

FAREED'S BRIEFING BOOK

12-06-2009

RICHARD HOLBROOKE



Richard Holbrooke

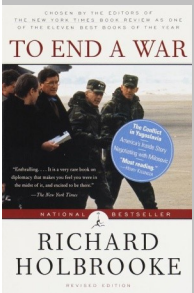
Ambassador Holbrooke is the United States' Special Representative to Pakistan and Afghanistan. He was appointed by President Obama and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton on January 22, 2009. He has more than 45 years of diplomatic and foreign policy experience.

He served as Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and Pacific affairs, under President Jimmy Carter; Assistant Secretary of State for European affairs and then United States ambassador to the United Nations, under President Bill Clinton. Early in his career, he served as Peace Corps

director in Morocco in 1970 and as editor of *Foreign Policy* magazine from 1972 to 1976.

In January 1981, Holbrooke became senior advisor to Lehman Brothers and vice president of Public Strategies, a Washington, D.C.-based consulting firm he formed with James A. Johnson. From 1985 until 1993, Holbrooke served as managing director of Lehman Brothers. During this time, he co-authored [Counsel to the President](#), *The New York Times* best-selling memoirs of legendary Democratic wise man and Defense Secretary Clark Clifford, published in 1991. He was a top policy adviser to then-Senator Al Gore during his 1988 campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination. Four years later he advised Bill Clinton

Holbrooke was the vice chairman of Perseus LLC, a leading private equity firm. From February 2001 until July 2008, Holbrooke was a member of the Board of Directors of AIG.



Holbrooke is perhaps best known for brokering a peace agreement between warring factions in Bosnia that led to the 1995 Dayton peace accords. He describes his experiences in a book entitled "[To End A War.](#)"

Read archives of [Richard C. Holbrooke News from The New York Times](#)

THIS WEEK:

TUESDAY

President Barack Obama announced his decision to send at least 30,000 more troops to Afghanistan for 18 months. [Here is a transcript of President Obama's Speech](#)



Analysis:

Obama's announcement suggested that the mission's outcome will be in large part determined by mid-2011. [Here in a CFR interview](#), five experts analyze President Obama's approach in laying out a strategy he says will turn the tides in the faltering Afghan war effort.

In "[A Goldilocks strategy](#)" *Washington Post*, E.J. Dionne Jr. writes that President Obama's plan lacks clarity and will end badly.

CFR's Leslie Gelb says Obama's new plan "[offers some promise of success](#)" and that Americans have no choice but to support it.

In the *Wall Street Journal*, Eliot Cohen writes that Obama's decision to send only thirty thousand troops leaves the president [vulnerable to being "stiffed"](#) by the allies he is counting on to send ten thousand more.

The *Associated Press* published an article that [Congress worries about Obama's plan for Pakistan](#).

Clare Lockhart writes in the *Times of London* that Obama has given a [credible vision](#) for ending the war, providing a security bridge while training Afghan forces and allowing Afghanistan to ultimately focus on educating its youth.

In the *Los Angeles Times*, Andrew J. Bacevich writes that Obama [should show courage](#) and know when to cut his losses, rather than trying to salvage the Bush policy in Afghanistan. CFR's Max Boot questions whether U.S. troops will have [enough time and resources](#) for Obama's plan to work.

Reaction:

USA Today writes that "[Karzai appeared happy after Obama videoconference](#)" and in Afghanistan, Foreign Minister Rangin Dadfar Spanta [questioned the announcement \(NYT\)](#) that American troops could begin leaving in eighteen months. "Can we do it?" he said. "This is not done in a moment. It is a process."

WEDNESDAY

"President Hamid Karzai pledged Wednesday to 'spare no effort' to help implement the revamped U.S. war strategy, the latest test for an Afghan leader emerging from a fraud-tainted election. But Karzai did not directly respond to the latest U.S. demands that he root out corruption in his government." [Karzai vows to help make Obama's strategy work](#) *Los Angeles Times*

THURSDAY



During a joint press conference with Prime Minister Gordon Brown and Prime Minister Gilani, Gilani said he had doubts about the British leader's statement that the al Qaeda chief was in Pakistan and that an influx of soldiers into Afghanistan could [push militants over the border \(Dawn\)](#), further destabilizing the region.

President Hamid Karzai said in an [interview with the Associated Press](#) that he would do "whatever it takes" to bring peace, including meeting with Taliban leader Mullah Omar. Germany's parliament voted Thursday to extend its military deployment in Afghanistan through 2010, but decline to join those countries offering new troops, keeping its ceiling at 4,500.

Matthew Green and Fazel Reshad write in the *Financial Times* that the “[Battle for hearts and minds no nearer victory.](#)”

FRIDAY

In Brussels, NATO's top official said that at least 25 countries will send a total of about 7,000 additional forces to Afghanistan next year "with more to come." U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton urged American allies to specify their commitments and NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen declined to give country-by-country specifics about the additional troops pledged and said more countries "probably will be in a position to announce further contributions during the coming weeks and months." Some countries, including Germany and France, are unlikely to make commitments before an international conference on Afghanistan scheduled for January 28 in London. Some say NATO governments [face more skeptical publics \(BBC\)](#) about the Afghanistan mission than those in the United States and Britain.



Richard Holbrooke, U.S. Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan, said corruption was one of a number of tough challenges the U.S. and its allies face in Afghanistan. "The Afghan Taliban are not yet under sufficient pressure [in Pakistan] and they need to be," said Mr. Holbrooke. ([NATO Pledges More Afghan Troops WSJ](#))

More:

[NATO to send more forces to Afghanistan, US special envoy says Boston Globe](#)

[NATO Pledges 7000 More Troops for Afghanistan New York Times](#)

In the *Wall Street Journal*, Stephen Fidler writes that the “[EU Treaty Could Ease U.S. Effort](#)” and that Holbrooke, the “U.S. Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan confessed the Obama administration had scarcely registered the shift implied by the European Union's new apparatus for foreign policy making. But after a long conversation with senior European bureaucrats over dinner Wednesday night, the veteran American diplomat said he thought the new setup could help advance cooperation between the U.S. and the EU, including in the critical Afghan mission.”

In the *Daily Telegraph*, Clinton says violent extremism threatens the interests of America's friends and allies and that [all nations must play a role](#) in the Afghanistan mission. Jim Lindsay says a Pew-CFR survey showing a surge in Americans' isolationist sentiment, stimulated by the financial crisis, [poses added hurdles](#) for Obama's Afghan strategy.

In *Foreign Policy*, U.S. Senator [John McCain says](#) Obama made the right decision in deploying additional troops but the wrong one in announcing a withdrawal date.

In the *Washington Post*, Rasmussen writes Afghanistan [is not Obama's war](#), that NATO countries face the same threats of terrorism and extremism from Afghanistan, and that the plan to transfer responsibility to the Afghans is not an "exit strategy."

In *Foreign Affairs*, CFR's Kim Barker [addresses the problems U.S. forces will face](#) and what can be done to overcome them as the Obama administration prepares to send more troops to Afghanistan.

Politico writers critique Holbrooke's performance in the article “[No miracles from Holbrooke, Mitchell.](#)”

MENTIONED ON THE SHOW

Fareed joked with Holbrooke about a comment Holbrooke made that evoked the Supreme Court dicta that “I'll know it when I see it.” To find out more about what Holbrooke said and meant read more [here](#):
[“Holbrooke on success: ‘We'll know it when we see it’” Foreign Policy](#)



In answering Fareed's question about what metrics will indicate the US has succeeded in Afghanistan, Holbrooke says that among the trained police the “benchmarks will be attrition rate, recruitment rate, and drugs.” Joining them is a three star general named Lieutenant General William Caldwell to run the training mission for all of NATO forces. Find out more about [Lieutenant General William B. Caldwell, IV here](#).

Holbrooke mentions an article Fareed wrote “with a marvelous vignette at the beginning, where there's a fight going on, and some - correct me if I'm wrong - but I remember you saying that there's a fight going on and some of the Afghans just pick up their guns and join the fight and somebody says ‘What are you doing? Which side are you one?’ and they say ‘I don't know it's just a fight, we want to get in it.’” [Here is the article](#) he is referring to. (“A Turnaround Strategy” *Newsweek*)



Holbrooke also mentions the HBO documentary Fareed narrated. Here is more on the documentary, [Terror in Mumbai](#).

More:



Almost one year ago today, ten young Pakistani men unleashed coordinated attacks across the city of Mumbai that left at least 170 people dead and more than 300 wounded. The attacks sent shockwaves of fear around the world. The HBO documentary narrated by Fareed is entitled [Terror in Mumbai](#). The film provides a 360-degree view of a terrorist act, recounting in harrowing detail the bloody events of that 60-hour period. Find out more [HERE](#)

Karzai's brother

Fareed asks Holbrooke if he thinks Karzai will stop his brother from running one of the larger corruption rackets in Afghanistan. Here is more background on Karzai's brother:

[Brother of Afghan Leader Said to Be Paid by C.I.A. New York Times](#)

[Afghan president's brother is lightning rod AP](#)

INDIA/PAKISTAN RELATIONS

Fareed mentions that when the Indian PM was in Washington and on **GPS**, he very robustly supported America's involvement in Afghanistan, talked about the removal of the Taliban as a blessing for the world, and supported implicitly the surge. The reports out of Pakistan were quite different. There was a great deal of caution, a great deal of apprehension, a couple of senior government officials were quoted in the **New York Times** as saying this is a terrible idea.



Here is the video of his interview on GPS:

[GPS: Singh goes to Washington](#)

Fareed's Article: [Zakaria: India was reassured by Obama](#) *CNN*

Here is more on that topic:

[Indian PM to Be Feted by Obama at State Visit](#) *New York Times*

[Manmohan Singh's US visit not aimed at diminution of Pak importance: Holbrooke](#) *Karachi News*

[Indian PM offers to work with Obama](#) *AFP*

[Will Manmohan Singh influence Obama's Afghan strategy?](#) *Economic Times*

[United States, India and Universal Education: Obama and Singh's Shared Values](#) *Brookings Institution*



Here are some of Holbrooke's past comments on Afghanistan and Pakistan:

[Holbrooke's Testimony on Afghanistan/Pakistan Before the House](#) Essential Documents - By Richard C. Holbrooke

[Holbrooke's Speech on Travels to Pakistan, June 2009](#) Council on Foreign Relations

[Richard Holbrooke - Still Wrong in Afghanistan](#) *Washington Post*

[Barnett Rubin and Richard Holbrooke Discuss Afghanistan](#) Asia Society

THOMAS FRIEDMAN

Thomas Friedman

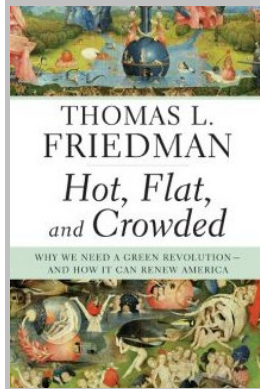
Thomas Friedman is an author and a columnist for the *New York Times*. He has won three Pulitzer Prizes.

Friedman joined the *New York Times* in 1981 and was appointed Beirut bureau chief in 1982. In 1984 Mr. Friedman was transferred from Beirut to Jerusalem, where he served as Israel bureau chief until 1988. Friedman became the *New York Times'* foreign-affairs columnist in 1995. Previously, he served as chief economic correspondent in the Washington bureau and before that he was the chief White House correspondent. In 2005, Mr. Friedman was elected as a member of the Pulitzer Prize Board.



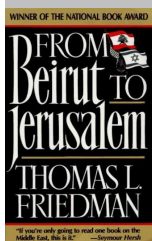
Here is the [Thomas L. Friedman website](#)

BOOKS:



His latest book is entitled [Hot, Flat, and Crowded: Why We Need a Green Revolution – And How it Can Renew America.](#)

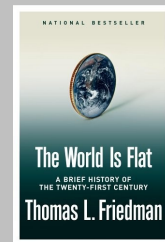
Other books include:



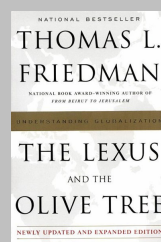
[From Beirut to Jerusalem](#)

1.

[The World Is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-first Century](#)



[The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding](#)



ARTICLES:

Here are his opinion pieces in the *New York Times* including his latest piece, ["This I Believe"](#) in which he argues that nation building in Afghanistan "is just too expensive, when balanced against our needs for nation-building at home right now." (December 2, 2009)

MENTIONED ON THE SHOW

Fareed and Thomas Friedman were invited to meet with President Obama over lunch before his speech at West Point. Here is more on what was discussed:

[Lunch With The President: The Politics Of Obama's War Plan](#) *The Atlantic*

Fareed mentions that Robert Gibbs said we're narrowing the mission. "He just talked, actually, the core mission about al Qaeda, not even about the Taliban. Everything else about it was narrowing it in scope and scale."

Here is Gibbs on narrowing the mission and al Qaeda: ["Afghan talks to seek path to security handover," Reuters](#)

Friedman mentions that he was in Afghanistan in July with Admiral Mullen. Here is the article he wrote about his trip: ["The Class Too Dumb to Quit," New York Times](#)

Friedman talks about the cost of war. Here is more from **USA Today** on approximately how much the war in Afghanistan is costing and a table showing that the ["Cost of Afghan war explodes with new strategy."](#)

■ AFGHAN PRICE TAG RISING		
Year	Iraq	Afghanistan (numbers in billions)
2003	53	15
2004	76	15
2005	86	20
2006	102	19
2007	131	39
2008	141	43
2009	95 *	55 *
2010	65 **	73 **
Total	748	300

Here is a recent Gallup Poll that is the first major poll of U.S. public opinion since the President's speech Tuesday detailing his new Afghan strategy. It claims that a narrow majority of Americans said they backed the president's plan. Read more below:

[USA Today/Gallup Poll: Majority support Obama's Afghan strategy](#) **Washington Post**

Obama's plan was favored by 51 percent of those surveyed, with 40 percent opposing it and "little consensus" on the plan's details, according to **USA Today**.

More details [from the poll here](#).

ELBARADEI

Mohamed ElBaradei

Dr. Mohamed ElBaradei is a Nobel-prize winning diplomat, international civil servant, and now former Director of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), an intergovernmental organization that is part of the United Nations. Many opine that he will be the next president of Egypt if he chooses to run. He acknowledges the possibility.



Dr. ElBaradei and the IAEA were jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in October 2005 "for their efforts to prevent nuclear energy from being used for military purposes and to ensure that nuclear energy for peaceful purposes is used in the safest possible way."

ElBaradei was first appointed Director General of the IAEA in 1997 and was reappointed to two more terms. Before that he held a number of high-level policy positions as a senior staff member of the IAEA Secretariat. He began his career with the Permanent Missions of Egypt to the United Nations in New York and Geneva, in 1964 where he was in charge of political, legal and arms control issues. Later he was a special assistant to the Foreign Minister of Egypt. During this period, Dr. ElBaradei was a member of various presidential and ministerial bilateral delegations and a member of the negotiating team that led to the conclusion of the disengagement agreements between Egypt and Israel.

More biographical information available at [Director General ElBaradei's Biography](#)

More on the IAEA and ElBaradei:

IRAN

In the last five years, Iran has gotten closer to getting a nuclear capacity and perhaps a nuclear weapon than they did over the previous 10 or 15 years. Fareed asks ElBaradei why Iran has been able to flout so many U.N. resolutions and so much pressure to bring it within the framework of the [Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons \(NPT\)](#). ElBaradei responds that he believes Iran wants to be recognized as a major regional power. He believes that they would like to remain within the confines of that Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Here is the latest on Iran and the IAEA

[ElBaradei: Iranians "Are Not Fanatics"](#) **Newsweek**

[China calls on Iran to cooperate with IAEA](#) **Daily Times**

[ElBaradei Sees 'Fleeting' Chance to Ease Iran Dispute](#) **Bloomberg**

[Iran wants to be seen as regional power: ElBaradei](#) **Reuters**

[Iran's Military Power Subject to New US Study Used for China](#) **Bloomberg**

[Iran bides its time on nuclear deal](#) **Aljazeera**

[Britain, Russia, others urge Iran to respond to uranium proposal](#) **CNN**

[Iran Resists Deal to Ship Nuclear Fuel to Outsiders](#) **New York Times**

[IAEA's ElBaradei urges Iran to clarify future nuclear intention](#) **Monsters and Critics.com**

[ElBaradei urges Iran to respond on nuclear deal](#) **Alalam News Network**

ELBARADEI FOR PRESIDENT

Fareed mentions that ElBaradei is rumored to be interested or encouraged to run in the next presidential election in Egypt. ElBaradei said that he "will not shy from any public service duty if [he] can make a difference. Egypt has to change."

[Mohamed ElBaradei considers running in Egypt presidential elections](#) - **Times Online**

U.S. NUCLEAR WEAPONS POLICY

[U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy](#) *CFR*

This report finds that nuclear weapons will remain a fundamental element of U.S. national security in the near term, and makes recommendations on how to ensure the safety, security, and reliability of the U.S. deterrent nuclear force, prevent nuclear terrorism, and strengthen the nuclear nonproliferation regime.

More on [Independent Task Forces](#) at CFR

[Complete list](#) of Task Force reports

MORE

[IAEA Director General's Corner](#) *IAEA website*

[Mohamed ElBaradei looks to US to fix nuclear system 'in tatters'](#) *Christian Science Monitor*

[ElBaradei Ends Term With Goals 'In Tatters'](#) *WSJ*

[Elbaradei Reports On Global Nuclear Activity](#) *Voice of America*

[Bunkers or Breakthrough?](#) *New York Times*

[US, Russia, France agree to ElBaradei proposal](#) *Xinhua*

[Obama, Merkel praise US-German ties](#) *United Press International*

[IAEA Director General on Trip to US](#) *ISRIA*