



INDEKSI 1/2010

HELMIKUUSSA

Valkoinen talo julkaisi tiedon 17 000 lisäsotilaan lähettämisestä Afganistaniin.

Madagaskarin poliisivoimat ampui 27 opposition mielenosoittajaa ja haavoitti kahtasataa maan pääkaupungissa Antananarivossa.

Neuvostoliiton suorittaman Afganistanin miehityksen päättymisestä tuli kuluneeksi 20 vuotta.

Eduskunta hyväksyi sähköisen viestinnän tietosuojalain sisällön.

Ruotsalainen autonvalmistaja Saab joutui keskeyttämään tuotantonsa, kun tulli ei enää luovuttanut sille ulkomailta toimitettuja osia maksamattomien laskujen vuoksi.

INDEX painatti 250 Indeksia Uniprintissä. Sähköinen versio lähetettiin ladattavaksi osoitteeseen index.utu.fi.

TEEMANA

Kaikki ei mene aina suunnitelmien mukaan. Kaikki eivät kunnioita sääntöjä. Toisia kiinnostaa oma etu enemmän kuin toisia.

Kriisejä on käynnissä koko ajan. Jokainen kriisi ratkeaa tavalla tai toisella, ennenkin tai myöhemmin. Kriisit kuuluvat jokaisen yksilön ja jokaisen yhteisön elinkaareen.

Vuoden ensimmäisen Indeksinkin teemana YHTEISKUNNALLI-

LEHDESSÄ

Pääkirjoitus	3
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*”I never saved
anything for
the swim
back.”*



PÄÄTOIMITUS

Maxenius Samuli

TAITTO

Jäppinen Jerry

KANSI

Blomqvist Laura

Immonen Anne

Jäppinen Jerry

KIRJOITTAJAT

Blomqvist Laura

Immonen Anne

Jäppinen Jerry

Jokelainen Piritta

Jokiranta Elina

Kujala Maiju

Lätti Kirsi

Moilanen Jani

Mäkelä Laura

Sinokki Jani

Virtanen Essi

Östman Lauri

KUVAT

Blomqvist Laura

Masod Salman

Moilanen Jani

Ajatus monitieteellisestä järjestöstä joka yhdistää yhteiskunta- ja kasvatustieteilijöitä juontaa juurensa vuoteen 1953. Silloin perustettiin alkuperäinen indeksi, joka rekisteröitiin yhdistykseksi vuonna 1966. Tuolloin yhdistyksen johtotehtävissä toimi kirjava

joukko opiskelija-aktiiveja, joiden joukosta löytyy nykyiskelijälekin tuttuja nimiä kuten valtiopin professori Heikki Paloheimo ja Turun kaupunginjohtaja Armas Lahoniitty. Varhaisvuosina toiminta oli vireää. Yhdistys mm. julkaisi yhdessä Turun Sanomien kanssa

TS-Indeksiä. Turun Sanomat maksoi painatuskulut ja opetti opiskelijoille lehden taittamista.

1970-luvulla TS-Indeksin toimituskunta teki lehdestä marxilaisen vallankumouksen äänitorven ja tämän johdosta Turun Sanomat lopetti lehden julkaisemisen.

TS-Indeksin ilmestymisen päätyttyä aloitti indeksi uuden suuruudenhullun projektin. Järjestö alkoi julkaista yhdessä Varsinais-suomalaisen osakunnan ja Pohjalaisen osakunnan kanssa Argumentti-nimistä lehteä, jonka levikki oli 15 000 kappaletta. Lehden oli

tarkoituksena olla vaihtoehto turkulaiselle taantumukselliselle tiedotusmonopolille ja liian oikeistolaisena pidetylle Turun yliopilaslehdelle.edunvalvontaan ja vapaa-ajan toimintaan kuin luokkataistelun edistämiseen. ■

LAURA
BLOMQVIST

There is something about randomness that attracts man. We all seek answers to questions that puzzle us, and sometimes the answers puzzle as even more. It is also often the case that we fail to get answers at all. We might try again once or twice - or, as a race, a decade or two - but ultimately we will give up.

This is because of the psychological defence mechanism built into us: we simply will not be disturbed by our inability to solve a problem. We will find a reason to ignore it, or pretend we solved the case anyway, although in the back of our minds we know that no advance was made.

A problem left unsolved is not worthy of our attention. Randomness, however, has fascinated man for all his existence. It is with confusion that we meet this bizarre phenomenon, but still we do not abandon studying it. This, the very defiance of human nature, a contradiction of some sort, is a proof of the special place of randomness in our minds and in this universe. Man has not been able to solve its mystery, but, unlike in any other matter, has resisted surrender in front of this enigma.

There is something divine in randomness. I will now clarify that the randomness in question here is true randomness. It is easy to simulate its effects visible in our limited picture of this world, but true randomness has a much deeper meaning in truth, in the marvelous masterpiece of all mechanisms known or unknown to man that we call the universe. There is extensive documentation of human efforts of

generating or successfully simulating true randomness. All of those efforts have failed.

It seems that although man has since long understood the peculiarity of randomness, he has often been misled into thinking that it could be achieved by mundane methods. Man, as it seems, was not created to comprehend random.

RANDOMNESS IN ANCIENT CULTURES

There have been several pioneering archeological findings in the history of cultural randomness research that give us insight into how randomness has been viewed in ancient times and in different cultures. The roots of documented randomness worship and related religious and other rites date back to first Xia dynasty in ancient China, where rural communities held annual festivals to praise random and pray for weather conditions beneficial for rice crops. Randomness has been encountered all over the world, and in Europe and the Middle East the seemingly unrelated culture of randomness admiration was often merged with religious festivities and proved popular among people of lower social classes.

Recent research confirms that in the 14th century there existed an isolated Andian society in the area of the present-day Peru that used a complex calendar system involving randomness to observe celestial bodies and record their world history. They thought that the world was born again and again as time passes, and the nature of each incarnation is determined by randomly selected *tampéon*, a mystical entity with unknown powers. This would set the laws and rulers for men, the fate of the nature, fortune and

misfortune of all the families in the community and also the duration of the eon. The relics of this culture have mostly been destroyed, and there have been only rudimentary assessments of specifically how randomness was implemented in this *tampeonic* calendar.

UNDERSTANDING RANDOM

Even though we humans have limited assets as a species, we are experts in getting past our shortcomings. There are black holes and dark matter in this universe that cannot be detected by our senses, but, by observing our surroundings and inferring what could produce them, we can gain new knowledge of things normally unperceivable, a new sense we call reason. To get as close to randomness as possible, we must use our wit to pass the boundaries of our biological vessels and produce a gateway to uncharted areas of the universe.

Should true randomness not exist, the universe would simply be a construction of ifs and thens, an endless and beginless set of states of affairs changing into others on a path set in the beginning of the time that has no beginning. The world would be a situation after situation with only one way to the final state that doesn't exist. This will not do, this is not where we know we live in. This is but a philosophical mind game, a riddle, an exercise to teach students to spot the most obvious of the obvious to prove a theory wrong. If there was no randomness, the universe would simply be a meaningless set of slides that could just as well not exist. If there was no randomness, we would understand. ■

JERRY
JÄPPINEN

He is the coward for mocking victims of friendly fire: Families of dead soldiers react with fury to Muslim hate preacher's taunts.

The families of soldiers killed by friendly fire in Iraq have reacted with fury after a firebrand preacher taunted them over the deaths of their loved ones.

ANJEM CHOUDARY added insult to the injury caused by Islamic extremists' hate-filled protest against soldiers returning home from the war-torn region by saying they were 'not heroes but closer to cowards who cannot fight, as their uncanny knack for death by friendly fire illustrates'.

The three soldiers to whom he was referring - Privates **ROBERT FOSTER**, 19, **JOHN THRUMBLE**, 21, and **AA-RON McCLURE**, 19 - were killed in Afghanistan in August 2007 when an American F-15 jet dropped a 500lb bomb on their position.

Choudary's extraordinary comments were delivered hours after Muslim protesters waved offensive placards as members of 2nd Battalion Royal Anglian Regiment marched through Luton.

The preacher, the right-hand man to cleric of hate **OMAR BAKRI**, went on to attack the 'vile' parade. He said the soldiers were 'terrorists', comparing them to Nazi troops who 'cannot be excused for simply carrying out their duty'.

Private Foster's father John, 59, from Harlow, Essex, said: 'Words like this can endanger our soldiers abroad. They do not choose where they go. They are not interested in politics - they go and do the job to the best of their ability.'

'Why mock those killed by friendly fire? He is calling the troops cowards but it's a cowardly act to mock them this way.'

Private Thrumble's mother, **PEARL**, 45, from Chelmsford, Essex, said: 'He calls them cowards killed in Afghanistan in August 2007 when an American F-15 jet dropped a 500lb bomb on their position.'

The controversy threatened to overshadow a second homecoming parade yesterday by the Royal Anglians, known as the Poachers.

This time, there were no protesters to spoil the occasion, however, as thousands lined the streets of Watford to wave Union Jacks and hold aloft banners with messages including 'Thank you to our boys' and 'Well done Poachers, welcome home'.

Choudary, 32, posted the comments on a website run by the Islam For The UK group.

He has close links with Ahlus Sunnah Wal Jamaah, the radical Islamist group believed to be behind the application to Bedfordshire Police for permission to stage the protest. ASWJ was founded in 2005 and took in members of Al-Muhajiroun when the Luton-based group formerly led by Bakri was outlawed.

He said: 'Pathetic and cowardly British soldiers pompously marched through Luton to demonstrate

their skill at murdering and torturing thousands of innocent Muslim men, women and children over a 24-month period.'

'Astonishingly, hundreds from the Luton community too felt it necessary to maintain this vile parade by upholding banners of support and shocking slogans of praise for these brutal murderers.'

'In light of this, a sincere demonstration was organised by Muslims from the local community to highlight the British state-sponsored terrorism that is currently ensuing in the lands of Afghanistan and Iraq, and how the return of active soldiers on such battlefronts should be marked with severe condemnation as opposed to welcoming rapture.'

He added: 'Non-Muslims in Britain must appreciate that the actions of the British soldiers must be condemned unreservedly; they are not heroes but closer to cowards who cannot fight, as their uncanny knack for death by "friendly fire" illustrates.'

'They are terrorists, and cannot be excused for simply "carrying out their duty", which incidentally (and vividly) was also used by Nazi soldiers in Germany to justify their notorious and bloody campaigns in the early 20th century.'

Choudary, one of three children born to a market stall holder, was raised in a semi-detached house in Welling, Kent, and began a medical degree after taking his A-levels.

When he failed his first year exams he switched to law. He was known as a party animal who regularly smoked cannabis, experimented with LSD, and could down a pint of cider in seconds.

He became chairman of the Society of Muslim Lawyers but then embraced radical Islamism and becoming a founder member of Al-Muhajiroun.

▲ In Luton yesterday, one of the two members of public arrested on Tuesday during the Islamists' protest was released from police custody after being charged with racially aggravated harassment.

Nathan Draper, 18, described how he was 'outraged' when he heard the protesters and shouted obscenities back at them.

'A 6ft 5in copper jumped on me and chucked me to the ground,' said Mr Draper, who lives in Luton and plans to join the Army.

He broke my glasses. I was held in the police station for ten hours and I still have the cuff marks. I'm being charged with racially aggravated harassment but it was them who were shouting racist things.

His mother Ruth Griffin, 42, said: 'He's quite outraged about it because he was sticking up for our soldiers. I don't understand how the protesters got away with it.'

The second man, who was not named but is in his 40s, was issued with a fixed-penalty notice.

THE DEDICATED YOUNG SOLDIER...

Rikki Maling has always been a team player. It's the phrase everyone uses about the 20-year-old soldier whose simple ambition is to rise through the ranks and do some good.

He marched with the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Anglian Regiment through Luton on Tuesday, and yesterday, with his extended

family cheering and waving from the crowd, he came home to his native Watford to a share in a heroes' welcome. One ordinary soldier; one exemplary young life.

Had it not been for a rethink of his career path in his late teens he would probably be an actor now.

Drama was his best subject at Francis Combe school and he always planned to go into films or on the stage. Instead, he ended up in theatres of war. Rikki, who has two brothers and a sister, left school with nine GCSEs and an A-level in drama.

His teacher Parveiz Aslam - there yesterday to cheer the parade - remembers him as an energetic pupil always prepared to put others before himself. It was no surprise, Mr Aslam said, when he learned that Rikki had joined the Army.

At 18 he signed up at a careers office - in Luton, incidentally - and opted to join the Royal Anglian. The regiment has a long association with Watford and Hertfordshire so he instantly felt a connection.

Training came first - a rigorous programme of fitness, technical and practical instruction. Rikki took it in his stride.

'The thing that appeals to me is that it's a challenge,' he said. 'And I like a challenge. There's no point in doing something if it doesn't test you in some way.'

Captain George Osborne, who trained him for several weeks at Catterick, recognised that behind the cheeky grin was a determined young man with the potential to be a fine soldier.

'He's always been a team player,' he said. 'He's exactly the

OBSERVATION

IN THE SHADOW OF PAKISTAN'S

KIRSI LÄTTI

sort of soldier the regiment wants. He's very good at what he does and he works hard for his mates.'

About the Luton demonstration, Rikki said: 'It was a small element of what was a fantastic day, just like it was here in Watford.'

'I'm proud to be British, and I'm proud to serve my country. A few people shouting isn't going to change that.'

...AND THE ZEALOT WHO HURLED ABUSE

Ishtiaq Alamgir, 29, was born and educated in Britain.

But a few years ago he rejected the country that had nurtured him and became what police chiefs have labelled 'the enemy within' in the global war on terror.

He adopted the name Sayful Islam - meaning Sword of Islam - and on Tuesday was among the protesters hurling abuse at soldiers marching past in Luton.

Shortly after his transformation he became leader of the town's branch of the now-banned extremist group Al-Muhajiroun, which was led by Sheik Omar Bakri, currently in exile in Lebanon.

He claims this phase is now behind him and he has become a family man. His comments to the Daily Mail after the parade in Luton suggest differently.

'They [the soldiers] have killed, maimed and raped thousands of innocent people,' he ranted.

'They can't come here and parade where there is such a Muslim community. What do they have to be proud of?'

The son of a British Rail engineer who came to this country from Pakistan, Alamgir grew up in a moderate, middle-class Muslim family in Luton. He became an accountant for the Inland Revenue and went on to marry and become a father.

But a meeting with Omar Bakri and the events of 9/11 triggered the change in name and attitude. 'When I watched those planes go into the Twin Towers, I felt elated,' he said.

'That magnificent action split the world into two camps - you were either with Islam and Al Qaeda, or with the enemy.'

Islam yesterday denied he had been living on benefits, saying he now teaches English and maths - although he refused to disclose where.



In Pakistan's north-western district of Kohistan, public discourse is dominated by security issues, not the recently enacted Sharia law. The government is worried that if it fails to extend security cover to this largely ungoverned district, the Taliban will.

But the local tribes do not want either the army or the Taliban in the area. "If the army comes in, the Taliban will follow, and vice versa," says an influential tribal elder and former member of parliament, Malik Saeed Ahmad. "In either case, it threatens our way of life."

The local people, being of a different ethnic stock from the Pashtuns, are opposed to the predominantly Pashtun Taliban. There is also a widespread belief that the Taliban are the creation of the army and are being used for the army's "secret" aims.

The tribes are proposing to raise their own tribal force to check possible incursions by the Taliban, who have bases in the neighbouring Swat district to the west. But officials think such a force is unlikely to

match the Taliban's equipment, training and discipline. The local police are also insufficient in numbers and resources to do the job, they say.

"It is highly likely that the Taliban will try to enter Kohistan after being squeezed by the army in Swat valley," says a senior official, requesting not to be named. This is a nightmare scenario. Unlike Swat, where the militants' influence is concentrated in the central plains of the valley and the road network is good, Kohistan is 7,400 sq km of sheer mountains, with virtually no plains.

And there are no roads which the army could use to transport heavy equipment to different western valleys for defence purposes. The only road that passes through the district is the key Karakoram Highway. Officials are worried that once inside Kohistan, the Taliban could render this highway insecure. But their chief concern at the moment is the security of a Chinese construction firm which is building a hydro-power project on the Indus river in the Dubair area of Kohistan. ■



HIGH COST, LOW ODDS

We know the price will be high. The United States has spent more than \$223 billion on the Afghan war since 2001, and it now costs roughly \$65 billion annually. The actual bill will be significantly higher, however, as these figures omit the replacement cost of military equipment, veterans' benefits and other war-related expenses. Most important, more than 850 US soldiers have already been killed

and several thousand have been seriously wounded.

And we are not close to winning. The Obama administration admits that the challenges are "daunting," and a recent pro-war report from the Center for American Progress said success will require "prolonged U.S. engagement using all elements of U.S. national power" for "as long as another ten years." Success also requires creating an army and police force larger than the Afghan government can afford. ■



IRAQ: OPEN

Washington 2009

A milestone in the war in Iraq passed this week largely unnoticed here in a capital consumed more recently by Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran, not to mention the economy or health care.

Hundreds of Iraqi officials – said to be the largest delegation from Iraq ever to visit the United States – gathered in a hotel near Capitol Hill on Tuesday and Wednesday to discuss neither security nor American troop levels. Rather they came to promote something that was once, and might still be, more of a hope than a reality: investment.

“Why invest in Iraq?” Sami al-Araji, the head of Iraq’s national investment commission, asked the gathering on Tuesday in a crowded conference room at the Hyatt Regency. “There has never been a better time to invest in Iraq. Iraq has emerged from the conflicts of the past with tremendous potential for investment from local, regional and

global companies.”

The war in Iraq has gone through many phases since it began more than six and a half years ago – invasion, occupation, insurgency, sectarian war, the “surge” and sovereignty. Now, with American troops retreating to major bases on their way out of the country all together, Iraq’s leaders hope to persuade a wary world a new phase has begun.

“Iraq,” is, as one brochure declared, “Open for Business.” Prime Minister Nuri Kamal al-Maliki came, underscoring the government’s commitment to the notion, or promotion. So did the ministers of oil, trade, finance and agriculture, and governors of the country’s provinces, all of whom promoted investment opportunities. Anbar, once the heart of the Sunni insurgency? “Hidden opportunities.”

“Business and investors can work freely in any province they want,” Mr. Maliki said in an assertion, the veracity of which turns on one’s definition of the word “freely.” “There are no hot zones in Iraq.”

One expects Mr. Maliki to make

the pitch for his country, which remains a violent place by any definition. What was really striking at the conference was the extent to which economic boosterism has now become the primary mission of the country that led the invasion in 2003.

Obama’s national security adviser, James L. Jones, addressed the conference, as did Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton, who practically threatened investors not to tarry.

“In the words of an Arab proverb, ‘Dawn does not come twice to awaken a man – or a woman,’” she said. “The world is watching for every opportunity to invest in Iraq, and companies that wait may discover they are too late.”

Investment is beginning in Iraq, now that the worst of the bloodshed appears to have ended, but it’s hardly a flood yet.

Few in the conference – even Mr. Araji, when confronted by one angry investor – were sanguine

about the investment climate, especially off the public stage, where the schmoozing was taking place, or “matchmaking,” as the conference agenda put it.

Security is not the only obstacle to turning Iraq into a free-market society in the heart of the Middle East. Bureaucracy, corruption, ossified state industries and central planning, distrust of foreigners and a lack of basic legal foundations – all have come into sharper focus now that the violence has subsided.

“We’re a million miles behind,” said Mahdi Sajjad, the president of Gulfsands Petroleum, who has been trying to win a contract to capture natural gas now simply burned off at oil fields in Iraq.

And yet that is what gives Iraq great potential, according to Faisal al-Qaragholi, a businessman from Baghdad. “Iraq will be a gold mine for 50 years,” he said, rattling off the country’s vast need for housing, hotels, hospitals, roads, shopping centers and so on.

All it takes, he added, are investors willing to take a risk. “The



JERRY
JÄPPINEN

A REPORTING TRIP BECOMES A KIDNAPPING

In the fall of 2008, David Rohde traveled to Afghanistan to do research for a book about the region. He and two Afghan colleagues were kidnapped by the Taliban and held for seven months. This is the first installment in the series.



7 MONTHS, 10 DAYS IN CAPTIVITY

The car's engine roared as the gunman punched the accelerator and we crossed into the open Afghan desert. I was seated in the back between two Afghan colleagues who were accompanying me on a reporting trip when armed men surrounded our car and took us hostage.

Another gunman in the passenger seat turned and stared at us as he gripped his Kalashnikov rifle. No one spoke. I glanced at the bleak landscape outside – reddish soil and black boulders as far as the eye could see – and feared we would be dead within minutes.

It was last Nov. 10, and I had been headed to a meeting with a Taliban commander along with an Afghan journalist, Tahir Luddin, and our driver, Asad Mangal. The commander had invited us to interview him outside Kabul for reporting I was pursuing about Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The longer I looked at the gunman in the passenger seat, the more nervous I became. His face showed little emotion. His eyes were dark, flat and lifeless.

I thought of my wife and family and was overcome with shame. An interview that seemed crucial hours earlier now seemed absurd and reckless. I had risked the lives of Tahir and Asad – as well as my own life. We reached a dry riverbed and the car stopped. “They’re going to kill us,” Tahir whispered. “They’re going to kill us.”

Tahir and Asad were ordered out of the car. Gunmen from a second vehicle began beating them with their rifle butts and led them away. I was told to get out of the car and take a few steps up a sand-covered hillside.

While one guard pointed his Kalashnikov at me, the other took my glasses, notebook, pen and

my back. My heart raced. Sweat poured from my skin.

“Habarnigar,” I said, using a Dari word for journalist. “Salaam,” I said, using an Arabic expression for peace.

I waited for the sound of gunfire. I knew I might die but remained strangely calm.

Moments later, I felt a hand push me back toward the car, and I was forced to lie down on the back seat. Two gunmen got in and slammed the doors shut. The car lurched forward. Tahir and Asad were gone and, I thought, probably dead.

The car came to a halt after what seemed like a two-hour drive. Guards took off my blindfold and guided me through the front door of a crude mud-brick home perched in the center of a ravine.

I was put in some type of washroom the size of a closet. After a few minutes, the guards opened the door and pushed Tahir and Asad inside.

We stared at one another in relief. About 20 minutes later, a guard opened the door and motioned for us to walk into the hallway.

“No shoot,” he said, “no shoot.”

For the first time that day, I thought our lives might be spared. The guard led us into a living room decorated with maroon carpets and red pillows. A half-dozen men sat along two walls of the room, Kalashnikov rifles at their sides. I sat down across from a heavysset man with a patu – a traditional Afghan scarf – wrapped around his face. Sunglasses covered his eyes, and he wore a cheap black knit winter cap. Embroidered across the front of it was the word “Rock” in English.

“I’m a Taliban commander,” he announced. “My name is Mullah Atiqullah.”

FOR the next seven months and 10 days, Atiqullah and his men kept the three of us hostage. We were held in Afghanistan for a week, then spirited to the tribal areas of Pakistan, where Osama bin Laden is thought to be hiding.

Atiqullah worked with Sirajuddin Haqqani, the leader of one of the most hard-line factions of the Taliban. The Haqqanis and their allies would hold us in territory they control in North and South Waziristan.

During our time as hostages, I tried to reason with our captors. I told them we were journalists who had come to hear the Taliban’s side of the story. I told them that I had recently married and that Tahir and Asad had nine young children between them. I wept, hoping it would create sympathy, and begged them to release us. All of my efforts proved pointless.

Over those months, I came to a simple realization. After seven years of reporting in the region, I did not fully understand how extreme many of the Taliban had become. Before the kidnapping, I viewed the organization as a form of “Al Qaeda lite,” a religiously motivated movement primarily focused on controlling Afghanistan.

Living side by side with the Haqqanis’ followers, I learned that the goal of the hard-line Taliban was far more ambitious. Contact with foreign militants in the tribal areas appeared to have deeply affected many young Taliban fighters. They wanted to create a fundamentalist Islamic emirate with Al Qaeda that spanned the Muslim world.

■



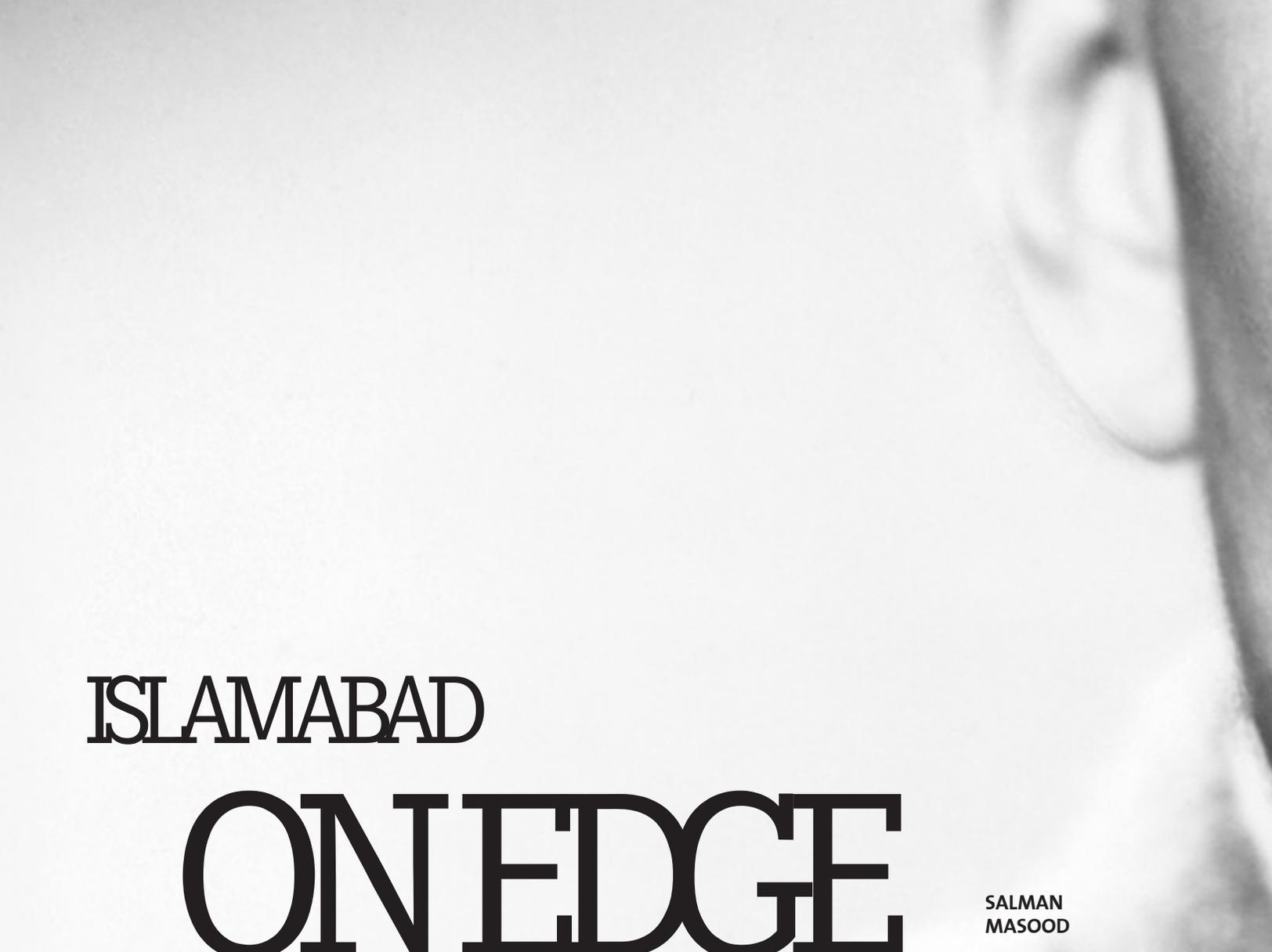
BORDERLINE DUTY

The Zombie Island of Dr. Ned is the first installment of DLC for Borderlands. The content will include new quests, items, and enemies, and will be made available sometime before the end of 2009.

After evacuating the base, Johnson noted that he had never felt as scared in his life. "There was no way all of us could have gotten out of that alive. I was scared for the future of my wife and daughter but I'm not ashamed to admit I was scared for myself as well. It's a natural and, for a soldier, a necessary reaction."

Johnson's left bicep was touched by a passing bullet during the attack but he sustained no serious injuries. Three of his squadmates were killed by the insurgents.





ISLAMABAD

ON EDGE

SALMAN
MASOOD

Islamabad, once the safest city in the country, feels under siege, as the war has crept across the border from Afghanistan, now slowly into the capital with near daily Taliban bombings and shootings.



Constant threats of suicide attacks have spread unaccustomed panic. Schools are closed. Shopping malls are deserted. Traffic has thinned. With winter approaching, evenings are darker and quieter with a foreboding air.

"I'm concerned about my children and their future," said Saba Sharif, 27, a mother of three children, who range in age from one to five years old. "Yesterday, I was talking to my husband's sister who is in Canada. She said that we should apply for immigration to Calgary."

And it's not just personal safety: Her husband, Usman, 33, leases a coal mine near Islamabad. But the deteriorating security situation is making him feel jittery about his heavy investment.

Though Pakistan is hardly immune to violence, Islamabad, with the grand Hindu Kush to the north and east, once had a serene quality to it.

Now diplomats are drawing contingency plans, fearing bigger attacks and nervous that suicide attackers may enter the city's heavily

guarded diplomatic zone. People have started forwarding short text messages on their cellphones, warning friends and relatives about places that might be possible targets or to ensure that vehicles are locked while idling at traffic signals to deter any hostage-taking attempts by bombers on the loose. Security checkpoints and barriers cause long queues of cars and people fear this might actually attract a terrorist attack.

Madeeha Hazoor, 27, said that while Pakistan has been dangerous for some time, she has only begun to feel it in the capital recently.

"My brother was in a building, which a suicide bomber attacked; a friend's father was in a target killing and many other people I know were close to an area that was attacked minutes later," she said.

"People are avoiding going out, my office has told us to work from home, whenever us friends have to hang out - we try and plan something at someone's house rather than at a restaurant," she said. "If I do go to eat out, I

visualize which seat would be safest to sit at in case of an attack!"

Beenisch Tahir, a freelance writer for an English-language daily, said: "Being used to a peaceful Islamabad, where safety was the last thing that ever entered our minds, having it ruined because of terrorism in the last two years especially makes me angry."

"Many of us just refuse to give up our right to normalcy," she said.

But a new normal is evolving here, which some find as disturbing as the attacks themselves. Grim news, killings and scenes of devastation are now all too frequent and give terrorism a strange, disturbing sense of familiarity.

"Maybe we're desensitized," Ms. Tahir said. "Or maybe we're just sick of living like this for the last few years and just can't take it anymore. Now I check the news like I check a game for the score."

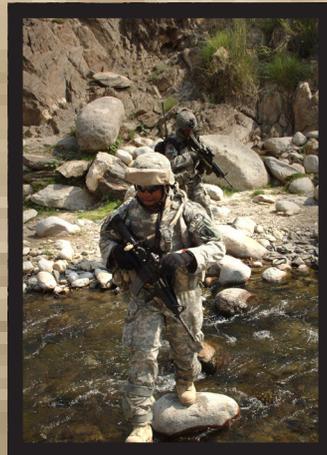
"It is sad," she said. ■

BROS IN ARMS 2010

ROBERT
NICKELSBURG

Kharowa, Afghanistan – The operation in September took place at an altitude of 7,000 feet, beginning with a helicopter landing at 2 a.m. in a remote area of the Pech River in the Shuryak Valley. We waited until early dawn, maybe 4.30 a.m., before raiding the house, looking for one of three Taliban suspects. The helicopter noise obviously alerted everyone, but as Americans had never been this far into the valley the Taliban fighters, all local, were slow to move.

You can see by their disheveled appearance that the men did not have time to brush up, and their body language gave away that there had been other people staying over. The Taliban fighters had disappeared below terraced plots of



corn on very steep trails.

The local residents are woodcutters, lumbermen who smuggle their products across the border to Pakistan.

By 11:30 a.m. the soldiers had come back up the hill with this prisoner in tow after investigating and documenting a report of 10 suspected Taliban fighters shot dead by a helicopter before sunrise, directly below us. They were trying to escape and were located by night-vision equipment. The search party found four dead.

In such valleys, within a remote, mountainous area, everything is interconnected; this man was tending to his brother. Everyone is related to one another, and it is very difficult to pull aside the people who aren't in favor of the Taliban but who live with them.

The soldiers know that when the Army pulls out of the valley at the end of the operation the Taliban will come back. You see that again and again. It is the same whether you are in the desert or in mountain valleys, but how do you keep soldiers up in 7,000-foot-high valleys all the time? Yet if you don't keep them up there, when they leave the

tribesmen's cousins and brothers who are in the Taliban come back, and they know exactly what happened during the interactions between the villagers and the Army.

The soldiers know that. And so do the village elders.

Even signs of progress can be disheartening in Baghdad. Consider the case of the Tahrir (Liberation) Tower, a building that is widely known as the Turkish Restaurant.

The tower is in the heart of Baghdad, overlooking the River Tigris and the Jumhuriya (Republic) Bridge on one side and Tahrir Square, considered the center of Baghdad, on the other.

Hey, I'm the guy you just about blasted out of his driver's seat with your horn when we missed the green light at the mall entrance. Anyway, I'm not mad about it. We're all under a lot of pressure this time of year. Before you know it, Christmas morning arrives, and so there's not much time to get the right stuff for everyone. And not only did we miss that light because I was daydreaming, but we also would have surely sat through another one if you hadn't honked, because I really wasn't there. You couldn't have known, but I was so very far away at the time, in a place that I've actually never been. I was in the Helmand Province of Afghanistan.

The 14-story building was damaged in the fight for Baghdad in April 2003. Al-Mada, a local Iraqi newspaper, reported this month that part of the office building was contaminated with radiation, especially the Turkish restaurant from which the building gets its name.

This article from Bloomberg.com, "Lockheed Radio May Be 'Combat iPhone,'" is an interesting development on an issue dealt with by Capt. Tim Hsia last month in his column The Digital Fog of War .

Iraqis are increasingly using Facebook as a platform to campaign for their favorite candidates in the 2010 parliamentary elections. This is the first time we have seen new media outlets used in Iraqi elections.

As might be expected, most of the supporters are from the younger generation. Iraqis who live abroad have also maintained a significant presence. Members usually

post comments in support of their candidates and engage in heated discussions about the competing parties' platforms.

The Coalition of the State of Law, Prime Minister Nuri Kamal al-Maliki's electoral list, has started a Facebook group calling on people to support him. It has 211 members at the time of this writing.

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It has been argued that our servicemen overseas do not receive enough attention in the news media about all that they do. But if that is the case, then it is doubly true for contractors, as their actions have been even more underrepresented in the news than the military's.

When President Obama



announced a troop surge in Afghanistan, many people focused strictly on the number of troops and the time line he presented. What was missing was a discussion of how many contractors would be needed to support the increase. Currently the ratio of United States servicemen to contractors is roughly one to one. Thus, the actual number of additional personnel members who will be added to the American footprint in Afghanistan could be closer to 60,000 – 30,000 additional military personnel members plus 30,000 contractors.

THE SHURYAK VALLEY IS WHERE FOUR NAVY SEALS WERE TRAPPED DURING A BATTLE WITH THE TALIBAN IN 2005. THREE WERE KILLED, ALONG WITH 16 RESCUERS WHOSE HELICOPTER WAS SHOT DOWN AS THEY FLEW TO THEIR AID. THE SURVIVOR OF THE ORIGINAL SEAL PARTY, MARCUS LUTTRELL, WROTE THE NEW YORK TIMES BEST SELLER "LONE SURVIVOR".



BLACKWATER AND SI

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TIM
HSIA

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Security contracting is a business that will probably be a fixture in security operations for years to come. It is partly an outgrowth of a capitalist drive to reduce everything, even war, into purely fiscal terms. Contractors, be it those with weapons or those with cooking tools, are at first glance cheaper than deploying and sustaining an equivalent number of an all-volunteer military service members.

Contracts are close-ended, and hence there are no enduring requirements like providing these contractors with aid in expediting United States citizenship. Nor do

they require open-ended benefits such as a G.I Bill, veteran benefits, disability payments or a retirement pension.

But their involvement has shown that war is not simply a sacrifice for those who fight it. It can also be a lucrative economic enterprise. Their deaths are also easier to accept because they are not even reported. No obligatory half-staff flags. This, in turn, reduces the overall cost of the human effort needed to sustain America's war overseas as contractor casualties and deaths do not add to the tally of combat casualties that news organizations report.

Not only are security contractors cost efficient, but also they have a large pool of able-bodied

applicants. Military personnel who are in the combat arms branch often do not have the skills necessary to successfully transition into the civilian world. If they enter the military straight out of high school or if they lack a high school degree, then when they leave the military they simply lack the advanced degrees to compete with their civilian counterparts, especially during a highly competitive recession. The military does not teach derivatives, stock options and year-end budgets.

But what skills these soldiers possess that their civilian counterparts do not are: military tactics, operating under pressure and operating military equipment, an education forged on the streets of Afghanistan or Iraq as opposed to



SECURITY CONTRACTING

a classroom environment. These skills are especially valuable to only one small segment of the business world, namely defense contractors.

Some young enlisted servicemen who are about to leave the military often tell me they are seriously considering joining a security company. They are drawn to these companies because the short-term pay is higher, they no longer have to heed a whole host of military protocols, they will not be disciplined as harshly, and deployments are shorter. How does one counsel a soldier opting for this lifestyle? Is it better to have a homeless veteran or a veteran working for these security contractors?

Some writers were aghast to

learn that the State Department was guarded by security contractors. What would they think if they knew that the United States military was also guarded by security contractors? Many United States military bases overseas are guarded by security contractors, who provide outer-cordon security. They are cheaper to employ than former American service members. They are grateful for their jobs, and they can be fired on a whim.

On paper it is cheap to hire them. But these costs do not factor in the time and manpower that the military devotes to transporting these personnel, feeding them and equipping them. Moreover, can we be assured that they will follow the same rules of engagement that

United States military forces are required to?

Prior to my second deployment, my unit had several briefings to educate and prepare us for operational aspects of our deployment. These briefs spanned cultural awareness, health concerns, and cursory coverage of basic Arabic words.

Just as we assumed our classes were done, in strode a man with a military haircut and physique. He looked no different from us, except that he carried a briefcase and wore a business suit. It turned out that this man was an ex-military. He was there to give us our last class of the day, a class on how defense contractors operate and how to work with them. He was also a representative of ArmorGroup, the same company

the State Department hired for its office in Kabul, Afghanistan, and whose contractors' lewd behavior and sexual misconduct has been captured pictorially.

In the aftermath of the Blackwater killing of Iraqi civilians in Baghdad, many Americans were probably placated by the thought that security contracts would be more limited or entirely revoked. But that did not happen, according to an employee of one firm who sat next to me during a meal in Iraq. He told me the State Department simply replaced Blackwater with two companies: his company and another. Blackwater is now yesterday's news and ArmorGroup is today's news.



BLACKWATER GUARDSTIED TO SECRET CIA RAIDS

JAMES
RISEN

MARK
MAZZETTI

Private security guards from Blackwater Worldwide participated in some of the C.I.A.'s most sensitive activities – clandestine raids with agency officers against people suspected of being insurgents in Iraq and Afghanistan and the transporting of detainees, according to former company employees and intelligence officials.

The raids against suspects occurred on an almost nightly basis during the height of the Iraqi insurgency from 2004 to 2006, with Blackwater personnel playing central roles in what company insiders called “snatch and grab” operations, the former employees and current and former intelligence officers said.

Several former Blackwater guards said that their involvement in the operations became so routine that the lines supposedly dividing the Central Intelligence Agency, the military and Blackwater became blurred. Instead of simply providing security for C.I.A. officers, they say, Blackwater personnel at times became partners in missions to capture or kill militants in Iraq and Afghanistan, a practice that raises questions about the use of guns for hire on the battlefield.

Separately, former Blackwater employees said they helped provide security on some C.I.A. flights transporting detainees in the years after the 2001 terror attacks in the United States.

The secret missions illuminate a far deeper relationship between the spy agency and the private security company than government officials had acknowledged. Blackwater's partnership with the C.I.A. has been

enormously profitable for the North Carolina-based company, and became even closer after several top agency officials joined Blackwater.

“It became a very brotherly relationship,” said one former top C.I.A. officer. “There was a feeling that Blackwater eventually became an extension of the agency.”

George Little, a C.I.A. spokesman, would not comment on Blackwater's ties to the agency. But he said the C.I.A. employs contractors to “enhance the skills of our own work force, just as American law permits.”

“Contractors give you flexibility in shaping and managing your talent mix – especially in the short term – but the accountability's still yours,” he said.

Mark Corallo, a spokesman for Blackwater, said Thursday that it was never under contract to participate in clandestine raids with the C.I.A. or with Special Operations personnel in Iraq, Afghanistan or anywhere else.

Blackwater's role in the secret operations raises concerns about the extent to which private security companies, hired for defensive guard duty, have joined in offensive military and intelligence operations.

Representative Rush D. Holt, a New Jersey Democrat who is chairman of the House Select Intelligence Oversight Panel, said in an interview that “the use of contractors in intelligence and paramilitary operations is a scandal waiting to be examined.” While he declined to comment on specific operations, Mr. Holt said that the use of contractors in such operations “got way out of hand.” He added, “It's been very troubling to a lot of people.”

Blackwater, now known as Xe Services, has come under intense criticism for what Iraqis have

described as reckless conduct by its security guards, and the company lost its lucrative State Department contract to provide diplomatic security for the United States Embassy in Baghdad earlier this year after a 2007 shooting that left 17 Iraqi civilians dead.

Blackwater's ties to the C.I.A. have emerged in recent months, beginning with disclosures in The New York Times that the agency had hired the company as part of a program to assassinate leaders of Al Qaeda and to assist in the C.I.A.'s Predator drone program in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Leon E. Panetta, the C.I.A. director, recently initiated an internal review examining all Blackwater contracts with the agency to ensure that the company was performing no missions that were “operational in nature,” according to one government official.

Five former Blackwater employees and four current and former American intelligence officials interviewed for this article would speak only on condition of anonymity because Blackwater's activities for the agency were secret and former employees feared repercussions from the company. The Blackwater employees said they participated in the raids or had direct knowledge of them.

Along with the former officials, they provided few details about the targets of the raids in Iraq and Afghanistan, although they said that many of the Iraq raids were



directed against members of Al Qaeda in Mesopotamia. To corroborate the claims of the company's involvement, a former Blackwater security guard provided photographs to The Times that he said he took during the raids. They showed detainees and armed men whom he and a former company official identified as Blackwater employees. The former intelligence officials said that Blackwater's work with the C.I.A. in Iraq and Afghanistan had grown out of its early contracts with the spy agency to provide security for the C.I.A. stations in both countries.

In the spring of 2002, Erik Prince, the founder of Blackwater, offered to help the spy agency guard its makeshift Afghan station in the Ariana Hotel in Kabul. Not long after Mr. Prince signed the security contract with Alvin B. Krongard, then the C.I.A.'s third-ranking official, dozens of Blackwater personnel – many of them former members of units of the Navy Seals or Army Delta Force – were sent to provide



In 2007, an Iraqi traffic police officer inspected a destroyed car in a square in Baghdad, where Blackwater guards killed 17 people in an incident that stirred outrage among Iraqis.

perimeter security for the C.I.A. station.

But the company's role soon changed as Blackwater operatives began accompanying C.I.A. case officers on missions, according to former employees and intelligence officials.

A similar progression happened in Iraq, where Blackwater was first hired for "static security" of the Baghdad station. In addition, Blackwater was charged with providing personal security for C.I.A. officers wherever they traveled in the two countries. That meant that Blackwater personnel accompanied the officers even on offensive operations sometimes begun in conjunction with Delta Force or Navy Seals teams.

A former senior C.I.A. official said that Blackwater's role expanded in 2005 as the Iraqi insurgency intensified. Fearful of the death or capture of one of its officers, the agency banned officers from leaving the Green Zone in Baghdad

without security escorts, the official said.

That gave Blackwater greater influence over C.I.A. clandestine operations, since company personnel helped decide the safest way to conduct the missions.

The former American intelligence officials said that Blackwater guards were supposed to only provide perimeter security during raids, leaving it up to C.I.A. officers and Special Operations military personnel to capture or kill suspected insurgents or other targets.

"They were supposed to be the outer layer of the onion, out on the perimeter," said one former Blackwater official of the security guards. Instead, "they were the drivers and the gunslingers," said one former intelligence official.

But in the chaos of the operations, the roles of Blackwater, C.I.A., and military personnel sometimes merged. Former C.I.A. officials said that Blackwater guards often appeared eager to get directly

involved in the operations. Experts said that the C.I.A.'s use of contractors in clandestine operations falls into a legal gray area because of the vagueness of language laying out what tasks only government employees may perform.

P.W. Singer, an expert in contracting at the Brookings Institution, said that the types of jobs that have been outsourced in recent years make a mockery of regulations about "inherently governmental" functions.

"We keep finding functions that have been outsourced that common sense, let alone U.S. government policy, would argue should not have been handed over to a private company," he said. "And yet we do it again, and again, and again."

According to one former Blackwater manager, the company's involvement with the C.I.A. raids was "widely known" by Blackwater executives. "It was virtually continuous, and hundreds of guys were involved, rotating in and out," over

a period of several years, the former Blackwater manager said.

One former Blackwater guard recalled a meeting in Baghdad in 2004 in which Erik Prince addressed a group of Blackwater guards working with the C.I.A. At the meeting in an air hangar used by Blackwater, the guard said, Mr. Prince encouraged the Blackwater personnel "to do whatever it takes" to help the C.I.A. with the intensifying insurgency, the former guard recalled.

But it is not clear whether top C.I.A. officials in Washington knew or approved of the involvement by Blackwater officials in raids or whether only lower-level officials in Baghdad were aware of what happened on the ground.

The new details of Blackwater's involvement in Iraq come at a time when the House Intelligence Committee is investigating the company's role in the C.I.A.'s assassination program, and a federal grand jury in North Carolina is investigating a wide range of allegations of illegal activity by Blackwater and its personnel, including gun running to Iraq.w

Several former Blackwater personnel said that Blackwater guards involved in the C.I.A. raids used weapons, including sawed-off M-4 automatic weapons with silencers, that were not approved for use by private contractors. In separate interviews, former Blackwater security personnel also said they were handpicked by senior Blackwater officials on several occasions to participate in secret flights transporting detainees around war zones.

They said that during the flights, teams of about 10 Blackwater personnel provided security over the detainees.

"A group of individuals were selected who could manage detainees without the use of lethal force," said one former Blackwater guard who participated in one of the flights.

Intelligence officials deny that the agency has ever used Blackwater to fly high-value detainees in and out of secret C.I.A. prisons that were shut down earlier this year. Mr. Corallo, the Blackwater spokesman, said that company personnel were never involved in C.I.A. "rendition flights," which transferred terrorism suspects to other countries for interrogation. ■



***“Finding
the band’s
audience is
our job.”***

Interview with The Knife

**KIMBEL
BOUWMAN**



Originally from Gothenburg, Sweden, and now based in Stockholm, siblings Olof and Karin Dreijer form the alternative pop band THE KNIFE, who were featured as HitQuarters Artists of the Month in April 2003. They have sold more than 30,000 records with their two self-released albums, "The Knife" and "Deep Cuts"; the latter has sold 26,000 copies and is nearing gold status (30,000 units).

They are now set to release a record in the UK, aided by their UK-based manager, Eric Hårle, who also manages Moby. In the latter part of

this interview, Eric talks about the details of the release and how the record companies he has presented the band to have reacted.

OLOF, WHAT ARE YOUR AND KARIN'S MUSICAL BACKGROUNDS?

For a few years, we both attended a public music school, which you can choose to start in fourth grade in Sweden. I played the saxophone and Karin played the guitar. Karin started playing in rock bands quite early on, but my background was more jazz oriented because of the saxophone, so I played in jazz and ska bands.

Before The Knife, Karin had an indie rock band with four other

guys called Honey Is Cool (click on artist or song names to listen to Real Audio files - Ed.) and they released a few records on MNW, a big independent record label in Sweden. But MNW wanted them to play more commercial music, so the band cut the contract, started Rabid Records, and released what was to be their last album. Rabid is now Karin's and my label.

I started making drum & bass and dance music on a computer in 1996; I have also been deejaying for many years. I generally play hard European techno.

WHAT WAS THE IDEA BEHIND STARTING A BAND TOGETHER?

We didn't start with the idea of

being a band; we just began to make music together quite naturally. I was making music on the computer and Karin asked me if we could try out some ideas she had. That was in 1999 and from there it took us two years to make the first album.

HOW DO YOU WORK TOGETHER WHEN YOU ARE MAKING MUSIC?

Karin sings and writes the lyrics, and everything else we do together. Either she has an idea for a melody, which we try out and then add the drums and bass, or I write the drums, bass and melody lines, and she does the vocals on top. Those are the two different ways we mostly use. We don't play that many instruments manually; we program

