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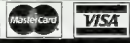
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**SOLDIER OF FORTUNE MAGAZINE**

JANUARY 2003 ✦ VOL. 28 NO. 1



Photo by Scott Nelson/Getty Images

### On the Cover

Narizah, Afghanistan — ... A U.S. Army 101st Airborne 3-187 "Bravo" trooper takes cover during a sensitive-site exploitation (SSE) mission, to deny sanctuary to al-Qaeda and Taliban fighters in villages along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border ...

## AMERICA AT WAR

- BLEEDING COLOMBIA** by Dr. Tom Marks  
The high-wire act rolls on as FARC mobilizes for increased urban activities (read "terrorist violence"). \_\_\_\_\_ **22**
- AFGHAN BODYGUARDS: \$180,000 PER YEAR — FOR A CERTAIN FEW**  
by Lt. Col. Robert K. Brown, USAR (Ret.)  
DynCorp's latest sumptuous contract will employ a highly select few as elements in the 50-man security team deployed to protect Afghanistan's President Hamid Karzai. \_\_\_\_\_ **36**
- WILL SADDAM'S TROOPS FIGHT?** by Dale B. Cooper  
With the Iraqi forces at about half of their 1990 strength, you can't help but anticipate our U.S. guys are going to have a turkey shoot. \_\_\_\_\_ **38**
- AFGHANISTAN IN HINDSIGHT**  
by a 187th Infantry Regiment Senior NCO as told to Lt. Mike Sparks  
Plenty went right — but plenty awry. Get the true skinny from one who was in the field — and under fire. \_\_\_\_\_ **58**



Steve Salisbury

## FEATURES

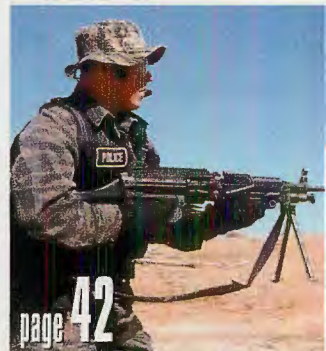
- AN AMERICAN UNIFORM IN A FOREIGN COURT** by Dr. Martin Brass  
What are the options if some of our own are dragged into a U.S.-despising, Third World-Stacked International Criminal Court? \_\_\_\_\_ **26**
- THE GREEN BERETS AT 50** by Jim Morris  
President Kennedy's elite return to Fort Bragg to reminisce, embrace — but most of all to honor — each other and, perhaps most of all, their fallen brethren. \_\_\_\_\_ **30**
- THE FN-MINIMI SAGA** by Gary Paul Johnston  
Let FN's M249 SAW play a starring role in your agency's crisis resolution. \_\_\_\_\_ **42**
- OPERATION OMAN** by Jim Bartlett  
It sounds clichéd, but the way to succeed in Afghanistan is through winning hearts and minds (i.e. making lasting friends) in soft-target areas, while saving the tough nuts for down the road when the majority of the people are on our team. \_\_\_\_\_ **48**
- VINDICATION!** by SOF Staff  
Wonder how it burns when general officers shield their sorry butts at the expense of a courageous young captain? But take heart. Good guys can prevail. \_\_\_\_\_ **60**
- Living With Guns** by John Farnam  
Let's face it: We're not living in some soccer-mom candyland where kiddy-hugging is the solve-all. If you're a "real-worlder" and value your right of self-defense, familiarity with firearms leads to *control* — not contempt. \_\_\_\_\_ **75**



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## COLUMNS

- Command Guidance** by Robert L. Bartley \_\_\_\_\_ **6**
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- SOF Proving Ground: I.O.R. Valdada** by David M. Fortier \_\_\_\_\_ **64**
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Gary Paul Johnston

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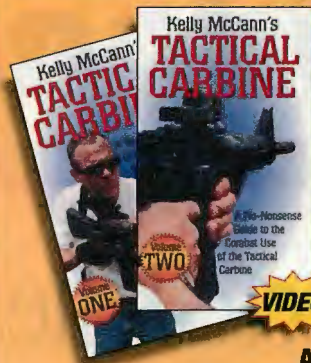
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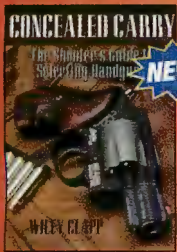


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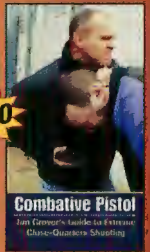
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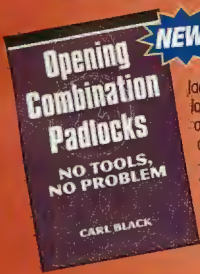


VIDEO

### OPENING COMBINATION PADLOCKS

No Tools, No Problem by Carl Black

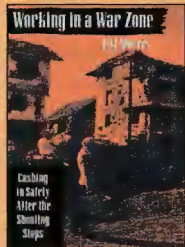
Ever forget the combination to a padlock on your own tool shed, gym locker or anyplace else these common locks are found? This handy guide teaches one thing: how to open a padlock whose combination is lost. This foolproof system allows quick entry into all combination padlocks in minutes without any guesswork or tools. For information purposes only. 5 1/2 x 8 1/2, softcover, illus., 64 pp. #OCP \$15.00



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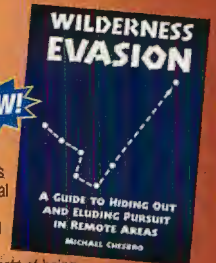


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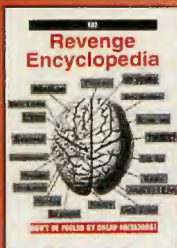
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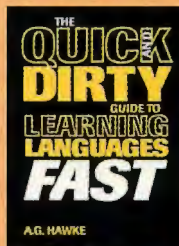
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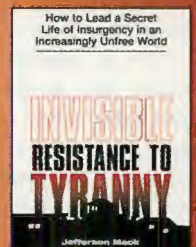
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# Command Guidance

BY ROBERT L. BARTLEY

## Who Elected the U.N.?

*Dictators and democracies don't have equal moral authority. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. — That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.*

Jefferson's phrases are well worth remembering just now. The government created by the Declaration of Independence two centuries ago is weighing war against Saddam Hussein before he acquires nuclear weapons. And high-minded folks around the world are urging it to submit to the judgment of the United Nations as arbiter of when war is justified. Just what is the United Nations, anyway? When and how did it receive "the consent of the governed?"

To ask this question is not to dismiss the U.N. out of hand. It does serve helpful functions on the likes of post and telephone service.

Its efforts to aid the world's refugees have often been exemplary.

On a grander scale, it is a forum where the world's governments meet and talk; if the U.N. didn't exist, we'd have to invent it. At times it has even advanced the interests of security; when the first President Bush was seeking

support for the first Gulf War, the U.N. signed up before the U.S. Senate did. Even in its darkest hours its promise — a forum for settling disputes among nations without violence — is a promise worth preserving.

A moral exemplar it most emphatically is not, however. Its moral standing and moral record deserve to be rehearsed just now. Whatever its pretensions, and however much they're cheered by the limp-minded, in fact the U.N. is the epicenter of world cynicism.

Here idealistic rhetoric is routinely invoked on behalf of power politics and often sheer tyranny. In extenuation, it could scarcely be otherwise.

The nations of the world are after all a mixed lot. They range from long-standing democracies such as the U.S. and United Kingdom to one-man-all-the-votes politics in Cuba or Zimbabwe. They range from giants such as China and India to dwarfs such as Andorra and San Marino. Kiribati and Maldives worry about vanishing if global warming raises sea levels on their Pacific atolls. In the Caribbean, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and also St. Kitts and Nevis, claim Queen Elizabeth II as head of state.

Under the principle of "state sovereignty," each of these 191 nations has the same vote as any other. Except of course that the five "permanent" mem-

*Continued on page 70*

## SOLDIER OF FORTUNE MAGAZINE

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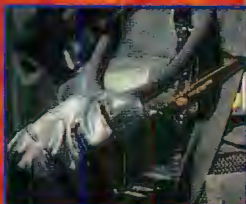
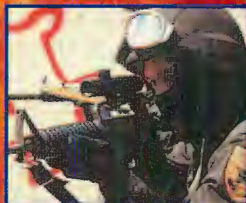
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HS-02





# Flak



## Oh, For Shame, Shame, Shame



I have been your faithful subscriber for a number of years and your faithful reader for so many more years before that, because I believed in your commitment to freedom, to just causes, to principles and to your/our country.

But I was sickened and hurt when I saw a picture (a happy one) in your November 2002 issue of your Senior Foreign Correspondent and another happy asshole drinking daiquiris in El Floridita (remember Hemingway maybe?) after water jumping with mercenary Cuban paratroopers and giving Castro the hard currency he needed to keep enslaving the Cuban people.

(Why don't you ask the poor people in the ex-Belgian Congo, Ethiopia and Angola, to name a few, about the Cuban paratroopers?)

This situation is not a joke. You of all, visiting the house of the oppressor. I would have believed that of many of the free-toting liberal media in this country, but not of you. Unless this visit was in connection to attempt against Castro's life, that would be the only reasonable excuse.

Do you remember the October Crisis in 1962? When Castro urged Nikita Krushchev to launch nuclear bombs against the USA?

Do you remember how Cuban-Castro interrogator's teams tortured our prisoners in Vietnam?

Have you forgotten how millions of tons of drugs are actually shipped through Cuba, to us, with Castro's blessings, just to destroy the country from within?

Do you remember recently when Castro said in Iran that both Cuba and Iran will help each other to bring USA to its knee?

What else did your friends do while in Cuba? Have sex with a 13-year-old for a piece of soap or for a monthly salary there of \$3.

Castro is still our enemy. Where are your principles? Shame on you!

You can stop sending me your magazine when my subscription ends on December 2003. Or better yet: send me a refund for the unmailed issues from December 2002 to 2003.

Only a strong apology printed in your magazine will make us change our minds

Miguel (Mike) del Valle  
Veteran of the Bay of Pigs  
Brigada de Asalto-2506, UDT-Navy

*Our memory is just fine, thank you very much. And our publisher was fighting Castro in Cuba and in the USA long before Castro took control in Cuba. Were you? Or did you just sign up*

*for the CIA's triumphal march on Havana? No, our correspondent did not go to Cuba to trade a bar of soap for sex with kids. He wanted to save it to wash out your mouth. How dare you addresses us with such language simply because you are not clever enough to read between the lines. You know, the team we sent down with trench-coats, sunglasses and wide-brimmed hats didn't bring back any information at all. It's up to you whether or not you change your mind — but it sure would be in everybody's best interests if you started exercising it.*

## Pistols, Politics and Procurement

David Hackworth's comments on the shortcomings of the Beretta 9mm pistol, and the early problems with the M16, underscore the strong political influences in weapons procurement. The Beretta was adopted after extensive testing against other candidates. I think the finalists were Beretta, SIG and Colt. One reason the Beretta was selected was to help set off, money-wise, the Italian licensing and production of Bell's Huey helicopter and this reason was publicly stated at the time.

The M16 was selected to replace the M14 over the objections of Army Ordnance after Fairchild Armalite sold the rights to the AR15/M16 to Colt, whose New-England political connections undoubtedly helped in the military's decision.

Name Withheld by Request  
Pittsburgh, PA

## Gee-Whiz, They're Shooting At Each Other?



You could as well have titled your article: "Canadian Media Discover War." It is essentially a new subject for them and so they fumble about in embarrassing ways, treating everything with a "gee whiz."

I recently worked on a project requiring that I read a lot of old wire stories about the Canadian effort in the Second World War. I much preferred its matter-of-fact treatment of everyday soldiery to today's ultra-hype. Added to the Canadian media's lack of expertise is the problem clearly exposed in your article: the naive pacificism of so many Canadians, coupled with their anti-Americanism.

The anti-Americanism is an innate thing, going back to attempts by the U.S. to invade Canada during your revolutionary war and our mutual War of 1812, though I doubt many Canadians could identify these sources. It doesn't dominate most people's thinking. It is more of a subtext. The pacificism is more recent. I suspect it has something to do with the Vietnam War, which had a pretty major impact on the

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thinking of the generation now in power in Ottawa. And something to do with the fact that Canadians haven't had to fight a war for two generations, thanks, doubtless, to the protection of the U.S.

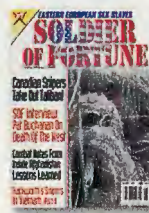
So you see, we can blame the U.S. for just about everything — another key concept for understanding our whiney, narcissistic, holier-than-thou nation.

Steve Weatherbe  
Victoria, BC

Well, don't be too hard on yourselves. It'd be hard to find much difference between the U.S. or Canadian liberal press, or for that matter, the wide-eyed elements of either society. Differences between our peoples don't amount to much more than two brothers in a canoe grumbling about the other snarling his fishing line: Were one to fall out, the other would be in the drink keeping him afloat before he was wet to his armpits. Were talking folks here, not politicians — like the Yanks who enlisted in the Canadian military long before the States got into WW II, and the 30,000 or so Canadians who enlisted in the U.S. military during the Vietnam era, or the Canadian folks who opened their homes to stranded American passengers after 9-11, and not to forget the Canadian forces who — without a moment's hesitation — were mustered to aid us while the Trade Towers and Pentagon were still burning. Nah, we be mates. And family can always sit around the living room arguing about things of little import ... like who really won the pig wars.

Every nation, like every critter on two legs, has a topline and a bottom side. It's usually a waste of time to consider too seriously sounds that don't emanate from the topline, as it's the topline that's — hopefully — connected to the brain of the organism.

## Press No Better In The North?



Hey troops: I am an American working up here in Canada, and was pleased to see that the Canadian snipers had not only set the bar a little higher, but downed one more of the enemy combatants. I try not to read any of the press articles up here because for the most part they miss the boat. This isn't to bash Canadian's as a whole, they can whip us at

hockey, they broke the sniping distance record. But what their press doesn't realize is the training, time, leadership, patience and above all skill that it takes to complete these missions. Snipers as you know spend countless hours refining and re-refining their skills, tons of lead flying down range to achieve a different kind of mile-hi club. I for one am glad this has been broken, the Marines needed a little motivation to re-break the record (being prior Army, I would hope that an Army sniper would set the next bar). I am all for the atta boy, eh?

Lee Magruder

Maybe the problem is like here Stateside: Journalists go to school to learn how to say something ... but for the most part never learn to have anything to say. ✕

### SOF Welcomes Letters To The Editor.

Letters may be edited for space considerations. Please address correspondence to: Editor, SOF Magazine, 5735 Arapahoe, Ste. A5, Boulder, CO 80303 or E-Mail to: editorsof@aol.com .

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BH02



# Bulletin Board

## SOF Contributor Killed In Chechnya

Gervaise Roderick (Roddy) Scott, 31, of North Yorkshire, England, was killed 26 September 2002 while filming combat between Chechen rebels and Russian forces in Galashki, Ingushetia (a Russian republic next to Chechnya) for Frontline Television. Educated at Repton School and Edinburgh University, Scott became a free-lance journalist in 1994. During the following eight years he covered various conflicts in Yemen, Kurdistan, Iraq, Afghanistan, Albania, Kosovo, Palestine, Sierra Leone, Ethiopia and Chechnya, contributing articles and photos to *Soldier Of Fortune*, *Jane's Intelligence Review*, *Jane's Defence Weekly*, *Middle East* and Reuters news agency. Scott contracted cerebral malaria in Sierra Leone and temporarily lost his sight. A



year later was arrested in Ethiopia and charged with espionage. He narrowly avoided being killed in Albania and Afghanistan. For the last two years, Roddy was working on a documentary of Chechen rebels operating from

Georgia's Pankisi Gorge in their war with Russia. As a video cameraman, he was a freelance contributor to Frontline Television and his work was used by the BBC, Sky News, CNN, and Britain's Channel Four.

The number of casualties from the battle at Galashki has not been confirmed, but Russian officers claim 80 Chechen rebels and up to 20 Russians, including the two-man crew of a downed Mi-24 helicopter gunship, were killed. Russian state TV, Channel RTR, broadcast Scott's recovered video footage, showing Chechen rebels from a group of about 200 crossing from Pankisi to North Ossetia and then infiltrating into Ingushetia. The Russian government now cites it as evidence that Chechen rebels move freely through Georgian territory. A few seconds of a firefight are shown. At one point the video abruptly zooms in on a low-flying Russian helicopter launching a missile. It ends with a shot of camouflage-uniform-clad bodies. Scott was reportedly killed when a bullet pierced the lens of his camera. One eyewitness claims Scott was killed during the engagement, others claim he was last seen by Chechen fighters reaching the Russians' forward positions under a makeshift white flag and was later found among the Chechen dead. Roddy will be missed by myself, SOF and many other war correspondents. He did it right.

— Rob Krott

## Green Beret Killed In Zamboanga

Army Sergeant First Class Mark Wayne Jackson, 40, of Glennie, Mich., of the 1st SFG, based at Ft. Lewis, Wash., was killed in the southern Philippine village of Malagutay, part of the city of Zamboanga, by an improvised explosive device that also killed two Filipinos and injured some two dozen other people. The bomb was detonated on 2 October outside a restaurant and bar frequented by American troops from the nearby base. Zamboanga is 530 miles south of the capital city of Manila.



## Military Parachuting Tours: Filling Manifests for 2003

Military Parachuting Tours International has run more than 20 "jump tours" in the past seven years with military forces in various countries. A group just completed a water jump with the South African 44th Para Regiment in Bloemfontein in November. An upcoming tour to the Dominican Republic and a jump with the DRAF commandos is scheduled for Spring 2003. The tour is all-inclusive with airfare from the States, accommodations, most meals, training or refresher training, wings, and official military certificate. Freefalls and sport parachute jumps available. The Holland Jump School/ Jump Tour in May 2003 includes the same, plus a parachute-packing class, five or eight static-line



courtesy Rob Krott

# Home Defense Rule No. 3: Identify Your Target

Using a bright light to identify and momentarily blind things that go bump in the night is always a good idea. Who knows, you might even get a chance to ask Santa about upgrading your present—after all, you need another tie like, well, another tie. But another SureFire high-performance flashlight you could use. Especially one like the E2e Executive Elite, the smallest light SureFire has ever made that qualifies for tactical use (60 lumens or brighter). At just over four inches long and weighing about three ounces, this mighty mite sets a new standard for real power in an ultra concealable package. With a Military Specification Type III hard-anodized finish, the E2e can take some serious abuse. So this Christmas when you hear a bump in the night, go downstairs and tell Santa what you really want, a new SureFire.

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jumps depending on aircraft jumped, and is available for "legs" and experienced jumpers alike. For information on these and other jump tours (programs are currently being coordinated for Eastern Europe, Peru, Italy, and South Africa), which can earn you a set of foreign jump wings, contact SOF Chief Foreign Correspondent Rob Krott via [www.MilParaTours.com](http://www.MilParaTours.com) or c/o MPTI, P.O. Box 1573, Olean, NY 14760; or e-mail: [para6@hotmail.com](mailto:para6@hotmail.com). In photo are Foreign Military Jumpers over Poprad Airfield, Slovakia after exiting an Mi-8 Helicopter.



courtesy Rob Krott



## FCSPI Fundraiser: Win a Barrett .50 Rifle!

In response to recent attacks on law-abiding gun owners by gun-grabbing politicians of Los Angeles, the state of California and others, the Fifty Caliber Shooters Policy Institute (FCSPI) has a fundraising effort to keep its vital lobbying activities on the forefront of the next great battle of the individual right to keep and bear arms. On 18 December 2002, one lucky contestant will be able to claim the Barrett M-99 .50 BMG rifle, donated by Ronnie Barrett of Barrett Firearms.

Suggested contribution for a shot at one of the great rifles of the last 20 years is only \$25. Entries can be made by mail: P.O. Box 8499, Dept. SF, Moreno Valley, CA 92552; or via fax: 909-653-8807; telephone: 909-653-5447; or over a secure



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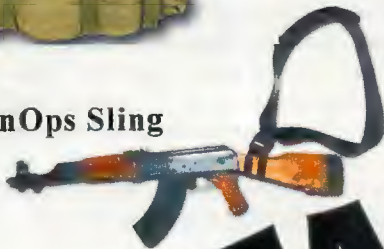
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server at [www.fcspi.org](http://www.fcspi.org). You can also reach FCSPi via E-Mail to [jb50bmg@earthlink.net](mailto:jb50bmg@earthlink.net).

"In my 26 years as a police officer and SWAT Team marksman, I never once came across a .50 caliber rifle used in a criminal event," Burt notes. ".50 caliber shooters have been around for decades as a dedicated, peaceful, law-abiding group of target shooters and hunters. And, although our numbers have grown from just a few, to a few tens of thousands in just a short period of time, our sport is still in its infancy stage. I just could not live with myself if I did not stand up and protect a right I believe so strongly in. For if the Gun Grabbers succeed in banning .50 caliber bolt-action rifles, do not think for a second that they will not come back for the .30 calibers, the 5.56mm and others next ... Even if you have never fired or owned a .50 BMG rifle, now is the time to stand with us in this battle," Burt concluded. The opportunity to win a world famous Barrett M-99 ends 18 December 2002, but the need for financial support goes on to protect our freedom!

## Heart of a Soldier

The new book, *Heart of a Soldier*, about Rick Rescorla, hero of the Battle of the Ia Drang Valley, and hero of 9-11-01 is in the stores from Simon and Schuster. The book is by Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter, James B. Stewart. Rescorla was a Cornishman and had served in a British airborne MI unit on Cyprus, and in a paramilitary police unit in Northern Rhodesia prior to joining the U.S. Army. The book chronicles his friendship with Dan Hill, a former Ranger Instructor he met in Northern Rhodesia after Hill had served as a merce-

nary in the Katanganese paramilitary police. Hill was undercover for a U.S. intelligence agency at the time. It also covers Rick's love affair with his second wife, Susan. For *SOF* fans, the heart of *Heart of a Soldier* is his adventures in Vietnam, and Rescorla and Hill's pioneering efforts in counter-terrorism. Were it not for Rescorla's efforts the death toll on 9-11 would have been double: He died in the collapse of WTCII, going upstairs, looking for stragglers.

## Fighting Revisionist History — On Foot

Mr. H. K. Edgerton, former head of the Asheville, NC, NAACP who for the last several years has taken an active interest in defending the accuracy of Confederate history, has donned his Confederate uniform and is carrying a Third National Flag of the Confederacy the 1,300 miles across Dixie from Asheville to Austin, Texas. His march is in protest of the debasing of Southern heritage and revisionist history regarding the Confederacy itself, and as a declaration that Southern symbols, including those of the Confederacy, should be part of a proud heritage and not subject to tampering by revisionist historians (especially damn Yankees), nor lost in the swirling tides of what some may deem to be politically correct (or expedient). As a 55-year-old black man he probably has his work cut out for him, and we wish him every success on his odyssey.

A running report on Edgerton's progress will be available at: <http://www.sierratimes.com/02/10/12/dixiemarch.htm>. ☒



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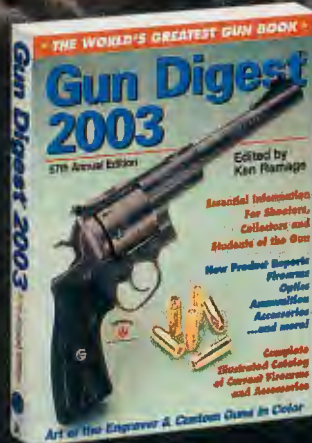
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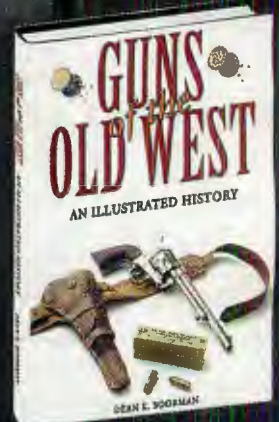
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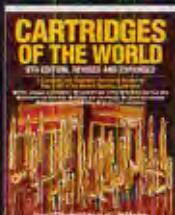
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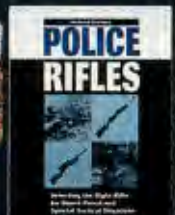
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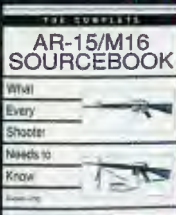
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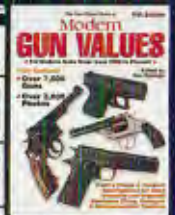
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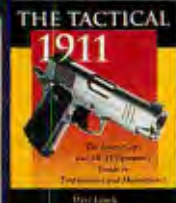
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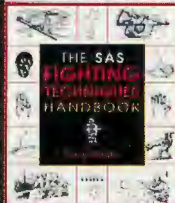
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# Quartermaster

## Impedimenta Control

There are those Thoreauian curmudgeons among us who dream of a desert isle with no sat phones, no beepers, no clandestine cameras nor radios, headsets, ear-phones, wires, batteries, tie-tack cameras, transmitters nor anything else more complicated than a sharp stick to dig clams and a good knife to open coconuts.

Now, back to the real world: The electronic wizardry and gadgets available to contemporary operators, or even just those who haunt Radio Shack and the Sharper Image catalogs is, like all useful tools, worth having with you for various missions at hand. That is, if you can keep it all straight and useful without taking your concentration from your mission. The time has long past when a good safari jacket with its four pockets could do the job — today's selection of toys is just too big to fit in Santa's pack anymore.

What you need to carry what you need, may well be some "Technology Enabled Clothing™" — the Scott eVest™, Version 2.0. The ScotteVest is a lightweight jacket with 17 pockets that let the wearer discreetly hold, conceal and connect cell phones, pagers, PDAs and CD/MP3 players via its 17 pockets



and an internal conduit system for the wires from various connected electronics and mission-essential gear. Special pockets accommodate digital cameras, portable keyboards, GPS devices, small laptop computers, radios — even such modern "essentials" as bottled water, tickets, books/magazines, wallets, keys and such. At the airport, you can doff the whole unit and send it through the scanner without unloading and disconnecting it all (at risk, of course, of confusing technologically challenged scanning personnel). The sleeves dismount to reveal a vest with

nearly the same capabilities. Made from very comfortable, soft micro-fiber, the unit is available in black, olive, khaki.

Designed to keep the operator operating hands-free, special features help keep earphones in place, which can be important when your hands are integral to the job at hand — even if you are just driving and cell-phoning in mandated hands-free areas such as Asia, Europe or New York. Be a closet geek: hide your electronics and paraphernalia, whether they are tools or toys.

You can order toll-free at 866-909-VEST; or check them out on the web at [www.scottevest.com](http://www.scottevest.com); or contact them by mail: at ScotteVest LLC, Dept. SOF, 1456 N. Dayton St., Chicago IL 60622. I just might order one out to hold my knife and sharp stick.

## Special Ops Survival Necklace

The first tool for survival, of course, is attitude. The second most useful tool(s) comprise the ones you have with you. Duh-uh. And if they're not with you, they are substantially less useful. That's why our favorite practitioner of the practical, Ranger Rick Tscherne, designed this clever, basic assortment of survival tools that you wear as a necklace, so as long as your head is attached, you have 'em with you.

Strung on a wire saw (encased in a rugged plastic tube that would also do for sucking water you can see but not reach) there is a mini-compass, fire starter, signal mirror, luminous whistle and a sharpenable ID razor tag. Within the limits of the break-away safety link, you can also hang additional, individual survival items on the necklace. Log onto [www.TheRangerDigest.com](http://www.TheRangerDigest.com) and you will find how to

use the survival necklace to the best advantage, and of other useful items you can attach to it. You will also learn of Ranger Rick's series of pocket-size and practical publications on many different aspects of GI fieldcraft. Points of contact are: Ranger Rick's Books, Dept. SOF, 11 Poppy Lane, West Grove, PA 19390; fax: 610-869-4776; or e-mail to [rangerbooks@hotmail.com](mailto:rangerbooks@hotmail.com). ✕





# BLEEDING COLOMBIA

PART 2

## Enough Pain And The State Will Crack

BY DR. TOM MARKS

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Troops of the rightist outlawed vigilante/"paramilitar" group the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC) stand in formation. Many of these fighters are of peasant origin and say they are fighting "fire against fire" against Marxist guerrillas.

**In** Colombia, the main insurgent group, *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia*, or FARC, has not ceased attempting to mobilize the masses. This is ironic, since FARC has also become the dominant player in facilitating the country's central role in the drug trade.

The insurgents rationalize their exploitation of narcotics as simply taking advantage of the opportunity provided by the Colombian capitalist state to "hang" it (to borrow from Lenin). Likewise, kidnapping and extortion, the second and third sources of FARC funds, respectively, are neither just "revolutionary taxation."

In all three cases, the point is to fund revolutionary war. FARC projects its columns (*columnas*) into largely rural space tactically as the means to realize operational goals, which in turn answer to its strategic plan.

That FARC leads with its armed component, rather than its political cadre, it rationalizes as a self-defense measure necessitated by the ruthless nature of the Colombian state, which has demonstrated time and again its duplicity and willingness to kill all who attempt to oppose it from within.

Dominating an area first, then, by eliminating the armed presence of the state (especially policemen), as well as those who serve that state (e.g. mayors) or who attempt actively to support it (e.g. vocal opponents of FARC), is seen not as a violation of doctrine but common sense. That political cadre active in areas so-dominated have proved neither particularly effective nor imaginative is a shortcoming of implementation of design, not evidence of design absence.

Widespread use of kidnapping and extortion, seemingly counterproduc-



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tive, in reality serves further to “prepare the battlefield” by weakening state legitimacy and control.

In assessing strategic and operational calculations, we are hampered by good information on FARC personalities and their relationships with each other. That FARC leadership is

universally male from the Front level up; that these individuals are products of what may be termed “rural parochialism”; that their Marxism remains primitive, as well as anachronistic; all this is known.

Why a more vigorous political component has not resulted from obvious

***Colombian Marines patrol the Magdalena River, in north-central Colombia, one of Colombia's most dangerous areas, where fire fights between government forces, Marxist guerrillas, and rightist illegal paramilitary forces frequently take place.***

efforts to create such may be as simple as noting the logical consequences of the factors just enumerated: the movement remains a prisoner of time and place, “peasant” in its essence, unable to recruit from societal elements which would invigorate its thinking and approach (e.g. academics or social activists).

Yet such, which could well prove fatal in a different setting, in another time, has in Colombia proved secondary to the existence of FARC as a combatant force. FARC can rationalize its shortcomings and move ahead with those violent measures necessary to fulfill the strategic plan.

In this approach it mirrors the actions of *Sendero Luminoso* once its “people’s war” had been declared in 1980. For the 17 years prior to that declaration, *Sendero* functioned overwhelmingly in the mode that would have drawn Mao’s approval, patiently recruiting cadre, expanding into the unincorporated areas of Peru.



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***FARC guerrillas are mostly young and well-armed with an assortment of weapons either bought on the black market or captured. Their arsenal includes South African-made 40mm grenade launchers, Romanian- and Russian-made AK-47 assault rifles, U.S.-made M-16 automatic rifles, Israeli-made Galil automatic rifles, Belgian-designed FAL rifles. The guerrillas also claim to possess shoulder-held surface-to-air missiles.***



These were both Indian and desperately poor, linguistically as well as culturally outside the mainstream. The guerrillas resorted to violence only in the breach.

Once it had committed itself to the overt armed struggle (which, it may be noted, it also “repackaged” in its own phases rather than adopting literally those of Mao), however, *Sendero*’s ideological designs raced far ahead of the political consciousness of its mass base. When the latter resisted, the movement replied with violence and came, increasingly, to rely upon such terror not only for expansion but for existence.

The result was that *Sendero* mobilized its own demise, so alienated its mass base that when a new government strategy was operationally implemented in a relatively sophisticated counterinsurgency, tactical miscues by security force personnel became irrelevant. An aroused populace, armed and organized by the state (in minimal fashion in both instances, it is important to note), swept the Maoists out of the Peruvian highlands (see *SOF*, March 1999).

That FARC’s struggle, very similar in particulars, has not met with the same end results from the most logical of reasons: Bogota has not implemented the

*Carlos Castaño, widely seen as the maximum leader of Colombia’s largest rightist outlawed “paramilitary” group, the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC), addresses his men in formation.*



*The FARC’s top military strategist Jorge Briceño, alias Mono Jojoy (right front, wearing beret and holding a U.S.-made M203 combination M-16 rifle/40mm-grenade launcher) with his troops in southern Colombia. To the left, next to Mono Jojoy, is “Urias,” one of the FARC’s best combat commanders, who was killed in battle since this photo was taken.*

“Peruvian approach.” In particular, there are no local forces of any kind.

Also absent are the micro-development initiatives that played such an important role in addressing the concerns of the poorest one-third of Peruvian society. This was the very group upon which *Sendero* relied for its manpower (as did the drug producers, Peru at the time being the dominant source of the raw product that Colombia is today).

This shortcoming of approach is understood by the Colombian security forces and an increasing number of other actors, such as politicians and

businessmen. It is apparently well understood by the Uribe camp, though one may question the depth of their knowledge.

The result, as 2002 nears a close, has been the present stalemate on the battlefield — even as the populace overwhelmingly rejects FARC. The consequence is that the struggle is essentially a military contest, one of alternative modes of resource-mobilization and power-projection.

#### What Lies Ahead

In this contest, FARC has not deviated from the parameters outlined



above. Just as *Sendero* eventually elevated tactical presence in marginal areas of urban space (particularly the belts of slums which well-nigh universally surround Latin American cities) to a position as an operational element, so has FARC made such a move.

Evidence indicates the decision was made well in advance of Uribe's becoming a significant factor in Colombia's electoral dynamic. Documents demonstrate, for example, that PIRA [Provisional Irish Republican Army] personnel began arriving in the *Zona* as early as mid-1999 (Congressional researchers put this date at 1998). The nature of their activities — and the specific weapons modifications and tactics passed on — leaves no doubt as to FARC's intent to elevate the profile of its urban activities.

Operationally, this decision stemmed from FARC's assessment of the stage to which the conflict had progressed — not from particulars of candidate positions. Operationally, urban action serves to draw-off government forces and to deplete scarce resources.

Politically, it brings the war home to the populace, especially to the political decision-makers. It is this target, the will of the populace, which FARC sees as vulnerable to demoralization.

That the approach thus far has served only to provoke just the opposite backlash (e.g. the election of Uribe himself) has apparently been irrelevant. FARC is convinced that if it can inflict enough pain, the state will crack. Ironically, this was PIRA's unsuccessful strategy in Ulster. (See *SOF*, February 1997.)

Concurrently, the damage done serves to degrade the state's ability to continue to wage war, by attacking its resource base — even as FARC's own resource base remains largely invulnerable to counter-measures (funded as it is, at least in its drug component, by insatiable demand in the U.S.).

Terror actions, therefore — which are mislabeled as "terrorism" — have required no change in approach, no shift in resources or emphasis. Specifically: Tactical intensification of terror actions is to be expected, as should use of "terror-like" actions during regular combat operations (e.g. increased use of mines). All indications are that enhanced use of such methodology, whether urban bombs or rural booby traps, long has been planned.

Such use will complement the FARC approach rather than displace the whole or elements of the approach.



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*A Colombian Marine, armed with a South African-made 40mm grenade launcher, stands ready beside an 81mm mortar on a patrol boat, on the Magdalena river, in north-central Colombia. This is one of Colombia's most dangerous areas, where firefights between government forces, Marxist guerrillas, and rightist illegal paramilitary forces frequently take place.*

FARC, given its effort to break popular will, likely will work to pull off "spectaculars" at opportune moments.

An inventory of PIRA techniques and weapons used in Northern Ireland provides a likely listing of what is appearing on the battlefield in Colombia. Captured materials, weapons, and interrogations already demonstrate the extent to which PIRA influence is present.

Though FARC as yet has shown no willingness explicitly to target Americans, recent actions — especially the design to eliminate the ability of the Colombian state to function — would support a judgment to do so. This will happen if it is perceived U.S. input is thwarting FARC ends. That FARC will reach such a conclusion is likely given the parochial logic preva-

lent in the movement.

None of this should be interpreted to posit an "either/or" relationship between FARC's immediate plans and its long-range strategy. Though its six major mobile warfare offensives were soundly defeated, there are no indications that FARC has abandoned the approach — only moved back into a cycle of pause for regrouping.

While we may ultimately, some years from now, judge that a turning point was reached with the defeat of those offensives, it is unlikely that such is the case now: objectively, as judged by the situation on the ground; or subjectively, as judged by FARC self-perception and intentions. As indicated by the actions encompassed in Operation "7th of

*Continued on page 68*

# An American Uniform In A Foreign Court

## Has U.S. Resistance To The International Criminal Court Put American Troops In Legal Jeopardy?

BY DR. MARTIN BRASS

**THE** United States could do nothing to stop the International Criminal Court (ICC) from becoming a reality on 1 July, with more than 70 member states. The fact that the United States refuses to become a party to the ICC, however, does not immunize U.S. military personnel from being subject to the jurisdiction of a foreign court. In fact, U.S. resistance may have jeopardized U.S. troops.

Not only does the ICC, headquartered in The Hague, the Netherlands, have jurisdiction to try U.S. military personnel, any state that accepts ICC jurisdiction can try a U.S. service member it alleges has committed acts of genocide, war

crimes, or crimes against humanity on its territory.

President Bush "unsigned" the ICC treaty that Clinton had signed in the twilight hours of his tenure. The rejection of the ICC by the United States is largely based on the fact that the United States lost its fight to have the UN Security Council control the ICC, where it could veto any prosecution of U.S. military personnel. Previous international criminal courts, including the Nuremberg court, and the ICCs for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, could be easily manipulated by the United States within the UN Security Council. The Universal ICC governing body, however, is largely independent of the UN.

The Administration did convince the Security Council to give immunity from the ICC for "current or former officials or personnel of states not parties over acts or omissions relating to a UN established or authorized operation" until 1 July 2003. The immunity does not extend to American troops stationed overseas in any of 100 missions in which the United States is involved, if that mission is not UN-endorsed. For those missions, the United States does have cause for concern.

In addition, the Bush Administration has tried to strong-arm countries into signing bilateral agreements whereby those countries would give immunity from the ICC to U.S. troops. So far, 12 small and poor countries have agreed not to turn over U.S. military personnel to the ICC. In addition, in what was considered a coup, the European Union agreed to allow its 15 member states to sign such immunity agreements, while making it clear that the U.S. demand for blanket immunity was rejected.

That compromise not only has its limitations, but it obligates the United States to commit to investigating and trying troops suspected of committing war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide in military



UPI News Service

*When three GIs were captured by a Serb patrol in Kosovo, Serb officials first threatened a military trial, then a civilian judge launched "court proceedings." The U.S. administration called the proposed trial a "kangaroo court" and the U.S. State Department stressed that such court proceedings against POWs were a violation of international law. Andrew Ramirez (left) Christopher Stone and Steven Gonzales were eventually released — but the bottom line is, GIs in hostile custody cannot be assured of just treatment.*

or U.S. courts. These agreements apply only to soldiers or officials sent abroad.

Currently, U.S. Status of Forces Agreements (SOFA) and UN "Status of Mission Agreements" give the United States primary jurisdiction over its troops. Although the United States has turned over its troops to the host state in cases of common crime such as rape or murder, it fiercely guards jurisdiction over war crimes and other international crimes. Under the ICC, that might change. The verdict has yet to come down as to whether SOFAs override a party's commitments under the ICC.

### How Bad Can It Get?

What is the worse-case scenario under the ICC treaty?

The obvious example is that of Iraq.

The four permanent members of the Security Council have made it clear that the UN would not endorse U.S. aggression against Iraq. The United States would have difficulty justifying its action under existing UN resolutions or under the principles of self-defense, the only justifiable use of force in International Law. Such an action would be anything but a humanitarian intervention. U.S. allies, Russia, China, and others have made it clear that invasion or bombardment of Iraq lack the just war conditions of immediacy, last resort, and proportionality, judging by justifications currently advanced by the United States.

Since universal jurisdiction was rejected in the ICC, only Iraq, the territorial state, and the United States, the national state, have jurisdiction to try a U.S. trooper accused by Iraq.

Although Iraq is not a party to the ICC, it can accept its jurisdiction. The argument is made that a "rogue" states such as Iraq will not ratify the ICC because it is unwilling to have its human rights records investigated. The ICC does not apply retroactively, shielding Saddam Hussein from atrocities against the Kurds and other previous butchery. Saddam could behave and play the victim if it serves his interests.

The United States, as a non-party, cannot exercise the option to immunize its troops from war crimes for the next

seven years. Charges for war crimes could go forward. Hundreds of civilians have been killed, resulting in numerous accusations being made against U.S. officials and troops in the Kosovo bombardment, in the Afghanistan offensive, and in previous offensives against Iraq.

A list of crimes against humanity includes torture, murder, rape, and a multitude of other crimes against civilians, but a systematic pattern of such crimes must be alleged. The argument has already been made that sanctions have decimated more than a million Iraqis in the last decade. Bombardment or invasion, combined with evidence of the results of the dra-

**Not only Iraq, but also any state party to the ICC, or the ICC prosecutor could initiate a complaint. As a non-party, the United States forfeited the opportunity to influence the election of the prosecutor or the judges.**

conian sanctions against Iraqis, would feed into any arguments that U.S. actions against Iraq fit within the definition of crimes against humanity, genocide, or war crimes.

Not only Iraq, but also any state party to the ICC, or the ICC prosecutor could initiate a complaint. As a non-party, the United States forfeited the opportunity to influence the election of the prosecutor or the judges.

The Prosecutor must notify the United States of an impending investigation of a U.S. troop, even though the United States is a non-party. An Iraqi or U.S. investigation would preempt an ICC investigation. An ICC investigation can be launched only with approval of a three-judge pre-trial chamber. If that chamber finds that the United States or Iraq is unwilling or unable to investigate or prosecute, or if efforts

## Protecting Innocents From Protectors

UN-occupied Bosnia, in addition to being an international terrorist haven, has also become notorious for its prominence in the Balkan sex trade, reported the 30 June *Sunday Herald* of London. "There is absolutely no dispute that the sex traffic market came with the arrival of the peacekeepers," asserts Madeleine Rees, who directs the UN Office for Human Rights in Bosnia. Rees has accused Denis Laducer, the deputy commissioner of Bosnia's International Police Task Force (IPTF), of being a regular client at a Bosnia brothel where women are forced to serve as prostitutes.

Rees is just one of several UN-affiliated individuals who have criticized the organization for facilitating the sexual abuse of young, impoverished women trapped in Bosnia's criminal underworld. Kathryn Bolkovac, a 20-year police veteran from Lincoln, Nebraska, was sent to Bosnia to supervise investigations of sex crimes. "I would drive by on patrols and see UN vehicles outside many of the bars and at first, I thought, 'OK, you know, they're having a drink,'" Bolkovac told the BBC. "But then the reports started coming in from the victims that many of these people

were users and abusers. It was quite obvious that [there] was more to it than that."

Operating a shelter for abused women in Romania, Iana Matei has dealt with victims of the Balkan sex industry. Many of them were lured from Moldavia, Ukraine, Romania, and other impoverished regions into Bosnia and Kosovo by promises of jobs as hotel workers, maids, and waitresses — only to find themselves living in slavery. "In Bosnia, the girls told me that if they didn't smile enough, they were beaten," recalls Matei. Bolkovac's investigation revealed that peacekeepers and civilian UN personnel provided a lucrative market for the kingpins of the Balkan sex slavery rings.

According to Rees, the situation in Bosnia mirrors that of other unfortunate countries hosting the UN peacekeepers. "We know it happened in Cambodia, Mozambique ... and Kosovo," she reports. Agnes Callamard, director of the Humanitarian Accountability Project in Geneva, adds Sierra Leone and East Timor to the list of countries where stories of abuse followed the arrival of peacekeepers.

— M.B.

are not made in good faith, the prosecutor can go forward. The United States can appeal to an Appeals Chamber of five judges, where a majority will decide. Only one appeal is allowed throughout the process. The belligerent rejection of the ICC by the United States might predispose the judges to decide that any investigation or prosecution by the United States would not be "genuine." Unless Iraq can convince the ICC that it can offer a fair and impartial trial, an ICC investigation and prosecution would go forward and the U.S. trooper would be turned over to the ICC.

### A Connecticut Yankee In King Saddam's Court

What due process can that U.S. service member expect? The only significant Bill of Rights provision not in the ICC treaty is that of right to a trial by jury. There is no trial in absentia and there is no death penalty.

U.S. administrations are clearly concerned that the ICC has jurisdiction over heads of state and high-ranking officials. The Bush Administration can expect complaints filed against U.S. high officials in the ICC, such as was done

against Clinton and company in the Yugoslav Criminal Tribunal. The probability of an investigation going forward is much more likely in the ICC than it was in the Yugoslav tribunal. In that case, the United States and NATO, that had influence over the court, squashed the investigation.

Under the ICC, troops taken as POWs and charged with ICC crimes do not have Geneva Convention Protections at the end of hostilities, such as the right of repatriation.

U.S. military service members might take comfort in the fact that Congress has authorized the President to use any means to free U.S. military personnel taken in custody on behalf of the ICC, by passing the Protection of Services Act. In compliance with this law, the United States could attack The Hague, or be forced to initiate risky rescue operations to free U.S. personnel, similar to the Carter Administration's failed efforts to free the hostages in Iran.

Not a nice picture.

*An international lawyer, Dr. Martin Brass is a frequent contributor to SOF. ✕*

## King's X For The King's Contractors?

**FOR** U.S. military personnel, most of whom are fulfilling their duties honorably, the immunity from the ICC in a UN-established or authorized operation gives protection from politically motivated prosecutions.

Objections by those who fought to deny U.S. personnel immunity on UN missions are based on horrendous abuses that have gone unchecked due to jurisdictional loopholes that have shielded operators who traffic in humans, drugs or arms.

A notorious violator is DynCorp, a company contracted by the U.S. Department of Defense (DoD) to work in Bosnia and other U.S./ UN peacekeeping missions.

Ben Johnston, an aviation technician with DynCorp, and Kathryn Bolkovac, DynCorp employee, blew the whistle on U.S. servicemen engaged in buying and selling young girls in Bosnia to keep them as personal sex slaves. Both were terminated.

Johnston testified that his supervisor had video-taped himself having sex with two girls. The Serbian mafia would give the DynCorp official the women for free, for providing customers and making sure they paid up.

The girls were imported into Bosnia by DynCorp employees, in cahoots with the Serbian mafia.

One third of some 200,000 trafficked the area in one year are minors, according to the UN Children's Fund.

David Lamb, former UN Investigator in Bosnia, testified that the sex slave trade would not thrive if it were not for the presence of UN and U.S. peacekeeping forces who support the pimps and slave masters. International Police Task Force (IPTF) personnel and government contractors have been directly involved in the trafficking.

Those commissioned to investigate UN personnel and DynCorp were often intimidated.

Lamb testified that violators were given immunity under UN laws protecting IPTF officers.

Bolkovac testified that if the girls refused sex with the customer they are threatened, beaten and raped in the rooms by the bar owners and their associates. DynCorp

officers forged documents for trafficked women, expedited the trafficking and warned pimps of impending raids.

Richard Monk, who ran UN police operations in Bosnia, said "There were truly dreadful things going on by UN police officers from a number of countries." One club owner claimed to reporters that the IPTF ordered a raid by Bosnian police after the brothel owner refused to pay \$15,000 protection money. Six of the accused IPTF officers, including two Americans, resigned from their posts.

Peacekeepers and non-governmental aid organizations have been accused of eliciting sexual favors from children in Sierra Leone, Guinea and Liberia.

*Insight* reports that officials warn that sexual misconduct by U.S. aviation-security personnel raises concern because both terrorist and organized criminal enterprises operate in the countries named as centers of the alleged debaucheries. In addition to Kosovo and Bosnia, these include Thailand, Brazil and, the Philippines. The concern is of al-Qaeda and other terrorists potentially blackmailing air marshals, posing security threats to airline safety, or of eliciting operational secrets.

"The Bosnians think we're all trash. It's a shame. When I was there as a soldier they loved us, but DynCorp employees have changed how they think about us. I tried to tell them that this is not how all Americans act, but it's hard to convince them when you see what they're seeing. The fact is, DynCorp is the worst diplomat you could possibly have over there," Johnston told *Insight*.

Johnston and Bolkovac filed civil suits, testifying that DynCorp officials were trafficking or buying girls as young as 12. They both prevailed.

The U.S. justice department claims that the host country has jurisdiction over common crimes such as rape and sex-trafficking, and the UN claims that any criminal prosecution is usually the responsibility of the suspect's country.

No prosecutions have been reported. It's called UN immunity.

—M.B.

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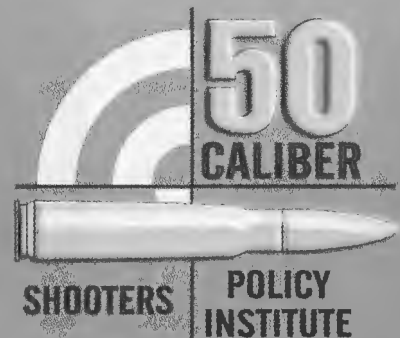
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# THE GREEN BERETS

## AT 50

### JFK's Warriors Return To Fort Bragg

BY JIM MORRIS

**I**N 1939, Aaron Bank spent the summer in Germany. He saw then that America would go to war with the Nazis. When he returned to the U.S. he joined the army. He was 36.

Bank had come from a prominent family in upstate New York, where, as a youth, his accomplishments had been athletic. He made his living as a ski instructor, tennis instructor, gymnastics coach. Being fluent in both French and German, he did this on an international scale. He was in every sense of the term, a man of the world.

So when World War II began and the Office of Strategic Services, our WWII intelligence agency, was formed, Captain Bank was a natural. O.S.S. had two departments, the espionage department and the special operations department. Bank was spec. ops.

He trained to head a Jedburgh Team. "Jedburgh" was an arbitrarily chosen code word; the name of a village in Austria. The Jeds were trained by British commandos, wearing green berets, to infiltrate in three-man teams; an American or British officer, an officer from the targeted country (France, Belgium, Holland), and an enlisted radio operator, usually British or American.

His team parachuted into France and operated with local guerrillas, the Maquis, first arming and then training them, doing reconnaissance missions — keeping a very low profile until the Normandy Invasion. Then they went to work, blowing rail lines, conducting ambushes, and assassinating German personnel.

Allied Headquarters estimated that the few officers and men of the Jedburgh teams and their Maquis guerrillas were worth a couple of extra divisions. Not a bad investment.

Later, Bank went to Indochina. Shortly after the war, he hitched a ride With Ho Chi Minh from Hanoi to somewhere in the jungle. Ho pitched Bank for American support. He had fought the Japanese when the French had collaborated. His Viet Minh had been trained and supported by O.S.S. teams.

Bank recommended to the State Department that the U.S.



*During the '68 Tet Offensive, Captain Joe Zamara crouches to avoid machine-gun fire coming from the nearby house. Two hours after this photo was taken, Joe was KIA. He was to return home the following day.*

back Ho. "They probably filed it in File 13," said Bank. Instead they sent a couple of "striped-pants boys" who recommended we go with the French.

Shortly after World War II the O.S.S. was renamed The Central Intelligence Group, later the Central Intelligence Agency. An entirely civilian agency, it had no guerrilla capability.

Bank was the leader of a group of officers, mostly O.S.S. veterans, who remembered what a success the Jeds had been as force multipliers; simple farmers and shopkeepers running daring raids and ambushes, on rage, guts, and a period of training that was scarcely more than an orientation. Bank and his friends

thought the U.S. Army should have that capability.

It took until 1952 to get from the drawing board to the activation of the 10th Special Forces Group (Airborne). Bank was the 10th's first commander.

#### Summer, 2002: Fort Bragg

The lobby of the Four Points Sheraton, in Fayetteville, North Carolina, was filled with middle-aged men with drinks in their hands. There was a broad spectrum resembling, in appearances anyhow, outlaw bikers and their lawyers.

Special Forces insignia was all around, on signs, on t-shirts, on baseball caps. All proclaimed the 50th Anniversary of the Green Berets, an event which had seemed unlikely a half-century before.

For the first 30 years of Special Forces existence conventional generals tried to do away with it. But during the Reagan administration it became obvious that SpecOps was the wave of the future. Since then the Army has only tried to do away with the original spirit of SF, by co-option and dilution.

#### God, He Was Bitter

"Jim!" A hand grabbed my arm. I looked into a warm and friendly, but completely unfamiliar, face. When in doubt, read the nametag. "Mark Sprague."



Retired Lt. Col. Robert K. Brown, Editor/Publisher of SOF, confers with Major General John K. Singlaub, (Ret.) during SF's 50th Reunion festivities.

I looked for Mark's face under that curly mop and behind the cookie-duster moustache. "Mark! Jesus, you look different every time I see you."

When I met Mark he was a Jesus-haired hippy. That was in the summer of 1973, in his father's house in Pleiku, Republic of Vietnam. We were all three former SF. Mark had been a medic. His father, Ed Sprague, was a retired Master Sergeant, one of the legendary team sergeants.

Ed was then, the State Department's resident Montagnard expert. His living room was filled with Montagnard memorabilia, plants, and a brass plaque which said, "Special Forces has done so much with so little for so long that now it is expected to do everything with nothing forever."

I stayed with them a week.

The next time I saw Mark was in Cambridge, Mass., in 1986. He wore a yuppie haircut and a suit to go with it. He was an executive with a software company and was working on a line of videos about the Vietnam War: Air Force, Cav, that sort of thing. Unfortunately, skilled though he was, their producer knew nothing about Vietnam, and it showed. At Mark's suggestion they hired me to produce a video called Vietnam: The Green Berets.

We chatted for a moment and I told him of my great thirst. He said, "Come with me."

He led me to a large room filled with people who had at least one drink in at least one hand. The planners had planned well. There were two bars and tables for about six hundred, and nary a chip, dip, or peanut in sight. These people were dedicated.

I grabbed a beer and joined a table with Mark, Kathleen, his red-haired, big-eyed, extremely funny wife, Mark's mother, Eve, and a pleasant-looking middle-aged couple I didn't know. She looked nice academic. He was dressed like an accountant, but had just a hint of the tolerant smile and crazed glint that some SF men have. They both wore glasses.

Ed had died the previous year, so I — unobtrusively, I hoped — scanned Mrs. Sprague for signs of grief. She's a lovely woman, small, with salt-and-pepper hair, an olive complexion and a face that is both sweet and strong.

She talked and smiled, but there was sadness deep in her eyes. I think they had a great marriage. When Ed used to talk about her it was easy to see how he felt.

The conservatively dressed guy with the glasses, introduced himself, George Dooley.

I knew the name. He'd written a book called The

Battle for the Central Highlands.

John Hanscom, operator of the Green Berets for Human Rights website, told me about George. "I thought he was just another fat-assed staff officer until I found out he'd been an NCO on a really good team."

But he hadn't known it was Ed Sprague's team.

Later, for a group working to get the first 220 Montagnard refugees to North Carolina, Ed agreed to go on the air for the CBS magazine show, West 57th. He told the story of how he had assembled 2,000 of his Montagnards on the beach at Nha Trang and gone to Saigon to arrange transportation. Instead of giving him boats the Embassy threw him out of the country, and let the Yards languish on the shore until the NVA came for them.

God, he was bitter about that.

Another couple joined us. Roger Knight, a buffed retired colonel with white, close-cut hair, in conservative sport clothes — he had been Ed's and George's team leader — and a pretty blonde woman, Betty Boyd. Her husband, Dave, had been on their team. He was killed in '66.

Then George got a thousand-yard stare and said, "I miss the Team Sergeant."

"He's here, you know," said Roger.

"He sends me messages," said Eve. "Any time I find a penny I know it's Ed saying, 'Hi I love you.' I save them in a jar. I have 72."

After dinner Mark and I adjourned to the men's room. In the lobby a pleasant-looking, bespectacled guy approached Mark and said he had known his father.

"And you're Jim Morris, right?"

I nodded and shook his hand. His nametag read Ken Houy. "I was John Link's best friend in Training Group."

That chilled my heart.

Running up the inside of my right forearm is a 13-inch scar. There's another 5-incher next to it. The small one is the



SOF Editor/Publisher, and retired U.S. Army Reserve Lt. Col., Robert K. Brown's A-Detachment (A-334), Tong Le Chon, South Vietnam, near the Cambodian border, 1969. (top, left to right) Staff Sgt. Lee Nulton; Sgt. 1st Class Fletcher Blocksum, Lt. Sanders, Spc. 4 Jones, Sgt. 1st Class Grundon, Sgt. Neiminski; (lower, left to right) Team Sergeant Jim Lyons, Team CO Robert K. Brown, Staff Sgt. Robert Bernard, Sgt. Sonny Elrod. During the Vietnam conflict, Special Forces A-Teams controlled more than 50,000 indigenous Camp Strike Force personnel, to include Chinese Nungs, Montagnards, Cambodians, as well as ethnic Vietnamese.





**Jim Morris (left) enjoys dinner with the legendary Ed Sprague in the Spragues' Massachusetts home.**

entrance wound and the large one is the exit. I got them trying to save John Link's life.

I failed.

"I showed John's mom where you wrote how bad you felt about that. She said to tell you, you did all you could and not to feel bad about it. Annie Link, from Arkansas. Great woman."

This wasn't the place, or the time, to weep. But it was close.

I looked around. I was in one of a hundred similar conversations. On the surface it looked like a gathering of middle-aged drunks. But at its core, it was Holy.

### The Early Days

Bank and his staff devised an ingenious cellular organization with no reference whatever to conventional organizations of squads, platoons, companies and battalions.

The basic building block of the Special Forces organization was the "A-team," a 12-man super Jedburgh team which

could function as a cadre, staff, and university for up to a regiment of guerrillas. The team had two officers, a captain and a first lieutenant. Weapons, communications, demolitions, medics, operations and intelligence, were all double-slotted. Every man was proficient in his specialty and cross-trained in two others. In theory, every man was fluent in one foreign language and able to limp along in a couple of others. So, on the ground, the A-team could be split in half, or thirds, or quarters, and still function.

Over any number of A-teams would be a B-team, commanded by a major, with full staff sections; administration, intelligence, operations, supply. And over any number of "Bs" a C-team commanded by a lieutenant colonel.

It was doctrine that a captain might deploy an A-team and as it organized more and more guerrillas that captain would be promoted, and his team reconstituted as a B. Then the Special Forces Operational Base (headquarters of a deployed Special Forces Group) would send him some more A-teams, or if those were in short supply maybe just field-commission his senior NCOs.

It was an ingenious organizational scheme. The only problem was that the Army couldn't relate to it. As far as the army was concerned an A-detachment commander was a glorified squad leader, and an SF assignment was dead time. Since an SF assignment was career death anyway, the officers set out to have some fun: like the time Colonel "Mad Jack" Shannon infiltrated eight teams into South Korea, without notifying either the Koreans or the U.S. Eighth Army. He wanted the training to be realistic. He wanted the South Koreans to hunt his teams with live ammo, so they'd take the exercise seriously.

Most of the time when SF soldiers weren't studying Croatian or Urdu, giving inoculations of sterile saline solu-

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tion to each other, leaving messages in dead drops, disassembling exotic weapons, finding secure cache sites, and writing propaganda leaflets, they were devising ingenious means to infiltrate anywhere. They were all parachutists, and pioneered HALO and HAHO techniques. They were the Army's SCUBA experts, skiers, mountain climbers, experts in jungle and desert survival.

At first there was only one Group, the 10<sup>th</sup>, and it was oriented toward Europe. It was part of the "Russians-invading-through-the-Fulda-Gap" scenario. As the Russians advanced, teams were to go underground and allow themselves to be overrun in place, with their guerrillas already organized.

Other teams would be dropped into the Iron Curtain countries; Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, to organize resistance. They would rot the Soviet empire from within.

During those days SF had a lot of Eastern Europeans, dispossessed guys from those countries, drawn to enlist in the U.S. army by the Lodge Act, which gave them rapid U.S. citizenship in return for service. Most of them were hot to trot, eager to jump in and free their home countries. For many of them the U.S. was their second, or third, army.

During Korea a lot of SF guys served in UNPIK, United Nations Partisan Infantry — Korea, which infiltrated companies of American led Koreans into North Korea.



*Retired Colonel Roger H.C. Donlon, recipient of the first Medal of Honor awarded in the Vietnam War for his heroism at the Nam Dong, Vietnam, A-camp in 1964.*

### In-And-Out Pec

I was scoping-out the buffet, just checking out the mini-tacos, when a voice called out, "Morris"

Two smiling, thuggish, older men leaned against a window. One was tall and lean, and the other about medium height and solid. It took me a minute to recognize them because I hadn't seen either of them for 34 years. The tall smiler was former First Lieutenant "Sweet Roy" T. Kimbrough, one of the real guys behind Operation Dumbo Drop. The other was Tom Humphus.

The only time I had seen Humphus before I had just dived into a B-52 crater. We were surrounded by two or three battalions of North Vietnamese, and Humphus had ripped open his shirt to see if the bullet which had just hit him in the chest had punctured his heart or a lung.

"In-and-out pec," was the only thing I'd ever heard him say. That was about 10 minutes before Link was killed.

A lot happened that day, and it was all bad.

We talked a bit about Dumbo Drop, and how different the movie was from real life. It was a Disney kids' movie in which the brave Americans overcome frightful obstacles (NVA, elephant turds) to deliver an elephant to their courageous Montagnard allies so they could haul some logs.

In real life that's exactly what happened, except the frightful obstacles were a kind of nightmare bureaucratic goat fuck that

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might have more accurately been titled *The Three Stooges Do Kafka*.

### Kennedy's Rifles

President Kennedy told the army to develop a guerilla warfare capability, and was told they already had one.

In 1961, he went to Fort Bragg, ostensibly to inspect the 82nd Airborne Division, but primarily to see what Special Forces was all about. The Commanding General of the Special Warfare Center was Lieutenant General (then Brigadier) Bill Yarborough. A quiet, modest, self-effacing man, Bill Yarborough deserves the title of "Mister Airborne" if anybody does. He is the man who, as a first lieutenant, designed the original Corcoran jump boots. He designed the WWII jump suit; he designed the wings. And he was the first man out the door on the first combat jump ever made by the U.S. Army — in North Africa in WWII.

Special Forces had already adopted the green beret, but Yarborough's attempt to get it approved by the Pentagon had been rejected because it was "too foreign."

So he sandbagged them. Kennedy's senior military aide, Major General Ted Clifton, had been Yarborough's class-

mate at West Point. When Kennedy inspected the troops Yarborough was wearing a green beret, and so was everybody else in Group. "They pulled them out of barracks bags; they ordered them from Canada; they got them from the Girl Scouts," says Yarborough.

And before anybody at the Pentagon even knew about this, Clifton had sent Yarborough a letter over Kennedy's signature, describing the Green Beret as a "badge of excellence" in the fight against global Communism.

Well, after the President said the Green Beret was a good thing nobody in the Army hierarchy had the balls to say it wasn't. The Green Beret was officially official.

### Apocalypse Then

There's never been anything like Special Forces in Southeast Asia. The 5<sup>th</sup> Special Forces Group (Airborne) fielded 2,000 Green Berets and they led an army of 50,000 indigenous, comprised of various ethnic minorities who had no love for Saigon, but would — and frequently did — die for their Americans.

The SF reconnaissance units, Delta, Sigma, Omega, CCN, CCC, CCS, produced practically all the strategic intelligence MACV had. Their mission was to



courtesy Tom Reisinger

Present SOF Assistant Editor, then a 22-year-old Special Forces Medic, Tom Reisinger, with Major Kien Mit, an officer with the 200-plus Cambodian contingent at SF's Loc Ninh A-camp (A-331), spring, 1969. Kien, along with Reisinger's Head Nurse, San thi Sobanh, and all but three of Loc Ninh's Cambodes, were massacred by Khmer Rouge forces as they overran Phnom Penh in 1975.

gather information, but they frequently had to shoot their way out, or call in airstrikes on enemy installations. They killed roughly 100 enemy for every man they lost, and the enemy had 500 men in the field hunting each of them.

During 1968, their casualty rate was 115 percent. To get in you not only had to volunteer; you had to be invited.

It might be said that Vietnam was the most valuable learning experience the United States Army ever had, that what could not be accomplished in Vietnam by an American army of half a million men was accomplished later in El Salvador by 55 Green Berets.

About Vietnam this must be said, and it applies to all the uniformed services: Soldiers do not win, or lose, wars. Nations do that. Soldiers either accomplish their mission or fail to do so. When you get one-hundred-percent accomplishment of all missions assigned and still "lose" the war, the place to look is in the Oval Office, in the halls of Congress, and in the hearts of the nation, not at the military services.

To lay a defeat on sweaty, leech-biten kids who fought their heart out is criminal. I would lay that defeat at the feet of those who sent us to fight, and then bailed on us. I would lay it on a Congress that sent the sons of its constituents off to die, but sent only one son of one congressman throughout the

*Continued on page 72*

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# AFGHAN BODYGUARDS: \$180,000 Per Year — For A Certain Few

BY LT. COL. ROBERT K. BROWN, USAR (RET.)

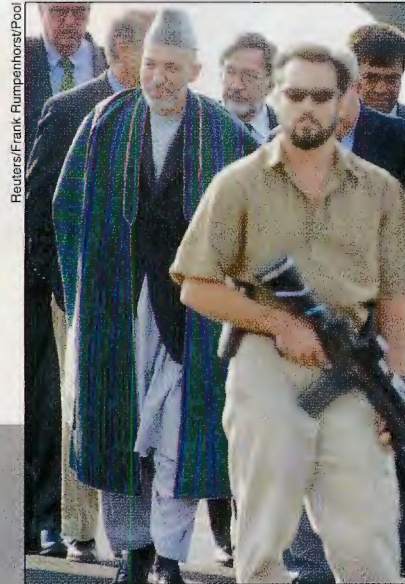
**H**ow about an \$180,000 a year bodyguard job? That's right, 180 big ones for a year contract as a bodyguard for the President of Afghanistan. The controversial firm, DynCorp, has been given a contract to provide personal security for Ahmed Karzai by the U.S. State Department.

Sometime this summer, Delta Force was tasked to provide Karzai's security as the U.S. determined that his ethnic Afghan security force was not up to the job. Delta Force was replaced by members of the Naval Warfare Development Group, better known as SEAL Team Six, for reasons unknown, though the conventional wisdom is that the Pentagon had other more important missions for Delta. This transfer took place sometime in August. It was a SEAL that took out a hit-man, as well as two innocent civilians, in the course of dealing with an assassination attempt on Karzai in Kandahar on 5 September. (See *SOF*, December 2002).

The rumor mill had it that the SEALs,

who also were needed elsewhere, were to be replaced by Wackenhut operatives or Marine Embassy guards, who had training in personal security. However, it was DynCorp who landed the lucrative one-year contract on an open-ended "cost-plus" basis. Department of State is in charge and will provide training as well as operational- and field-supervision. State specified that the bodyguards would have to be retired,

experienced former SpecOps types — SEALs, Delta or other individuals with extensive personal-security experience. *SOF's* sources say that State went to the private sector because DoD has a man-



*A heavily-armed U.S. bodyguard (inset) walks in front of Afghan President Hamid Karzai at U.S. Rhein Main Air Base in Frankfurt in September. (below) SEAL Team Six bodyguard with CQB version of enhanced Carbine with KAC Aim Point Comp M and suppressor. Pentagon determined to pull Delta and SEAL operators from security detail as their skills are needed for covert ops elsewhere.*



power crisis in the field of SpecOps which will undoubtedly play a key role in operations against Iraq.

According to an official with the Diplomatic Security Service, Department of State, "The actual responsibility for protection of Karzai is part of the protection provided by the Diplomatic Security Service and as part of that we will be using DynCorp." He went on to explain; "We've had a contract with DynCorp for two or three years as part of our worldwide protective service. We use them in a couple of other hot spots to provide security for American officials." (One Delta operator said State would use DynCorp employees wherever they did not want to risk their own people.) He went on to say that these DynCorp employees were all screened by Special Agents for the State Department to ensure their suitability and that they qualified for the assignment. Although SOF had heard the DynCorp team was to take over on 15 November, the DoS source said that the date had not yet been set.

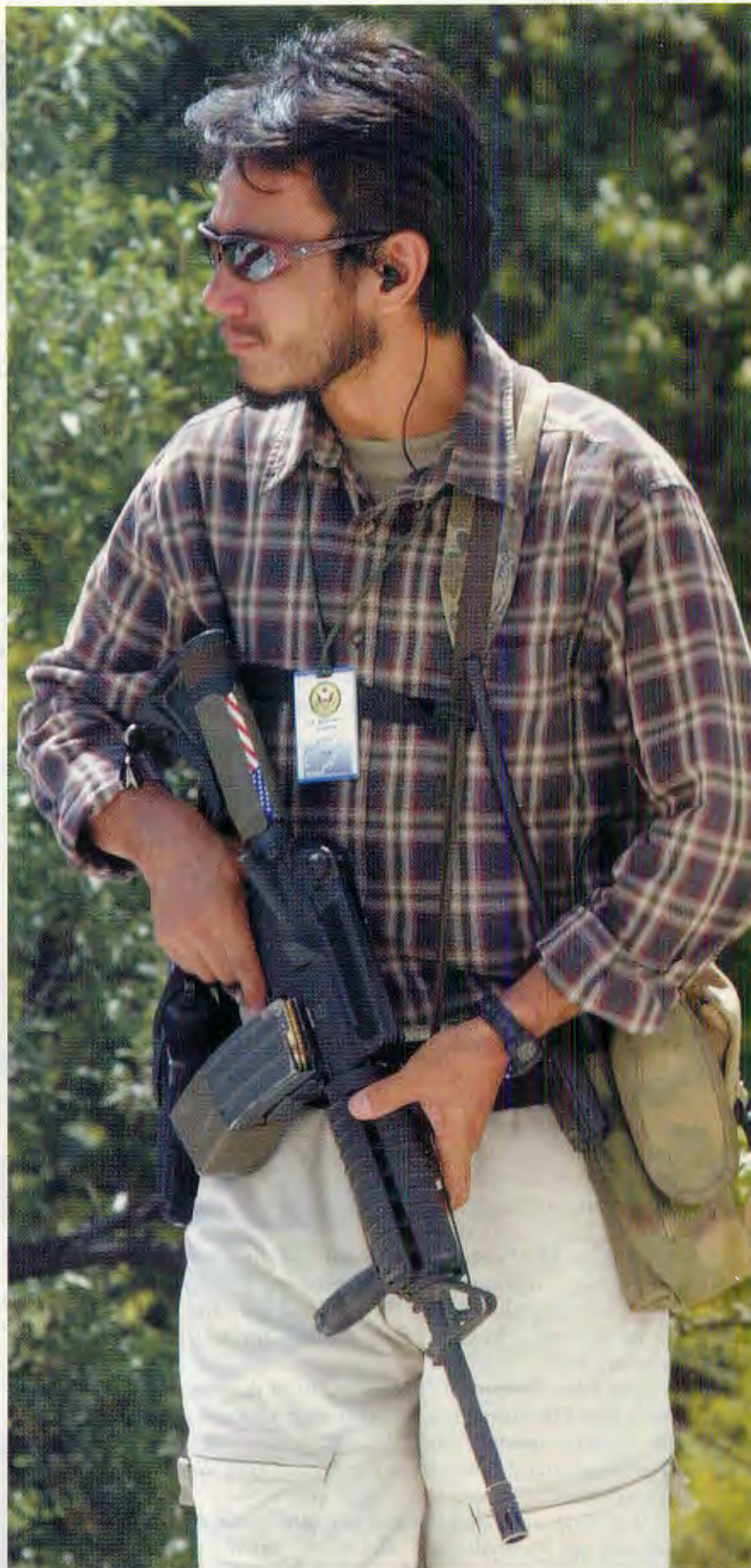
Another Delta operator said the guy in State overseeing the whole program was with Delta in the mid-'80s, who got out, went back to college and got his Masters and Doctorate degrees. He then went to work for State and is in charge of Special Programs. "With his connection back to the unit and all of our old comrades," the operator commented, "... when he was tasked by State to put the Karzai operation together, he knew immediately who to go to."

The Delta operator went on to say, "The 50-man unit will include the Protective Detail which moves with the principal. These are the guys that actually escort him. Then, you're going to have guys at the palace and at the office and all of that. For all of those positions, you'll need 12 to 18 guys per shift. Then you multiply that by 3.7 which will give you the total you need. For three shifts." When asked why the .7, he explained, "The .7 factors-in people who maybe not available for duty for whatever reason over the long haul. This is what we came up with over 30 years of experience."

SOF contacts with the DynCorp team state the base pay is \$126,000 and with per diem, hazardous-duty pay and other perks it will add up to about \$180,000. They receive a \$1,000,000 insurance policy and for medical care will "... sponge-off the military." When SOF attempted to confirm the above, DynCorp refused to discuss the terms of the contract and referred us to the State Department who in turn referred us back to DynCorp. *Shades of Catch 22!*

The 50-man unit was recruited by word of mouth for the most part through the relatively small SpecOps community. Most of the personnel are either retired Delta or SEAL Team Six — E-8s or E-9s — as they are the only units that have had extensive training and experience in personal security.

Don't get your hopes up. The word we have is that though interested parties can apply to DynCorp or Department of State Diplomatic Security there is no way they are going to take anyone who has off-the-wall bodyguard experience, much less some one with no experience. More than likely, you won't even get a reply. ☒



*Delta Force operator provides security for Afghan President Hamid Karzai, July 2002. Delta was replaced by SEAL Team Six operators in August and they will be replaced by private bodyguards provided by DynCorp. Operator carries a CQB version of enhanced M4 carbine with Knight's Armament Co. (KAC) Rail Adapter System (RAS) and KAC vertical foregrip. It also has a Redi-Mag system by Boonie-Parker.*

# Will Saddam's Troops Fight?

## Will The Iraqi Military Be Easy To Destroy?

BY DALE B. COOPER

**T**he Iraqi Army is only a shell of what it was in August 1990 when its armored divisions swept into Kuwait on 2 August 1990 and seized control of the tiny Gulf state.

The army left half of its tanks and armored personnel carriers burning in the desert sand, and hundreds, if not thousands, of its soldiers bloating in the desert sun.

Intelligence experts tell *SOF* that Saddam Hussein has only 40-percent of the million-man army that he boasted he had under arms before he invaded Kuwait. But it doesn't take a rocket scientist to explain the attrition.

Saddam sent his less-capable soldiers, including some Iraqis born in America who were drafted into the army while visiting relatives in Baghdad before the war, to the front lines, and held his more-capable units like the Republican Guard back in Basra and other rear areas. Not all of the cannon fodder fell in battle singing the praises of Saddam, or were buried alive in trenches. Legions of them surrendered to U.S. and coalition forces when they drove into Kuwait from Saudi Arabia. Several Iraqi soldiers threw down their AK-47s and surrendered to a friend of mine, a female radio reporter who was carrying a long-barreled "shotgun" microphone. That's the kind of front-line soldiers we faced in the "Mother of All Battles" for 100 hours in February 1991.

John Pike, director of GlobalSecurity, a defense advisory group based in Alexandria, Virginia, that has been analyzing the current combat capability of Iraq, told *SOF* the Republican Guard came out of the Persian Gulf War in pretty good shape.

"The Talekalma Division was virtually destroyed in battle and was not reconstituted," said Pike, "but the rest of the Republican Guard managed to get out of the Kuwait Theater of Operations reasonably intact, and most of the estimates I've seen about current equipment levels seem to suggest that the total tank holdings went from over 5,000 to 2,200 to 2,500, but the T-72s that the Republican Guard used are probably at 70 percent of their pre-war levels." Most of the

Iraqi armor that was destroyed was outdated T-55s.

Iraq currently has 17 armored, mechanized and infantry divisions spread out across the northern and southern fronts. An additional seven divisions of infantry and armor are dedicated to the RGFC, the Republican Guard Forces Command in the Northern and Southern Corps. Units in the north face Kurdish rebels. Units in the south face U.S. forces in Kuwait. Three infantry brigades and one armored brigade protect Baghdad. With division strengths varying between 30,000



Captain Randy Hammond

*An Iraqi T-55 tank burning in the Kuwaiti desert after being hit by TOW missile fired by Marine Corps Cobra gunship. (below) Badly burned and bloated body of Iraqi tanker rotting in the Kuwait desert after engagement with US Marine reservists from Yakima, Washington.*



USMC



DigitalGlobe

**Satellite overview of Iraqi tank graveyard at Taji, a military repair facility about 2 miles northwest of Baghdad.**



**Overview of BMP and BTR armored vehicles dug in behind revetments along a highway at Taji.**

and 50,000 men, Saddam would be lucky if he could field 400,000 men today.

Morale in the Iraqi military is also not good. With the exception of the Republican Guard whose loyalty has been bought by Saddam with gifts over the years of Rolex watches and Mercedes Benz cars, the Iraqi opposition says the rank and file would run if they could. Some U.S. military experts *SOF* has talked to predict many units would fold like they did during Desert Storm if confronted again by technologically superior U.S. forces.

The quality of the individual soldier is not the only questionable component of the Iraqi military machine. Iraq still uses many of the tanks, armored personnel carriers and artillery pieces it imported decades ago from Warsaw Pact nations and former republics of the Soviet Union. But they have seen their better days.

When Lieutenant General Fawzi al-Shamari commanded the 8<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division during the Iran-Iraq war in the 1980s, he had access to all of the weapons he needed. They flowed freely into Iraq from the Soviet Union and some of its client-states. Fawzi became an expert on the Soviet-built BMP. In turn, the armored personnel carrier became the backbone of the Iraqi army. But times have changed dramatically. The supply lines are no longer open. The equipment is no longer available. Replacement parts are scarce.



Dulce B. Cooper

**Former Iraqi Lt General Fawzi al-Shamiri looks over shoulder of Tim Brown, senior analyst at GlobalSecurity at new imagery of Iraqi artillery pieces being repaired at Taji.**

Getting spare parts for his military machine has been a major problem for Saddam Hussein since the Gulf War ended in 1991. A UN embargo imposed against Iraq after the war has slowed down the flow of spare parts, but hasn't stopped it entirely.

"If they can't get bootleg cigarettes into the country," says Pike, "They can get spare parts, as well." But intelligence sources tell *SOF* Saddam has not been able to replace any of his heavy equipment, like tanks and armored personnel carriers. Ditto for combat aircraft and helicopters that he lost during the Gulf War.

A shortage of parts has also forced Iraqi armored divisions to limit the number of training exercises they conduct. They can't afford to replace some of treads that are thrown on their tanks, or bogey wheels that are broken on their BMPs, the Soviet-built armored personnel carriers that form the backbone of the Iraqi army.

What spare parts that do arrive in Iraq come into the country via truck from arms- traffickers in Syria and Jordan who smuggle them across the border under the cover of darkness. But U.S. officials are unable to say how much equipment is reaching the Iraqi army and what's left of the Iraqi air force. *SOF* has been told that none of the 160 or so combat aircraft, including MiG-29s that were flown to neighboring Iran to protect them from destruction by coalition forces, have been replaced. Saddam has not been able to replace any of the Mi-8 or Hind helicopters or top-of-the line T-72 tanks that were destroyed during the Gulf War. Saddam has also not been able to restock his arsenal with surface-to-air missiles or SCUDs.

Evidence of Saddam's plight surfaced unexpectedly in mid-August of this year. Tim Brown, a senior analyst at GlobalSecurity ordered some satellite imagery taken of the Baghdad area by DigitalGlobe, a civilian company in Longmont, Colorado.

"I put in an order for an image taken in June that was already in their archive," said Brown, who was looking for evidence of a bio-weapons laboratory where some 60 vehicles were reportedly seen leaving that facility. Instead of giving Brown what he ordered, DigitalGlobe sent him imagery that was taken two days earlier during a pass over Baghdad. Brown was unable to find the weapons lab he was looking for, but was shocked to see hundreds of Iraqi tank hulls, armored personnel carriers and artillery pieces in fields near al-Taji, a



two-and-a-half-square-mile fabrication facility 2 miles northwest of Baghdad that was heavily bombed during Operation DESERT FOX in December 1998.

"From the air, some 280 miles high, the piles of tank carcasses look like somebody's been shucking oysters," said Brown. "Just piles of them in those fields."

Careful analysis of the "junkyard" by Brown and his colleagues at GlobalSecurity reveals Saddam Hussein is "cannibalizing" broken Iraqi military equipment in order to cobble together enough armor to repulse an anticipated U.S. invasion of Iraq.

"There's a lot of BMPs and BTRs parked out there — artillery pieces, towed and self-propelled. There are also dozens of tank transporters parked under metal-roofed buildings, but there aren't rows and rows of T-72s lined up out in the open," said Brown as he poured over the imagery, pointing out some of the details to SOF.

For some strange reason, some of the BMPs and BTRs are dug into defensive positions behind earthen berms facing a highway in the Baghdad suburbs. Brown can't help but wonder if Saddam fears the 82<sup>nd</sup> Airborne will jump into Taji and establish a toehold 2 miles from his presidential palace. Brown says that's one possible explanation for digging in dozens of armored vehicles around that facility.

Also scattered among dirt revetments at Taji are what appear to be training aircraft. British intelligence claims Czech-built, twin-engine training jets have been modified to carry 440 pounds of biological or chemical weapons in drop tanks on hardpoints under each wing. Although the aircraft, some of which have been camouflaged, are parked less than a mile from a small airfield where Iraqi helicopters are kept, Brown is unable to say for certain that the aircraft are L-28 Delphins as the British claim. He tends to think the jets are actually propeller aircraft, but their mission is unknown.

### Going Biological

Tons of chemical rockets and bombs were destroyed by UN weapons inspectors before they were booted out of Baghdad by Saddam in 1998, but UN weapons experts say Iraq may have stockpiled more than 600 metric tons of chemical agents, including mustard gas, VX and sarin nerve gas. The experts say some 25,000 rockets and 15,000 artillery shells with chemical agents are also unaccounted for.

In 1995, the Iraqis told the United Nations it had produced 30,000 litres of biological agents, including anthrax and other toxins it could weaponize. We all know what a few grams of anthrax can do. It cannot only kill people, but it can also shut down the nation's postal service.

A recent report by the respected International Institute for Strategic Studies, a London think tank, indicates Iraq retains substantial stocks of chemical and biological weapons and has the capability to quickly produce more. U.S. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld said recently that Iraq has mobile biological weapons laboratories, which would be nearly impossible for U.S. forces to target.

Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz says the Bush administration is wrong. "They are telling lies," said Aziz whose nose has gotten much longer since the Gulf war. "Iraq is not producing weapons of mass destruction," Aziz said. Iraq's ambassador to the UN swears on a stack of Korans that his country has no SCUD missiles. He also denies his country has the ability to produce a nuclear weapon, however, IISS in London says Iraq could assemble a nuclear weapon within months, if it was able to get its hand on enriched uranium or plutonium from a former Soviet republic. Iraq is trying to build gas centrifuge machines that could produce weapons grade nuclear material, but is unable to smuggle in all of the parts it needs to build those machines. In the meantime, Iraq is working on a parallel issue; that of a delivery system. The Institute's director believes Iraq has a small force of missiles that are capable of delivering a nuclear weapon once one is produced. John Chipman says the force consists of 12 400-mile ballistic missiles that could not only reach Israel, but Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iran and Turkey. But Chipman says it may taken a while for Iraqi scientists to develop a nuclear missile warhead.

### A Shell Game

Although there are hundreds of tank hulls, mostly T-55s in the fields at Taji, the absence of main battle tanks at the repair facility outside Baghdad is worrisome.

"We want to order satellite imagery of the base taken prior to 11 September, because as soon as the war [on terrorism] started, Iraq began dispersing stuff, hiding and moving it," said Brown.

Some of Saddam's top-of-the-line equipment may be hidden from view under roof in warehouses that dot the landscape at Taji, and not parked in the nearby fields.

The imagery that Brown has been poring over was taken by one of three commercial satellite imaging companies in this country; DigitalGlobe, SpaceImaging and OrbImage.

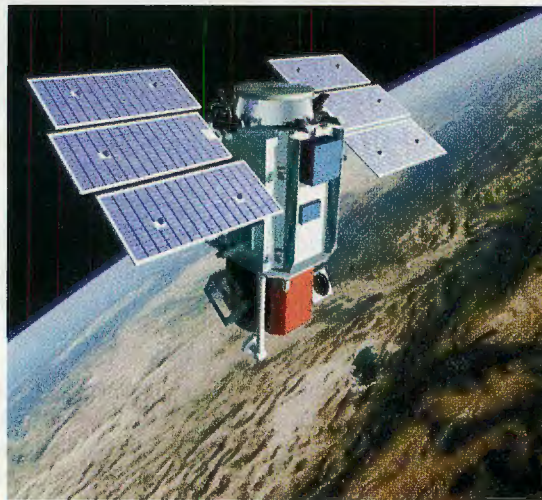
SpaceImaging has been in operation for about two years with a 1-meter resolution satellite. DigitalGlobe launched a one-meter bird in December 2000, but watched as it blew up. Not deterred by the launch failure, DigitalGlobe got a license two weeks later to launch a 1/2-meter resolution platform. Fortunately, DigitalGlobe had another 1-meter bird in production, and engineers were able to make a few orbital adjustments and bring it down to 2-foot resolution; the best in the business.

DigitalGlobe launched its QuickBird satellite on 18 October 2001, aboard a Boeing Delta II rocket from Vandenberg Air Force Base, in California.

"QuickBird, operational since February 2002, provides the highest resolution satellite imagery available to the commercial market, the broadest band width, the highest accuracy, the highest collection capacity and an imaging footprint two to 10 times larger than any other high-resolution satellite in orbit today," said Chuck Herring, a spokesman for DigitalGlobe.

QuickBird flies over Iraq every two to five days, snapping thousands of high-resolution digital images that measure about 11 miles on a side.

"You can see cars," said Herring, referring to images of



DigitalGlobe's Quickbird in earth orbit looking down on Iraq and other trouble spots.

rush hour in downtown Baghdad. Even from 280 miles in space, analysts can easily tell the difference between a car and a truck. But you can't see individuals on the ground.

"It's borderline on some of the stuff Tim is looking at. I don't think he can identify the types of tanks and armored personnel carriers, or artillery pieces he's looking at," said Herring who likened satellite imaging to looking at earth through a straw.

"What does that look like to you? A D-30, or D-20?" asked Brown as General Fawzi looked at Brown's computer screen as he zoomed in on a section of the Taji imagery that showed dozens of artillery pieces parked outside warehouses. The closer Brown zoomed into the satellite imagery, the fuzzier the image became, however Fawzi said he thought they were looking at D-20s, 152mm Iraqi howitzers, not D-30s, 122mm howitzers. The former commander of the 8th ID during the Iran-Iraq war says a lot has changed in Baghdad since he fled the country in the mid-1980s and came to America. It's difficult for him to look at satellite imagery of Baghdad and pick out specific targets. Brown does it by taking DoD pre- and post-strike photos and looking for similarities. For example, a tree still stands in front of the division headquarters at the Taji fabrication facility that was hit hard during DESERT FOX. By overlaying the trees on two sets of imagery, one taken after the war in 1991 and one taken in April 2002, Brown is able to determine the extent to which the Iraqis are rebuilding



(inset) Satellite image of the military airfield at Taji, and close-up view of Iraqi helicopters on tarmac (above).

their military headquarters at Taji, and a nearby rocket assembly area.

When the Saudis made a stink this summer about not allowing the U.S. to use its territory to launch a pre-emptive strike against Iraq, GlobalSecurity ordered a sweep over Qatar and other Gulf states to see if there was any activity underway. Bingo, the satellite imagery showed U.S. fighters and refueling aircraft parked on one of the most modern military airfields in the Middle East. Unlike Al-Jaber, an airbase in Kuwait where F-117A Stealth fighters have been bedded down since the Gulf War ended, the airfield in Qatar is safe from chemical or biological attack. It far from the 150-mile range of Saddam's SCUDs.

### Will Someone Pass The Pepto-Bismol?

The increased availability of high-resolution satellite imagery from commercial companies like GlobalSecurity is causing some indigestion at the Department of Defense. Secretary Donald Rumsfeld saw the imagery from Qatar on TV a few days after it was snapped during a flyover.

"Can we live with that?" Rumsfeld rhetorically asked during a Pentagon briefing. "You bet," said the unflappable DefSec, "But I wish we didn't have to live with it."

The Pentagon can pull the plug on distribution of commercial satellite photos of a war zone like it did when it exercised the "shutter control" clause of the U.S. licensing contracts with DigitalGlobal and SpaceImaging during the conflict in Afghanistan. Brown expects his feeds will dry up when the U.S. goes to war with Iraq. That's why GlobalSecurity is stockpiling imagery for the major broadcast networks, cable networks and publications. But knowing where to look is a problem. You need coordinates and they aren't easy to come by, and then, as it was during the Kosovo conflict, looking for potential targets like bio-weapons labs is like looking for a needle in a haystack, and in the case of Iraq, Brown says Saddam Hussein keeps adding more and more haystacks.

### When The Lights Go Out In Baghdad

GlobalSecurity has been told that Saddam logs onto their website and sees the same thing Rumsfeld sees. Critics claim

Continued on page 71

## ARMED FORCES OF IRAQ

	2002	1990
<b>PERSONNEL</b>		
 Troops (Active Duty)	424,000	1 million
Troops (Reserve)	650,000	850,000
Regular Army	375,000	955,000
Air Force	30,000	40,000
Air Defense	17,000	
Navy	2,000	5,000
<b>HARDWARE</b>		
 Main Battle Tanks	2,200	5,500
 Self-Propelled Artillery	150	
 Misc. Artillery	2,050	2,200
 Light SAM Launchers	1,100	
 Antiaircraft Guns	6,000	
 Combat Aircraft	316	689
 Helicopters	375	489
 Patrol Boats	6	38

Sources: Center for Strategic and International Studies; International Institute for Strategic Studies

# THE FN-MINIMI SAGA

*SOF Studies How This Light Machine Gun  
Got Its Start, And Where It Is Today.*

TEXT & PHOTOS BY GARY PAUL JOHNSTON



*Empty 5.56X45mm brass and links fly from the M249 as it is fired prone off the bipod, with new Trijicon TA55 ACOG scope mounted on its M1913 rail. From this position, this weapon delivers pinpoint shot placement out to 500 meters.*

During the early 1970s, it became obvious that there was a need for a belt-fed light machine gun (LMG) in 5.56x45mm NATO (.223 Remington), caliber as a companion to the rifles that were increasingly being issued within much of the free world. Foremost among these was the M16. Answering the call, *Fabrique Nacional* (FN), of Herstal, Belgium, began developing such a weapon designed by FN's Ernst Vervier.

Called the *Mini Mitrailleuse* (miniature machine gun), or MINIMI, the new LMG is in some regards a stepchild of FN's 7.62X51mm NATO (.308 Winchester) *Mitrailleuse d'Appui General* (General Purpose Machine Gun) 1958, or MAG 58, in that it followed that weapon in chronological FN production, and somewhat in design. The MINIMI's belt-feed mechanism

and quick-change barrel also somewhat resemble scaled-down versions of those of the MAG, as does its cross-bolt safety/selector. However, the MINIMI also shares at least as many similarities with the U.S. M60 LMG.

Like the M60, the MINIMI uses stamped sheet-metal in much of its construction, and has a rotating two-lug bolt, as opposed to the machined MAG 58 receiver with its toggle-locking bolt. Like the M60, the MINIMI's barrel also has an extension that houses the locking lugs. However, the MINIMI's bolt rides in a separate bolt-carrier, which is connected to the operating rod. This carrier houses the firing pin, and initiates firing after the bolt locks.



U.S. Army photo /Sgt. Todd M. Roy/courtesy VFW Magazine



*SWAT cop fires M249 from hip, as links fall from gun. Not hot-dogging, M249 is extremely controllable in this "assault" position.*

As with both the MAG 58 and the M60, the MINIMI is gas-operated by an under-barrel gas piston and operating-rod system. However, while the M60 operates by a short-stroke gas piston, the MINIMI, like the MAG 58, operates by a long-stroke piston that is part of the operating rod, and like the MAG 58, the MINIMI has a gas regulator with two settings. The MINIMI has two covers to prevent debris from entering the receiver. A manual cover closes the ejection port, and a second spring-loaded cover opens and closes automatically as the cocking handle is moved back and forth to charge the gun. All three of these LMGs have a non-reciprocating cocking handle on the right side of the receiver, and use push-through ammunition belt links, and all can be fired from a tripod, bipod, or when standing.

With the similarities between the MINIMI and these and other LMGs, there is one feature of the MINIMI that sets it apart from all others, and that is its ability to use a standard NATO (M16) magazine in an emergency in place of a belt. In combat, if belted 5.56x45mm ammunition is not available, an operator can feed the MINIMI with loaded 20- or 30-round M16 magazines that may be in more plentiful supply. This is possible because of a separate (M16) magazine well directly beneath the port for the belt feed, on the left side of the weapon. Set at roughly a downward 45-degree angle, this well has a magazine release that also serves to support a belt of ammunition during normal operation. All this notwithstanding, it is far preferable to use 200-round belted ammunition that is packed in a synthetic belt carrier that locks in a mount on the underside of the gun.

### **SAW Competition**

By 1974, FN had a pre-production prototype MINIMI ready for the U.S. Army Squad Automatic Weapon (SAW) Competition. Designated the T9 in the tests, the MINIMI was at a disadvantage, because it was competing against

U.S. designed LMGs that used the then-favored 6mm SAW cartridge. Nevertheless, it proved just as reliable as its competitors and was well received by those testing the guns. Finally, with the decision to abandon the 6mm SAW concept and stay with the 7.62x51mm and 5.56x45mm NATO rounds, the MINIMI won the trials, and was adopted by the U.S. Army as the M249 SAW.

After its adoption by the U.S. military, the MINIMI continued to undergo evolutionary design changes and refinement, and was soon in demand by other free-world countries, and was adopted by Israel, Canada, the UK, Australia, and others. The MINIMI has been produced in Canada and also in the United States, where it is still made by F.N.M.I., of Columbia, South Carolina.

In addition to the basic model, the MINIMI was offered in a shorter PARA-Model with a short barrel and retractable buttstock, as well as a Vehicle Model with a coaxial firing component, and without a buttstock. As with the standard weapon, the PARA and Vehicle versions continued to undergo refinement.

### **New Versions Of The MINIMI**

Near the turn of the Century, FN designed a new compact version of the MINIMI, called the Special Purpose Weapon (SPW). The SPW uses the same retractable buttstock as the PARA Model, but has a redesigned short barrel, and a new ventilated sheet-metal top handguard. It also has a new fore-end with a three-sided M1913 rail system. On the bottom section of this rail is a vertical foregrip. In the SPW, the provision to use a box magazine has been omitted, and the gun's receiver is shorter than that of the standard MINIMI. Together with a number of other minor modifications, the SPW has one more major one, and that is the addition of an M1913 ("Picatinny") rail permanently mounted on top of its forged-alloy feed-cover. This gives the weapon the ability to mount almost any optical sight. This useful M1913 rail has



now been added to the PARA MINIMI.

After seeing the SPW, the U.S. Navy SEALs requested a special variation of it. The result was the MK 46 MOD 0. The differences between in the MK 46 MOD 0 from the SPW include a redesigned muzzle brake, a rigid ventilated handguard with an M1913 rail on top, the addition of a bipod, and a lighter version of the M249's new fixed buttstock. The SPW and MK 46 MOD 0 aren't the only versions of the MINIMI to use the new M1913 rail. They share this feature with a brand-new version of the Army's M249 SAW that, together with its rail, has the most of the other upgrades of the above two guns. These include the new buttstock, carrying handle, new quick-change barrel lever, an improved handguard system, gas block/front sight, rear sight, and pistol grip. Also, unlike

*(left) With alternative M16 magazine inserted, the 5.56mm rounds can be seen here in M249's receiver. (above) Quite similar to those of the FN M240 and M60 LMGs, the M249's feed mechanism is smaller in size. (below) Here the M249 is seen with a 30-round M16 magazine and the Aimpoint Comp M red-dot sight mounted using the A.R.M.S. #68-22 mount.*



the interrupted M1913 rail of the SPW and MK 46 MOD O, that of the new M249 SAW is continuous. One original feature retained by the new M249 SAW is the box magazine well.

To load and fire the M249, put the safety on by pushing it to the right, and open the feed cover by depressing the two opposing locking-buttons on each side at the rear, and lifting the cover. Now place the first round of a belt in the center feed lips and close the cover. If a large optical sight prevents fully opening the feed cover, simply insert the end of the belt in the feed tray and push it in until it locks into place. Now pull back the cocking handle until the bolt locks to the rear. The gun is now cocked. Push the

precision long-range rifles.

Around the time of the 9-11 attacks, FN.M.I. established FN-Herstal, USA to promote and market these and other FN law-enforcement products, and shortly thereafter an important decision was made: In order to bolster U.S. law-enforcement in Homeland Security functions, the FN M240 (MAG 58) LMG and all members of the M249 SAW LMG family were made available for agency purchase. This means that law-enforcement agencies can now purchase the latest versions of these weapons directly from FN-Herstal, USA.

If one wonders why a police agency would need such a weapon, he or she should only imagine one of many worst-case scenarios U.S. law-enforcement officers are facing with alarming frequency. What if an agency has to make a raid on, or is involved in, an armed standoff with heavily armed criminals or terrorists at a remote, fortified location? Consider a standoff on an airport runway, or an attack on a nuclear facility? Even at 500 yards, the M240 and M249 can make pinpoint hits, or control two sides of a large perimeter. In addition, our borders are almost totally unprotected. With Mexican Army regulars crossing into the United States and shooting American law-enforcement officers, what better defense than one of these guns? The situation in America is not good and it can only get worse, and while the acquisition of such weapons is certainly not for every agency, hundreds have already experienced the need for them.

Recently we took delivery of a brand-new M249 SAW from FN-Herstal, USA. Although identical to the latest U.S. Military model in every respect, this variation is manufactured especially for U.S. law enforcement in a periodic special run. The gun comes with a spare barrel and barrel bag, and a sling.



*Trijicon's brand-new TA55 ACOG scope proved very effective on the M249. Designated the T9 in U.S. Army tests, the first MINIMI won the Squad Automatic Weapon Competition in 1974, and went on to be adopted as the M249 SAW.*

cocking handle all the way forward until its detent goes into place. By pushing the safety to the left, the gun can be fired by pulling the trigger.

### **Now For U.S. Law Enforcement**

The upgrades made to the various models of the MINIMI came at about the same time as FN.M.I. decided to enter the law-enforcement market. Being part of the same conglomerate that owns Winchester (U.S.R.A.) FN.M.I. began the reconfiguration of the Model 70 Classic bolt-action rifle, and the Model 1300 shotgun into versions more suitable for tactical duty, along with the introduction of the FN Model 49 and HP-DA pistols. These arms joined the FN 5.7mm Pistol, P9 Personal Defense Weapon (PDW), F2000 Assault Rifle, and the new Hecate family of

precision long-range rifles. We then began mounting various optical sights on its M1913 rail. These included reflex sights such as the Aimpoint Comp M red dot sight, the Eotech red-reticle sight, the Springfield 6-20X56mm Government Model Scope, and the brand-new TA55 ACOG Telescopic Sight from Trijicon. An enlarged version of Trijicon's famous ACOG sight, the TA55 contains both tritium and fiber-optic power-sources to illuminate the sharp red chevron reticle. However, in addition to these features, the TA55 also has 5.5X magnification and a holdover scale for the 5.56x45mm cartridge out to 800 meters. With click adjustments of 1/6-inch at 100 yards, this allows the TA55 to make adjustments of about 1.5 inches at 800 meters to provide pinpoint shot placement.

For the fastest target acquisition in close-quarters transitional aiming, the TA55 can be used with the Bindon Aiming

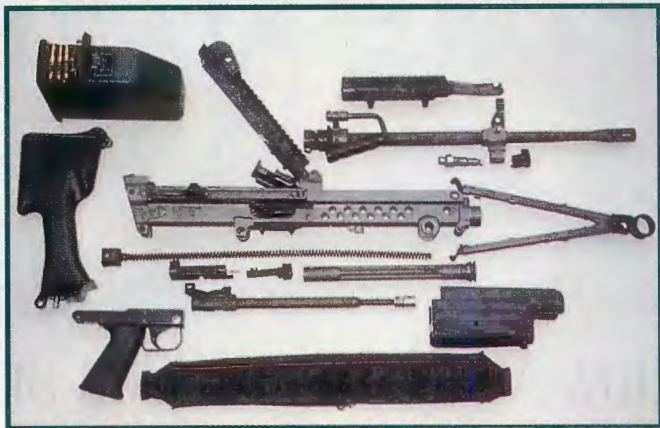
### **Optics**

During initial test firing of the new M249, we found it to function perfectly with both belted and box-fed ammunition.

## FN M249 SAW

### SPECIFICATIONS

<b>Caliber:</b>	5.56x56mm NATO (.223)
<b>Velocity:</b>	3,100 fps
<b>Operation:</b>	Long-stroke gas piston, locked breech.
<b>Type of Fire:</b>	Full-automatic, open-bolt firing
<b>Barrel Length:</b>	20 inches
<b>Overall Length:</b>	41 inches
<b>Weight (gun alone):</b>	16.5 pounds
<b>Feed Device:</b>	200-round, disintegrating-link belt
<b>Safety:</b>	Positive cross-bolt
<b>Rate of Fire:</b>	750 rpm
<b>Sights:</b>	Fully adjustable open sights with M1913 MilSpec optical rail
<b>Finish:</b>	Matte black MilSpec



*The M249 can be field stripped for cleaning in minutes, without special tools. The M1913 rail is permanently mounted on the rigid feed-cover.*

Concept (BAC). Discovered by Trijicon's founder, Glynn Bindon, this system of aiming requires that both eyes be kept open. With the master eye seeing the bright red reticle, the other eye takes over in tracking the target. With both eyes working together, the reticle is automatically placed on the target in no time at all. The BAC also works superbly in hunting.

Although the TA 55 comes with a rail-grabber mount, it will also take the much-preferred A.R.M.S. ThrowLever mount used on the standard ACOG. With either the Springfield Government Model or the Trijicon TA55, the M249 performed like a belt-fed, precision long-range rifle, but even with open sights its accuracy was surprisingly good.

Even those who had never fired an LMG had little trouble hitting 14-inch steel plates at 400 yards with open sights — and remember that the M249 fires from an open bolt. By simply touching off one or two shots, the first shot usually hits the plate at 400 yards. On our range, the longest steel target is at 550 yards, and although the 14-inch steel targets were seldom hit at this distance, the shots came within inches of them, usually hitting a foot or so low. Using a telescopic sight and single-loading the M249, five-shot groups of 2- to 3 MOA could be achieved at 100 yards using M193 GI 5.56X45mm NATO ball ammunition. However, current-issue M855 ammunition grouped slightly larger.

In addition to using the issue OD plastic 200-round box mounted on the bottom of the M249, we also tested a new ammunition backpack for the M249 from Eagle Industries, of Missouri. With built-in segments to hold the 200-round plastic boxes of 5.56X45mm belted ammunition, this pack keeps the ammo clean until you

need it. This pack is now in use with our SpecOps in Afghanistan. Eagle offers a wide range of specialized holsters and web gear for law enforcement and the military, and its long, padded rifle case holds the M249 with ease.

At close range, the M249 can be fired from the hip, or even from the shoulder, but it is best fired from the bipod that is attached to the rigid gas cylinder beneath the barrel. The M249 can also be mounted on either the FN 360-Degree Tripod, or the U.S. M122 Tripod, as well from a vehicle pedestal mount.

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### Night Vision

Most exciting was using the M249 with the 4X Raptor Night Vision Device (NVD) from Excalibur Electro Optics. Like other current U.S. Military NVDs, the Raptor comes equipped with an A.R.M.S. ThrowLever Mount, that mates perfectly with the M249's M1913 rail. Just as important is that eye-relief can be adjusted perfectly by moving the scope on the rail. With the Raptor's crystal-clear imaging and its even sharper bright red reticle, hits can be made in pitch dark at virtually any range that they can be made in daylight, and there is no blooming with this third-generation NVD. Using the Raptor, I could even see clearly the detail of the mountains some 10 miles away.

The M249 SAW has repeatedly proven to be accurate and reliable, and is considered by most to be the best of the best. If your agency is involved in high-risk crisis resolution, the M249 SAW might be the tool you've been looking for. For information on all its law-enforcement tactical firearms, contact FN Herstal USA, Inc., Dept. SOF, P.O. Box 697, McLean, VA 22101; phone: 703-288-3500. ✕



# OPERATION OMAN

## How An Obscure 1970's British Victory Could Win The War In Afghanistan

BY JIM BARTLETT  
PHOTOS COURTESY AUTHOR

United States military and foreign policy-makers have reached a critical crossroads in the struggle for Afghanistan. Following the lightning defeat of the ruling Taliban, the war has wound down and U.S. military operations have largely been returning with empty nets for the better part of two months. The only notable incidents since Operation Anaconda wrapped-up have been embarrassing and volatile mishaps involving civilians and nickel-and-dime ambushes. The time has been reached to switch over from active war operations to civil development backed up and supported by military force, if necessary.

While the pentagon insists that "we have a war to fight" there are rumblings from both the government we have installed down to the villagers who remain on the elusive front line. A consensus seems to be building that U.S. muscle needs to start walking softly and stop treating Afghanistan like a "free-fire zone." The *Washington Post* recently quoted the Afghan Defense Ministry spokesman as saying "The Americans do not respect anybody but themselves. They say 'We are the gods of the world' and they don't consult us." This is, unfortunately, a road we have walked down before.

As we have seen too many times in the past, memories in the Third World are short-lived and the grievances of today will always outweigh the helping hand of yesterday, especially when confronted with American cultural ignorance. Herein lie the seeds of a disaster, Afghanistan-style. In terms of a lasting victory, an apt adage might read, "The smart bomb giveth, but can also taketh away." As much as we hate to hear it, it's "Nation Building" time.

Fortunately, there was a little known conflict fought in the Sultanate of Oman during the 1970s that holds many key lessons, that if applied, could help pave the way for the stability in Afghanistan we seek. Against a communist insurgency that enjoyed significant cross border support from Yemen, the British-backed Sultan was able to turn the tide



*An SAS machine-gunner keeps a watch for rebels from "The Eagle's Nest" on the Jebel in Oman. Conventional actions paving the way for civil development proved to be a winning combination.*

after over 75% of the country had been overrun by communist Adoo rebels.

Fought largely out of the public eye and with the critical, but not overwhelming, support of Great Britain, this conflict proved to be one of the few struggles in which an established rebel insurgency was actually turned back and defeated. Due to its strategic location at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, the war in Oman was not one the West could afford to lose.

Through a winning combination of military action, truthful and well-directed information services and active civil development, a well-organized, established enemy was utterly routed from terrain as difficult, or moreso, than that found in Afghanistan. Students of the Cold War will note that very few insurgencies, once established, were ever turned in the West's favor during this time.

How it was done is perhaps one of the best examples of how

military action combined with civil development, or "nation building," proved a winning combination and has led to lasting stability in perhaps one of the world's most critical locations.

The similarities between the conflict in Oman and the situation in Afghanistan are many. The Dhofar region of Oman, where the war was largely fought, is a mountainous region populated by various tribes and sub-tribes with little or no allegiance outside of their own semi-warlords. It was host to an impoverished people with the usual problems of civil infrastructure and illiteracy. Under a semi-despotic ruler who hindered development, the workaday people were soon alienated.

Onto this tableau stepped a well-organized and -supported insurgent force that promised better days for all, much as the Taliban did in Afghanistan. In short order, this force overran most of the province and the government's influence extended only as far as its rifles could shoot over the barbed-wire fences surrounding its forts. Soon, the guerillas were in de facto control of towns and villages and generally swam amongst the population. Southern Afghanistan, with its proximity to Pashtun Pakistan, presents the same sort of stage for this to occur.

Then, just as the country teetered on the brink of total collapse, there occurred a radical change in government. With the world's supply of oil in the balance, enter Britain and the SAS. Thus began the seven-year struggle to make Oman what it is today; a stable country with a developed economy and a standard of living far greater than it's neighbor to the south, formerly communist Yemen.

As Major General Tony Jeapes, SAS, wrote in his book, *Operation Oman*, "Two things were clear; first, the answer to the insurgency lay in civil development, and second, the answer had to come from the Omanis themselves. Nonetheless, the Sultan needed all the friends he had." One of the key friends the Sultan had was Great Britain and the SAS, with a sound victory in Malaya under their belt and possessing a keen understanding of what makes insurgencies tick, namely poverty and frustration.

### Hearts And Minds

These are much the same forces that exist with such alacrity today in Afghanistan. As Gen. Jeapes remarked in *Operation Oman*, "There had to be some way to persuade the people that they would be better off under the new regime." Herein lies the true war aim in Afghanistan if we are to prevent a return to warlordism and the instability that made the country such a convenient lair for bin Laden and his fighters.

For the SAS, the approach was simple and three-sided; Local forces provide for taking action against the insurgents with both regular soldiers, trained and led by army officers "on loan" from Britain and militia under the tutelage of SAS advisors. (Later the Omani army would stand on its own with officers and NCOs from its own ranks) Civil development follows on, improving the welfare of the people and bringing tangible evidence to the government line and establishing its credibility. Under this basic umbrella the insurgency was



contested both militarily and politically and eventually collapsed under the weight of defections and direct action. At the end of it all, the working-class people of Oman had a country where the basics all men yearn for were available; water for themselves and their animals, schools and clinics for their children and avenues to trade their goods. The Afghans are no different in that regard.

It was, in effect, "nation building" long before the phrase came into vogue. It required a firm commitment by both Great Britain and the government of Oman to stay the course through a

*(left) Insurgents in Oman were well-supplied with the latest in Soviet weapons such as this Katyusha 122mm rocket. They could not, however, compete with civil development that undermined their popular support. (below) An SAS patrol returns from the Omani Jebel after engaging Adoo rebels with their Firqat militiamen. Note Brit L1s and FN-Mag in .308 NATO.*



series of reversals, casualties and slow progress.

To implement this broad strategy, several key steps were implemented.

1) A public information mechanism (Radio Oman) was set up to counter the sophisticated propaganda of the insurgents. It was insisted upon that it must always tell the truth. Emphasis was on civil-development projects underway or planned. Cheap radios were sold to the people at cost in the market, as the insurgents confiscated sets that were given away for free. First the people heard what was going to be done, and then they saw it with their own eyes. Credibility became the key operational phrase.

2) Military action was geared to protect and enable civil development teams and establish the government's presence in rebel areas, demonstrating that the enemy was not invulnerable. Emphasis was placed on turning the enemy, not killing him. Those insurgents who turned themselves in were treated with respect and convinced, not coerced, into swear-



ing over to the government side. Those who stayed in the field under arms were opposed by a mixture of conventional forces and irregular militias backed by British led air support, training and logistics.

In light of the "Convince not coerce" method of operations, heavy support fires were also carefully dealt with. Harassment and interdiction fires were halted and air support, flown by British pilots, was limited to small, low-level tactical aircraft in the form of

*Strikemasters of the Omani Air Force provided close-air support for BATT and Firqat OPS. Flown by British pilots "on loan" from the UK, they stayed low, delivered accurately and prevented embarrassing incidents involving civilians.*

## Will The **UNLEARNED LESSONS** of Vietnam Haunt Us In **Afghanistan?**

"Ominous and far reaching is the cavalier disregard of U.S. commanders for the dictates of the pacification program, in their headlong rush to "Kill VC," still touted as the objective." So the haunting words of an after-action report reach out across time from Vietnam, 1969. The author of those words, Province Senior Advisor, Colonel Carl F. Bernard, was writing his exiting remarks for William Colby, after two full years in the war zone of central Vietnam. Colby immediately snatched back every copy Bernard had forwarded to others in his circle, in effect, classifying the report.

There are mountains of after-action reports that came out of Vietnam. What makes Col. Bernard's worthy of note was his position as the Senior Province Advisor in Hau Nghia, home to the infamous "Tunnels of Cu Chi" and a particularly hardened battalion of main force Viet Cong. (This was Bernard's third slot as a SPA, serving beforehand in Cau Duc and Vinh Binh). Tasked with implementing a "pacification program" geared towards turning the local people to and keeping them on the government side, he often found that his own army was more of a problem than the VC. "The U.S. Air Force and the 9th Division was the best recruiting tool the VC had," Bernard remembers today from his home in Alexandria, Va. Leafing through a box of faded reports and letters he forwarded to colleagues from the field, his memory goes back to the dark days of 1969 when the U.S. effort was entering its downward spiral. "At the end of the day, there were more Vietnamese against us than for us. It was a long road getting there, but we made it sure enough."

It is an interesting journal of unpublished and nearly forgotten incidents, all of which contain the critical lessons learned from that failed war. Villages shelled deliberately or by accident, resulting in lives and property lost. Drunken troops from the 9th grenading a Vietnamese family dog and then smashing down their house with an APC. A local Vietnamese security director, working for a U.S. firm, imprisoned under harsh conditions by the 9th Division commander

for 133 days as a VC. Phoenix Program operatives killing villagers instead of the communist cadre they were targeting.

More alarming even was report after report detailing the neglect and mismanagement of the local Cieu Hoi (a surrender-and-turn program) detention center. In a place where local VC were supposed to be convinced to join the government side, it was found that they were instead treated to substandard health and sanitary conditions as well as periodic beatings. The collection goes on and on with details of this type of "Hearts and Minds" campaign.

"The tools of the U.S. overwhelmingly are military-bombs, artillery and infantry battalions. This basic failure in the U.S. perception of the war has insured that the enemy becomes stronger each year despite heroic lists of KIA, weapons captured and VC eliminated," Bernard's AAR to Colby notes. Sitting in his basement library, Bernard puts his finger squarely on where the U.S. went wrong. "These are ways to control ground, while the VC were using the tools to control people, i.e. persuasion, propaganda, and targeted terror. In the end, it was our failure to win over people that sounded our final defeat, regardless of how many soldiers we sent in or how many shells we fired."

This pattern seems to be appearing again in Afghanistan. "We're not killing them fast enough," was a recent comment by Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld, reported in the *Washington Post*, as he announced plans to streamline and increase the tempo of Special Operations actions against the al-Qaeda network.

But what of the actions of Civil Affairs units whose task is to make lasting friends in the very country that served as host to our enemy? While their effort receives a paltry \$7 million to operate on, high-tech weapons projects of dubious utility take the lion's share of the budget. At the same time, they must contend with the political fallout that results from errant bombs and house-to-house searches. These factors are at the heart of nation-building and it requires a commitment

Strikemasters. Use of airpower was several options down the list, as opposed to the first. Thus, embarrassing setbacks, such as the bombing of civilians, were largely avoided.

In addition to this, local militias (the Firqats) from the various tribes were raised, trained and equipped by the SAS who also insisted on proper pay for them. At the same time, the regular army, or Sultan's Armed Forces (SAF), were strengthened to provide conventional muscle. Commanded largely by British Army officers on loan (known as "contract" officers), they evolved into a well-disciplined force capable of taking and holding ground by conventional action, thus providing bases for the Firqats and SAS to operate out of.

The Firqats, in turn, ranged out to engage the enemy on his own turf in his own style of fighting. More importantly, however, was the ability of the Firqats to mix with the villagers and conduct confidence building measures such as provision of medical care by providing escort for SAS medical teams.

While the threat of Firqat leaders evolving into hardened warlords was present, after the cessation of hostilities their

power gradually dwindled. This was a result of both military and civil decisions. Firstly, the SAF continued its development as a professional force with a pay/rewards structure that outweighed the influence of local chieftains. Second, through CAD development, the people became more and more dependant on and beholden to government development measures.

While Afghan warlords are not going to be such an easy task to marginalize, over time, as more and more services come out of a proper central government, their power will age and fade. The warlord problem is perhaps the greatest challenge facing the new Afghan government and must be handled very delicately, utilizing similar methods to convince them that loyalty to a stable government is in their best interest for long-term survival and the well being of their tribes.

3) The third and key phase to the overall campaign was the introduction of Civil Aid Department teams (CAD) following closely in the wake of the military. Created as a

*Continued on page 80*

and wisdom we must be able to undertake.

The sad fact is that we will never be able to "kill terrorists" as fast as Wahabist schools, the slums of Islamabad, bombed-out Pashtun villages and over-zealous Special-Operations warriors produce them. Like a scene from *Night of the Living Dead* they will keep coming unless something is done to convince those they live amongst that the grass is greener on our side of the fence.

As Robert Kaplan, in his work *Warrior Politics*, points out, "I saw first hand the creation of warriors at Islamic schools in Pakistani slums ... the birth of a warrior class as cruel as ever and better armed. Like Achilles and the ancient Greeks harassing Troy, the thrill of violence substitutes for the joys of domesticity and feasting." While he cautions that our soldiers will have to match their brutality at close-quarters on occasion, he also cautions against matching violence with violence for the sake of it and points to a state of responsible power projection. "Even in a lawless society, too extreme a response may be perceived as wanton violence. In any age, a reputation for power must be balanced by one for mercy." The best expression of such a state of responsible power is through civil affairs and development. Without that delicate balance between power and restraint, enemies will multiply faster than violence can dispense with them.

Already, storm clouds of disaster, Mogadishu-style, may be gathering. In the 14 August edition of Britain's *Independent*, Robert Fisk writes, "The U.S. special forces boys barged into the Kandahar guest house as if they belonged to an army of occupation. They wanted to know if a man called Hazrat was staying at the guest house. They didn't say why. The concierge had never heard the name. The five men left, unsmiling, driving at speed back on to the main road. "Why did they talk to me like that?" the concierge asked me. "Who do they think they are?" It was best not to reply.

"The Afghan people will wait a little longer for all the help they have been promised," the local district officer in Maiwind muttered to me a few hours later. "We believe the Americans want to help us. They promised us help. They have a little longer to prove they mean this. After that ... ." He didn't need to say more. Out at Maiwind, in the oven-like grey desert west of Kandahar, the Americans do raids, not aid."

Fisk continues, "As a British NGO worker put it with dev-

astating frankness in Kandahar: "When there is a backlash against the Americans, we want a clear definition between us and them." You hear that phrase all the time in Afghanistan. "When the backlash comes ... ." It is already coming. The Americans are being attacked almost every night. American troops can no longer dine out in Kandahar's cafes."

Fisk went on to detail how NGOs with long track records in Afghanistan have begun to avoid U.S. forces like the plague. "I have banned all coalition forces from my compound and will not meet with them in public," he quotes the Western director of a multi-million dollar aid operation in country. "They simply have no idea how to deal with the social, cultural, political complex of life here. They are really not interested. They just want to fight a 'war on terror.' I don't think they care." He knows, as do his staff, how angry Afghans are becoming at the growing U.S. presence in their country."

"Now guerrilla attacks are increasingly targeting Afghan forces loyal to the government or loyal to local drug-dealers who are friendly with the Americans. Just as the first mujahedin assaults on the Russians after the 1980 Soviet invasion tended to focus on Moscow's local Afghan communist allies, so the new attacks are being directed at America's Afghan allies." It must be noted that Fisk is no stranger to conflict zones or Afghanistan. His ominous report does not bode well for our future in a country where we ourselves helped arm, train and radicalize an insurgency force that brought the Soviet Union to its knees.

As Brigadier Jeapes noted in Oman, it is best to tackle the soft targets first, stabilize those areas and save the tough nuts for a time when the majority of the people are friendly to you. For us, that means make lasting friends in areas where this is possible now and worry about killing the elusive al-Qaeda later, lest there arise more of them than originally existed. The Pashtun areas of southern Afghanistan on the Pakistani border are always going to simmer with anti-Americanism. It does not, however, have to boil over if we tread lightly in this region. This will simply have to be tolerated until new frames of mind evolve. In this case that would seem to be a wise choice considering our track record as excellent recruiters for insurgent forces. Let us hope that the "Walk Softly" phase of "Big Stick" endeavors has arrived.

— J.B.

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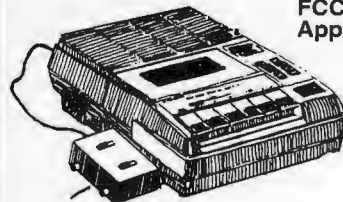
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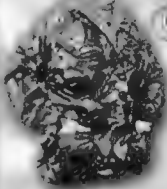
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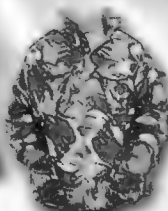
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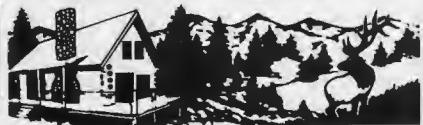
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# Afghanistan In Hindsight

## Rakkasan Lessons Learned

BY A 187TH INFANTRY REGIMENT SENIOR NCO  
AS TOLD TO LT. MIKE SPARKS

I would like to pass on a few things learned during our recent deployment. It won't be in a specific order so bare with me.

I guess the biggest lesson I learned is nothing changes from how you train at JRTC [Joint Readiness Training Center, Fort Polk, La.]. We all try to invent new dilemmas because it's a real deployment but we end up outsmarting ourselves. Go with what you know; stick with how you train.

Some of the things in particular were the soldier's load. Because you're in the mountains of Afghanistan you try to invent new packing lists, or new uniforms. Some units went in with Gore-tex and polypro only. When the weather got bad they were the only ones to have cold-weather injuries that needed to be evaced. We've all figured out how to stay warm during the winter so don't change your uniforms. It was never as cold as I've seen it here [Ft. Campbell, KY] or Ft. Bragg during the winter.

Because of the high altitudes and rough terrain we all should have been combat-light.

That's the first thing you learn at JRTC. You can't fight with a ruck on your back.

We packed to stay warm at night, which was a mistake; you take only enough to survive until the sun comes up.

We had extreme difficulty moving with all our weight. If our movement would have been to relieve a unit in contact or a time-sensitive mission, we would not have been able to move in a timely manner. It took us eight hours to move 5 klicks.

With just the Interceptor hard-body armor vest and lbv [Enhanced Tactical Load-Bearing Vest, or the MOLLE vest], we were easily carrying 80 lbs. Throw on the ruck and you're sucking.

We outsmarted ourselves on how much water to carry. We took in over 12 quarts per man on our initial insertion, which greatly increased our weight. In the old days you did a three-day mission with 6 quarts of water, and that was on Ft. Campbell in the summer. Granted, we were all heat-exhaustion [casualties] at the end but it's more than do-able. I say go in with 6 quarts. If your re-supply is working then drink as much as possible keeping the 6 quarts in case re-supply gets weathered-out.

We also tasked our helicopter-support to bring in unneeded re-supply because we've lost a lot of our needed fieldcraft.

We didn't even think to take iodine tablets [to purify water from melted snow etc.] until after we got on the ground.

If you're in a good fight you're going to need all your birds for medevac and ammo re-supply.

Bottom line is we have to train at the right soldier's load, [and] relearn how to conserve water.

How many batteries does it take to sustain for three days, etc.? Take what you need to survive through the night and then wear the same stuff again.

The next day, you can only wear so much snivel gear. It doesn't do any good to carry enough to have a different wardrobe [set of BDUs] every day. Have the bn invest in Gore-tex socks, and smart wool socks; our battalion directed everyone to wear Gore-tex boots [Intermediate Cold Weather Boots] during the mission. You can imagine how painful that was. I gave up my boots to a new soldier who didn't have any so I wore jungle boots, Gore-tex socks and a pair of smart wool socks and my feet never got wet or cold, even in the snow.

You need two pairs [of boots] so you can dry them out every day.

All personnel involved hated the lbv; [load-bearing vest] it's so constricting when you wear it with the vest. Then when you put a ruck on, it cuts off even or, circulation.

I would also recommend wearing the body armor during all training. I doubt if we'll ever fight without it again. But it significantly affects everything that you do.

Equipment-wise, our greatest shortcomings were optics and organic, or direct-support long-range weapons. After the initial fight all our targets were at a minimum of 1,500 meters. All the way out to as far as you could see our 60[mm]s and 81[mm]s accounted for most of the kills. Next was a Canadian Sniper team with a MacMillian .50 cal. [sniper rifle]. They got kills all the way out to 2,500 meters!

The problem with our mortars was there was a 24-hour [close-air-support] cap. And they wouldn't fly near us if we were firing indirect even though our max ord [how high mortar rounds arc into the sky] was far beneath their patterns. Something for you and your ALO [Air Liaison Officer] to work out. The other problem was the Air Force could never hit small groups of personnel. I watched and called corrections on numerous sorties and they could never hit the targets. My verdict is if you want it killed, use your mortars. Pay close attention to the direction of attack your ALO is bringing in ... Every time it was perpendicular to us, we were hit with shrapnel. Not to mention the time they dropped 2,000-lbs. [bomb] in the middle of our company. It didn't go off by a sheer miracle, I'm sure. [Marine] Cobras and 2.75-

inchers [rockets] shot at us. Also, once again, they were shooting perpendicular to our trace. Aviation provided the most near-misses of all the things we did.

I recommend all SLs [squad leaders] and PUS [platoon sergeants] carry binoculars with the mils reticle. Countless times TLs [team leaders] and SLs had the opportunity to call in mortars. More importantly is leaders knowing how to do it. Our bn has checked all the blocks as far as that goes. Guess what? They still couldn't do it, especially the PUS. Contrary to popular belief it's not the PL [Platoon leader] who's going to call it in; it's the soldier in the position who will. If you don't have the binos, guess what? You have to wait for somebody to run to the M240 [Medium Machine Gun] position to go get them. Also, same goes with not knowing how to do it. You have to wait for the FO [artillery or mortar forward observer] to move to that position.

Pluggie [AN/PSN-11 Global Positioning System] battle drill is the way to go, even with the civilian models [signals are unscrambled now, thanks to President Clinton]; the contour interval on the maps is outrageous so terrain association was difficult. Range Estimation was probably the most important or critical thing you do. If you close on your estimation you'll get the target. We all carried in two mortar rounds apiece and that was more than enough. We took [a] mix of everything; the only thing we used was WP [White Phosphorous] and the HE [High Explosive]. All together we took in at least 120 rounds as a company.

#### Lots Of Lessons Learned On Air Assaults

It was always "seats-out" due to the limited number of aircraft and the number of personnel we had to get in. That



Reuters/POU/Warren Zine/Army Times

*Soldiers from Alpha Company of the 2nd Battalion, 187th Infantry Regiment, 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault) launch an 81mm mortar on an enemy position 5 March, 2002 in Afghanistan.*



AFF PHOTO/Stephen Coates

*U.S. 101st Airborne Division soldiers return to Bagram Air Base 10 March 2002 from the battlefield in the eastern Afghan mountains after facing heavier than expected resistance from al-Qaeda and Taliban fighters. Some 400 troops including soldiers from the 10th Mountain Division were pulled out of the battle following more than a week of fighting in which eight U.S. soldiers were killed.*

presents a few problems. Off-loading a CH-47 on a hot LZ [landing zone] packed to the gills is an extremely slow process (2-3 minutes). Landing was the most dangerous part while we were there just because of the conditions and terrain. If you crash without seats and seatbelts you're going to have a lot of broken bones. If possible, maybe you could send in the first few lifts with "seats-in;" that will get the helo off the LZ much quicker than following aircraft "seats-out." Food for thought

Just like Vietnam, the pilots were courageous and will do all and even more of what you ask of them. However, re-supply was a big difficulty. Problem was they never put the right package at the right place and you know what that means, especially when it's 120mm mortar rounds that fell into a deep ravine. Fix was put a LNO [liaison officer] on the bird with grids frequencies and call signs. Our S-4 had a group of supply sergeants that would accompany the re-supplies. Also, as the S-3 push the birds down to the company freqs. That killed us the whole time. Bn would never push the birds down to us so they were always landing in the wrong place or dropping off re-supply in the wrong place. Same with AH-64s [Apache Attack helicopter gunships]. We always say give them to the user but we never do it. We always had to relay thru the S-3 to give corrections.

Flying was by far the most dangerous thing we did while we were there.

The environment was extremely harsh. The cold wasn't

*Continued on page 79*

# Vindication!

For *Soldier Of Fortune*, and Capt. Dana Drenkowski

BY SOF STAFF

PHOTOS COURTESY DANA DRENKOWSKI



**V**indication is a tough word, but entirely appropriate here.

For a quarter-century, this magazine has stood by one of its authors, a fine former officer from the United States Air Force. Dana Drenkowski was a participant in one of the most controversial air operations during the Vietnam War. Now, thanks to a new book just published, both Drenkowski and *SOF* are not only vindicated after these years, but it is now shown that SAC general officers lied to cover up tactical problems that were costing American pilot's lives, destroyed a fine young officer's military career, and then later destroyed his civilian writing career, by personally discrediting him.

That book is *The Eleven Days of Christmas*, by Marshall Michel, a noted commentator on aviation strategy and tactics from the Vietnam War.

During Linebacker II, the final and decisive bombing of North Vietnam in late 1972 using B-52 bombers as the primary strike force in raids against targets in and around the Hanoi-Red River Valley region of North Vietnam, tactics were badly conceived and poorly executed, the fault of senior officers in the Strategic Air Command (SAC). Numerous Air Force fighter plane units based in the northern areas of Thailand escorted the bombers to their targets and participated in bombing operations with smart bombs, their aircrews being witness to, and suffering losses from, those SAC tactics.

Captain Drenkowski, a 1968 Air Force Academy graduate, flew B-52s during an earlier tour in the Southeast Asia war, and during Linebacker II was a flight leader flying the legendary F-4 Phantom fighter plane in support of the same B-52s he had flown earlier. He also worked concurrently as a staff officer for one of the most crucial fighter wings in Southeast Asia, where he helped in the planning and coordination of fighter support for the B-52 operations. He was decorated a number of times for his bravery and extraordinary achievement in war. He was uniquely placed to observe and comment upon the tactics used, both in the planning and in the actual operations phases of the intense 11-day battle known as Linebacker II.

B-52s were ordered to fly in a long, straight line through the heaviest anti-aircraft gun and Surface-to-Air (SAM) missile defenses the world had ever seen, all provided by the Soviet Union. They attacked from the same direction, at the same altitudes, airspeeds and angles, ignoring the suggestions and complaints of the aircrews who had flown into those same air defenses for six months. Losses were unexpectedly heavy, while bombs went way off target (giving plenty of adverse publicity to an anti-American press, more than willing to believe that the United States would deliberately

*(above) In the neighborhood of two dozen B-52s — and nearly a dozen non-B-52s — were lost on Linebacker II. The total would have been much less had it not been for the flawed tactics exposed by Drenkowski.*

target civilians to terrorize them, while believing Communist and left-wing propaganda about Vietnam's "humanitarian principles" in that war).

The two general officers primarily responsible for the costly, inefficient tactics used during the first days of Operation Linebacker II were General John C. Meyer, the Commander of Strategic Air Command, and General Pete Sianis, in charge of planning missions at SAC. Both were based at SAC Headquarters in Omaha, Nebraska. Neither saw fit to communicate with the aircrews who were actually fighting on SAC's behalf in the combat zone. They were sadly reminiscent of the World War I general officers who launched hundreds of thousands of young men into the teeth of modern machine guns, while comfortably ensconced miles from the action in luxurious French villas.

The operations, though costly and ineffective in many ways, still helped force the North Vietnamese back to the peace table, and were believed to be instrumental in bringing about the end of American involvement in the war, with the return of U.S. POWs less than three months later.

### The Sequestered Truth

Author Michel, in *The Eleven Days of Christmas*, notes that SAC's own internal bombing accuracy study (in the form of an "after action" report) of the operation found appalling errors, which were presented in a briefing to 20 general officers from SAC. As Michel reports, "[s]hortly after that briefing was presented, all the copies were destroyed" [emphasis added]. When congressional staffers asked for the results of the study, an unnamed SAC staffer said, "we managed to muddle the issue so much that we never had to give an answer." A tactics analysis was also completed by SAC, which again pointed out the mistakes alleged later by Drenkowski, and this analysis as well disappeared, never to be seen again.

SAC-sponsored articles published in official Air Force magazines and later in the prestigious *Armed Forces Journal* extolled SAC's planning and the execution of Linebacker II, while it covered its errors even from Congressional review, from 1972 through 1977. According to Michel's book, Admiral Thomas Moorer, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs during the Linebacker II raids, proudly displayed to the Senate Armed Services Committee photos of Gia Lam airport which was blown out of operation during the raids, plus one badly damaged fabrication plant. Gia Lam was actually on the restricted list because it was allegedly an international civilian airport. What he did not tell the impressed senators and staffs was that neither the airport nor the fabrication plant was targeted — the airport had been hit by a rogue aircrew tired of bombing restrictions, and the other was hit by mistake. His briefing was, of course, prepared by SAC, and promoted the idea that SAC's staff from Omaha had done a wonderful job in planning and executing the operation.

Thus, SAC was successfully covering up one of the most incredibly poor tactical operations in its

history ... until Dana Drenkowski and SOF blew the lid off in his articles published in the September and November 1977 issues of *SOF*, and in an article published in the July 1977 issue of *Armed Forces Journal*.

Drenkowski and others dutifully flew those missions in spite of the poor tactics. The tactics were later changed during the latter stages of the operation, due to unacceptably high losses. But there was concern that SAC was still too hidebound to adjust rapidly to new circumstances. There was fear that a new operation was in the works a month or two later, when it seemed as if Hanoi was delaying the release of prisoners. Drenkowski was asked to raise the issue of tactics with SAC general officers on behalf of himself and several commanders in the Tactical Air Forces (the fighter forces in Vietnam were under Pacific Air Command, but all considered themselves to be Tactical Air Command fighter command officers), hoping to change those strategies and tactics for future air operations.

His Air Force career was ruined as a result. His Officer Efficiency Rating report for the period of the Linebacker raids was recalled, then illegally altered and downgraded — the kiss of death to a career officer. A recommendation for the Silver Star for his heroism during the Linebacker raids was reduced to a lesser medal. A prestigious award for superior airmanship in saving a flight of three F-4s on takeoff was

mysteriously lost. He was transferred from a prestigious flying assignment, which was initially given in recognition of his flying skills and long combat experience. However, his issues and suggestions for better tactics were later proven right. He was forced out of the Air Force by a permanent promotion passover (one of the first times this method was used to get rid of a Regular Academy officer), and later he became familiar with

**This was an incredible injustice to a man with the courage to tell the truth, done deliberately to protect the reputations of certain general officers, who could have retired with their pensions intact regardless of their errors.**



*Drenkowski, left, with Capt. Tony Marshall at Udorn, shortly after Marshall returned from a POW camp. Drenkowski flew more than 200 combat missions in Southeast Asia and was awarded a chestful of medals, including two Distinguished Flying Crosses and a recommendation for a Silver Star — but the flow of medals, and even his flight status, were trashed when he attempted to question SAC's bad planning.*

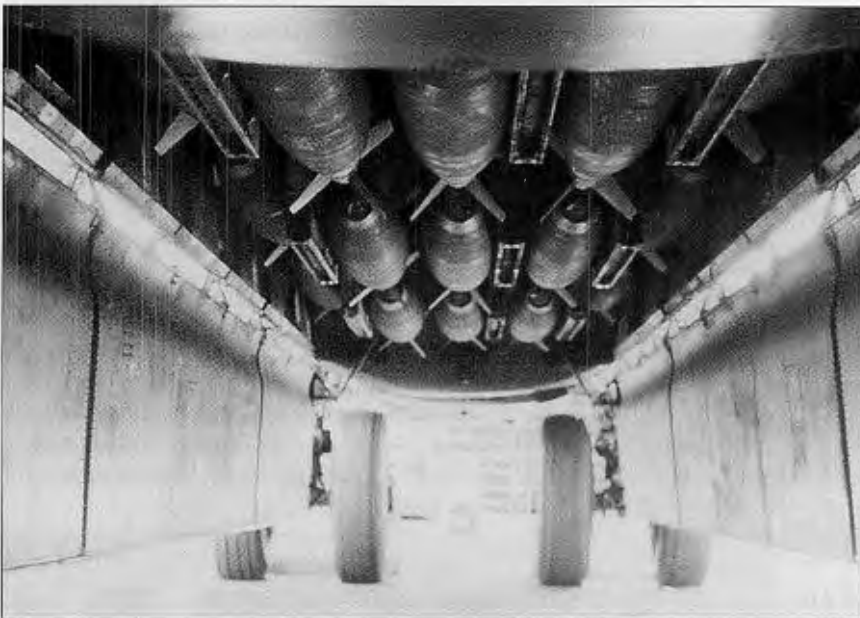
SOF's owner-editor, Robert K. Brown. Brown recommended that he write about his experiences and about the tactics used, with an eye towards correcting the errors that SAC created, for future improvement.

Drenkowski wrote the article, which received national publicity, especially when SAC denied such tactics — and the attendant losses caused by those tactics. Drenkowski had begun a new career as a writer and strategist/tactician at the time his articles came out. He intended to offer new solutions and tactics in aerial warfare to the general public. He wanted to open debate in the Air Force on the same subjects, hoping to see a comprehensive strategy and tactical doctrine replace the faulty SAC model, which was based on pre-World War II writings.

Instead, SAC began an intense campaign in the national press to denigrate Drenkowski's character personally, evading the issues he placed into national debate.

### Shooting The Messenger

As Michel reports, "The Air Force Staff, with help from the SAC staff, moved quickly to destroy [Drenkowski's] credibility." Michel found that "numerous senior officers,



*Aft portion of a B-52 bomb bay, loaded with 750-pound bombs. Originally designed to deliver massive atomic ordnance, the B-52 has been successfully adapted to deliver new families of pinpoint ordnance.*

including Admiral [Thomas] Moorer [Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff during Linebacker II in 1972], carried out *ad hominem* attacks on Drenkowski, and the former Eighth Air Force Commander, General Gerald Johnson, suggested he was mentally ill." This last was interesting, in light of the fact that Drenkowski had earned a Master's Degree in Counseling Psychology in his spare time while in the Air Force. Drenkowski never returned the personal attacks in kind, though he could have easily pointed out the pathology of certain SAC generals' individual responses to questions about their abilities.

The personal attacks against Drenkowski by SAC generals and the Air Force continued. The national press, at first interested in the questions about how the Air Force fought the nation's battles, now displayed more interest in the personal attacks than in the tactics themselves. Adding to Drenkowski's woes was the fact that the Air Force convinced

the editor of *Armed Forces Journal* to print the equivalent of a retraction, apologizing in print for "not checking Drenkowski's story out," according to Michel.

The Air Force was also allowed to print an anonymous, grossly misleading "official response" in the next issue of *Armed Forces Journal*, which denied such tactics were used or that aircrews and observers were ignored in continued operations. This was the hammer used to nail Drenkowski's credibility coffin shut.

*Soldier Of Fortune Magazine* knew Drenkowski, knew his evidence, and made its decision to stand by him — fully understanding that when it came to embarrassment, SAC general officers would go to any end to avoid the truth. Drenkowski not only had maps and documents confirming his contentions, but also had the recordings of all of the "Iron Hand" anti-SAM mission tape-recordings for each of the nightly Linebacker II raids, which were accidentally not classified. He was given the interviews, which he tape recorded, and the tapes of the missions and maps, under promises of confidentiality, to protect the lives and careers of the officers still in the Air Force. He also personally

interviewed one of the men taking responsibility for some of the planning, and kept his promise not to reveal that general officer's name. He never violated those confidences, although they would have supported his contentions to the utmost. Those officers that Drenkowski protected with his silence continued their Air Force careers and eventually retired, while Drenkowski's reputation was destroyed and his new civilian career also ruined by SAC.

The editor of *Armed Forces Journal*, after he published the misleading/untrue SAC official response, was inundated with classified messages from other officers who were incensed by the SAC cover-up. He then "realized that he had been duped" by the Air Force and SAC, according to the Michel book. He said later to author Michel that the Air Force response was "at best disingenuous and probably dishonest."

That same *Armed Forces Journal* editor went to an unnamed Air Force general "at the highest level," according to Michel, and demanded to know what was true.

"The general admitted that the messages [confirming Drenkowski's contentions] were correct and the Air Force response [just printed in *AFJ*] to the article was "inaccurate!"

The *Armed Forces Journal* editor was convinced not to publish the truth [for reasons which are best left to him to explain] and according to Michel, called that decision the "biggest mistake he made as the editor of *Armed Forces Journal*."

SOF did not know of the two internal analyses/briefings, which were highly critical of SAC's own tactics, as well as its claims of bombing accuracy. It is noted that when Drenkowski's articles came out, as Michel reports now, at least 20 SAC general officers were fully aware of both the truth of Drenkowski's contentions, through those briefings and bombing analyses, as well as the falsity of the attacks on him. It is to their eternal discredit that of those 20 generals, supposedly the very epitome of veracity, integrity and honesty in the United States Air Force, setting the example for



*A B-52D, capable of carrying 108 500-pound and 750-pound bombs, sits behind revetments in U-Tapao. B-52 crewmembers reported to Drenkowski that one row of nine revetments held BUFs too heavily damaged by enemy fire to fly again.*

all other airman, *not one* stepped forward to stop the attacks in 1977, and not one has said anything since that date. Their names were not listed in the Michel book, but one may assume that there were many SAC generals and star officers in other units/services who knew what SAC had done, that SAC's planning from Headquarters in Omaha, Nebraska caused disaster throughout the operation, and that Drenkowski's articles were true in virtually every aspect, while the SAC official version was false and/or misleading. Certainly, those 20 who saw the bombing analysis, created a short time after the raids, knew beyond any doubt that what SAC was telling the press, public and even Congress was a lie when it came to discussions of accuracy and targets struck.

Among those who refused to speak out when Drenkowski's Air Force career was canned and when he was later attacked in his civilian career, and whose positions within SAC and the DoD would have made it virtually impossible for them not to have been familiar with the specifics of the situation, include: General Pete Sianis, General John C. Meyer, probably Admiral Thomas Moorer, General Gerald Johnson, General Glenn Martin (Vice Chief of SAC during the raids and follow-on reports), Brigadier General James R. McCarthy (who was commander of SAC bombers on Guam and who forwarded a report of his own unit's analysis on SAC errors — which has also gone among the missing — and who later wrote what is now considered a flawed book acclaiming SAC staff success), among others. There is no evidence that each saw the two SAC reports or the report generated by Brigadier General MacCarthy, but it would be nearly impossible for those mentioned not to have seen the reports, given their positions within SAC and the Defense Department. *We challenge any so named to contact us and explain why they did not provide true accounts when Drenkowski was systematically destroyed by the Air Force's official account, now known to be untrue or deliberately misleading. SOF will be glad to provide them a forum for that explanation.*

This was an incredible injustice to a man with the courage to tell the truth, done deliberately to protect the reputations of certain general officers, who could have retired with their

pensions intact regardless of their errors. Instead, those who told the truth were punished and the wrongdoers continued. Their actions and inactions regarding this subject kept tactics and strategies from being corrected for years, possibly at the cost of human lives and certainly at the risk to U.S. security interests around the world.

SOF has no such problems with its conscience, having stood by what it knew to be the truth for the past 25 years.

#### **A Sacrifice That Paid Off**

But Drenkowski's articles started the ball rolling. Within the Air Force, there were enough junior officers who had seen what really happened, and who knew something was very wrong with the way the Air Force went to war. Many read Drenkowski's articles and wanted to improve the flawed tactics he had exposed. Within a decade, new theories of strategy were presented, debated and adopted. But the "official" versions of Linebacker II as provided by SAC remained the mantra for SAC throughout the changes in the '70s and '80s. The new up-and-coming officers realized that SAC was too hidebound to be changed. SAC therefore was eventually disbanded — formerly the largest portion of the Air Force and the "budget hog" for decades of that service's existence — and its bombers incorporated into a new Air Combat Command, combined with the old Tactical Air Command. But all knew that SAC had lost the battle and the new command was composed of the "fighter mafia" of the Air Force, not the SAC generals.

The aerial operations in the Gulf War, in Kosovo, and again in Afghanistan are evidence of those new and highly effective strategies.

SOF has long recognized Drenkowski as a completely credible officer, keeping him as its Aviation Editor for these 25 years. Drenkowski and SOF have now been vindicated by this late release of the uncensored facts. SOF is always ready to stand by the truth, no matter how embarrassing to certain senior officials. It is sad that it has taken this long for the truth to be confirmed, that some 20 general officers lied about or refused to speak out in order to cover their asses, while a courageous junior officer was sent down the tubes for telling the truth.

If we are fortunate, there will always be a Dana Drenkowski willing to accept personal sacrifice for the sake of the truth. If there is, the truth will always out.

Traitorous politicians and self-serving brass-hats, take note. ☒



# SOF PROVING ground

## I.O.R. Valdada

### SOF Field Tests Tactical Optics From Romania

BY DAVID M. FORTIER • PHOTOS BY EMILY K. NICKERSON

For serious riflemen, few things are as important as quality optics. For the past couple of years now I've been using different scopes and binoculars manufactured by I.O.R. of Bucharest, Romania. Although a relative newcomer to the U.S. market, I.O.R. (Industry Optic Romania) has been steadily making inroads among serious shooters here — solely through the quality of their product. SOF has been impressed enough that we decided to field test two of their tactical scopes and one of their binoculars. For

testing we chose their 2.5-10x42 Tactical and their brand-new 6-24x50 Tactical, and their 10x40 binocular.

Born in 1936 in the southeastern part of Romania, Industry Optic Romania was the creation of three prominent European corporations: Malaxa-Carp, Optique De Le Vollois, and Bernard-Turnne. These three companies begot what was to become one of the largest producers of military optics in the world.

After WWII, I.O.R. found itself trapped in the Soviet sphere of influence, but they maintained their close ties with certain German companies and in 1967 started to expand their collaboration with the giant German manufacturers of Pentacon, Fog-Gorlitz and Schneider, and they continued to produce military optics as they had previously. In 1975 an increased level of collaboration with Carl Zeiss, Hensoldt, Leitz, and Leica began.

#### Guided To The Leading Edge

This is of particular interest to us, as these highly respected German optics manufacturers took a keen interest in I.O.R. Carl Zeiss in particular played a key role in modernizing I.O.R. with the latest equipment and techniques. A second plant was opened, and by 1978 I.O.R. had become one of the globe's largest suppliers of military optics. In 1989, I.O.R. entered the fields of opto-electronics and thermovision.

But an old name and a European address do not guarantee quality optics. What we wanted to know, was how good their optics are today and, more importantly, how they stack up against the competition — both quality of their optics, and their mechanical components.



*With only one shot and no Second Place, you need equipment you can count on. For the serious rifleman quality optics are a must.*

Both Tactical scopes feature a 30mm tube diameter and a single-piece, milled body of 6061-T6 MilSpec alloy. The lenses are made in Romania from optical glass produced in Schott, Germany. Schott glass is widely regarded as the finest optical glass in the world. The lenses are coated with the Carl Zeiss T-3 system, comprising fully multi-coated lenses with anti-reflex treatment to eliminate glare and maximize light transmission. Another impressive feature is that the reticle is either engraved or photo-engraved directly onto the glass, depending upon the reticle pattern — no wire reticles to break here. This type of glass-manufacturing technology is crucial as far as the accuracy of tactical reticles intended for range-finding is concerned, as it allows the manufacturer to follow the mil and 1/2-mil reticle marks to virtually perfect tolerances. They also incorporate a Lock Support System on the reticle mechanism that requires no adjustment. Removing the elevation and windage caps reveals well-designed turrets that adjust easily by finger, with positive tactile and audible clicks. The top, raised edge of the turrets are knurled to give a good grip even with muddy or sweaty fingers. They are well marked with white numbers to easily keep track of adjustments.

The tubes are O-ring sealed, nitrogen filled, and waterproof, with a matte black finish. Designed to operate in any conditions from -50 F to +150 F, in high humidity and rain, they come with a full lifetime warranty. Both scopes are available with either a Mil-Dot or their own MP-8 reticle. The 2.5x10 is also available with the 7A (duplex).

The 2.5-10x42 Tactical has been the flagship of I.O.R.'s rifle-scope line, popular among serious professionals who, for obvious reasons, have no desire to go above 40-42mm on their objective lens size. It features more than 80 MOA of adjustment via 1/2-MOA clicks, more than enough movement to shoot beyond 1,000 meters with .308, with each full rotation of the turret giving 25 MOA of adjustment. The turrets are well marked and allow an operator to keep track of full turret rotations. The ocular features a European-style fast-focus diopter. Magnification runs from a wide 2.5x, which is excellent for those close shots at movers, to 10x that allows you to really



*I.O.R.'s 2.5-10x42 Tactical scope features superb optics, with optical glass from Schott, Germany and Zeiss lens-coatings. And, they're waterproof.*

reach out and touch someone. The scope comes with a lens shade, as do all I.O.R. tactical scopes, and an illuminated reticle is an option.

### Impressive Tests

I have used this particular model of scope extensively over the past year and have been impressed. Image is crystal-clear to the very edge. Resolution, brightness, and contrast are excellent. Color is quite neutral, and superb clarity accompanies the fantastic resolution and contrast. Not even Schmidt and Bender, at twice the price, can match this scope's image quality. But there is much more to a rifle scope than nice glass, so we mounted it on first a Remington 700 PSS and then a Steyr SBS Tactical. For ruggedness, the I.O.R. receives high marks, as due to its Eastern European heritage it's built tough. At the range we "boxed" the scope, and the adjustments were perfect, even putting a ruler on them. Shooting at 100, 300, and 600 yards the adjustments proved consistent and reliable. This particular scope saw a lot of use — several thousand rounds of .308 and .223 Match, one rifle school, and carrying in the field — yet it performed flawlessly. During low-light testing it proved extremely bright and bested a fixed-power Kahles 10x42 Tactical I compared it to for brightness and resolution. For operators not facing an opponent with NVDs, the optional illuminated reticle is a great feature that works well. This is a superb scope.

### I.O.R. Bucuresti 2.5-10x42 Tactical Rifle Scope

#### SPECIFICATIONS

<b>Magnification:</b>	2.5-10x
<b>Objective Size:</b>	42 mm
<b>Field of View (at 100 yds.):</b>	34ft-11.9ft
<b>Exit Pupil:</b>	16.8-4.2 mm
<b>Eye Relief:</b>	3.5 inches
<b>Dioptical Adjustment:</b>	-4 to +4 dpt.
<b>Reticle's Total Adjustment:</b>	83 Minutes of Angle
<b>Click Value:</b>	1/2 MOA
<b>Tube Diameter:</b>	30mm
<b>Length:</b>	13.75 inches
<b>Weight:</b>	17 oz
<b>Price:</b>	MP-8 \$699 MP-8 Illuminated \$750

#### 6-24x50 Tactical

<b>Magnification:</b>	6-24x
<b>Objective Size:</b>	50 mm
<b>Field of View (at 100 yds.):</b>	16.7-5.8ft.
<b>Exit Pupil:</b>	8.2-2.1mm
<b>Eye Relief:</b>	3 5/8 inches
<b>Dioptical Adjustments:</b>	-4 to +4 dpt.
<b>Reticle's Total Adjustment:</b>	50 Minutes of Angle
<b>Click Value:</b>	1/4 MOA
<b>Tube Diameter:</b>	30mm
<b>Length:</b>	16 inches
<b>Weight:</b>	27.5 oz
<b>Price:</b>	\$949

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Industry Optico Romania has been building military-grade optics since 1936. New to the United States, they offer a wide variety of tactical and hunting riflescopes, binoculars, rings, and bases. Shown from top to bottom, 10x40 binocular, 2.5-10x42 Tactical scope with Allison Tool Pathfinder Ballistic Chart mounted, 6-24x50 Tactical, Pocket Mil Rangefinder.

I.O.R.'s 6-24x50 Tactical is a brand-new addition to their line, and incorporates a lot of user feedback. Tough as a brick, this scope introduces three new features to the I.O.R. line: a side parallax adjustment knob, 1/2-MOA adjustments, and a completely new ocular design they claim offers a 25% wider FOV than any competitor. Having the parallax adjustment on the side of the mechanism block has the threefold effect of reducing weight, length, and size of the scope. It also allows an operator to easily adjust for parallax, not just focus, while observing his target through his scope. The 1/2-MOA adjustments will make most U.S. shooters happy, although for fieldwork I prefer 1/2-MOA clicks. The new ocular design of this scope is one of its best features. Extremely rugged, it does indeed offer a huge FOV. Optically, this scope is as good as the 2.5-10x42 in every way except color rendition. I noticed a slight hint of yellow, but it was minor and the image is crystal-clear to the very edge. Resolution, brightness, and contrast are excellent.

As this was a brand-new addition to their line, I did not get a chance to give it as much field time as the 2.5-10x42, but preliminary test results have been excellent. Eye-relief is generous at 3-5/8". Mounted on a Remington 700 PSS, adjustments proved consistent, precise, and repeatable. Total adjustment available is 50 MOA. This scope, like the 2.5-10x42, also easily passed being boxed. While it's a long scope at 16" and most

operators require neither a 50mm objective nor this much magnification, for those who do, this is an awesome scope. For operators who need this much magnification to visually identify a specific individual before making a shot, such as in a terrorist situation where a terrorist may have exchanged clothes with a hostage, this is a fantastic piece of glass with excellent low-light capabilities and a huge FOV.

Our final verdict is extremely positive. Since I.O.R. arrived in the U.S. marketplace I have watched them go through rapid changes in their rifle-scope line to meet the needs of the U.S. shooter. Their 2.5-10x42 is an excellent scope that possesses handsome good looks, precise adjustments, and superb optics. Their new 6-24x50 is an impressive scope that clearly incorporates feedback from serious riflemen. For top-quality optics without the German sticker-shock I suggest taking a look at what I.O.R. has to offer. ☘

## CONTACT SHEET

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## Colombia, Part 2

Continued from page 25

August [2001],” FARC has not given up the intention to utilize mobile warfare when circumstances seem propitious.

To the contrary, the parameters of its present actions can more convincingly be read as the standard reactions of an operationally “Maoist” movement which has experienced a momentary setback in a mobile-warfare action. Hence it has set out to regroup while its terror and guerrilla actions, which have never paused, are not only continued but intensified to create breathing space.

That such rebuilding for yet another round of mobile warfare must occur stems from the “people’s war” approach being utilized. Facets of the whole, such as intensifying urban or political activity, do not detract from the approach but, rather, contribute to it.

Whatever its temporary setbacks, FARC remains convinced that, strategically and operationally, it has the initiative. Strategically, though it may have suffered irreparable damage to its reputation — internationally and nationally — no element of its combat power was dependent upon this variable. Operationally, its domination of rural space to isolate the urban areas continues apace, tactical setbacks notwithstanding.

Urban action will serve to facilitate this effort. As to the tactical arena, an intense battle is being waged in all areas between local operations of FARC and the responses conducted by the armed forces (mainly COLAR), police, and intelligence services. These FARC local actions consist of myriad organizational, logistical and fund-raising activities, and minor combat actions (such as assassinations and setting up roadblocks) carried out by small groups operating, it appears, autonomously.

Command and control (C&C) arrangements, between these local FARC manifestations and the more organized *Bloque/Front* structure, which incorporates the main force units, are unclear. Certainly enhancement of such C&C offers the potential for furthering precisely the strategic and operational designs outlined above.

Adding new weapons and tactics to the mix would strengthen such an effort. Already, in some respects, this is happening. Illustrations are the use of booby-trapped explosives, thus to decimate the limited corps of explosives specialists in the Colombian security forces, and the more imaginative uti-

lization of mines, both as to types and use-particulars.

Simultaneously, the enhanced local operations presently going on are being exploited to increase FARC recruiting among young people. Though FARC has been unable to break out of the youth stratum in its recruiting effort, Colombian demographics render this fact irrelevant. FARC's myriad local bodies have access to a virtually inexhaustible pool of marginalized youths, of both genders, and have utilized, to recruit them, all the methodologies we associate with urban youth gangs in the U.S.

While ideology, predictably, plays little if any role at this level of the conflict, the manpower of the main force units, has been subject to an intensified indoctrination regime.

FARC sees this recruiting, going hand-in-hand with the other operational elements outlined above, as the key to countering any altered approach by the state. To safeguard both its local activities and its access to resources, it has moved aggressively to counter inroads made by then independent, anti-guerrilla paramilitary groups, *autodefensas*. These, evidence indicates, are seen by FARC as the main threat to its plans — and even existence.

This is because only the so-called "paras" dominate human terrain and maintain long-term presence. Further, they destroy those inroads the insurgents are able to make within the population, their local-support structure.

The security forces understand that their inability to maintain presence is a critical weakness in any counterinsurgency scheme. Their present approach of dominating the mobility corridors and eliminating the base areas, while attacking FARC's drug-production facilities and fields directly, was their effort to compensate (see *SOF*, December 2001).

Though there is the expected resistance in some quarters of the security forces to "arming the people," there is general awareness that dramatically increasing the size of the security forces alone will not be sufficient for domination of human terrain. But if such reinforcement were augmented by a local-force structure, it could be expected to have such an effect. Ultimately, therefore, Colombian "people's war" will take the field and sweep FARC before it.

Dr. Tom Marks is a West Point grad and an authority on Colombia's worsening insurgency. ✕

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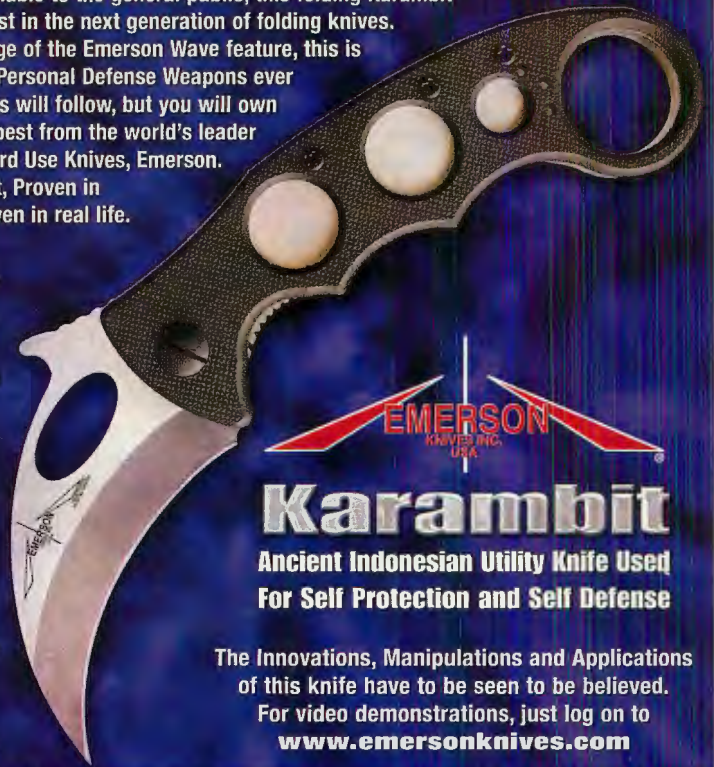
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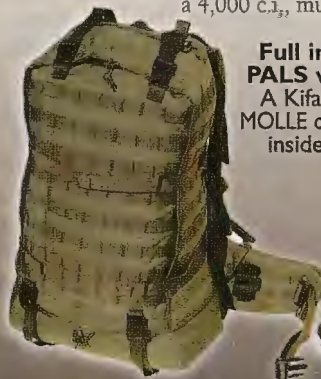
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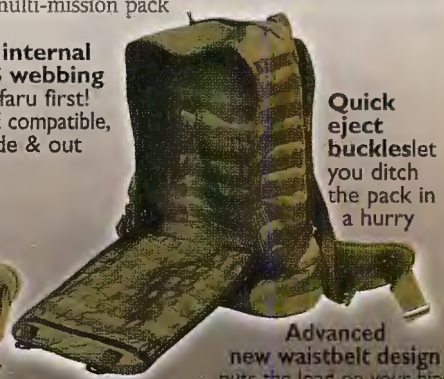
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**Command Guidance**

Continued from page 6

bers have a veto in the Security Council; the favored members include France but not Japan or India. For that matter, the permanent members are not so permanent, with the definition of China changing at the convenience of "world opinion."

Now, how many of these governments can claim the consent of their governed? In its latest annual exercise, Freedom House judged the state of freedom of 192 countries for 2001-2002. Of these 85, with some 41% of the world's population, were "free," enjoying political rights and civil liberties. Another 59, with 24% of the world's population, were "partly free," with significant but abridged rights — in particular one-party political sys-

53-member Commission on Human Rights. It was voted off last year by opposition from the tyrannies and perfidy by the Europeans. Other commission members include such paragons of human rights as Cuba, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Vietnam and Zimbabwe. The agenda concerns much mischief over Israel, as well as efforts to revoke consultative status of Freedom House.

- Consider: In President Bush's U.N. speech in September, he said the U.S. is willing to return to the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. It withdrew from UNESCO in 1985 after Congress sent its General Accounting Office to confirm that director Amadou Mahtar M'Bow had created a fiefdom without a trace of accountability, financial or otherwise.

**The United Nations is what you get when you have this melange send representatives, confine them in a hothouse on the East River, stir briskly, and tell them to go forth to solve the great issues of the world.**

tems. The remaining 48 countries, or 35% of the world's people, were "not free," with no consent of the governed or respect for the individual.

The United Nations is what you get when you have this melange send representatives, confine them in a hothouse on the East River, stir briskly, and tell them to go forth to solve the great issues of the world. In the political pushing and shoving, too, some nations follow Marquess of Queensbury rules and others do not. Left to its own devices, the cacophony produces a contorted consensus.

- Consider: While Freedom House counts 192 nations, the U.N. counts 191. The pariah is a nation rated free, indeed a nation of 23 million souls and the world's 17th largest economy. Namely, of course, Taiwan, which has been blocked from U.N. membership every year for 10 years now. China, rated not free, has managed to impose its view; its foreign minister proclaimed "all acts aimed at the independence of Taiwan are doomed to fail."

- Consider: Secretary-General Kofi Anann thought it was a great victory when Saddam Hussein offered to talk about letting U.N. inspectors back into Iraq on the same terms that didn't work the last time. The important thing is not whether or not the inspections succeed in curbing weapons of mass destruction, that is, but whether they come under U.N. auspices. President Bush tolled off all of the resolutions the U.N. Security Council passed in its better moments, resolutions that Saddam Hussein has systematically violated these last 10 years. The U.N. now faces "a difficult and defining moment," as the President put it, in progress toward its promise. If it fails, it has no reason in justice or morality to claim deference from a government that has for two centuries now pursued Jefferson's principles.

Mr. Bartley is editor of The Wall Street Journal. His column appears Mondays in the Journal and on OpinionJournal.com.

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- Consider: The United States has just been readmitted to the U.N.'s

## Gulf War, The Sequel

Continued from page 41

providing detailed target information to opposing forces can erode the element of surprise, and create new challenges to war planners. But SOF has been assured that Saddam is going to be in for a big surprise soon. He won't see waves of coalition aircraft coming at him. Instead, his radar screens will not see B-2 Stealth bombers penetrate Iraqi airspace and drop satellite-guided 2,000-pound bombs on his command and control centers, nor will he see F-117 Stealth fighters drop carbon filament cluster munitions that will short out his power grids. The first hint he has a problem will come when his radar screens fade to black, and the lights in Baghdad go out. Then it will be too late. The "Mother Of All Battles" will have begun.

When the balloon bursts in Baghdad, it will be almost impossible for Iraqi units in the north and south to respond to the crisis in the capital.

The Iraqi Army's 1st and 5th Corps have the Kurds breathing down their necks in northern Iraq, and they are looking for an excuse to take revenge for what Saddam has done to them over the years. The Northern Corps of the better-equipped Republican Guard is also garrisoned in that area, but its primary responsibility is to protect the outer reaches of Baghdad. Cut-off their ingress routes with U.S. airmobile units and they're dead meat.

The army's 2nd Corps is based in Deyala, northeast of Baghdad. This unit faces Iran and is staring at Shi'ite rebels who operate in the region.

The 3rd and 4th Corps are based southeast of Baghdad, and are facing U.S. forces in Kuwait. The Republican Guard's Southern Corps is also spread around this region. But if the Gulf War is any indicator, the 3rd and 4th Corps are going to be left holding the bag, again. The Republican Guard has a bad record of cutting and running at the first sign of trouble.

That leaves Baghdad which is protected by the three Republican Guard armored divisions, one at Al Taji, another in the southern suburbs, and a third division at Karbala on the western side of Baghdad. But it's hard to say how many troops would be available to defend a city that is about one-third the size of Los Angeles, some 170 square miles.

The number of troops and tanks that Iraq has may not matter if the United States adopts a strategy of bypassing

them, and driving straight to Baghdad.

GlobalSecurity's John Pike believes the numbers will also be academic if Saddam sucks U.S. forces into brutal house-by-house fighting like the Germans faced more than a half-century ago in the streets of Stalingrad. Pike sees no chance of Delta Force, Special Forces and U.S. Army Rangers hot-roping from assault helicopters into downtown Baghdad like they did in Mogadishu. Somali street-fighters shot down two Black Hawk helicopters with rocket-propelled grenades, a poor man's version of AAA.

Pike says Baghdad's anti-aircraft-artillery defenses have been beefed up since the opening night of Desert Storm to the point it would be suicidal to enter the city in a helicopter.

There would be such a "Triple-A" bubble over Baghdad, Pike assumes all the U.S. could do is declare a "No-Fly Zone" over Baghdad.

"But the wild card is when the 18th Airborne Corps gets to the west side of Baghdad, does the regime collapse, or do they have to take it one house at a time, and there you're not so much worried about Republican Guard armor as you are about four brigades of fanatics with RPGs and AK-47s," said Pike who thinks Saddam's strategy will be to force the United States into costly urban combat where the U.S. will be forced to accept extremely high casualties which the folks back home won't like, or inflicting very high casualties on Iraqi civilians which the rest of the world won't like.

General Fawzi sees no need to spill American blood in the streets of Baghdad. If Saddam Hussein acts like the rat he is, and goes underground when the first bombs hit Baghdad, Fawzi says Saddam will only command the bunker in which he's hiding.

Air Force Colonel John Warden, the officer who choreographed the air campaign against Iraq in 1991 agrees. "The first waves of strike aircraft are going to take out the communications network, essentially isolating Saddam Hussein," said Warden who now heads a consulting firm in Montgomery, Alabama.

"Once the U.S. declares it has installed a new government in Iraq, the civilian population of Baghdad, some 5.6 million people, will change sides very quickly, and so will the rest of Iraq," predicted Fawzi.

Clearly, the sand in Saddam Hussein's hourglass is down to a few grains.

Dale B. Cooper is a longtime contributor to SOF. ✕

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## The Green Berets At 50

Continued from page 34

entire 10 years. I would lay it on a Congress which pulled out U.S. troops, and then pulled the plug on supplies, dooming the South Vietnamese, who were actually doing pretty well on their own by then.

There is a tendency in those who want to log Vietnam as a defeat to look at it in a vacuum, but it did not exist in a vacuum. There were 16 Communist-sponsored, Soviet-inspired insurgencies going on at the same time, and most of them were successfully won, dissolved, or defused by guess who.

I once said to retired Lieutenant Colonel "Pappy" Shelton, the man whose team trained the Bolivian Rangers who got Che Guevara, that a triumph like that must have done wonders for his career. He laughed and said, "If it hadn't been my last assignment before retirement I never would have had the guts to do what I had to do to succeed at it."

### Desert One

Under Kennedy's sponsorship SF had grown to six active-duty Groups,

two reserve and two National Guard. After Vietnam this force was drastically reduced. The usual attempt to get rid of SF was made and, as usual, it failed. Then came Desert One.

When the Shah of Iran was overthrown, by the forces of the Ayatollah Khomeini in 1979, the U.S. Embassy in Tehran was seized and embassy personnel held hostage. When all diplomatic means failed the Defense Department proposed to get them out by commando raid. The raiders were Delta Force, but Delta had no organic transportation. The Pentagon decided to share the wealth; Air Force transports were to be used, and Marine helicopters. None of these people had worked together before, and they didn't have much time to prepare now.

The Air Force was to link the raiders with their Marine choppers in the desert. The choppers formed ice on a long over-water flight going in. Mechanical problems resulted and they wound up with one less flyable chopper than was needed to pull-off the mission. Colonel Charley Beckwith, the ground commander, decided to abort. On exfil, a Marine Sea Stallion helicopter collided with a USAF C-130. Eight men were killed.

The hostages, finally, were freed when President Carter departed and the Reagan administration came in.

### USSOCOM

The hero of this part of the story is Major General (Ret.) John K. Singlaub, who had destroyed his own career when he said publicly that Carter's decision to remove U.S. Forces from Korea would inevitably lead to a second Korean War. Congress saved the forces in Korea, but that and a couple of other attacks of "hoof-in-mouth" disease, had forced Singlaub's retirement.

Having studied both French and Japanese at UCLA and being a paratrooper he had joined the O.S.S. as a first lieutenant. In World War II he was a Jed, then went to China to train guerrillas. Most of his career was spent seconded to CIA.

In Korea he commanded the CIA headquarters that oversaw UNPIK. In Vietnam, he commanded SOG. From first lieutenant to major general he had scarcely, in his adult life, spoken to anyone who didn't have a Top Secret security clearance. A couple of "off-the-record" comments in South Korea to reporters who didn't respect his confidence were enough to end his career.

**President George Bush Jr. is perceived by many to be leading a sort of Empire. Craig B Hulet, the former Special Assistant to Congressman Jack Metcalf (ret.) and periodically a consultant to Federal Law Enforcement, takes a closer look at these arguments. What is this Empire's basic ideology? Corporatism? In whose interests is Bush pursuing? Afghanistan and Iraq the first blows struck for Empire? Does Ralph Nader aid & abet the appetite of monopoly corporations?**

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Bush's War-making  
and the Rule of Law

An Analysis of the  
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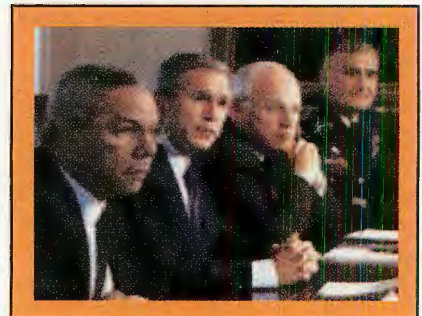
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--Congressman Jack Metcalf (Ret.)

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Harvard Law School graduate, retired U.S. Army Reserve Colonel and SOF's former Director of Special Projects Alexander M. S. McColl, pictured during 1968 while a District Senior Advisor, Don Xuan District, Phu Yen Province, South Vietnam.

But in the Pentagon he was regarded as little less than a saint.

The Reagan Defense Department was looking for a way to ensure that there would never be another Desert One.

And in his kit, Gen. Jack Singlaub had a plan he had been nurturing for decades which the Reagan administration eventually bought pretty much lock, stock and barrel. They called it the U.S. Special Operations Command. No more jackleg support arrangements. Now SF had the 160th SOAR. It had the Air Force's 1st SOW, all dedicated elite special operations units. It was a whole new world!

The proof of that particular pudding came in Desert Storm when the Special Forces trained two brigades of Kuwaitis for the invasion. Delta took out SCUD launchers galore. Fifth and Third Groups put surveillance hide sites deep into Iraq that sent back valuable real-time intelligence on Iraqi movements and soil conditions; important info when you're running 60-ton tanks across it.

One measure of how valuable this info was is that an awful lot of the intel the hide site teams were given before they went in turned out to be wrong. Places that were supposed to be uninhabited were crawling with people, tents, barking dogs. Guys who were supposed to be alone in the desert were creeping through villages of tents, at night, popping yapping dogs with silenced .22s, checking-out the scene on their NODs, looking for a clear

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place to dig in and hide.

A couple of those teams had to shoot their way out on exfil, in the best Vietnam tradition.

But the most important thing Special Forces did, unheralded and unknown to the general public, was to hold the entire coalition together, literally. That coalition was made of Americans, Brits, Saudis, Kuwaitis, Syrians, and others. The Arab coalition countries spoke different dialects, their radios wouldn't net. And frequently, they didn't like each other.

But they all, including the American forces, had SF teams attached. Their radios did net, and they did speak the same language. They coordinated the attack and without them that unmitigated triumph would have been a nightmare of friendly fire casualties.

Yet, in the beginning, Schwartzkopf didn't want them.

### The X-Men

You think being a Green Beret is cool? It is. Being an ex-Green Beret is way cooler. All those great skills, and the opportunities to mold your very own foreign policy.

Consider Dick Meadows using a Canadian passport to get into Iran to

recon for Desert One, then going to Colombia with a team to set up the entire drug war program there.

Or, consider former Vietnam A-team commander and retired reserve Lt. Col. Bob Brown and his whacko notion that the world was ready for a trade journal for mercenaries. What he has actually produced, in my view, is the Squad Leader's Intelligence Agency. If you want to know *why* a war is being fought, read the *New York Times*. If you want to know *how*, and *by whom*, read *Soldier Of Fortune*.

Check-out the authors with Special Forces backgrounds or connections: myself, John Mullins, Jim Prewitt, Jim Mitchell, Don Bendell, Gordon Rottman, Dave Maurer, Bob Mayer, H. Lee Barnes, George Dooley, Mike Williams and the honoraries like fighter pilot Mark Berent, W.E.B. Griffin, and Pappy Hicks. Calling Pappy Hicks an honorary Green Beret is like calling Chuck Yeager an honorary astronaut.

These and other authors are as real as a heart attack, like Bucky Burruss, or Charley Beckwith, who wrote *Delta Force*.

At one time, there were two authors on the same reserve A-team; Mark Harrell was the CO and Chuck Sasser

was the team sergeant.

Barry Sadler's *Ballad of the Green Berets* topped the Beatles and the Stones to be the top-selling record of 1966.

In other venues, former deputy director of the FBI, Jules Bonavolonta, was one of the original four Mike Force commanders; Gary Rohen ran recons for SOG and now commands the National Emergency Response Task Force for the FBI.

Ken Kelsch has been director of photography for 10 or 12 major feature films.

Richard Carmona, an A-team medic in Vietnam, is now Surgeon General of the United States.

All of the above, and numerous others, had their chance, and Special Forces achieved its storied legacy, because Aaron Bank went to Germany during that long-ago summer of 1939.

*Jim Morris served three tours with Special Forces in Vietnam and has covered eight wars for SOF. His Vietnam memoir, War Story, is available in hardcover and paperback. His story collection, Fighting Men, will be reissued by St. Martin's Press. ✕*

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# Living With Firearms

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BY JOHN S. FARNAM

Several years ago, while I was attending The U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, at Ft. Leavenworth, Kan., I submitted a paper entitled, "Living With Guns." In it, I describe some of my unpleasant experiences as an infantry second lieutenant platoon commander in Vietnam in 1968. I observed that, during that conflict, although we all had been (at great expense) thoroughly trained to operate various weapons systems, nobody ever taught us how to live with them.

I submitted that individual soldiers need experiences in training that prepared them not only to operate, but to actually live with loaded weapons during prolonged periods of intermittent (and sometimes continuous) fighting. One might argue that such training is dangerous, but without it I contended, our soldiers would accidentally shoot themselves and each other with distressing frequency the moment they entered a battle zone.

My main concern was in the area of small arms, because I had personally observed so many cases of careless gun-handling and storage, several of which resulted in unintentional discharges. In the Vietnam War, there was no shortage of incidents where an unintentional discharge caused a serious injury or a death to one of our own people. However, despite the fact that such catastrophes were scandalously common,

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they usually elicited little more than a sarcastic chuckle (or a yawn) from battalion-level brass. They seemed to write-off such episodes as "inevitable." They would remark, "These people have been trained in safe gun-handling. It shouldn't happen."

But, it kept happening, and it struck me that sterile, abstract "training" in "safe gun-handling" did not suffice to prevent it.

In Stateside training, individual soldiers were never given experiences that prepared them in any way for a situation where they would have a loaded and ready-to-fire rifle and/or pistol with them constantly. It was not enough, I reasoned, to train people how to operate small arms, then hysterically snatch the guns away from them and lock them up in a vault.

In training for example, we never actually carried loaded weapons. We handled them, but they were *always* empty except on those rare occasions where we actually fired live ammunition on a range. But, even when they were fired, the circumstances were artificial, sterile, and the only thing the "trainers" ever seemed to think about was preventing injuries on the range (they didn't give a damn if you got hurt, just so long as it didn't happen on *their* range).

## Real World Different

In combat, however, we not only carried loaded firearms, but we slept with them, ate with them, went to the head with them, flew on aircraft with them, etc. The weapon was your constant companion, and it was *always* loaded and ready to fire. *All that, we had to learn on the fly.* It was never even mentioned during our "training." We learned, the hard way, that it does not suffice merely to train people how to operate guns. We have to make them into gunmen, not just gun operators, but *gunmen!*

Anyway, if you're familiar with the USMC and Army bureaucracy, you can imagine how far my ideas got. Even today, this issue has *still* not been addressed in any meaningful way. Soldiers are still instructed to be, on rare occasions, warriors — and sheep the rest of the time.

As a private defensive firearms training contractor, I now have the opportunity to work with military, civilian, and police personnel alike. Unfortunately, I see the same problem no matter which sector I work with. There are still unintentional discharges everywhere you find people carrying

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and attempting to live with guns.

It does *not*, however, have to happen to you!

If you are going to carry a gun concealed about your person or keep one in your home or vehicle, you will be handling it often, probably daily. If you learn to handle and live with guns safely from the beginning, the appalling consequences of unintentional discharges will not touch you or your family.

Modern, reputable firearms have many built-in safety features, some of which you will probably never even be aware. They are as "safe" as it is possible to make firearms, and still have them functional as emergency safety equipment. But, they are just machines, and if they were designed so that they would *never* discharge, the manufacturers would soon find themselves in an "excess inventory" situation!

Modern defensive firearms are designed for one purpose: to launch bullets. And once launched, the projectile cannot be called back. We don't learn how to live with guns by trial and error.

### Learn Zero-Tolerance Safety

Your first mistake may be your last. *Your first accident is the one that must be prevented.* No firearm comes equipped with a brain. No gun is capable of reason, judgment, restraint, or regret. No gun is capable of discharging on its own volition. Contrary to popular media misinformation, they don't "go off by themselves." All firearms require a human operator.

The memorization of a laundry list of "safety rules" is no substitute for presence of mind and common sense. However, there are two maxims that must be learned and observed at all times:

- (1) *The muzzle of the weapon must not be allowed to point in an unsafe direction;*
- (2) *The trigger-finger must be kept in the register position (out of contact with the trigger and out of the trigger guard) until/unless the sights are on-target and it is intended for the weapon's hammer to fall immediately.*

If the muzzle of the weapon you are in control of inadvertently points at someone you do not intend to shoot, you are guilty of gross negligence, the kind of negligence you are unlikely to ever be forgiven for. The excuse, "Oh, don't worry, it's not loaded" will in no way lessen the contempt in which you

will, and should, be held. It's something you must not allow to happen.

A self-defense firearm kept in the home should not be used as a casual conversation piece or for showing-off, nor should it be part of a scene where drinking is involved. The weapon is neither a toy nor a random home furnishing. Rather, it is a deadly serious tool, designed to protect your life. It is not an object of fear, but it should be treated with respect. Children should not be taught to fear firearms. They should, however, be taught to regard firearms in the same way they regard dangerous power tools, like lawnmow-

ers and chainsaws, with caution and respect. When they reach the appropriate age, children should be taught firearms safety and safe gun-handling.

### Balancing Safe, Yet Ready

When keeping a firearm in the home with the intention of having it readily available for defensive use, you must remember that *safety and readiness are mutually antagonistic*. That is: The more safe the gun is, the less ready. The more ready, the less safe. You can't have it both ways. A gun that is perfectly safe is *perfectly useless*.

When a gun is carried on your per-



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son, you have constant, direct control over it. But, a weapon kept in the home is often unattended. Every householder must decide for himself where he will strike the compromise, based on the perceived threat level and the nature of his household. If there are children around the house, or retarded people, or unstable people, the safety level must be higher than in a household where there is just one responsible adult living alone. If nothing else, the firearm should be kept out of sight. Nearly all accidental shootings involving children involved a weapon that was carelessly left in plain sight.

As a general statement, if more than five seconds elapse between the time when you need the firearm and the time it is in your hand and ready to fire, it is not in a high enough state of readiness to justify having it around at all. A formidable enough barrier must be placed between the gun and unauthorized hands to prevent accidents, but getting the weapon into your hand and preparing it to fire should not involve a lot of fumbling, remembering, or precise movements. Under the stress of a deadly personal attack, you will have neither the physical nor the mental coordination to accomplish such movements successfully.

Trigger locks are little more than an exercise in self-deception and are highly not recommended. Anything that is designed to go inside a trigger guard is a veritable invitation to disaster. As a general rule, defensive firearms should either be (1) carried on the person or (2) secured inside a locked container. Some locked containers are designed for quick access in emergencies. Others are more secure and are designed for long-term storage.

A defensive firearm can be a great friend and ally and has saved my life more than once. Guns can, however, cause no end of grief if you're careless. And when you live with guns, there are plenty of opportunities to be careless.

The scrupulous observation of a few simple rules, combined with good judgment and assiduous common sense will enable you and your family to live with guns and never experience even your first accident. Gunmen are distinguished from pretenders by three main points: (1) We don't have accidents with guns. (2) We don't hesitate, and (3) we don't miss.

One of the nation's leading firearms trainers, John S. Farnam is a frequent contributor to SOF. He may be reached at JSFarnam@aol.com. ✕

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## Lessons Learned

Continued from page 59

that bad; it's the hard, cold, dry wind that will eat you up like you wouldn't believe. Chapstick, Chapstick, Chapstick, sunscreen, sunscreen, sunscreen.

Gators [4.2 All-Terrain Vehicle made by John Deere] didn't hold up too good; that place eats up tires like you wouldn't believe. They're a great thing to have when they're running. Also they're real easy getting them into to the fight; getting out is a different story. You're always scrounging for aircraft when it's time to go. So be prepared to leave a few Gators.

We used the CLUs [Javelin missile Command Launch Unit with infared thermal sights] a lot, every night for that matter. Beautiful piece of equipment. They consume a lot of batteries and add a lot of weight. After it snowed, two in the company stopped working until they dried out a few days later. Other than that they held up real well.

Go in with a good, or should I say *great*, [battlesight] zero on all your weapons. We never got a chance to re-zero while we were there. Also, zero all your spare weapons for replacements, etc. On our last mission I hit a dud M203 [grenade] at 75 meters with one round from my M4 using my M68 [Close Combat Optic].

It held a zero great. A 1SG [1st Sergeant] doesn't normally abuse his weapon like a young soldier does, though. However, if they treat their weapons like ... Nintendos they should be all right.

Our bn bought the ammo bags for the M240 [B Medium Machine Guns] from London Bridge. They worked great.

Knee pads are a must.

Quality sunglasses [are] probably more important [as] would be safety or shooting glasses. Bolle goggles are the way to go if you can afford it.

We had one guy who was hypothermic one night. The medics and a wool blanket saved his ass. Green wool still can't be beat. Fleece gloves are the best.

We also eventually (after we were done) received Barrett .50 cal's [2+ km range] for our snipers. Their M24s [.308 caliber, 7.62-range only 1 km] never got used because of the extreme ranges. I think each company should have one. Or a sniper team, or a M2 [Heavy Machine Gun] with crew.

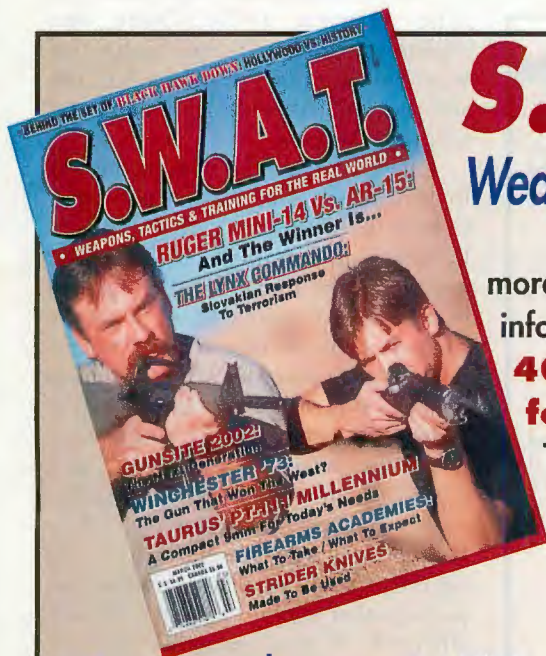
Carry lots of thermite grenades and C-4. We used them a lot. Our engineers were great.

Proficiency with the M203s [Grenade Launchers]. Right now there isn't a viable sight for the M-4 [5.56- Carbine], so lots of practice with Kentucky windage. Lots of HE, also mounting brackets for the AN/PEQ-2 [Night laser aiming device], for the AT-4s [M136 84 disposable rockets], the SMAW-D [Disposable version of 83.m shoulder-fired medium assault weapon rocket launcher] comes with one. Also, the SMAW-D is smaller, easier to carry and hits significantly harder. Won't collapse a cave but but will definitely clear it.

Soldiers did great. You can always depend on them. They are extremely brave and want to fight. Gotta do realistic training. They'll do it just like we teach them. They'll patch a bullet hole just like you taught them ... but they won't take off the soldier's vest to check for more bullet hole, etc.

Because of the extreme ranges, you need the 3X adapters for the nvgs [AN/PVS-7B Night Vision Goggles].

There's a lot more I could talk about but probably better left unsaid. Hope this give you some food for thought. ✕



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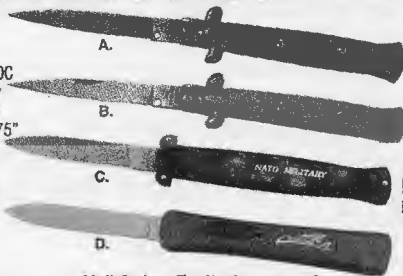
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## Operation Oman

Continued from page 51

rapid deployment arm of the larger civil development organ, CAD utilized prefabricated buildings to bring necessities such as a shop, a school and a clinic into rural areas immediately following moves by the military. Teachers and medics were hired, many times from abroad, and posted. As soon as possible drilling rigs were brought in to provide a clean, consistent water source.

Despite limited transport and always short of money and material, CAD proved to be the ace in the hole against the insurgents who proved to hold nothing for the people but ideology, empty promises and savage reprisals when things weren't going their way. In the three-pronged approach to the conflict, it was CAD's tangible evidence of better days ahead that eventually denied the sea in which all insurgents swim; the people. As it was in Oman, here too will be the key to a lasting victory in Afghanistan.

### Civil Affairs: The True Queen Of Battle For The 21st Century

While substantial differences do exist between 1970s Oman and Afghanistan today, the principles that were put into practice by the SAS can still be applied with good hope for long-term success.

Like Oman, and so to with the war in Afghanistan, simple steps will prove to have the greatest impact. Major public works projects in Kabul are a good and wonderful thing, but this war will be won or lost in the villages. What the Afghan people along routes of infiltration must see in the immediate future is tangible evidence that their lives are going to be better under a real government. This means wells for clean water, roads, schools, clinics, light airstrips, proper local security and an end to kick-in-the-door searches by U.S. Special Operations. These are low-cost projects that can be done quickly and efficiently if good teamwork between NGOs, the Afghan people and Civil Affairs troops can be fostered.

Again, the basics of security and standard of living will be more decisive than all the smart bombs we could ever drop or all the SpecOps raids we could ever launch. With Civil Affairs working to improve the life of the people, weaning them from dependency on the warlords and U.S. Special Forces mentor-

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ing a loyal militia across the insurgent lines of infiltration, there is no reason this country cannot stabilize. For this hope to become a reality, there has to be a firm commitment by the U.S. and our allies no matter how long it takes or at what cost.

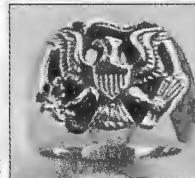
Currently U.S. Civil Affairs troops, mostly reservists called away from their jobs and families, are doing the very type of work discussed here. There is, however, one lacking component critical to the success of their mission and that is funding. At present, there is only \$7 million earmarked for Civil Affairs and other ally winning measures. At the same time, the Associated Press, on 15 August 2002, reported that the Pentagon claims there is no money to properly pay the new Afghan army we are training. This is the army that is supposed to stabilize and legitimize the central government we have installed. Meanwhile, a group of 100 students and researchers at MIT receive \$50 million a year to develop a space-age superman suit that will allegedly make soldiers bulletproof, recycle their sweat into drinking water and allow them to jump tall buildings with "spring-loaded boots."

In comparison to other defense expenditures, \$7 million to civil affairs and little or nothing for a national Afghan Army is like giving a band-aid to a gunshot victim. The very people who will win or lose this war for us are given a back seat to such non-essential items as F-22 fighters and superman suits that will likely never see the field. This is not a mistake we can afford to make from both a moral and fiscal outlook. Compared to the actual price we paid to drive al-Qaeda and the Taliban from power and what we are committing to actually finish the job, it doesn't add up.

Failure to follow on and win the hearts and minds of our new allies with as much vigor as we pursued the destruction of the enemy will see all our efforts brought to naught. In the absence of a committed campaign along these lines and the failure to practice the restraint of power one would expect from an industrialized nation, the problems we sought to remove will return and with it the terrorist haven we fought to destroy. As much as certain forces in the U.S. hate to hear it, it's *nation-building time*, and this time, we'd better get it right.

Jim Bartlett is a frequent contributor to SOF. ✕

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# Sound Off

BY COL. DAVID H. HACKWORTH, USA (RET.)

## Let's Talk It Out Before We Shoot

War is a deadly serious business. If you have any doubts, ask the families of the fighters who either didn't come home or came back hurting.

It should never be entered into without every citizen examining the reasons for pulling the trigger, as if a son or daughter were tasked with leading the charge, and then asking: Is this war necessary? Am I being told the truth? What are the consequences? What's the price our nation will have to pay?

Unlike Nazi Germany, where people were force-fed party propaganda and then marched to their own destruction after wreaking havoc on the world, we are a democracy, where citizens and political leaders can — and should — publicly debate the pros and cons of going to war.

Here in America, we're free to engage in a healthy national dialogue in which the war hawks can offer up every available shred of evidence to make their case against Saddam, and in which the anti-war crowd can just as aggressively question the wisdom of employing the military solution.

But lately, political passions have gone nuclear. Even though it's the responsibility of all true patriots to challenge a leader's directives, especially if he might be about to lead the nation off a cliff, those pushing for better justification for a pre-emptive war are being attacked personally — painted as bleeding-heart liberals, unpatriotic, or both.

Many of our national politicians need to cool their jets and stop the name-calling. Their energy would be far better spent on detailed analysis than in steamrolling a divided nation by using a partisan agenda.

As former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Adlai E. Stevenson, Jr. said when other hot-bloods were screaming for war during the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis: "Patriotism is not a short and frenzied outburst of emotion, but the tranquil and steady dedication of a lifetime."

Fortunately, it's much tougher to stack the deck today than when Lyndon Johnson got us stuck into the bloodbath of Vietnam or when Harry Truman threw our soldiers into the Korean killing fields without fully understanding the consequences of Gen. Omar Bradley's earlier admonition that our Army "couldn't fight its way out of a paper bag."

Since it will take a minimum of three more months [at press time, Jan. 03] before our ground forces now moving toward Iraq are in place, and we're not yet ready to launch



a concerted air, land and sea attack, there's still lots of time for clearheaded talk before we slap leather. Sure, we can rush to start bombing, but then we'll have crossed the Rubicon and should be prepared for Iraqi bugs and gas — and Saddam perhaps blowing the dams on the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, turning our march to Baghdad into a swampy, long-term operation.

We have nothing to lose, and everything to gain if, before we jump off, we see if Saddam will allow the U.N. inspectors to do their job. And if he won't, we need to ask whether the risk of further tightening the containment

screw to include shutting down his gas station is less than the risk of going to war.

We need to know our commanders have enough aircraft, munitions and troops, and that they can do the job without the support of the sort of coalition Bush so cleverly stitched together before Operation Desert Storm. We need to know that our combat soldiers have the iron discipline needed for combat; that they're sufficiently trained; that we're fielding an Army properly prepared for battle and no longer crippled by the social experiments of the past decade that so seriously degraded combat readiness.

We need to know, too, that our warriors are ready for chemical and biological warfare and that the right measures have been taken to protect them from the 300 million grams of U.S. depleted uranium munitions — with a shelf life of 250,000 years — that were scattered across the Iraq desert in 1991. Red-hot munitions so deadly that some scientists warn the tiniest dust speck might eventually kill you.

We must do our duty by insisting that our politicians get real and deal with all the facts before allowing the first shot to be fired.

When all is said and done, American lives will be out on the line in a fight against a brutal opponent who's proven that he will stop at nothing to survive.

<http://www.hackworth.com> is the address of David Hackworth's home page.

Send mail to P.O. Box 11179, Greenwich, CT 06831.

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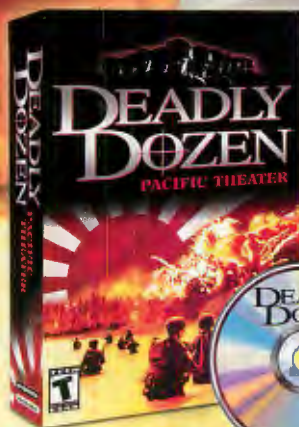
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