

# CURRENT NEWS

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## EARLY BIRD

June 4, 2012

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### PANETTA TRIP

1. **Vietnam Opens New Areas For US MIA Search**  
(*Yahoo.com*)....Dan De Luce, Agence France-Presse  
Vietnam will open up three new areas to American teams searching for missing war-time soldiers, its defence chief announced on Monday during talks with his US counterpart Leon Panetta.
2. **Hanoi Opens 3 New Sites For POW Search**  
(*Arizona Daily Star (Tucson)*)....Associated Press  
The Vietnamese government on Monday agreed to open three new sites in the country for excavation by the United States to search for troop remains from the war, the minister of defense told U.S. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta during a meeting here.
3. **Vietnam Opens 3 New Sites To Let U.S. Look For War MIA**  
(*Bloomberg.com*)....Bloomberg News  
Vietnam agreed today to open three previously restricted sites to the U.S. for future excavation in the search for American troops missing in action from the Vietnam War.
4. **U.S., Vietnam Exchange War Artifacts**  
(*Wall Street Journal (wsj.com)*)....Julian E. Barnes  
Top U.S. and Vietnamese defense officials exchanged letters and diaries of fallen soldiers taken during the Vietnam war, the highest level exchange of artifacts since the normalization of relations 17 years ago.
5. **U.S., Vietnam Militaries Edge Closer**  
(*Wall Street Journal*)....Julian E. Barnes  
U.S. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta on Sunday visited this deepwater port and former American military base as part of an effort to promote a closer military partnership with the Vietnamese and reassert the U.S. presence in Asia.
6. **U.S. Seeks Closer Ties With Vietnam**  
(*Washington Post*)....William Wan  
...In Cam Ranh Bay, for example, Vietnam has begun in the last few years to allow U.S. Navy supply ships to dock for repairs and maintenance. Panetta toured one such ship on Sunday.
7. **U.S. Seeks Use Of Port In Vietnam**  
(*Los Angeles Times*)....David S. Cloud  
..."Access for United States naval ships into this facility is a key component" of the American relationship with Vietnam, "and we see the tremendous potential here," Panetta told reporters, standing on the stern of a Navy supply ship anchored near the bay entrance, undergoing maintenance.

8. **Access To Pacific Harbors Key To U.S. Strategy: Panetta**  
(*Reuters.com*)....David Alexander, Reuters  
Defense Secretary Leon Panetta visited a deep-water Vietnamese port near the contested South China Sea on Sunday, calling access to such harbors critical as the U.S. shifts 60 percent of its warships to the Asia-Pacific by 2020.
9. **Panetta Crosses Symbolic Threshold In Vietnam Visit**  
(*South China Morning Post*)....Greg Torode  
As US Defence Secretary Leon Panetta yesterday crossed the symbolic threshold of visiting Vietnam's strategic Cam Ranh Bay, attention was already shifting to just how deep their historic military ties may become.
10. **Panetta Makes Symbolic Visit To Vietnam**  
(*Financial Times*)....Demetri Sevastopulo  
Leon Panetta on Sunday became the first US defence secretary to visit Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam in more than three decades, in a highly symbolic visit that highlights the growing military rivalry between the US and China in the Pacific.
11. **Pentagon Looks To Expand Military Relationship With Vietnam**  
(*DefenseNews.com*)....Marcus Weisgerber  
The U.S. Defense Department hopes to gain greater access for Navy ships into a key port here as the Pentagon looks to broaden its military partnership with Vietnam.
12. **Panetta, In Historic Vietnam Visit, Sends Signal To China**  
(*Philadelphia Inquirer*)....Lolita C. Baldor, Associated Press  
U.S. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta used a visit Sunday to Vietnam to make clear Washington's intent to aid allies in the Asia-Pacific region develop and enforce maritime rights in the South China Sea, which Beijing largely claims.
13. **'This Ship Is America'**  
(*Stars and Stripes*)....Jennifer Hlad  
...This year marks 17 years since the normalization of relations between the U.S. and Vietnam, and Panetta said he is "very confident" that the two countries can improve their partnership.
14. **U.S. Works To Rebuild Ties In Asia-Pacific**  
(*NPR.org*)....Larry Abramson  
Defense Secretary Leon Panetta is trying to send a message during a weeklong trip to the Asia-Pacific region: The U.S. is back.

## ASIA/PACIFIC

15. **U.S. Joint Chiefs Chairman Arrives In Philippines For Talks**  
(*Kyodo News*)....Kyodo  
Gen. Martin Dempsey, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, arrived in Manila on Sunday for a two-day visit to include meetings with Philippine civilian and military leaders, the U.S. Embassy in Manila said in a statement.
16. **Highest Ranking US Military Official In Phl Today**  
(*Philippine Star*)....Alexis Romero and Roel Pareno  
...Armed Forces spokesman Col. Arnulfo Burgos Jr. said Dempsey will meet Armed Forces chief Gen. Jessie Dellosa in Camp Aguinaldo in Quezon City
17. **Lips, Teeth And The U.S. Navy**  
(*IHT Rendezvous (NYTimes.com)*)....Mark McDonald  
...Hanoi cozying up to Washington, especially with a growing military-to-military relationship, is not something that Chinese defense planners are likely to welcome or encourage.
18. **US Shift Must Be Watched: Analysts**

(*China Daily*)....Zhang Haizhou and Zhao Shengnan

Despite the United States claiming that its naval shift to the Asia-Pacific is not designed to contain China, Washington's strategy needs closer attention amid a tense maritime situation, analysts said.

19. **Beijing Unfazed By US' Asia Pivot**

(*Singapore Straits Times*)....Jermyn Chow

BEIJING will be more vigilant, but will not "lash back" as the United States moves the bulk of its warships to this part of the world, said a Chinese general.

20. **Australia Welcomes Enhanced US Presence In Pacific**

(*Yahoo.com*)....Madeleine Coorey, Agence France-Presse

Australian Defence Minister Stephen Smith on Sunday welcomed the United States' plans for an enhanced naval presence in the Pacific, and said this should not impact Canberra's relationship with China.

21. **S. Korea, U.S. Far Apart On Extending Missile Range: Source**

(*Yonhap News Agency*)....Yonhap

The talks between South Korea and the United States that could allow Seoul to extend the range of its ballistic missiles to cover all of North Korea have not been going well, as the allies have failed to narrow differences, a government source here said Monday.

22. **North Korea Threatens To Attack South Korean Media**

(*Yahoo.com*)....Agence France-Presse

North Korea's military on Monday threatened rocket attacks on the Seoul offices of South Korean media outlets for their critical coverage of a mass children's event in Pyongyang.

23. **3 U.S. Warships Arrive In Waters Off Indonesia For Joint Exercise**

(*Xinhua News Agency*)....Xinhua

Three U.S. warships were stationed off waters of Situbondo town of East Java on Monday to take part in joint exercises with the Indonesian navy, local media reported.

24. **First Satellite For Armed Forces To Be Ready In A Month**

(*Times of India*)....Rajat Pandit, Times News Network

The armed forces are finally set to get their first-ever dedicated military satellite, a naval surveillance and communications one, as part of their long-standing quest to effectively harness the final frontier of space.

## CONGRESS

25. **Some Lawmakers Look For Way Out As Defense Cuts Near**

(*New York Times*)....Jonathan Weisman

...A special select committee was assigned to come up with at least \$1.2 trillion in deficit reduction over 10 years. If it failed, the cuts would come automatically, half to national security, half to domestic programs. It failed, and the reckoning is approaching.

26. **Senate Panel Agrees To Block TRICARE Fee Increases**

(*Newport News Daily Press*)....Tom Philpott

The Senate Armed Services Committee has agreed with its House counterpart to block the Obama administration's plan to phase in some new and some significantly higher TRICARE enrollment fees and deductibles for military retirees and their families.

27. **Alaska's Senators Question Air Force Over New Aircraft**

(*Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*)....Sam Friedman

...In addition to opposing the Air Force's plans to move Eielson Air Force Bases' F-16 fighter planes to Anchorage, U.S. Sens. Mark Begich and Lisa Murkowski are second-guessing the way the military deploys a new aircraft, the KC-46A.

## MIDEAST

28. **Assad Condemns Houla Massacre, Blaming Terrorists**  
*(New York Times)*....Neil MacFarquhar  
 President Bashar al-Assad denied Sunday that the Syrian government played a role in the massacre in the village of Houla, using his first speech in five months to reiterate his line that foreigners were fomenting the violence in Syria.
29. **Israel Deploys Nuclear Weapons On German-Built Submarines**  
*(Spiegel Online International (Germany))*....Unattributed  
 Germany is helping Israel to develop its military nuclear capabilities, SPIEGEL has learned. According to extensive research carried out by the magazine, Israel is equipping submarines that were built in the northern German city of Kiel and largely paid for by the German government with nuclear-tipped cruise missiles.
30. **Iran's Khamenei Warns Israel Of 'Lightning' Reply**  
*(San Francisco Chronicle)*....Associated Press  
 Iran's Supreme Leader warned Sunday that any Israeli attack would be answered with a "lightning" response by the Islamic Republic and suggested Iran's nuclear program cannot be curtailed by Western sanctions.
31. **Iran Edict Seen As Aiding Al-Maliki**  
*(Arizona Daily Star (Tucson))*....Associated Press  
 An Iranian-based Shiite Muslim cleric on Sunday published a religious edict that could undermine efforts to unseat the Iraqi prime minister and also signaled Iran's growing influence over Iraq's politics.
32. **Car Bomb In Baghdad Kills At Least Six: Sources**  
*(Reuters.com)*....Reuters  
 A car bomb exploded outside a Shi'ite administration office in central Baghdad on Monday, killing at least six people and wounding 18 more, hospital and police sources said.

## AFGHANISTAN

33. **Intrigue In Karzai Family As An Afghan Era Closes**  
*(New York Times)*....James Risen  
 With the end in sight for Hamid Karzai's days in office as Afghanistan's president, members of his family are trying to protect their status, weighing how to hold on to power while secretly fighting among themselves for control of the fortune they have amassed in the last decade.
34. **Bank Case Gets Tribunal At Behest Of Karzai, Who Also Acts On Afghan Rape Charge**  
*(New York Times)*....Alissa J. Rubin  
 Twenty-one criminal indictments in the huge Kabul Bank fraud case have been sent to a special tribunal at the urging of President Hamid Karzai, including that of the bank's chairman and chief executive, Afghan officials said this weekend. In a separate case, Mr. Karzai called for the disarming of a unit of the American-backed Afghan Local Police, whose members are accused in the rape and abuse of an 18-year-old woman in the northern province of Kunduz.
35. **Did Kabul Gunbattle Change Afghans' View Of Their Army?**  
*(BBC News (news.bbc.co.uk))*....Asif Maroof and Johannes Dell, BBC News  
 As Nato troops prepare to withdraw, the Afghan army and police have taken the lead in battling some of the most challenging insurgent attacks in recent months. As their role increases, they have won praise not only from Nato allies, but also from the wider public.

## PAKISTAN

36. **US Missiles Kill 15 In Pakistan: Officials**  
*(Yahoo.com)*....Hasbanullah Khan, Agence France-Presse

US missiles killed 15 militants in Pakistan's Taliban and Al-Qaeda stronghold of North Waziristan on Monday, the third drone strike in three days and the deadliest this year, officials said.

37. **Pakistan And U.S.: Allies Without Trust**

*(Reuters.com)*...Michael Georgy, Reuters

...Rising antipathy towards Washington makes it tougher for the government - already unpopular because of its failure to tackle poverty, power cuts and corruption - to do anything that might be seen as caving in to U.S. demands, especially ahead of general elections expected early next year.

## EUROPE

38. **US Naval Shift To Asia 'Will Leave Gaps In Nato Defence'**

*(London Times)*...Richard Lloyd Parry

American plans to move ships from the Atlantic to the Pacific will leave gaps in Nato defences because of the effect of the European economic crisis, Britain's Armed Forces Minister has warned.

## ARMY

39. **Delta Force: Army's 'Quiet Professionals'**

*(Washington Times)*...Rowan Scarborough

As Navy SEALs bask in the limelight for daring missions, some in the Army are wondering whether the other half of the nation's counter- terrorism covert warriors - Delta Force - is being upstaged and left in the shadows.

## NAVY

40. **Navy Hopes Stealth Ship Answers A Rising China**

*(Yahoo.com)*...Eric Talmadge, Associated Press

A super-stealthy warship that could underpin the U.S. navy's China strategy will be able to sneak up on coastlines virtually undetected and pound targets with electromagnetic "railguns" right out of a sci-fi movie.

41. **Navy Uncertain On Repair Of Fire-Damaged Sub**

*(Wall Street Journal)*...Associated Press

The Navy is evaluating whether it is worth spending millions of dollars to repair the USS Miami, the nuclear-powered submarine damaged in a fire in a Maine shipyard.

## CYBER WARFARE

42. **Expert Issues A Cyberwar Warning**

*(New York Times)*...Andrew E. Kramer and Nicole Perlroth

When Eugene Kaspersky, the founder of Europe's largest antivirus company, discovered the Flame virus that is afflicting computers in Iran and the Middle East, he recognized it as a technologically sophisticated virus that only a government could create.

43. **Everyday Machines Vulnerable To Hacking**

*(Washington Post)*...Robert O'Harrow Jr.

...Uncounted numbers of industrial control computers, the systems that automate such things as water plants and power grids, were linked in, and in some cases they were wide open to exploitation by even moderately talented hackers. Control computers were built to run behind the safety of brick walls. But such security is rapidly eroded by links to the Internet.

44. **Deploying Cyber Weapons Carries Big Risk, Experts Say**

*(Honolulu Star-Advertiser)*...Richard Lardner, Associated Press

...The government's dual roles of alerting U.S. companies about these threats and producing powerful software weapons and eavesdropping tools underscore the risks of an unintended online boomerang. Unlike a bullet or missile

fired at an enemy, a cyberweapon that spreads across the Internet may circle back accidentally to infect computers it was never supposed to target

## MILITARY

45. **'Military Mom' Jill Biden Can't Forget Our Troops**  
*(USA Today)*....Susan Page  
 ...But she has produced a deliberately non-political book, a low-key account of Natalie's year while her father, a major in the Army National Guard and Delaware's attorney general, was in Iraq. "This is so kids don't feel alone" when they are scared or sad about their mother or father's absence, says Biden, an English professor who calls herself "a military mom."
46. **Ceremonies Arise To Recognize Military-Bound Grads**  
*(Arizona Daily Star (Tucson))*....Associated Press  
 ...But a group that started in southern New Jersey four years ago is trying to bring more attention to graduates who are joining the military. Our Community Salutes is hosting ceremonies this year in more than 20 towns across the country.

## DRUG WAR

47. **U.S. Stalks Seas Filled With Smugglers**  
*(Houston Chronicle)*....Dane Schiller  
 A U. S. Navy frigate hides in the darkness just over the horizon, its Seahawk helicopter's turbines fired up, ready for liftoff. Some 30 miles away, Colombian sailors on patrol boats hug the South American coast as they covertly close in on a motorboat suspected of ferrying cocaine.

## BUSINESS

48. **Defense Contractors Sound Alarm On Federal Budget Cuts**  
*(Washington Post)*....Marjorie Censer, Capital Business Staff Writer  
 Defense contractors are speaking up increasingly loudly against the possibility of mandatory federal budget reductions starting in January, warning that the cuts would take a toll on their businesses.

## COMMENTARY

49. **Rays Of Hope In Afghanistan**  
*(Washington Times)*....Michael O'Hanlon  
 The war in Afghanistan is a slog at best. Even those of us supporting the mission there must acknowledge that it has been slower, harder going than expected. With Osama bin Laden dead and other al Qaeda leaders also out of the picture (or out of the region) the original motivation for the effort seems less compelling to many as well.
50. **Should Sanctions Be Eased Before A Deal With Iran?**  
*(Arizona Daily Star (Tucson))*....John B. Quigley; Lawrence J. Haas  
 Yes: Move would show good faith; No: West's actions forcing Iran to deal.
51. **Thorny Issues Dogging China's Submarine Strategy**  
*(Singapore Straits Times)*....Robert Karniol  
 YOU'VE got to wonder why China is pouring vast sums, and considerable effort, into a strategic submarine programme that appears to lack any operational purpose.
52. **Maritime Hypocrisy Puts U.S. At Disadvantage**  
*(Japan Times)*....Mark Valencia  
 It was quite a scene in the U.S. Senate on May 23 as Defense Secretary Leon Panetta, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Martin Dempsey, all testified before the Foreign Relations Committee.

53. **Wanted: New Planes**  
(*Washington Times*)....F. Whitten Peters and Michael W. Wynne  
Aging Air Force infrastructure impacts readiness.
54. **Women In Combat**  
(*New York Times*)....Editorial  
More than 130 American women in military service have died in the Iraq and Afghanistan wars. More than 800 women have been wounded. Women make up almost 15 percent of the 1.4 million Americans on active military status and many are regularly engaged in combat activities as part of their service.
55. **Code Wars**  
(*Washington Post*)....Editorial  
The growing cyber arms race.
56. **Secret Sharer**  
(*New York Daily News*)....Editorial  
...That the Stuxnet affair and the drone program are both to be proudly applauded does not relieve officials of the moral, strategic and legal duty to keep secrets. Nor can leaking the Stuxnet details be justified on the ground that everyone suspected the U.S. and Israel, so what the heck.
57. **Drug Interdiction**  
(*Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*)....Editorial  
A drug raid last month by Honduran police and U.S. agents in State Department helicopters killed four civilians and has drawn attention to Washington's growing involvement there.

## **CORRECTIONS**

58. **Corrections And Amplifications**  
(*Wall Street Journal*)....The Wall Street Journal  
The Pentagon's spending is projected to shrink by \$487 billion over the next 10 years. In some editions Saturday, a World News article about U.S. plans to shift the bulk of its naval assets to Asia omitted the word billion in citing the figure.

Yahoo.com  
June 4, 2012

## 1. Vietnam Opens New Areas For US MIA Search

By Dan De Luce, Agence France-Presse

Vietnam will open up three new areas to American teams searching for missing war-time soldiers, its defence chief announced on Monday during talks with his US counterpart Leon Panetta.

The pledge came on the second day of a highly symbolic visit by the Pentagon chief that reflects Washington's efforts to deepen ties with Vietnam as it seeks to counter China's growing power in the region.

"We have taken some very important steps in advancing that relationship in our meeting," Panetta said at a news conference.

Panetta and Vietnamese Defence Minister Phung Quang Thanh exchanged artifacts -- a Vietnamese soldier's diary and a collection of personal letters written by a US soldier -- taken by service members during the Vietnam War.

Panetta thanked the Vietnamese side "for their longstanding assistance in efforts to identify and locate the remains of our fallen service members and those missing in action in Vietnam".

He added: "In particular, I want to thank him for his offer to open up three new areas for remains recovery."

The new excavation areas include an aircraft crash site in Quang Binh province in central Vietnam and an area where a US soldier went missing in Kon Tum province bordering Cambodian and Laos.

"His unit was on a search and destroy mission around the time of the Tet Offensive. It was quite a fierce battle," said Ron Ward of the Joint Prisoners of War, Missing in Action

Accounting Command, the US body that handles the search for MIAs.

The 1968 offensive by the communist North, which violated a truce marking the traditional Tet Lunar New Year, caught US and South Vietnamese forces off-guard and marked a turning point in the war.

For more than two decades, Hanoi and Washington have cooperated on the recovery of American servicemen listed as missing from the conflict, which ended in 1975 with Vietnam's reunification.

With witnesses ageing and acidic soil eating into the buried remains, investigators are racing to find the bodies of those still classed as missing and said Monday that they may have as little as five years before all evidence is lost.

On Sunday, Panetta became the first Pentagon chief to visit southern Cam Ranh Bay -- which was used as a major American base during the Vietnam War -- since the end of the conflict.

He said the port could play a pivotal role in the American military's shift towards the Asia-Pacific.

Panetta, who announced new plans Saturday to shift the majority of the US naval fleet to the Pacific by 2020, said he saw "tremendous potential" for US naval ship access at Cam Ranh.

He said, however, that greater military assistance to the Vietnam, which signed an memorandum on defense cooperation with the US last year, would "depend in part on the progress being made on human rights."

The US does not sell lethal weapons to Vietnam due to human rights concerns, but defence minister Thanh said his country would be interested in purchasing US weapons and

hoped that Washington would lift these restrictions.

The Pentagon's plan to send more ships to the Pacific reflects US concern over China's rising economic and military might. But Panetta has insisted the strategy is not a challenge to Beijing.

"Our goal is to work with all nations in this region, including China" to promote prosperity and security, Panetta said.

Thanh said that China was "a comprehensive and strategic partner of Vietnam," and that Vietnam's foreign policy was of "independence and sovereignty" and so Hanoi would not work with one country against another.

Hanoi and Beijing have rival claims to islands in the South China Sea, which is believed to encompass huge oil and gas reserves.

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Arizona Daily Star (Tucson)  
June 4, 2012

## 2. Hanoi Opens 3 New Sites For POW Search

By Associated Press

The Vietnamese government on Monday agreed to open three new sites in the country for excavation by the United States to search for troop remains from the war, the minister of defense told U.S. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta during a meeting here.

The announcement came as Panetta and Vietnam Defense Minister Phung Quang Thanh exchanged artifacts collected during the war--letters written by a U.S. soldier who was killed that had been kept and used as propaganda, and a small maroon diary belonging to a Vietnamese soldier. A U.S. service member took the journal back to the U.S.

U.S. officials said this is the first time such a joint exchange of war artifacts has

occurred. The two defense leaders agreed to return the papers to the families of the deceased soldiers.

During the meeting with Panetta, Vietnamese officials said they would open the three previously restricted sites that the Pentagon believes are critical to locating troops missing in action.

The letters were written by U.S. Army Sgt. Steve Flaherty, who was from Columbia, S.C. and was with the 101st Airborne. He was killed in the northern section of South Vietnam in March 1969. According to defense officials, Vietnamese forces took Flaherty's letters and used them in broadcasts during the war.

Vietnamese Col. Nguyen Phu Dat kept the letters, but it was not until last August, when he mentioned them in an online publication, that they started to come to light.

Early this year, Robert Destatte, a retired Defense Department employee who had worked for the POW/MIA office, noticed the online publication, and the Pentagon began to work to get the letters back to Flaherty's family.

The small diary belonged to Vu Dinh Doan, a Vietnamese soldier who was found killed in a machine gun fight, according to defense officials. Officials said that a Marine, Robert "Ira" Frazure of Walla Walla, Wash., saw the diary--with a photo and some money inside--on the chest of the dead soldier and took it back to the U.S.

The diary came to light earlier this year when the sister of a friend of Frazure's was doing research for a book and Frazure asked her help in returning the diary. The sister, Marge Scooter, brought the diary to the PBS television program History Detectives.

The show then asked the Defense and State departments to help return the diary.

Bloomberg.com

June 4, 2012

### 3. Vietnam Opens 3 New Sites To Let U.S. Look For War MIA

By Bloomberg News

Vietnam agreed today to open three previously restricted sites to the U.S. for future excavation in the search for American troops missing in action from the Vietnam War.

U.S. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta reached the agreement with Vietnamese Defense Minister Phung Quang Thanh in a meeting today in Hanoi. Vietnam still restricts eight sites, U.S. Pacific Command Casualty Resolution Specialist Ron Ward said in a briefing with reporters today in Hanoi.

The announcement reflects improving relations between the former combatants from a war that began 50 years ago and ended in 1975. Panetta's trip underscores an effort by the Obama administration to expand the U.S. presence in Asia to counter China's rising influence.

The U.S. says 1,666 personnel are still missing from the conflict and of those, 1,284 are in Vietnam. The three sites opened up for investigation include a location in the Quang Binh province in central Vietnam, just north of the former demilitarized zone line that divided North Vietnam from the South.

#### Aircraft Lost

A U.S. Air Force F-4C was lost in the Quang Binh province in 1967, likely downed by hostile fire, and two pilots are believed missing, Ward said. The second site is in the province of Kon Tum near the Cambodia border, where

an Army private is believed missing, and the last is in Quang Tri, where a Marine Corps F-4J aircraft went down, he said. One of the pilots ejected and the other is believed missing, Ward said.

Panetta and Thanh also returned artifacts taken by service members of both nations during the Vietnam War in the first such exchange of its kind, Pentagon spokesman George Little said in a statement.

Panetta presented Thanh with the diary of Vietnamese soldier Vu Dinh Doan, which was taken by U.S. Marine Corps serviceman Robert Frazure in 1966. Thanh presented Panetta with personal letters of U.S. Army Sergeant Steve Flaherty, who was killed in action in 1969. Excerpts of Flaherty's letters were used for propaganda broadcasts by Vietnamese forces during the war, according to the statement.

Both ministers agreed to return the items to relatives of the deceased soldiers, according to the statement.

Wall Street Journal (wsj.com)

June 4, 2012

### 4. U.S., Vietnam Exchange War Artifacts

By Julian E. Barnes

Hanoi--Top U.S. and Vietnamese defense officials exchanged letters and diaries of fallen soldiers taken during the Vietnam war, the highest level exchange of artifacts since the normalization of relations 17 years ago.

Vietnamese Minister of Defense Gen Phung Quang Thanh also announced that Hanoi would open up three additional sites to teams from the United States hunting for the remains of service members missing in action from the war.

Gen. Quang Thanh presented U.S. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta with

the letters taken from a 101st Airborne Division soldier, Sgt. Steve Flaherty, killed in 1969 and later used for propaganda broadcasts by North Vietnam.

Mr. Panetta, in exchange, presented a diary taken from a fallen North Vietnamese soldier by a U.S. Marine. The exchange took place in Vietnam's Ministry of Defense, the K2000.

"This historic exchange between defense leaders demonstrates the progress and partnership our two nations have made in the 17 years since the normalization of relations," said Pentagon Press Secretary George Little.

The diary, by Vu Dinh Doan, was presented to the Department of Defense by the PBS program "History Detectives," which tracked down the family of the Vietnamese soldier and asked the U.S. government to help to return the diary to the Vietnamese government. The diary was originally taken from Mr. Doan's body by a U.S. Marine, Robert Frazure.

Sgt. Flaherty's letters were taken from his body after he was killed in March 1969. After the war, a Vietnamese senior colonel kept the letters. In August 2011, in an online posting, the retired colonel made reference to the letters. A retired Department of Defense employee discovered the online posting, and raised the issue with the Pentagon, which requested their return.

The letters of Sgt. Flaherty, originally from Columbia, S.C., will be returned to his family.

Wall Street Journal

June 4, 2012

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### 5. U.S., Vietnam Militaries Edge Closer

*Panetta Visits Nation's Former Foe in Attempt to Forge*

*Tighter Ties, Assert Presence in South China Sea*

By Julian E. Barnes

CAM RANH BAY, Vietnam--U.S. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta on Sunday visited this deepwater port and former American military base as part of an effort to promote a closer military partnership with the Vietnamese and reassert the U.S. presence in Asia.

The trip was an important sign of American aspirations in the region. Mr. Panetta indicated that the U.S. Navy would like to once more have regular access to the bay, which commands a strategic location on the South China Sea.

The visit also had deep historical resonance. Mr. Panetta is the first Defense Secretary to visit Cam Ranh Bay since the end of the Vietnam War. During the war the bay served as a major logistic hub for the U.S. military. On Sunday, Mr. Panetta toured a Navy supply ship, the USNS Richard E. Byrd, currently anchored in the bay.

"All of us recall a great deal of blood was spilled in this war on all sides, by Americans and by Vietnamese," Mr. Panetta said aboard the Byrd. "If out of all of that sacrifice we can build a strong partnership that looks to the future, then perhaps not only can we begin to heal the wounds of the past, we can build a better future for our people in the Asia-Pacific region."

Supply ships like the Byrd have a handful of Navy sailors aboard but have a mostly civilian crew.

The new military strategy unveiled by the U.S. this year has partially shifted the focus of American military operations to the Pacific. On Saturday, before arriving in Vietnam, Mr. Panetta announced that by the next decade, 60% of U.S. Navy

warships would be stationed in the Pacific.

A key part of the new strategy is to expand ties with countries in Southeast Asia. While Vietnam currently keeps fairly tight limits on how many warships can visit, U.S. officials remain hopeful over time the partnership can grow.

"It will be particularly important to work with partners like Vietnam to use harbors like this as we move our ships from our ports on the west coast to our stations here in the Pacific," Mr. Panetta said.

After the end of the war and unification of Vietnam, Cam Ranh Bay became a major port for the Soviet Union. Today, the Vietnamese government is trying to make the bay into a commercial port.

Mr. Panetta is in Asia as part of an effort to explain the new American strategy in the Pacific region, and begin to put it into effect by trying to make progress in developing deeper partnerships with Vietnam, Singapore and India.

Mr. Panetta is due to meet with senior Vietnamese officials on Monday, including Defense Minister Phung Quang Than. Defense officials have insisted that they aren't using Mr. Panetta's visit to secure any concrete agreements with the government in Hanoi, but other officials say the visit is part of a longer-term effort by the U.S. to strengthen military ties with Hanoi. Some American officials would like to see the U.S. eventually participate in regular training exercises with the Vietnamese military.

Relations with Vietnam were normalized in 1995. Since 2003, 20 U.S. ships have visited Vietnam, according to defense officials.

Vietnam has embraced stronger ties with the U.S. in part to assert its independence

from China. Vietnam and China have clashed over competing claims in the South China Sea, which may contain important oil reserves. And Vietnam is anxious for American help in countering efforts by China to assert itself in the South China Sea.

Still, officials say Vietnam is wary about allowing U.S. Naval forces to create any sort of semipermanent base or regularized training program. Memories of the Vietnam War have prevented older Vietnamese military officials from fully embracing partnership with the United States, according to some officials.

Mr. Panetta acknowledged that the U.S. and Vietnam have a complicated relationship, but he said the two countries are "not bound by that history." U.S. defense officials say it will be up to Hanoi to determine how fast to develop the partnership.

"We have to listen to where Vietnam wants to go with the relationship," said a defense official.

U.S. officials have said in recent days they are crafting partnerships specifically tailored to different countries. Some, like Australia, are happy to have a larger rotational presence of troops. Others, like Singapore, are happy to host ships, but are wary of any permanent presence of American service members ashore.

Defense analysts say that in the future agreements to use military facilities in the event of a conflict will be more informal.

U.S. defense officials say the days of large, Cold War-style bases are over. Instead, the U.S. wants to develop partnerships to train other nation's militaries, but avoid creating large footprints in additional countries.

"We need to obviously build a stronger defense relationship with countries like Vietnam, and elsewhere so that we can help provide them the training, assistance, whatever they need to improve their capabilities," Mr. Panetta said.

Washington Post

June 4, 2012

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## 6. U.S. Seeks Closer Ties With Vietnam

*Defense secretary visits Cam Ranh Bay, which could be strategic key*

By William Wan

CAM RANH BAY, Vietnam — America's top defense official traveled to Cam Ranh Bay on Sunday, a symbolic return to what was a vital naval base for the United States during the Vietnam War.

Leon E. Panetta's visit to the bay — the first by a U.S. secretary of defense in more than three decades — was intended to highlight a deepening partnership between the United States and its former foe as both seek to counter the growing influence and military assertiveness of China.

"We've come a long way, particularly with regards to our defense relationship," Panetta said, noting that "a great deal of blood was spilled in this war on all sides — by Americans and by Vietnamese."

For the Obama administration, which is attempting to reorient its foreign policy and military toward Asia in part because of China's rise, Vietnam represents a key opportunity.

"This is a country that's clearly thinking very strategically about China and its place in Asia," said Ernie Bower, a Southeast Asia expert at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. "And Vietnam has

turned out to be one of the more straight shooters. They call it like they see it on China. That's something attractive to the U.S."

The two countries signed a general agreement last year for defense cooperation, and during his two-day stay Panetta will work on the details of implementing that agreement with the defense minister and other top Vietnamese leaders.

The hope is that military cooperation will advance to the point where Vietnam would provide a key military access point and possibly even host a rotation of U.S. troops and Navy warships—a new approach the United States is adopting in Australia and Singapore and looking to implement in the Philippines.

Such arrangements are seen by defense leaders as a way to project American power at a lower cost and impose a lighter American footprint in countries where more permanent methods, such as a U.S. military base, would not be welcome.

There are signs Vietnam may be ripe for such an arrangement in coming years; since 2003, 20 U.S. Navy ships have been allowed stops in Vietnam.

In Cam Ranh Bay, for example, Vietnam has begun in the last few years to allow U.S. Navy supply ships to dock for repairs and maintenance. Panetta toured one such ship on Sunday.

Analysts with frequent contact with Vietnamese military leaders say there remain doubters about the budding U.S. relationship.

"Both sides are trying to avoid overplaying on the military cooperation aspect," Bower said, "and this visit to Cam Ranh Bay is right on the edge of that calculation."

Los Angeles Times  
June 4, 2012  
Pg. 3

## 7. U.S. Seeks Use Of Port In Vietnam

*Panetta visits the strategically located deep-water harbor, site of a former American base.*

By David S. Cloud

CAM RANH BAY, VIETNAM -- Forty-five years ago, American cargo ships filled this vast harbor, unloading supplies day after day for U.S. troops fighting the Viet Cong.

Today the bay's azure waters are largely empty, except for local fishing boats. The once-bustling American air base, formerly home to fighter squadrons and a combat hospital, is abandoned, a reminder of the U.S. military's exit from most of Southeast Asia after the Vietnam War.

But the Pentagon is seeking a return engagement.

On Sunday, Defense Secretary Leon E. Panetta became the first Pentagon chief to visit Cam Ranh Bay's deep-water port since the war. He recalled "the great deal of blood that was spilled in this war on all sides -- by Americans and by Vietnamese."

He also made it clear that the U.S. Navy is hoping that difficult history will not stand in the way of its return to the sheltered anchorage off the strategically important South China Sea.

"Access for United States naval ships into this facility is a key component" of the American relationship with Vietnam, "and we see the tremendous potential here," Panetta told reporters, standing on the stern of a Navy supply ship anchored near the bay entrance, undergoing maintenance.

The vessel is one of only a handful of U.S. ships that the Vietnamese have allowed

back to Cam Ranh Bay, about 200 miles northeast of Ho Chi Minh City, since diplomatic ties were reestablished in 1995. It is unarmed and sails with a largely civilian crew, a requirement imposed by the Vietnamese government, which has prohibited military ships from docking since 2002 when the Russians closed the base they maintained there after the U.S. departure.

U.S. warships have called regularly at other Vietnamese ports since the guided missile frigate Vandergrift made a port call in Ho Chi Minh City in November 2003.

The Obama administration is reasserting the U.S. role as a Pacific power after a decade of wars elsewhere. Hoping to counter China's growing military might, Pentagon planners are seeking closer ties to countries on China's periphery and access to ports and other facilities to beef up the American presence in potential trouble spots.

"It will be particularly important to use harbors like this as we move out ships from our ports on the West Coast toward our stations here in the Pacific," Panetta said.

Cam Ranh Bay is ideally located off the South China Sea. But a Vietnamese military officer accompanying Panetta said opening it up to U.S. warships was not possible because the port was a "restricted military area." The officer refused to give his name.

Panetta, who flew to Hanoi later Sunday for talks with Vietnamese officials, said that being allowed to use ports such as Cam Ranh Bay is important to the new U.S. strategy. The Pentagon plans to rotate ships, troops, and other military equipment into the region from the United States rather than establish permanent

bases, as it did during the Cold War.

But Vietnam isn't eager to grant the U.S. permission to reestablish its military presence, even at a size far smaller than it was during the Vietnam War. The relationship will develop "at its own pace," said a Defense Department official.

As a fallback, the Pentagon is considering asking the Philippines to reopen Subic Bay naval base and Clark airfield, two Cold War-era facilities also close to the South China Sea.

Vietnam views China's burgeoning military power as a threat, and Hanoi accused Beijing of sabotaging oil explorations in its waters twice last year by cutting undersea cables, a charge China denied. The countries both claim the Spratly Islands, which lie between Vietnam and the Philippines, among other territorial disputes.

But Vietnam still is nervous about antagonizing China further by forging too close a military relationship with Washington, U.S. officials acknowledged.

American officials say closer military ties with Vietnam would be controversial in the U.S. as well because of long-standing concerns about Hanoi's human rights record.

As Panetta's motorcade wound through small villages circling the bay, women in conical hats squatted by the side of the ride. There was little sign of the once-vast American presence. Hanoi maintains a small naval base on the site of the former U.S. installation, as well as a small civilian port in another part of the sprawling bay.

There is a new airport and plans to open beach resorts where U.S. Air Force fighter pilots once swam in the ocean between missions.

Reuters.com

June 3, 2012

## 8. Access To Pacific Harbors Key To U.S. Strategy: Panetta

By David Alexander, Reuters

CAM RANH BAY, Vietnam--Defense Secretary Leon Panetta visited a deep-water Vietnamese port near the contested South China Sea on Sunday, calling access to such harbors critical as the U.S. shifts 60 percent of its warships to the Asia-Pacific by 2020.

Panetta flew to Cam Ranh Bay, one of Asia's finest deep-water harbors located about 450 miles south of China, just a day after he spelled out details of a new U.S. military strategy that calls for a shift in focus to the Pacific after a decade of conflict in Afghanistan and Iraq.

While U.S. officials insisted the visit had nothing to do with China, Panetta's appearance was likely to heighten concerns among some Chinese officials who see the shift as an attempt to fence in the country and frustrate Beijing's territorial claims, especially in the South China Sea.

Chinese Lieutenant General Ren Haiquan noted the U.S. decision to increase the number of warships in the Pacific during remarks at the Shangri-La Dialogue security forum in Singapore on Sunday.

"First, we should not treat this as a disaster," Ren said.

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

Panetta, who toured a Navy supply ship undergoing repairs, was the most senior U.S. official to visit Cam Ranh Bay since the Vietnam War, when it served as a key U.S. logistic hub.

Currently, the port only does maintenance on U.S. cargo

vessels but not warships. No U.S. warships have visited it since the war, but have called at other Vietnamese ports, U.S. officials said.

Speaking from the deck of the USNS Richard E. Byrd, Panetta said his visit was symbolic of how far the two countries have come since they normalized relations 17 years ago and that partnerships with countries like Vietnam were critical to the new U.S. military strategy.

"We are rebalancing our forces to the Asia-Pacific ... so that in the future, 60 percent of our forces will be located in this region," he said.

"For that reason, it will be particularly important to be able to ... work with partners like Vietnam to be able to use harbors like this as we move our ships from our ports on the West Coast towards our stations here in the Pacific."

Under the strategy announced in January, the U.S. military aims to be smaller, more flexible and agile. Rather than seeking permanent bases as it has in the past, it is focusing on rotational deployments.

"We are stressing our effort to try to develop partnerships with countries in this region, to develop their capabilities so that they can better defend and secure themselves," he said.

As part of that, he underscored the importance of moving ahead with ASEAN - the Association of South East Asian Nations - to develop a code of conduct that the countries of the region could abide by in settling disputes and ensuring maritime and navigational rights.

Some ASEAN countries have claims over parts of the South China Sea which has put them at odds with Beijing -- notably Vietnam and the Philippines.

Panetta cited a range of areas in which he was looking to expand cooperation with Vietnam, including high-level exchanges, humanitarian aid and disaster relief, and peacekeeping operations.

"In particular we want to work with Vietnam on critical maritime issues, including a code of conduct focusing on the South China Sea and also working to improve freedom of navigation in our oceans," he said.

His Vietnam visit was part of a week-long trip to Asia to explain the new U.S. military strategy. He led a high-level delegation on Saturday to the Shangri-La Dialogue, an annual security conference that draws senior civilian and military leaders from some 30 Pacific nations.

At one session, Singapore announced it had agreed in principle to a U.S. request to forward deploy up to four Littoral Combat Ships to the island state on a rotational basis.

A senior member of Panetta's delegation, General Martin Dempsey, travelled on Sunday to the Philippines which is in talks about a rotational U.S. deployment there.

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South China Morning Post  
June 4, 2012

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## **9. Panetta Crosses Symbolic Threshold In Vietnam Visit**

By Greg Torode

As US Defence Secretary Leon Panetta yesterday crossed the symbolic threshold of visiting Vietnam's strategic Cam Ranh Bay, attention was already shifting to just how deep their historic military ties may become.

While, officially at least, Panetta's first visit to Vietnam is to boost relatively low-level co-operation such as

medical exchanges and search and rescue agreed last year, the medium term prospects are more intriguing, regional diplomats believe.

A range of US and Vietnamese officials confirm that weapons sales, routine warship servicing and a formal strategic partnership fill the longer term horizon – even if the former enemies each have their hurdles to overcome, not least their complex and suspicious relationships with China. And as their ties improve, intelligence-sharing is also expected to increase.

"This is a historic trip," Panetta told sailors aboard the USNS Richard E. Byrd, a US merchant marine supply ship, now being repaired in dockyards in Cam Ranh Bay. "The fact that the ship is here and being serviced by Vietnamese contractors is a tremendous indication of how far we have come." He is the first US official to visit the area since the end of the Vietnam war.

The question is how far they will go in future – and how fast.

"Everyone is watching this relationship now – it has real potential, but there are sticking points," said one veteran Hanoi-based military attaché. "Vietnam might want to get closer to the US in the face of China and the South China Sea dispute, but that doesn't mean it wants to be seen as an ally."

Panetta and his Vietnamese counterpart, Phung Quang Thanh, the minister of defence, will today discuss the implementation of a memorandum signed last year, covering five routine areas – maritime security, search and rescue, the study of UN peacekeeping, aid and disaster relief, as well as military medicine.

If those exchanges continue to go smoothly, it will boost longer-term discussions over bigger-ticket items – a formal agreement to service US warships, arms sales and a broader strategic partnership.

The South China Morning Post has learnt that US officials recently told American weapons manufacturers that they wanted to see more improvements in Vietnam's human rights situation before pushing Congress to lift a long-standing ban on the sale of lethal weapons.

Some sales of non-lethal technology, such as coastal radar to boost Vietnam's South China Sea defences, would be possible even now – and Chinese envoys are monitoring developments in Hanoi closely.

Veteran US Senator John McCain confirmed at the weekend that "productive discussions" were under way about the sale of "certain" weapons to Vietnam.

Vietnam's deputy defence minister, Nguyen Chi Vinh, meanwhile, said the ban "made a nonsense" of the mutual trust developing between the one-time bitter foes.

Human rights remain a sticking point, too, in talks over a strategic partnership and progress is not expected until after the US election in November.

Formal arrangements to service US warships in Vietnam have also been discussed, but no timetable for such a deal – known as an Acquisition and Cross-Service Agreement – has yet been mapped out.

Such a deal would be highly significant, and dramatically increase the number of US warships calling in to Vietnamese ports. These deals only exist between the US and its allies and close partners, including the Philippines, Singapore and

Malaysia – all of which now service frequent US warship visits.

When asked for an update on these talks on the eve of Panetta's trip, a senior US defence official said: "We are not there yet." The official added that Panetta would be concentrating instead on last year's more routine memorandum, rather than this agreement or actual warship visits to Cam Ranh Bay.

The ship he visited yesterday is one of five unarmed supply ships in service in Cam Ranh since 2010 at civilian sites beyond a Vietnamese military base now being rebuilt by Russian experts for US\$ 200 million.

While Vietnam is keen to attract international and regional navies to the area for work at market rates, the base is likely to remain off limits.

US military planners have noted in draft reports that, for all its historic baggage, Cam Ranh Bay would fit neatly into the Pentagon's "places, not bases" strategy and could play a key role in increased US naval deployments to East Asia.

It is also the closest base to the Spratly Islands, known as the Nansha islands in Chinese, a flash-point in the South China Sea dispute.

The best natural harbour in the region, US forces built Cam Ranh Bay into one its largest naval and air- bases at the height of the Vietnam war.

Financial Times  
June 4, 2012

## 10. Panetta Makes Symbolic Visit To Vietnam

By Demetri Sevastopulo, in Singapore

Leon Panetta on Sunday became the first US defence secretary to visit Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam in more than three

decades, in a highly symbolic visit that highlights the growing military rivalry between the US and China in the Pacific.

The Pentagon chief travelled to Cam Ranh Bay – a key port for US ships during the Vietnam war – after announcing in Singapore that the US would boost its Pacific naval presence as part of the Obama administration's "pivot" towards Asia.

In Singapore, Mr Panetta told Asian defence ministers at the Shangri-La defence forum that the Pentagon would deploy 60 per cent of its naval assets, including warships and submarines, in the Pacific by 2020, up from 50 per cent now.

Mr Panetta denied that the US move was aimed at countering China, but it comes as China is increasingly involved in territorial disputes with its neighbours in the contested waters of the South China Sea and East China Sea.

The growing number of incidents – including one a year ago where Vietnam accused Chinese ships of sabotaging its exploration vessels – have helped push countries such as Vietnam closer to Washington.

Vietnam has said that it wants to open up Cam Ranh Bay – one of Asia's best natural deepwater ports, and which hosted the Russian Pacific fleet during the cold war after the US left – to foreign navies for commercial reasons.

But defence experts believe Hanoi also wants to encourage the US and other friendly navies to transit through the South China Sea more regularly to send a signal to Beijing that it cannot dominate these resource-rich waters.

"Access for US naval ships into this facility is a key component of this relationship and we see a tremendous potential here," AFP cited Mr Panetta as saying aboard a

US navy cargo ship that was making a port call at Cam Ranh Bay. "It will be particularly important to be able to work with partners like Vietnam, to be able to use harbours like this."

Mr Panetta held talks in Singapore with Voltaire Gazmin, the defence minister of the Philippines, which has been engaged in a diplomatic dispute with Beijing over a tense stand-off between a navy ship and Chinese maritime surveillance vessels in the Scarborough Shoal.

A US official said the two defence chiefs had held discussions about possible arrangements to base US forces in the country. Earlier this year, the US started basing marines in Australia as another part of its Asia strategy, angering Beijing.

"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 Panetta said in Singapore. "Some view the increased emphasis by the United States on Asia-Pacific as a challenge to China. I reject that view entirely."

While south-east Asian nations quietly welcomed the US announcement about increasing its Pacific presence, many are also concerned about antagonising China by being seen as pushing for closer military relations with Washington.

"No nation wants to be in a position to choose sides," said Ng Eng Hen, the Singaporean defence minister.

Mr Panetta said the US did not take sides in territorial disputes, a remark that comes amid disappointment in the Philippines that south-east Asian nations have not provided more rhetorical support for

Manila over its month-long maritime stand-off with China.

Asked by the Financial Times if the US tilt to Asia would be seen as impotent if it did not take a more aggressive stance on Chinese actions in the South China Sea, Mr Panetta said the countries themselves needed to resolve the disputes.

"The key to this is that both China as well as the Asean nationals have ... to develop a code of conduct that can help resolve these issues," said Mr Panetta. "It isn't enough for the United States to come charging in to try and resolve these issues."

*Additional reporting by Ben Bland in Jakarta*

DefenseNews.com  
June 3, 2012

## 11. Pentagon Looks To Expand Military Relationship With Vietnam

By Marcus Weisgerber

CAM RANH BAY, Vietnam — The U.S. Defense Department hopes to gain greater access for Navy ships into a key port here as the Pentagon looks to broaden its military partnership with Vietnam.

U.S. naval ship access into Cam Ranh Bay "is a key component of this relationship and we see a tremendous potential here for the future," Defense Secretary Leon Panetta said during a June 3 visit to the dry cargo ship Richard Byrd, which is making a port call here.

Panetta is the highest-ranking U.S. government official to visit Cam Ranh Bay since the Vietnam War. President Lyndon Johnson visited Cam Ranh Bay in 1966.

Many considered Cam Ranh Bay "the jewel of deep, warm-water ports in Southeast Asia," a defense official said. Protected by mountains, the bay

served as a hub for U.S. military operations during the Vietnam War.

Now, Vietnam is trying to develop the bay into a prosperous international commercial port.

The Navy has been sending ships to Vietnam for port visits since 2003, the defense official said. Since then, more than 20 vessels have made visits to the country.

Access to Vietnamese ports is just one component of an expanding military relationship between Washington and Hanoi.

"We've come a long way, particularly with regards to our defense relationship," Panetta said. "We had a complicated relationship, but we're not bound by that history."

Last year, the two countries signed a memorandum of understanding, and the United States is looking to "expand that relationship" in a number of key areas, Panetta said.

The pact focuses on high-level exchanges, maritime activities, search and rescue, peacekeeping operations and humanitarian aid and disaster relief.

"[W]e want to work with Vietnam on critical maritime issues, including code of conduct, focusing on the South China Sea and also working to improve freedom of navigation in our oceans," Panetta said.

A senior defense official called Panetta's visit to the country "significant" and said Vietnam has "expressed a desire to engage more with the United States."

"This visit is an effort to take additional steps in that direction to solidify what has become an important relationship for the U.S.," the official said.

Panetta announced June 2 that the Navy would position 60 percent of its ships in the

Pacific over the next decade as part of a new military strategy that calls for greater emphasis on the region. The vessels are now split evenly between the Atlantic and Pacific.

"For that reason, it will be particularly important to be able to work with partners like Vietnam to be able to use harbors like this as we move our ships out from our ports on the West Coast toward our stations here in the Pacific," he said.

The Pentagon is looking to build capabilities of partner nations in the Asia-Pacific region.

"For that to happen, it is very important that we be able to protect key maritime rights for all nations in the South China Sea and elsewhere," Panetta said.

The U.S. and Vietnam "normalized" relations 17 years ago.

"The visit is to take stock of where we've come, consolidate gains and look for new opportunities," a second senior defense official said June 2.

Panetta has meetings scheduled with top Vietnamese officials in Hanoi on June 3 and also plans to visit a U.S. detachment that identifies the remains of Vietnam War casualties.

"This sacred mission will continue until all of our troops are accounted for," Panetta said. "We stand by our pledge that we leave no one behind."

Panetta served in the Army during the Vietnam War, but never saw combat in the region. His visit is the first time he has traveled to the country.

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Philadelphia Inquirer  
June 4, 2012  
Pg. 3

## **12. Panetta, In Historic Vietnam Visit, Sends Signal To China**

By Lolita C. Baldor,  
Associated Press

CAM RANH BAY, Vietnam - U.S. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta used a visit Sunday to Vietnam to make clear Washington's intent to aid allies in the Asia-Pacific region develop and enforce maritime rights in the South China Sea, which Beijing largely claims.

On a historic stop in Cam Ranh Bay, the strategic deep water port that was a U.S. base during the Vietnam War, Panetta could gaze out from the flight deck of the USNS Richard E. Byrd toward the sea and reflect on the significance of the harbor, which represents both a painful past for the American military and a challenging but hopeful future.

"The new defense strategy that we have put in place for the United States represents a number of key elements that will be tested in the Asia-Pacific region," Panetta told reporters gathered under a blazing sun on the deck of the cargo vessel.

He said the United States would "work with our partners like Vietnam to be able to use harbors like this as we move our ships from our ports on the West Coast toward our stations here in the Pacific."

Panetta never mentioned China as he spoke to crew members on the Byrd and later to reporters. But with the South China Sea as a backdrop, he left no doubt that the United States would maintain a strong presence in the region and wants to help allies protect themselves and their maritime rights.

His visit, however, is likely to irritate Chinese leaders who are unhappy with any U.S. buildup in the region and view it as a possible threat.

Panetta, in remarks Saturday to a defense conference in Singapore, rejected such claims about the

shift in U.S. military focus. But U.S. officials are wary of China's increased military buildup and expanding trade relations with other countries in the region.

"Access for United States naval ships into this facility is a key component of this relationship [with Vietnam] and we see a tremendous potential here for the future," he said.

This is Panetta's first visit to Vietnam, and his stop at the harbor made him the most senior U.S. official to go to Cam Ranh Bay since the Vietnam War ended.

Right now U.S. warships do not go into the harbor, but other Navy ships, such as the Byrd, do. The Byrd is a cargo ship operated by the Navy's Military Sealift Command; it has a largely civilian crew. It is used to move military supplies to U.S. forces around the world. Navy warships go to other Vietnam ports, such as Danang.

While Panetta suggested the United States may want to send more ships to Cam Ranh Bay in the future, he and other defense officials did not detail what requests he may make in meetings with Vietnamese leaders.

On Sunday, the port served more as a symbol of America's growing military relationship with Vietnam, underscoring Washington's desire to build partnerships in the region in part to counter China's escalating dominance.

For Panetta, who was in the military during the Vietnam era but did not serve in country, it was an emotional opportunity. "For me personally this is a very moving moment," he said, noting that on Memorial Day he was at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington commemorating the 50th anniversary of the start of the war.

"Today I stand on a U.S. ship here in Cam Ranh Bay to recognize the 17th anniversary of the normalization of relations between the United States and Vietnam," he said.

The relationship between the two nations has come a long way, he said, "We have a complicated relationship but we're not bound by that history."

The new U.S. strategy for the Asia-Pacific includes a broad plan to help countries learn to better defend themselves, and for that to happen "it is very important that we be able to protect key maritime rights for all nations in the South China Sea and elsewhere," Panetta said from the deck of the ship.

China claims almost the entire South China Sea as its own, setting up conflicts with other nations in the region, including Vietnam, Taiwan, Malaysia, Singapore and others who also have territorial claims there.

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Stars and Stripes

June 4, 2012

Pg. 2

### **13. 'This Ship Is America'**

*Defense chief makes historic visit to US base in Vietnam aboard USNS Byrd*

By Jennifer Hlad, Stars and Stripes

CAM RANH BAY, Vietnam – Just days after commemorating the start of the Vietnam War at the Vietnam Memorial in Washington, D.C., Defense Secretary Leon Panetta made history Sunday by boarding a U.S. ship in this deep-water bay – becoming the most senior U.S. defense official to visit the area since the end of the Vietnam war.

"This ship is America," Panetta told sailors aboard the USNS Richard E. Byrd, a

supply ship docked near the former U.S. naval base. "I think it's an important symbol of how the relationship between the U.S. and Vietnam has improved."

This year marks 17 years since the normalization of relations between the U.S. and Vietnam, and Panetta said he is "very confident" that the two countries can improve their partnership.

"We have a complicated relationship, but we're not bound by that history," Panetta said, explaining that the United States hopes to develop and strengthen relations with Vietnam for the benefit of both countries.

"In particular, we want to work with Vietnam on critical maritime issues, including a code of conduct focusing on the South China Sea, and also working to improve navigation in our oceans," Panetta said, hinting at a dispute between China and the Philippines in the South China Sea over the Scarborough Shoal. "It is very important that we be able to protect key maritime rights for all nations in the South China Sea and elsewhere."

Panetta has previously stressed that the U.S. does not take sides in territorial disputes like the one over the Scarborough Shoal.

Panetta is visiting several Asian countries to discuss the U.S. strategic pivot of forces and focus to the Asia-Pacific region. He spoke to troops in Hawaii on Thursday, then traveled to Singapore for the Shangri-La security dialogue. He will meet with Vietnamese defense officials in Hanoi on Monday.

No U.S. warships have entered Cam Ranh Bay since the end of the Vietnam war 37 years ago, though a handful of other U.S. Navy vessels have visited in the past few years, according

to a defense official. The bay was previously considered the "jewel" of deep-water ports in Southeast Asia and the U.S. hopes to see it develop into an international logistics hub, the defense official said.

"Access of U.S. naval ships into this facility is a key component of this relationship, and we see tremendous potential here for the future," Panetta told sailors and reporters aboard the Byrd.

"A tremendous amount of blood was spilled here, on all sides," he said. "Questions have been raised about why this war was fought, but if, out of all that sacrifice, we can look beyond wounds of the past, we can begin to build for the future."

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NPR.org

June 4, 2012

### **14. U.S. Works To Rebuild Ties In Asia-Pacific**

By Larry Abramson

Defense Secretary Leon Panetta is trying to send a message during a weeklong trip to the Asia-Pacific region: The U.S. is back.

Panetta continues Monday to Vietnam where's he's hoping to build stronger defense ties. The trip began Sunday with a historic return to a key crossroads of the Vietnam War: Cam Ranh Bay.

Panetta boarded a little ferry boat Sunday in the beautiful natural harbor north of Ho Chi Minh City. On board, he asked about his destination: the USNS Richard E. Byrd, a big supply ship docked on the other side of the bay.

The fact the Byrd is here at all, being repaired by Vietnamese workers, marks quite a turn from the days of the Vietnam War, when the Americans called the shots here. When President Johnson visited in 1966, Cam Ranh was

essentially a U.S. colony, used as a hub for the war effort.

But in 1972, the U.S. facility was handed to the South Vietnamese, as the U.S. withdrew. After Saigon fell, the Soviets took over. Now, the Vietnamese government is turning Cam Ranh into an international port. Ships from India, Russia and elsewhere come here for repairs. But the U.S. is here for more than ship maintenance.

After Panetta boarded the Byrd, he told workers gathered here that Vietnam is part of a U.S. effort to return to the Asia Pacific, but with a much lighter touch than last time.

"This is not a Cold War situation where the United States simply charges in, builds permanent bases and establishes a power base in this region," he said. "This is a different world. This is a world in which we have to engage with other countries."

Signs of that approach can be seen on the Byrd: There are only two Navy sailors on board. The rest of the crew is made up of civilian workers, typical of the partnerships the Pentagon is setting up. Marines in Australia are visiting on a "rotational basis," not setting up permanent camp. In Singapore, four ships will berth, but sailors will live on board.

As for Vietnam, Panetta says, deeper defense ties are only meant to help the country to stand up for itself.

"In particular, we want to work with Vietnam on critical maritime issues, including a code of conduct, focusing on the South China Sea."

Vietnam is fighting over mineral and territorial rights in the South China Sea with its longtime enemy China. So the U.S. presence here is a not-so-subtle jab at the region's biggest player.

China is not happy about this. At an international

conference over the weekend, one Chinese delegate said disputes in the Asia Pacific should be resolved without U.S. interference. With its step-by-step return to Asia, the U.S. is looking for ways to send a message to China, without picking a fight.

Kyodo News  
June 3, 2012

### 15. U.S. Joint Chiefs Chairman Arrives In Philippines For Talks

By Kyodo

MANILA -- Gen. Martin Dempsey, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, arrived in Manila on Sunday for a two-day visit to include meetings with Philippine civilian and military leaders, the U.S. Embassy in Manila said in a statement.

Dempsey is expected to meet Monday with Lt. Gen. Jessie Dellosa, chief of staff of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, "to discuss military and security issues and concerns," according to a Philippine military spokesman.

He will also meet with Philippine President Benigno Aquino, according to an embassy staffer.

"As treaty allies, the United States and the Republic of the Philippines routinely consult and exchange views on a broad range of bilateral, regional, and global issues, reflecting our common values and interests," the embassy said in a statement.

Dempsey's visit follows his attendance at the Shangri-La Dialogue Asian Security Summit in Singapore, where U.S. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta said the United States will boost its naval presence in the Asia-Pacific region in the coming years by bringing in more warships.

It also happens at a time when the Philippines is locked

in a territorial dispute with China in the South China Sea.

The Philippines and United States have a Mutual Defense Treaty signed in 1951 and a Visiting Forces Agreement that took effect in 1999.

Philippine Star  
June 4, 2012

### 16. Highest Ranking US Military Official In Phl Today

By Alexis Romero and Roel Pareno

MANILA, Philippines - The highest US military official will arrive today to meet with top Filipino defense officials, the US embassy said yesterday.

In a statement, the US embassy said Gen. Martin Dempsey, chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, will visit from June 3 to 4 after attending the recently concluded Shangri-La Dialogue in Singapore.

"General Dempsey's travel includes a stop in the Republic of the Philippines to meet with senior military and civilian leadership," read the statement.

"As treaty allies, the United States and the Republic of the Philippines routinely consult and exchange views on a broad range of bilateral, regional, and global issues, reflecting our common values and interests."

The US embassy did not provide specific details about the agenda of the meeting.

Armed Forces spokesman Col. Arnulfo Burgos Jr. said Dempsey will meet Armed Forces chief Gen. Jessie Dellosa in Camp Aguinaldo in Quezon City.

"General Dempsey will call on the Chief of Staff of the AFP shortly before noon (today), 11 a.m. at the latter's office," he said.

"He will have a short meeting to discuss military and security issues and concerns."

Burgos could not tell whether the Panatag Shoal standoff would be discussed in the meeting of the two military chiefs.

However, a military source told The STAR the territorial row would likely be tackled during the meeting after the US bared plans to boost its presence in the Pacific.

"Most likely, it (Panatag Shoal standoff) will be part of the discussion because one of the security concerns is the West Philippine Sea issue," the source said.

Dempsey would meet with officials of the Department of National Defense (DND) after his call on Dellosa, the source added.

Burgos said the meeting is important as this would reaffirm the defense ties between the US and the Philippines.

"We will further the Mutual Defense Treaty," Burgos said.

"It will also enhance the bilateral relations between both countries' armed forces."

Dempsey, along with US Defense Secretary Leon Panetta and US Pacific Command Chief Adm. Samuel Locklear, attended the Shangri-La Dialogue in Singapore.

During the dialogue attended by key security officials in the region, the US announced plans to deploy a majority of its naval fleet in the Pacific by 2020.

Panetta said the move is in line with the US's efforts to boost its presence in the Asia Pacific.

US naval assets would be realigned from a roughly 50-50 split between the Pacific and the Atlantic to about 60-40 split, he added.

Panetta said the move would involve key assets, including six aircraft carriers, cruisers, destroyers, littoral combat ships, and submarines.

The deployment was not meant to challenge China, he added.

The US is "paying close attention" to developments in Panatag Shoal, Panetta said.

IHT Rendezvous  
(NYTimes.com)  
June 4, 2012

[View from Asia](#)

### 17. Lips, Teeth And The U.S. Navy

By Mark McDonald

HONG KONG — When Chinese and Vietnamese officials raise their glasses at official banquets, they still sometimes toast each other with the old Communist-brotherhood slogan that their countries are "as close as lips and teeth."

The actual relationship, of course, has always had its share of cavities and gingivitis, and the Vietnamese have been fending off various Chinese encroachments for a thousand years. And now with the rise of a more expansive China, Vietnam has reason to be even more wary.

Hanoi cozying up to Washington, especially with a growing military-to-military relationship, is not something that Chinese defense planners are likely to welcome or encourage.

That's why the visit by Secretary of Defense Leon E. Panetta to the strategic port of Cam Ranh Bay has struck military analysts as an unusually bold step for the Vietnamese. Mr. Panetta, of course, was President Obama's first director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

"Hanoi knows that China is watching them like a hawk," said Zachary Abuza, a Southeast Asia expert and professor of national security strategy at the National War College in Washington.

"I think that the Americans know that even if we dance with the Vietnamese they are watching China's reactions over our shoulders," Mr. Abuza told *Rendezvous* in an e-mail.

In a recent report for Congress, Mark E. Manyin of the Congressional Research Service said "Vietnamese leaders have sought to upgrade relations with the United States in part due to the desire for continued access to the U.S. market and to worries about China's expanding influence in Southeast Asia."

"That said, Sino-Vietnam relations are Vietnam's most important bilateral relationship and Vietnamese leaders must tiptoe carefully along the tightrope between Washington and Beijing, such that improved relations with one capital not be perceived as a threat to the other."

Mr. Panetta, speaking at a conference in Singapore over the weekend, said the United States would have 60 percent of its naval assets in the Asia-Pacific region by 2020. Washington is calling this a "pivot" or a "rebalancing." Beijing, meanwhile, sees it as "containment."

"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. Panetta said.

As my colleague Jane Perlez reported from Singapore, some in the region "have questioned the wisdom of the stepped-up military emphasis, arguing that it appears intended to force a confrontation with China, a situation feared by many countries in the region, all of which enjoy strong trade ties with China."

"What worries us is having to choose — we don't want to be put in that position," said the

foreign minister of Indonesia, Marty Natalegawa.

New military arrangements with Singapore and the Philippines are part of the pivot, along with a new Australian base for U.S. marines. Thailand, too, is a reliable military ally, and some analysts found it odd that Mr. Panetta will not stop there as he heads to India.

Vietnam could well be an important piece of the pivot-puzzle, if only for U.S. logistical support.

"While Vietnam is very interested in developing ties with the United States — including mil-mil — the U.S. has to understand that there is a limit to how far Hanoi can go or will go," Mr. Abuza said. "My general feeling is that the U.S. does appreciate how far Vietnam can go in this relationship."

Mr. Panetta's agenda in Vietnam includes talks on the ongoing search for American soldiers missing from the Vietnam War, maritime search-and-rescue cooperation and joint disaster-relief efforts. He's also expected to seek a renewal of an agreement that allows Vietnamese repairs to noncombat U.S. Navy ships calling at Cam Ranh Bay.

The regional security analyst Carlyle Thayer says in a new briefing paper that the United States "would definitely like to expand defense cooperation to more practical activities and joint exercises."

"It has been Vietnam that has been hesitant to take this step," Mr. Thayer said. "This is why when U.S. warships visit Danang every year they conduct 'activities' and not 'exercises.' Exercises involve exchanges on combat skills."

Hanoi, meanwhile, has pressed Washington to lift its ban on the sale of combat weaponry.

Not likely, said Mr. Thayer. Not yet.

"The United States has made it clear that these restrictions will not be removed until the human rights situation in Vietnam improves," he said, noting a recent damning report by the State Department.

When Senators John McCain and Joseph Lieberman visited Vietnam in January — a trip that included a stop in Manila — they were presented with a wish list of military equipment by Hanoi, Mr. Thayer said.

"But they would not approve it until the human rights situation improved," he added. "With an election looming in November it is unlikely there will be a major change of policy at the present time."

Analysts do not see much risk to current U.S. aid to Vietnam, which is one of the largest beneficiaries in East Asia. Since the late 2000s, Mr. Manyin said, "annual U.S. aid typically surpasses \$100 million, much of it for health-related activities."

On a recent visit to Vietnam, Mr. Abuza said he "got peppered by questions" from officials about a tense maritime standoff between China and the Philippines at Scarborough Shoal in the South China Sea.

"The Vietnamese are very concerned about the U.S. reaction to Scarborough and our treaty obligations to the Philippines," he said.

Hanoi has its own territorial disputes with China, largely over competing claims to the Spratly and Paracel islands.

China also has seized dozens of Vietnamese fishing boats and crews in the neighborhood in recent years. Whenever a Vietnamese boat is harassed or grabbed, the government allows large anti-

China protests to be staged in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City.

"The Vietnamese are really concerned about what they refer to as China's 'fifth fleet' — i.e., their use of paramilitary, maritime police, fisheries ships and armed/vigilante fishermen," Mr. Abuza said. "They know that it is a very clever move on the part of China, as it is much less threatening, and it makes it very hard to galvanize Asean, especially under Cambodia's leadership."

China Daily

June 4, 2012

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## 18. US Shift Must Be Watched: Analysts

*China has capability to 'strike back' when interests are under threat*

By Zhang Haizhou and Zhao Shengnan

Despite the United States claiming that its naval shift to the Asia-Pacific is not designed to contain China, Washington's strategy needs closer attention amid a tense maritime situation, analysts said.

The US will reposition its naval forces so that 60 percent of them will be in the Pacific by 2020, US Defense Secretary Leon Panetta told the 11th Asia Security Summit in Singapore on Saturday, giving the first details of a new US military strategy announced in January.

Currently, the US fleet of 285 ships is almost evenly split between the Atlantic and the Pacific.

When asked if the shift in strategy is a challenge to China, Panetta was adamant. "I reject that view entirely," he said.

China said it would improve the capability of its forces and has the capacity to "strike back" when "fundamental interests" are under threat.

Ren Haiquan, a People's Liberation Army Lieutenant-General, who led the Chinese delegation to the Singapore forum, said on Saturday that Washington's planned naval redeployment is neither something "desperately serious" nor something that "doesn't matter".

"We still face a very complex, sometimes severe, situation. We will be prepared for all complexities. There's a saying: Work for the best and prepare for the worst," said Ren, who is also vice-president of the PLA's Academy of Military Sciences in Beijing.

"We will also improve our military strategy, our national defense and the PLA's fighting ability. We will not attack unless we are attacked," he told reporters at the forum.

"We have the measures to strike back when fundamental national interests are under threat," he said.

Panetta's announcement came at a time when Asia-Pacific powers are involved in occasional territorial disputes. Chinese fishermen were harassed by Philippine warships in territorial waters off China's Huangyan Island, in the South China Sea.

About 2,500 US Marines will be deployed in Australia, and there may be a similar arrangement in the Philippines.

Panetta's announcement sent the clearest signal yet that the rebalancing of US strategic focus is real, Chris Johnson, a scholar at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, told the Wall Street Journal.

Wang Peiran, a visiting scholar on security studies at Vrije Universiteit in Brussels, said it was a deterrent.

"It's deterrence, like telling regional powers to avoid any recklessness."

Redeployment to the Asia-Pacific means the US role in the region will be "more than just policing, it will be like a security officer", Wang added.

Navy officials closely guard the location of their vessels, and US defense officials would not say what parts of the Atlantic fleet would be repositioned.

"It's not really that big a shift as Panetta stated, and the main factors one should look out for are what assets are going to be shifted," said Gary Li, a London-based intelligence and military analyst with Exclusive Analysis, a business intelligence agency.

"Panetta mentioned carriers, destroyers and cruisers but what about submarines? Where they are going to be based? Basing them in Pearl Harbor is not as threatening as basing them in Guam. And how are they going to be used?" Li said.

Washington is likely to position warships far from China, Tao Wenzhao, from the Institute of American Studies at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, said.

"What really matters is not the distance to China, but US equipment and activity in the Asia-Pacific region, an area which it regards as less stable than the Atlantic region," he said.

"The shift is not wholly against China, but China is definitely one of its targets."

Despite budget cuts that are projected to shrink Pentagon spending by \$487 billion over the next 10 years, the US will develop new weapons to help shore up the US presence in Asia, Panetta said.

Yet, Panetta sought to dispel the notion that the US is against an emerging China, saying "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".

"That's the kind of mature relationship that we ultimately have to have with China," he said, acknowledging differences between the world's two largest economies on a range of issues, including the South China Sea.

Despite Washington's increasing military presence in the region, it is not likely to change its neutral position on territorial disputes between China and its neighbors, said Niu Jun, a professor of international politics at Peking University.

"Washington is strengthening ties with its Asian allies, but it can also restrain its allies from confronting China - that would be constructive."

Last year, the US Pacific Command conducted 172 military exercises with 24 different countries, a number Panetta promised would increase in the coming years.

In addition to Australia and the Philippines, the US is looking at other countries, which Panetta didn't name, as possible partners for bases. But the new bases aren't designed for a permanent American presence.

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Singapore Straits Times

June 4, 2012

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## 19. Beijing Unfazed By US' Asia Pivot

By Jermyn Chow, Defence Correspondent

BEIJING will be more vigilant, but will not "lash back" as the United States moves the bulk of its warships to this part of the world, said a Chinese general.

Lieutenant-General Ren Haiquan, deputy commandant of the Chinese Academy of

Military Science, reportedly said: "First, we should not treat this as a disaster. I believe that this is the United States' response to its own national interests, its fiscal difficulties and global security developments."

Lt-Gen Ren's comments, reported by Hong Kong's Phoenix Television, followed US Defence Secretary Leon Panetta's speech at the Shangri-La Dialogue on Saturday, in which he gave details about a new US military strategy to "pivot" or "rebalance" towards Asia.

Mr Panetta said the US will gradually reposition 60 per cent, up from the current 50 per cent, of its warships to Asia by 2020, as part of a new Asia-centric military strategy. It also plans to increase the number and scale of training exercises with its partners in the region.

Both Chinese and American leaders were among the 351 defence ministers and military officials who attended the three-day security summit, which ended yesterday.

Lt-Gen Ren, who led the Chinese delegation, told Xinhua news agency that the US wants to strengthen its cooperation with China in areas such as defence, politics, diplomacy and economy. "If it properly handles its relations with China in an approach based on its strategic needs, it will be helpful not only for the bilateral relations, but also for the region and even the world," he said.

As part of the pivot towards Asia, the US has already stationed Marines in Australia and will be deploying its latest littoral combat ships, a new family of naval vessels for the US Navy, to Singapore next year.

Asean defence ministers welcomed the new Asia focus, but made clear their stand on the

two powers - China and the US - being in the region.

"We have all gone out in public to state that Asean nations, and in fact no nation wants to be in a position to choose sides. And indeed we do not," said Defence Minister Ng Eng Hen.

He added that countries can build closer ties with the region through platforms such as the Asean Defence Ministers' Meeting (ADMM) or the expanded ADMM-Plus groupings.

Dr Ng met his Myanmar counterpart, Lieutenant-General Hla Min, and the German Parliamentary State Secretary to the Federal Minister of Defence, Mr Christian Schmidt, on the sidelines of the summit yesterday. Today, he will meet Canadian counterpart Peter MacKay.

Yahoo.com  
June 3, 2012

## 20. Australia Welcomes Enhanced US Presence In Pacific

By Madeleine Coorey, Agence France-Presse

Australian Defence Minister Stephen Smith on Sunday welcomed the United States' plans for an enhanced naval presence in the Pacific, and said this should not impact Canberra's relationship with China.

Pentagon chief Leon Panetta announced in Singapore on Saturday that the United States will shift the bulk of its naval fleet to the Pacific by 2020 as part of a new strategic focus on Asia.

Smith, speaking shortly after his return from Singapore, said the United States' presence in the Asia Pacific had been "a force for peace and stability and prosperity since the end of World War II."

"And we welcome very much the fact that not only will the United States continue that engagement, it will enhance it," he told the Australian Broadcasting Corporation.

"The essential point is that none of this is done for reasons of trying to maximise or influence concern or threat; it's all done for purposes of stability to continue peace, to continue prosperity."

Panetta said the decision to gradually deploy more ships to the Pacific, along with expanding a network of military partnerships, was part of a deliberate effort to bolster the US role in an area vital to America's future.

The move reflects US concern over China's rising economic and military might but Panetta insisted the strategy was not a challenge to Beijing.

Australia will see 2,500 US Marines deployed to its north as part of the Asia strategy, a move that has rankled Beijing, but Smith said when he travelled to China this week he would make clear that Canberra wanted to continue to deepen its relationship with the Asian giant.

"The point I'll make to Chinese friends is that Australia has had a growing relationship with China since we were one of the countries to recognise China very early back in 1972; we've had a growing relationship for 40 years," he said.

Smith dismissed a report saying Australia, as a military ally of the United States, would be forced to fight China in the event of a conflict was considered in the initial draft of a 2009 defence white paper but later scrapped to avoid offending Beijing.

"It was a nonsense when it was made previously and it's a nonsense now," he said of the claim, adding that the white paper, which outlined

Australia's military strategy for the next 20 years, was not aimed at any one country.

"It wasn't aimed at China."

He said Australia had a strong and comprehensive relationship with China, one of its most crucial trading partners and a keen consumer of its exports, and growing defence ties.

"And none of that has been adversely affected by our over 60-year alliance with the United States, he said.

"So this is ... it can be win-win, and that's what we want it to be."

Australia's ties to Washington reportedly dominated Australian Foreign Minister Bob Carr's visit to China last month, with Beijing criticising their close military alliance.

"I think their view can be expressed that the time for Cold War alliances have long since past," Carr told The Sydney Morning Herald.

Smith said alterations were being made as the world adjusted to the rise of Asia, including India.

"So these changes of strategic influence, the changes in economic, political and military weight, do require adjustments and the United States, Australia, China and India and our region are adjusting to that," he said.

"It's how we manage that adjustment and manage that for good stability and prosperity reasons; that's the most important objective we have and the central challenge that we have in the coming decades."

Yonhap News Agency  
June 4, 2012

## 21. S. Korea, U.S. Far Apart On Extending Missile Range: Source

SEOUL (Yonhap) -- The talks between South Korea and the United States that could allow Seoul to extend the range of its ballistic missiles to cover all of North Korea have not been going well, as the allies have failed to narrow differences, a government source here said Monday.

Under an agreement with the U.S., first signed in 1979 and revised in 2001, the range of South Korean ballistic missiles is limited to 300 kilometers and their payload to 500 kilograms. The agreement is up for renewal at the end of this year.

South Korea wants to lengthen its missile range, but Washington fears that the South Korean move, if endorsed, could spur an arms race in the region.

The bilateral talks between Seoul and Washington drew fresh public attention in South Korea following North Korea's launch of a long-range rocket in April, prompting Seoul's military to announce plans to bolster its missile arsenal.

"Working-level consultations on extending our missile range are continuing, but the two sides have failed to find common ground," the source said on the condition of anonymity.

The source said that it would be difficult for South Korea and the U.S. to reach an agreement by the end of this month.

"The U.S. side is still opposed to extending the missile range," the source said.

Whenever North Korea intimidates others with its missile or nuclear programs, calls spike in South Korea for longer-range missiles to counter the threats. Since 2010, South Korea and the U.S. have been in talks to revise the missile range pact, though few details have been released.

Earlier in the day, a local newspaper, the JoongAng Ilbo, reported that South Korea and the U.S. have agreed to extend Seoul's missile range to 550 km, and the two sides plan to announce the agreement in the middle of this month, when foreign and defense chiefs from the two nations hold a so-called "two-plus-two" security meeting in Washington.

Kim Min-seok, a spokesman at Seoul's defense ministry, denied the report, saying the allies have made "no decision" over the issue.

There has been no decision made on whether the issue will be raised at the Washington meeting involving Foreign Minister Kim Sung-hwan, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, Defense Minister Kim Kwan-jin and Defense Secretary Leon Panetta, Kim told reporters.

Yahoo.com  
June 4, 2012

## 22. North Korea Threatens To Attack South Korean Media

By Agence France-Presse

North Korea's military on Monday threatened rocket attacks on the Seoul offices of South Korean media outlets for their critical coverage of a mass children's event in Pyongyang.

The military general staff, in an unusual move, listed the coordinates of some of the offices and said missile units and other forces had already targeted the buildings.

It accused conservative South Korean President Lee Myung-Bak of inciting hostile media coverage and called on him to apologise to avert an attack.

"In case dens of monstrous crimes are blown up one after another, the Lee group will be entirely held responsible for this," the military said in what

it termed an "open ultimatum" carried by Pyongyang's official news agency.

The military accused the media outlets of "monstrous mud-slinging" in their coverage of an event which brought 20,000 schoolchildren to Pyongyang to mark the 66th anniversary of the Korean Children's Union.

The children pledged loyalty to new leader Kim Jong-Un, the North's news agency reported Saturday.

"The young delegates could not hold back the endless happiness... amid unchanging longing to remember the benevolent image of respected comrade Kim Jong-Un deep in their hearts," it said.

"Sir Kim Jong-Un, thank you so much for giving us such a great honour," it quoted a 13-year-old schoolchild as saying.

The military accused the South's government and media outlets of portraying the event as a propaganda gimmick staged by Pyongyang's leadership.

The statement named the Chosun Ilbo and JoongAng Ilbo newspapers, a TV channel operated by Dong-A Ilbo newspaper, the CBS radio station and the KBS, MBC and SBS television stations.

It took particular exception to comments on the Dong-A TV channel, which likened the North's activities for young people to the Hitler Youth.

Seoul's unification ministry, which handles cross-border affairs, said Pyongyang's latest threat was "completely out of line".

"This...is a significant challenge and provocation to free democracy," said a ministry spokesman. "We are taking this very seriously and urging the North to stop such threats to our media immediately."

Jong-Un took over last December from his deceased

father and longtime leader Kim Jong-Il, the second power transfer within the Kim dynasty which has ruled the isolated communist state since its founding in 1948.

The new regime has intensified hostile commentary against the South and threatened "sacred war" as it tries to bolster the young Kim's leadership.

The North's military in April vowed to turn parts of Seoul into ashes, accusing Lee and several media outlets of defaming its leadership.

That threat prompted police to deploy officers to guard some media outlets.

Xinhua News Agency  
June 4, 2012

## 23. 3 U.S. Warships Arrive In Waters Off Indonesia For Joint Exercise

JAKARTA (Xinhua) -- Three U.S. warships were stationed off waters of Situbondo town of East Java on Monday to take part in joint exercises with the Indonesian navy, local media reported.

The warships, the USS Germantown, the USS Van de Grift and the USCGS Waeshe, left from Surabaya's Tanjung Perak harbor Sunday morning, the Jakarta globe said.

The three U.S. ships sailed in a convoy with three Indonesian navy ships, the KRI Sultan Iskandar Muda-367, KRI Silas Ppare-384, KRI Banda Aceh-593.

"We will conduct the exercise on (Monday)," said Ensign Jason Tross, spokesman of the USS Hermantown.

The Cooperation Afloat Readiness and Train (CARAT) joint maneuvers between the U.S. Navy and Coast Guard and the Indonesian Navy has been held annually for the past 18 years. The exercise, which began May 29 and will

last to June 7, is designed to enhance maritime security skills and operational cohesiveness among participating forces.

CARAT is a series of bilateral military exercises between the U. S. Navy and the armed forces of Bangladesh, Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand. Timor Leste joins the exercise for the first time in 2012.

Times of India  
June 4, 2012

## 24. First Satellite For Armed Forces To Be Ready In A Month

By Rajat Pandit, Times News Network

NEW DELHI--The armed forces are finally set to get their first-ever dedicated military satellite, a naval surveillance and communications one, as part of their long-standing quest to effectively harness the final frontier of space.

The geo-stationary naval satellite has "already been shipped out" for its launch that will take place "within a month or so", government sources said.

A not-too-subtle indicator of the space event in the offing was also the creation of a new post of assistant chief of naval staff (communications, space and network-centric operations) at the Navy head-quarters over the weekend.

Though tight-lipped about the "over-the-sea" satellite's launch, the Navy on Sunday said Rear Admiral Kishan K Pandey, a communications and electronic warfare specialist, had taken over as the new ACNS (CSNCO) in keeping with its endeavour to transform from a "platform-centric Navy" to a "network-enabled Navy".

The satellite, with an over 1,000 nautical mile footprint over the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) stretching from

Africa's east coast right till Malacca Strait, will enable the Navy to network all its warships, submarines and aircraft with operational centres ashore through high-speed data-links.

There is an urgent need to keep real-time tabs over the rapidly-militarizing IOR, where China is increasingly expanding its strategic footprint, as well as on troop movements, missile silos, military installations and airbases across land borders.

The long-delayed naval satellite is to be followed by ones for the Army and IAF for "over-the-land use". In absence of dedicated satellites, the armed forces have so far depended on "dual-use" Indian satellites as well as lease of transponders on foreign ones for their navigation, communication, surveillance and reconnaissance purposes.

There are around 300 dedicated or dual-use military satellites orbiting around the earth at present, with the US operating over 50% of them, followed by Russia and China.

China, in particular, is pursuing an extensive military-space programme that even extends to advanced ASAT (anti-satellite) capabilities with "direct-ascent" missiles, hit-to-kill "kinetic" and directed-energy laser weapons.

DRDO, on its part, contends it can quickly fashion ASAT weapons, if required, by marrying the propulsion system of the over 5,000-km Agni-V missile tested recently with the "kill vehicle" of the almost-ready two-tier BMD (ballistic missile system) system it has developed.

But India is still some distance away from effective ASAT capabilities. The government is also not yet willing to establish a tri-Service Aerospace Command on the lines of the Strategic Forces

Command which handles nuclear weapons.

The naval satellite is a step in the right direction. The Navy has already tested the "ship-end" of the new space era dawning through the massive Tropex (theatre-level readiness and operational exercise) held in January-February. The network-centric operations were tried with both the Eastern and Western Fleets, backed by fighters, spy drones and helicopters, out at sea.

New York Times

June 4, 2012

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## 25. Some Lawmakers Look For Way Out As Defense Cuts Near

By Jonathan Weisman

SUMTER, S.C. — Senator Lindsey Graham rode last week like Paul Revere from South Carolina's wooded upstate to its gracious Lowcountry to its sweltering midsection, offering a bureaucratic rallying cry for his military-heavy state — the defense cuts are coming.

On Jan. 2, national security is set to receive a heavy blow if Congress fails to intervene. That is when a 10-year, \$600 billion, across-the-board spending cut is to hit the Pentagon, equal to roughly 8 percent of its current budget.

Mr. Graham's colleagues in the Senate have been strangely quiet about the impending cuts, set in motion last summer when the Budget Control Act ended an impasse over raising the nation's borrowing limit with a deal designed to hurt both parties if they did not strike an agreement later on. A special select committee was assigned to come up with at least \$1.2 trillion in deficit reduction over 10 years. If it failed, the cuts would come automatically, half

to national security, half to domestic programs.

It failed, and the reckoning is approaching.

"Our ability to modernize will be basically gutted," Mr. Graham told National Guard officers in Greenville. The Marine Corps will have to choose between its giant training camps in San Diego or Parris Island, he told community leaders in Beaufort, a stone's throw from Parris Island.

The C-17 fleet at Joint Base Charleston would be "devastated," he warned city leaders at the Charleston Chamber of Commerce. The cuts to the soldiers and airmen at Shaw Air Force Base would leave behind a "hollow force," he intoned in a windowless room at the Quality Inn in Sumter.

In fact, no one knows what "sequestration," the term for the automatic cuts, will look like, not lawmakers, not the military. But Republicans who helped create it as a bludgeon to force a bipartisan budget accord are now desperate to undo it. Indeed, some of the loudest advocates for blocking the cuts — like Representative Howard P. McKeon of California, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, and Senator John McCain of Arizona, the ranking Republican on the Senate Armed Services Committee — voted to create them; 28 Senate Republicans and 174 House Republicans voted for the Budget Control Act, overwhelming the opposition.

But the threat they created may be doing its job. Mr. Graham is openly talking about revenue increases to offset the costs. Even South Carolina's ardently conservative House members, Mick Mulvaney, Joe Wilson and Jeff Duncan, said

last week that they were ready to talk.

"I'm personally offended that they're playing a high-stakes game of chicken with our national defense," fumed Weston Newton, chairman of the Beaufort County Council, after hearing Mr. Graham's dire warnings.

Eugene R. Baten, chairman of the Sumter County Council, told the senator of the one-cent sales tax increase that helped finance a land purchase to protect Shaw from encroaching development. "We have sacrificed as a community," he said. "But we can't do it alone. I'm not saying it's the Democrats' fault. I'm not saying it's the Republicans' fault. It's both of y'all's fault."

On its face, the automatic cuts do not sound that bad. If they are put into effect, military spending would decline to its 2007 level, said Todd Harrison, a senior fellow for defense budget studies at the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments. But really it is worse than that. The law exempts war costs and allows the administration to wall off personnel levels and military pay, about a third of the Pentagon budget. That means everything else — operations and maintenance, research and development, procurement, fuel, military construction — would face immediate cuts as deep as 13 percent, Mr. Harrison said.

And under the law, the Defense Department could not do the kind of planning that would rationalize the cuts. Mr. Graham warned the citizens of Beaufort that the Marines would have to shut either their Parris Island or San Diego training camps, and would face the same choice between their airfields at Beaufort or Cherry Point, N.C. In fact, under the law, all bases face the same cuts because

Congress has prohibited base closings.

The dire warnings are not coming from Mr. Graham alone. They are coming at least as loudly from Leon E. Panetta, the secretary of defense. The administration, with the assent of some Republicans like Mr. Graham, has already agreed that the Pentagon will contribute around \$450 billion in deficit reduction over the next decade. Tack on \$600 billion more and the impact will be debilitating, Pentagon officials say.

But those warnings have not gotten Mr. Panetta very far. In May, the House did vote to shift the first year of automatic defense cuts to domestic spending, but the legislation did not get a single Democratic vote and will go nowhere in the Senate. Even some Republicans recoiled at foisting Pentagon cuts onto programs like food stamps and school lunch programs.

"I voted my conscience, and I voted my district," said Representative Michael G. Fitzpatrick, Republican of Pennsylvania, who voted against the shift to heavier domestic cuts. "Reductions like this need to be equitably shared across the agencies."

Senator Harry Reid of Nevada, the majority leader, has given no indication that he will undo the cuts without a broader deficit reduction deal that would include revenue increases — and no such negotiations are under way.

Representative Chris Van Hollen of Maryland, the ranking Democrat on the House Budget Committee, said Republicans were given the choice during the debt ceiling negotiations between automatic defense cuts or automatic tax increases in the event that the so-called supercommittee failed to reach a deficit deal. They chose the defense cuts.

"The consistent pattern here is they have chosen to defend special interest tax breaks over defense spending," Mr. Van Hollen said. "They made that choice."

Mr. Graham's intention is to separate defense from the larger deficit issue by aiming his arguments high and low. The high argument is about American greatness.

"The debate on the debt is an opportunity to send the world a signal that we are going to remain the strongest military force in the world," he said. "We're saying, 'We're going to keep it, and we're going to make it the No. 1 priority of a broke nation.'"

To that end, his arguments grow increasingly complex, involving a near-term confrontation with Syria and what he is sure will be a military strike on Iran late this summer, "an air and sea campaign from hell," he tells an audience in Sumter. A large screen at the Third Army command center in nearby Shaw Air Force Base seemed to back him up on that. It broadcast a multicolored map of Iran with its air defenses demarcated in loud, red circles.

Then there is the low road: fear.

"The soft underbelly that I'm trying to exploit is, 'What does this mean to your state?'" he said.

The audience for that appeal could be forgiven for greeting it with a yawn. So far, at least, Congress is acting as if the constraints it imposed on itself last August will simply be ignored. The House in May approved an annual defense policy bill that authorized Pentagon spending \$8 billion higher than spending caps approved in the Budget Control Act — without the automatic spending caps. The Senate Armed Services Committee stuck largely to those caps but

included nothing to prepare for sequestration beyond ordering up a study of its potential impacts.

Military leaders in South Carolina came to the microphones of Mr. Graham's events, speaking of "insidious" impacts and "devastating blows." But pressed privately, Maj. Gen. Robert E. Livingston Jr., South Carolina's elected National Guard adjutant general, conceded: "We don't know what sequestration looks like. There hasn't been a whole lot of planning."

For now, Democrats and Republicans are waiting for the other side to blink. And the pressure may be working. Mr. Graham said the sentiment for raising revenues by closing tax loopholes or imposing higher fees on items like federal oil leases is expanding in his party.

Asked about the "no new taxes" pledge almost all Republicans have signed, he shrugged: "I've crossed the Rubicon on that."

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Newport News Daily Press  
June 4, 2012

### **Military Update**

## **26. Senate Panel Agrees To Block TRICARE Fee Increases**

By Tom Philpott

The Senate Armed Services Committee has agreed with its House counterpart to block the Obama administration's plan to phase in some new and some significantly higher TRICARE enrollment fees and deductibles for military retirees and their families.

But the Senate panel signaled that the administration can use existing authority to raise beneficiary co-pays on brand name prescription drugs filled through retail pharmacies or the TRICARE mail order program.

The absence of any new Senate prohibition, combined with the House committee's vote in May to raise at least some drug co-pays effective Oct. 15, means TRICARE beneficiaries are almost certain to see prescription drug costs off base climb starting this fall.

Still to be determined is how steep the initial increases will be and how they will be allowed to rise in future years.

If a House-Senate conference committee accepts the Senate panel's stand on the issue, the Department of Defense could implement almost all of the prescription drug increases proposed in its five-year budget plan. In doing so the department would capture at least half of total projected health care savings it sought under the TRICARE reform package unveiled in February.

If the House committee's plan is adopted instead, drug co-payments would rise more modestly, but retirees eligible for TRICARE for Life, most of them elderly, would be required to have maintenance drugs for chronic conditions filled through the mail order program, at least for a year.

Mail order means cost savings to TRICARE and to beneficiaries. They would get a three-month supply of pills for the same co-pay charged for a 30-day supply at retail outlets. To date, retirees have been allowed to discover the cost-savings and convenience of mail order at their own pace.

The Senate committee considered the House approach to forcing older retirees to try mail order. It's a cost-saving maneuver that allowed the House bill to propose more modest drug co-pay increases than the administration wants. In the end, a majority of senators on the panel decided it was "not good policy" to force

only one-class of retirees to use mail order, a congressional source explained.

Both committees refused to accept the Department of Defense's plan to raise out-of-pocket costs on military retirees by raising their enrollment fees for TRICARE Prime, the managed care benefit; by establishing a first-ever enrollment fee for TRICARE Standard, the fee-for-service insurance plan option, or TRICARE Extra, the preferred provider network option; and by establishing a first-ever enrollment fee for elderly under TRICARE for Life, the prized insurance supplement to Medicare.

These proposals are dead, at least until after the November elections when lawmakers hope finally to muster the political courage to address the nation's debt crisis. By Dec. 31, Congress must negotiate a debt-reduction compromise or a "sequestration" mechanism, created by last year's Budget Control Act, will force across-the-board cuts. That would include an additional \$500 billion from major defense accounts over a decade. Policymakers and lawmakers alike describe it as irrational, even "mindless."

The armed services committees clearly don't want to endorse higher TRICARE fees and deductibles in isolation. One Senate source said higher enrollment fees on military retirees could be seen as acceptable if included in some government-wide effort to control entitlement spending including reforms to make more solvent programs like Medicare and Social Security.

The Senate committee has embraced the administration's call for an independent commission, appointed by the president, to recommend reforms to military

compensation, including retirement. Any retirement changes could only impact future service members, not the current force. Congress would accept or reject commission recommendations but not modify them.

The House committee has rejected the concept of an independent commission to reshape military compensation. So a House-Senate conference committee will decide if it gets included in the final defense bill.

Both committees have signaled that raising drug co-pays, particularly for brand-name prescriptions off base, is an acceptable way to raise beneficiary cost shares as military health costs continue to climb.

Both the House bill and the administration's plan would leave the co-pay for generic drugs at retail outlets at \$5. The House bill would authorize co-pays at retail to be raised from \$12 to \$17 for brand names on the military formulary and from \$17 to \$44 for non-formulary brand names.

For mail order, the current \$9 co-pay for 90 days of brand drugs on formulary would be raised to \$13, and the \$25 co-pay for non-formulary drugs would increase to \$43.

These are significant increases but smaller than sought by the administration, which the Senate committee declined to stop. It would put no new limit on existing authority to adjust drug co-pays. Officials said current law only prohibits TRICARE from setting co-pays more than 20 percent above the average cost of brand name drugs for active duty family members or more than 25 percent higher for retirees. These limits wouldn't be exceeded under the administration's plan, a congressional source explained.

The administration proposed that in October the co-pay on brand-name drugs at retail be raised to \$26 and thereafter climb by \$2 a year until reaching \$34 in October 2016. Co-pays for brand drugs at mail order would jump to \$26 from \$9 for a 90-day supply, and then climb to \$34 by 2016.

For 2017 and beyond, the administration wants co-pays adjusted yearly to match medical inflation. The House committee would limit co-pay adjustments to no more than percentage increase in military retirement.

Under both the House bill and administration's plan, the co-pay for generic drugs would remain at \$5 at retail at least for several years, and base pharmacies would continue to fill prescriptions at no charge.

Fairbanks Daily News-Miner  
June 3, 2012

## 27. Alaska's Senators Question Air Force Over New Aircraft

By Sam Friedman

FAIRBANKS — The F-16 move is not the only Air Force policy that has Alaska's senators on the defensive.

In addition to opposing the Air Force's plans to move Eielson Air Force Bases' F-16 fighter planes to Anchorage, U.S. Sens. Mark Begich and Lisa Murkowski are second-guessing the way the military deploys a new aircraft, the KC-46A.

The KC-46A is a transport and aerial refueler designed to eventually replace the more than 50-year-old KC-135 Stratotanker model used by units including the Air National Guard's 168th Air Refueling Wing based at Eielson.

Last month the Air Force announced the first 179 new planes will go to as many as 10 bases in the next 16 years.

But only two of the bases will be outside the continental United States. One of these locations will be a European base and one will be in the Pacific Theater, which includes Hawaii and Alaska.

Begich and Murkowski are both asking the Air Force to explain why they are putting KC-46As in only one Pacific base outside the continental U.S.

They say the decision is especially questionable given statements this year from President Obama and Defense Secretary Leon Panetta about the strategic importance of the military in the Pacific.

Begich recently put language in the National Defense Authorization Act asking the Air Force to report to Congress about how the plans for the KC-46A were developed.

Murkowski wrote a letter to the Secretary of the Air Force and the Air Force chief of staff May 24.

"With the proposed movement of the 18th Aggressor Squadron (F-16) from Eielson Air Force Base, the recent (2005) removal of A-10 aircraft from the state, and now the plan to distribute the KC-46A refuelers in a way that does anticipate an increase in missions to the Asia Pacific, the Air Force may be missing an opportunity to seize the initiative in the Asia Pacific theater," Murkowski wrote.

The Air Force announced its plans for the KC-46A's last month. The Air Force will announce the specific bases where the refuelers will be stationed in the coming years.

It will take several decades for the Air Force to replace the more than 400 KC-135s, and the planes that are not being replaced by KC-46As are not being retired in the foreseeable future, said

Air Force spokeswoman Ann Stefanek in the Pentagon.

New York Times  
June 4, 2012  
Pg. 4

## 28. Assad Condemns Houla Massacre, Blaming Terrorists

By Neil MacFarquhar

BEIRUT, Lebanon — President Bashar al-Assad denied Sunday that the Syrian government played a role in the massacre in the village of Houla, using his first speech in five months to reiterate his line that foreigners were fomenting the violence in Syria.

Addressing a Parliament just selected under a new Constitution, Mr. Assad said that the election was “a slap” against those questioning the reforms in Syria, that the country’s problems were rooted in terrorism rather than lack of political change, and that dialogue with the opposition remained possible.

Mr. Assad, speaking for about an hour at an ornately carved wooden podium, described himself as horrified by the Houla massacre, saying that “even monsters couldn’t perpetrate what we have seen.”

“Our hearts bled and our anger was indescribable when we saw the painful scenes on television,” he said. “The Arabic language and human language cannot describe the scenes we witnessed at Houla.”

He noted that government forces had initially been accused of causing the deaths by artillery shelling, but that the claim was later revised. The president lumped together the Houla case with what he called the general assault that Syria had faced for 15 months.

The May 25 attack at the village left 108 people dead, 49 of them children. Most

were shot at close range or stabbed. Villagers said their assailants were shabiha, or armed militiamen controlled by the government, who came from nearby villages and are from the same minority Alawite sect as the president.

While stopping short of blaming Syria directly, the United Nations found indications that the shabiha had carried out the attack, and the Security Council criticized the Syrian government for using heavy artillery against civilian areas.

Activists were dismissive of Mr. Assad’s speech, both for his denying any military role in the deaths at Houla and his comments that the Syrian military was defending the country against foreign powers.

“We have eyewitnesses from the massacre, and they know who did it,” said Salim Qabbani, an activist in the Homs area. “It was the shabiha who are supported and encouraged by the Syrian Army. The one waging war on the Syrian people is the regime, which is using its heavy weapons to attack civilians and to destroy entire cities.”

Mr. Assad said Syria was under assault from outside because of its long history of backing the “resistance,” a term used to describe standing up to Israel in particular and the West in general. “It is about the role of Syria, the militant role of Syria, Syria’s support for resistance,” he said Sunday. “They want to harm this role, they want to crush it, they want to divide this nation.”

Kofi Annan, the envoy to Syria for the United Nations and the Arab League, said last week in a visit to Syria that the government should begin enacting the six-point United Nations peace plan that Syria accepted in March. It includes a cease-fire and a political

dialogue with the opposition. He said the onus was on the government as the stronger power to get the plan moving.

Mr. Assad did not directly address Mr. Annan’s suggestions, saying he wanted to speak about the domestic aspects of the crisis rather than the international ones.

“The crisis is not internal,” Mr. Assad said. “Rather it is a foreign war with internal tools, and everybody is responsible for defending the homeland.”

He repeated that his government was ready to talk to its opponents as long as they were not beholden to foreign governments.

The Houla massacre raised international concerns that diplomatic efforts were failing and that regional sectarian war might be nearing, reviving some debates on intervention.

Russia and China — whose votes would be crucial to any United Nations action — have reiterated their opposition to Western military action since the Houla massacre. On Monday, the Chinese Communist Party’s official newspaper laid out its case again.

“The Syrian question should be resolved by the Syrian people,” said the commentary in People’s Daily. “Outside powers do not have the right to stick their hands in.”

That position echoed remarks by President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, who said on Friday that while he saw worrying signs of an emerging civil war in Syria, he was opposed to Western intervention. “You cannot do anything by force,” Mr. Putin said.

At least 10,000 civilians have died by United Nations count, and the Syrian government says more than 2,600 members of the security services have been killed.

There has been some evidence of foreign jihadists fighting in Syria, but most of the violence involves clashes between the military and the Free Syrian Army, a patchwork of local militias formed by the opposition.

“We should fight terrorism so that it will not dissuade us from our path,” Mr. Assad said. “Terrorism has nothing to do with the political process.”

Using language reminiscent of the leaders of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Mr. Assad said his critics hated that idea that reform was moving ahead in Syria. “Holding the elections for the people’s assembly as scheduled slapped those who wanted Syria to close in on itself, to drown in the blood of its people,” he said.

Mr. Assad has the reputation for speaking like a stilted university professor, and this address was no exception. It drew somewhat limited applause from a Parliament with a history of rigorous clapping for presidential speeches.

Mr. Assad, 46, inherited the presidency from his father in 2000 and has been promising to open up the political system ever since. He repeated that promise on Sunday.

*Keith Bradsher contributed reporting from Hong Kong.*

Spiegel Online International (Germany)  
June 3, 2012

### Secret Cooperation

## 29. Israel Deploys Nuclear Weapons On German-Built Submarines

*A German shipyard has already built three submarines for Israel, and three more are planned. Now SPIEGEL has learned that Israel is arming the submarines with nuclear-tipped cruise missiles. The German government has*

known about Israel's nuclear weapons program for decades, despite its official denials.

Germany is helping Israel to develop its military nuclear capabilities, SPIEGEL has learned. According to extensive research carried out by the magazine, Israel is equipping submarines that were built in the northern German city of Kiel and largely paid for by the German government with nuclear-tipped cruise missiles. The missiles can be launched using a previously secret hydraulic ejection system. Israeli Defence Minister Ehud Barak told SPIEGEL that Germans should be "proud" that they have secured the existence of the state of Israel "for many years."

In the past, the German government has always stuck to the position that it is unaware of nuclear weapons being deployed on the vessels. Now, however, former high-ranking officials from the German Defense Ministry, including former State Secretary Lothar Rühl and former chief of the planning staff Hans Rühle, have told SPIEGEL that they had always assumed that Israel would deploy nuclear weapons on the submarines. Rühl had even discussed the issue with the military in Tel Aviv.

Israel has a policy of not commenting officially on its nuclear weapons program. Documents from the archives of the German Foreign Ministry make it clear, however, that the German government has known about the program since 1961. The last discussion for which there is evidence took place in 1977, when then-Chancellor Helmut Schmidt spoke to then-Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan about the issue.

The submarines are built by the German shipyard HDW in Kiel. Three submarines have already been delivered to

Israel, and three more will be delivered by 2017. In addition, Israel is considering ordering its seventh, eighth and ninth submarines from Germany.

The German government recently signed the contract for the delivery of the sixth vessel. According to information obtained by SPIEGEL, Chancellor Angela Merkel made substantial concessions to the Israelis. Not only is Berlin financing one-third of the cost of the submarine, around €135 million (\$168 million), but it is also allowing Israel to defer its payment until 2015.

Merkel had tied the delivery of the sixth submarine to a number of conditions, including a demand that Israel stop its expansionist settlement policy and allow the completion of a sewage treatment plant in the Gaza Strip, which is partially financed with German money. So far, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has met none of the terms.

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San Francisco Chronicle  
June 4, 2012

Pg. 3

### **30. Iran's Khamenei Warns Israel Of 'Lightning' Reply**

By Associated Press

Tehran -- Iran's Supreme Leader warned Sunday that any Israeli attack would be answered with a "lightning" response by the Islamic Republic and suggested Iran's nuclear program cannot be curtailed by Western sanctions.

The remarks by Ayatollah Ali Khamenei echoed previous hard-line positions by Iran, but take on added resonance amid talks with the United States and five other world powers. Western leaders hope for a diplomatic accord that would ease concerns about Iran's nuclear ambitions, while

Israeli officials say they leave all options open to try to derail Iran's uranium enrichment.

The West fears Iran could one day produce weapons-grade material. Khamenei called the claims of a secret weapons program lies and repeated Iran's statements that it only seeks reactors for energy and medical research.

Khamenei put Israel on notice that any military action would bring swift consequences.

"Should they take any wrong step, any inappropriate move, it will fall on their heads like lightning," he warned in a speech marking the 23rd anniversary of the death of his predecessor, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, the leader of the 1979 Islamic Revolution.

U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton said she's not drawing any conclusions about the latest harsh words from Iran or how they might affect upcoming nuclear talks in Moscow.

Clinton says leaders often say things for domestic purposes, and she hopes Iran will work toward a diplomatic solution.

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Arizona Daily Star (Tucson)  
June 4, 2012

### **31. Iran Edict Seen As Aiding Al-Maliki**

*May be new signal of Tehran's efforts to influence Iraq*

By Associated Press

BAGHDAD - An Iranian-based Shiite Muslim cleric on Sunday published a religious edict that could undermine efforts to unseat the Iraqi prime minister and also signaled Iran's growing influence over Iraq's politics.

The ruling was issued by Ayatollah Kazim al-Haeri, spiritual mentor of anti-American Iraqi cleric Muqtada al-Sadr.

In recent weeks, al-Sadr has aligned himself with opponents of Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki, who is facing mounting allegations from members of his broad unity government of Shiites, Sunnis and Kurds that he is monopolizing power.

The prime minister's critics are trying to gather enough backing to bring him down with a no-confidence vote in parliament.

In a religious ruling published Sunday, al-Sadr's spiritual mentor, al-Haeri, who lives in Iran, said it is forbidden to vote for secular politicians in Iraq's government - an apparent reference to al-Maliki's opponents. Al-Sadr's followers hold 40 seats in the 325-member parliament and are part of the ruling coalition. Their support would be crucial to any attempts to unseat al-Maliki in a no-confidence vote.

Later Sunday, despite the edict, al-Sadr issued a statement calling on al-Maliki to step down.

"I have to tell him, 'Do the right thing and announce your resignation, for the sake of a nation that just needs a few crumbs to live on,'" al-Sadr said in a statement, referring to the prime minister.

Majority Shiite Iran has close ties to Baghdad's Shiite-dominated government as well as leading clerics in Iraq, prompting frequent complaints of meddling from Iraq's minority Sunni politicians.

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Reuters.com  
June 4, 2012

### **32. Car Bomb In Baghdad Kills At Least Six: Sources**

BAGHDAD (Reuters) -- A car bomb exploded outside a Shi'ite administration office in central Baghdad on Monday, killing at least six people and

wounding 18 more, hospital and police sources said.

New York Times  
June 4, 2012  
Pg. 1

### 33. Intrigue In Karzai Family As An Afghan Era Closes

By James Risen

WASHINGTON — With the end in sight for Hamid Karzai's days in office as Afghanistan's president, members of his family are trying to protect their status, weighing how to hold on to power while secretly fighting among themselves for control of the fortune they have amassed in the last decade.

One brother, Qayum Karzai, is mulling a run for the presidency when his brother steps down in 2014. Other brothers have been battling over the crown jewel in the family empire — the largest private residential development in Afghanistan. The conflict over the project, known as Aino Mena, has provoked accusations of theft and extortion, even reports of an assassination plot.

"It's family," Qayum Karzai said. "They get upset, and over time they get over it. I hope they get over it."

One Karzai brother is also said to have imprisoned a longtime Karzai aide in an effort to make him disclose the whereabouts of money and assets that relatives suspect were hidden by Ahmed Wali Karzai, another of President Karzai's brothers and the political boss of southern Afghanistan who was assassinated last year. He was often accused of benefiting from the Afghan opium trade and an array of corrupt deals, though he denied such claims.

The looming withdrawal of American and NATO troops by

2014 from the still unresolved war, along with President Karzai's coming exit, is causing anxiety among the Afghan elite who have been among the war's biggest beneficiaries, enriching themselves from American military contracts, insider business deals with foreign companies, government corruption and narcotics trafficking.

"If you are one of the Afghan oligarchs, where you put your money and where you live is an open question now," Seth Jones, an analyst at the RAND Corporation, said. "That means you are thinking about moving your money and finding a backup option about where to live."

The president's family — many of whom are American citizens who returned to Afghanistan after an American-led coalition toppled the Taliban in 2001 and brought Mr. Karzai to power — are among those who have prospered the most, by the accounts of many Afghan businessmen and government insiders.

Several political observers in Kabul said any candidacy by Qayum Karzai, a longtime Maryland resident who has served in the Afghan Parliament, would be a long shot because of the nation's fatigue with Hamid Karzai and widespread resentment over the rampant corruption that has tainted his government.

Even some of the Karzai family's own business partners are among the critics.

"We have an illegitimate and irresponsible government because of Karzai and his family," said Abdullah Nadi, an Afghan-American developer from Virginia who is a partner in the Aino Mena housing development, but who is trying to get out of the venture.

While exploiting their opportunities in Afghanistan,

the extended Karzai family has for years simmered with tensions, jealousies, business rivalries, blood feuds and even accusations of murder. With the often-fractious family, it can be difficult to discern the truth, but everyone agrees that the conflict over control of its empire can be traced back to the death in July 2011 of Ahmed Wali Karzai, who had risen from working as a waiter in Chicago to become one of the most powerful men in Afghanistan, serving as the chairman of the Kandahar Provincial Council.

His murder, by an Afghan thought to be a loyal supporter, left a power vacuum in Kandahar — and in the Karzai family. President Karzai appointed another brother, Shah Wali Karzai, to take on their slain brother's role as head of the Populzai, the Karzai's family tribe.

No one expected much from him. Quiet and reserved, he was largely overshadowed by Ahmed Wali Karzai, and even lived in his more powerful brother's compound in Kandahar.

But Shah Wali Karzai has been transformed in the past year. In addition to his role as tribal chief, he serves as project manager of Aino Mena, the sprawling residential development on the outskirts of Kandahar being developed by AFCO, a corporation owned by another brother, Mahmoud Karzai, and his four partners.

They have built 3,000 homes, with plans for a total of 14,700. The developers are building on 10,000 acres, land that Afghan military officials have claimed was illegally seized from the Ministry of Defense.

Emboldened after Ahmed Wali Karzai's death, Shah Wali Karzai appeared no longer satisfied to serve just as an employee at Aino Mena. At

some point in the past few months, he created his own corporation in Kandahar and then secretly moved all of the cash from the housing development's bank accounts to those of his new business.

According to several AFCO partners, Shah Wali Karzai had transferred about \$55 million. "He simply opened another company, and put the money in that company," Mahmoud Karzai said in an interview.

Mr. Nadi, one of the partners in Aino Mena, accused Shah Wali Karzai of forging his signature on documents to make it appear as if he had approved the creation of Shah Wali Karzai's company as the new corporate parent of Aino Mena. "I had no clue what the hell was going on," Mr. Nadi said in an interview.

When Mahmoud Karzai discovered what his brother had done, he demanded that Shah Wali return the money. But Shah Wali refused, and instead insisted that he be made a partner in Aino Mena. Mahmoud and his partners refused, and the two sides settled into a bitter stalemate.

Shah Wali Karzai does not deny transferring the money to his corporation. But he justified his actions by saying that he is protecting the money for the sake of the people of Kandahar. He has told others in Kandahar that if he had not taken the money, Mahmoud Karzai could have moved it to secret bank accounts in Dubai. Aino Mena would then have risked failure just like Kabul Bank, another of Mahmoud Karzai's business ventures, he argued.

Mahmoud Karzai was a key figure in the scandal surrounding the near-collapse of the bank, which was Afghanistan's largest, in 2010. It lost about \$900 million in insider deals, much of which is

believed to have ended up in secret bank accounts in Dubai. Last year, a federal grand jury in New York began a criminal investigation into Mahmoud Karzai's business activities in Afghanistan, pursuing accusations of tax evasion, racketeering and extortion. No charges have been brought against Mahmoud Karzai, who is a United States citizen.

"The money belongs to the people of Kandahar," Shah Wali Karzai said in a statement in response to questions about transferring the housing development funds. "They paid much of that money for the infrastructure at Aino Mena."

He added, "When I became project manager, they owed money to the bank and local contractors, and all the money was paid off as I turned around that company from an almost bankrupt one to a successful one."

Mahmoud Karzai said he and his partners have filed complaints with the Afghan attorney general, accusing Shah Wali Karzai of stealing their money and using extortion to gain a partnership stake in Aino Mena. The attorney general has refused to move against Shah Wali Karzai, apparently unwilling to get involved in what he sees as a family battle.

Qayum Karzai said he attempted to negotiate a settlement, but has backed off. "Tempers were flaring up," he said in an interview. "I tried to mediate, but I failed."

President Karzai has been reluctant to take sides in the family dispute, though his government has been drawn into the matter. The Afghan Central Bank has finally intervened, freezing the bank accounts of Shah Wali Karzai's company. Mahmoud Karzai said a deal was in the works, but

other partners said the dispute had not been resolved.

In the midst of the conflict, Afghan security officials uncovered a plot to kill Mahmoud Karzai. About two months ago, the National Directorate of Security, the Afghan domestic intelligence agency, identified at least three Afghans, including two former employees of the Aino Mena development, who had been involved in a plot to kill Mahmoud Karzai and possibly others. One man was arrested and later released. The two former Aino Mena employees implicated in the plot had both been fired by Mahmoud Karzai.

Afghan security officials have not accused Shah Wali Karzai of any involvement in the scheme. He denies any involvement in it, and Mahmoud Karzai said in an interview, "I refuse to believe that my brother had anything to do with it."

Family members said that Shah Wali Karzai had also been trying to unlock the secrets of his dead brother's fortune.

After Ahmed Wali Karzai was killed, his most trusted aide, Zamarai — like many Afghans, he uses only one name — moved to Dubai. Reports of his lavish lifestyle there fed suspicions within the family that Zamarai had access to riches hidden by Ahmed Wali Karzai, perhaps through accounts and properties that had been placed in Zamarai's name.

When Zamarai returned recently to Kandahar — some family members claim he was lured back by Aziz Karzai, Afghanistan's ambassador to Russia and President Karzai's uncle, an account the envoy flatly denies — he was detained by security personnel working for Shah Wali Karzai, according to relatives.

Mahmoud Karzai says he believes that Zamarai knows

the whereabouts of "one or two million dollars." Others familiar with the matter say that Shah Wali Karzai suspects that Zamarai knows about hundreds of millions of dollars more hidden in Dubai and elsewhere, including assets in Afghan businesses and real estate.

Zamarai is being held at Sarposa Prison in Kandahar, where he is guarded by Shah Wali Karzai's security personnel rather than the regular prison guards, according to several people familiar with the matter but who asked not to be identified for fear of retribution from the Karzai family.

He has not been charged with any crime.

When asked through Gerald Posner, a Karzai family lawyer, about Zamarai and whether he is holding him, Shah Wali Karzai declined to comment.

New York Times  
June 4, 2012  
Pg. 10

### **34. Bank Case Gets Tribunal At Behest Of Karzai, Who Also Acts On Afghan Rape Charge**

By Alissa J. Rubin

KABUL, Afghanistan — Twenty-one criminal indictments in the huge Kabul Bank fraud case have been sent to a special tribunal at the urging of President Hamid Karzai, including that of the bank's chairman and chief executive, Afghan officials said this weekend.

In a separate case, Mr. Karzai called for the disarming of a unit of the American-backed Afghan Local Police, whose members are accused in the rape and abuse of an 18-year-old woman in the northern province of Kunduz.

The action in the long-stalled Kabul Bank corruption

case, which came late Saturday, was seen as an important marker for the government, which is trying to demonstrate to international donors that it is making progress on corruption. The bank, Afghanistan's largest private financial institution, was forced into receivership under the weight of nearly \$900 million in bad loans and became a poster child for crony capitalism.

Among those indicted over the weekend were the bank's chairman, Sher Khan Farnood, a professional poker player and businessman, and the chief executive officer, Khalilullah Frozi. Both are widely viewed as the chief engineers of the fraud, which Western officials have compared to a Ponzi scheme. Also indicted were nine other bank employees, officers and supervisors, who were in a position to know about the fraudulent loan schemes. Among the charges are embezzlement, money laundering, misuse of power and falsification of documents, said Rahmatullah Nazari, the deputy attorney general.

Among the beneficiaries of the loan policies were Mahmoud Karzai, who is Mr. Karzai's brother, and Hassan Fahim, who is the first vice president's brother. However, since neither was an officer or a supervisor at the bank, both were deemed unlikely to have known about the fraud and will not face criminal indictments, said a Western official knowledgeable about the case.

Both men, who were bank shareholders, have worked out repayment plans for their multimillion-dollar loans from the bank, but whether they will have to pay for their bank shares, and how much, is still disputed, the attorney general's office said.

Also indicted were 10 officials, including the chairman of Afghanistan's Central Bank at the time the fraud was discovered. The chairman, Abdul Qadeer Fitrat, is being held responsible for failing to warn the government that the bank was disastrously underfinanced and that its loan practices were irresponsible, the attorney general's office said.

The Afghan president responded swiftly to accounts of the rape and abuse of an 18-year-old woman in northern Afghanistan by members of the Afghan Local Police, calling for the disarming of the unit involved on Sunday and ordering that the culprits be brought to justice.

The decision by Mr. Karzai came at the weekly meeting of Afghanistan's national security council on Sunday, said Aimal Faizi, the president's spokesman.

In the rape case, Mr. Faizi said, the president told the Interior Ministry to make sure that the local Afghan Local Police unit being accused was disarmed, and that the woman's attackers be brought to justice, including the unit's commander. The accusations were brought by Lal Bibi, an 18-year-old daughter of shepherders who said she was detained, held captive for five days and repeatedly raped and beaten after a distant cousin of hers offended a family connected to the police force.

The case, which The New York Times wrote about on Saturday, again put the spotlight on the Afghan Local Police, a force trained by American Special Operations forces and deployed as a lightly trained but armed neighborhood watch. Active primarily in rural areas, it is intended to fill in where there are few national security forces. But complaints about the groups by residents have

been growing, especially in northern Afghanistan, where they have been repeatedly accused of extortion and corruption, among other abuses.

Mr. Karzai has long expressed unease about the units, which were supported strongly by the American military as a way to keep remote areas from reverting to Taliban control. Despite his qualms, Mr. Karzai agreed to field them if they were under the umbrella of the Interior Ministry.

Further complicating matters is that any number of other armed groups operate without any oversight in the same areas as the local police units. It is difficult for Afghan citizens to tell the groups apart, and in a number of areas there is an overall suspicion of all armed groups.

Mr. Faizi described the local police forces as a stopgap measure. "Our position is that the A.L.P. are helpful in some areas, but this is in the short term; in the long term they are never going to be helpful for the security of Afghanistan," Mr. Faizi said.

The Interior Ministry released a statement on Sunday saying two men had been arrested in a case in which "an A.L.P. commander had harassed a young woman." But the statement omitted any mention of the reported rape, nor did it say whether the two men who had been arrested were local police members.

Others in the Kunduz government said that at least one of those detained was a local police member and the other, his brother, may be a member — there were differing accounts. Not yet apprehended were the other men involved in the abduction and beating of the woman, including the local police unit commander for the area, which is about eight miles from the city of Kunduz.

*Habib Zahori contributed reporting.*

BBC News (news.bbc.co.uk)  
June 2, 2012

### 35. Did Kabul Gunbattle Change Afghans' View Of Their Army?

*As Nato troops prepare to withdraw, the Afghan army and police have taken the lead in battling some of the most challenging insurgent attacks in recent months. As their role increases, they have won praise not only from Nato allies, but also from the wider public.*

By Asif Maroof and Johannes Dell, BBC News

One of the most memorable images taken during the concerted insurgent attacks in Kabul on 15 April this year shows an Afghan police commando, wounded but walking.

He is holding a Kalashnikov rifle, his khaki trousers blood-stained above the right knee.

The picture has become the poster image for an apparent new wave of public support for the military which has found expression on the internet as well as in some parts of the media.

On the social networking site Facebook, the photograph has attracted hundreds of comments.

It was "the proudest moment of my life to see a real hero", reads one comment.

Another says: "He made me cry of happiness! We are proud for having such heroes that lay their lives on the front line to defeat the enemy, save our lives and give us the feeling to live in a secure Afghanistan."

Afghan police and commandos were in the forefront of the 18-hour gun battle which erupted on the streets of Kabul after militants

attacked several locations in the city on 15 April. Two Afghan soldiers and 17 militants were killed.

Nato was quick to point to the role played by local forces as evidence of their increasing capability.

International Security Assistance Force (Isaf) commander John Allen said he was proud of the response.

"They were on scene immediately, well-led and well-coordinated. They integrated their efforts, helped protect their fellow citizens and largely kept the insurgents contained."

#### 'Winning hearts'

It's a message Nato has been putting across more frequently, with the training of Afghan forces and handover of security responsibilities key to its exit strategy.

But the events of 15 April had a much wider resonance beyond the confines of the military.

The Afghan Bokhdi news agency summarised the phenomenon with the headline "From battling the Taleban to winning people's hearts".

The most obvious expression of pride has been on social networking sites such as Twitter and Facebook, with several pages dedicated to the Afghan army and police.

Pictures of security forces in battle attract hundreds of comments.

One, showing two members of an Afghan elite unit trying to get inside a building, attracted dozens of comments of appreciation.

Abdul Had Sabawoon wrote: "May Allah give our ANA [Afghan National Army] more strength to defeat the enemies of our country and [of] Islam."

And a Facebook youth group calling themselves 'Group Debate' commented: "If you see pictures like this and

you don't cry from happiness you're not Afghan."

Another group plans to take its message to the streets with a campaign to flood Kabul with posters, stickers and leaflets in support of the Afghan army.

But such sentiments have appeared before the attacks on 15 April, too, and the Afghan government has done its best to foster them.

Earlier this year, several soldiers who lost their lives while foiling suicide attacks in Kabul were honoured and their families received land and money in compensation.

In one case a guard at an anti-riot forces base in the south of the capital spotted a suspect, ran up and wrapped himself around the attacker. The bomber set off his explosives and both were killed.

It is stories like these which feed a sense of admiration among a public which has been watching the gradual handover of security responsibilities to the ANA with some scepticism.

The trend is in stark contrast to the increasing number of killings of foreign troops by Afghan army and police officers, a trend which has raised question marks over the integrity of the Afghan force.

#### 'Morale boost'

Javier Manzano, a Mexican photojournalist based in Kabul, recently accompanied a joint four-day mission of US and Afghan army platoons on the Afghan-Pakistani border.

He was impressed by the Afghan soldiers. He says they move quickly as they have less ammunition and lighter packs, but there are drawbacks.

"The positives are it's their country, they can move fairly fast, they are used to walking and they are in pretty good shape," he says.

"The other side is that after the second or the third day they

ask their American counterparts for water and rations."

A lack of equipment and short training times have long been concerns for the Afghan army.

But Javier Manzano, who also took pictures of the 15 April attacks in Kabul, says the force has done a good job.

"They performed really, really well, they got the job done and they were the ones that were wounded and received the casualties."

And he thinks that the outpouring of support in the wider public could be just as important as training and equipment.

"There were poems being made about the Afghan security forces and I think it is a great morale boost and that is what they need... if you feel that you get respect that will definitely boost morale and make them more efficient."

The question is whether the sentiments expressed on the internet are representative of wider public opinion.

The ranks of the security forces are supposed to grow to a total number of over 350,000 by 2015, according to the defence ministry.

As they take on an increasingly dominant role, the challenge will be to establish a force that represents everyone in a country that faces huge problems, from corruption to internal divisions.

Yahoo.com

June 4, 2012

### 36. US Missiles Kill 15 In Pakistan: Officials

By Hasbanullah Khan, Agence France-Presse

US missiles killed 15 militants in Pakistan's Taliban and Al-Qaeda stronghold of North Waziristan on Monday, the third drone strike in three

days and the deadliest this year, officials said.

The attack looked set to inflame tensions with Islamabad ahead of a visit by a US assistant defence secretary, Peter Lavoy, on a mission to persuade Pakistan to end a six-month blockade on NATO supplies crossing into Afghanistan.

There has been a dramatic increase in US drone strikes in Pakistan since a NATO summit in Chicago ended two weeks ago without a deal on the NATO supply lines.

Eight drone strikes have been reported in Pakistan since May 23, the same number as in the previous four months, and Monday's was the deadliest since 18 Pakistani Taliban were reported killed on November 16, 2011.

Pakistani officials said two missiles slammed into a compound in the village of Hesokhel, east of Miranshah, the capital of North Waziristan, before dawn.

North Waziristan is Pakistan's premier hotbed of Islamist militants and where Islamabad has rejected US pressure to wage a major ground offensive against militants active in the 10-year war against US troops in Afghanistan.

"Fifteen militants were killed in a dawn strike on a compound. The bodies of those killed were unable to be identified," a security official in Miranshah told AFP.

He said there were unconfirmed reports that foreigners were among the dead.

Local resident Gul Jaan Wazir told AFP that the dead bodies were quickly buried after being pulled out of the rubble. The drone strike destroyed the room in the mud and wooden house where they had all been sleeping, Wazir said.

In the debris, local people found letterheads of Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan, the country's main umbrella Taliban faction waging an insurgency against the Pakistani government, wooden beds, blankets and mattresses.

Washington considers Pakistan's semi-autonomous northwestern tribal belt the main hub of Taliban and Al-Qaeda militants plotting attacks on the West and in Afghanistan.

Distrust over Pakistan's refusal to do more to eliminate the Islamist threat has become a major thorn in increasingly dire Pakistani-US relations.

Both sides are at loggerheads over reopening NATO supply lines that Pakistan shut in fury on November 26 when US air strikes killed 24 Pakistani soldiers.

Negotiations have snagged over costings, with American officials refusing to pay the thousands of dollars per container that Pakistan has reportedly demanded.

Islamabad initially conditioned reopening the lines on an American apology for the deaths of the 24 soldiers and an end to drone strikes, but neither is likely to happen.

Instead, Lavoy will fly into Islamabad this week in an attempt to break the deadlock, a Pakistani government official told AFP.

"Talks will focus on reopening the NATO supply route, ways to promote border coordination and settle the issue of the Coalition Support Fund (CSF)," he said.

From 2002 to 2011, the United States paid Pakistan \$8.8 billion for its efforts to fight militancy under the CSF, but Islamabad stopped claiming the money after US troops shot dead Osama bin Laden in Pakistan in May 2011.

Analysts now say, however, that Islamabad desperately needs the money with a budget deficit looming out of control and a general election widely believed to be months away.

Pakistani authorities whipped up anti-American sentiment after the bin Laden raid and are increasingly vocal in their belief that drone strikes violate national sovereignty.

But US officials consider the attacks a vital weapon in the war against Islamist extremists, despite concerns from rights activists over civilian casualties.

The London-based Bureau of Investigative Journalism has said that under President Barack Obama one drone strike has hit Pakistan on average every four days.

It said most of the 2,292 to 2,863 people reported to have died were low-ranking militants, but that only 126 fighters had been named.

It said it had credible reports of 385 to 775 civilians being killed, including 164 to 168 children.

Reuters.com  
June 4, 2012

### **37. Pakistan And U.S.: Allies Without Trust**

By Michael Georgy, Reuters  
ISLAMABAD--As

Washington fumed over the jailing of a Pakistani doctor who helped the CIA hunt down Osama bin Laden, an educated Islamabad businesswoman voiced her own outrage - at the United States.

"All we ever got from the Americans is instability and violence," she said, echoing what many Pakistanis believe is Washington's contribution to their country and region over three decades.

"Didn't you know Osama bin Laden was a CIA

agent?", she asked at a dinner attended by Western diplomats, referring to his role in U.S.-backed resistance to the Soviet occupation in Afghanistan in the 1980s.

"Then he was on the same side as Washington."

In Pakistan, public opinion increasingly views the United States as a fickle, selfish ally despite the billions of dollars in aid that flow to the cash-strapped South Asian nation.

It is a view that has only deepened since U.S. troops killed bin Laden on Pakistani soil in May 2011. The raid, kept secret from Pakistani authorities, was a humiliation for the powerful military and raised searching questions about whether it was harboring militants.

Relations have soured further after a court last week imprisoned for 33 years the Pakistani doctor who helped the CIA find the al Qaeda chief and mastermind of the 9/11 attacks.

"Most people in Washington are upset with Pakistan. Dr (Shakil) Afridi goes to jail, this guy should be a hero, instead you (Pakistan) are treating him like a crook," said one U.S. official.

Pakistani officials told the media Afridi was jailed for treason for his ties to the CIA, but a court document released later said he was guilty of aiding a banned militant group.

Rising antipathy towards Washington makes it tougher for the government - already unpopular because of its failure to tackle poverty, power cuts and corruption - to do anything that might be seen as caving in to U.S. demands, especially ahead of general elections expected early next year.

Those constraints are evident in deadlocked talks on re-opening supply routes to Western forces in Afghanistan, which Islamabad shut six

months ago to protest against a U.S. cross-border air attack that killed 24 Pakistani soldiers.

"As the relationship has deteriorated, public opinion in both countries has become a mirror image of the other, seeing each other almost as adversaries," Maleeha Lodhi, a former Pakistani ambassador to Washington, told Reuters.

"A great deal of the anti-American sentiment in Pakistan has to do with the destabilizing fallout on the country of a decade of the American-led intervention in Afghanistan. American policies are seen as bringing grief to the region, especially Pakistan," she said.

#### **CIA agents seen as 'Rambos'**

When CIA contractor Raymond Davis killed two Pakistanis in the eastern city of Lahore last year, it opened another wound. Washington says he acted in self defense.

For many Pakistanis, it was a Rambo-style act by CIA agents who seem to roam their country freely. Davis was acquitted of murder and allowed to leave Pakistan after a \$2.3 million payment was made to the men's families.

"In our homes, the eldest always has the last word. The younger ones can say whatever they like but one slap from the elder brother and they have to shut up," said Mohammad Imran, owner of a sportswear shop in Pakistan's commercial hub Karachi.

"America is like the elder brother or father in the house. Didn't you see the Raymond Davis case, nobody could touch him, and had to send him off with dignity and respect."

The main point of friction between Washington and Islamabad is the U.S. "war on terror", a campaign Pakistan joined after the September 11, 2001, attacks on the United

States and despite objections from some of its own generals.

But Islamabad has been accused of being less than sincere and of shielding Afghan militant groups to ensure it has a proxy stake in any political settlement once U.S. forces withdraw, an allegation it denies.

Some U.S. senators have pushed for aid cuts to force greater Pakistani cooperation, and the frustrations have spread far beyond the corridors of power in Washington.

Pakistan's leaders "need to be helping us, not fighting against us", said Lynne McClintock, an office manager in a physical therapy practice in a Seattle suburb.

"They need to be giving us any undercover information they have to destroy the Taliban."

Pakistan sees such comments as a sign of U.S. ingratitude, pointing out that it has sacrificed more than any other country that joined the U.S. war on militancy, losing tens of thousands of security forces and civilians.

All Pakistan gets in return, many officials complain, is criticism and a lack of trust.

Shaking his head in anger, one Pakistani official recalled a visit he made to NATO headquarters in Brussels. When he went to the bathroom, he was escorted by a security guard, making him feel as if he were a threat.

#### **Fears of history repeating itself**

Hardening the resentment of Pakistanis is a firm belief that it was Washington that fuelled militancy by funding Islamist guerrillas to fight the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, and then by helping topple the Taliban regime in Kabul in 2001.

The latter move forced Taliban and al Qaeda fighters

and leaders over the border into Pakistan, creating chaos in what President Barack Obama would later call the world's most dangerous place.

"America has put a lot of international pressure on Pakistan, especially because of this Taliban business," said Zubair Khan, who sells jeans and t-shirts.

"We had nothing to do with this war. But ever since 9/11 more people have died here than there (Afghanistan). We paid the price and we suffered."

Pakistani officials say Americans, and especially their leaders, need to grasp the sensitivities of trying to pacify the region before judging Islamabad's performance and accuse Washington of being naive by relying so much on military offensives to defeat the Taliban.

Many Pakistanis worry, too, the United States will abandon the region again after the 2014 pullout from Afghanistan.

Pakistan, they fear, will be left with a new mess.

Mistrust is so widespread that, even when the United States tries to do good, its efforts are often interpreted as devious.

Sitting near a shelf with books on counter-terrorism, a senior Pakistani security official enthusiastically discussed a book that argued U.S. aircraft deployed in Pakistan in 2010 to help victims of epic floods were actually used for reconnaissance missions ahead of the bin Laden raid.

The suspicion is returned.

On Saturday, an anti-terrorism court in the garrison city of Rawalpindi acquitted four Pakistanis charged with involvement in the botched 2010 Times Square bombing plot.

Reacting to the verdict, New York City Police

Commissioner Raymond Kelly said: "It wouldn't be Pakistan if it ceased to disappoint."

--Additional reporting by Andrew Stern and James Kelleher in Chicago, Laura Myers in Miami, Laura Zuckerman in Salmon, Mark Hosenball and Missy Ryan in Washington, Mahawish Rezvi and Imtiaz Shah in Karachi, and Rebecca Conway and Qasim Nauman in Islamabad

London Times

June 4, 2012

### 38. US Naval Shift To Asia 'Will Leave Gaps In Nato Defence'

By Richard Lloyd Parry

American plans to move ships from the Atlantic to the Pacific will leave gaps in Nato defences because of the effect of the European economic crisis, Britain's Armed Forces Minister has warned.

Nick Harvey urged the United States to "take things a step at a time" in implementing its new strategy, which aims to counter China's growing economic and military power.

Leon Panetta, the US Defence Secretary, said on Saturday that the US was to deploy 60 per cent of its navy in the Pacific and 40 per cent in the Atlantic. At present, the division is even.

Mr Harvey told The Times that Europe would struggle to fill the gap. "If it's part of US long-term thinking that Europe can handle more than is the case presently, I'd observe that there is a way to go in developing capacity, and the Americans will want to take things a step at a time," he said at the Shangri-La Dialogue in Singapore, organised by Britain's International Institute of Strategic Studies.

The naval redeployment is the most dramatic step so far in Washington's strategic move

away from Europe and the Middle East and towards Asia. But it comes the year after a Nato campaign against Gaddafi forces in Libya, and with the increasing possibility of foreign military involvement in Syria.

"The United States has fought wars, we have spilled blood, we have deployed our forces time and time again to protect our vital interests in the Asia-Pacific," Mr Panetta said in Singapore. "We owe it to all of those who've fought and died to build a better future for all nations in this region."

Defence cuts have left Britain without the ability to launch aircraft from a naval carrier until at least 2023. "When we're back in the carrier strike game we could pull more weight, [but] if Europe is to take more responsibility, we've got some way to go," Mr Harvey said.

Despite the US cuts, America's new presence in Asia will include six aircraft carriers, as well as radar-evading fighter jets and anti-submarine planes. Mr Panetta said that, although there was anxiety about Beijing's claims to islands in the South China Sea, the policy was not an effort to contain China.

The meeting of defence ministers came as ships from the US and China confront one another over Scarborough Shoal, an atoll claimed by the Philippines and China.

Washington Times

June 4, 2012

Pg. 1

### 39. Delta Force: Army's 'Quiet Professionals'

*Operate in shadows - not in spotlight*

By Rowan Scarborough, The Washington Times

As Navy SEALs bask in the limelight for daring missions, some in the Army

are wondering whether the other half of the nation's counter-terrorism covert warriors - Delta Force - is being upstaged and left in the shadows.

Adm. William H. McRaven, a SEAL who commanded the Joint Special Operations Command when SEAL Team 6 killed Osama bin Laden in Pakistan last year, favors his guys over Delta, some say.

"All I've heard and observed is that he is obviously pro-SEAL and that explains why Delta has been sidelined," said a retired Army Green Beret who still conducts special operations as a government contractor.

A spokesman for U.S. Special Operations Command, where Adm. McRaven is now the top officer and the second SEAL in a row to lead the force, declined to comment. "There are some units we do not discuss," he said.

SEAL Team 6 has won heaps of public praise since dispatching the world's most wanted terrorist in May 2011. Months later, real SEALs starred in an action movie, "Act of Valor." Later this year, Hollywood will release another SEAL-related film on the hunt for bin Laden.

A SEAL team added to the hype in January by rescuing American hostage Jessica Buchanan from a band of pirates in Somalia.

By comparison, when Delta Force and conventional ground troops hunted down Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein in 2003, found him a spider hole and flew him to Baghdad in a special ops "little bird," the covert unit received far less media focus and garnered no starring role in a movie.

In fact, the most famous movie involving Delta Force is 2001's "Black Hawk Down," which depicted a failed 1993

mission that led to a U.S. retreat from Somalia.

Delta also played the principal role in the painstaking hunt for Iraq's most violent terrorist leader, Abu Musab Zarqawi. The Bush administration put out few details about how Zarqawi was found in a hideout north of Baghdad, and Delta remained in the shadows.

#### 'Shadow forces'

But the Obama administration provided on background rich detail about the killing of bin Laden and has aided Hollywood in its movie production.

So much information flowed from the administration that two weeks after the raid, Adm. Mike Mullen, then the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, urged leakers to shut up.

"We are close to jeopardizing this precious capability that we have, and we can't afford to do that," Adm. Mullen said. "This fight isn't over. ... It's time to stop talking."

Retired Army Col. Ken Allard, a career intelligence officer, described Delta Force members as "quiet professionals. Silence is security."

He said Delta was created in 1979 to often fight alongside conventional forces, as it did in the Saddam hunt.

SEALs generally go on missions alone. Delta's approach, he said, "simply means they can get more done the quieter they do things."

"Ever since Delta Force was created, they have been the quintessential shadow forces," Col. Allard said. "That's not going to change, even with the recent publicity about the SEALs."

"The SEALs are short-term killers. Delta has a lot of other missions. It shows how well-integrated the Delta Force guys are with the

conventional forces. SEALs are compartmented. Delta is not."

Another former intelligence officer who has worked with Delta in Iraq said one reason the SEALs were given the bin Laden mission was that it fell on their turf.

In Iraq, SEAL Team 6 and other SEAL units primarily carried out missions against insurgent targets in Anbar province, while Delta focused on Baghdad and the north, where Saddam was captured.

In Afghanistan, the command designated the northeastern provinces on the border with Pakistan as SEAL territory. It was from that region that special operations helicopters infiltrated Pakistani airspace to descend on bin Laden's lair in the garrison town of Abbottabad.

"Since Iraq has been quiet for some time, and Afghanistan more active, I think the SEALs have just gotten a few more high-profile missions," the retired intelligence officer said. "I guarantee Delta is in a bunch of areas that we are not even hearing about."

"I would suggest that some of the perceived disparity between Delta and the SEALs is due to cultural differences. SEALs like to be seen. They have a great PR machine. Delta, on the other hand, are very quiet and reserved by comparison. They embrace a culture of secrecy more so than the Navy."

#### Politics in the picture

"I can't speculate on which service is 'in favor,'" said retired Rear Adm. George R. Worthington, at one time the top SEAL. "I suspect Adm. McRaven is sensitive to such comparison but would discount any blatant favoritism. The mission and availability of forces will determine the choice."

Retired Army Lt. Col. Steve Russell, a battalion

commander who teamed with Delta operatives to hunt down Saddam, said the SEALs are victims of the Obama administration's decision to release mission details in conjunction with making the bin Laden raid a campaign issue.

"The current administration gave out a lot of detail the Department of the Navy had to answer to because it was out in the public," said Col. Russell, who last year spoke to a Republican leadership conference in New Orleans. "I can't imagine they would have wanted to put a lot of things out there that caused them problems later."

Mr. Russell wrote a book about Saddam's capture, "We Got Him." He said he was careful not to give away Delta's manhunting tactics.

"To contrast the hunt and capture of Saddam with the bin Laden killing, President [George W.] Bush was very quick to congratulate the troops and move on," he said. "I think what we see with the current administration is, it is being used for political leverage."

In August, Rep. Peter T. King, New York Republican and chairman of the House Homeland Security Committee, charged that the White House was releasing classified information about the bin Laden raid to reporters and to moviemakers.

"Ridiculous," White House spokesman Jay Carney told reporters.

"When people, including you in this room, are working on articles, books, documentaries or movies that involve the president, ask to speak to administration officials, we do our best to accommodate them to make sure the facts are correct," Mr. Carney said. "That is hardly a novel approach to the media. We do not discuss classified information."

One development is clear. SEAL Team 6 and Delta Force have enjoyed a special place under Presidents Bush and Obama. Both units have increased in size - to several hundred Team 6 members and more than 1,000 Delta Force troops.

Overall, the special operations budget has surged from \$6 billion five years ago to more than \$10 billion today, according to the Congressional Research Service. Special Operations Command will surpass 60,000 troops next year, as conventional ground troops will shrink by 90,000 in the next five years.

Yahoo.com

June 4, 2012

## 40. Navy Hopes Stealth Ship Answers A Rising China

By Eric Talmadge, Associated Press

SINGAPORE -- A super-stealthy warship that could underpin the U.S. navy's China strategy will be able to sneak up on coastlines virtually undetected and pound targets with electromagnetic "railguns" right out of a sci-fi movie.

But at more than \$3 billion a pop, critics say the new DDG-1000 destroyer sucks away funds that could be better used to bolster a thinly stretched conventional fleet. One outspoken admiral in China has scoffed that all it would take to sink the high-tech American ship is an armada of explosive-laden fishing boats.

With the first of the new ships set to be delivered in 2014, the stealth destroyer is being heavily promoted by the Pentagon as the most advanced destroyer in history — a silver bullet of stealth. It has been called a perfect fit for what Washington now considers the most strategically important

region in the world — Asia and the Pacific.

Though it could come in handy elsewhere, like in the Gulf region, its ability to carry out missions both on the high seas and in shallows closer to shore is especially important in Asia because of the region's many island nations and China's long Pacific coast.

"With its stealth, incredibly capable sonar system, strike capability and lower manning requirements — this is our future," Adm. Jonathan Greenert, chief of naval operations, said in April after visiting the shipyard in Maine where they are being built.

On a visit to a major regional security conference in Singapore that ended Sunday, U.S. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta said the Navy will be deploying 60 percent of its fleet worldwide to the Pacific by 2020, and though he didn't cite the stealth destroyers he said new high-tech ships will be a big part of its shift.

The DDG-1000 and other stealth destroyers of the Zumwalt class feature a wave-piercing hull that leaves almost no wake, electric drive propulsion and advanced sonar and missiles. They are longer and heavier than existing destroyers — but will have half the crew because of automated systems and appear to be little more than a small fishing boat on enemy radar.

Down the road, the ship is to be equipped with an electromagnetic railgun, which uses a magnetic field and electric current to fire a projectile at several times the speed of sound.

But cost overruns and technical delays have left many defense experts wondering if the whole endeavor was too focused on futuristic technologies for its own good.

They point to the problem-ridden F-22 stealth jet fighter, which was hailed as the most advanced fighter ever built but was cut short because of prohibitive costs. Its successor, the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter, has swelled up into the most expensive procurement program in Defense Department history.

"Whether the Navy can afford to buy many DDG-1000s must be balanced against the need for over 300 surface ships to fulfill the various missions that confront it," said Dean Cheng, a China expert with the Heritage Foundation, a conservative research institute in Washington. "Buying hyperexpensive ships hurts that ability, but buying ships that can't do the job, or worse can't survive in the face of the enemy, is even more irresponsible."

The Navy says its money well spent. The rise of China has been cited as the best reason for keeping the revolutionary ship afloat, although the specifics of where it will be deployed have yet to be announced. Navy officials also say the technologies developed for the ship will inevitably be used in other vessels in the decades ahead.

But the destroyers' \$3.1 billion price tag, which is about twice the cost of the current destroyers and balloons to \$7 billion each when research and development is added in, nearly sank it in Congress. Though the Navy originally wanted 32 of them, that was cut to 24, then seven.

Now, just three are in the works.

"Costs spiraled — surprise, surprise — and the program basically fell in on itself," said Richard Bitzinger, a security expert at Singapore's Nanyang Technological University. "The DDG-1000 was a nice idea for a new modernistic surface

combatant, but it contained too many unproven, disruptive technologies."

The U.S. Defense Department is concerned that China is modernizing its navy with a near-term goal of stopping or delaying U.S. intervention in conflicts over disputed territory in the South China Sea or involving Taiwan, which China considers a renegade province.

China is now working on building up a credible aircraft carrier capability and developing missiles and submarines that could deny American ships access to crucial sea lanes.

The U.S. has a big advantage on the high seas, but improvements in China's navy could make it harder for U.S. ships to fight in shallower waters, called littorals. The stealth destroyers are designed to do both. In the meantime, the Navy will begin deploying smaller Littoral Combat Ships to Singapore later this year.

Officially, China has been quiet on the possible addition of the destroyers to Asian waters.

But Rear Adm. Zhang Zhaozhong, an outspoken commentator affiliated with China's National Defense University, scoffed at the hype surrounding the ship, saying that despite its high-tech design it could be overwhelmed by a swarm of fishing boats laden with explosives. If enough boats were mobilized some could get through to blow a hole in its hull, he said.

"It would be a goner," he said recently on state broadcaster CCTV's military channel.

*AP writer Christopher Bodeen contributed to this report from Beijing.*

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Wall Street Journal  
June 4, 2012  
Pg. 6

## Connecticut

### 41. Navy Uncertain On Repair Of Fire-Damaged Sub

The Navy is evaluating whether it is worth spending millions of dollars to repair the USS Miami, the nuclear-powered submarine damaged in a fire in a Maine shipyard.

If the submarine is scrapped, the fleet could feel the effects for years. The number of attack submarines like the Miami is projected to drop as they are deactivated faster than they are replaced, and Navy leaders already have been trying to find new ways to keep up with demands from Navy commanders.

The 23-year-old Miami was in dry dock at Portsmouth Naval Shipyard in Kittery, Maine for an overhaul when the fire broke out May 23, damaging the torpedo room and command area inside the sub's forward compartment. The cause is under investigation.

--Associated Press

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New York Times  
June 4, 2012  
Pg. B1

### 42. Expert Issues A Cyberwar Warning

By Andrew E. Kramer and Nicole Perlroth

MOSCOW — When Eugene Kaspersky, the founder of Europe's largest antivirus company, discovered the Flame virus that is afflicting computers in Iran and the Middle East, he recognized it as a technologically sophisticated virus that only a government could create.

He also recognized that the virus, which he compares to the Stuxnet virus built by programmers employed by the United States and Israel, adds weight to his warnings of the grave dangers posed by governments that manufacture

and release viruses on the Internet.

"Cyberweapons are the most dangerous innovation of this century," he told a gathering of technology company executives, called the CeBIT conference, last month in Sydney, Australia. While the United States and Israel are using the weapons to slow the nuclear bomb-making abilities of Iran, they could also be used to disrupt power grids and financial systems or even wreak havoc with military defenses.

Computer security companies have for years used their discovery of a new virus or worm to call attention to themselves and win more business from companies seeking computer protection. Mr. Kaspersky, a Russian computer security expert, and his company, Kaspersky Lab, are no different in that regard. But he is also using his company's integral role in exposing or decrypting three computer viruses apparently intended to slow or halt Iran's nuclear program to argue for an international treaty banning computer warfare.

A growing array of nations and other entities are using online weapons, he says, because they are "thousands of times cheaper" than conventional armaments.

While antivirus companies might catch some, he says, only an international treaty that would ban militaries and spy agencies from making viruses will truly solve the problem.

The wide disclosure of the details of the Flame virus by Kaspersky Lab also seems intended to promote the Russian call for a ban on cyberweapons like those that blocked poison gas or expanding bullets from the armies of major nations and other entities.

And that puts the Russian company in a difficult position

because it already faces suspicions that it is tied to the Russian government, accusations Mr. Kaspersky has constantly denied as he has built his business.

While Russian officials have not commented on the discovery of Flame, the Russian minister of telecommunications gave a speech, also in May, calling for an international cyberweapon ban. Russia has also pushed for a bilateral treaty with the United States.

The United States has agreed to discuss such a disarmament treaty with the Russians, but has also tried to encourage Russia to prosecute online crime, which flourishes in this country.

The United States has long objected to the Russian crusade for an online arms control ban. "There is no broad international support for a cyberweapon ban," says James A. Lewis, a senior fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. "This is a global diplomatic ploy by the Russians to take down a perceived area of U.S. military advantage."

Russia, many security experts note, has been accused of using cyberwarfare in disputes with Estonia and wars in Georgia.

Mr. Kaspersky said that at no point did he cooperate with the Federal Security Agency, the successor agency to the K.G.B., as the Flame virus was not a threat to Russian citizens.

Kaspersky Lab, he said, felt justified exposing the Flame virus because the company was working under the auspices of a United Nations agency. But the company has been noticeably silent on viruses perpetrated in its own backyard, where Russian-speaking criminal syndicates controlled a third of the estimated \$12 billion global

cybercrime market last year, according to the Russian security firm Group-IB.

Some say there is good reason. "He's got family," said Sean Sullivan, an adviser at F-Secure, a computer security firm in Helsinki. "I wouldn't expect them to be the most aggressive about publicizing threats in their neighborhood for fear those neighbors would retaliate."

Last year, Mr. Kaspersky's 19-year-old son was kidnapped by criminals demanding a ransom. The kidnappers did not appear to have ties to any of Russia's online criminal syndicates, but Mr. Sullivan says, "It was probably a wake-up call."

Some computer security firms say Mr. Kaspersky's researchers have hyped Flame. It is too early, his critics say, to call the virus a "cyberweapon" and to suggest it was sponsored by a state.

Joe Jaroch, a vice president at Webroot, an antivirus maker, says he first encountered a sample of Flame in 2007. He says he did not publicize the discovery because he did not consider the code sophisticated. "There are many more dangerous viruses out there," he said. "I would be shocked if this was the work of a nation state."

Mr. Sullivan, from F-Secure, said: "It's interesting and complex, but not sleek and stealthy. It could be the work of a military contractor — Northrop Grumman, Lockheed Martin, Raytheon and other contractors are developing programs like these for different intelligence services. To call it a cyberweapon says more about Kaspersky's cold war mentality than anything else. It has to be taken with a grain of salt."

Whether the skepticism is authentic or professional jealousy, no one doubts

the Kaspersky Lab's skills. Mr. Kaspersky studied cryptography at a high school that was co-sponsored by the K.G.B. and Russia's ministry of defense, and later took a job with the Russian military. He started tracking computer viruses as a side project in 1989, after his work PC was infected with one. In 1997, he co-founded Kaspersky Lab with his wife at the time, Natalya, in their Moscow apartment.

The headquarters of the team that unraveled Flame is an open-plan office of cubicles overlooking a park on the edge of Moscow. Mr. Kaspersky eschews suits and his researchers wear Converse shoes and tattered jeans, much as their counterparts in the United States do. A Darth Vader mask adorns one desk.

Talent also abounds. The Belarussian virus hunter who first found the Stuxnet virus in 2010, Sergei Ulasen, now works for Kaspersky Lab.

Today, the company is one of Russia's most recognizable exports. It commands 8 percent of the world's software security market for businesses, with revenue reaching \$612 million last year.

Yet Mr. Kaspersky says he often has to dispute suggested ties to Russia's security services. Analysts say suspicions about the firm's Russian roots have hindered its expansion abroad.

"The U.S. government, defense contractors and lots of U.S. companies won't work with them," said Peter Firstbrook, director of malware research at Gartner, a research firm. "There's no evidence that they have any back doors in their software or any ties to the Russian mafia or state. It's a red herring, but there is still a concern that you can't operate in Russia without being controlled by the ruling party."

Mr. Kaspersky said his company tackled Flame upon the request of the International Telecommunications Unit, a branch of the United Nations. He assigned about three dozen engineers to investigate a virus that was erasing files on computers at Iran's oil ministry. Kaspersky researchers, some of whom had analyzed suspected United States and Israeli viruses that destroyed centrifuges in Iran's nuclear program two years earlier, were already following up on complaints from Iranian clients that Kaspersky's antivirus software was not catching a new type of malware on their systems, Kaspersky officials said.

"We saw an unusual structure of the code, compressed and encrypted in several ways," Vitaly Kamlyuk, a researcher on the team that cracked the virus.

It was the first virus to look for Bluetooth-enabled devices in the vicinity, either to spread to those devices, map a user's social or professional circle, or steal information from them. The program also contained a command called "microbe" that silently turned on users' microphones to record their conversations and sent audio files back to the attackers. It was clearly not a virus made by criminals.

"Antivirus companies are in a not easy situation," Mr. Kaspersky said. "We have to protect our customers everywhere in the world. On the other hand, we understand there are quite serious powers behind these viruses."

Even though finding viruses first is usually a boon for antivirus companies, cracking Flame, Mr. Kaspersky said, might hurt his business in one regard. "For the next five years, we can forget about government contracts in the United States."

*Andrew E. Kramer reported from Moscow and Nicole Perlroth from San Francisco.*

Washington Post  
June 4, 2012

Pg. 1

**Zero Day: the threat in Cyberspace**

### **43. Everyday Machines Vulnerable To Hacking**

*Fledgling search engine exposes risks of being connected to Internet*

By Robert O'Harrow Jr.

It began as a hobby for a teenage computer programmer named John Matherly, who wondered how much he could learn about devices linked to the Internet.

After tinkering with code for nearly a decade, Matherly eventually developed a way to map and capture the specifications of everything from desktop computers to network printers to Web servers.

He called his fledgling search engine Shodan, and in late 2009 he began asking friends to try it out. He had no inkling it was about to alter the balance of security in cyberspace.

"I just thought it was cool," said Matherly, now 28.

Matherly and other Shodan users quickly realized they were revealing an astonishing fact: Uncounted numbers of industrial control computers, the systems that automate such things as water plants and power grids, were linked in, and in some cases they were wide open to exploitation by even moderately talented hackers.

Control computers were built to run behind the safety of brick walls. But such security is rapidly eroded by links to the Internet. Recently, an unknown hacker broke into a water plant south of Houston

using a default password he found in a user manual. A Shodan user found and accessed the cyclotron at the Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory. Yet another user found thousands of unsecured Cisco routers, the computer systems that direct data on the networks.

"There's no reason these systems should be exposed that way," Matherly said. "It just seems ludicrous."

The rise of Shodan illuminates the rapid convergence of the real world and cyberspace, and the degree to which machines that millions of people depend on every day are becoming vulnerable to intrusion and digital sabotage. It also shows that the online world is more interconnected and complex than anyone fully understands, leaving us more exposed than we previously imagined.

Over the past two years, Shodan has gathered data on nearly 100 million devices, recording their exact locations and the software systems that run them.

"Expose online devices," the Web site says. "Webcams. Routers. Power Plants. iPhones. Wind Turbines. Refrigerators. VoIP Phones."

Homeland security officials have warned that the obscurity that had protected many industrial control systems was fast disappearing in a flood of digital light.

"This means that these delicate [control computers] are potentially reachable from the Internet by malicious and skilled adversaries," a Department of Homeland Security paper concluded in 2010.

The number of intrusions and attacks in the United States is rising fast. From October to April, the DHS received 120 incident reports, about the same

as for all of 2011. But no one knows how often breaches have occurred or how serious they have been. Companies are under no obligation to report such intrusions to authorities.

#### **A weak link in the system**

Industrial control systems are the workhorses of the information age. Like other computers, they run on code and are programmable. Unlike laptops, smartphones and other consumer technology, they're stripped down and have little style or glitz.

Costing as little as a few thousand dollars and up to \$50,000, they're often housed in plain metal boxes with few lights or switches. Control systems now open and shut water pipes, regulate the flow of natural gas, manage the production of chemicals, and run data centers, power-plant turbines and commuter trains.

The control computers collect data from electronic sensors, analyze it and send it on to desktop computers that serve as the "human-machine interface." They afford managers precise and remote control of the machinery.

The most far-flung and powerful of these networked systems are called supervisory control and data acquisition, or SCADA. They give companies central control of large numbers of pumps, generators, oil rigs and other operations.

The allure of long-distance network control is hard to resist. Manufacturers of control computers have promised that such networks can cut costs by reducing the number of workers in the field. Siemens Industry Inc., a leader in the field, said in a recent marketing brochure that it is "more important than ever" to adopt control devices "to respond to the increasing international competitive pressure."

The systems are often hardened against weather or tough conditions and can run nonstop for months or years. But many were designed for another era, before the mesh of networks reached into every corner of the globe, and some of the systems rely on outdated hardware and software.

A recent examination of major control systems by six hacker-researchers working with the security firm Digital Bond found that six of seven devices in the study were riddled with hardware and software flaws. Some included back doors that enabled the hackers to download passwords or sidestep security completely.

Researchers found that one machine made by General Electric, the D-20, uses the same microprocessor installed in Apple computers two decades ago. The company that made its operating software stopped updating it in 1999. It is often shipped to customers with no meaningful security. "Security is disabled by default," the manual says. "To log in, enter any name; you do not need a password."

In a statement to The Washington Post, General Electric said: "The D-20 was designed for deployment in a layered security environment, in which asset owners and operators employ a range of measures to prevent, detect and respond to intrusions. GE actively works with our customers to design and support those security measures."

The company added that the software for the machine "is designed to be secure and includes a layer of password-protection, which can be activated if the customer chooses to do so."

Other machines had flaws that enabled the researchers to take control through electronic back doors.

In January, Digital Bond said the results were "a bloodbath, mostly."

"Most of the guys were able to hack their controllers in a single day," said K. Reid Wightman, a Digital Bond security researcher and former Pentagon cyberwarrior. "It's just too easy. If we can do it, imagine what a well-funded foreign power could do."

The owners of control computers long assumed that few outsiders understood or cared how power plants and other facilities worked. They also figured the systems were safe within their facilities, disconnected from outside networks.

But like much of the rest of the world, the systems were rapidly being linked to global networks, often through indirect connections. Many of those connections came as executives sought more refined detail about their operations. With few exceptions, corporate networks used by executives are linked in some way to the Internet.

Because of the strange nature of cyberspace, even an employee passing through a plant with a wireless connection on a laptop can create a temporary data link that exposes control systems to intruders.

"They have sort of connected through osmosis," said Marty Edwards, a senior cybersecurity official at the Department of Homeland Security. "What we have done is connect to everything."

#### **An accidental discovery**

The idea for Shodan came to John Matherly in 2003, when he was a teenager attending community college in California. Obsessed with the digital world, he named his project after a malevolent character in a video game called System Shock II. The character, Sentient Hyper-Optimized Data Access Network, or Shodan, is

an artificial intelligence entity that thinks it is a goddess and sets out to eradicate humans.

Matherly, who grew up in Switzerland, toyed with his system for years as he earned a degree in bioinformatics from the University of California at San Diego and built his career as a programmer, data miner and Web developer. His early Shodan versions found only hundreds of devices a day on the Web, and the information was not searchable. After devoting months to the project in 2009, he made a breakthrough, solving the search problem and locating many more devices.

When he launched his first live version of the program, in November of that year, he thought it might catch on with software makers who wanted to know about the systems being used by potential customers. On his Web site, Matherly described his program as "the world's first computer search engine that lets you search the Internet for computers. . . . Find devices based on city, country, latitude/longitude, hostname, operating system and IP."

The Shodan software runs 24 hours a day. It automatically reaches out to the World Wide Web and identifies digital locators, known as Internet protocol (IP) addresses, for computers and other devices. The program then attempts to connect to the machines. If a connection is made, Shodan "fingerprints" the machine, recording its software, geographic location and other data contained in the identification "banner" displayed by devices on the Internet.

Such identifying information is called "metadata" — and it's far more common, useful and problematic than anyone had

realized. Shodan compiles the information in Matherly's servers — about 10 million devices every month now — and makes it almost as easy to query online as a Google search.

At first, the Shodan discoveries seemed trivial: devices commonly linked to networks such as printers and Web servers. But as queries became more sophisticated, troubling findings started emerging. One researcher using the system found that a nuclear particle accelerator at the University of California at Berkeley was linked to the Internet with virtually no security. Another identified thousands of data routers — the devices that make networks possible — open to anyone. Because they required no passwords, they could be taken over with ease.

"It was only after nearly a year that individual researchers began digging deeper through the Shodan data to locate devices that weren't part of the known, discovered Internet," Matherly said. "Water-treatment facilities, power plants, particle accelerators and other industrial control systems had been hidden from traditional search engines."

As the dimensions of the challenge posed by Shodan became clear, the DHS Industrial Control Systems Cyber Emergency Response Team issued a stark warning in October 2010, noting "the increased risk" of brute-force attacks on "systems available on the Internet."

The alert recommended placing all control system assets behind firewalls, using secure remote-access methods and disabling default passwords.

A researcher at Cambridge University, Eireann Leverett, used Shodan to identify more than 10,000 control computers linked to the

Internet, many of them with known vulnerabilities. Leverett concluded that many operators had no idea how exposed they were — or even realized that their machines were online.

"This could be used to carry out remote attacks on selected devices or identify networks for further reconnaissance and exploitation," Leverett wrote in a thesis, "Quantitatively Assessing and Visualising Industrial System Attack Surfaces," published in June 2011. "Malicious actors might already be doing this."

In the United States, security experts Billy Rios and Terry McCorkle said this spring that their research suggests the situation is worse than even Leverett demonstrated. Rios, who works for Google, and McCorkle, who works for Boeing, are both Shodan users who study control systems on their own time.

"The number of control systems on the Internet is far greater than anybody realizes," said McCorkle, who along with Rios recently discussed control computer vulnerabilities at the National Defense University at Fort McNair. "These systems are insecure by their nature."

Matherly said he wants his search engine used to improve security. But he said it can be used to shred it as well.

"Shodan has lifted the barrier. There's no going back," Matherly said. "Once you shed light on it, you can't go back into hiding."

### **A history of digital attacks**

One story from the Cold War shows that cyberattacks on control systems have been in the imagination for a long time. Though some details are hard to confirm, it describes an attack that experts believe could happen today.

In 1981, a Soviet KGB colonel who became a spy for

France, code name Farewell, shared Soviet plans to use a Canadian front company to secretly acquire technology to automate the Trans-Siberian gas pipeline, according to "At the Abyss: An Insider's History of the Cold War," by Thomas Reed, a former Pentagon official. Tipped off by the French, U.S. officials set up a front company to sell the technology, but only after they made some undetectable alterations to the computer code.

The alterations eventually "reset pump speeds and valve settings to produce pressures far beyond those acceptable to the pipeline joints and welds," Reed wrote two decades later. "The result was the most monumental non-nuclear explosion and fire ever seen from space."

A KGB veteran later disputed the account. A document on the CIA's Web site confirmed only that "contrived computer chips" were provided to the Soviets and "flawed turbines were installed on a gas pipeline."

Evidence of the threat to control computers mounted.

In 1997, a teenage hacker using a personal computer and a dial-up connection shut down part of a telephone network in Worcester, Mass., cutting off the local airport's air-traffic-control communications.

In 2000, Vitek Boden, a supervisor at a technology firm in Australia, was bitter that he did not get a job with the Maroochy Shire Council, according to Joseph Weiss, author of "Protecting Industrial Control Systems From Electronic Threats." Using a radio transmitter, Boden launched an attack against a wastewater-treatment system in Queensland, remotely accessing the control systems and releasing hundreds of thousands of gallons of raw

sewage into local streams and parks. He was sentenced to two years in jail.

"Marine life died, the creek water turned black and the stench was unbearable for residents," an Australian Environmental Protection Agency official said later.

In 2007, skeptics still claimed that the threat of cyberattacks on real-world machinery was theoretical. In a demonstration called Project Aurora, the Department of Homeland Security along with power industry officials decided to test the theory themselves.

In the end, many doubters were silenced.

The target was a 5,000-horsepower diesel engine, the kind of machine that often serves as a backup generator for manufacturers and large organizations. Engineers at the Idaho National Laboratory hacked into the generator's embedded control computer through a network. By repeatedly triggering circuit breakers, they created massive torque on the machinery, which eventually started to shake, smoke and tear itself to pieces.

Mark Zeller, who specializes in industrial power systems at Schweitzer Engineering Laboratories Inc., said the Aurora Project set off a scramble in the power industry to identify links to cyberspace and improve "electronic" perimeter security.

Those efforts include assessing the links between control systems and networks and creating layers of defenses against intruders. In some cases, that means creating "air gaps" — physical separations that cannot be breached by wireless connections — between networks and control systems along with stronger password protection.

"They have really taken this electronic security perimeter thing seriously," Zeller said. "It's a big issue now."

At the same time, the DHS has stepped up its efforts, including providing advice and assistance to industries to reduce cyber-risks.

The government now routinely issues alerts about new threats to control systems. Alerts are also issued by a private industry group, the North American Electric Reliability Corp., or NERC, the organization of electrical grid operators in the United States.

Three weeks ago, NERC said that control computers on the Internet "face increased exposure" because of Shodan and hacking tools. The NERC alert said that "it is possible that hackers or hacktivist groups may cause sporadic component failures as they identify and interact with these devices."

A sophisticated new virus called Flame, apparently aimed at intelligence collection against Iran, was revealed last week, underscoring anew the threats in cyberspace. But the most powerful and ingenious cyber-attack ever publicly disclosed involved industrial control systems in Iran. Called Stuxnet when its code was discovered on the Internet in the summer of 2010, the attack alerted the world to the true potential for attacks on critical infrastructure.

Last week, the New York Times reported that Stuxnet was part of a U.S.-Israeli covert operation against Iran approved by President Obama. Stuxnet targeted a control computer called an S7 produced by Siemens and used by the Iranian government to operate centrifuges in the process of enriching uranium.

The malicious code designed to attack the machines

was included as payload in a package of software called a computer “worm.”

The worm was launched into the Internet and spread rapidly around much of the world, like a virus during flu season. But most of the computers and systems infected were in Iran.

The worm code was designed to self-replicate. Investigators said it apparently infected flash drives in Iran, helping it jump from networks to unconnected computers at the Iranian nuclear processing facility in Natanz.

Stuxnet took advantage of four unknown software flaws, or zero days, to crack through security in a variety of computer systems. The attack code eventually directed the S7s to operate uranium-refining centrifuges at speeds beyond their tolerances while sending misleading data to monitors showing that all was well.

It was brilliant and devastating. Analysts believe that hundreds of centrifuges were damaged, though no one outside the operation knows for sure.

“The real-world implications of Stuxnet are beyond any threat we have seen in the past,” said the authors of an analysis of the worm issued by Symantec, a computer security firm. “Stuxnet is the type of threat we hope to never see again.”

Among those shaken to the core was Siemens.

“Stuxnet marked a turning point for the entire automation industry, turning theoretical problems into headlines,” Raj Batra, president of the industry automation division at Siemens, told The Post.

### Exploiting flaws

News of Stuxnet jolted hackers around the world like a double shot of espresso, waking them up to the once-

obscure world of industrial control systems.

One of them was Dillon Beresford, an energetic hacker and security consultant in Texas. He read an article about the attack in Wired magazine.

“It inspired me,” Beresford said. “I wanted to disprove that it would take a nation-state to pull this off.”

“I’m like, no, I’m going to do this in my living room.”

Beresford wasn’t just being brash. He had found zero-day vulnerabilities over the years. “At the end of the day, it’s all just code,” he said.

Starting in January 2011, Beresford worked almost nonstop for two months. He focused on the Siemens S7 line of controllers.

Like any good hack, it started with research. Beresford found an online “coding library” run by a German researcher. It contained source code for a wide variety of computers, including the S7s. Night after night he studied, focusing in particular on what is known as the machine’s communications protocol.

He discovered the protocol was designed to make it easier for machines to communicate with the Internet. Security was an afterthought.

Beresford persuaded his boss at the time — a manager at NSS Labs, a security firm — to buy him four of the industrial control systems for thousands of dollars each. “If you do find something, let people know you’re from NSS,” his boss told him.

The devices came mounted on heavy boards, ready for testing. The S7 is a plain rectangular metal container with heat vents and ports for cables, about the size of a large shoe box.

Beresford set them up on his workbench in the bedroom of his apartment in suburban

Austin. He connected them to his laptop and began to hunt.

“I was up every night until 5 a.m.,” he said. “I love to write code.”

Several weeks into his experiments, Beresford made the first of several discoveries of flaws in the S7s. One of them took advantage of the fact that the protocol did not encrypt its communication with other networks, allowing a hacker to easily read and steal the “plain text” passwords.

Beresford said the protocol was created by designers who assumed the machines would operate behind the safety of an “air gap” between them and open networks. At the time, no one anticipated the use of thumb drives to close such gaps, as in the Stuxnet attack.

He also found a digital back door that enabled him to read the device’s internal memory, including the password stored on the device.

In May 2011, Beresford sent his findings to the DHS. The feds studied his work and confirmed it. In an alert issued on July 5, the agency announced it was working with Siemens on the S7 vulnerabilities.

“I crushed it,” he said. “All average guys, your typical hacker, could very easily replicate this.”

Since then, using his Shodan account, Beresford has found more than 100 S7s online, all of them potential targets.

Batra of Siemens acknowledged the vulnerabilities and said the company is working hard to address them. The company last week announced it is offering new security enhancements for its industrial control systems.

“Siemens’s automation products are rigorously tested with regard to industrial security and yet must be designed to also balance the requirements of open

industrial solutions, which drive productivity,” he said. “There will never be an endpoint when it comes to industrial security threats, but companies can better protect their systems by staying up to date with the research community, following the guidance of governmental agencies, and by working with responsible, technologically innovative vendors like Siemens.”

### Something to prove

Other hackers also began turning their attention to industrial control computers after hearing about Stuxnet.

One of them, an anonymous hacker who calls himself pr0f, is a bright, unemployed 22-year-old who favors hoodie sweatshirts and lives in his parents’ home somewhere overseas. He is among the growing numbers of Shodan users.

After studying control systems in the wake of Stuxnet, he thought the insecurity of the devices seemed crazy and irresponsible.

“Eventually, somebody will get access to a major system and people will be hurt,” he later said. “It’s just a matter of time.”

He vowed to prove how easy it was to get in. On Nov. 17, he saw an article online about an apparent industrial control system attack in the United States. The article said a hacker in Russia had apparently destroyed a pump in a water utility in Springfield, Ill.

Pr0f had been expecting something like this, but he was incredulous when he read a statement in the story from a DHS official.

“At this time there is no credible corroborated data that indicates a risk to critical infrastructure entities or a threat to public safety,” the statement said.

The hacker fumed: How could Homeland Security play down something so important?

"It was the final straw," proF said. "I was angry. I said, 'Yep, let's do something.'"

The Springfield episode turned out to be an accident not connected to Russia, but he did not learn that until later. Impulsively, he began programming his computer to search the Internet for a Siemens S7 controller. The first one he found just happened to be an S7 in South Houston, a small town thousands of miles and an ocean away from where he sat.

The hacker navigated to the machine's Internet address. When prompted to identify himself as an approved operator, he knew just what to do, because he had read the manual. He typed in the default password: three simple digits. A moment later, he was at the controls of a water plant that serves 16,000 Texans.

"This required almost no skill," the young man wrote online a short time later, using an e-mail address in Romania to cloak his identity.

The S7 was installed when the town upgraded its water plant more than a decade ago. That was long before most people thought of industrial control systems as targets. "Nobody gave it a second thought," Mayor Joe Soto said. "When it was put in, we didn't have terrorists."

The intrusion took all of 10 minutes. The hacker did not cause any damage. Instead, he recorded images of the control system as proof of how easy it was for him to get in.

"I didn't actually know what the machine was going to control when I started, but I logged in, and well, saw the stuff I took screen shots of," he said in an e-mail exchange. "I was just amazed."

So was Soto, after he saw images of the plant's control panels on the Internet. He and other town officials ordered the gap closed immediately and then considered the implications.

"We're probably not the only one who is wide open," Soto said later. "He caught everyone with our pants down."

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Honolulu Star-Advertiser  
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Pg. 7

#### **44. Deploying Cyber Weapons Carries Big Risk, Experts Say**

By Richard Lardner,  
Associated Press

The Obama administration is warning American businesses about an unusually potent computer virus that infected Iran's oil industry even as suspicions persist that the United States is responsible for secretly creating and unleashing cyberweapons against foreign countries.

The government's dual roles of alerting U.S. companies about these threats and producing powerful software weapons and eavesdropping tools underscore the risks of an unintended online boomerang.

Unlike a bullet or missile fired at an enemy, a cyberweapon that spreads across the Internet may circle back accidentally to infect computers it was never supposed to target. It's one of the unusual challenges facing the programmers who build such weapons, and presidents who must decide when to launch them.

The Homeland Security Department's warning about the new virus, known as "Flame," assured U.S. companies that no infections had been discovered so far inside the U.S. It described Flame as an espionage tool that was

sophisticated in design, using encryption and other techniques to help break into computers and move through corporate or private networks. The virus can eavesdrop on data traffic, take screenshots and record audio and keystrokes. The department said the origin is a mystery.

But suspicions about the U.S. government's role in the use of cyberweapons were heightened by a report in Friday's New York Times. Based on anonymous sources, it said President Barack Obama secretly had ordered the use of another sophisticated cyberweapon, known as Stuxnet, to attack the computer systems that run Iran's main nuclear enrichment facilities. The order was an extension of a sabotage program that The Times said began during the Bush administration.

Private security researchers long have suspected that the U.S. and Israeli governments were responsible for Stuxnet. But the newspaper's detailed description of conversations in the Oval Office among Obama, Vice President Joe Biden and the CIA director about the U.S. government's responsibility for Stuxnet is the most direct evidence of this to date. U.S. officials rarely discuss the use of cyberweapons outside of classified settings.

The White House said Friday it would not discuss whether the U.S. was responsible for the Stuxnet attacks on Iran.

"I'm not able to comment on any of the specifics or details," White House spokesman Josh Earnest said. "That information is classified for a reason, and it is kept secret. It is intended not to be publicized because publicizing it would pose a threat to our national security."

Cyberweapons are uncharted territory because U.S.

laws are ambiguous about their use, and questions about their effectiveness and reliability are mostly unresolved. Attackers online can disguise their origins or even impersonate an innocent bystander organization, making it difficult to identify actual targets when responding to attacks.

Viruses and malicious software, known as malware, rely on vulnerabilities in commercial software and hardware products. But it is hard to design a single payload that always will succeed because the target may have fixed a software vulnerability or placed computers behind a firewall.

On the Internet, an attack intended for one target can spread unexpectedly. Whether a cyberweapon can boomerang depends on its state of the art, according to computer security experts. Stuxnet spread well beyond the Iranian computer networks it was intended to hit. But the collateral damage was minimal because the virus was developed to go after very specific targets.

"When some of these super sophisticated things spread, it's bad but it may not have the same impact because the virus itself is so complex," said Jacob Olcott, a senior cybersecurity expert at Good Harbor Consulting.

It could take years to know who is responsible, which is what is so unsettling about attacks in cyberspace. "We are very good as an industry at figuring out what a piece of malware does," said Dave Marcus, director of advanced research and threat intelligence at digital security giant McAfee. "But we are less accurate when it comes to saying what group is responsible for it."

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USA Today  
June 4, 2012  
Pg. 1D

## 45. 'Military Mom' Jill Biden Can't Forget Our Troops

*Her son's service inspires a new book*

By Susan Page, USA Today

WASHINGTON -- Her son has been home from Iraq for nearly three years now, but tears still well in Jill Biden's eyes when she recalls the Christmas Eve dinner the family had to have without him.

"We all would pretend that nothing was wrong," the wife of Vice President Biden says, sitting in the sunroom of their official residence. "But just looking down the table: There were 25 of us there, and just not seeing Beau. ..."

That was one of the hardest moments during a difficult year when Beau Biden's Delaware National Guard unit was deployed to Camp Victory in Baghdad -- difficult both for her and for his daughter, Natalie, then 4.

Now Jill Biden, with Natalie's assistance, has written a children's book designed to help military kids whose parents are on dangerous duty abroad and non-military families who want to understand what deployment is like for the children left behind. *Don't Forget, God Bless Our Troops* (Simon & Schuster, \$16.99), illustrated by Raúl Colón, is being published Tuesday.

It is a political year, and Biden is a regular presence on the campaign trail by her husband's side. She defends him against the caricature of a gaffe-prone pol -- "Joe is Joe," she says in an interview -- and sounds open to the idea if he decides to make a third presidential bid in 2016.

But she has produced a deliberately non-political book, a low-key account of Natalie's year while her father, a major in the Army National Guard and

Delaware's attorney general, was in Iraq.

"This is so kids don't feel alone" when they are scared or sad about their mother or father's absence, says Biden, an English professor who calls herself "a military mom." "They'll see that other children are having the same exact feelings."

For non-military families, she says, "Americans can learn what this experience is like" and how they can help.

Before writing the book, she told her granddaughter she needed advice on what to tell the little girl of a friend whose husband was being deployed. What should she know?

"Does Daddy really have to go?" the book begins. The mother replies, "Daddy is a soldier." The story tracks key events of the year and the ways Natalie and her family cope with his absence. Before making the final yank to pull out her first tooth, they wait until her father can watch via Skype.

When her younger brother begins to cry for his dad while they are playing with their Army action figures, she holds her GI Joe in front of her face and, in a deep faux-father voice, urges him: "Don't cry, Hunter! Be a big, strong boy."

"Be brave, Natalie," is a refrain repeated again and again.

### 'Don't forget, Nana'

Natalie chose the illustrator, looking at children's books that had been drawn by several prospective artists. She colored the picture of an American flag for the frontispiece.

The title of the book comes from an exchange one night when Biden had tucked Natalie and Hunter into bed and helped them say their prayers. She was tiptoeing out of the bedroom when Natalie added: "Don't

forget, Nana; God bless our troops."

Biden recently counted the campaigns she has been a part of since marrying her husband almost 35 years ago, when he was a senator from Delaware and a widower with two young sons -- Beau, then 8, and Hunter, 7. (Biden's first wife and their daughter had been killed in a highway accident.)

Thirteen campaigns, she calculates, including those of both husband and son.

Joe Biden's 2008 bid for the Democratic presidential nomination ended the night of the Iowa caucuses after he finished a distant fifth. Months later, on a day he had taken his wife to the dentist to have a root canal, Barack Obama called and offered him the vice presidential slot.

Obama campaign manager David Plouffe and strategist David Axelrod flew to Delaware to meet with him.

"Jill Biden and Beau Biden picked us up at the airport, and the thing immediately evident to me was this powerful relationship between them -- how important family was," recalls Axelrod, who was meeting them for the first time. "They dropped us off to see Sen. Biden, and Joe Biden gave Beau Biden a kiss and said, 'I'll be by later and I want to see the kids.'"

Since the election, Jill Biden has continued to teach English, working full time at Northern Virginia Community College and known as "Dr. B." to her students. Some of them are unaware of her husband's office, she says. "They're working; they're raising children; they're going to school," she says. "They don't watch a lot of TV."

Biden, who turned 61 Sunday, also juggles a lot of roles. Last week, she was enmeshed in final preparations for the weekend wedding of

their daughter, Ashley. The reception was at the Bidens' home in Wilmington, and her oven was on the fritz. ("I was just upstairs e-mailing my credit card number" to get it fixed for the caterer, she says as the interview begins.)

She has long avoided the Washington social scene, living in Delaware while her husband commuted to the Senate via Amtrak. She seems as disciplined and discreet as her husband is voluble. She calls his tendency to speak candidly an asset, albeit one that can create complications. Last month, his unscripted comments on NBC's *Meet the Press* pushed President Obama to announce his support for same-sex marriage earlier than he had planned.

"That's what I've always loved about him," she says. "He just says what he wants. I know a lot of times that has gotten him in a little trouble, but on the other hand I do think that people appreciate that he gives them the straight story."

Does she ever urge him to temper his words? "Maybe I would say, 'Joe, do you think you ought to just say it *this* way?'"

And what if he wants to make another bid for the White House in 2016?

"I've learned through many, many, many elections that you just take it one step at a time," she says. "Sometimes when we've folded our tents and gone, I'll say, 'Joe, never again; we're never doing this again.'"

"Then I wanted him to run the last time for president, because I wanted to be out of that war in Iraq and I thought Joe was the best person to do it. But then it didn't work out that way, but then it *did* work out. You know, things happen for a reason."

**Shoveling the driveway**

The biggest challenge of her current role: meeting with military families.

She and Michelle Obama sponsor an initiative called Joining Forces, in support of the families of service members. She has met with thousands of families at bases from California to New Hampshire and visits wounded veterans about once a month. Her proceeds from the book are being contributed to the USO to support the education of military children.

"I have met with families that have maybe not the greatest outcome in that their son or daughter has lost a limb or is dealing with PTSD (post-traumatic stress disorder) or, of course worst of all, has been killed in the war," she says. "This is going to be something for years to come that they'll have to deal with."

The book notes gestures that comforted Natalie and her family. After a snowstorm, a friend shoveled the driveway. Their church listed her father and others deployed in the weekly bulletin, asking for prayers. Her teacher showed the class a picture of his National Guard unit and talked about its service.

For Natalie, his deployment is over but not forgotten.

After Biden sat down with her to talk, Natalie told her mother that the conversation with her grandmother had made her feel sad "because I know how that little girl is going to feel."

On Memorial Day last year, Beau Biden, now 43, took his daughter to watch the ceremonies on the Capitol steps. He looked down; she was crying.

"Tears of sadness and pride at the same time," he says.

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Arizona Daily Star (Tucson)

June 4, 2012

## 46. Ceremonies Arise To Recognize Military-Bound Grads

By Associated Press

This time of year is full of ceremonies honoring high school graduates heading to top colleges and winning scholarships.

But a group that started in southern New Jersey four years ago is trying to bring more attention to graduates who are joining the military.

Our Community Salutes is hosting ceremonies this year in more than 20 towns across the country.

The group launched in 2009 when Ken Hartman, who was then a school board member in Cherry Hill, noticed that graduates heading to the service did not get any special recognition. He decided he wanted to change that.

Organizers say they want to be the first to thank new troops for serving.

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Houston Chronicle

June 3, 2012

Pg. 1

### Drug Trafficking

## 47. U.S. Stalks Seas

### Filled With Smugglers

By Dane Schiller

CARIBBEAN SEA — A U. S. Navy frigate hides in the darkness just over the horizon, its Seahawk helicopter's turbines fired up, ready for liftoff.

Some 30 miles away, Colombian sailors on patrol boats hug the South American coast as they covertly close in on a motorboat suspected of ferrying cocaine. U. S. Customs and Border Protection agents in the air on a P-3 plane capture everything on radar, part of an orchestrated multinational trap to nab bulk loads of drugs long before they make it to the United States.

While America has pumped hundreds of millions of dollars into securing the U.S. border across Texas and elsewhere, the mammoth sea still beckons with possibilities, absent the sensors, cameras, massive manpower and fences found on land.

Fortified as never before, drug traffickers increasingly are bypassing the heavily guarded land crossings for the comparatively naked seas and 367 miles of shore where they are more likely to cross paths with fishermen than federal agents -- and where snagging smugglers is a puzzle based on intelligence, surveillance, patience and luck.

"I think we've got a guy coming out of the bay now, this could be our boy," said a veteran CBP officer flying in the P-3 at about 12,500 feet over choppy waters.

But it wasn't. Not this time.

"You get information from a confidential informant. Maybe somebody stubbed their toe, or the wind wasn't right," the agent joked of the litany of things that could have delayed the journey. "Manana," he said, using the Spanish word for tomorrow. "We refer to it as 'doper time.'"

### 'Going to get worse'

The Caribbean is a long way from the shores of Texas, but this is where the smuggling begins, where huge loads of cocaine are slipped out of the jungle-lined coasts and jumped to Central America, or the Caribbean Islands, then methodically moved toward the United States.

Today, bundles of marijuana and cocaine are drifting onto Texas beaches as a result, loads likely abandoned or lost before they could be intercepted.

"I don't see it getting any better; if anything, it is going to get worse," Travis Poulson,

chief ranger for the Padre Island National Seashore, said of traffickers turning to the coast. "There is money in it."

Authorities still make many more busts on the land border between the United States and Mexico than along the beaches, but concede they don't know exactly what is happening on waters that stretch far and wide, and lap the Third Coast of the United States.

"As we make the land border more secure, they will find any way they can to get in," said U.S. Rep. Michael McCaul, an Austin-based Republican who heads a committee that oversees the Department of Homeland Security. "They will certainly turn to the sea to get their product in."

McCaul, who represents part of Harris County, is to preside over a hearing June 21 in Washington to examine the maritime threat posed by drug traffickers.

He noted that 165,000 metric tons of illegal drugs were seized in the Caribbean, Bahamas and Gulf of Mexico last year, up 36 percent from 2008.

In April, 55 pounds of cocaine washed up on San Jose Island in Aransas County.

In other recent incidents, U.S. Fish and Wildlife officers searching for nesting turtles found 23 pounds of pot on Matagorda Island; and 1,186 pounds of marijuana were seized near Corpus Christi aboard a boat making its way up the Intracoastal Waterway.

They are among at least 15 known "wash ups" and seizures along Texas' coast this year, but given the number of counties and jurisdictions involved, there could be many more.

In southern California in May, 8,000 pounds of marijuana were found floating off the coast.

Part of federal law enforcement's fighting fleet is the 39-foot Midnight Express.

"Coming up," a U.S. CBP boat pilot shouted on a recent evening as he hit the throttle on the Midnight Express. It has 1,200 horsepower and the CBP contends it is the fastest law enforcement boat in the world.

The boat slices through the choppy waters and darkness as agents look for boaters that could be smugglers off Port Aransas.

Sometimes, drug loads can be lost when a boat sinks; the stash is dumped overboard in rough water or jettisoned from a boat or plane to evade arrest.

There also are reports of loads being dropped along the beach at night, and buried in sand dunes until they can be picked by four-wheel drive vehicles.

It's nearly legend along the Texas coast.

"Me and my buddies talk about it, running up on a load of cocaine," said Dwight Sykora 25, as he took a break on the Padre Island National Seashore.

#### **Smugglers in darkness**

He described a night spent on a remote stretch of beach, watching in the darkness as a boat ran up on shore where men quickly offloaded bundles.

Traffickers were quickly snared by police, he said.

"There are people watching, apparently; the government caught them."

A 2012 report by Houston's High Intensity Drug Trafficking Area, a coalition of federal, state and local police agencies that includes all but six counties of the Texas coast, warns the coast is unguarded.

"The vast expanse of remote and largely unmonitored coastline, coupled with an insufficient presence to adequately detect and investigate maritime smuggling activities in the Houston

HIDTA, provides (drug traffickers) with an advantage that they are clearly exploiting," notes the assessment.

"You are going to see more and more 'end-arounds,'" said Michael Kostelnik, assistant commissioner over air and maritime operations for Customs and Border Protection.

To counter the threat, the agency has deployed boats along coastal and border waterways as well as beefed up the use of drones to aid the hunt.

CBP-operated P-3 aircraft coordinate with the Navy, Coast Guard and security forces from Latin American governments as they fly missions over the Gulf of Mexico, as well as the Caribbean Sea and Pacific Ocean.

They have consistently seized or derailed more cocaine than is caught annually on the entire U.S.-Mexico border.

#### **All along the coast**

Drugs captured or washed up along South Texas beaches this year, from Sargent Beach to South Padre Island:

Jan. 14: 199 pounds of marijuana at Baffin Bay

Jan. 22: Cocaine washed up on Padre Island National Seashore (amount unspecified)

Jan. 29: 253 pounds of marijuana seized in Brownsville ship channel

Jan. 29: 404 pounds of marijuana seized in Brownsville ship channel

Feb. 21: 2 pounds of cocaine found in sand dunes of Padre Island National Seashore

March 5: 894 pounds of marijuana in cargo van on Padre Island, in vicinity of Corpus Christi

March 6: 1,045 pounds of marijuana washed up on South Padre Island, near Mansfield jetties

March 17: 2 pounds of cocaine washed up on Padre Island National Seashore

March 29: 1,186 pounds of marijuana on boat near Corpus Christi

March 31: 15 pounds of marijuana found on Sargent Beach, in Matagorda County

March 31: 23 pounds of marijuana found on Matagorda Island

April 1: brick of cocaine, Padre Island National Seashore (weight unspecified)

April 18: 55 pounds of cocaine found on San Jose Island, Aransas County

*Sources: U.S. Coast Guard; Houston High Intensity Drug Trafficking Area*

Washington Post

June 4, 2012

Pg. 14

## **48. Defense Contractors Sound Alarm On Federal Budget Cuts**

By Marjorie Censer, Capital Business Staff Writer

Defense contractors are speaking up increasingly loudly against the possibility of mandatory federal budget reductions starting in January, warning that the cuts would take a toll on their businesses.

Robert J. Stevens, chairman and chief executive at Bethesda-based Lockheed Martin, the world's largest defense contractor, said last week that the company might be forced to notify all its employees of the possibility of job losses as early as September or October in advance of the reductions.

The cuts, part of a process known as sequestration, were put in place last year during debate over the debt ceiling. The process mandates a roughly \$1 trillion reduction in federal spending from fiscal 2013 to 2021. Sequestration requires the cuts to be split between defense spending and all non-defense accounts.

Although the reductions could be stopped by Congress, contractors and industry advocates have said they don't expect any adjustments before the presidential election. But that doesn't mean they won't be forced to take action as the campaign winds down.

Stevens said last week that under existing law, Lockheed must give employees 60 to 90 days notice — depending on the state — of an event that might cause significant job losses or facility closures.

"It is quite possible that we will need to notify employees in the September and October time frame that they may or may not have a job in January, depending upon whether sequestration does or does not take effect," he said. "Because the level of planning detail really isn't available, we may have to notify every one of our employees and all of our suppliers and subcontractors."

If sequestration happens, Stevens said he expects across-the-board reductions that would "start this huge, cascading effect and bow wave of contract actions."

Wes Bush, chairman, chief executive and president of Falls Church-based Northrop Grumman, said his company, too, is trying to prepare for the possibility of sequestration, which could cause turmoil.

"We know how to do this; we know how to do it in a rational way," Bush said of implementing cuts, noting that Northrop has reduced its employee head count by 11 percent over the past four years. "If faced with a cliff where the next day you've got to take X percent out ... it will not be pretty."

The Aerospace Industries Association, which represents a large number of defense contractors, has been

actively campaigning against sequestration.

"The broader contracting community understands that there will be waves of repercussions from what the big [prime contractors] have to do," said Marion Blakey, president and chief executive of the group. "That, frankly, is even harder for the small guys. . . . The small companies don't have the kind of cushion, don't have the kind of resilience that you see at the top end of the industry."

Even if sequestration were reversed or delayed, some of the preparations industry might have to undertake would not be easily reversed, Blakey and Stevens said.

"For us, the consequences of sequestration are real, and they are nearer-term than some discussions that are underway today . . . suggest," said Stevens. "We're raising a full-throated voice simply trying to describe some of these mechanics."

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Washington Times

June 4, 2012

Pg. B4

## 49. Rays Of Hope In Afghanistan

*Progress portends stability by 2014 pullout*

By Michael O'Hanlon

The war in Afghanistan is a slog at best. Even those of us supporting the mission there must acknowledge that it has been slower, harder going than expected. With Osama bin Laden dead and other al Qaeda leaders also out of the picture (or out of the region) the original motivation for the effort seems less compelling to many as well.

But the United States should not lose patience. Because we already have an exit strategy to remove most NATO troops from Afghanistan

by the end of 2014, no one need worry too much about a possible quagmire. Beyond that, there are good reasons to think that even if this mission does not achieve its loftiest earlier goals, it likely can attain the minimal acceptable requirement: preventing a Taliban return to power and a major al Qaeda presence on Afghan soil.

Several hopeful things I saw on a recent trip actually centered on politics - often viewed by many American observers as the Achilles' heel of our mission in Kabul. To be sure, cronyism and corruption still permeate much of the Afghan state, fueled at times by insufficiently monitored foreign-aid efforts and military contracts. And fears of possible future civil war have grown over the past few years.

But a spirit of hopefulness, more than fear, characterized most of those with whom I spoke recently in Kabul. The recent signing of the U.S.-Afghan Strategic Partnership Agreement to guide cooperation after 2014 reassures many that they will not be left to their own internal conflicts - or the mercy of their neighbors - when NATO's transition is complete. Although details of this agreement may prove difficult to negotiate, the accord definitely has given a boost to the strides of many Afghan reformers who continue to work hard for their nation's future.

Moreover, more than ever before, politics is breaking out in Afghanistan. The 2014 presidential election is still two years away. But new political organizations, such as the Rights and Justice Party, are forming, and reform movements designed to get out the vote and improve the independence and integrity of the electoral process, including the Coalition for Reform

and Development, are gaining steam. Everyone is forming shortlists of the most likely candidates for the race - some of them serious reformists. We do not yet know, of course, if the process will be successful, and it is possible that a weaker or less honest and effective leader than President Hamid Karzai could be elected. That could spell disaster, and Washington needs to think hard about using its leverage to reduce the odds of such an outcome. But there is still positive political energy in the air.

Here are some other hopeful indicators in Afghanistan:

\*Afghan security forces have almost reached their envisioned full size of 352,000, counting army and police. They are collectively taking at least twice the casualties of NATO forces, participating in at least 90 percent of all operations and leading about 40 percent of operations themselves (albeit usually the simpler ones at this point). They repulsed the April 15 Haqqani network attack on Kabul and other cities largely on their own.

\*While the security forces still suffer from political patronage appointments and corruption, the problems are being addressed partially. About 50 Afghan army leaders in the east of the country alone have been replaced over the past year; 70 police officers were fired recently in the country's west for poor performance; and the Ministry of Defense has opened a full criminal investigation into the problems that produced corruption and theft at Afghanistan's main military hospital last year. To be sure, such efforts could be too little too late. There remain pockets of serious problems, such as with the country's air force. And some of the firings and hirings raise concerns of

ethnic bias. But on balance, the progress is picking up.

\*The Afghan Local Police (ALP), a form of armed community watch overseen by NATO troops, generally is proving its mettle. These lightly armed and locally organized forces are holding their ground in about 80 percent of all firefights, even when sometimes outgunned by the Taliban, and they are taking the highest rate of casualties of any part of the Afghan security forces. There have been a handful of cases of abuse within this program, and a number of illegal militias are falsely adopting the name Afghan Local Police to disguise their true nature (which is sometimes to attack their neighboring tribes or communities). But U.S. special operations forces have monitored and worked effectively with the actual ALP forces and stepped in to address problems when needed. They only allow their formation after several months of getting to know an area and working with local elders to try to ensure a reasonable mix of ALP members. The admittedly daunting challenge in coming months and years will be to keep growing the program while also gradually handing over oversight to Afghan special forces.

\*Recent Asia Foundation work suggests that the quality of governance at the provincial level in Afghanistan is improving. There still are too many bad actors and too much interference from Kabul in the day-to-day operations of regional governments. But by one scale, at least, the average quality of governance has improved at least 10 percent over the past year.

\*On the anti-corruption front, more than 100 companies or individuals (some of them U.S.-based) have been

debarred from working with NATO because of suspicions of corruption or association with enemy elements. This overdue effort requires constant vigilance to be sure that companies or individuals that have been debarred once do not simply reorganize under a different name - but NATO is finally on the job on that matter.

Much still needs to be done, of course. Land reform and prevention of land expropriation by corrupt actors demand attention. Electoral watchdog organizations need to be strengthened and means of possible voting fraud reduced before 2014. Otherwise, cheating and scandal could delegitimize the election outcomes and contribute to more ethnic tension. The army and police still need to get a lot better. Some of the worst of the worst need to be arrested and tried for corrupt ways. And the international community needs to find leverage - and communicate its willingness to use that leverage - to maximize the chances that good leadership emerges from that election - conditioning future aid and troop levels on the quality of future Afghan governance. Pakistan needs to help more. Even if true alliance and friendship are unlikely, we at least need Pakistan to behave like the "frenemy" it once was instead of the antagonist it more recently has become.

But all these points are pretty well known. Less well known is all the good happening in Afghanistan. Whether it will be enough in the end is unclear, but there is a lot to build on.

*Michael O'Hanlon is co-author of the Brookings Institution's "Afghanistan Index" and "Toward a Political Strategy for Afghanistan."*

June 4, 2012

## **50. Should Sanctions Be Eased Before A Deal With Iran?**

*Yes: Move would show good faith; No: West's actions forcing Iran to deal*

By John B. Quigley; Lawrence J. Haas

*Editor's note: Every Monday we offer pro/con pieces from the McClatchy-Tribune news service to give readers a broad view of issues.*

### **Yes: Move would show good faith**

By John B. Quigley

Will the international sanctions in place against Iran keep it from developing nuclear weapons? Is Iran likely to develop nuclear weapons?

The world's major powers are playing a delicate diplomatic game to get Iran to prove it is not developing nuclear weapons. Sanctions imposed six months ago on Iran's central bank, and on Iran's sale of oil, have sent the Iranian economy into a tailspin. More sanctions are scheduled to take effect in July.

The basis for this pressure on Iran is clouded in legal and moral ambiguity. Iran is a party to the 1968 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which says that nuclear weapons should not be acquired by countries that do not already have them. Nuclear technology for peaceful purposes is fine, but is subject to inspection by the International Atomic Energy Agency. Iran allows inspection, but not to every site the inspectors want to visit.

Under the treaty, existing nuclear powers are supposed to negotiate toward nuclear disarmament. But they have dallied. So the powers that developed nuclear weaponry early on are telling Iran it may not do the same.

Iran is enriching uranium to a 20 percent level, and

uranium at that level can easily be enriched further, to a level needed for weapons. Iranian officials are quick to point out that enriching uranium is not a violation of the treaty. Iran says it has no plans to build nuclear weapons, and there is no firm evidence that it is moving that way.

To heighten the ambiguity of the situation, a regional state perennially at odds with Iran, namely Israel, already possesses nuclear weapons, and in condition to be launched at any moment.

This gives Iran a perfect reason to acquire them - as a deterrent to Israel. The major impetus to acquire nuclear weapons is to keep an adversary from using them. The Western powers do not pressure Israel to divest of its nuclear weapons.

So while the Obama administration portrays its efforts against the development of nuclear weapons by Iran as keeping the world safe, the uneven pursuit of a nuclear-weapon-free world clouds its moral authority.

A related criticism is that the United States is simply doing Israel's bidding. A focus on Iran gives Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu the moral high ground, which Israel needs, while it is routinely excoriated in international institutions for taking more and more Palestinian land for settlements.

Iran may perceive the sanctions as being aimed less at its nuclear program than at regime change.

While the Western powers advocate tough sanctions, Russia is calling for an immediate easing of them in preparation for the next round of talks, to be held shortly in Moscow.

Iran, meanwhile, is in apparently serious talks with the IAEA to allow inspection of

military sites hitherto closed to inspectors.

Easing sanctions might show the West's good faith and help resolve the nuclear standoff.

*John B. Quigley is a professor of law at Ohio State University.*

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### **No: West's actions forcing Iran to deal**

By Lawrence J. Haas

Calls to ease sanctions on Iran to spur global negotiations over its nuclear program will backfire, making a deal far less likely and greatly raising the risk of an Israeli military strike to cripple the program.

To its proponents, sanctions-easing is a necessary confidence-boosting measure to assure Iran that the United States and the other "P5+1" negotiators - Britain, France, Germany, Russia and China - want a deal.

But, it was the ever-tighter global, U.S. and European sanctions on Iran's energy and financial sectors - not global concessions - that forced Tehran to the table. And it's the still-tighter sanctions on the horizon - especially the July 1 start of Europe's embargo on Iranian oil - that will keep it there.

That's because Iran's economy is suffering, stoking greater domestic anger at a regime that's already widely despised across the Islamic Republic. Tehran will strike a deal only if it faces the prospect that greater economic disarray will generate the requisite anger that would threaten the regime's grip on power.

Currently, Iran is having trouble selling its oil, and its banks are increasingly shut out of the global financial system. Iran's economy is barely growing, its currency is sinking, and inflation is soaring. Looking ahead, the oil embargo and ongoing efforts to further

isolate its financial sector will make Iran's economic troubles even worse.

In fact, sanctions are now more important than ever because - after many years in which the West offered Tehran a host of economic and other inducements to abandon its nuclear pursuit - sanctions are the world's lone remaining non-military tool to prevent the regime from developing nuclear weaponry.

But, time's running short.

For one thing, the International Atomic Energy Agency reported recently that Iran is progressing further in enriching uranium at its once-secret underground Fordow facility near Qom. The higher the purity, the closer the regime comes to weapons-grade material.

For another, the P5+1 are pursuing a negotiating path that plays into Tehran's finely-honed skills at drawn-out negotiations through which it can play for time, promise but not deliver, and make more nuclear progress.

The United States and its allies had called for early tangible progress, warning that they would not talk merely to talk.

Easing sanctions now, the P5+1 will not coax Tehran into the steps that will signal a real desire for deal-making. Easing the sanctions will sacrifice the world's last chance to force a deal by creating more economic tumult within Iran.

It also will try the patience of Jerusalem, which faces renewed annihilationist threats of late by Iranian leaders. However skeptical, Israeli leaders will give the latest P5+1 talks some time. But, they won't wait forever as Tehran plays its usual cat-and-mouse game, bringing nuclear weaponry and Israel's vulnerability that much closer.

Tehran doesn't want a deal. The question is whether the world can force one. Sanctions-easing will make it far less likely.

*Lawrence J. Haas, a senior fellow for U.S. foreign policy at the American Foreign Policy Council.*

Singapore Straits Times  
June 4, 2012  
Pg. 21

## **51. Thorny Issues Dogging China's Submarine Strategy**

By Robert Karniol, Defence writer

YOU'VE got to wonder why China is pouring vast sums, and considerable effort, into a strategic submarine programme that appears to lack any operational purpose.

Submarines are vitally useful in many ways, but as strategic assets they have one major role: poised under the vast oceans, virtually undetectable and equipped with nuclear-armed ballistic missiles, they are a powerful deterrent by providing what is called a second-strike response. This threatens a devastating retaliation.

The People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) launched in 1981 its single Type 092 Xia-class ballistic missile submarine (SSBN). Fitted with four missile launch tubes, it can carry 12 medium-range JuLang-1 (JL-1) ballistic missiles.

Both the vessel and the JL-1 missiles have since been upgraded but neither upgrade was seen to be particularly successful. Slow, noisy and unreliable, the boat is highly vulnerable. The missile has a limited range and is of questionable quality.

In any case, a single platform is insufficient to provide an effective second-

strike capability. This task needs at least three boats.

China moved to address these issues with its new Type 094 Jin-class SSBN and JL-2 ballistic missile. Two boats have so far been delivered and at least two more may be under construction, each with 12 missile launch tubes; the long-delayed JL-2 is meanwhile not yet operational.

Beijing is faced with at least two significant problems in translating these assets into acquiring a second-strike capability.

The first of these is a technical issue and the second, more seriously, is a political one.

The technical aspect involves communications, with a Pentagon report noting two years ago that "the PLA has only a limited capacity to communicate with submarines at sea, and (the PLAN) has no experience in managing an SSBN fleet that performs strategic patrols with live nuclear warheads mated to missiles".

Put simply, Chinese submarines are unable to communicate with their headquarters while submerged at sea. They need to surface or release a communications buoy, both making them more vulnerable to detection and attack.

One source following such matters said that resolving this problem is not easy, but it should eventually be overcome. Until then, the PLAN cannot even train effectively in conducting strategic SSBN patrols.

This source sees the other issue - the political constraints - as centring on command-and-control matters that are unsolvable.

With the land-based systems making up the bulk of China's nuclear arsenal,

warheads and missiles are stored separately. They are under the tight control of a highly centralised system extending from the Central Military Commission (CMC) and the Political Bureau's Central Committee down to the PLA General Staff Department, Second Artillery headquarters and the field units that have launch responsibilities.

Strategic SSBN patrols naturally require the submarine to hold both the warhead and the missile. They would also place critical decision-making authority in the hands of naval officers to a degree that China's political leadership has never allowed.

"It would require a major change in Chinese nuclear policy and practice for Beijing to deploy a second-strike nuclear capability at sea," commented Mr Hans Kristensen, nuclear information project director at the Federation of American Scientists (FAS).

"This goes both for deploying nuclear weapons on a military platform, something which the CMC has never to my knowledge ever allowed, and sailing SSBNs on patrols, which they have never done. They would also have to resolve the complex issue of how to maintain reliable command-and-control with a nuclear-armed submarine at sea.

"Even if one assumed that the Chinese leadership would, in a crisis, release warheads to the navy, deploying them raises all the thorny issues of how they would react in a crisis if an SSBN went missing or they couldn't communicate with it.

"Would they assume it had been sunk and therefore consider it an attack on China, leading them to launch nuclear weapons?"

Further, the JL-2's estimated range of some

7,400km means that it is unable to reach the continental United States from the Chinese littorals. This means that the boat would have to successfully penetrate one of several choke points leading to the open Pacific Ocean, which is no easy task. Or that the missiles are primarily intended for regional targets like US bases in Japan and Guam. Or for India and Russia.

Given these considerations, the source noted earlier suggests that the new SSBN might provide China with no more than some level of strategic ambiguity. To Mr Kristensen, they are prestige projects.

"If strategy and survival were the issues, then China would focus its nuclear retaliatory capability on (mobile) land-based missiles that it can hide deep inside its vast territory," the FAS analyst said.

All of which makes questionable not just the Jin-class SSBN and JL-2 programmes, but also China's next-generation Type 096 SSBN - said to be in the development stage.

Japan Times  
June 4, 2012

## 52. Maritime Hypocrisy Puts U.S. At Disadvantage

By Mark Valencia

KANEHOE, Hawaii — It was quite a scene in the U.S. Senate on May 23 as Defense Secretary Leon Panetta, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Martin Dempsey, all testified before the Foreign Relations Committee.

They were there to support the U.S. ratification of the 1982 U.N. Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). More significant than their

presence was their refreshingly honest and accurate testimony arguing that U.S. failure to ratify the treaty was damaging U.S. credibility, moral authority and political clout.

More than 160 countries have ratified the treaty. The United States is the only major power that has not done so. This puts the U.S. in a self-selected group of about 34 nations including such U.S.-labeled "rogue" states as Iran, North Korea and Syria.

U.S. officials have until now tried to argue that U.S. practices adhere to most of the treaty's provisions anyway and that it codifies already existing customary international law, particularly regarding freedom of navigation. Many countries, including some U.S. allies, do not agree. But some U.S. opponents of ratification respond that overwhelming U.S. naval power ensures that U.S. interpretation and implementation of the "rules" is unlikely to be challenged in practice.

But the world has grown more politically complex and "might" alone no longer ensures legitimacy and credibility. Indeed, in her testimony Secretary Clinton said simply that "by not ratifying the treaty, the United States undercuts its credibility."

JCS Chairman Martin Dempsey was more blunt: "Very frankly, we have undermined our own moral authority by not having a seat at the table for making the argument for these rights."

Defense Secretary Panetta added that "when 160 nations acceded to it and we say to 'hell with them,' then 160 nations will determine what happens and we're not going to be there."

In a veiled reference to China, he asked rhetorically "how can we argue that nations must abide by international

rules when we haven't joined the very treaty that codifies those rules."

One of the most fascinating comments was made by John Norton Moore, a prominent American authority on the Law of the Sea and former deputy special representative of the U.S. president to the law of the sea conference. Moore has been a well-known stalwart and aggressive defender of the U.S. government's interpretations of the treaty and has even alleged that freedom of navigation in foreign 200-nautical-mile Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZ) as provided by the treaty is "absolute," or words to that effect.

Now he has been quoted as telling a reporter, "It's very difficult for the United States to protect its interests when we're not a party". Indeed, as the interview suggests, "there's only so much officials can say when the Chinese point out that the U.S. is attempting to enforce interpretations of laws it hasn't even ratified."

Ironically American analysts who have had the temerity to point this out over the years have been fiercely criticized and even ostracized by U.S. State Department officials and various military lawyers, particularly those in the U.S. Navy's Judge Advocate General's Corps.

Yes, there are risks to ratification. If the U.S. ratifies the treaty and gets involved in a bona fide legal dispute over interpretation of its provisions, then China or any other party could ask the treaty-mandated International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea (ITLOS) to resolve the issue. This could include the question of whether U.S. hydrographic or military surveys in other countries' EEZs (including China's) without permission violates the treaty's

consent regime for marine scientific research.

But this is highly unlikely. China is on record as opposing third-party involvement in dispute settlement, and the expense and potential U.S. political backlash are probably too daunting for a small state to do this. Military activities can be excluded from the dispute settlement process, although the ITLOS itself can decide what is and is not a military activity.

In their testimony, the U.S. high officials argued that ratifying UNCLOS would aid the U.S. in challenging China's controversial historic claim to much of the South China Sea and its increasing maritime assertiveness there, as well as any Iranian attempt to constrain passage through the Strait of Hormuz.

They also pointed out that ratification would give the U.S. a voice as interpretations of the rules and national practices evolve, as well as a diplomatic opportunity to prevent other countries from bending these rules to restrict freedom of navigation. According to Dempsey, this [ratification] "might even help prevent future wars by providing new venues to stave off conflict with less risk of escalation".

But opponents of ratification probably need not worry. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman John Kerry has acknowledged that there is strong minority opposition to ratification and that, in an election year, passage is unlikely.

This is unfortunate for the U.S. because ratification would indeed greatly enhance its credibility as a leader on global maritime issues. The Obama administration has obviously concluded that any risks of ratification are far outweighed by the benefits, and that these are risks the U.S. must take in

an increasingly complex world where "might alone does not necessarily make right."

Put simply, in the fundamental global struggle for hearts and minds, the opponents of ratification should not make "the perfect enemy of the practical."

*Mark Valencia is a maritime policy analyst.*

Washington Times

June 4, 2012

Pg. B3

### **53. Wanted: New Planes**

*Aging Air Force infrastructure impacts readiness*

By F. Whitten Peters and Michael W. Wynne

The U.S. Air Force celebrates the 50th birthday of its youngest B-52 Stratofortress this year. This historic warrior and its counterparts predate the Cuban missile crisis, Vietnam War and Neil Armstrong's first steps on the moon. The fathers and grandfathers of today's pilots flew the exact same airframes in decades past.

Emblematic of air power's flexibility, the B-52 has evolved consistently to give leaders an effective set of national-security options. Though it was developed to provide nuclear deterrence, military requirements saw the aircraft take on missions as wide-ranging as conventional strike and maritime interdiction. Most recently, the B-52 has provided critical close air support for ground forces in Afghanistan and Iraq. Outside of the combat realm, the aircraft helped push the envelope of aviation technology through its role in launching everything from the X-15 to the X-51.

There is another side to this story. Significant risks and limitations exist with operating aircraft that date back to the Eisenhower administration. While B-52s still fly combat missions, the

skies of Afghanistan are a far cry from hostile airspace. In the final aerial offensive of the Vietnam War - 40 years ago - the Air Force lost 15 B-52s in 12 days. Air defenses have advanced markedly and proliferated widely since then. Past the danger of getting shot down, simply keeping these veteran bombers airworthy requires herculean efforts on the part of maintenance and support personnel. Every few years, the bombers literally are torn apart, inspected and rebuilt - a process that takes upward of a year.

The Stratofortress fleet is not the only Air Force type facing age-related challenges. Many of the service's KC-135 aerial-refueling tankers predate human space flight. T-38 training aircraft are twice as old as the students flying them. The F-15 air-supremacy fighter first flew 40 years ago - the same year President Nixon first went to China. A-10 ground-attack planes, which were developed in the Carter administration, have been flown so hard that their wings are riddled with structural cracks.

The Air Force was never supposed to have a fleet whose average age exceeded a quarter of a century. Many plans were developed to replace aging assets with modern platforms. Those initiatives repeatedly were deferred, curtailed and canceled for various reasons. During the 1990s, procurement was delayed amid a post-Cold War "peace dividend." Recapitalization was again deferred amid the pressure to fund operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. Today, Air Force fleet modernization is on hold for a third time as the nation attempts to address budget shortfalls. Viewed on an individual basis, such decisions are logical within a larger national context. Yet cumulatively, this 30-

year procurement holiday has yielded a service whose capabilities are balanced on an increasingly precarious precipice while global competitors have accelerated their own modernization.

Failing to invest in a modern Air Force dramatically curtails the range of U.S. policy options. As the B-52 aptly illustrates, air power provides a unique capability to focus precise, effective power at minimum risk to our service members. Sometimes this means an actual attack against a specific target, gathering valuable intelligence data or securing air dominance. In other instances, this might involve airlifting equipment to forward-based forces or rapidly delivering relief supplies to disaster victims. Often, the best use of air power involves attaining policy goals without actually fighting - showing presence in a region favorably shapes events by reassuring allies, deterring potential aggressors and dissuading enemies. In other words, air power affords leaders the opportunity to secure policy objectives without engaging in attrition warfare, boots on the ground and undue projection of young Americans into harm's way. While other military branches have air assets to support their internal functions, the Air Force is the only air arm with the requisite capabilities and capacity necessary to engage in a sustained fashion on a truly global basis.

For our Air Force to be effective, it must be properly maintained and updated. The Air Force is slated to begin large-scale recapitalization in the 2020s with the acquisition of the new bomber F-35 Joint Strike Fighter, KC-46 aerial-refueling aircraft, T-38 replacement,

new intercontinental ballistic missile, etc. Thirty years' worth of deferred buys are scheduled for a single decade - a process that will prove challenging even under the best conditions.

Recent budget decisions are not helping the process. In a quest to husband near-term dollars, leaders once again are delaying programs. Such savings are greatly outweighed by the inefficiencies they precipitate. Program upheaval injects new costs as companies readjust staffing, tooling and facility requirements. It even can cause program cancellations. Spending considerable sums on research and development, testing and initial procurement for a system never received or used is an incredibly ineffective use of tax dollars. Additionally, delays require the Air Force to spend vast sums extending the lives of its existing systems. Given the current age of many legacy aircraft, this pattern is unsustainable. For example, even though the B-52's replacement is scheduled for initial production in the mid-2020s, budget limitations mean the service can only afford to buy a few each year. The Stratofortress will remain in the fleet until the 2040s as this gradual modernization occurs. Delays in the new bomber program would mean that the B-52 would have to stay in the fleet even longer. The viability of a 90-year-old combat aircraft is doubtful at best.

The Air Force has arrived at a make-or-break moment. The past 10 years have seen the service's share of the defense budget decline to record lows - hovering around 20 percent of the total - while 90 percent of the fiscal 2013 defense budget cuts were levied on the Air Force. In fact, the 2013 budget marks the fewest number of Air Force aircraft purchased

in a given year since 1916, when the aviation section of the Army Signal Corps was buying Curtiss JN4 Jenny biplanes. The country actually managed to buy more aircraft in the midst of the Great Depression than it will next year. The Air Force faces a 100-year replacement rate for its fleet.

Resetting the U.S. Air Force will require investment - and it must be both substantial and stable over the coming years. While this is a tall order in our current budget climate, Air Force air power affords our leaders a broad range of critical policy options. Failing to recognize this - and make needed investments now - would be a choice the nation can't afford over the long run.

*F. Whitten Peters was Secretary of the Air Force from 1999-2001. Michael W. Wynne was Secretary of the Air Force from 2005-2008.*

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New York Times  
June 4, 2012  
Pg. 24

## 54. Women In Combat

More than 130 American women in military service have died in the Iraq and Afghanistan wars. More than 800 women have been wounded. Women make up almost 15 percent of the 1.4 million Americans on active military status and many are regularly engaged in combat activities as part of their service.

Leon Panetta, the defense secretary, said that women have proved themselves in and out of battle. In February, the Defense Department opened up more positions to women, especially for tank mechanics and field artillery radar operators. And yet, the department continues to bar women from direct combat, especially in the large Army and Marine units like infantry and special operations. It is past time to repeal this discriminatory policy.

A suit filed recently by Command Sgt. Maj. Jane Baldwin and Col. Ellen Haring of the Army Reserve could help hasten its end. They argue that the policy, based solely on gender, violates equal protection and is unconstitutional. Their complaint makes a compelling case that this discrimination has unfairly restricted their opportunities for career advancement and higher earnings and pensions.

The exclusion of women from some positions also profoundly alters the makeup of the military's upper ranks, where formal combat experience is valued. Sergeant Major Baldwin has served in South Korea, Germany and Iraq in 25 years of service. She was banned from applying for a position to help create a new Army Reserve unit because it was called a combat job. Colonel Haring, a West Point graduate with 28 years of service, changed her specialty from the Signal Corps in mid-career so she could support special operations. But because of the policy excluding women, she hasn't been able to get the experience required for the jobs she seeks.

While standing by the exclusionary policy, the Army circumvents it by "attaching" women to combat units instead of actually assigning them, the complaint says, with "no practical difference." Reports commissioned by Congress have called for the Defense Department and military services to stop this hypocrisy and change the rules to reflect the reality of women serving in combat. That change would not make up for the opportunities lost to Sergeant Major Baldwin and Colonel Haring earlier in their careers. But it would create a stronger military, one that allows women

to compete for all jobs based on merit.

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Washington Post  
June 4, 2012  
Pg. 16

## 55. Code Wars

*The growing cyber arms race*

AFTER WORLD WAR II, when nuclear weapons weighed thousands of pounds and the superpowers threatened each other with lumbering strategic bombers that would take hours to reach a target, the strategist Bernard Brodie wrote that the atomic bomb was the "absolute weapon." In 1946, he warned that a nuclear war would come so fast and be so destructive that it would change military conflict forever. A decade or so later, fast-flying intercontinental ballistic missiles transformed the threat once again; small nuclear warheads could be delivered in less than an hour to targets across the oceans.

We are now at the dawn of another rapid change in weapons and technology, the rise of cyber conflict. The digital revolution has transformed global commerce, communications and culture, but also provided a new avenue for destruction — attacks on computer networks and critical infrastructure that are at the heart of modern society. Six nations, including the United States, China and Russia, already have built offensive military cyber capability, and perhaps 30 more are seeking to acquire it. A cyber arms race is well underway, although it often draws less attention than the related surge of cyber theft, espionage and hacking.

Fresh evidence of the sophistication of this arms race was contained in an article Friday in the New York Times about President Obama's involvement in overseeing the creation and spreading of

a computer worm aimed at destroying Iran's nuclear enrichment centrifuges and stopping its drive for an atomic bomb.

Also, The Post revealed last week a new research effort in the Pentagon to develop technologies for the cyber battlefield. And The Post's Robert O'Harrow Jr., in two articles this weekend, probed the highly complex world of cyber security and digital sabotage.

Certainly, a cyber operation that incapacitates Iran's centrifuges is preferable to a conventional military strike that could threaten a wider war. Such was the thinking behind the operation against Iran, code-named Olympic Games, in which Israel reportedly cooperated with the United States. The story so far suggests a stealthy computer worm, named Stuxnet, that caused Iran's nuclear enrichment equipment to malfunction. It evokes joystick entertainment, not smoldering ruins.

But there are also large unknowns and significant perils in the age of cyber conflict. The battlefield is asymmetric; the size and power of the United States do not necessarily deliver an advantage. According to the Times, the worm directed at Iran later escaped into the digital universe, where it spread around the world, exposing the code. Today, hackers, terrorists and crooks can attempt to be cyber powers — and it will be hard to distinguish among them. Should a cyber strike be made on a nuclear power plant or a stock exchange in the United States, it may trigger chaos, disruption and financial loss, but the attacker might remain hidden for a long time. The concept of deterrence rests on the certainty of retaliation, but that certainty may not exist against a determined and

elusive cyber foe, so deterrence may not work at all in cyberspace.

The offensive cyber arms race makes it even more urgent to think about defenses. The United States is still seriously vulnerable, as are other nations. We have deeply embedded network technology in every facet of our economy and our lives, and it has been under constant assault in recent years. So far, the attacks have been largely aimed at theft, disruption and spying, but it will get worse. We live in a mammoth glass house and ought to be mindful of the dangers when we throw stones.

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New York Daily News  
June 3, 2012  
Pg. 30

## 56. Secret Sharer

Government sources disclosed to The New York Times' chief Washington correspondent that the United States, with the help of Israel, engineered a fabulously successful cyberattack on a key Iranian nuclear processing plant.

Provided to David Sanger for a forthcoming book, the information found a proper home on the paper's front page, in the process revealing to the world the secrets of who had pulled off the Stuxnet caper and how.

Days earlier, The Times had published an exhaustive report describing the inside workings of the U.S. drone war and placing President Obama squarely in charge of targeting particular Al Qaeda operatives for death in Pakistan and Yemen.

The conclusion is inescapable that Obama and/or his aides have pulled the curtains back on top-secret activities to burnish the President's image as a commander in chief who has

effectively wielded America's techno-warfare skills to steely advantage.

That the Stuxnet affair and the drone program are both to be proudly applauded does not relieve officials of the moral, strategic and legal duty to keep secrets. Nor can leaking the Stuxnet details be justified on the ground that everyone suspected the U.S. and Israel, so what the heck.

Will Attorney General Eric Holder launch an investigation into who shared the Stuxnet specifics? Highly doubtful, even though, as The Times put it, Obama "repeatedly expressed concerns that any American acknowledgment that it was using cyberweapons — even under the most careful and limited circumstances — could enable other countries, terrorists or hackers to justify their own attacks."

The upside of the collective disclosures is that the American public is better informed about Obama's record, as it has been favorably cast in The Times.

On the drone front, Obama emerges as a onetime anti-war candidate and severe critic of George W. Bush's anti-terror tactics who was transformed in office into a man who shuffles "baseball cards" of enemies to be killed with missile strikes. He wants the evidence. He wrestles with the chances of civilian casualties. And ultimately, he decides who lives or dies.

This portrayal of Obama has produced hand-wringing among liberals who believed he would lead a kinder, gentler war on terrorism after the Bush era of enhanced interrogation. Some go so far as to say that, even if it makes sense for the U.S. government to keep a kill list, the President should delegate the final decision-making to others.

Nuts to that. This is precisely the President's job, and Obama deserves credit for assuming personal responsibility and, by all indications, exercising it ably.

Similarly, in Sanger's account of Stuxnet, Obama ran with an operation begun by Bush. Its goal was to penetrate computer controls for the underground nuclear processing facility at Natanz, where Iran is enriching uranium.

Facing a longshot challenge, U.S. specialists breached Iranian security and, aided by the Israelis, implanted a "worm" that could make centrifuges self-destruct without leaving a trace, and communicated with the National Security Agency.

That's exactly what happened on Obama's watch — and bravo to him for delaying, if only temporarily, Iran's march toward nuclear capability and a potential military strike by Israel or the U.S. The story is a good one — although it never should have been told.

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Pittsburgh Post-Gazette  
June 4, 2012

## 57. Drug Interdiction

*The U.S. wades more deeply into Honduras*

A drug raid last month by Honduran police and U.S. agents in State Department helicopters killed four civilians and has drawn attention to Washington's growing involvement there.

Honduras, particularly its Mosquito Coast on the Caribbean, has become an important transit stop for aircraft flying cocaine from Colombia to Mexico, from where it is then transported to the United States by Mexican drug cartels.

The U.S. Central American Regional Security Initiative, focused on security and the interdiction of drug

trafficking in countries of that region -- Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama -- put \$107 million into Honduras in 2011. Under jurisdiction of the military's Southern Command, headquartered in Miami, the United States has built three new forward operating bases in Honduras.

U.S. officials have said that, with the Iraq War finished and the Afghanistan War winding down, more attention and money can be devoted to the war on drugs in Central America. That effort, with military, law enforcement and development components, complements U.S. companies' involvement in the region, including the traditional banana producers, Dole and Chiquita.

One problem with increased U.S. involvement, apart from the futility of an effort to keep drugs out of the United States by trying to shut off transit points, is the nature of the Honduran government. President Porfirio Lobo came to power in controversial elections held after a coup by Honduran security forces in 2009, which overthrew a democratically elected president. Those same security forces, Mr. Lobo's base, are now said to be tangled up with the country's drug traffickers.

To Americans of a certain age, the picture of U.S. drug advisers, flying in State Department helicopters and operating in a small jungle country in support of the corrupt security forces of a questionable president, is all too familiar. It is also entirely inappropriate, particularly as innocent civilians die as a result of their work.

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Wall Street Journal  
June 4, 2012  
Pg. 2

## 58. Corrections And Amplifications

The Pentagon's spending is projected to shrink by \$487 billion over the next 10 years. In some editions Saturday, a World News article about U.S. plans to shift the bulk of its naval assets to Asia omitted the word billion in citing the figure.

**Editor's Note:** The article referred to by Julian E. Barnes appeared in the *Current News Early Bird*, June 2, 2012.