

UNCLASSIFIED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 07-29-2010 BY 60324 uc baw/sab/lsg

DOCUMENT\_ID: ON12542443  
DOCST: ACTIVE  
LANGUAGE: ENGLISH  
VENDOR: DIALOG  
PUBNAME: NEW REPUBLIC  
ORIGDATE: 20030526  
PUBLISHR: JOAM M. STAPLETON  
FILENO: 47  
AUTHOR: lake, eli j.  
DOR: 20030618  
TOR: 124128  
CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED  
TITLE: Few Good Men - The search for Syrian liberals.  
TOPLINES:

Eli J. Lake is the State Department correspondent for United Press International.

TEXT:

Eli J. Lake is the State Department correspondent for United Press International.

It seemed like a match made in neon heaven. Less than one week after the United States accused Syria of allowing terrorists to enter Iraq and Saddam Hussein's henchmen to leave it, Farid Ghadry informally unveiled his Reform Party of Syria. He used the occasion of the American Enterprise Institute's second to last weekly briefing on Iraq--a series the institute organized to coincide with the war--to go public with his opposition efforts. Ghadry--who plans to announce a Syrian government in exile in the coming months--asked the panel of Washington hawks, from the audience, the question on everyone's mind: "What about regime change for Syria?"

Ghadry's timing was good. The week before, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld had sent the White House a "Road Map for Syria"--over a dozen largely punitive policy options spurred by the Pentagon's assessment that American soldiers were endangered by Syria's open-border policy during the war. The memo's proposals, The New Republic has learned, include docking an aircraft carrier within Syrian territorial waters, using proxies to undermine Syrian intelligence agents inside Lebanon, interdicting Iranian flights to Hezbollah positions in Lebanon, and sending American forces over the Syrian border in "hot pursuit" of senior Iraqi officials. Meanwhile, Congress was developing a set of new sanctions against Damascus that were tougher than the limited bans on weapons and other items the United States has already passed. Could there be a better moment for the Syrian Ahmed Chalabi to emerge?

Unfortunately, finding liberal dissidents with a base of support in Syria makes finding liberal dissidents with a base of support in Iraq look easy. The Syrian opposition is overwhelmingly populated by fundamentalists. And Syrian liberals have virtually no public profile outside of Washington.

The similarities between Ghadry and Chalabi, co-founder of the Iraqi National Congress, seem striking. Ghadry, like Chalabi, has had his share of bad days in business. While Chalabi fled Jordan in 1989 after Petra Bank, which he set up, collapsed amidst allegations of financial fraud, Ghadry owned Hannibal's Coffee Co., a chain of American coffee shops that went bankrupt in 1996. Like Chalabi, Ghadry walks and talks the language of liberal democracy. His party's website boasts papers on reforming Syria's

UNCLASSIFIED

Page 1

UNCLASSIFIED

omnipresent security services, which are similar in some respects to Iraq's former Baath Party apparatus, and on establishing representative government. The Reform Party of Syria has even drafted a model constitution that would enshrine not only basic rights of speech, assembly, life, and property but also more idealistic goals, such as a pollution-free environment, fair labor practices, and access to health care. Ghadry also supports peace with Israel. "Why do we have to be enemies with our neighbor?" he asks, admitting that he has been impressed by Israel's democracy and vibrant civil society on business visits to the country. Ghadry, astonishingly enough, is even a member of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee.

Other anti-government exiles have started to emerge as well. On April 24, 120 Syrian exiles of all ideological stripes, ranging from communists to Alawite businessmen, signed an open letter in Al-Hayat, a leading Arab newspaper published in London, to Bashar Assad, calling on him to allow exiled dissidents to return to the country, to abolish military-type courts, and to dismantle part of the state's security services. "The Iraqi war proved the security services cannot defend the independence, sovereignty, and dignity of Syria," the letter said.

There are limited signs that reformers may be growing bolder within Syria as well. Prior to a crackdown in mid-2001 against civil society organizations, Syrians had been forming small groups that openly discussed politics, previously a rare occurrence. Some of that ferment remains. In a rare interview last month with Syrian reformers in Damascus, National Public Radio's Kate Seelye found several people willing to publicly speak out against the political repression pervading the country.

But, despite this minor thaw, American officials are deeply pessimistic that Syria contains the type of leader the United States is looking for. "We have done nothing to cultivate or encourage ... opposition (to Syria's regime) either abroad or in the country," says one Pentagon official. According to Frank Anderson, the CIA's former Near East Division chief, the United States "thought about changing governments in Iran, Iraq, and Libya, but in Syria we decided that none of the options were more attractive than the incumbents." In fact, several American officials knowledgeable about Syria say that Assad's most liberal opponents have no real political backing. For Syrian liberals to create "any meaningful political opposition is ridiculous," says a former American ambassador to Syria. After decades of being closely linked to Lebanon, say American officials, many Syrians have come to associate pro-Western liberals with Lebanese Christians, who many Syrians blame for oppressing Muslims in Lebanon and for being supported by Israel. Recognizing the Syrian liberals' lack of a power base, Rumsfeld's policy memo did not advocate seeking out Syrian exiles and dissidents for an opposition movement, as the Pentagon did in the West Bank and Gaza after the president's speech last June calling for a new Palestinian leadership. Nor did Rumsfeld's plan set aside funding for dissidents inside Syria, as Pentagon civilians advocate for the internal opponents of Iran's ruling mullahs.

Ghadry illustrates the point. His organization is only now getting off the ground. And a Syrian who belongs to one of Israel's main lobbying groups is not exactly a strong political candidate in a country that remains one of the most rabidly anti-Israel in the region. As Ghadry himself admits, "The Syrians are not ready for someone who wants to make peace with Israel."

Assad's most powerful opponent, admits one CIA

UNCLASSIFIED

Page 2

UNCLASSIFIED

consultant with extensive knowledge of Syria, is the theocratic Muslim Brotherhood. "The only opposition I know of in Syria is the Muslim Brotherhood," agrees former Assistant Secretary of Near Eastern Affairs Edward Walker. Indeed, according to Youssef M. Ibrahim, a former Middle East specialist at the Council on Foreign Relations, Assad has grown so fearful of the Brotherhood's ability to spread radical Islam that he has begun making speeches denigrating religious extremism and chastising Islamist-influenced medical schools for mixing science and Islam.

The

Brotherhood--which Assad's father, Hafez, banned-- are tough characters. In 1982, their Syrian branch launched a bloody intifada against the regime that included randomly assassinating members of the ruling elite. What's more, they churn out a steady stream of anti-Israel and anti-U.S. rhetoric. Even worse, Newsweek has reported that American and German investigators believe that members of the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood played critical roles in supporting and recruiting the Hamburg-based leaders of the Al Qaeda cells that carried out the September 11 attacks.

For the

time being, Bush administration hawks want to further isolate Assad and thus pressure him to change. They believe this pressure will lead more Syrian dissidents to come out of the woodwork. Secretary of State Colin Powell's recent visit to Damascus may underscore this strategy: By informing him that the United States could turn the screws on Syria, Powell offered Assad, like Yasir Arafat before last June's speech, a final opportunity to change. Unfortunately, if Assad does not come around, Washington may discover it cannot find anyone it likes to replace him.

(Copyright 2003, The New Republic)

UNCLASSIFIED

Page 3

UNCLASSIFIED

DOCUMENT\_ID: CN1777623  
 DOCST: ACTIVE  
 LANGUAGE: ENGLISH  
 VENDOR: NEXIS  
 PUBNAME: Washington Times  
 ORIGDATE: 19941215  
 PUBLISHR: News World Communications, Inc.  
 PUBNO: NA  
 FILENO: NA  
 AUTHOR: THE WASHINGTON TIMES  
 DOR: 19941216  
 TOR: 210300  
 CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED  
 TITLE: Farid Ghadry  
 TOPLINES:

OCCUPATION

President and founder, Compass Middle East Wire Service

BIRTHDAY

TEXT:

OCCUPATION

President and founder, Compass Middle East Wire Service

BIRTHDAY

June 18, 1954

HOMETOWN

Washington, D.C.

MARITAL STATUS

Married, four children

SELF-PORTRAIT

The more challenging the job, the better the performance

MOTTO

The sky's the limit

WALTER MITTY FANTASY

Racing in an F1 car

INSPIRATION

UNCLASSIFIED

Adam Smith, the father of capitalism, and all great people who have left something for humanity.

**GREATEST FEAT**

Supporting an orphanage in Russia and the poor in Washington

**BAD HABITS**

Can not forgive the same mistake twice

**PET PEEVES**

Cigarette smoke

**HOBBY**

Car racing and sport cars

**LUXURY DEFINED**

Knowing your limitations

**DRINK OR WINE**

Petrus 1982; cappuccino

**FAVORITE RESTAURANT**

Aux Beaux Champs

**VACATION SPOT**

Italy

**CLOTHING STORE**

Giorgio Armani.

**TV PROGRAM**

Peter Jennings' "ABCNews"

**CAR IN GARAGE**

1992 Mercedes

**BOOKS AT BEDSIDE**

"Thick Face, Black Heart" by Chin-Ning Chu

**LAST WORDS**

"Capitalism must live."

GRAPHIC: Illustration, NO CAPTION

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Copyright 1994 News World Communications, Inc.

543

## The United States and Shi'ite Religious Factions in Post-Ba'athist Iraq

Juan Cole

*In post-Saddam Husayn Iraq, Shi'ite militias rapidly established their authority in East Baghdad and other urban neighborhoods of the south. Among the various groups which emerged, the Sadr Movement stands out as militant and cohesive. The sectarian, anti-American Sadrist wish to impose a puritanical, Khomeinist vision on Iraq. Their political influence is potentially much greater than their numbers. Incorporating them into a democratic Iraq while ensuring that they do not come to dominate it poses a severe challenge to the US Administration.*

In planning the war on Iraq, the American Defense Department and intelligence organizations appear to have been unaware that millions of Iraqi Shi'ites had joined a militant and puritanical movement dedicated to the establishment of an Iran-style Islamic Republic in Iraq, even though these developments had been detailed in many Arabic-language books and articles. On February 18, 2003, Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz gave an interview on National Public Radio in which he maintained that "The Iraqis are . . . by and large quite secular. They are overwhelmingly Shi'a which is different from the Wahabis of the peninsula, and they don't bring the sensitivity of having the holy cities of Islam being on their territory."<sup>1</sup> Even more disturbingly, this quote shows that Wolfowitz did not realize that religious Iraqi Shi'ites are extremely sensitive about foreigners in their shrine cities such as Najaf and Karbala, or that these cities are religious power centers of great symbolic potency.

US Defense Department leaders such as Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and his deputies, Wolfowitz and Douglas Feith, mistakenly thought that the middle and lower strata of the Ba'ath bureaucracy, police, and army would survive the war, and that they could simply hand it over to secular expatriate figure Ahmad Chalabi and his Iraqi National Congress. Although from a Shi'ite background, Chalabi was largely unknown in Iraq and was wanted in Jordan on embezzlement charges. The CIA and the State Department broke with Chalabi late in 2002 when he proved unable

Juan Cole is Professor of Modern Middle Eastern and South Asian History at the University of Michigan. He is editor of the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, and author of numerous books and articles. His recent works include *Modernity and the Millennium* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998) and *Sacred Space and Holy War: The Politics, Culture and History of Shi'ite Islam* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002).

1. "Deputy Secretary Wolfowitz Interview with National Public Radio," February 19, 2003 at <http://www.washingtonfile.net/2003/Feb/Feb21/EUR509.HTM>.  
MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL \* VOLUME 57, NO. 4, AUTUMN 2003

ooks  
com

Search Within Results:

Search

[Edit Search](#) | [New Search](#)  
[Print](#) | [Download](#)

View: [List](#) | [Full](#)

< [prev](#) Document 2 of 4 [next](#) >

Tag for Print & Download

Copyright 2003 U.P.I.  
United Press International

April 8, 2003 Tuesday

**LENGTH:** 670 words

**HEADLINE:** Senator asks \$50M to aid Iran dissidents

**BYLINE:** By MARK BENJAMIN AND ELI LAKE

**DATELINE:** WASHINGTON, April 8 (UPI)

**BODY:**

A leading member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee plans to introduce legislation Wednesday authorizing \$50 million a year to aid democratic activists inside Iran seeking a peaceful end to that country's regime.

A copy of an amendment to be offered by Sen. Sam Brownback, R-Kansas, obtained by United Press International, says, "It shall be the policy of the United States to support efforts to achieve democratic reform inside Iran, including support for the thousands of protesters who have expressed a desire for the government to hold a referendum vote that could permit Iran to move toward a secular, democratic government that respects human rights and does not seek to possess weapons of mass destruction."

The senator plans to attach the legislation to a bill authorizing next year's foreign assistance budget for the State Department.

Andy Fisher, a spokesman for Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Richard Lugar, R-Ind., said Lugar supports efforts to establish a friendly democracy in Iran. It is unclear if Lugar supports the proposal.

"There is an opportunity in Iran to make some differences and take advantage of dramatic demographic shifts in the country," Fisher said.

A spokeswoman for the American Israel Public Affairs Committee told UPI her organization supports the amendment.

The move comes at a critical moment in U.S. relations with the Islamic world. President Bush in his 2002 State of the Union address identified Iran, along with Iraq and North Korea, as part of an "axis of evil."

As the United States moves to mop up resistance in Baghdad, the Bush administration is hoping to confront the twin challenges of installing a new government there and convincing the Islamic world the invasion of Iraq does not signal a new era of American occupation in the region.

Last month, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld threatened to treat Iranian proxies that moved into Iraq as enemy combatants in Operation Iraqi Freedom. On March 24, U.S. intelligence issued a report detailing minutes of the Islamic Republic's National Security Council where the leadership of the country decided on a strategy to send in irregular fighting units to five large Iraqi cities.

In Iranian local elections earlier this year, few Persians took to the polls, with voter turnout in the single digits. Iranian students, union workers and intellectuals have intermittently over the past year taken to the streets in the capital and large cities demanding a political referendum on the current regime.

While Iranians are allowed to vote for the president, they may not elect the country's supreme leader who oversees Iran's military and security services and appoints religious clerics as judges for the courts.

Under Brownback's proposed legislation, the State Department would allocate \$50 million annually to an Iran Democracy Foundation. The purpose of the foundation is to support "pro-democracy broadcasting to Iran," such as the satellite television and radio stations based in Los Angeles that many Iranians watch and listen to already; support training for the Iranian-American community to reach out to Iranian dissidents; and fund human rights and civil society



**Groups working inside Iran.**

The proposal is very similar to ideas proposed last June by Pentagon staffers in the Bush administration's Iran policy review discussions. But consensus was never reached inside the government.

The amendment does not call for regime change per se, but it does state, "Democratic change within Iran would contribute greatly to increasing the stability of the entire region and would serve as a beacon to the people of Iraq and Saudi Arabia to also seek democratic reform from within."

This language in the amendment is very similar to the Iraq Liberation Act, which Congress passed in 1998. That legislation first enshrined regime change as an open policy goal for the United States in Iraq. Sen. Brownback was an early supporter and author of the legislation.

**LOAD-DATE:** April 9, 2003

View: [List](#) | [Full](#)

< [prev](#) Document 2 of 4 [next](#) >

[Edit Search](#) | [New Search](#)  
[Print](#) | [Download](#)

# Ghalabi Tipped Iran To Code Break

June 1, 2004

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 07-29-2010 BY 60324 uc baw/sab/lsg

## U.S. Intel Passed To Iran?



(Photo: CBS/AP)

(CBS/AP) CBS News has learned new details involving the Iran espionage allegations against Ahmad Chalabi, the Iraqi exile leader who was one touted as a possible president to lead Iraq in the post-Saddam transition.

On May 20, Iraqi police backed by American soldiers raided the Baghdad home and offices of Chalabi. Chalabi is a controversial figure who provided the Bush administration with prewar intelligence on supposed weapons of mass destruction in Iraq – including the now-discredited information about mobile labs whose true use is still a matter of debate.

After the raid, *60 Minutes* Correspondent Lesley Stahl reported that the U.S. had evidence Chalabi has been passing highly-classified U.S. intelligence to Iran.

CBS News has since learned that Chalabi recently told an Iranian intelligence official the U.S. has cracked Iranian codes, allowing it to read communications on everything from Iran's sponsorship of terrorists to its covert operations inside Iraq

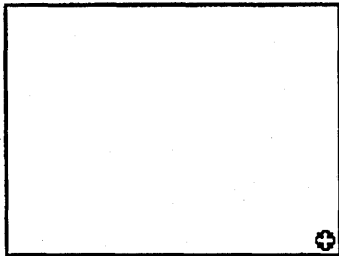
CBS has also been told FBI agents are questioning Defense Department officials about who gave such top secret U.S. information to Chalabi in the first place.

Chalabi is still active and visible on the scene in Iraq where he is a member of the handpicked Iraqi Governing Council.

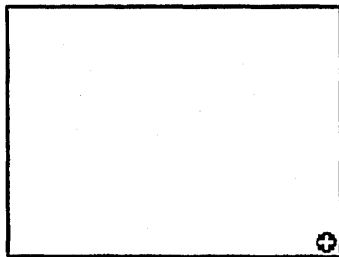
Over the Memorial Day weekend, Chalabi was reportedly involved in negotiations to maintain a falter cease fire in the city of Kufa between U.S. military and radical Shiite cleric Muqtada al-Sadr. Chalabi and other Shiite leaders met with al-Sadr representatives and declared there was "a momentum for peace."

But Chalabi's star has definitely fallen in U.S. eyes. Despite his seat on the Iraqi Governing Council, it seems the Bush administration is going out of its way to ensure that the man who made a career lobbying to get rid of former Iraqi President Saddam Hussein has no American-backed political future in Iraq.

Other tense situations in recent months between the Bush administration and Chalabi include:



Ahmad Chalabi displays a family photo he says was smashed during the May 20 raid on his home. (Photo: AP)



U.S. troops outside Chalabi's home during May 20 raid. (Photo: AP)

## IRAQ IN TURMOIL

Stories:  
• The Latest

Interactives:  
• Hostages Held  
• Fallen Heroes  
• WMD Fallout  
• Daily Photos

Attacks Map:  
• The Postwar Insurgency

Videos:

ⓧ  
BMK

17  
20/2/07

6SR-WF-226315-NC  
BK BMK

• Video Archive

• Timeline:

• Shutting Down Saddam

- American officials have complained privately that Chalabi was interfering with an inquiry into money skimmed from the U.N. oil-for-food program.

- Chalabi has recently accused the U.S.-led coalition of not going far enough to give Iraqis sovereignty. He

also fiercely resisted U.S. military commanders' recent decision to soften rules blocking former members of Saddam's ruling party from government jobs.

Chalabi still has strong supporters in Washington, and the Pentagon continued to pay for intelligence provided by his organization until recently.

Danielle Pletka, a vice president at the conservative American Enterprise Institute, after the May 20 raid that she believed the raid was likely "political manipulation in order to disable somebody who has been a thorn in the side of the CPA."

"We need the United Nations right now, and Chalabi is the prime mover behind the investigation in the oil-for-food program," Pletka said.



[Print Window](#) | [Close Window](#)

Document 41 of 54

Copyright 2004 The New York Times Company  
The New York Times

June 2, 2004 Wednesday  
Late Edition - Final

**SECTION:** Section A; Column 3; Foreign Desk; THE REACH OF WAR: THE OFFENSE; Pg. 1

**LENGTH:** 1178 words

**HEADLINE:** Chalabi Reportedly Told Iran That U.S. Had Code

**BYLINE:** By JAMES RISEN and DAVID JOHNSTON

**DATELINE:** WASHINGTON, June 1

**BODY:**

Ahmad Chalabi, the Iraqi leader and former ally of the Bush administration, disclosed to an Iranian official that the United States had broken the secret communications code of Iran's intelligence service, betraying one of Washington's most valuable sources of information about Iran, according to United States intelligence officials.

The general charge that Mr. Chalabi provided Iran with critical American intelligence secrets was widely reported last month after the Bush administration cut off financial aid to Mr. Chalabi's organization, the Iraqi National Congress, and American and Iraqi security forces raided his Baghdad headquarters.

The Bush administration, citing national security concerns, asked The New York Times and other news organizations not to publish details of the case. The Times agreed to hold off publication of some specific information that top intelligence officials said would compromise a vital, continuing intelligence operation. The administration withdrew its request on Tuesday, saying information about the code-breaking was starting to appear in news accounts.

Mr. Chalabi and his aides have said he knew of no secret information related to Iran and therefore could not have communicated any intelligence to Tehran.

American officials said that about six weeks ago, Mr. Chalabi told the Baghdad station chief of Iran's Ministry of Intelligence and Security that the United States was reading the communications traffic of the Iranian spy service, one of the most sophisticated in the Middle East.

BMK

According to American officials, the Iranian official in Baghdad, possibly not believing Mr. Chalabi's account, sent a cable to Tehran detailing his conversation with Mr. Chalabi, using the broken code. That encrypted cable, intercepted and read by the United States, tipped off American officials to the fact that Mr. Chalabi had betrayed the code-breaking operation, the American officials said.

American officials reported that in the cable to Tehran, the Iranian official recounted how Mr. Chalabi had said that one of "them" -- a reference to an American -- had revealed the code-breaking operation, the officials said. The Iranian reported that Mr. Chalabi said the American was drunk.

The Iranians sent what American intelligence regarded as a test message, which mentioned a cache of weapons inside Iraq, believing that if the code had been broken, United States military forces would be quickly dispatched to the specified site. But there was no such action.

The account of Mr. Chalabi's actions has been confirmed by several senior American officials, who said the leak contributed to the White House decision to break with him.

It could not be learned exactly how the United States broke the code. But intelligence sources said that in the past, the United States has broken into the embassies of foreign governments, including those of Iran, to steal information, including codes.

The F.B.I. has opened an espionage investigation seeking to determine exactly what information Mr. Chalabi turned over to the Iranians as well as who told Mr. Chalabi that the Iranian code had been broken, government officials said. The inquiry, still in an early phase, is focused on a very small number of people who were close to Mr. Chalabi and also had access to the highly restricted information about the Iran code.

FB

65R-WF-226315-NC  
BK BMK  
[Redacted Box]  
b6  
b7C

Some of the people the F.B.I. expects to interview are civilians at the Pentagon who were among Mr. Chalabi's strongest supporters and served as his main point of contact with the government, the officials said. So far, no one has been accused of any wrongdoing.

In a television interview on May 23, Mr. Chalabi said on CNN's "Late Edition" that he met in Tehran in December with the Iranian supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, and the Iranian president, Mohammad Khatami. He also said he had met with Iran's minister of information.

Mr. Chalabi attacked the C.I.A. and the director of central intelligence, George J. Tenet, saying the agency was behind what Mr. Chalabi asserted was an effort to smear him.

"I have never passed any classified information to Iran or have done anything -- participated in any scheme of intelligence against the United States," Mr. Chalabi said on "Fox News Sunday." "This charge is false. I have never seen a U.S. classified document, and I have never seen -- had a U.S. classified briefing."

Mr. Chalabi, a member of the Iraqi Governing Council, said, "We meet people from the Iranian Embassy in Baghdad regularly," but said that was to be expected of Iraqi officials like himself.

Some defenders of Mr. Chalabi in the United States say American officials had encouraged him in his dealings with Iran, urging him to open an office in Tehran in hopes of improving relations between Iran and Washington. Those defenders also say they do not believe that his relationship with Iran involved any exchange of intelligence.

Mr. Chalabi's allies in Washington also saw the Bush administration's decision to sever its ties with Mr. Chalabi and his group as a cynical effort instigated by the C.I.A. and longtime Chalabi critics at the State Department. They believe those agencies want to blame him for mistaken estimates and incorrect information about Iraq before the war, like whether Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction.

One of those who has defended Mr. Chalabi is Richard N. Perle, the former chairman of the Defense Policy Board. "The C.I.A. has disliked him passionately for a long time and has mounted a campaign against him with some considerable success," Mr. Perle said Tuesday. "I've seen no evidence of improper behavior on his part. No evidence whatsoever."

Mr. Perle said he thought the C.I.A. had turned against Mr. Chalabi because he refused to be the agency's "puppet." Mr. Chalabi "has a mind of his own," Mr. Perle said.

American intelligence officials said the F.B.I. investigation into the intelligence leak to Iran did not extend to any charges that Mr. Chalabi provided the United States with incorrect information, or any allegations of corruption.

American officials said the leak about the Iranian codes was a serious loss because the Iranian intelligence service's highly encrypted cable traffic was a crucial source of information, supplying Washington with information about Iranian operations inside Iraq, where Tehran's agents have become increasingly active. It also helped the United States keep track of Iranian intelligence operations around the world.

Until last month, the Iraqi National Congress had a lucrative contract with the Defense Intelligence Agency to provide information about Iraq. Before the United States invasion last year, the group arranged for Iraqi defectors to provide the Pentagon with information about Saddam Hussein's government, particularly evidence purporting to show that Baghdad had active programs to develop weapons of mass destruction. Today, the American intelligence community believes that much of the information passed by the defectors was either wrong or fabricated.

URL:

LOAD-DATE: June 2, 2004

---

**June 02, 2004**

---

Can we expect to see Richard Perle start to defend Chalabi's leaks of the most sensitive US intelligence to the Iranian terror masters? Ledeen? Harold Rhode? Michael Rubin? I hear Larry Franklin isn't defending Chalabi any more.

There are only two defenses I can see: it's not true (seems the evidence is overwhelmingly in favor of, it's true). Or, it's okay that Chalabi did it.

Or, there's a third. How about, WE WERE WRONG. We were fools, and dupes. But none of these people seem to have the moral capacity to admit they were wrong. What kind of blindness, what kind of pathological arrogance, prevents these people from ever admitting they are wrong?

**MORE:** A friend says Chalabi supporters may also use the defense, Chalabi was framed by Iranians who wanted him to be politically neutralized in Iraq. [As if he even needed to be neutralized by outside forces!] That the two Iranians who were detected in an intercept to be discussing what Chalabi supposedly gave them could have been trying to frame him. I find this deeply unconvincing. [Remember how each shred of bogus intel about ties between al Qaeda and Saddam these very same neocons clung to as the holy grail? This is that in reverse].

A question. Is Chalabi simply believed to have conversationally told an Iranian source that the US had broken XYZ communications code? Or is he actually believed to have had physical access to some sort of code breaking technology itself? Why does this matter? Because the number of US officials who might have known the former is certainly greater than the latter. Even a civilian Pentagon official known to be very close to Chalabi and who believes himself a huge expert on Iran and the Middle East might have heard the latter and passed it on to Chalabi.

Posted by Laura at 10:56 AM

# War and Piece June 14, 2004

## ABOUT WAR AND PIECE

War and Piece is written by Laura Rozen, a journalist who reports on national security and foreign policy issues from Washington, D.C. [\(More\)](#)



Reunion after the Sarajevo Siege. Photograph by Roger Richards, 1996.

## SEARCH

Search this site:

## RECENT ARTICLES

["Chalabi Smackdown,"](#)  
The American Prospect  
Online, May 20, 2004.

["Ye of Little Faith,"](#) The  
American Prospect, May  
18, 2004.

June 14, 2004  
John Ashcroft refused to give the Senate Judiciary Committee the August 1, 2002 torture memo the Justice Department Office of Legal Counsel prepared at

John Ashcroft of the White House Senate Washington Post got ahold of it and posted it here. (note: .pdf linked). The Justice Department's top lawyer at the military intelligence interrogators at Abu Ghraib began Office of Legal Counsel is Jay S. Bybee.

altering senior US military officers in November 2003 to Meantime, the NYT is reporting that a senior military intelligence advisor that beat did not learn of the alerting senior military officers in November 2003 to the abuse. This contradicts what senior military commanders have said that they did not learn of the abuse until January.

## June 13, 2004

Posted by Laura at 05:25 AM

Here's an interesting February 2001 article on the Pentagon renewing ties to INC intelligence chief Aras Kareem.

Here's an interesting February 2001 article on the Pentagon renewing ties to INC intelligence chief Aras Kareem.

In one of the most telling signs the Bush administration will revamp U.S. Iraq policy, Pentagon officials began meeting with the chief of operations for the Umbrella of Iraqi Resistance groups considered so dangerous in U.S. intelligence circles that his cousin, Ali Aras Kareem, who sought asylum, was detained in custody for a jail term because of his investigation into that horrific Iraq week

# LewRockwell.com

Home | About | Columnists | Blog | Subscribe | Donate

## Standing By Your NRO and AEI

by Karen Kwiatkowski  
by Karen Kwiatkowski

SAVE THIS EMAIL THIS PRINT THIS MOST POPULAR

Michael Rubin is moaning, lamenting and harmonizing about how criticism of neoconservative war planning and occupation strategies in Iraq is part of a vast all-powerful conspiracy. It would make a great country song.

Rubin didn't say the conspiracy was great or right-wing. But he poignantly captures the pain and panic of the neoconservatives these days. Like a poor wife standing by her man, Michael Rubin sings Tammy Wynette.

His article in the National Review Online is mostly about me. Interestingly, in the fourth paragraph, he writes that he never met me. He sure knows a lot about me, though! Well, Mike Rubin knows a lot about a lot of things.

According to his AEI C.V., he is an Iran and Iraq expert who spent two years with the Office of Secretary of Defense working Iran and Iraq issues. He also advised Mr. Jerry Bremer and the Coalition Provisional Authority. Let me get this straight. He was the advisor to the guy who invaded Iraq on false premises, and to the other guy who is running Iraq more than a year later. If it were I, I'm not sure I'd include that information on my résumé. Of course, it's not his fault; he's just a consultant.

When Rubin was part of the Office of Special Plans, many of us, especially in uniform, saw the pooch get prepped for screwing, and then the actual screwing of the pooch. It wasn't pretty. We saw guys like Rubin running around promoting a war because Saddam had a lot of viable WMDs. I'm sure it wasn't Michael Rubin pushing that claim, and that these fantasy WMDs only existed in the minds of the OTHER Iraq war über-strategists. Not Michael.

We saw intelligence get watered down when it didn't prove the über-strategists' preconceived notions about Iraq, and we watched while Kool-Aid was added to the weak bits of unsubstantiated data that seemed to. I'm sure Rubin never drank that particular Kool-Aid. Although in his Tammy Wynette role, he may have served it up.

We saw a guy named Doug Feith, a lobbyist for Israel in his law firm who espoused extremely pro-Likud views, be confirmed by the Congress as the Under Secretary for Defense Policy with his like-minded consultants. We watch as Feith then focused his attention on developing a Middle East war/policy. We observed as he made a huge mess of it.

But of course, Michael had nothing to do with that. He was just standing by his man.

b6  
b7C

Q 21  
6/20/04

OSR-WP-2004-315-UC  
BK BNC



When Jon Stewart at the Comedy Channel comments on the Giant Mess-o-Potamia, he's not kidding. Somehow, I see a sweaty Michael Rubin back in the kitchen wiping his hands on his stained apron. No, Michael, the damned spot won't come out. Trust me.

Rubin's NRO tirade thematically centers on the presumed "Kwiatkowski-LaRouche-grand-conspiracy-to-pick-on-neoconservatives-and-make-them-look-like-really-foolish-blunderers-by-getting-us-into-an-unnecessary-war-killing-more-than-750-American-soldiers-and-suggesting-the-horror!-that-some-neoconservatives-are-even-war-criminals." His article is in key ways factually incorrect, wrong, and in some ways, a little bit stupid. But smears usually are, aren't they?

Some key mistakes include the old AEI charge that I have something to do with LaRouche, that I didn't know where the OSP offices were located, that I left the Pentagon because I felt others had gotten promotions and I didn't, that I said Larry Franklin used his wheelchair-bound wife as a cover for gallivanting around the world on secret missions, and that I have a fringe ideology, among others. For the record, no on LaRouche, yes on the location of the OSP spaces, no on the promotion question (I never even stayed long enough to meet my first O-6 board), no on Larry Franklin and his wife and secret missions, and I'm not sure on the "fringe ideology." Rubin never really explains what fringe ideology he's talking about.

I can only say with a high confidence that it isn't the same fringe ideology embraced by the *National Review* and the American Enterprise Institute these days.

When Michael Rubin says he knows something about something, it seems he really doesn't know much. The little he knows appears not to be supported by either facts or evidence, and is somewhat hope-based. Whether he is advising the Pentagon on Iraq and Iran, or trying to smear me, Rubin gets it wrong, again and again.

Like Tammy Wynette's heroine, he's going on faith in and love for the neocon agenda, and loyalty to his neocon friends. Faith and love and loyalty are wonderful things, but Michael, dear, it's hard sometimes, isn't it? All that abuse, and people giving you a hard time, saying you made bad choices, all those reasons to leave but you just can't do it. I think Tammy says it best:

Sometimes it's hard to be a woman  
 Givin' all your love to just one man  
 You'll have bad times and he'll have good times  
 Doin' things that you don't understand

But if you love him, you'll forgive him  
 Even though he's hard to understand  
 And if you love him, oh be proud of him  
 'Cause after all he's just a man

May 19, 2004

*Karen Kwiatkowski [send her mail] is a retired USAF lieutenant colonel, who spent her final four and a half years in uniform working at the Pentagon. She now lives with her*

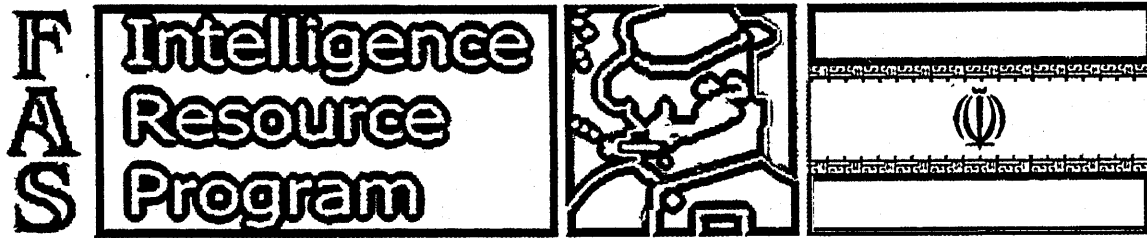


*freedom-loving family in the Shenandoah Valley, and writes a bi-weekly column on defense issues with a libertarian perspective for militaryweek.com.*

Copyright © 2004 LewRockwell.com

**Karen Kwiatkowski Archives**

**[Back to LewRockwell.com Home Page](#)**



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 07-29-2010 BY 60324 uc baw/sab/lsg

## Qods (Jerusalem) Force Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC - Pasdaran- e Inqilab)

While the Constitution of Iran entrusts the military with guarding Iran's territorial integrity and political independence, it gives the Revolutionary Guard [Pasdaran] the responsibility of guarding the Revolution itself. Established under a decree issued by Khomeini on May 5, 1979, the Pasdaran was intended to guard the Revolution and to assist the ruling clerics in the day-to-day enforcement of the government's Islamic codes and morality. The Revolution also needed to rely on a force of its own rather than borrowing the previous regime's tainted units.

By 1986 the Pasdaran consisted of 350,000 personnel organized in battalion-size units that operated either independently or with units of the regular armed forces. In 1986 the Pasdaran acquired small naval and air elements. By 1996 the ground and naval forces were reported to number 100,000 and 20,000, respectively.

### Domestic Operations

The Pasdaran has maintained an intelligence branch to monitor the regime's domestic adversaries and to participate in their arrests and trials. Khomeini implied Pasdaran involvement in intelligence when he congratulated the Pasdaran on the arrest of Iranian communist Tudeh leaders. The *Baseej* (volunteers) come under the control of the Revolutionary Guards. In 1988, up to 900,000 baseej were mobilized. The Baseej allegedly also monitor the activities of citizens, and harass or arrest women whose clothing does not cover the hair and all of the body except hands and face, or those who wear makeup. During the year ending in June 1995, they reportedly "notified 907,246 people verbally and issued 370,079 written notices against 'social corruption' and arrested 86,190 people, and also broke up 542 'corrupt gangs', arresting their 2,618 members, and seized 86,597 indecent videocassettes and photographs.

The *Ashura Brigades* force was reportedly created in 1993 after anti-government riots erupted in various Iranian cities and it consists of 17,000 Islamic militia men and women. The Ashura Brigades are reportedly composed of elements of the Revolutionary Guards (Pasdaran) and the *Baseej* volunteer militia

In August 1994, some Pasdaran units, rushed to quell riots in the city of Ghazvin, 150 km. west of Tehran, reportedly refused orders from the Interior Minister to intervene in the clashes, which left more than 30 people dead, 400 wounded and over 1,000 arrested. Subsequently, senior officers in the army, air force and the usually loyal Islamic Revolutionary Guard reportedly stated that they would no longer order their troops into battle to quell civil disorder. A Pasdaran commander was among four senior army officers who are said to have sent a letter to the country's political leadership, warning the clerical rulers against "using the armed forces to crush civilian unrest and internal conflicts." In a communiqué sent to Ayatollah Ali Khomeini, stated that "the role of the country's armed forces is to defend its borders and to repel foreign enemies from its soil, not to control the internal situation or to strengthen one political faction above another." They are said to have then recommended the use of *Baseej* volunteers for this purpose. In a move believed to indicate a shift in the trust of the ruling clerics from the Pasdaran to the *Baseej* volunteer force, on 17 April 1995 Ayatollah Ali Khomeini reportedly promoted a civilian, veterinary surgeon Hassan Firuzabadi, to the rank of full general, placing him above both Brigadier-General Mohsen Rezai, commander-in-chief of the Pasdaran and Brigadier General Ali Shahbazi of the regular armed forces.

## Foreign Operations

The foreign operations by the Guardians, which also encompass the activities of Hizballah and Islamic Jihad – are usually carried out through the **Committee on Foreign Intelligence Abroad** and the **Committee on Implementation of Actions Abroad**. As with agents of Ministry of Intelligence, Pasdaran personnel operate through front companies and non-governmental organizations, employees or officials of trading companies, banks, cultural centers or as representatives of the Foundation of the Oppressed and Dispossessed (Bonyade-e- Mostafazan), or the Martyrs Foundation.

The **Qods (Jerusalem) Force** of the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) is responsible for extraterritorial operations, including terrorist operations. A primary focus for the Qods Force is training Islamic fundamentalist terrorist groups. Currently, the Qods Force conducts training activities in Iran and in Sudan. The Qods Force is also responsible for gathering information required for targeting and attack planning. The Pasdaran has contacts with underground movements in the Gulf region, and Pasdaran members are assigned to Iranian diplomatic missions, where, in the course of routine intelligence activities they monitor dissidents. Pasdaran influence has been particularly

The largest branch of Pasdaran foreign operations consists of approximately 12,000 Arabic speaking Iranians, Afghans, Iraqis, Lebanese shi'ites and North Africans who trained in Iran or received training in Afghanistan during the Afghan war years. Presently these foreign operatives receive training in Iran, Sudan and Lebanon, and include the *Hizballah* ["Party of Allah"] intelligence, logistics and operational units in Lebanon [Hizballah is primarily a social and political rather than military organization]. The second largest Pasdaran foreign operations relates to the Kurds (particularly Iraqi Kurds), while the third largest relates to the Kashmiri's, the Balouchi's and the Afghans. The Pasdaran has also supported the establishment of *Hizballah* branches in Lebanon, Iraqi Kurdistan, Jordan and Palestine, and the Islamic Jihad in many other Moslem countries including Egypt, Turkey, Chechnya and in Caucasia. *Hizballah* has been implicated in the counterfeiting of U.S. dollars and European currencies, both to finance its operations and to disrupt Western economies by impairing international trade and tourism.

The **Office of Liberation Movements** has established a Gulf Section tasked with forming a Gulf Battalion as part of the Jerusalem Forces. In April 1995 a number of international organizations linked to international terrorism --including the Japanese Red Army, the Armenian Secret Army, and the Kurdistan Workers' Party -- were reported to have met in Beirut with representatives of the Iraqi Da'wah Party, the Islamic Front for the Liberation of Bahrain, Hizballah, Iran's "Office of Liberation Movements," and Iran's Guardians of the Revolution. Tehran's objective was to destabilize Arab Gulf states by supporting fundamentalists with military, financial, and logistical support. Members of these and other organizations receive military training at a Guardians of the Revolution facility some 100 kilometers south of Tehran. A variety of of training courses are conducted at the facility for fundamentalists from the Gulf states, Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia, and Lebanon, including naval operations, mines, and diving operations in a special camp near the Orontes River.

## Sources and Methods

- SPECIAL AND IRREGULAR ARMED FORCES in IRAN - A Country Study  
Library of Congress Federal Research Division
- "ISLAMIC REPUBLIC" OF IRAN EXPORT OF REVOLUTION FLAG OF FREEDOM ORGANIZATION OF IRAN (FFO) SPECIAL REPORT August 12, 1997
- Counterfeit U.S. Currency Abroad: Issues and U.S. Deterrence Efforts (GAO Letter Report, 02/26/96, GAO/GGD-96-11)
- "Alleged Extremist Plans To Destabilize Gulf" FBIS-NES-95-092 : 10 Feb 1995  
[Source: Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI , 10 Feb 95 pp 14-16]

**FAS | Intelligence | World Agencies | Iran |||| Index | Search | Join FAS**

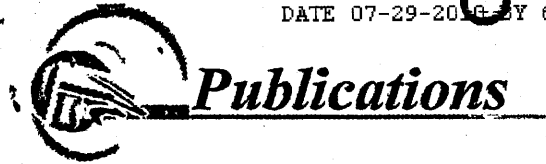
---

**<http://www.fas.org/irp/world/iran/qods/>**

**Created by John Pike**

**Maintained by Steven Aftergood**

**Updated Friday, August 21, 1998 8:56:03 AM**



# IRAN LIBERATION

News Bulletin of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Council of Resistance of Iran

No.  
170

April 7, 2003

## *Tehran Poised to Attack Mojahedin, Sieze Iraqi Territory*

Contrary to the consecutive denials and reiterations that it does not intend to interfere in Iraq, the clerical regime is poised fully to take advantage of the developments in the region and attack the Mojahedin and capture parts of Iraqi territory. To this end, the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran issued a statement on April 1, exposing parts of the activities of the regime which are as follows:

1. The regime has stationed a total of 46 brigades and an assortment of weapons, equipment and missiles in the border region. The following activities have been undertaken in the past 10 days:
2. Transferring the 3rd Brigade of the 21st Hamzeh Division from Marand to Chehel Zari (along the border region in Kermanshah Province);

<i>Publications</i>
Iran Liberation New Issue Previous Issues
Women New Issue Previous Issues
Lion & Sun New Issue Previous Issues
Books

3. Transferring part of the 28th Sanandaj Division to the city of Mehran (a border town in Ilam Province);

4. Transferring part of the Guards Corps 10th Division to Mehran;

5. Transferring parts of the 16th Qazvin Armored Division to Sar-pol-Zahab (in the border region in Kermanshah Province);

6. Transferring 1st and 2nd brigades of 81st Kermanshah Division from Kermanshah and Islam-Abad to the border region and deploying five tank battalions along Qasr-e Shirin;

7. Transferring the 35th Commando Brigade from Kermanshah to Mehran and Gilan-e Gharb;

8. Transferring parts of the 55th Airborne Brigade from Shiraz to Sar-pol-Zahab;

9. Transferring the 2nd Brigade of the 84th Division from Khorramabad to Bostan;

10. Transferring part of the 64th Orumieh Division to Abadan (south of Khuzistan Province, opposite Basra);

11. Transferring the 45th Commando Brigade from Shushtar to Khorramshahr and Bostan;

12. Transferring the 2nd Brigade of the Revolutionary Guards 7th Vali-



Asr Division from Behbahan to Sousangerd (in the border region in Khuzistan Province);

13. Transferring part of the 2nd Brigade of the Revolutionary Guards 4th Division from Ilam to Mehran;

14. Transferring part of the 3rd Brigade of the Revolutionary Guards 4th Division from Hamedan to Qasr-e Shirin;

15. Transferring parts of the intelligence and operations headquarters of the Revolutionary Guards Divisions from different provinces to Qasr-e Shirin to assess the situation and order the operational forces of those divisions if needed;

16. Concentrating the Intelligence Ministry's terrorist groups and forces in the Qasr-e Shirin in order to infiltrate the Iraqi territory and carry out terrorist operational against the Mojahedin in Khanaqin, Jalawla, Baquba and Baghdad;

17. Transferring a part of the 64th Al-Hadid Missile Brigade of the Revolutionary Guards to Howeizeh (border region in Khuzistan Province) to carry out missile attacks with Fajr 3 and 5 missiles;

18. Transferring a part of the 65th Special Airborne Force from Tehran to the so-called Abuzar in south of Sar-pol-Zahab. The probe and reconnaissance units of the brigade

have so far carried out several reconnaissance missions on Mojahedin bases in Khosravi-Khaneqin and Sumar-Mandali axes.

19. Transferring ammunition and equipment inside Iraq by the Revolutionary Guards Fajr Base (belonging to the extra-territorial terrorist Qods Force) in Ahwaz, in Bostan, Shat-Ali, Howeizeh and Tala'ieh (border region in Khuzistan Province);

20. Transferring 40 truck-loads of ammunition from Kermanshah to Iraqi territory through Azgaléh to Maydan and Darbandikhan by the Revolutionary Guards Zafar Garrison;

21. Redeploying mercenaries of the 9th Badr Corps from Kermanshah to Marivan and Iraqi Kurdistan and from Dezful to Howeizeh as well as helping groups of them to infiltrate the Iraqi territory in Mandali, Mehran and Howeizeh by the extra-territorial terrorist Qods (Jerusalem) Force.

22. According to the Qods Force's operational scheme, the 9th Badr Corps is planning, similar to 12 years ago, to pour into Basra, Nasseriyah and Al-Amara. Revolutionary Guards Brig. Gen. Ahmad Forouzandeh, in charge of the Iraqi Crisis Headquarters, is currently based in Ahwaz (Khuzistan Province);

23. Commanders of the Qods Force, including its commander Brig. Gen. Qassem Soleimani, his deputy Brig. Gen. Iraj Masjedi, Brig. Gen. Hamid Taghavi, Ramezan Garrison's commander of operations, and Brig. Gen. Obeidavi, Fajr Garrison's commander, are making the military and terrorist preparations in Iraqi territory. Occasionally, they use ambulances to enter Iraqi territory;

24. All of the so-called Ashura and Az-Zahra battalions of the Revolutionary Guards paramilitary Bassij forces across the country have been armed to confront the Mojahedin. The Revolutionary Guards Divisions have been put on alert across the country;

25. Eight warplanes in Hamedan's Nojeh air base, eight in Dezful's Vahdati air base, two in Bandar Abbas air base and two in Bushehr air base are on a state of readiness round-the-clock. They are armed with air-to-air missiles.

26. The clerical regime has so far stationed a total of 46 brigades with an assortment of weapons, equipment and missiles in hopes of taking advantage of the Iraqi situation and attack the Mojahedin.

[Print Window](#) | [Close Window](#)

Document 4 of 24  
Copyright 2004 The Conde Nast Publications, Inc.  
The New Yorker

June 28, 2004

**SECTION:** FACT; Annals Of National Security; Pg. 54

**LENGTH:** 5151 words

**HEADLINE:** PLAN B;  
As June 30th approaches, Israel looks to the Kurds.

**BYLINE:** SEYMOUR M. HERSH

**BODY:**

In July, 2003, two months after President Bush declared victory in Iraq, the war, far from winding down, reached a critical point. Israel, which had been among the war's most enthusiastic supporters, began warning the Administration that the American-led occupation would face a heightened insurgency—a campaign of bombings and assassinations—later that summer. Israeli intelligence assets in Iraq were reporting that the insurgents had the support of Iranian intelligence operatives and other foreign fighters, who were crossing the unprotected border between Iran and Iraq at will. The Israelis urged the United States to seal the nine-hundred-mile-long border, at whatever cost.

The border stayed open, however. "The Administration wasn't ignoring the Israeli intelligence about Iran," Patrick Clawson, who is the deputy director of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy and has close ties to the White House, explained. "There's no question that we took no steps last summer to close the border, but our attitude was that it was more useful for Iraqis to have contacts with ordinary Iranians coming across the border, and thousands were coming across every day—for instance, to make pilgrimages." He added, "The questions we confronted were 'Is the trade-off worth it? Do we want to isolate the Iraqis?' Our answer was that as long as the Iranians were not picking up guns and shooting at us, it was worth the price."

Clawson said, "The Israelis disagreed quite vigorously with us last summer. Their concern was very straightforward—that the Iranians would create social and charity organizations in Iraq and use them to recruit people who would engage in armed attacks against Americans."

The warnings of increased violence proved accurate. By early August, the insurgency against the occupation had exploded, with bombings in Baghdad, at the Jordanian Embassy and the United Nations headquarters, that killed forty-two people. A former Israeli intelligence officer said that Israel's leadership had concluded by then that the United States was unwilling to confront Iran; in terms of salvaging the situation in Iraq, he said, "It doesn't add up. It's over. Not militarily—the United States cannot be defeated militarily in Iraq—but politically."

Flynt Leverett, a former C.I.A. analyst who until last year served on the National Security Council and is now a fellow at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy, told me that late last summer "the Administration had a chance to turn it around after it was clear that 'Mission Accomplished'—a reference to Bush's May speech—"was premature. The Bush people could have gone to their allies and got more boots on the ground. But the neocons were dug in—"We're doing this on our own."

Leverett went on, "The President was only belatedly coming to the understanding that he had to either make a strategic change or, if he was going to insist on unilateral control, get tougher and find the actual insurgency." The Administration then decided, Leverett said, to "deploy the Guantanamo model in Iraq"—to put aside its rules of interrogation. That decision failed to stop the insurgency and eventually led to the scandal at the Abu Ghraib prison.

In early November, the President received a grim assessment from the C.I.A.'s station chief in Baghdad, who filed a special field appraisal, known internally as an Aardwolf, warning that the security situation in Iraq was nearing collapse. The document, as described by Knight-Ridder, said that "none of the postwar Iraqi political institutions and leaders have shown an ability to govern the country" or to hold elections and draft a constitution.

A few days later, the Administration, rattled by the violence and the new intelligence, finally attempted to change its go-it-alone policy, and set June 30th as the date for the handover of sovereignty to an interim government, which would allow it to bring the United Nations into the process. "November was one year before the Presidential election," a U.N. consultant who worked on Iraqi issues told me. "They panicked and decided to share the blame with the U.N. and the Iraqis."

A former Administration official who had supported the war completed a discouraging tour of Iraq late last fall. He visited Tel Aviv afterward and found that the Israelis he met with were equally discouraged. As they saw it, their warnings and advice had been ignored, and the American war against the insurgency was continuing to founder. "I spent hours talking to the senior members of

the Israeli political and intelligence community," the former official recalled. "Their concern was 'You're not going to get it right in Iraq, and shouldn't we be planning for the worst-case scenario and how to deal with it?'"

Ehud Barak, the former Israeli Prime Minister, who supported the Bush Administration's invasion of Iraq, took it upon himself at this point to privately warn Vice-President Dick Cheney that America had lost in Iraq; according to an American close to Barak, he said that Israel "had learned that there's no way to win an occupation." The only issue, Barak told Cheney, "was choosing the size of your humiliation." Cheney did not respond to Barak's assessment. (Cheney's office declined to comment.)

In a series of interviews in Europe, the Middle East, and the United States, officials told me that by the end of last year Israel had concluded that the Bush Administration would not be able to bring stability or democracy to Iraq, and that Israel needed other options. Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's government decided, I was told, to minimize the damage that the war was causing to Israel's strategic position by expanding its long-standing relationship with Iraq's Kurds and establishing a significant presence on the ground in the semi-autonomous region of Kurdistan. Several officials depicted Sharon's decision, which involves a heavy financial commitment, as a potentially reckless move that could create even more chaos and violence as the insurgency in Iraq continues to grow.

Israeli intelligence and military operatives are now quietly at work in Kurdistan, providing training for Kurdish commando units and, most important in Israel's view, running covert operations inside Kurdish areas of Iran and Syria. Israel feels particularly threatened by Iran, whose position in the region has been strengthened by the war. The Israeli operatives include members of the Mossad, Israel's clandestine foreign-intelligence service, who work undercover in Kurdistan as businessmen and, in some cases, do not carry Israeli passports.

Asked to comment, Mark Regev, the spokesman for the Israeli Embassy in Washington, said, "The story is simply untrue and the relevant governments know it's untrue." Kurdish officials declined to comment, as did a spokesman for the State Department.

However, a senior C.I.A. official acknowledged in an interview last week that the Israelis were indeed operating in Kurdistan. He told me that the Israelis felt that they had little choice: "They think they have to be there." Asked whether the Israelis had sought approval from Washington, the official laughed and said, "Do you know anybody who can tell the Israelis what to do? They're always going to do what is in their best interest." The C.I.A. official added that the Israeli presence was widely known in the American intelligence community.

The Israeli decision to seek a bigger foothold in Kurdistan—characterized by the former Israeli intelligence officer as "Plan B"—has also raised tensions between Israel and Turkey. It has provoked bitter statements from Turkish politicians and, in a major regional shift, a new alliance among Iran, Syria, and Turkey, all of which have significant Kurdish minorities. In early June, *Intel Brief*, a privately circulated intelligence newsletter produced by Vincent Cannistraro, a retired C.I.A. counterterrorism chief, and Phillip Giraldi, who served as the C.I.A.'s deputy chief of base in Istanbul in the late nineteen-eighties, said:

Turkish sources confidentially report that the Turks are increasingly concerned by the expanding Israeli presence in Kurdistan and alleged encouragement of Kurdish ambitions to create an independent state. . . . The Turks note that the large Israeli intelligence operations in Northern Iraq incorporate anti-Syrian and anti-Iranian activity, including support to Iranian and Syrian Kurds who are in opposition to their respective governments.

In the years since the first Gulf War, Iraq's Kurds, aided by an internationally enforced no-fly zone and by a U.N. mandate providing them with a share of the country's oil revenues, have managed to achieve a large measure of independence in three northern Iraqi provinces. As far as most Kurds are concerned, however, historic "Kurdistan" extends well beyond Iraq's borders, encompassing parts of Iran, Syria, and Turkey. All three countries fear that Kurdistan, despite public pledges to the contrary, will declare its independence from the interim Iraqi government if conditions don't improve after June 30th.

Israeli involvement in Kurdistan is not new. Throughout the nineteen-sixties and seventies, Israel actively supported a Kurdish rebellion against Iraq, as part of its strategic policy of seeking alliances with non-Arabs in the Middle East. In 1975, the Kurds were betrayed by the United States, when Washington went along with a decision by the Shah of Iran to stop supporting Kurdish aspirations for autonomy in Iraq.

Betrayal and violence became the norm in the next two decades. Inside Iraq, the Kurds were brutally repressed by Saddam Hussein, who used airpower and chemical weapons against them. In 1984, the Kurdistan Workers Party, or P.K.K., initiated a campaign of separatist violence in Turkey that lasted fifteen years; more than thirty thousand people, most of them Kurds, were killed. The Turkish government ruthlessly crushed the separatists, and eventually captured the P.K.K.'s leader, Abdullah Ocalan. Last month, the P.K.K., now known as the Kongra-Gel, announced that it was ending a five-year unilateral ceasefire and would begin targeting Turkish citizens once again.

The Iraqi Kurdish leadership was furious when, early this month, the United States acceded to a U.N. resolution on the restoration of Iraqi sovereignty that did not affirm the interim constitution that granted the minority Kurds veto power in any permanent constitution. Kurdish leaders immediately warned President Bush in a letter that they would not participate in a new Shiite-controlled government unless they were assured that their rights under the interim constitution were preserved. "The people of Kurdistan will no longer accept second-class citizenship in Iraq," the letter said.

There are fears that the Kurds will move to seize the city of Kirkuk, together with the substantial oil reserves in the surrounding region. Kirkuk is dominated by Arab Iraqis, many of whom were relocated there, beginning in the nineteen-seventies, as part of Saddam Hussein's campaign to "Arabize" the region, but the Kurds consider Kirkuk and its oil part of their historic homeland. "If Kirkuk is threatened by the Kurds, the Sunni insurgents will move in there, along with the Turkomen, and there will be a bloodbath,"

an American military expert who is studying Iraq told me. "And, even if the Kurds do take Kirkuk, they can't transport the oil out of the country, since all of the pipelines run through the Sunni-Arab heartland."

A top German national-security official said in an interview that "an independent Kurdistan with sufficient oil would have enormous consequences for Syria, Iran, and Turkey" and would lead to continuing instability in the Middle East no matter what the outcome in Iraq is. There is also a widespread belief, another senior German official said, that some elements inside the Bush Administration he referred specifically to the faction headed by Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz would tolerate an independent Kurdistan. This, the German argued, would be a mistake. "It would be a new Israel—a pariah state in the middle of hostile nations."

A declaration of independence would trigger a Turkish response—and possibly a war—and also derail what has been an important alliance for Israel. Turkey and Israel have become strong diplomatic and economic partners in the past decade. Thousands of Israelis travel to Turkey every year as tourists. Turkish opposition to the Iraq war has strained the relationship; still, Turkey remains oriented toward the West and, despite the victory of an Islamic party in national elections in 2002, relatively secular. It is now vying for acceptance in the European Union. In contrast, Turkey and Syria have been at odds for years, at times coming close to open confrontation, and Turkey and Iran have long been regional rivals. One area of tension between them is the conflict between Turkey's pro-Western stand and Iran's rigid theocracy. But their mutual wariness of the Kurds has transcended these divisions.

A European foreign minister, in a conversation last month, said that the "blowing up" of Israel's alliance with Turkey would be a major setback for the region. He went on, "To avoid chaos, you need the neighbors to work as one common entity."

The Israelis, however, view the neighborhood, with the exception of Kurdistan, as hostile. Israel is convinced that Iran is on the verge of developing nuclear weapons, and that, with Syria's help, it is planning to bolster Palestinian terrorism as Israel withdraws from the Gaza Strip.

Iraqi Shiite militia leaders like Moqtada al-Sadr, the former American intelligence official said, are seen by the Israeli leadership as "stalking horses" for Iran—owing much of their success in defying the American-led coalition to logistical and communications support and training provided by Iran. The former intelligence official said, "We began to see telltale signs of organizational training last summer. But the White House didn't want to hear it: 'We can't take on another problem right now. We can't afford to push Iran to the point where we've got to have a showdown.'"

Last summer, according to a document I obtained, the Bush Administration directed the Marines to draft a detailed plan, called Operation Stuart, for the arrest and, if necessary, assassination of Sadr. But the operation was cancelled, the former intelligence official told me, after it became clear that Sadr had been "tipped off" about the plan. Seven months later, after Sadr spent the winter building support for his movement, the American-led coalition shut down his newspaper, provoking a crisis that Sadr survived with his status enhanced, thus insuring that he will play a major, and unwelcome, role in the political and military machinations after June 30th.

"Israel's immediate goal after June 30th is to build up the Kurdish commando units to balance the Shiite militias—especially those which would be hostile to the kind of order in southern Iraq that Israel would like to see," the former senior intelligence official said. "Of course, if a fanatic Sunni Baathist militia took control—one as hostile to Israel as Saddam Hussein was—Israel would unleash the Kurds on it, too." The Kurdish armed forces, known as the peshmerga, number an estimated seventy-five thousand troops, a total that far exceeds the known Sunni and Shiite militias.

The former Israeli intelligence officer acknowledged that since late last year Israel has been training Kurdish commando units to operate in the same manner and with the same effectiveness as Israel's most secretive commando units, the Mistaravim. The initial goal of the Israeli assistance to the Kurds, the former officer said, was to allow them to do what American commando units had been unable to do—penetrate, gather intelligence on, and then kill off the leadership of the Shiite and Sunni insurgencies in Iraq. (I was unable to learn whether any such mission had yet taken place.) "The feeling was that this was a more effective way to get at the insurgency," the former officer said. "But the growing Kurdish-Israeli relationship began upsetting the Turks no end. Their issue is that the very same Kurdish commandos trained for Iraq could infiltrate and attack in Turkey."

The Kurdish-Israeli collaboration inevitably expanded, the Israeli said. Some Israeli operatives have crossed the border into Iran, accompanied by Kurdish commandos, to install sensors and other sensitive devices that primarily target suspected Iranian nuclear facilities. The former officer said, "Look, Israel has always supported the Kurds in a Machiavellian way—as balance against Saddam. It's Realpolitik." He added, "By aligning with the Kurds, Israel gains eyes and ears in Iran, Iraq, and Syria." He went on, "What Israel was doing with the Kurds was not so unacceptable in the Bush Administration."

Senior German officials told me, with alarm, that their intelligence community also has evidence that Israel is using its new leverage inside Kurdistan, and within the Kurdish communities in Iran and Syria, for intelligence and operational purposes. Syrian and Lebanese officials believe that Israeli intelligence played a role in a series of violent protests in Syria in mid-March in which Syrian Kurdish dissidents and Syrian troops clashed, leaving at least thirty people dead. (There are nearly two million Kurds living in Syria, which has a population of seventeen million.) Much of the fighting took place in cities along Syria's borders with Turkey and Kurdish-controlled Iraq. Michel Samaha, the Lebanese Minister of Information, told me that while the disturbances amounted to an uprising by the Kurds against the leadership of Bashar Assad, the Syrian President, his government had evidence that Israel was "preparing the Kurds to fight all around Iraq, in Syria, Turkey, and Iran. They're being programmed to do commando operations."

The top German national-security official told me that he believes that the Bush Administration continually misread Iran. "The Iranians wanted to keep America tied down in Iraq, and to keep it busy there, but they didn't want chaos," he said. One of the senior German officials told me, "The critical question is 'What will the behavior of Iran be if there is an independent Kurdistan with

close ties to Israel?' Iran does not want an Israeli land-based aircraft carrier"-that is, a military stronghold-"on its border."

Another senior European official said, "The Iranians would do something positive in the south of Iraq if they get something positive in return, but Washington won't do it. The Bush Administration won't ask the Iranians for help, and can't ask the Syrians. Who is going to save the United States?" He added that, at the start of the American invasion of Iraq, several top European officials had told their counterparts in Iran, "You will be the winners in the region."

Israel is not alone in believing that Iran, despite its protestations, is secretly hard at work on a nuclear bomb. Early this month, the International Atomic Energy Agency, which is responsible for monitoring nuclear proliferation, issued its fifth quarterly report in a row stating that Iran was continuing to misrepresent its research into materials that could be used for the production of nuclear weapons. Much of the concern centers on an underground enrichment facility at Natanz, two hundred and fifty miles from the Iran-Iraq border, which, during previous I.A.E.A. inspections, was discovered to contain centrifuges showing traces of weapons-grade uranium. The huge complex, which is still under construction, is said to total nearly eight hundred thousand square feet, and it will be sheltered in a few months by a roof whose design allows it to be covered with sand. Once the work is completed, the complex "will be blind to satellites, and the Iranians could add additional floors underground," an I.A.E.A. official told me. "The question is, will the Israelis hit Iran?"

Mohamed ElBaradei, the I.A.E.A. director, has repeatedly stated that his agency has not "seen concrete proof of a military program, so it's premature to make a judgment on that." David Albright, a former U.N. weapons inspector who is an expert on nuclear proliferation, buttressed the I.A.E.A. claim. "The United States has no concrete evidence of a nuclear-weapons program," Albright told me. "It's just an inference. There's no smoking gun." (Last Friday, at a meeting in Vienna, the I.A.E.A. passed a resolution that, while acknowledging some progress, complained that Iran had yet to be as open as it should be, and urgently called upon it to resolve a list of outstanding questions.)

The I.A.E.A. official told me that the I.A.E.A. leadership has been privately warned by Foreign Ministry officials in Iran that they are "having a hard time getting information" from the hard-line religious and military leaders who run the country. "The Iranian Foreign Ministry tells us, 'We're just diplomats, and we don't know whether we're getting the whole story from our own people,'" the official said. He noted that the Bush Administration has repeatedly advised the I.A.E.A. that there are secret nuclear facilities in Iran that have not been declared. The Administration will not say more, apparently worried that the information could get back to Iran.

Patrick Clawson, of the Institute for Near East Policy, provided another explanation for the reluctance of the Bush Administration to hand over specific intelligence. "If we were to identify a site," he told me, "it's conceivable that it could be quickly disassembled and the I.A.E.A. inspectors would arrive"-international inspections often take weeks to organize-"and find nothing." The American intelligence community, already discredited because of its faulty reporting on Iraqi weapons of mass destruction, would be criticized anew. "It's much better," Clawson said, "to have the I.A.E.A. figure out on its own that there's a site and then find evidence that there had been enriched material there."

Clawson told me that Israel's overwhelming national-security concern must be Iran. Given that a presence in Kurdistan would give Israel a way to monitor the Iranian nuclear effort, he said, "it would be negligent for the Israelis not to be there."

At the moment, the former American senior intelligence official said, the Israelis' tie to Kurdistan "would be of greater value than their growing alliance with Turkey. 'We love Turkey but got to keep the pressure on Iran.'" The former Israeli intelligence officer said, "The Kurds were the last surviving group close to the United States with any say in Iraq. The only question was how to square it with Turkey."

There may be no way to square it with Turkey. Over breakfast in Ankara, a senior Turkish official explained, "Before the war, Israel was active in Kurdistan, and now it is active again. This is very dangerous for us, and for them, too. We do not want to see Iraq divided, and we will not ignore it." Then, citing a popular Turkish proverb-"We will burn a blanket to kill a flea"-he said, "We have told the Kurds, 'We are not afraid of you, but you should be afraid of us.'" (A Turkish diplomat I spoke to later was more direct: "We tell our Israeli and Kurdish friends that Turkey's good will lies in keeping Iraq together. We will not support alternative solutions.")

"If you end up with a divided Iraq, it will bring more blood, tears, and pain to the Middle East, and you will be blamed," the senior Turkish official said. "From Mexico to Russia, everybody will claim that the United States had a secret agenda in Iraq: you came there to break up Iraq. If Iraq is divided, America cannot explain this to the world." The official compared the situation to the breakup of Yugoslavia, but added, "In the Balkans, you did not have oil." He said, "The lesson of Yugoslavia is that when you give one country independence everybody will want it." If that happens, he said, "Kirkuk will be the Sarajevo of Iraq. If something happens there, it will be impossible to contain the crisis."

In Ankara, another senior Turkish official explained that his government had "openly shared its worries" about the Israeli military activities inside Kurdistan with the Israeli Foreign Ministry. "They deny the training and the purchase of property and claim it's not official but done by private persons. Obviously, our intelligence community is aware that it was not so. This policy is not good for America, Iraq, or Israel and the Jews."

Turkey's increasingly emphatic and public complaints about Israel's missile attacks on the Hamas leadership in the Gaza Strip is another factor in the growing tensions between the allies. On May 26th, Turkey's Foreign Minister, Abdullah Gul, announced at a news conference in Ankara that the Turkish government was bringing its Ambassador in Israel home for consultations on how to revive the Middle East peace process. He also told the Turkish parliament that the government was planning to strengthen its ties to the Palestinian Authority, and, in conversations with Middle Eastern diplomats in the past month, he expressed grave concern about Israel. In one such talk, one diplomat told me, Gul described Israeli activities, and the possibility of an independent Kurdistan, as "presenting us with a choice that is not a real choice-between survival and alliance."

A third Turkish official told me that the Israelis were "talking to us in order to appease our concern. They say, 'We aren't doing anything in Kurdistan to undermine your interests. Don't worry.'" The official added, "If it goes out publicly what they've been doing, it will put your government and our government in a difficult position. We can tolerate 'Kurdistan' if Iraq is intact, but nobody knows the future-not even the Americans."

A former White House official depicted the Administration as eager-almost desperate-late this spring to install an acceptable new interim government in Iraq before President Bush's declared June 30th deadline for the transfer of sovereignty. The Administration turned to Lakhdar Brahimi, the United Nations special envoy, to "put together something by June 30th-just something that could stand up" through the Presidential election, the former official said. Brahimi was given the task of selecting, with Washington's public approval, the thirty-one members of Iraq's interim government. Nevertheless, according to press reports, the choice of Iyad Allawi as interim Prime Minister was a disappointment to Brahimi.

The White House has yet to deal with Allawi's past. His credentials as a neurologist, and his involvement during the past two decades in anti-Saddam activities, as the founder of the British-based Iraqi National Accord, have been widely reported. But his role as a Baath Party operative while Saddam struggled for control in the nineteen-sixties and seventies-Saddam became President in 1979-is much less well known. "Allawi helped Saddam get to power," an American intelligence officer told me. "He was a very effective operator and a true believer." Reuel Marc Gerecht, a former C.I.A. case officer who served in the Middle East, added, "Two facts stand out about Allawi. One, he likes to think of himself as a man of ideas; and, two, his strongest virtue is that he's a thug."

Early this year, one of Allawi's former medical-school classmates, Dr. Haifa al-Azawi, published an essay in an Arabic newspaper in London raising questions about his character and his medical bona fides. She depicted Allawi as a "big husky man . . . who carried a gun on his belt and frequently brandished it, terrorizing the medical students." Allawi's medical degree, she wrote, "was conferred upon him by the Baath party." Allawi moved to London in 1971, ostensibly to continue his medical education; there he was in charge of the European operations of the Baath Party organization and the local activities of the Mukhabarat, its intelligence agency, until 1975.

"If you're asking me if Allawi has blood on his hands from his days in London, the answer is yes, he does," Vincent Cannistraro, the former C.I.A. officer, said. "He was a paid Mukhabarat agent for the Iraqis, and he was involved in dirty stuff." A cabinet-level Middle East diplomat, who was rankled by the U.S. indifference to Allawi's personal history, told me early this month that Allawi was involved with a Mukhabarat "hit team" that sought out and killed Baath Party dissenters throughout Europe. (Allawi's office did not respond to a request for comment.) At some point, for reasons that are not clear, Allawi fell from favor, and the Baathists organized a series of attempts on his life. The third attempt, by an axe-wielding assassin who broke into his home near London in 1978, resulted in a year-long hospital stay.

The Saban Center's Flynt Leverett said of the transfer of sovereignty, "If it doesn't work, there is no fallback-nothing." The former senior American intelligence official told me, similarly, that "the neocons still think they can pull the rabbit out of the hat" in Iraq. "What's the plan? They say, 'We don't need it. Democracy is strong enough. We'll work it out.'"

Middle East diplomats and former C.I.A. operatives who now consult in Baghdad have told me that many wealthy Iraqi businessmen and their families have deserted Baghdad in recent weeks in anticipation of continued, and perhaps heightened, suicide attacks and terror bombings after June 30th. "We'll see Christians, Shiites, and Sunnis getting out," Michel Samaha, the Lebanese Minister of Information, reported. "What the resistance is doing is targeting the poor people who run the bureaucracy-those who can't afford to pay for private guards. A month ago, friends of mine who are important landowners in Iraq came to Baghdad to do business. The cost of one day's security was about twelve thousand dollars."

Whitley Bruner, a retired intelligence officer who was a senior member of the C.I.A.'s task force on Iraq a decade ago, said that the new interim government in Iraq is urgently seeking ways to provide affordable security for second-tier officials-the men and women who make the government work. In early June, two such officials-Kamal Jarrah, an Education Ministry official, and Bassam Salih Kubba, who was serving as deputy foreign minister-were assassinated by unidentified gunmen outside their homes. Neither had hired private guards. Bruner, who returned from Baghdad earlier this month, said that he was now working to help organize Iraqi companies that could provide high-quality security that Iraqis could afford. "It's going to be a hot summer," Bruner said. "A lot of people have decided to get to Lebanon, Jordan, or the Gulf and wait this one out."

LOAD-DATE: June 28, 2004

---



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 07-29-2010 BY 60324 uc baw/sab/lsg



MSNBC  
News



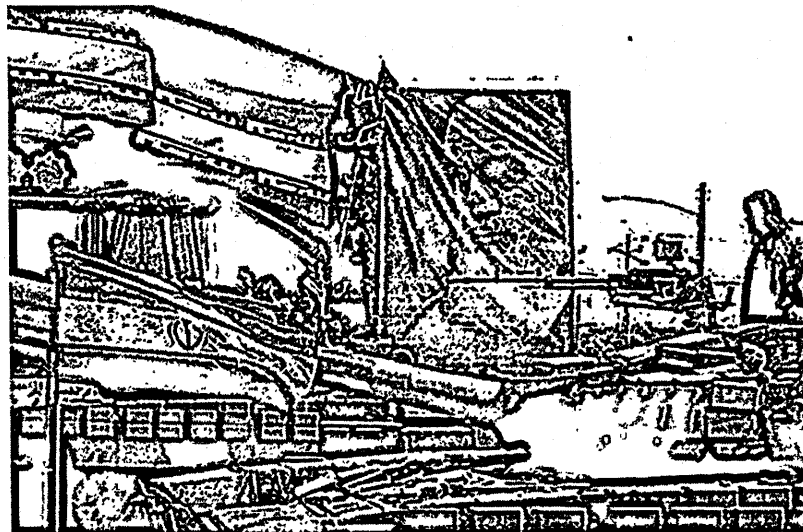
Print | Email | Alerts



# Newsweek National News

## And Now a Mole?

### In the Pentagon, a suspected spy allegedly passes secrets to Israel



Scott Peterson / Getty Images

A show of force: Iran displays its military might.

By Michael Isikoff And Mark Hosenball  
Newsweek

Sept. 6 issue - It was just a Washington lunch—one that the FBI happened to be monitoring. Nearly a year and a half ago, agents were monitoring a conversation between an Israeli Embassy official and a lobbyist for American Israel Public Affairs Committee, or AIPAC, as part of a probe into possible Israeli spying. Suddenly, and quite unexpectedly, in the description of one intelligence official, another American "walked in" to the lunch out of the blue. Agents at first didn't know who the man was. They were stunned to discover he was Larry Franklin, a desk

- Newsweek
- Periscope
- National News
- Campaign 2004
- World News
- The War in Iraq
- Business
- Enterprise
- Tech & Science
- Health
- Olympics
- Society
- Entertainment
- Tip Sheet
- Columnists
- Letters & Live Talk
- International Ed.
- Multimedia
- Search Newsweek

- News
- Business
- Sports
- Entertainment
- Tech / Science
- Health
- Multimedia
- Travel
- Opinions
- Weather
- Local News

- 25 K  
226315-NE  
SMK  
b6  
b7C

- Newsweek**
- Today Show**
- Nightly News**
- Meet the Press**
- Dateline NBC**
- MSNBC TV**
- News Video**
- MSNBC Shopping**
- Classifieds**
- Newsbot**

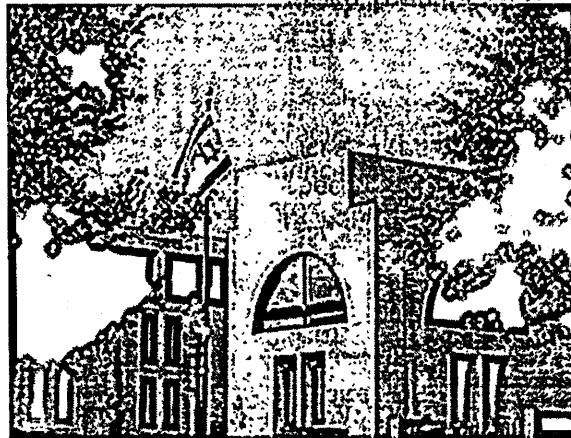
Search MSNBC:  
   
 Advanced Search

officer with the Near East and South Asia office at the Pentagon.

Franklin soon became a subject of the FBI investigation as well. Now he may face charges, accused of divulging to Israel classified information on U.S. government plans regarding Iran, officials say. While some U.S. officials warned against exaggerated accusations of spying, one administration source described the case as the most significant Israeli espionage investigation in Washington since Jonathan Pollard, an American who was imprisoned for life in 1987 for passing U.S. Navy secrets to the Israelis. The FBI and Justice Department are still reviewing the evidence, but one intelligence source believes Franklin may be arrested shortly.

The probe itself amounts to another embarrassing problem for Donald Rumsfeld, the beleaguered Defense secretary. It comes during a week in which violence flared up again in Iraq and a Pentagon investigation indirectly blamed Rumsfeld for poor oversight in the Abu Ghraib prisoner-abuse scandal. In a statement, the Defense Department said it "has been cooperating with the Department of Justice on this matter for an extended period of time."

At first blush, officials close to the investigation say, Franklin seemed an unlikely suspect: he was described as a midlevel policy "wunk" with a doctorate who had toiled for some time on Mideast affairs. Yet he had previously worked at the Defense Intelligence Agency, and there was at least one other aspect to his background that caught the FBI's attention: although Franklin was not Jewish, he was an Army reservist who did his reserve duty at the U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv.



David Y. Lee / Polaris for Newsweek  
 Israel in DC: An American "wunk" may have given secrets to Israel about Iran

FBI counterintelligence agents began tracking him, and at one point watched him allegedly attempt to pass a classified U.S. policy document on Iran to one of the surveillance targets, according to a U.S. intelligence

official. But his alleged confederate was "too smart," the official

said, and refused to take it. Instead, he asked Franklin to brief him on its contents—and Franklin allegedly obliged. Franklin also passed information gleaned from more highly classified documents, the official said. If the government is correct, Franklin's motive appears to have been ideological rather than financial. There is no evidence that money changed hands. "For whatever reason, the guy hates Iran passionately," the official said, referring to the Iranian government.

NEWSWEEK's efforts to reach Franklin or a lawyer representing him were unsuccessful. But a close friend, Michael Ledeen of the American Enterprise Institute, said he believes the charges against Franklin are "nonsensical." Officials say that Franklin began cooperating about a month ago, after he was confronted by the FBI. At the time, these officials say, Franklin acknowledged meetings with the Israeli contact. Law-enforcement officials say they have no evidence that anyone above Franklin at the Pentagon had any knowledge of his activities.

Israeli officials, meanwhile, bristled at the suggestion of espionage. Ephraim Sneh, a member of Parliament and a retired general who has been monitoring the development of nukes in Iran for years, said that Israel would be crazy to spy on its best friend. "Since Pollard, we avoid any intelligence activity on U.S. soil," Sneh said in an interview. "I know the policy; I've been in this business for years. We avoid anything that even smells like intelligence-gathering in the U.S." Another Israeli official contended that the Israelis had no cause to steal secrets because anything important on Iran is already exchanged between the CIA and the Mossad, Israel's spy agency. In a statement, AIPAC denied that any of its employees received information "they believed was secret or classified," and said it was cooperating.

U.S. investigators would not reveal what kind of information Franklin was allegedly trying to divulge to Israel. But for months the administration has been debating what to do about Iran's clerical regime as well as its alleged program to build nuclear weapons—a subject of keen interest to the Israelis, who have quietly warned Washington that they will not permit Tehran to gain nuclear capability.

Franklin was known to be one of a tightly knit group of pro-Israel hawks in the Pentagon associated with his immediate superior, William Luti, the hard-charging and impassioned protégé of former House speaker Newt Gingrich. As deputy assistant secretary of Defense for Near East affairs, Luti was a key player in planning the Iraq war. He, in turn, works in the office of Under Secretary Douglas Feith, a career lawyer who, before he became


the Pentagon's No. 3, was a sometime consultant for Likud, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's political party. Officials say they have no evidence that either Feith or Luti had any knowledge of Franklin's discussions with the Israelis.

Franklin has also been among the subjects of a separate probe being conducted by the Senate intelligence committee. Part of that investigation concerns alleged "rogue" intelligence activities by Feith's staff. Among these activities was a series of meetings that Franklin and one of his colleagues, Harold Rhode, had in Paris in late 2001 with Manucher Ghorbanifar, the shadowy Iranian arms dealer made infamous during the Iran-contra scandal of the 1980s. One purpose of those meetings was to explore a scheme for overthrowing the mullahs in Iran, though Rumsfeld later said the plan was never seriously considered. But so far, there is no evidence that the Ghorbanifar contacts are related to the espionage probe. And officials familiar with the case suggest that the political damage to Bush and the Pentagon may prove to be more serious than the damage to national security.

*With Michael Hirsh and Daniel Klaidman in Washington and Dan Ephron in Jerusalem*

© 2004 Newsweek, Inc.

 PRINT THIS ARTICLE

 EMAIL THIS ARTICLE

 MORE FROM NEWSWEEK NATIONAL NEWS

**Next →** The Road to Resolve

- ▶ • And Now a Mole?
- The Road to Resolve
- 'I've Learned to Be Patient'
- The Reluctant Campaigner
- In the Driver's Seat
- The Man in the Middle
- Star Power
- Newsweek National News Section Front

**Newsweek** TOP STORIES

**TOP STORIES**

- The Road to Resolve
- 'I've Learned to Be Patient'
- In the Driver's Seat
- Voices Carry
- France won't repeal head scarf law
- Southern Iraq oil exports halted
- Attack mars men's marathon
- Up to 11 killed in Kabul blast
- 'No more years!' chant Bush foes.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 07-29-2010 BY 60324 uc baw/sab/lsg

www.haaretz.com

Last update - 01:52 29/08/2004

## Order was out - no spying on U.S., says former Mossad chief

By ~~Yossi Helman~~ Gideon Alon and Nathan Guttman

A former head of the Mossad and military secretary to former defense minister and prime minister Yitzhak Rabin says an unequivocal order to the intelligence community prohibits illegal activity in the U.S. and operating a person to collect information.

"I hope the information is false and there are no grounds for suspicion," MK Danny Yatom (Labor), who was Mossad chief from 1996 for a year and a half, said.

According to Yatom, in spite of the prohibition, the U.S. administration, especially the intelligence community, harbors strong suspicions of Israel being involved in intelligence-gathering activities. The full extent of these suspicions was revealed in 1997 when U.S. media published reports of FBI investigations into allegations that a Mossad agent was involved in running an intelligence agent within the administration. As a result, then-CIA chief George Tenet asked Danny Yatom for clarifications in both a phone call and in writing. A letter that Yatom sent to Tenet containing clarifications did not satisfy the Americans, and Yatom had to fly to Washington for a meeting with Tenet. When it eventually became clear that the allegation was false, Tenet wrote Yatom a letter of apology.

It subsequently turned out that the FBI, which listens in on all home and office phone calls of Israeli diplomats, had intercepted a call between two Mossad officials stationed in the U.S., Yoram Hassel, head of the Mossad mission, and another individual involved in the workings of Tevel, an intelligence unit responsible for liaison with the CIA and other intelligence organizations. The two spoke in code and mentioned the word "mega." Unaware that "mega" was the Mossad's code word for the CIA, the U.S. thought mega was an agent run by the Mossad.

Chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee MK Yuval Steinitz told Haaretz yesterday, "I am certain that this story is groundless. This is certainly not a case of Pollard II." Steinitz said that since the Pollard affair, Israel has not operated spies against the U.S., and that there were good relations in the area of intelligence between Israel, the U.S., and other Western countries against terror - and no need to resort to spying.

"I would be very surprised if in the final analysis it turned out that there is any basis to this story," Steinitz said. "At most, it's possible that certain people may have said things they were not authorized to say, but I can say with certainty that even if someone passed

⊗  
BMK

information about White House policy on the Iranian issue, this was not done at the request of Israel or on the initiative of any official figure in Israel."

• MK Ehud Yatom (Likud) a member of the sub-committee for the supervision of secret services said yesterday, "It is inconceivable that Israel, which enjoys an excellent intelligence relationship with its ally, the U.S., would spy on the American Defense Department." According to Yatom, if the FBI has discovered something, he hoped it would turn out to be an unnecessary initiative on the part of a U.S. official.

The Israeli Embassy in Washington categorically denied accusations of an Israeli mole in the Pentagon. "The U.S. is Israel's most appreciated ally," embassy spokesman David Segal said yesterday. "We have sound a ongoing working relationship at all levels and in no way would Israel do anything to impair this relationship" Segal said.

---

</hasen/objects/pages/PrintArticleEn.jhtml?itemNo=470410>



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 07-29-2010 BY 60324 uc baw/sab/lsg

**HAARETZ.com**

Homepage

Search site

GO

News Updates

Tue., August 31, 2004 Elul 14, 5764

Israel Time: 00:41 (GMT+3)

## Make your point

Click here to  
make your point

Haaretz reserves the right to edit  
comments for content and length.

### Related Links

\* [Analysis: A cold wind blowing from the CIA / Ze'ev Schiff](#)

\* [Analysis: Biting the feeding hand / Yossi Melman](#)

\* [Analysis: 'Dual loyalty' charge returns to haunt American Jews / Nathan Guttman](#)

\* [Analysis: Undercurrents of suspicion / Aluf Benn](#)

\* [Analysis: The Franklin affair will damage Israel's image / Aluf Benn](#)

### Editorial & Op-Eds

#### Show the proof

Editorial

Making a mountain into a molehill

By Akiva Eldar

#### Néedéd: A great sóul

By Yoel Esteron

#### Slim chances of disengagement

By Danny Rubinstein

#### Gila still doesn't get it

By Avraham Tal

#### Another Israeli medal

By Yossi Sardi

### Will the Pentagon spy charges harm U.S. Jewry and Israel?

The headlines are explosive. The FBI suspects a Pentagon analyst has passed classified information to Israel via the AIPAC lobbying group.

If the allegations are proven, the affair could do untold harm to Israel's relations with Washington. But even if the allegations are baseless, as Israel and AIPAC maintain, the case "breathes new life into the assertion that Israeli and not American interests led to the war in Iraq," wrote Haaretz correspondent Nathan Guttman. "It revives the old charge that Israel is not an ally but a treacherous country, and the old saw that American Jews have a 'divided loyalty' problem in their preference for Israeli over American interests."

The probe of Pentagon desk officer Larry Franklin also recalls a nadir in Israel's relations with its closest ally, the case of naval analyst Jonathan Pollard, jailed since the 1980s for spying for Israel.

Do charges of "dual loyalty" or divided allegiance endanger American Jews? What of the contentions that neo-conservative Jews and the pro-Israel lobby exercise undue influence over American policymaking? Will the issue have a bearing on the presidential elections?

### What you think

Whatever the culpability of Israel - and there is every reason for the time being to believe the government's protestations of innocence - lobbying groups like AIPAC should be scrutinized. They form a virtual "fourth branch" of government that can easily abuse their influence. I would like to see some of the layers of the onion peeled away so that AIPAC's actual influence over Congress and the administration can be determined. They have disproportionate influence on our policies toward Israel and Palestine, and their blatant pro-Likud views are neither balanced nor beneficial to the U.S. or Israel's long-term security.

*David Ehrens, New Bedford, United States of America*

When the truth comes out, it will be quite evident that these charges are nothing but politically motivated.

As Jews, we have we have been accused of dual loyalty since the beginning of time. Guilty as charged. Why can't one love and defend two countries that one considers home - especially when by a large majority, both of these countries share the same values and interests?

*Seth Cohen, Miami, United States of America*

There is absolutely no danger of backlash against American Jews. This scandal makes AIPAC and the Likud look slimy. The bigger question is: When will Israel become politically and economically independent of the U.S.? It is becoming increasingly clear that the current conjoined-twin relationship between the two is a one-way street that offers no benefits for the U.S.

*Michelle Ruth, San Francisco, United States of America*



### Make Your Point debates



Truth or Bias:  
Israel in the media



Israel and world  
Jewry: Are ties at  
breaking point?



Terror's roots -  
oppression or  
radical Islam?

I worked on Capitol Hill for five years. AIPAC is despised there for pushing members of Congress around. Do you think that all these resolutions of support indicate that Congress cares about Israel? They don't. They just indicate how easily Congress can be intimidated.

This scandal won't hurt Israel unless Israel sticks too closely to AIPAC.  
Peter Ross, Los Angeles, United States of America

My boss was Jewish and cared deeply about Israel. He despises AIPAC for using Israel for its own ends. I called him today to ask how he feels about the spy scandal. He said that "maybe now Israelis will understand that AIPAC hurts them badly up here. You can't win friends or keep friends through intimidation. Israel is a great ally of America but I would never trust AIPAC and, you know what, I'd guess that 400 of the 435 House members feel the same way I do. It is the most unpopular lobby in town. This scandal won't hurt Israel unless Israel sticks too closely to AIPAC. It should throw them to the wolves."  
Peter Ross, Los Angeles, United States of America

If anything waws ever mentioned about a fraction of U.S. espionage activities, Mr. Franklin's sneakery would pale to nonexistence.  
Gilma Ramirez, Carmiel, Israel

If the allegation is true, and even if it is false, it will raise the canard of dual loyalty. AIPAC may lose its tax exempt status, and the U.S. Congress may avoid the organization. It's troubling that Palestinian groups in the U.S. could launch a class-action suit and keep this issue alive. The suit could contend that since funds were cut for Arab organizations, likewise for Israel or its 'pro' lobby.  
Ricardo Arias, Houston, United States of America

With both major American political parties striving to outdo one another in slavish devotion to Israel, I cannot see that this affair is merely something something cooked up by malcontents trying to smear the Bush administration.  
Jack McMonigle, Edgewater, FL, United States of America

The publication of the affair might serve the U.S. administration in appeasing voters bothered by the close relationship between the U.S. and Israel. It may also be trying to attenuate its failure to achieve progress in the Israeli/Palestinian conflict, and hence find a pretext to distance itself from Sharon, who isn't rewarding it at a time when it could use a boost. Whether there is any merit in the allegations, either of these tactics will harm U.S.-Israel relations.

The timing of the allegations and the paucity of findings revealed so far appear to be a calculated move to counter this administration's reorganization efforts of the various intelligence gathering agencies. In the process, allegiances of Jewish office holders may be questioned.  
I. Gat, Los Angeles, United States of America

It appears that this "affair" is more fantasy than fact, and the timing of the release of this information is highly suspect and politically motivated. American Jews have nothing to fear; there are no targets on their backs, no whispers of traitor when they leave the room. Haaretz feeds into this paranoia by asking this foolish question.  
Ilan Sigura, Miami, United States of America

Contrary to the popular and misinformed belief that Jewish lobbies and neo-conservative Jews in the Pentagon "control foreign policy" of the U.S. in the Middle East, the facts tell a different story. It is the crisis in the non-democratic Arab world, Islamic terrorism, as well as rampant anti-Semitic incitement against Israel and Jews. That forces the U.S. to be involved there in ways in which it doesn't want to be involved to begin with.  
Unfortunately, the interests of the U.S. and Israel don't always coincide.  
Jan Pieter Verhey, Huizen, The Netherlands

Before 9/11 the Bush government aimed at concentrating on domestic affairs and it was Bin Laden who basically took control of the U.S. agenda for the Middle East. And had the Palestinians radically renounced all violent struggle



Bush or Kerry: Who's better on the Mideast?



The Lebanon withdrawal



Disengagement plan



The 'new anti-Semitism'



Jewish extremism: How real the threat?



The West Bank separation fence



against Israel and chosen the path of non-violent resistance, a final settlement could have been reached already long ago. The Arabs might want to lobby in the U.S. for such non-violent struggle and take Martin Luther King and Ghandi as their heroes and martyrs, instead of suicidal terrorists. As long as this doesn't happen, Israel might need some spies around to know the true agenda of countries like Iran that develop nuclear WMD and support anti-Israel terrorists groups. Unfortunately, the interests of the U.S. and Israel don't always coincide.  
*Jan Pieter Verhey, Huizen, The Netherlands*

After thousands of years, the world is still persecuting Jews, albeit disguised in different ways. The way the United Nations view Israeli actions in the Occupied Territories as compared to how they view Palestinian suicide bombers is a prime example. I just cannot fathom why the UN willingly condemn legitimate Israeli actions against Palestinian militants but only give Palestinians a light slap on their wrists with regard to Palestinian suicide bombers who wantonly blow up innocent Israeli women, children, old folk and men.

It seems that even the U.S. media has joined in this madness with regard to the Larry Franklin affair. The FBI has not even concluded their investigations and we already see the U.S. media portraying Israel as the culprit.

I would like to appeal to all to wait for the official conclusion before making your judgement. Please note that it is also election season in U.S. now and some unscrupulous American political supporters might want to leak some biased news to boost their hidden agenda.

*Gabriel Ho, Singapore, Singapore*

For all intents and purposes, Israel has secured effective control over U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East, through various sophisticated means, including AIPAC's lobbying, as well as placing at the top decision-making echelons right-wing Zionists who view Israel's interests - from a Likud perspective, of course - as far more relevant than American interests, when the two do not converge.

The Franklin affair has the potential of announcing the beginning of the end of this unquestionable control Israel has enjoyed for many years now.

*Omar Barghouti, Acre, Israel*

We are living with this "dual loyalty" all the time. This is what anti-Semites, out of fresh accusations or smears against a Jewish figure in politics, revert to. The difference is that Jews no longer feel the need to defend their loyalty to America and their care for Israel. Nothing will change the relationship between the two friends. They need each other and they like each other and scandals concocted by people who want to hurt the relationship will find that they are knocking their heads to the wall.

*Batya Dagan, Los Angeles, United States of America*

Nothing will change the relationship between the two friends. They need each other and scandals concocted by people who want to hurt the relationship will find that they are knocking their heads to the wall.  
*Batya Dagan, Los Angeles, United States of America*

If its true, to bite the hand that is feeding us shows arrogance and contempt for our friends, as well as the rest of the world. This is why the resentment to Israel is justified and not just another case of anti-Semitism, as many Jews would have it. When I was young I saw Israel as morally right but now I'm not so sure.  
*Ronnie Wolman, Toronto, Canada*

Of course it will badly harm the relations Israel has with the USA. Worse, all the allegations of the Arab World that the U.S. is governed by the "Zionist Lobby" will be proven correct, to their satisfaction. Do Jews of the diaspora and Israel needs this?

*Claude Myriam Hasson, Sao Paulo, Brazil*

The damage has been done by Israel. They denied the Jonathan Pollard story for 13 years. They still deny their involvement in the New Zealand Passport story. The Sharon government and the rest of their group are not the friend of United States but an open enemy, and very soon it will be proved before the November elections.

**Sal Azam, Chicago, United States of America**

To love America and care for Israel's security is not dual loyalty. A few people made some mistakes, that does not represent all of Americas Jews.  
**Gabriel G, San Francisco, United States of America**

Perhaps history and the events of WW2 have convinced some Jews that their fate can never again rest in the hands of the "Goyim" but it would be very careless of Israel to sacrifice the good will of the American people by treating them with arrogance, presuming that Israel knows what's best for both of them.  
**Dan McAllinden, Los Angeles, United States of America**

From the timing alone one can conclude this is a political ploy either of the CIA - which has a weakened connection to Israel according to Haaretz today- or much more likely to the Democrat who was the anonymous source of the leak. There are a whole bunch of Americans who never got over letting Jews into their country clubs who now and again dabble in the latest form of Jew baiting which now takes the form of lying about Jewish spies.  
**Al Stein, Mendocino, United States of America**

75% of American Jews are reported to be voting for Sen. Kerry in the upcoming election, the AIPAC so leaning towards the Likud, hardly represent American Jewry and should take this blame and not share it with people they do NOT represent.  
**Johanes Franzen, Stockholm, Sweden**

If the spy case against Franklin is true, all it does is serve to reinforce the opinions of the Arabs, who suspect the Jews of desiring world dominion, the anti-Semites, who claim the Jews control the government, and the mainstream, who distrust the Jews but choose to hide it when it's unpopular. The Arabs already believe Israel perpetrated 9-11, Iraq, and many other horrors. The spy case is simply fodder for an already-loaded cannon, pointed at the Jews for 3000 years.  
**Jordan Hirsch, Dallas, United States of America**

The so-called "spy affair" should be reported more carefully in the media. Journalist should reassess their responsibility in reporting such matters. Mr. Franklin is still innocent until proven guilty. At this point it appears to be a matter of inappropriate handling of classified documents a charge that even Sandy Berger has to face. Unfortunately, the damage has been done and it fuels the hate-propaganda of all those believing in the "Jewish-Zionist" world conspiracy.  
**Bernd Wollschlaeger, Miami, United States of America**

The spy story was invented to blame the Iraq war on Jews, just as Jews have always been blamed throughout history for major problems and mistakes made by Gentiles. We were blamed for the black plague, Germany's loss in World War I, we are blamed for the Arab world's incompetence and cruelty, and now we are being blamed for the war in Iraq. The result will harm U.S. Jews. Within the next few hundred years discrimination and violence against Jews in America will increase drastically. It will get to the point where every U.S. Jew is either dead or in Israel.  
**Eli Sayetta, San Francisco, United States of America**

It is time for Israel to divest itself of its relationship with AIPAC. AIPAC is itself a rogue operation dedicated to the aggrandizement of AIPAC. It is not pro-Israel. It is pro-AIPAC. I believe that the neo-conservative AIPAC types at the Department of Defense gave information to AIPAC and that AIPAC took it to impress the Israelis of their importance. I do not believe Israel was running this operation. Ehud Yatom is right. So is Sharansky. Israel is innocent but the power mongers at AIPAC and the warmongers at Feith's operation are guilty as sin. I hope AIPAC is destroyed by this and we American Jews can

It is time for Israel to deal with the U.S. government to government not through AIPAC, which is both outmoded and, as we see now, dangerous.  
**Ari Rabinowitz, Brooklyn, United States of America**

replace it with a truly pro-Israel operation, one that is not on a power trip. I just hope that AIPAC's shenanigans do not hurt Israel. As Rabin suggested in 1992, it is time for Israel to deal with the U.S. government to government not through AIPAC, which is both outmoded and, as we see now, dangerous.  
*Ari Rabinowitz, Brooklyn, United States of America*

On the contrary, the Pentagon spy scandal will greatly benefit U.S. Jews and Israel. By drawing attention to AIPAC, the organization will be exposed as the pompous, propagandistic fraud that it is. Thus, U.S. Jews will be more likely to think rationally and humanely about the Israel-Palestinian conflict. They will listen more closely to the uplifting message of Jewish peace and justice groups. Israel, with diminished U.S. support for its outrageous and immoral conduct, will also benefit. The greatest gift the world can give to Israel is to insist that the nation bring peace and justice to Palestinians. First step: End the occupation and bring all the Settlers home.

*David Howard, Ojai, California, United States of America*

There is something smelly about the "Franklin/AIPAC" affair. Governments and their security agencies by rule do not go public in matters of "spies" until they have been nailed and indicted. So far this reeks of a malicious leak or of capital ineptitude of the FBI, or both!

*Egon Lazarus, MORAGA, United States of America*

The point about the American spies is good, and so is the point about this incident being set up to blame the Iraq mess on Israel. Wake up people and smell the coffee! I think I speak for lots of people in Canada, the U.S., and Israel when I say that Israel had nothing to do with the war on Iraq. Was it Israel who told Saddam to act like a crazy dictator? It wasn't Israel who told Saddam to fire scuds at Israel, nor to kill Iraqis. No. This spy business is to rehash the theory that Israel set up the war on Iraq. The fact that Israel actually sent spies to bring this upon themselves seems utterly stupid. It is appalling to think that any right minded human being would think otherwise!

*Tyrone Nimerowski, Winnipeg, Canada*

Larry Franklin should be viewed as innocent unless found guilty in a court of law, but even if he's convicted of espionage, that wouldn't have a big anti-Jewish backlash in America. Most Americans now consider American Jews part of the national mainstream.

If American Jews' special ties to Israel is "dual loyalty," what about the 30 million or so American Christian Zionists? They are Israel's strongest bastion of support in America. Yes, most politically conscious Americans believe by now that the Iraq war was masterminded by neo-conservatives to eliminate a bitter enemy of Israel. But again, I don't see that spawning much ill-feeling among Americans against Jews or Israel because of their deep loyalty toward the Jewish state. What the Israelis may need to worry about is the war's disastrous effect of America, their only real ally in the world. The Iraqi quagmire is dramatically exposing the limits of America's power and eroding its clout in the Middle East and the world. And it's happening when Israel struggles to extricate itself from its own quagmire in Gaza and the West Bank.

*Mustafa Malik, Cheverly, Md., United States of America*

Nobody in the White House is going to say anything negative about Israel right now. Bush needs some Jewish votes in Florida and Ohio, and November's election will dictate policy until November. This issue will die quietly and quickly.

*Paul Mann, Chicago, United States of America*

The "macho" attitude which permeates all Israeli society, does not make this a farfetched possibility. The invincibility trait runs high and corrupts one and all. On an optimist point this may turn to be nothing but a political smoke screen by the GOP to fend off it's supposedly pro-Israel stand. On a pessimist view, nothing is too stupid to put it beyond any level of Israel's government. To advance Israel's advantage (supposedly) then any risk is worthwhile.

*Nessim Dayan, Ashdod, Israel*

It is amply clear that Israel and its powerful lobby in Washington were behind the American invasion and occupation of Iraq last year. Now Israel is trying to get the US to invade Iran and is using Jewish Americans to get the job done. Israelis should stop thinking that America plays the role of monkey and Israel the organ grinder

**Khalid Suleiman, Jerusalem, Israel**

This charge smells of political diversion. Why would the FBI leak this to the press before arresting Franklin if they have kept the year long investigation quiet before now?

Perhaps because the U.S. had a major defeat in Iraq this week, the economic numbers are bleak and the connections between the Bush campaign and the Swift Boat ads were becoming clearer.

**Lisa Starrfield, Michigan, United States of America**

Why would the FBI leak this to the press before arresting Franklin if they have kept the year long investigation quiet before now?

**Lisa Starrfield, Michigan, United States of America**

During the Pollard affair, Rabin said that he caught two Americans spying in Dimona and they were politely sent out of the country. So why this hullabaloo when we did not even do anything?

**richard cohen, United Kingdom**

I highly doubt Israel would risk jeopardizing relations with the U.S. If it turns out that indeed there was a spy I doubt relations would be harmed: first because it was not as if an enemy was spying, and the information on Iran is something Israel should know, without having to spy for its survival. Also relations will remain warm because the interests, hopes values and destinies of both countries are completely interwoven.

**D Vinnikov, NY, United States of America**

This is obviously part of an effort to blame the Iraq war mess on Israel ahead of the U.S. elections. But AIPAC should know better than to maintain lobbying contact with bureaucrats in the Department of Defense. The solution is to prevent these types of scurrilous charges from occurring in the first place as there is no shortage of people willing to use these types of incidents for their own political motives. Contacts of this nature should be between government officials on both sides. Israel, like any other independent nation has a foreign ministry and a defense department with liaison officers for this. Let AIPAC lobby in Congress.

**Henry Cittone, New York, United States of America**

If this turns out to be true, this is one of the dumbest things Israel could have done. How on earth could they have thought that this was a good idea?

**Jackie, Haifa, Israel**

INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 07-29-2010 BY 60324 uc baw/sab/lsg

www.haaretz.com

Last update - 21:14 30/08/2004

## **Shalom: Mole affair is exaggerated 'media nonsense'**

By Nathan Guttman, Haaretz Correspondent, Haaretz Service and Agencies

Officials confirmed Monday that a senior Israeli diplomat in Washington met several times with Larry Franklin, a Pentagon analyst being investigated by the FBI on suspicion he passed classified information on Iran to the American Israel Public Affairs Committee.

However, Foreign Minister Silvan Shalom - denying allegations of espionage - said such meetings are commonplace and the two governments routinely share secrets.

"Israel and the United States have intimate ties ... and the information being exchanged is much more classified than any conversation that may have taken place," Shalom told a joint news conference with his German counterpart, Joschka Fischer.

The Israeli diplomat was identified as Naor Gilon, head of the political department at Israel's embassy in Washington, and a specialist on nuclear weapons proliferation, Israel says. Iran and its nuclear ambitions pose the greatest threat to the Jewish state.

Shalom did not mention Gilon by name, but when asked about contacts between Gilon and Franklin did not deny they had taken place.

A statement issued after the weekly cabinet meeting said that "in discussing the Larry Franklin affair, he [Shalom] noted that Foreign Ministry checks have shown that the entire Israeli Embassy acted according to procedures."

Shalom said Monday that Israel already receives all the classified information it needs from the U.S. government through shared intelligence. He called the Franklin affair "media nonsense" that has been taken out of all proportion, Army Radio reported.

"There is no truth whatsoever in the claims that

Israel spied or in any way acted against our great friend and ally, the United States," Shalom told reporters in Jerusalem.

"I think the ties between Israel and the United States are intimate. The cooperation and levels of information are so close, so intimate, that the information that is exchanged is much more classified than any conversation or another," he said.

The pro-Israel AIPAC lobby denied serving as a conduit for documents from the analyst connected to U.S. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld's office.

Newsweek magazine reported on Sunday that the FBI began investigating Franklin after tailing Gilon, the minister of political affairs at the Israeli embassy in Washington, who met an AIPAC representative for lunch. Franklin reportedly approached their table and engaged in a warm conversation with them.

However, Shalom said any meetings Franklin might have held with pro-Israeli officials were simply part of diplomatic work, according to Army Radio.

"American embassy officials meet regularly with Israeli government officials," said Shalom. "It's an accepted thing."

The magazine also said Franklin was once posted at the U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv when he served in the U.S. Air Force Reserve. According to the report, Federal Bureau of Investigation counter-intelligence agents were following Franklin when they saw him attempt to pass a classified policy document on Iran to an unnamed surveillance target.

The U.S. administration believes that the FBI will refrain from charging Franklin with espionage, American media said Sunday. The FBI apparently lacks any evidence that the Pentagon data analyst was operated by either Israel or AIPAC.

Franklin, an analyst in the Pentagon's Near East and South Asia Bureau, could be charged with mishandling a classified document. However, the FBI has yet to make an official pronouncement on whether Franklin will be arrested and what charges he might face. Nevertheless, investigators are broadening their

probe and interviewing figures at the Defense Department, the State Department and outside the administration.

The investigation currently centers on a single document relating to a discussion held by senior administration officials about U.S. policy on Iran. Franklin is suspected of handing the document - which was classified - to AIPAC, which conveyed the document or its contents to Israeli government representatives.

The Los Angeles Times reported Sunday that Franklin may have conveyed the classified information innocently, not realizing he was breaking the law.

"The man is not a spy, he's an idiot," an official familiar with the investigation told the paper.

---

</hasen/objects/pages/PrintArticleEn.html?itemNo=470886>  
close window

---

Last update - 01:56 30/08/2004

## **Analyst at center of spy flap called naive, ardently pro-Israel**

By Nathan Guttman

WASHINGTON - Larry Franklin, the Pentagon analyst suspected of passing classified material about Iran to the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, has never hidden his unequivocal support of Israel. Colleagues from the Near East and South Asia desk at the Defense Department said yesterday that his sympathy for Israel was overt and public - he didn't refrain from praising Israel and he held aggressive views about several Arab governments, primarily the ayatollahs' regime in Iran and Saddam Hussein's dictatorship in Iraq.

"Everyone knew he was a friend of Israel, but he didn't go about it in any unusual way," a Pentagon coworker said. "He was always accessible to everyone."

Franklin's resume describes his current position, which he has held since 2001, as: "Office of the Secretary of Defense, Policy, Near East/South Asia, Iran desk analyst, Office of Special Plans Iraq. Focus Projects: Hizbollah, Islam, Saudi Arabia." But the official resume reveals only a few details about the man at the center of the affair.

Franklin, a religious Catholic in his late 50s, lives in Kearneysville, West Virginia, a 90-minute drive from the Pentagon. But living in the distant suburb assured a high quality of life for Franklin, his wife Patricia and their five children, some of whom are college-age. Franklin has a doctorate in East Asian studies from St. John's University, a Catholic university in New York City, and speaks Farsi, Arabic, French, Spanish, Russian and Chinese (in



addition to English). On top of his work at the Pentagon, Franklin teaches history at Shepherd University in West Virginia.

In conversations about Franklin with his colleagues, one of the words that comes up again and again is "naive." He is described as an ideologue who believes wholeheartedly in the neo-conservative approach. "Everything by him is black and white," said someone who has worked with Franklin in the Pentagon. "He is a very nice person, very conservative, not at all arrogant," said the colleague, adding that one of the reasons he was brought into the Near East and South Asia desk was his political beliefs.

Franklin's political opinions are similar to those of his bosses - Douglas Feith, undersecretary of defense, and William Luti, the deputy undersecretary of defense responsible for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs. Like them, Franklin supports the policy of acting to bring democracy to Arab regimes and build up pro-American allies in the Middle East.

But those who have worked with Franklin also say he was a bit extreme in his work patterns, attitude and behavior. They occasionally referred to him as "Planet Larry" as a way of expressing the extent to which he "lives in a world of his own," colleagues said.

People who have worked with Franklin believe that it was his trademark naivete that got him in trouble, saying Franklin was not aware of the severity of his activities, and so did not try to hide or mask them. Franklin visited Israel eight times while he served in the U.S. Air Force and worked at the Pentagon. Most of his visits appear to have been related to his reserve duty service as an officer dealing with international contacts. According to his resume, Franklin served as a reserve air force colonel between 1997 and 2004, working with the U.S. military attache in Tel Aviv. Beforehand he was involved in analyzing counter-intelligence in the air force.

Had the current accusations not come to light, Franklin's job at the Pentagon would have

depended on the presidential elections, his coworkers said. If Democratic candidate John Kerry wins the next election, colleagues said, it's doubtful that Franklin will move up, due to his well-known political views.

"He was considered a little strange even for the neo-cons," a coworker said. "They're probably saying to themselves - oh, Larry again."

---

</hasen/objects/pages/PrintArticleEn.jhtml?itemNo=470856>

close window

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 07-29-2010 BY 60324 uc baw/sab/lsg



Homepage

Search site

News Updates Mon., August 30, 2004 Elul 13, 5764

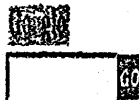
Israel Time: 02:19 (GMT+3)

Print Edition

- News
- Business
- Editorial & Op-Ed
- Features
- Sports
- Art & Leisure
- Books
- Letters
- Food & Wine
- Tourism
- Real Estate
- Cartoon
- Friday Magazine
- Week's End
- Anglo File
- W. Bank fence ruling
- Disengagement plan
- Arab snapshots
- Shopping service

Previous Editions

Select



This Day in Haaretz

Today's Papers

Map of Israel

Useful Numbers

In-depth

About Haaretz

Tech Support

# Making a mountain into a molehill

By Akiva Eldar

It now looks by all accounts like Larry Franklin will, at worst, be tried for mishandling sensitive material. In other words, he'll be charged with leaking information to the pro-Israel lobby AIPAC. "Sensitive" data of this sort, or of an even more sensitive nature, is routinely conveyed during meetings between American officials and Israeli diplomats under the bright lights of upscale restaurants in the heart of Washington, D.C.

The real problem threatening Israel-U.S. relations and the Jewish community does not reside in this small-fry from the Pentagon and the classification grade of the

leaked document, but rather in the suspicion of something fishy at the top. The murky waters of this affair will provide ample fishing grounds for political rivals and conspiracy



## Top Articles

### Chutzpah: Class 101

Sarah Augerbraun knew she wasn't in Florida anymore when standing in line at her local supermarket, a man tried to cut in front of her. "I realized

I had two options," recalls the former Hebrew teacher. "I could have either yelled at him or just ignored it."

By Daphna Berman

### An expiration date

In a few months, when American magazines list



Paper in PDF format  
 Headline Newsbox



buffs. First they'll land Franklin's boss, Undersecretary of Defense for Policy Douglas Feith, and then they'll hook the entire group of neoconservatives of which he is one of the leaders. That is the group of Israel's friends, including many Jews, that pushed President Bush to go to war in Iraq.

the great movie hits of 2004, not only "Spiderman 2" and "Shrek 2" will star at the top of the list. So will one documentary.  
 By Uri Klein

The best form of defense being offense, spokespeople for the Israeli government insinuated that anti-Israel elements are behind the affair. Republican representatives point to "Democratic agents" among senior FBI officials who want to spoil things for Bush on the eve of his party's convention.

They may be right. But you don't need Franklin and the classified Iranian document to draw fire at the conspiracy to take over Iraq. As members of think tanks several years ago, Feith and his friends volunteered an open document in which they laid bare their Israeli-American plot to change the face of the entire Middle East. In 1996, a conservative Israeli-American research institute invited Feith and others, including Richard Perle who headed an advisory panel to the Pentagon known as the

### Special Offers

Advertisement

**Study in Israel**  
 Get your BA in Israel in English. IDC Herzliya.

**Israel Travel Center**

Just one click - hundreds of super deals!

Defense Policy Board, to put together a strategic manual for the incoming prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

Feith is responsible for the following paragraph from that document: "Israel can shape its strategic environment, in cooperation with Turkey and Jordan, by weakening, containing, and even rolling back Syria. This effort can focus on removing Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq - an important Israeli strategic objective in its own right - as a means of foiling Syria's regional ambitions."

The document goes on to state that "Jordan has challenged Syria's regional ambitions recently by suggesting the restoration of the Hashemites in Iraq ... Since Iraq's future could affect the strategic balance in the Middle East profoundly, it would be understandable that Israel has an interest in supporting the Hashemites in their efforts to redefine Iraq."

Six years later, members of that same group supported the half-baked idea to crown Jordan's Prince Hassan as Iraq's ruler.

If anyone was looking to use Franklin to sock Feith

in the weak spot of dual loyalty, in order to hurt Bush, they could have located its sources in that very same open document. Its authors provided the head of a foreign government tips on manipulating U.S. members of Congress. They suggested that he take advantage of the period remaining before the November '96 presidential and congressional elections to obtain "a benign American reaction" for his/their policy. In exchange for the free advice, they asked for Netanyahu's help in recruiting members of Congress who "care very much about missile defense" to counter an agreement with Russia on reining in proliferation of long-range missiles.

Feith and his friends promised in that document that Israeli support for the missile plan would assist efforts to relocate the U.S. embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. That initiative, sponsored by the Republican presidential candidate Bob Dole, was the brainchild of the neoconservatives and their friends at AIPAC. It utterly contravened the view held by president Bill Clinton and prime minister Yitzhak Rabin that initiatives of that sort do not help build trust between Israel and the Palestinians. Perhaps

that is the strongest proof  
of all that the  
neoconservatives and  
Jewish lobbyists do not  
serve two masters. They  
serve themselves, and  
that's the trouble.

△  
Top



[Subscribe to Haaretz Print Edition](#)

[Home](#) | [News](#) | [Business](#) | [Editorial & Op-Ed](#) | [Features](#) | [Sports](#) | [Books](#) | [Cartoon](#) | [Site rules](#) |

© Copyright 2004 Haaretz. All rights reserved