countries were deeply involved in Libya and Yemen, but both support versions of Islam in which extremists thrive. Political opponents say Obama has been uninterested in responding to the rise of such Islamist groups in places such as Egypt; working to ensure that moderate secular and Islamist groups take the helm in Syria would take the steam out of those accusations.

None of these moves entail huge risks for the president. There are other steps he could take that would be more complex, including ordering the U.S. military to provide air cover for the opposition, perhaps with NATO backing; working with Turkey and the Arab League to establish safe corridors for refugees; or working with others to create Syrian safe cities. Those actions could help a desperate population but might carry greater political risk for the president. However, with Mitt Romney supporting stronger efforts to oust Assad, Obama has more room to maneuver — if he wants it.

The administration has fooled itself into thinking that U.N. special envoy Kofi Annan and Putin — whom they hope to persuade to abandon Assad — are the keys to managing the Syria problem. But Syria is proving unmanageable, and the stain of indifference to the

death and brutality is spreading. Many have said that a policy pursuing Assad's ouster is a rare confluence of strategic and moral imperatives. For Obama, it makes political sense as well.

Danielle Pletka is vice president of foreign and defense policy studies at the American Enterprise Institute.

New York Times

June 3, 2012

Pg. SR4

News Analysis

50. Mutually Assured Cyberdestruction?

By David E. Sanger

Washington--IT took years after the United States dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima for the nation to develop a common national understanding of when and how to use a weapon of such magnitude. Not until after the Cuban Missile Crisis, 50 years ago this October, did a consensus emerge that the weapon was too terrible ever to employ again, save as a deterrent and a weapon of last resort.

Over the past decade, on a far smaller scale, the country's military and intelligence leadership have gone through a parallel debate about how to use the Predator drone. Because it is precisely targeted, often on an individual, it is used almost every week.

And now we know that President Obama, for the past three years, has been going through a similar process about how America should use another innovative weapon — one whose destructive powers are only beginning to be understood. In a secret program called "Olympic Games," which dates from the last years of the George W. Bush administration, the United States has mounted repeated attacks with the most

sophisticated cyberweapons ever developed. Like drones, these weapons cross national boundaries at will; in the case of Olympic Games they invaded the computer controllers that run Iran's nuclear centrifuges, spinning them wildly out of control.

How effective they have been is open to debate; the United States and its close partner in the attacks, Israel, used the weapons as an alternative to a potentially far more deadly, but perhaps less effective, bombing attack from the air. But precisely because the United States refuses to talk about its new cyberarsenal, there has never been a real debate in the United States about when and how to use cyberweapons.

President Obama raised many of the issues in the closed sanctum of the Situation Room, participants in the conversation say, pressing aides to make sure that the attacks were narrowly focused so that they did not take out Iranian hospitals or power plants and were directed only at the country's nuclear infrastructure. "He was enormously focused on avoiding collateral damage," one official said, comparing the arguments over using cyberwar to the debates about when to use drones.

Does the United States want to legitimize the use of cyberweapons as a covert tool? Or is it something we want to hold in reserve for extreme cases? Will we reach the point — as we did with chemical weapons, and the rest of the world did with land mines — that we want treaties to ban their use? Or is that exactly the wrong analogy, in a world in which young hackers, maybe working on their own or maybe hired by the Chinese People's Liberation Army or the Russian mob, can launch attacks themselves?

These are all fascinating questions that the Obama administration resolutely refuses to discuss in public. "They approached the Iran issue very, very pragmatically," one official involved in the discussions over Olympic Games told me. No one, he said, "wanted to engage, at least not yet, in the much deeper, broader debate about the criteria for when we use these kinds of weapons and what message it sends to the rest of the world."

Cyberweapons, of course, have neither the precision of a drone nor the immediate, horrifying destructive power of the Bomb. Most of the time, cyberwar seems cool and bloodless, computers attacking computers. Often that is the case.

The Chinese are believed to attack America's computer systems daily, but mostly to scoop up corporate and Pentagon secrets. (Mr. Obama, one aide said, got a quick lesson in the scope of the problem when an attack on his 2008 campaign's computers was traced back to China, a foretaste of what happened to Google the following year.) The United States often does the same: the Iranians reported last week that they had been hit by another cyberattack, called "Flame," that appeared to harvest data from selected laptop computers, presumably those of Iranian leaders and scientists. Its origins are unclear.

But the cutting edge of cyberwar is in the invasion of computer systems to manipulate the machinery that keeps the country going — exactly what the United States was doing to those Iranian centrifuges as it ran Olympic Games. "Somebody has crossed the Rubicon," Gen. Michael V. Hayden, the former director of the C.I.A., said in describing the success of the cyberattacks

on Iran. General Hayden was careful not to say what role the United States played, but he added: "We've got a legion on the other side of the river now. I don't want to pretend it's the same effect, but in one sense at least, it's August 1945," the month that the world first saw the capabilities of a new weapon, dropped over Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

That was deliberate overstatement, of course: the United States crashed a few hundred centrifuges at Natanz, it did not vaporize the place. But his point that we are entering a new era in cyberattacks is one the administration itself is trying to make as it ramps up American defenses. Defense Secretary Leon E. Panetta — a key player in the Iran attacks — warned last year that the "next Pearl Harbor we confront could very well be a cyberattack that cripples our power systems, our grid, our security systems, our financial systems."

IN March the White House invited all the members of the Senate to a classified simulation on Capitol Hill demonstrating what might happen if a dedicated hacker — or an enemy state — decided to turn off the lights in New York City. In the simulation, a worker for the power company clicked on what he thought was an e-mail from a friend; that "spear phishing" attack started a cascade of calamities in which the cyberinvader made his way into the computer systems that run New York's electric grid. The city was plunged into darkness; no one could find the problem, much less fix it. Chaos, and deaths, followed.

The administration ran the demonstration — which was far more watered-down than the Pentagon's own cyberwar games — to press Congress to pass a bill that would allow a degree of federal control

over protecting the computer networks that run America's most vulnerable infrastructure. The real lesson of the simulation was never discussed: cyberoffense has outpaced the search for a deterrent, something roughly equivalent to the cold-war-era concept of mutually assured destruction. There was something simple to that concept: If you take out New York, I take out Moscow.

But there is nothing so simple about cyberattacks. Usually it is unclear where they come from. That makes deterrence extraordinarily difficult. Moreover, a good deterrence "has to be credible," said Joseph S. Nye, the Harvard strategist who has written the deepest analysis yet of what lessons from the atomic age apply to cyberwar. "If an attack from China gets inside the American government's computer systems, we're not likely to turn off the lights in Beijing." Professor Nye calls for creating "a high cost" for an attacker, perhaps by naming and shaming.

Deterrence may also depend on how America chooses to use its cyberweapons in the future. Will it be more like the Predator, a tool the president has embraced? That would send a clear warning that the United States was ready and willing to act. But as President Obama warned his own aides during the secret debates over Olympic Games, it also invites retaliatory strikes, with cyberweapons that are already proliferating. In fact, one country recently announced that it was creating a new elite "Cybercorps" as part of its military. The announcement came from Tehran.

Sanger is the chief Washington correspondent for The New York Times. This article is adapted from his new book, "Confront and Conceal: Obama's Secret Wars and

Surprising Use of American Power."

London Sunday Times

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Pg. 6

51. The Spies Who Hacked Him

The Flame computer virus that hit Iran shows cyberwarfare is being taken to ferocious levels, says Christopher Goodwin

Three years ago I was sitting in an airconditioned trailer just outside Las Vegas watching the awesome and terrifying future of war. In the trailer, British RAF pilots were peering at computer monitors that showed images from Reaper drones they were controlling which were flying thousands of miles away above the battlefields of Afghanistan.

Drones have completely transformed the nature of modern warfare and allowed America and its allies to decimate the leadership of Al-Qaeda. The greatest danger to those drone pilots comes from driving to work each day on Nevada's freeways.

The drone pilots now have their counterparts in cyberwarfare. Somewhere — almost certainly in America or Israel — technicians controlling a powerful and extraordinarily sophisticated computer virus called Flame are also staring at monitors that show real-time images from thousands of miles away.

Rather than seeing the villages and mountains of Afghanistan, those technicians are peering into the virtual worlds of their enemies and those they wish to spy on, watching everything on their computers and stealing whatever they choose.

Viruses such as Flame and Stuxnet "pretty much redefine the notion of cyberwar and cyber-espionage", says

Alexander Gostev, an analyst with Kaspersky, the Russian security laboratory that released the first information about Flame last Monday.

The virus's "complexity and functionality exceed those of all other cyber menaces known to date", says Kaspersky.

On Friday, in the first open acknowledgment of Stuxnet's origins, The New York Times revealed that the virus was part of a joint US-Israeli operation, codenamed Olympic Games, aimed at sabotaging Iran's nuclear weapons programme. Begun under President George W Bush, it was closely directed by Barack Obama when he arrived in the White House.

Before it was discovered, Stuxnet is believed to have disabled a fifth of Iran's centrifuges, which enrich the uranium needed for nuclear weapons, setting back Iran's nuclear programme for months.

While Stuxnet was developed to sabotage industrial systems, Flame appears to be a fantastically sophisticated spying tool. According to the Laboratory of Cryptography and System Security in Budapest, "it uses five different encryption methods, three different compression techniques and at least five different file formats". At 20 megabytes its code is some 20 times bigger than Stuxnet.

Once Flame has infected a computer it can siphon back almost any information it wants to its controllers, logging keystrokes, reading files, taking screen shots of instant messages, tapping into wi-fi, even turning on cameras and audio. Another novelty is that it can use Bluetooth to collect information about devices close by, such as mobile phones. Iran has the largest number of infections, followed by the Palestinian West Bank, Sudan, Syria and Egypt.

"It's like an industrial strength vacuum cleaner, sucking information at a power previously unknown," Yossi Melman, an espionage expert, said last week.

"It's a live programme that communicates back to its master," says Udi Mokady, an Israeli computer security expert. "It asks, where should I go? What should I do now? It's like a science-fiction movie."

All the data Flame scoops up is encrypted and fed back to about 80 command and control servers that have been secretly set up in countries including Vietnam, Turkey and Germany. These hand off the data to technicians controlling Flame in the main command and control centre, wherever that may be. If necessary, Flame can erase any trace of itself on the infected computers.

"It seems to have been hiding in plain sight and may have evaded detection for up to five years," says Professor Alan Woodward, a computer expert at Surrey University. "Virus checkers didn't pick it up because it didn't look like anything we had seen before." Woodward is most impressed by what he calls the modular nature of Flame. "Once you've got the basic bit of malware onto the computer, it's really like installing apps on a mobile phone," he says.

"Whoever is controlling it can download specific modules, different apps onto the infected computer depending on what they have found there.

"So if the computer has a microphone, they can switch it on and listen to whatever is being said in the room or listen to Skype conversations. And the sophistication is such that when they learn to do something new they can just download a new module.

"It allows them to target specific systems very

accurately. Whereas in the past malware has infected tens of thousands of machines, this seems to have infected only a few hundred."

Although Flame appears to be mainly an espionage tool, it seems its controllers can transform it into a cyberweapon at will. It is believed to have attacked computers in the Iranian oil and gas industries, wiping them clean of data, shutting down key energy infrastructure for significant periods of time.

The presumption is that because of the resources needed, Flame must have been created by a nation state rather than cyber criminals or hackers.

The only countries believed to have such a capability are America, Israel, Russia and China. US officials have said Flame is not part of the Olympic Games operation but won't say whether America is behind it. Because of the specific geographical spread of Flame, particularly in Iran, most fingers are pointing at Israel.

The Iranians certainly think Israel is responsible. "It is in the nature of some countries and illegitimate regimes to spread viruses and harm other countries," says Ramin Mehmanparast, Iran's foreign ministry spokesman.

The Israelis have been happy to hint they may be behind Flame. "Whoever sees the Iranian threat as a significant threat is likely to take various steps, including these, to hobble it," Moshe Ya'alon, the Israeli vice prime minister, told Army Radio.

Last week western intelligence sources said the main targets of the virus had been Iran's president, its supreme leader and the head of its military nuclear programme. They are the only people fully informed about the state of the programme.

"All the rest of the hundreds of computers infected in Iran were either a bonus or a red herring," says the source, who adds that the virus was inserted by a spy onto a computer he or she had purchased.

The ability to do this was demonstrated when the case of Ali Ashtari came to light. The computer buyer for Iran's defence industry and nuclear programme, Ashtari was hanged in 2008 after admitting to spying for the Israelis. Under torture he said Mossad, Israel's overseas espionage agency, had asked him to install bugging devices into the equipment he provided for his clients in Iran.

The creators and controllers of Flame have gone to great lengths to hide its origins. But some researchers believe it may have been developed by the same team of programmers responsible for Duqu, another powerful espionage malware exposed last year. Much as bomb makers leave distinctive "fingerprints" on their devices, so do the creators of computer viruses on their work.

When researchers at Kaspersky examined the working hours of whoever was operating Duqu, they discovered he or she did not work between sunsets on Friday and Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath. Israeli sources suggest Flame may be the work of Unit 8200 of the Israel Defence Forces, its specialised cyberwarfare unit.

Woodward and others believe that whoever is responsible for Flame has not just transformed the nature of cyberwarfare but also ramped up its danger to the rest of us.

When I ask Woodward if terrorists or criminals might be able to re-engineer Flame for their own evil intent, he says:

"I guarantee they will. Once the code is in the wild it can easily be modified and reused. You can go on YouTube right now and see how to use Stuxnet."

There is something that worries him even more: "If you can engineer something like Flame and it went undetected for so long, what else is out there that we don't know about?"

Additional reporting: Uzi Mahnaimi in Tel Aviv

Washington Post

June 3, 2012

Pg. 21

52. Petraeus Finds A Home

By David Ignatius

CIA Director David Petraeus spoke first at an April 19 memorial dinner for agency officers killed in action. He delivered well-scripted remarks and an evocation of the agency's heroes. Then came Leon Panetta, his predecessor at the CIA and the evening's main honoree, who delivered a stem-winding emotional speech to fervent applause.

The freewheeling Panetta, now secretary of defense, has been a tough act to follow at the CIA, especially for a former four-star Army general who thrived in the disciplined, resource-rich world of the military. And in his first year at the agency, Petraeus's transition has sometimes been bumpy, as the CIA's finicky workforce struggled to adapt to its new director.

"I hear the rumblings" from mid-level CIA officers, says one senior administration official. But he says Petraeus gets high marks from the White House, which took the unusual step of naming the prominent general to the post.

An assessment of Petraeus as he nears completion of his first year as CIA director

echoes these themes. It's been a big change, from commanding vast U.S. military forces in Iraq, Centcom and Afghanistan to the smaller and sometimes haphazard CIA. His personal staff shrank from 50 to six.

Petraeus also gave up one of the most visible media profiles in America — the iconic man in uniform — for a civilian job in the shadows, with the Obama White House insisting that its intelligence chief stay out of the news.

The bottom line is performance, and here Petraeus gets good marks both from his senior colleagues and the administration. One senior CIA officer who has served under 11 directors thinks performance is especially high now because Petraeus is driving the organization to produce — even at the cost of frustrating some subordinates.

An example is Petraeus's reorganization of the CIA's famously bad system of career development. In place of a tepid, in-house system, he wanted something closer to the Army's mid-career training, which allowed Petraeus to earn a Ph.D. at Princeton. Soon after arriving at Langley, he set to work creating a similar opportunity for the CIA's rising leaders.

This fall, the first six "Director's Scholars" will head off for a year at top Ivy League universities, with an eventual goal of 20 to 25 such slots.

Petraeus was well-known as a commander for fastening on "big ideas." He has just floated to employees a new strategic plan that focuses on ways for the agency to exploit new technology more effectively.

The measure of any CIA director is operations, and Petraeus's instincts here have reflected his military background. In Yemen, Petraeus improved coordination

with the military on drone attacks and other operations. The CIA and the military (not always good partners) have shared intelligence, personnel and even hardware.

Petraeus is also said to have pushed hard in Libya, rushing case officers there to work with the opposition. Making this surge work fell to John Bennett, the head of the operations directorate. A blunt, tough officer who had planned to leave with Panetta, Bennett is said to have complained that he occasionally felt he was in a "hostile work environment." But Bennett was able to pull officers from Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan and elsewhere.

Perhaps surprisingly, Petraeus is also said to have exercised restraint in drone attacks on Pakistan's tribal areas — drawing some complaints from the agency's Counterterrorism Center.

It isn't easy to talk Petraeus out of a pet project, but he dropped a plan to steer \$15 million to build a first-class gym. He was dissuaded by the agency's top budget official, who argued the fancy gym wouldn't look right in a time of austerity. Petraeus, a near-fanatic about fitness, did win his battle to install an exercise bike aboard his C-17 plane.

The former general is relentless in pushing for action, and some subordinates have chafed at this pressure. His deputy, Michael Morell, is said to have cautioned colleagues: "It's our job to adapt to the style of the director" — good advice for an agency with a history of bad-mouthing bosses it doesn't like.

Why did Petraeus take the job after finishing his military career? The answer is suggested by a comment he made to a senior colleague considering retirement in 2013. "You have

to ask yourself if you're really ready to be out of the arena."

Petraeus might well have been talking about himself. He wasn't ready to leave the arena, and after learning the peculiar culture of the CIA, he seems increasingly confident in what he calls the best job in government.

Financial Times
June 2, 2012

Analysis

53. Africa: The Taking Of Timbuktu

With Mali's north under rebel control, fears are growing that a breakaway Islamist state could emerge

By Xan Rice

Near the banks of the Niger, where old men hawk slabs of salt carved from the Sahara and sent by boat from the ancient Malian city of Timbuktu, Abdul Moussa explains how his tranquil life has been turned upside down.

First, the rebels looted the office of the local charity he runs, taking vehicles, furniture and air conditioners. Then they told the 56-year-old Muslim that the laws he had grown up with had changed. There was to be no smoking and no alcohol. No watching television, listening to music or playing football. Men were to wear their trousers above the ankle. Women were forbidden from walking alone or uncovered.

Alarmed by the proclamations of the "Barbus" — the bearded ones, as some residents call the militants — Mr Moussa put his wife and children in an old Mercedes and sent them to the distant capital of Bamako. With that, they joined an exodus of about 400,000, more than a quarter of northern Mali's population, who have fled their homes this year. Mr Moussa stayed on

for the sake of his mother, "who was born in Timbuktu in 1923" and had lived there ever since. Last Friday, they gave in and boarded a bus for Mopti, the first big town outside the occupied north.

"The rebels did not shoot anyone," says Mr Moussa, who asked that his real name not be used. "But they are killing us in another way."

It is nearly two months since northern Mali fell to militants from the Tuareg ethnic group, a Berber people that has a significant presence in the area and has long complained of neglect and misrule by the central government. But what initially appeared to be a quest for a secular homeland has turned into something much more dangerous, for Mali and far beyond: the possibility of an Islamist-aligned mini-state that could offer a base to the jihadist groups and criminal gangs that roam the Sahara.

A hardline Islamist movement called Ansar Dine, or "supporters of the faith", appears to have outmuscled the Tuareg secessionists and raised its black flag over the biggest cities of northern Mali.

The group includes foreign militants, and has forged close ties with al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, which holds 12 western hostages at various locations — an insurance policy against potential American or European strikes — and attacks regional armies. AQIM leaders have been seen in cities under Ansar Dine control, including Timbuktu, according to interviews with people there, other witness reports and Malian analysts and diplomats.

Ansar Dine's rhetoric is anti-western and its goal is strict sharia law of the sort that exists nowhere in Africa — something unacceptable to most in the predominantly Muslim nation.

"We are a country of religious tolerance," says Imam Mahamoud Dicko, head of the High Islamic Council in Mali." Coming to any place with weapons to close bars – that's not how it's done. Stopping people playing football? That's archaic."

A power struggle in Bamako after a military coup in March means the government has been unable to respond to the Islamist threat, "creating a crisis like we have never known before", according to Imam Dicko.

The National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad (MNLA), a militia boosted by the return of well-armed Tuareg soldiers hired by Libya's Muammar Gaddafi, led January's uprising. It was the fourth Tuareg rebellion since Mali gained independence from France in 1960, but the first to seek a separate homeland for the northern "Azawad" region.

Fighting alongside, quietly at first, was Ansar Dine, formed by a disgruntled veteran of previous Tuareg rebellions. Iyad Ag Ghali, the leader, served in Mali's consulate in Saudi Arabia in 2007, where his ties to a fundamentalist Islamic group offended his hosts. He then became the go-to person for multimillion-dollar negotiations over western hostages kidnapped by AQIM in north and west Africa. Late last year, he made a pitch to lead the newly formed MNLA and to become head of his Tuareg clan but was rejected, according to a diplomat in Bamako who closely follows the north. So he formed his own movement, Ansar Dine.

"Iyad was down and out," the diplomat says. "But he had very good ties to AQIM from the hostage negotiations, and also had a close relative in the group. So he sold his soul to

several devils and was able to get money and fighters."

The MNLA and Ansar Dine initially agreed to work together. Though the uprising was backed by only a section of the Tuareg community – and had little or no support from ethnic groups such as the Songhai, the biggest in northern Mali – the rebels proved stronger than the country's weak army. Within 10 days of the March 22 coup, the rebels had taken Timbuktu, Gao and Kidal, the capitals of the main northern regions.

MNLA proclaimed independence for Azawad. But Ansar Dine, which advocated sharia throughout Mali but not partition, quickly forced the MNLA to the outskirts of Timbuktu and other cities, leaving it to control some smaller towns and checkpoints.

Boulher Cisse, a 22-year-old cook who is one of the thousands who has fled to Mopti in recent weeks, used his phone to record video footage of an Ansar Dine leader entering Timbuktu on April 1. "Our war is a holy war," the man shouts. "America and France are the cause of the suffering in the world today. They came to dominate us, and leave the path of Allah. There is one God – that is our weapon."

Having smashed bars and turned a leading tourist hotel into an Islamic court, Ansar Dine's "police" began enforcing new laws. Those who disobeyed were lashed, initially with branches, then with leather whips, Mr Cisse says. Worshippers who tried to pray at the graves of the city's Muslim saints, part of a Unesco World Heritage Site, were blocked, and a famous tomb was desecrated.

Timbuktu's prohibitions were echoed in cities such as Gao, where 24-year-old Bibata Soumana was told to cover her

body completely and always to be accompanied by a male when outside. "We want our freedoms," she says in the room in Mopti she now shares with three other students from Gao. "Why shouldn't we be able to walk around alone?" Like other displaced people in Mopti, as well as people still in Timbuktu and Gao who were interviewed by phone, the students say Ansar Dine forces include Tuaregs and Arabs from Mali, as well as militants from countries across the Sahel and north Africa.

Several of those interviewed, including a Malian television cameraman who recently visited the north, also reported seeing some fighters from Gulf states, as well as Afghanistan and Pakistan. The militants were well armed and trained.

Adama Diarra, honorary president of the Malian Red Cross, who led an aid mission to Timbuktu two weeks ago, says he has talked to Ansar Dine fighters from Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. "I'm 100 per cent sure that's where they were from," he says.

Analysts estimate that the number of fighters allied to the MNLA and Ansar Dine are in the high hundreds, rather than many thousands. But with Mali's politics still in disarray, the army is unlikely to mount a challenge any time soon.

Some fear that other ethnic groups in the north, such as the Songhai, may form their own militias to take on the rebels, leading to civil war. "People here are too proud to be ruled by another group," says a civil servant in Mopti, who administered a small northern town until it was over-run in late March.

For now, the rebels are trying to consolidate their gains. Witnesses report Ansar Dine

digging in heavy weapons around Timbuktu. Last week Abu Musab Abdul Wadud, AQIM leader, for the first time confirmed links with Ansar Dine, and urged the group to collaborate with the MNLA.

The two rebel forces, which have tense relations, then struck a deal to merge and create an independent Islamic state. But the pact appears to have fallen apart after the MNLA backtracked and said it was committed to secular principles.

Ordinary citizens who remain in the north have no say, and are becoming increasingly desperate. "We have no foodstuffs, no drinkable water, no hospitals, no drugs, no money," a lecturer in Gao wrote in an email. "We ask politicians from Bamako to stop internal quarrels and help us because we are becoming another Afghanistan."

Newport News Daily Press
June 3, 2012

54. Servicewomen Violated Twice

By Tamara Dietrich

No war against women? Try telling that to the women of the U.S. Armed Forces.

In two very particular ways, our servicewomen are on the front lines of this war-that-isn't:

First, they run twice the risk of being raped as their civilian counterparts.

And, second, they alone--unlike most other women in the federal system--get no health coverage for abortion resulting from rape.

Studies have long shown that a woman doubles her risk of sexual assault just by joining the military. And every year, reports of sexual assault increase.

Last year, there were 3,192 such reports--a 1 percent rise over the previous year,

according to the Department of Defense's Annual Report on Sexual Assault in the Military, released in April.

The DoD estimates as many as 85 percent of all sexual assaults go unreported, so the actual annual figure is likely closer to about 19,000.

Hampton Roads, with its high concentration of active-duty military and their families, should be especially appalled by this version of targeted violence against women in uniform--usually by their own comrades.

In a prepared response to the report, Defense Secretary Leon Panetta insisted "sexual assault has no place in this department. It is an affront to the basic American values we defend, and to the good honor of our service members and their families."

But the affront doesn't end there. It continues when servicewomen are discouraged by their superiors from reporting sexual assaults, or punished when they do.

And it culminates when a servicewoman becomes pregnant as a result of that rape, and discovers Congress has singled her out to deny her insurance coverage for an abortion.

Congress doesn't deny that coverage to other women in the federal system--not to government employees, not to Medicaid recipients, not to federal inmates.

Only to women in military service to their country. Only they must scrounge for private funds to pay for an abortion. And, once they find the money, they must then find a doctor to provide it--most overseas military hospitals are forbidden to provide abortion care.

The heartening news is that on May 24 the Senate Armed Services Committee approved a provision to fund abortions for servicewomen in cases of

rape and incest. It would finally grant them the same coverage already provided women in most other branches of the federal government.

"This is about equity," Sen. Jeanne Shaheen, D-N.H., was quoted as saying. Shaheen sponsored the amendment to the 2013 National Defense Authorization Act.

But, to the surprise of no one, many in Congress have a real problem with equity. It has consistently rejected similar amendments, including one late last year. And another in 2010.

The Senate committee did just give it bipartisan support, with Republicans John McCain of Arizona, Scott Brown of Massachusetts and Susan Collins of Maine voting in favor. But even if it passes the Democrat-controlled Senate, it may well get torpedoed later this year by the Republican-controlled House.

Anti-abortion activists are fighting the measure tooth and nail. They say it would threaten "military readiness" and morale. That it would discourage young doctors who don't want to perform abortions from enlisting--although precedent has long shown that military doctors who oppose abortion wouldn't be forced to perform them.

They say the current ban reflects the "moral and fiscal values" of Americans--but a Gallup poll in May found 77 percent of respondents approve of abortion in all cases, or under certain circumstances.

Granted, Gallup didn't ask respondents how they felt about *funding* abortions for servicewomen who've been raped, but I'll go out on a limb and speculate that most would have no problem with it.

Incredibly, a constitutional law expert associated with the conservative National Center for Public Policy dismisses

government-funded abortions for servicewomen who've been raped as the "crisis du jour."

Horace Cooper claims lifting the ban is a ploy by abortion advocates.

"This is part of expanding pushing abortion," Cooper told the Air Force Times, "and trying as much as possible to find circumstances to use taxpayer dollars to do it."

No. This is about no longer dishonoring women in uniform--women already traumatized by rape, then victimized again by ideologues within their own government.

Arizona Republic (Phoenix)
June 3, 2012

55. Cpl. Joe's Long Journey Home

By E.J. Montini

On April 22, 2004, at a checkpoint outside of Fallujah, Iraq, a news photographer caught 21-year-old Marine Lance Cpl. Joe McCarthy in the act of being *exactly* who he was.

"Willy Wonka," the other Marines called him -- always with a bag of candy for the children he encountered.

That day in Fallujah, there were young Iraqi men milling about the checkpoint, potential insurgents. The Marines didn't know for sure. But McCarthy saw the children and made his way to where they were standing, shy and curious. He squatted down in front of them, smiled and handed out the treats.

The photograph of a young Marine and a smiling Iraqi girl and boy was published in newspapers all over the United States and the world.

McCarthy's family in St. Johns heard from friends, acquaintances, relatives and news reporters.

"It was amazing. It seemed like everyone saw that picture," said his mother, Rhonda.

Five months later, in September, the photograph of McCarthy and the Iraqi children was published in newspapers all over the United States and the world again, after he became one of seven Marines killed when an explosives-filled vehicle was detonated near their military convoy.

I spoke to McCarthy's mother not long after her son's death.

"Never once did he question what he was doing," she told me. "He was proud of what he did. He said, 'If you had seen the faces in that country. Mom, this is where I belong.'"

I've spoken to McCarthy's parents several times since then. Like all relatives of our war casualties, they never get over it. And also like many of them, they tried to turn their tragedy into something positive.

Joe's family created the Corporal Joe McCarthy Foundation (www.cpljoes.org), which helps schools and schoolchildren. They also decided to have a statue made from the photograph of Joe and the two Iraqi children, something that could be placed in the Apache County Veterans Memorial in St. Johns.

It was a long and difficult process, but the sculpture by Maryland artist William Duffy has been completed and is being cast in bronze. Later this month, members of McCarthy's family will drive to the East Coast, load the sculpture onto a flatbed trailer and drive it to Arizona.

"We've seen it in clay, and we've seen it in wax," said Joe's dad, Christopher. "We're looking forward to seeing it in bronze. And to bringing him home."

McCarthy was on his second deployment when he was killed. He was newly married. His widow, Amanda, once spoke of her husband's concern for the children caught

up in the war, like those immortalized with him in the photograph and sculpture.

She said, "Someday, when they (the children) grow up, they're going to remember Joe as their hero."

The family plans to create a Facebook page with a "Where's Joe?" theme, through which visitors can follow the progress of the sculpture as they transport it to Arizona.

"You don't hear anything about Iraq these days," Joe's father said. "And not much about Afghanistan. That sculpture we'll be towing is a reminder not just of Joe but of all those young people who died over there. This isn't only about our son, but about the sacrifice all of them made, and their families."

McCarthy's family isn't exactly sure when the sculpture will be placed in the park. Joe's father said they have agreed to participate in the Springerville Fourth of July parade, and they will keep it on the flatbed at least until then.

"Joe was special," his father said. "I internalize my feelings more than Rhonda. But it's different now for us. I'd guess most families who lost someone are the same. All those days in the year that used to be happy days -- the holidays, birthdays, anniversaries -- those days can be pretty ... rough. Guess that never goes away."

Their son, whose sculpted image finally is coming home to St. Johns, sent an e-mail to his new wife not long before he was killed. It reads:

"Other than wishing my Nana and Poppy were still alive, I would not trade in my life for anything. To me, I have the perfect life; perfect parents, perfect friends, perfect you, perfect job, perfect everything."

56. 58,282 Names And Each One Hits Close To Home For Somebody

By Dermot Cole

As Fairbanks TV reporter Tom Hewitt put it, "It's surprising how powerful something so simple as names on a wall can be."

Hewitt, a talented young journalist, wrote a story for Channel 13 News the other day about the latest appearance in Fairbanks of the "moving wall," the half-sized replica of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial.

In the final seconds of the video he said, "for most of us, there's at least one person on the wall that hits close to home."

Hewitt, 29, closed his piece by bending down and inspecting the name of Thomas T. Hewitt.

Thomas T. Hewitt and his twin brother, John Hewitt, were born 15 minutes apart on April 21, 1945 in Topeka.

They grew up hunting and exploring the outdoors, but they did not have identical interests. John loved literature and writing. Thomas excelled in sports and math. He never lost at poker and he never let anyone forget it.

The Army knew him as Capt. Thomas Theodore Hewitt, a graduate of Topeka High School who earned an ROTC scholarship and a degree in geography at Kansas University in 1967.

John went to Vietnam in 1968 as a Marine lieutenant and was seriously wounded. After five months in the hospital he returned to his adopted home of Fairbanks, where he still lives today with his family. He is a retired writer and carpenter, but he remains a storyteller.

I talked to John Saturday and asked if he remembered how he learned of Tom's death. Of course he did.

John had gone to Harding Lake in July 1970 to help out at a Girl Scout camp.

Communications being what they were, he had told the Alaska State Troopers exactly where they would be in case someone needed to be contacted at Camp Bingle.

"I was walking on the beach at Harding Lake when a trooper came up to me and I said, 'Well, I know why you are here,'" John said.

The Trooper was taken aback and didn't know quite how to respond except to say, "Why?"

"My brother is either wounded or killed in Vietnam," John told the officer.

Call it intuition or an unlucky guess. After his head injury in Vietnam, John said he had often thought his twin would meet the same fate or worse. It was worse.

"I wasn't supposed to tell you this, but I will anyhow," the Trooper said. "Your brother was killed and your mother wants you to get in touch with her immediately."

A nearby lodge owner refused to let John use the phone for a long distance call, so he had to drive back to town, call his mother in Kansas and book a flight for the funeral.

In the months ahead, he learned a little about what had happened to his brother on July 2, 1970, an episode in what became known as the Battle of Ripcord, but many years later he was at the bookstore in the Bentley Mall with his daughter Katherine and he picked up, "Ripcord: Screaming Eagles Under Siege, Vietnam 1970."

He said he thought it might contain something about Thomas, but he opened it up and was surprised to see this statement: "It is true that Hewitt basically killed himself. It is also true that he might have proved at least an adequate commander had he had more

time to get his feet on the ground."

"Hewitt was a good guy," Pfc. Gerald Cafferty said. "But he just didn't have it as far as experience and he didn't get the chance to learn what he needed to know before we got hit by the sappers."

Sgt. Jerry Moyer recalled a poker game inside a bunker at which Thomas kept winning pots of \$40 and \$50 and rubbing it in.

"Hewitt was doing real good, talking about 'this is my car payment,' 'this is my house payment.' It's kind of ironic that he got killed right after raking in all that cash."

Hewitt had an "overconfidence born of inexperience," the author said, and put a hammock in an exposed spot and was too casual about security. But he had also asked about moving to a more secure spot than Hill 902, so as not to spend a second night in the same position, but he was denied permission.

He died at 3:46 a.m. on July 2, 1970 from the first rocket-propelled grenade fired in an ambush. His body was found in the mangled hammock, his legs and one arm missing.

John believes that with Tom's lack of experience--he had served before only as an advisor to a Vietnamese Ranger Battalion--the Army had given him the "worst possible assignment."

John, who named his first son after his twin brother, said he is grateful that he came across that book in the Bentley Mall all those years ago. It filled in missing details about the name on the wall that means the most to him.

Tom Hewitt, whose name is on the wall, would be proud of the nephew in Fairbanks he never knew, the reporter for Channel 13 who shares his name.

Los Angeles Times
June 3, 2012
Pg. 25

57. Safeguarding The Right To Trial

*Congress should ban the
indefinite detention of
Americans arrested in the U.S.
as suspected terrorists.*

Can a U.S. citizen arrested in this country on terrorism charges be detained without trial? As with other aspects of the war on terror, the answer isn't clear. Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.) has proposed important legislation that would end the ambiguity and explicitly prohibit indefinite detention in such cases.

A defense authorization bill signed by President Obama last year authorized the military to detain any "person" who supported Al Qaeda, the Taliban "or associated forces." But it also said that nothing in the bill "shall be construed to affect existing law or authorities, relating to the detention of United States citizens, lawful resident aliens of the United States or any other persons who are captured or arrested in the United States." In signing the bill, Obama promised that his administration "will not authorize the indefinite military detention without trial of American citizens."

But there is no guarantee that Obama will be president after this year's election, which means that U.S. citizens would be protected only by the "existing law" referred to in the defense authorization. And there is at least one source for the proposition that U.S. citizens could be detained without trial under the laws of war: a 2004 Supreme Court decision called *Hamdi vs. Rumsfeld*. In that ruling, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor

wrote that the government could hold a U.S. citizen as an enemy combatant provided the prisoner had the opportunity to rebut charges before a "neutral decision-maker."

But that is not the same thing as a civilian trial. Nor is the opportunity to petition for a writ of habeas corpus, which is available even to foreign detainees. Important as habeas is, it falls short of affording the protections of a jury trial.

Feinstein's proposed Due Process Guarantee Act states: "An authorization to use military force, a declaration of war, or any similar authority shall not authorize the detention without charge or trial of a citizen or lawful permanent resident of the United States apprehended in the United States, unless an act of Congress expressly authorizes such detention."

Adding Feinstein's language to the 2013 defense authorization bill would do away with an ambiguity that a future administration could exploit to hold Americans without trial. The question is whether it goes far enough. Not only U.S. citizens arrested in the United States but those arrested abroad -- and, for that matter, all suspected terrorists -- should be afforded a civilian trial.

Unfortunately, despite the proven success of the civilian justice system in trying terrorism cases, Congress continues to thwart the administration's original plan to hold civilian trials for detainees now held at Guantanamo, including Khalid Shaikh Mohammed, the self-proclaimed architect of the Sept. 11 attacks. (Mohammed and four confederates are instead being tried by a military commission.) Congress should establish one system of justice for all suspected terrorists, but the Feinstein bill would at least

codify Obama's promise that no U.S. citizen will be held without trial.