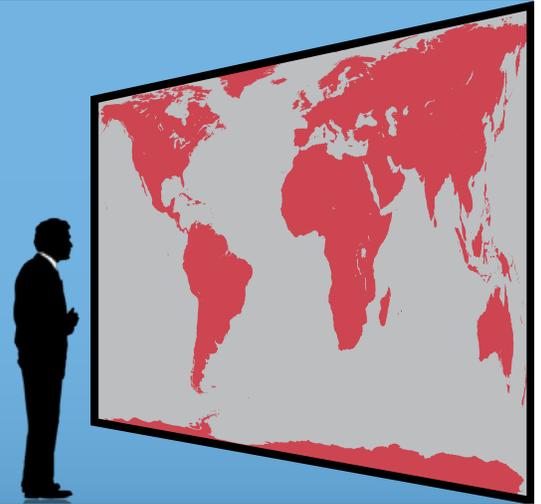


OPERATIONAL ENVIRONMENT WATCH



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IN THIS ISSUE

IRAN

- 3 The Genesis of Iran's Space Program
- 5 Khamenei Permits Facebook?
- 7 Protests Highlight Labor Discord in Iran

TURKEY

- 8 Turkish Chief of the General Staff visits U.S. Strategic Military Bases
- 10 Did Turkey Veto Israel's Participation in NATO Summit?
- 12 Media-Military Relations: Training Journalists for War Reporting

EGYPT, SYRIA, YEMEN

- 14 Egyptian Media Reacts to US Military Training
- 16 Syria's Eager Lion?
- 18 Is Ali Muhsin al-Ahmar's Gamble Paying Off?

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

- 21 African Troops for African Crises
- 24 Where to Watch in Africa: Mauritania's Attempts to Launch an Arab Spring Coup d'Etat
- 25 Perspectives from Francophone Africa: Does Hollande's Election Signal Change in France's Africa Policy?
- 27 Governor: Terrorists will Make North Nigeria Uninhabitable in Five Years

SOUTHEAST ASIA

- 28 Spread of Meth and Ecstasy in Southeast Asia

MEXICO

- 29 Female Sicarias Working at the Service of Los Zetas
- 31 Narcos Utilize Snipers in Attacks on Soldiers and Marines

COLOMBIA

- 33 Ratcheting Violence in Bogota

CHINA

- 35 National Newspaper Highlights Finding: Youth Will Not Fight For Taiwan
- 37 Taiwanese Concerned About Media Freedom
- 39 Troubles Loom Large for KMT Party, Taiwan
- 40 China's Military Ties with Australia to Deepen
- 41 Brief Analysis on the Environment of Investment in the Mining Industry in Afghanistan
- 44 Russia and China Deepen Military Cooperation

KOREA

- 46 Putin's Pivot to Asia

BALKANS

- 48 Islamic Transversal in the Balkans?

CENTRAL ASIA

- 51 Kazakhstan's Defense Industry
- 52 An Exercise in Uzbekistan?
- 54 Perception in Kyrgyzstan

RUSSIA

- 55 Russian Blackwater
- 57 Chechen Stability
- 58 Pro-Russian Defense Minister in Kiev?
- 60 Protecting the Skies over Minsk

Regional Analysts and Expert Contributors

Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa	Robert Feldman, Jason Warner
Middle East	Lucas Winter, Michael Rubin
Turkey	Karen Kaya
China, Korea	Cindy Hurst, Ruoxi Du, Lianna Faruolo, Youngjun Kim
India, Southeast Asia	Ivan Welch
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Features



5 Khamenei Permits Facebook?

“Pesakh-e hazarat-e Ayatollah Khamene’i dar baraye estifadeh az facebook” (“Answer of His Excellency Ayatollah Khamenei About the Use of Facebook,” Shafaqna.com, 29 April 2012

Facebook was a prominent component of forced confessions, with the Islamic Republic’s revolutionary courts accusing the United States of using Facebook to sow sedition



10 Did Turkey Veto Israel’s Participation in NATO Summit?

“Türkiye’den İsrail’e Chicago Vetosu (Turkey Vetoes Israel’s Presence at Chicago Meeting),” Stargazete.com, April 23, 2012

“....Turkey should not carry its bilateral problems with Israel into NATO.”



14 Egyptian Media Reacts to US Military Training

“Ramih: America Wants to Eliminate Islam,” al-Wafd (Egypt)

Both articles present the viewpoints of strategic analysts, notable for the divergence in their interpretations both of the cause and consequence of this controversy



27 Governor: Terrorists will Make North Nigeria Uninhabitable in Five Years

“Nigeria: North Will Be Inhabitable in Five Years – Shettima” Daily Trust (Nigeria), 11 May 2012

Everyone has known that northern Nigeria is a precarious spot: few guessed that even the governor of one of its states would claim that profound insecurity there would render it uninhabitable within several years.



37 Taiwanese Concerned About Media Freedom

“Academics highlight threats to media freedom,” Taipei Times, 4 May 2012

“Academics and journalists yesterday expressed concern about the threats to Taiwanese media of an increasing concentration of ownership and Chinese influence.”



40 China’s Military Ties with Australia to Deepen

Military Ties with Australia to Deepen, China Daily, May 14, 2012

China would make joint efforts with the country to strengthen exchanges at high military levels and deepen pragmatic cooperation between the two militaries.

FMSO Commentary: On April 27, Fars News Agency—an Iranian news service close to the Supreme Leader and security services—published a lengthy interview with Amir Ali Hajizadeh, the commander of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps Aerospace Command, excerpts of which are translated below. Western press reports initially focused upon the title of the interview, which highlighted Hajizadeh’s accusations that the new U.S. radar facility in Turkey would sicken children. While such accusations are sure to be picked up by the opposition in Turkey and Europe and will become a standard part of Iran’s information operations campaign, Hajizadeh’s reflections regarding Iran’s missile program and domestic defense industry are more important.

Underlying Hajizadeh’s remarks are both Iranian defiance and overconfidence. Hajizadeh is fatalistic and embraces a view widespread among veterans of the Iran-Iraq War in both the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps and among Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad’s hardline faction, which sees strength rising from adversity. Suggestions that Iran can cripple U.S. aircraft carriers imply that Iranian understandings of American redlines imposed by Operation Praying Mantis in 1988 have almost completely evaporated.

Hajizadeh’s confidence also reflects Iran’s growing indigenous arms industry. Whether Iran received assistance from North Korea, Russia, or other powers in the past, the fact remains that Iran has acquired a robust missile program and that Iranian technicians have reverse engineered missiles and radar systems, and, if believed, may also be able to harvest technology and intelligence from the U.S. drone downed over Iran in December 2011.

While some Western officials remain optimistic about the prospect for a breakthrough in nuclear talks,

The Genesis of Iran’s Space Program

27 April 2012

Source: “Bimariha-ye Sa‘ab al-‘Alaj’ Peyamad-i Istiqrar Sepir Mushaki bar Neselha-ye ayandeh Turkiye” (“Chronic Diseases [and] the Impact of the Missile Shield on Future Generations of Turkey,” Fars News Agency, 27 April 2012. <http://www.farsnews.com/newstext.php?nn=13910205000746>



Commander of the Aerospace Division of Iran’s Islamic Revolution Guards Corps (IRGC) Brigadier General Amir Ali Hajizadeh, by PressTV via <http://www.presstv.ir/detail/188265.html>

Chronic Diseases [and] the Impact of the Missile Shield on Future Generations of Turkey

Islamic Revolution Guards Corps (IRGC) Aerospace Commander Brigadier General Amir Ali Hajizadeh, on the occasion of the 33rd anniversary of the Statute of the Revolutionary Guards, in a detailed conversation with the defense office of Fars News Agency, went over the actions of his agency over the past years, touching on issues such as the missile program, decoding the American drone, countering threats around the country, and the American missile defense shield...

Hajizadeh said that initially, eight missiles and not more than 30 rockets were imported into the country. Martyr Hassan Tehrani Moqaddam, the founder of Islamic Republic’s domestic missile program, took two of the first eight imported missiles and reverse engineered them. It was a difficult decision, but he had the courage to do so. Hajizadeh added, this work began in indigenous production and today had branched out into both marine and land-based missiles. The head of the IRGC Aerospace Force said that in the Islamic Republic of Iran, and especially the IRGC, we all learned how to turn threats into opportunities... Hajizadeh said, our defensive systems were slow, and these they sanctioned but from the day these sanctions began, our work began in the field.

He continued, today we’re active in this field despite sanctions. We hear from the Leader that we must cut our dependence on oil, and he noted that each year we should name our achievements in the economic jihad. He continued, the current sanctions present an even greater opportunity. This is doable. We have become a strong and powerful country.

Today, our units are so numerous that I, despite several visits on a weekly basis, do not

Continued: Chronic Diseases [and] the Impact of the Missile Shield on Future Generations of Turkey

Hajizadeh's defiance suggests any progress will be fleeting and that a powerful constituency exists inside Iran which believes that they can weather any sanctions Western countries throw at the Islamic Republic.

*Hajizadeh's interview also presages the next negotiations hurdle the West will face with regard to Iran's military ambitions. Just as Iranian diplomats have justified nuclear enrichment in their desire to enrich uranium and produce isotopes for medical purposes, Iranian officials will increasingly shield a ballistic missile program in their desire to achieve space-based technologies, and will respond with righteous indignation should American officials question the motivations underlying Iran's space drive. **End FMSO Commentary (Rubin)***

have the time to inspect them all...

The aerospace commander said regarding the change in the name of the force that, initially, we were called the Revolutionary Guards Air Force. The Army and the Air Force had similar names but different missions but following the Supreme Leader's decree to expand our responsibilities also to cover the space, our Air Force was changed into Aerospace. Now, it is not like the past where war and defense only takes place on land, sea, and in the air. We have now also added space above the air, and space operations have been added to the activities carried out in this sector. Our enemy uses space capabilities for espionage purposes and we should not abandon this dimension. Networks and C4I (Command, Control, Communications, Computers, and Intelligence) are not possible without a presence in space and facilities. Unmanned Aerial Vehicles, for example, are guided via satellite, as our satellite images. Enemies derive many benefits from their space capabilities beyond mere espionage. Work in radar and electronics is used in many sectors.

The Ghadir Radar has more than a one thousand-kilometer range... We also produce radars with 300 to 500-kilometer range in various frequencies... They [the United States] have bases in the countries around us, and the Persian Gulf, both air and ground forces bases, all of which are under the constant surveillance of our intelligence services...

We are no longer concerned about their presence. Of course, when they arrived there was some concern and they were considered threats to us, but now they are truly considered an opportunity for us. We do not have any concerns and they understand this very well...

Sinking an aircraft carrier is not so complicated... Apart from this, there are so many advanced and sensitive technologies used on board such carriers that friends jokingly say that should a firecracker explode on board, it will most certainly damage a part of it. It means that even the slightest explosion would debilitate the carrier... Six thousand people on board such carriers are terrified when passing through the Strait of Hormuz; they are afraid and panicked; people can't do any work...

We easily extracted data from the captured drone. To prove to the Americans that we have cracked its codes, there were technical problems addressed in California in October 2010, and then there were modifications and a test flight in November 2010, after which it was brought to Kandahar, after which more problems became apparent which they were unable to repair. The UAV was returned to an airport close to Los Angeles in December 2010 to address bugs and make further modifications, after which it was returned to Kandahar.

Hajizadeh expressed that we have acquired all the software and information on this plane: We even know it flew over Pakistan near to the place where Bin Laden was killed two weeks before his killing....

FMSO Commentary: The Islamic Republic has always had a love-hate approach to the internet. In the 1990s internet cafes sprung up across Tehran and in other major cities. Authorities were initially uncertain how to react. In early internet cafes, for example, the Intelligence Ministry simply paid managers and informants to look over shoulders and check browsing histories. The regime believed it could harness the power of the internet for its own purposes. Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei, for example, maintained his own internet site to disseminate his speeches, writings, and fatwas, not only in Persian, Arabic, and Urdu, but also in Japanese, Bahasa Indonesian, Swahili, Hausa, and various European languages. Security services traditionally worried more about cell phones than social networking.

Ordinary Iranians, however, soon embraced the internet to reach out both to each other and the outside world. For a short time Persian became the third-largest blogging language after English and French, and it still places in the top ten. While President Mohammad Khatami preached “dialogue of civilizations,” regime hardliners increasingly worried about the mechanisms of that dialogue. As Facebook became popular, it became a tool not only for social networking but also for political discussion. On May 23, 2009, three weeks before Iran’s disputed presidential elections, the Iranian judiciary banned Facebook after Iranians began using the internet site to discuss that country’s presidential debates. In the wake of the uprising, Facebook was a prominent component of forced confessions, with the Islamic Republic’s revolutionary courts accusing the United States of using Facebook to sow sedition.² Rejection of Facebook became a regime loyalty test, with some political leaders forced to deny ever

1. See, for example, “Asnad-e maharnameha-ye ra dar Facebook monatasher kardam,” (“I published secret documents on Facebook,”), Fars News, September 8, 2009. <http://www.farsnews.com/newstext.php?nn=8805171306>
2. “Fresh Hearing Focuses on ‘Internet Plot,’” Press TV (Tehran), September 14, 2009, <http://edition.presstv.ir/detail/106147.html>

Khamenei Permits Facebook?

29 April 2012

Source: “Pesakh-e hazarat-e Ayatollah Khamene’i dar baraye estifadeh az facebook” (“Answer of His Excellency Ayatollah Khamenei About the Use of Facebook,” Shafaqna.com. 29 April 2012. <http://tinyurl.com/d6kyvzt>

Ali Khamenei by Sinaf77 (Own work) [CC-BY-SA-3.0 (www.creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0)], via Wikimedia Commons



Answer of His Excellency Ayatollah Khamenei about the Use of Facebook

According to the website, Facebook has been blocked in Iran. Is it permissible to go to this site to communicate with friends without engaging in any adverse actions against the national interests of the Islamic Republic?

According to Shafaqna, the text of the answer and response of His Excellency, Grand Ayatollah Khamene’i about Facebook, and published in the online news site is as follows:

Text of the Question:

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, Ayatollah Khamene’i, with peace and respect, according to the website, Facebook has been blocked in Iran. Is it permissible to go to this site to communicate with friends without engaging in any adverse actions against the national interests of the Islamic Republic?

Text of the Answer:

In the name of His Eminence, peace and God’s mercy and blessings be upon you.

In general, if it was misused (such as spreading corruption, publishing lies, and false content) or if there was a fear of committing a sin or strengthening the enemies of Islam, it is not allowed but otherwise there is not a sin.

Explanation: The fatwa has been expressed, and it is necessary to recognize its application. The overall decision has been stated that it’s necessary to determine whether the use of Facebook meets the condition of legitimate use.

The key point in the above is that if these activities strengthened the enemies of Islam and Muslims, they are not allowed. The nature of the networks is based on the information collected. There are many more users who appreciate fewer restrictions and seek more the information that these networks provide, and in this the enemies are

having an account,³ while the Intelligence Ministry used accusations of Facebook activity to delegitimize Ahmadinejad's election rivals.⁴ The Revolutionary Guards' weekly newspaper depicted both Facebook and Twitter as "instruments of the enemy."⁵ Despite the regime's efforts to condemn and sometimes block Facebook, however, the paramilitary Basij claims that there are still 17 million Facebook users in the country.

It is against this backdrop that the Supreme Leader issues his fatwa. While Iranian authorities continue to develop a national internet with the goal of disconnecting Iran from the global internet, they are still at least three years away from accomplishing this goal (a goal which American engineers privately concede the Iranian regime can accomplish). Khamenei's declaration that Facebook can be used for good or bad in the meantime effectively suspends the broad crackdown on social networking, most likely because the regime has been unable to dissuade or prevent Iranians from using social networking sites. Khamenei's statement does, however, leave the door open to continued regime monitoring and perhaps selective targeting of student leaders and reformist politicians.

End FMSO Commentary (Rubin)

3. "Faezeh Hashemi: Dar Facebook 'azaviat na dashteh va nadaram," ("Faezeh Hashemi: I have never posted on Facebook,") *Rahesabz (Green Movement)*, January 2, 2010, <http://www.rahesabz.net/story/7508/>

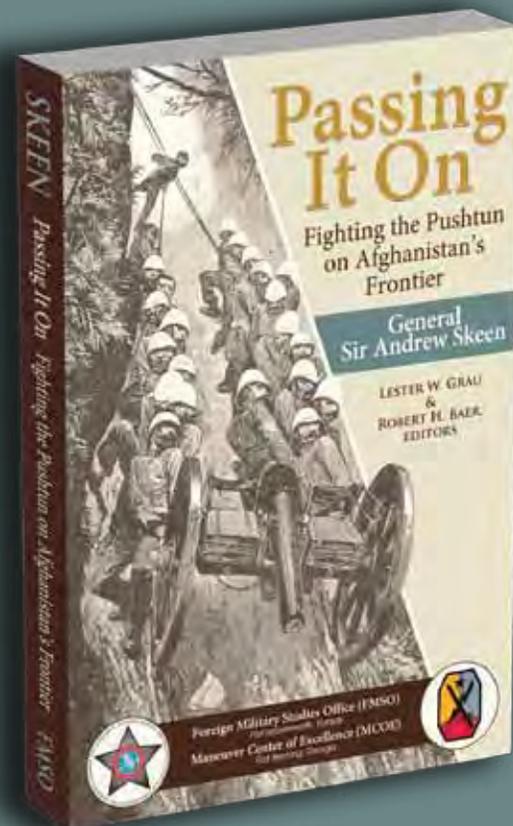
4. "Mohavaran-e Mousavi khavahan ja an-dakhtan kalemeh-e dorough dar entekhabat budand," ("Mousavi's Advisors want to taint the elections with the word 'lie,") *Fars News*, January 27, 2010. <http://www.farsnews.com/newstext.php?nn=8811071558>

5. "Bazi Doshmananeha-ye beh natijeh narsid," ("Hostile Game that Fell Short,") *Sobh-e Sadegh*, June 20, 2010, <http://www.sobhesadegh.ir/1389/0454/M09.HTM>

Continued: Answer of His Excellency Ayatollah Khamenei about the Use of Facebook

strengthened. And this ruling seems to suggest that it is neither absolutely forbidden to arrive at these sites nor is it proven to be allowed. Instead, it is between these two poles, so the judgment depends upon personal responsibility.

In resurrecting General Sir Andrew Skeen's *Passing It On*, the Foreign Military Studies Office and the Maneuver Center of Excellence, have provided a detailed look from 1932 that holds valuable lessons and understanding of the Operational Environment in the Af-Pak Theater of today.



FMSO Commentary: While Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini infused his rhetoric with calls for ‘social justice,’ when he inaugurated the Islamic Republic, he placed labor unions under strict government control. He charged the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs – reorganized in August 2011 into the Ministry of Cooperatives, Labor, and Social Welfare – with licensing and coordinating labor unions. Iranian workers have long chafed under this arrangement, especially given the dominant role of government in the economy. Because the government, revolutionary foundations (*bonyads*) and Khatam al-Anbia, the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps’ economic wing, control many industries and, according to some estimates, more than 40 percent of gross domestic product, most conflicts between workers and management are, in effect, disputes between workers and the government itself.

Most disputes are apolitical: workers regularly complain about unpaid wages, with management sometimes more than a half year in arrears. They also frequently complain about unsafe work conditions and dismissals without notice when one government entity purchases a factory or facility from another entity. When disputes occur, the government more often than not seeks to head them off by declaring them illegal and, in extreme cases, firing workers who continue to object. Because the government aims to control all labor, ‘troublemakers’ are unlikely to find employment elsewhere.

Over the last decade, however, there have been instances in which workers have struck in defiance of the government. First, in 2005 bus drivers in Tehran formed an independent union after a months-long illegal strike over unsafe working conditions. For his defiance, their leader, Mansour Ossanlou, served several stints in prison and had part of his tongue severed in an attempt by government-sponsored thugs to silence him. The following year sugar cane workers in Khuzistan—the southwestern province at the top of the Persian Gulf along the border with Iraq—also succeeded in forming an independent union.

It is in this context that labor unrest in Shushtar (Biblical Susa) is relevant. Shushtar is also in Khuzistan, which is home to much of Iran’s oil industry. The Iranian regime will certainly worry that labor unrest in the region might spread to the oil industry, an eventuality that could spark greater unrest, as the central government must then either acquiesce to workers’ demands or, more likely, utilize security forces in actions which might precipitate more violence. **End FMSO Commentary (Rubin)**

Protests Highlight Labor Discord in Iran

30 April 2012

Source: “Kargaran-e Shushtar dar ‘Eteraz beh na amnane sheghali tajema’ kardand” (“Shushtar Workers Gather to Protest Job Insecurity,” Iranian Labor News Agency. 30 April 2012. <http://www.ilna.ir/newsText.aspx?ID=260171>)



Iranian labor activists, by Persian2English via <http://persian2english.com/?p=10020>

Shushtar Workers Gather to Protest Job Insecurity

Shushtar workers, as a result of the [government’s] refusal to issue a license for the workers to rally, Shushtar workers gathered to commemorate the Labor Day and to protest lack of job security and unfair wages.

In an interview with ILNA, Seyyed Ali Alizadeh emphasized the need to issue a license for workers to hold the rally on Labor Day: Because of the refusal to issue a permit for workers to hold a rally, workers were forced to hold a gathering in the Labor Hall in Shushtar to voice their objection to authorities.

It is necessary to note that International Labor Day ceremonies this year were held one day earlier as compared to the rest of the world as a result of the difference in the calculation of leap year according to the Solar Hijri [Iranian] and Christian calendar years. According to the Labor Law of Iran, Ordibehesht 11 [April 30] is Labor Day and it is an official holiday for those subject to this law.

FMSO Commentary: Turkish Chief of the General Staff Necdet Özel made an official visit to U.S. military bases and the Pentagon during May 8-11, 2012. During his visit he met with both Gen. Martin Dempsey and Defense Secretary Leon Panetta. The visit was symbolic in several ways. First, it signaled the revival of the military-to-military relationship between Turkey and the U.S., given that the previous Turkish Chief of the General Staff had not visited the Pentagon during his tenure. Second, Özel will lead the Turkish Army until 2015, which means that the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Afghanistan (where Turkey also participates in ISAF) in 2014 will take place during his tenure. Third, the briefings he received on improvised explosive devices (IED), weapons and critical military operations were a reminder that the Turkish military continues to look towards the U.S. as a mentor and model of military excellence.

Following a long list of U.S. high-level officials, Defense Secretary Leon Panetta visited Turkey in December 2011, meeting with his counterpart, the Prime Minister and the Turkish President, prompting talk of a “golden age” in U.S.-Turkish relations. This visit seems to be a continuation of the high-level visits between the two countries.

While certainly significant in terms of U.S.-Turkish military relations, this visit occurs in the milieu of changing civil-military dynamics in Turkey. The Turkish military is becoming smaller and more professionalized, and is reduced in power and influence in Turkish defense and security policy. The article below discusses the details of the Turkish general’s visit. **End FMSO Commentary (Kaya).**

Turkish Chief of the General Staff visits U.S. Strategic Military Bases

10 May 2012

Source: “Necdet Özel ABD’nin İstihbarat Üssünde! (Necdet Özel is at the U.S.’s Intelligence Base!),” Haberciniz (Your News Source), May 10, 2012, <http://www.haberciniz.biz/necdet-ozel-abdnin-istihbarat-ussunde-1446900h.htm>



Secretary of Defense Leon E. Panetta meets with General Necdet Özel, Chief of Defense. (DOD Photo by Erin A. Kirk-Cuomo)(Released) via Flickr.com

Necdet Özel ABD’nin İstihbarat Üssünde! (Necdet Özel is at the U.S.’s Intelligence Base!)

During his 4-day visit to the U.S., the Turkish Chief of the General Staff General Necdet Özel visited the U.S.’s intelligence base at Langley, known to be the center of the U.S. army’s fight against terror.

During his 4-day visit, the Chief of the General Staff Gen. Özel received a briefing at the U.S. most strategic bases, as part of a program prepared by the Pentagon. These include the intelligence center at Langley, known as the center of the fight against terror, and the operation center at Key West, where the raid that killed Osama bin Laden was commanded. The Pentagon spokesperson said that the visit was part of the long-standing relationship between the U.S. and Turkish militaries and was symbolic of the fact that the U.S. was delivering on its promises made to Turkey and the region. The Pentagon planned Gen. Özel’s schedule, including meetings at four important U.S. bases in Florida.

The most important base that Gen. Özel visited was the Langley Air Base in the state of Virginia, where the 480th Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance (ISR) is located. Gen. Özel received a briefing at this base, where the Pentagon and the CIA jointly command operations. On May 8, Gen. Özel went to Florida, where also visited three separate bases. The most important one of these was the Key West Navy Base, where the Joint Interagency Task Force (JIATF) unit is located. This unit includes the Navy Seal commandos and is known as the command center of the operation that killed Osama bin Laden in Pakistan.

Briefing on F-35’s

In Florida, Gen. Özel also visited the Tyndall Air Base of the first Navy Force and to

Continued: Necdet Özel is at the U.S.'s Intelligence Base!

the Eglin Air Base where the 33rd Fleet is based, and was briefed on the new generation F-35 war planes. Gen. Özel did not provide any information to the press. Yesterday, he met with the Turkish Ambassador to the U.S., Namık Tan and had a closed lunch with the Turkish American Council (ATC), which is active in the defense industry. The visit has been noted as one of the most private, most secret visits of any Turkish Chief of the General Staff to the U.S. Today, the General will be at the Pentagon. A source close to the Pentagon has said that the visit is important not because of the topics being discussed, but more so because it symbolizes the return of active Turkish-American military-to-military relations. The previous visit of a Turkish Chief of General Staff to Washington had taken place 3 years ago, in May 2009, when General İlker Başbuğ was the Chief. The previous Chief of the General Staff, Işık Koşaner did not visit Washington during his tenure.

They will host him at their Residence

Gen. Özel will also visit the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at Arlington National Cemetery and have lunch with the U.S. Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Martin Dempsey. Following lunch, he will receive a private meeting on improvised explosive devices (IEDs). IEDs are a topic that the U.S. security forces are focusing on in their war on terror. The Joint Improvised Explosive Device Defeat Organization (JEIDDO) organized under the Pentagon, will share information on IED's with Turkish officials. In the evening, Gen. Özel will have dinner at the residence of Gen. Dempsey.



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It is produced by the Threats Intelligence Support Activity (U.S. Army TRADOC G-2) and posted at <https://www.us.army.mil/suite/files/25364306>.

FMSO Commentary: *The NATO alliance will celebrate its 63rd anniversary in Chicago on May 20-21, 2012. Turkey has apparently blocked Israel's participation in the summit as a member of the Mediterranean Dialogue, an outreach program to seven non-NATO states. This signals Turkey's determination to prevent Israel from cooperating with the alliance. Turkey's relations with Israel have been at a critical low since the "flotilla crisis" of May 2010, when the flotilla "Mavi Marmara," which was led by an Islamic charity organization and which challenged Israel's blockade of Gaza, was met by an Israeli raid on international waters, killing nine Turkish civilians.*

This is not the first time that Turkey has blocked Israel from NATO-related activities. When it was asked to host the NATO missile defense shield radar, it agreed to do so only on the condition that the intelligence would not be shared by Israel. In February 2012 Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu said that Turkey would never allow Israel to use any NATO facility.

However, officials from the U.S. and NATO have claimed that this is not the case. Philip H. Gordon, Assistant Secretary for Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, claimed that Turkey was not the reason that Israel was not invited, and that it was a matter of lack of time and logistics instead, though he did express disappointment that Turkey-Israel bilateral problems were being carried into NATO. NATO's Secretary General Rasmussen said that Israel was not invited because it does not participate in missions in Afghanistan and Kosovo. Meanwhile, some in Israel have called on NATO to reject Turkey's veto, claiming that its Western allies have allowed the alliance to be hijacked by the growing anti-Israeli stance of NATO's sole Muslim member, Turkey. They claim that Israel is a high-value asset

Did Turkey Veto Israel's Participation in NATO Summit?

23 April 2012

Source: "Türkiye'den İsrail'e Chicago Vetosu (Turkey Vetoes Israel's Presence at Chicago Meeting)," Stargazete.com, April 23, 2012, <http://www.stargazete.com/dunya/turkiyeden-israile-chicago-vetosu/haber-550053>



NATO celebrates 63rd anniversary in Chicago on May 20-21. Photo by THORSTEN BOHLMANN, via <http://www.nato.int>

Türkiye'den İsrail'e Chicago Vetosu (Turkey Vetoes Israel's Presence at Chicago Meeting)

Turkey vetoed Israel's participation in the NATO summit to take place in Chicago on May 20-21. The decision was conveyed by the Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu during the April 19 meeting of foreign ministers. According to news obtained by Hürriyet Daily News, many participants in the NATO foreign ministers visit, particularly the NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen, criticized Turkey's blockage of Israel in NATO institutions, without naming Turkey.

'Don't carry the problem into NATO'

Some ministers said that Turkey's lack of participation in activities which include Israel as part of the Mediterranean Dialogue (a NATO outreach program with 7 non-NATO nations), was against the partnership values engrained in the alliance and warned that Turkey should not carry its bilateral problems with Israel into NATO. Turkey had blocked Israel's plan to open a NATO representative office last year as well. In fact, some members have threatened that if Turkey continues to block Israel, they could block the participation of other Mediterranean countries like Egypt, Mauritania, and Algeria in the Mediterranean Dialogue. Davutoğlu had received word of such criticisms before the meeting and conveyed the following messages:

*You talk about cooperation with partners. But before you can call a partner a partner, they have to be a partner so that we can treat them like one. I know this subject has come up without Turkey being named. Let's be open. You are talking about Turkey and Israel. But the military of that country which you call a partner, killed our citizens in international waters based on orders they from their government. We cannot call such a country a partner.

*Many of your citizens were on that fleet during the Mavi Marmara raid. We viewed all of them as if they were our citizens and took them out of Israel one by one and enabled them

Continued: Turkey Vetoes Israel's Presence at Chicago Meeting

for NATO, because many of the troops deployed to Afghanistan have received counterinsurgency training in Israel.
End FMSO Commentary (Kaya)

to return to their countries via Turkey. We did the same in Syria and Libya.

* We expect you to show the same respect to our citizens. We promise you that if something like this happens to your citizens, we will be the first ones to act. We want solidarity within the alliance, not discrimination.

A high-level official from the Foreign Ministry said that Turkey blocks Israel not only in NATO, but in other international institutions as well, saying that, "Those countries who want Turkey to mend its relations with Israel should remind Israel that they need to apologize to Turkey for the Mavi Marmara raid, and pay compensation. Unless Israel does these two things, Turkey will continue to act this way."

RELATED ARTICLE

Changing Trends in Israel - Turkey Security and Military Relations: Their Perspectives

Ms. Karen Kaya

Contractor for the Foreign Military Studies Office, Fort Leavenworth, KS 66027

January 2011

Synopsis: This article analyzes the changing trends in the military and security relations between Turkey and Israel. It identifies factors of the operational environment that influence bilateral relations and includes a thorough discussion of each of the factors from a Turkish and Israeli perspective. It argues that relations are a product of the structural changes in the two countries' operational environments.

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<http://fmso.leavenworth.army.mil/documents/Changing-Trends-in-Israel-Turkey-Security-Relations.pdf>

FMSO Commentary: *In today's world the media have become an important factor to be considered by war planners. The importance for secrecy for soldiers, coupled with the demands for correspondents to report from the front lines, can create a conflict. This has given rise to a new type of journalism: war reporting or "war journalism" can be defined as conveying news gathered on the battlefield to the public. Reporters have to cover these stories while also dealing with risks to their personal safety. Leading news organizations from the U.S. and Britain have realized that this requires special training before sending journalists with military units to the front. Until now the U.S. and Britain were the only two countries that trained reporters in this special type of journalism. Now the Turkish 'Anatolian News Agency' is trying to join the ranks of leading media organizations such as the BBC, CNN and Reuters by training a number of war reporters to reach that level of reporting.*

The new program, held in conjunction with the Turkish Armed Forces and the Police Academy, will train journalists in the 'proper' way to report war related incidents. The course trainers will first receive their own war-reporting training in England by private firms that specialize in war training, run by former members of the British military. They will then return to Turkey and teach courses to Turkish journalists. Participants will receive a total of 82 hours of training, organized into 25 courses, during which they will attend classes on the 'Laws of War,' 'War Theory and Terminology,' 'Chemical and Biological Weapons,' 'Maps and Determining Routes,' 'Staying Alive during War,' and many other topics. The program is similar to a Pentagon program that offers classes to journalists to be embedded with a military unit in Iraq or Afghanistan.

The most significant application of

Media-Military Relations: Training Journalists for War Reporting

5 May 2012

Source: "İlk Ders Haber Akademisi Öğrencilerine Verildi (News Academy Students start receiving Training)," Anatolian News Agency, May 5, 2012, <http://www.aa.com.tr/tr/kurumsal-haberler/49207--ilk-ders-haber-akademisi---grencilerine--verildi>



Journalists Receiving Training on 'War Reporting.' Photo by Anatolian News Agency, via www.aa.com.t

İlk Ders Haber Akademisi Öğrencilerine Verildi (News Academy Students start receiving Training)

Trainers who are teaching the "War Reporting Certificate Program" have taught their first class to students of the News Academy. Experienced journalists, photojournalists and cameramen from the Anatolian News Agency who have worked in war zones met with the students of the News Academy prior to their "War Reporting Certificate Program". The training provides information to journalists on how to conduct their reporting in war zones. The activity also entailed practical exercises on first aid and an introduction to equipment to be used while reporting on war or natural disasters.

Application Deadline is Next Week

The Anatolian News Agency and the Police Academy have signed a protocol that foresees a certificate program to train operational journalists who will work in war, natural disaster and extraordinary circumstances. Applications are continuing to pour in. The program aims to teach students about how to safely transfer news, photographs and videos, reporting under difficult circumstances, staying alive during operations. The deadline for applications is May 11th. The program is open to freelance journalists or journalists who work for news agencies. The applications will be evaluated and applicants will be interviewed between May 14 and 20. Those selected will be notified on May 28th. The program will be held in two phases. The first phase will take place June 4-15 while the second will take place June 18-29.

Continued: News Academy Students start receiving Training

this for Turkey will be the reporting of terrorist incidents by the terrorist group PKK. The initiative has the potential to shape the way the Turkish public perceives terrorist incidents, particularly those in the southeast region involving the PKK. Given the increasing importance of public opinion, this may have an impact on Turkish foreign and military policy against northern Iraq, where the PKK is based. End FMSO Commentary (Kaya)

Seasoned Personnel from the Turkish Armed Forces' are among Trainers

The team of trainers includes seasoned personnel from the Police Academy as well as the Turkish Armed Forces. The students will receive a total of 82 hours of education, organized under 25 courses, during which they will learn about the 'Laws of War,' 'War Theory and Terminology,' 'Chemical and Biological Weapons,' 'Maps and Determining Routes,' 'Staying Alive during War.' The students will learn about the following:

War, news, photographs and video clips, war photo journalism, war journalism, how to be a cameraman during war, body language, managing the media during critical circumstances, publication rules, first aid, injuries, burns, self-defense, terror and terrorism, reporting on terror incidents, reporting on refugee camps, technology and safety of information transfer, social events, staying alive in water, explosives, land mines and booby traps, kidnapping, hostage-taking, control check-points, personal safety, staying alive during war, vehicle safety, persuasion strategies, war theory and terminology, the laws of war, nuclear, biological and chemical attacks, air and sea operations, figuring out routes and reading maps, propaganda strategies.

Real Equipment will be used

The program will include practical applications and real bombs and weapons will be used to demonstrate. A team of Special Forces experts will teach a course on critical incident management and use tear gas and smoke bombs. During the vehicle safety course, the students will receive 8 hours of training on defensive driving. Professional divers will teach the students how to stay alive in water. Those who are successful in the course will receive a certificate of success, while the others will receive a certificate of participation. The courses will be heavy on theory and practice will be given at the training grounds of the Police Academy in Ankara and of the Anatolian News Agency.

Application Requirements

The Anatolian News Agency War Reporting Certificate Program requires applicants to be between the ages of 18 and 40, be free of any chronic and physical condition, have at least a high-school degree, and have a drivers' license

FMSO Commentary: It should be no surprise that the controversy over how Islam is presented in certain U.S. military training courses has become an international story. Following are two brief examples of how this has been reported in Egyptian newspapers. No claim is made as to the representativeness of these accounts, except to say that they are taken from fairly centrist newspapers from Egypt's second tier in terms of readership and respectability. Both articles present the viewpoints of strategic analysts, notable for the divergence in their interpretations both of the cause and consequence of this controversy. Also notable is that the first article takes its facts on the story from the British Tabloid "The Daily Mail" rather than wired.com, where the story originally broke. End FMSO Commentary (Winter)

Egyptian Media Reacts to US Military Training

14 May 2012

Source: "Ramih: America Wants to Eliminate Islam," al-Wafd (Egypt). <http://tinyurl.com/7o98ze6>



Al-Masjid al-Nabawi, the Masjid of Muhammed, the prophet of Islam in Medina, Saudi Arabia. Photo by Noumenon (Own work) [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) or CC-BY-SA-3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons

رميح: أمريكا تريد التخلص من الإسلام نهائياً (Ramih: America Wants to Eliminate Islam)

Maj. Gen. Talaat Ramih, specialist in strategic analysis, confirmed what is being said about the United States' intentions of striking Muslims in Saudi Arabia to eliminate Islam.

The British "Daily Mail" newspaper disclosed of a training course at an American military officer training school that includes a course whose curriculum includes the use of nuclear bombs on the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, along the lines of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings in Japan in World War II, with the goal of destroying the two holy cities and killing the greatest number of the world's 1.4 billion Muslims. The goal of this is to scatter them, and put an end to moderate Islam and the "barbaric ideology of Muslims," as the newspaper described it.

Ramih, in exclusive declarations to al-Wafd, said that what is being repeated is no different than the actual combat doctrine of the United States Military. He explained that

Continued: Egyptian Media Reacts to US Military Training

American history confirms this, from the war to exterminate Iraq's population and Afghanistan, where the same model was used to destroy Afghan society.

He added that what is taught in this course represents the vision and combat doctrine of the military, which he said is not only bent on destroying Arabs and Muslims, especially Mecca and Medina, but in fact aims to exterminate all those who enter into a military conflict with the United States. This, he added, is made clear by the Hiroshima attack and the genocidal use of nuclear weapons.

The strategic expert added that any official condemnation issued by the United States on this is like the peaceful intentions that were expressed following the events from Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq, in order to clear the reputation of the American military and no more than that. This is a media game, he said, which reflects neither reality nor the essence of the American vision and combat doctrine. He added that what the American training officer said was not a mistake but rather an expression of the American military's combat doctrine.

For his part, military affairs expert Maj. Gen. Ahmed Abdel Halim questioned what is being said, explaining that conducting such a course in this college is impossible, since it is a Staff College that includes several military colleges, whether naval or air force or others. Their task is to train graduates in a 6-month training course on leadership, after which they receive specialized training for commands in military zones outside of the United States

مظلوم: تسريبات تدمير مكة والمدينة هدفها ضرب علاقة الرياض بواشنطن (Madhlum: Leak about Destroying Mecca and Medina Targets Riyadh-Washington Relations)

12 May 2012

Source: "Madhlum: Leak about Destroying Mecca and Medina Targets Riyadh-Washington Relations," al-Youm al-Sabaa (Egypt). <http://www3.youm7.com/News.asp?NewsID=675920>

Major General Jamal Madhlum, professor at the Nayef University for Security Studies, described the report in western media outlets regarding the United States Defense Department training for officers that Islam is the enemy of the United States and that Mecca and Medina must be destroyed, might be dangerous leaks aimed at destroying relations between the Saudi Kingdom and Washington

Madhlum, in a telephonic interview with "al-Youm al-Sabaa," said that "every military in the world has trainings that sketch fictional scenarios to see how well the students can deal with such scenarios."

The security expert noted that countries such as Israel or Iran might be behind these leaks, as they are hostile toward Saudi Arabia and aim to destroy relations between the kingdom and the United States. He explained that Iranian hostility toward Gulf countries has increased, especially given its desire to establish military bases in GCC countries. He added that Israel opposes Washington's delivery of modern jets to the kingdom, noting that this may be the motivation behind spreading lies with the goal of undermining Saudi Arabia's security.

General Martin Dempsey, Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, condemned the training that was given to American officers and which said that Islam in general, not just "terrorists," is the United States' enemy. Dempsey sees this training as contradictory to American commitment to freedom of religion.

The lectures hypothesized a scenario where the United States is at war with Islam and discusses the possibility of destroying Islam's two holy cities (Mecca and Medina) with a nuclear attack or heavy bombardment, as was done in Germany's Dresden during World War II. The Pentagon ordered that an investigation into this and the teacher responsible for this course, Lt. Col. Matthew Dooley, has been suspended.

The United States' FBI last year halted a training program of its own after it emerged that it criticized Islam specifically.

FMSO Commentary: Syrian state media have allegedly taken offense at the name “Eager Lion” for the joint exercises taking place in southern Jordan, given that the Syrian president’s last name (Assad) means “lion” in Arabic. The Syrian regime media have since the outset framed the ongoing violence in the country as the result of a conspiracy plotted by Western countries, Israel and Gulf monarchies. It is therefore no surprise that the exercises are making the regime uncomfortable.

Syria’s regime has enough to worry about, though. On May 10 two massive explosions outside a military intelligence building on the outskirts of Damascus killed over fifty people and injured hundreds, by far the deadliest such incident in the capital. A group calling itself the al-Nusra Front claimed responsibility and subsequently retracted it. Meanwhile, in the country’s restive Idlib province, the Free Syrian Army appears to be consolidating its hold on positions that it has regained from the Syrian Army.

The spillover from Syria’s intensifying conflict has been surprisingly limited, although northern Lebanon’s coastal city of Tripoli is particularly vulnerable, given that its sectarian cleavages mirror some of those that are hardening as Syria’s conflict drags on. On May 14 the Lebanese army was sent to Tripoli to restore order after several days of clashes between residents from adjacent Sunni and Alawi neighborhoods left three dead and several wounded.

Syria’s southern neighbor Jordan is less concerned about similar spillover, given the lack of sharp sectarian divisions there. Of more concern to the Jordanian regime is growing dissatisfaction with the increasingly frequent government reshufflings (the country is now on its fourth prime minister since 2011) occurring in lieu of substantive political reforms. Jordan

Syria’s Eager Lion?



الأسد المتأهب (The Eager Lion)

Jordan finished preparations to host the largest Jordanian-American military exercise on its land, in which 12,000 soldiers from 15 Arab and international countries will participate. The exercise, which is called “Eager Lion,” starts the day after tomorrow and will go on for nearly two weeks.

Analysts say that the selection of Jordan to host the exercises was expected after the fall of Hosni Mubarak’s regime in Egypt, which had hosted yearly joint maneuvers with the American forces under the name “Bright Star.”

The main parties participating in the exercises rejected drawing a link between the exercises and the situation in the region, particularly in Syria. Robert Bockholt, a public affairs officer at the US Special Operations Command Central, told the press: “The goal of the exercises is to strengthen capacity for facing security challenges.” Bockholt denied any link between the exercises and what is taking place in Syria, calling it a “mere coincidence.”

In declarations to “al-Ghad” some days ago, Saudi Arabian Deputy Defense Minister Prince Khaled bin Sultan conveyed the same message as the American official. Prince Khaled said that the exercises bear no political message to Syria or Iran. He added that the exercises had been planned for two years.

With respect to Saudi Arabia, its participation is the biggest alongside that of the United States and according to the Saudi official, it will manage the air operations for the participating forces.

Military officials normally avoid discussing political matters or the strategic goals of military exercises, as this is the prerogative of political leaders. One of the participating military officials, though, did not deny the political symbolism to the “Eager Lion” exercises, telling CNN’s website that the exercises are aimed at sending a message to the

15 May 2012

Source: “The Eager Lion,” al-Ghad (Jordan). <http://tinyurl.com/cbfauge>

Major Gen. Awni El-Edwan (right), Jordanian Armed Forces operations and training chief of staff, and U.S. Army Maj. Gen. Ken Tovo (left) at a joint press conference, May 15, to coincide with the official beginning of Exercise Eager Lion 12. DoD photo via <http://www.dvidshub.net/image/581315>

Continued: The Eager Lion

is likely more concerned with spillover from its western border, where the recent agreement to end the mass hunger strike by Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails was likely met with relief by Jordanian authorities. The following article, presenting an overview of the “Eager Lion” exercises from the Jordanian perspective, is taken from al-Ghad newspaper, a respected Jordanian independent daily. End FMSO Commentary (Winter)

countries of the region, especially Syria, as well as showing that the United States and its allies could intervene militarily at any time they wanted, as was the case in Libya. Another analyst described the exercises as a show of power to neighboring countries.

It is naïve to think that military exercises of this magnitude have no political goals, whether related to Syria or Iran and the entire region, which is experiencing the greatest political changes in its modern history. In this respect, observers may look at similar declarations made by American military officials during the military exercises that came a few months before the invasion of Iraq.

It is impossible to separate between the goals of the exercises and the United States’ plan to launch a missile defense system for the Arabian Gulf countries preparing for any possibility of war with Iran or potential military intervention in Syria. In both cases, Israel will not be isolated from the overall military arrangements in the region, despite the reticence about its participation in the exercises.

As for Jordan, these exercises are very meaningful. They are a strong indication of Jordan’s top position in the Americans’ regional alliance, especially following the fall of the Egyptian regime. They also indicate its potential role in military confrontations that might occur in the region. The broad Gulf participation in the exercises, alongside that of Jordan and the United States, also starts tracing the features of a new alliance that is becoming more clear and trying hard to stand on its feet in a changing and turbulent region.

Radical Islam’s Western Foothold:

Hugo Chavez and Hezbollah

By Sam Pickell

“This points to a particularly worrisome possibility: that Hezbollah will move beyond financing and support in Latin America to pursue operational objectives within the Western Hemisphere.”

<http://FMSO.leavenworth.army.mil/universities.html>



FMSO Commentary: *Ali Muhsin al-Ahmar's bold political gamble of March 2011 seems to have paid off, judging from the confidence with which he speaks in the interview below. To recall, General Ali Muhsin was for decades considered former president Ali Abdullah Saleh's right-hand man and arguably the most important figure in Yemen's military. In the early 2000s this began to change, as the Saleh regime increasingly diverted funds to military formations commanded by the president's relatives, most prominently the Republican Guard, led by his son and purported heir Ahmed. Counterterrorism training and support also went to newly created units led by his relatives. Much of this is alleged to have displeased Ali Muhsin, who in March 2011 announced his defection from the regime and support for the popular protests calling for Saleh's resignation. Several top commanders joined him and Yemen's military essentially split in two.*

In February 2012 former vice-president Abd Rabo Mansour Hadi officially took over from Saleh under the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC)-sponsored agreement, which also granted the former president and his associates immunity from prosecution. Since then, amid Yemen's many challenges two have been most pressing. The first of these is retaking territory from al-Qaeda's regional affiliate in Yemen's Abyan Province, with the government finally making some inroads after fierce fighting over the past few weeks. The second of these is military restructuring: with many of Ali Abdullah Saleh's close family members deeply entrenched in top leadership positions, this has been difficult. The first to relent was the former president's half-brother, who finally stepped down as the head of the air force (not before first laying siege to Sanaa airport for a few days) last month. The second is Saleh's nephew Tareq, who finally and

Is Ali Muhsin al-Ahmar's Gamble Paying Off?

12 May 2012

Source: "Al-Ahmar tells al-Bayan: Hadi is Capable of Managing the Transitional Period," al-Bayan (UAE). <http://www.albayan.ae/one-world/interviews-dialogues/2012-05-12-1.1648206>

General Ali Muhsin al-Ahmar by Fakhri Al-Arashi via <http://nationalyemen.com>



الأحمر لـ، البيان: "هادي قادر بحكمته على إدارة الفترة الانتقالية

(Al-Ahmar tells al-Bayan: Hadi is Capable of Managing the Transitional Period)

General Ali Muhsin al-Ahmar, the commander of the First Armored Division (which supported the popular revolution that deposed President Ali Abdullah Saleh) said that his country had overcome the fear of a potential civil war and asserted that President Abd Rabo Mansour Hadi would be able to manage the transitional period and bring Yemen to safety. In an interview with al-Bayan, al-Ahmar said that the former president had asked for immunity as part of the Gulf Initiative, to reach a political compromise on the handover of power. He also pointed to the unity of the army, saying that it is united in terms of morale but that the previous regime had tried to subordinate as a tool to keep it and its family in power. Al-Ahmar also spoke of the reasons for sending a division to Abyan province. He refused to specify the military or political role he might play in the future, saying that this was an issue linked to the national interest rather than individual desire.

Has the danger of armed conflict breaking out in Yemen subsided?

Thank God, we have thus far been able to avoid armed conflict from breaking out. Support from our brothers and friends overseeing the (GCC) initiative, along with the wisdom of the Yemenis, have prevailed. Thank God, we believe that the risk of major armed conflict has vanished.

What about President Abd Rabo Mansour Hadi's ability to lead the transitional period?

There is no doubt that President Abd Rabo Mansour Hadi will be able to manage the transitional period efficiently and effectively. What everyone must know is that the

Continued: Al-Ahmar tells al-Bayan: Hadi is Capable of Managing the Transitional Period

reluctantly stepped down as leader of the presidential guard in early May.

Ali Muhsin al-Ahmar, judging from the following interview, appears pleased with the way events are unfolding in Yemen. The same cannot be said about former president Saleh, whose associates are increasingly sidelined from Yemen's new government while his immunity deal continues to be questioned. End FMSO Commentary (Winter)

president has leadership qualities, wisdom and foresight in managing crises and experience in managing state affairs. He is, however, someone who does not like media exposure or speaking of his achievements; he is a careful and patient person. Naturally, the president has the support of the people and of various political forces. In addition, he is supported by the armed and security forces as well as prominent national figures and all those who love the country, as well as by regional and international actors. There is unprecedented consensus.

You said that you would resign your military position after the regime was deposed. Does this mean that you will play a political or military role in the future?

Whether any official stays or leaves his post depends in principle on the national interest, this issue does not depend on the personal wishes of the official himself.

Do you have a vision on how to unify the armed forces? Or, if President Abd Rabo Mansour Hadi's efforts to unify the army fail, what in your opinion is the solution?

The Yemeni Army is in principle unified with regard to morale, but in terms of quality and quantity the previous regime committed crimes against it by trying to subordinate it to protect it and its family, as was the case in Iraq. This plan failed and the situation turned into what it has become today. Unifying the army must as a priority focus on unifying the command of all formations, subjecting them to the authority of the president and commander in chief of the armed and security forces. This person is President Abd Rabo Mansour Hadi, through the authority of the ministry of defense. The issue is one of professionalism as in other armies in the world, and in my opinion there will not be any difficulties in achieving this.

In reality there is no split in the military. The split exists at the higher levels between the commanders as individuals taking

different positions. This will change when these commanders are replaced, as they have until now not understood the year of change and the new reality that has been imposed by the people and their will, as well as the new legitimacy represented by President Hadi.

Does the fact that you sent a division to Abyan province mean that the United States will change its way of dealing with the Republican Guard and the Central Security Forces, which were leading the fight against al-Qaeda?

Yes, we sent a division to Abyan province to fight terrorists there and to join our units that persevered in fighting these terrorists. The previous regime had sent some military and security units, all of which were instructed to withdraw from their bases, which was tantamount to setting up positions for the terrorists of Ansar al-Sharia, handing over the bases and their weapons, in a conspiratorial move by the former regime that is playing with fire. They thought that by setting up the conditions for these terrorists to control some parts of Yemen they could remain in power and save their collapsing regime.

Local, regional and international actors did not understand this behavior, but our brothers and friends all had a conviction, built on their understanding of the former regime and the tools it uses, that it was not in fact serious about fighting terrorism. Now they know that these terrorists were a tool managed by the state and used in the regional and international context. The situation now is that directives were issued to all of us to operate along a single matrix, which is what we are doing.

What is the role that you expect the United States to play in restructuring the military? What are the fears of al-Qaeda expanding?

We would not be able to manage many of the domestic issues in this stage without the

Continued: Al-Ahmar tells al-Bayan: Hadi is Capable of Managing the Transitional Period

help of our friends, chief among them the United States. We need the experience that our American friends have regarding military restructuring, training and technical and material support that is suitable to the conditions of Yemen and the national interest.

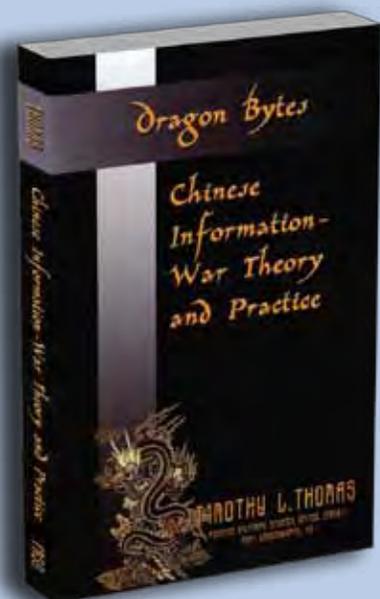
As to the fears of al-Qaeda's operations expanding, the issue is one of credibility in confronting the expansion. The previous regime used them as a tool of statecraft for crisis management, as well as a political card for political maneuvering with our brothers and friends. We have seen this clearly with the Ansar al-Sharia supporters taking over the city of Zinjibar under the previous regime and what was mentioned earlier, as well as with their attempts – under the new regime and the new legitimacy represented by President Hadi - to control Abyan's second city Lawdar and the losses that they suffered there.

How do you see the return of the previous president to Yemen and his exercising some political activities despite having been granted immunity?

The reality of the immunity that was granted to Ali Abdullah Saleh is in principle due to his request and was granted to him by our friends and brothers overseeing the (GCC) initiative. It is guaranteed by the initiative as part of the proposed solutions to hand over power. When someone asks for immunity he realizes the mistakes he committed against the people, the nation and against himself. When the political and national powers reluctantly accepted to grant this immunity, despite their being many groups in the peaceful popular youth revolutionary movement who rejected and still reject it, they did so to give precedence to national interests, overlooking the injuries and pain. Yemen made a major concession by providing immunity, which is immunity in exchange for peace and it forbids him from conducting any political activities or actions that disturb the harmonious atmosphere; otherwise, the immunity will be rescinded.

He has therefore harmed himself and his relatives and supporters and he has harmed Yemen. Despite the advice of his confidants to stop with these activities which the people see as violating the law and constitutional legitimacy, his behavior today is different from the slogans that he repeated in the past about loving the nation and the people and commitment to Yemen, its peace, its people and safeguarding its security and stability. This has basically shown the contradiction between his deeds and words, and it makes me very sad that he has stooped to this level. I did not expect to see him in this way.

Dragon Bytes by Tim Thomas examines China's information-war (IW) theory and practice from 1995-2003. Some specialists may be surprised that the Chinese openly discuss not only computer network attacks and electronic preemption but also the development of IW units and an "integrated network-electronic warfare" theory (which closely approximates the US theory of "network-centric warfare"). The Chinese development of an IW theory is representative of their country's philosophy and culture. By creating an "IW theory with Chinese characteristics" the People's Liberation Army (PLA) has offered an alternate way of viewing the application of IW than in the West.



FMSO Commentary: Long delayed and sorely needed, Africa's Standby Force (ASF) is finally standing up, or at least beginning to do so. The 30,000 or so troops drawn from nations across the continent will serve a quick reaction force, capable of swiftly being "deployed in a range of scenarios, from peacekeeping to direct military intervention." However, previous attempts by the African Union (AU) to militarily intervene in trouble spots have shed a light on not just the strengths of using a composite force, but also the weaknesses.

Perhaps the most glaring problem that has faced previous attempts to field a composite force and will continue with future deployments is the issue of who is going to pay. A significant portion of AMISOM, the African Union Mission to Somalia - often considered a model for the ASF - has been underwritten by foreign donors. With European and American economies still struggling from the recent economic downturn, and many African nations unable to offset any lost monies, future funding could be uncertain.

Though finances are probably the biggest obstacle the fledgling ASF may face, it certainly is not the only one. Based on AMISOM, as well as similar missions, African forces when trying to meld into one have had to deal with language barriers, incompatible equipment, different combat doctrines, and difficulties creating a combined command and control structure. Even matters as seemingly mundane as what type of food to provide become elevated when ethnic diversity exists, necessitating different foods for different troops, with a concomitant increase in logistical headaches and costs. Additionally, many African militaries have problems - including illiteracy, HIV/AIDS, and lack of respect for human rights - among their soldiers even before they join with forces from other nations.

African Troops for African Crises 9 May 2012

Source: "Security: A quick reaction force molded by Africa's circumstances," IRIN (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), 9 May 2012. <http://www.irinnews.org/Report/95426/SECURITY-A-quick-reaction-force-moulded-by-Africa-s-circumstances>



Ugandan AMISOM battle group 8 soldiers about to deploy to Mogadishu © Obinna Anyadike/IRIN via <http://www.irinnews.org>

Mauritanie: L'opposition mauritanienne - Une tentative de cloner le printemps arabe (Security: A Quick Reaction Force Molded by Africa's Circumstances)

JOHANNESBURG, 9 May 2012 (IRIN) - Africa's crises are both honing and stalling the formation of the African Standby Force (ASF) of the African Union (AU) - a quick reaction force that could eventually number about 30,000 troops to be deployed in a range of scenarios, from peacekeeping to direct military intervention.

Originally intended to become operational in 2010, the deadline for the ASF has been reset for 2015; but despite the delay, the ASF is becoming increasingly woven into the operating procedures of current AU security operations.

The ASF "is very much a work in progress", African Union Commissioner of Peace and Security Ramtane Lamamra told IRIN, but "at the political level there is a strong support for it under the guiding principle of bringing about African solutions to African problems."

Once up and running, the ASF will be based on five regional blocs each supplying about 5,000 troops: the Southern African Development Community (SADC) force (SADCBRIG), the Eastern Africa Standby force (EASBRIG), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) force (ECOBIG), the North African Regional Capability (NARC), and the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) force (ECCASBRIG), also known as the Multinational Force of Central Africa (FOMAC).

The regional forces are not a standing army like national forces. As the AU Peace and

There are also concerns regarding the size of the ASF. At a projected estimate of approximately 30,000 troops, it is doubtful such a force will be able to provide enough troops for all of the continent's many hotspots. Additional forces, African and/or non-African, will need to fill the void or, if that does not happen, some conflicts will continue unabated without any outside military intervention to end the fighting.

The prospect of the ASF, even with its limitations, is a positive step forward for African security and stability. Unlike the AU's predecessor, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which pursued a policy of non-intervention, the AU is willing to intervene in member states "in respect of grave circumstances, namely: war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity." With so much turmoil in parts of Africa, the ASF, should it ever come to fruition, will have its work cut out for it.

End FMSO Commentary (Feldman)

Continued: A Quick Reaction Force Molded by Africa's Circumstances

Security Council protocol of the ASF stipulates, they "shall be composed of standby multidisciplinary contingents with civilian and military components in their countries of origin and ready for rapid deployment at appropriate notice."

The ASF is the legacy and logic of the Constitutive Act of the AU adopted in 2000, the successor to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). In a complete break from the OAU, which had advocated non-interference in member states, the Act gave the AU both the right to intervene in a crisis, and an obligation to do so "in respect of grave circumstances, namely: war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity".

Lamamra said the ASF "Implies the immediate availability of the instruments [of intervention and prevention] to be translated into concrete deeds... when they relate to some kind of enforcing decisions of the legitimate organs of the African Union, such as cases of unconstitutional changes of government... or armed rebellion, such as the terrorist situation in northern Mali."

The African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) was held up as an example of what the ASF could be. "I believe the learning curve for the standby force is AMISOM. We have to deliver on the lessons learned in the AMISOM process - five years of effective presence on the ground under quite challenging circumstances," Lamamra said.

"The lesson of AMISOM is that Africans should be ready to make sacrifices, and Uganda has wonderfully shown that they are ready to make sacrifices for the common good of Africa." Uganda has supplied most of the AU troops supporting the Somali government against jihadist rebels.

The AU has deployed 14 staff officers to Mogadishu, the capital of Somalia, "in the first ever deployment of ASF elements," El Gassim Wane, AU Commission director of peace and security, told IRIN.

A field exercise - Amani II, following the Amani I mapping exercise in 2010 - is being planned for 2014 and three of the five brigades are expected to take participate.

Article 4 (h)

Lamamra was confident that by 2015 all of the ASF's regional brigades - with the probable exception of NARC, owing to the disruptions of the Arab Spring - would be operational and able to fulfil all the criteria of AU's Article 4 (h), which influenced the international development of the UN Responsibility to Protect (R2P) doctrine.

There are six scenarios in Article 4 (h). The lowest rung is the attachment of a regional military advisor to a political mission; then an AU regional observer deployed within a UN mission; followed by a stand-alone AU regional observer mission; and deployment of a regional peacekeeping force under the auspices of a Chapter VI mandate, all within a timeframe of 30 days or less. Scenario five is a multidimensional AU peacekeeping force deployed within 90 days, and scenario six relates to "grave circumstances", such as genocide, and deployment within 14 days.

Lamamra said the timeline of 14 days for level-six intervention should be reassessed to about seven days. "For instance, resolution 1973 of the UN Security Council was adopted on 17 March and the actual military operation started on 19th March - 14 days would have been too much in terms of protecting civilians."

In a 2010 paper, *The Role and Place of the African Standby Force within the African Peace and Security Architecture*, Solomon Dersso, a senior researcher at the Addis Ababa

Continued: A Quick Reaction Force Molded by Africa's Circumstances

office of the Institute for Security Studies, a Pretoria-based think-tank, notes that "Article 4 (h) not only creates the legal basis for intervention but also imposes an obligation on the AU to intervene to prevent or stop the perpetration of such heinous international crimes anywhere on the continent."

However, implementation of R2P rests with the Security Council, while the imposition of Article 4 (h) resides with the AU and does not require the Security Council's blessing.

Scenario six of Article 4 (h) has yet to be used by the AU and Dersso told IRIN he "sincerely doubted" the article would be invoked in the short term against member states, as "it would deprive the AU of any leverage it has over a target government," and the AU has already "shied away" from implementing the article in Darfur.

He expected the ASF to be close to being able to comply with Article 4 (h) level-five scenarios by 2015, but the development of regional forces was proceeding at different paces.

The two-speed progress of the regional brigades - in which ECOWAS and SADC are recognised as the furthest along the path - is not just a consequence of the two regional blocs housing the continent's economic power houses of Nigeria and South Africa, AU Commission director of peace and security El Gassim Wane told IRIN.

"ECOWAS and SADC have made tremendous progress, EAS Brigade too, while NARC in the north was lagging behind, but then started speeding up, but the Libyan crisis meant progress had to stop," he said.

"Money may play a role, but money alone cannot explain that. ECOWAS and SADC focused early on conflict and security issues, so had a competitive advantage in the very beginning. Experience, length of involvement in peace and security issues, have certainly played a key role," Wane said.

Alex de Waal, executive director of the World Peace Foundation, told IRIN the availability of a standby force could cloud judgment.

"Intrinsically, in most of these situations what is needed is a political response, and there is a temptation that if you have a standby force to use it because you have a military capacity... And my concern over something like Mali would be that the military option runs the danger of getting the AU into a Somalia-type situation, where the use of military force five or six years ago by the US and Ethiopia very seriously rebounded. But having said that - yes, in a situation where there is a need for some sort of peacekeeping deployment in the context of a political initiative, it makes sense."

Alternatives to the ASF?

Analysts have questioned whether 30,000 troops would be sufficient to deal with the continent's crises, and 2012 has illustrated that such concerns are valid. A range of crises this year erupted within the space of a few weeks, from the uneasy relationship between South Sudan and Sudan deteriorating into border skirmishing, to coup d'états in Mali and Guinea-Bissau.

Wane said the establishment of the ASF did not necessarily mean it would be the only security option at the AU's disposal, and the four-country operation against Joseph Kony's Lord's Resistance Army, (LRA) a rebel movement that started in northern Uganda, could be considered as a useful model for the future.

"It's not an ASF operation per se, as ASF has its own processes, and it was not really conceived as an ASF operation - it was conceived as an ad hoc, very flexible arrangement to enhance effectiveness to deal with the LRA once and for all. It's a very flexible and creative way of dealing with a specific security issue... Who knows? We may replicate it elsewhere, where there is a security problem," he said.

Measuring Progress in Reconstructing Afghanistan

By Christiaan Davids, Sebastiaan Rietjens & Joseph Soeters

Netherlands National Defence Academy



“Nation building and its supporting policy development should no longer occur without a careful cost-benefit analysis.”

<http://FMSO.leavenworth.army.mil/International.html>

FMSO Commentary: In a new contribution to OE Watch, each newsletter will feature a section entitled “Where to Watch in Africa,” which will highlight a country or situation that rarely receives attention, but whose politics have the potential to deteriorate in the coming weeks. This month the country of interest is Mauritania, where protests are embroiling the country. With a string of recent coup d’états – President Maaouya Taya was deposed in 2005 and President Sidi Abdallahi was overthrown in 2008 – history has proven that the poor Islamic African country is highly susceptible to instability, exacerbated by recent protests.

Blogger @LISSNUP gives a fantastic history of the recent protests, which, he relays, started in Mauritania in the wake of the Arab Spring. When businessman Yacoub Ould immolated himself in the capital of Nouakchott in January 2011 (in imitation of the iconic burning of Mohamed Bouazizi in Tunisia, which the ignited the Arab Spring), he galvanized Mauritania’s civil society around what has since been known as the “February 25 Movement.” That group, though now operating in various other splinter factions, has continued to protest since that date. Among other grievances, the group is protesting human right abuses, unsanitary living conditions, insufficient employment, and a change in political conditions. The next planned protests are to occur in the form of a march across Nouakchott on Monday, May 14. As such, in the coming months Africa observers should keep Mauritania on their radar, as the protests there could have serious consequences not only for that country, but also for all of West Africa. **End FMSO Commentary (Warner)**

Where to Watch in Africa: Mauritania’s Attempts to Launch an Arab Spring Coup d’Etat

10 May 2012



Source: “Mauritanie: L’opposition mauritanienne - Une tentative de cloner le printemps arabe,” (Mauritania: The Mauritanian Opposition – An attempt to clone the Arab Spring) Agence Nouakchott d’Information (Mauritania), 10 May 2012: <http://fr.allafrica.com/stories/201205100812.html>

Mauritania map by Planiglobe [CC-BY-SA], via <http://www.planiglobe.com>

The Mauritanian Opposition – An attempt to clone the Arab Spring

In the wake of the Arab Spring] everyone has felt, to varying degrees, the need for new revolutions to achieve real change.

The Mauritanian opposition, formed around the remainder of the National Front for the Defense of Democracy (FNDD) of 2005, has relied heavily on the movement of La Jeunesse of 25 February 2011, such that it is a hardcore, popular uprising against the powers-that-be, akin to those movements in those countries already affected by the Arab spring.

Indeed, the Coordination of Democratic Opposition (COD) and many other disgruntled independents have strongly supported the attempt to clone the experience of the Arab spring. But the reality is that this attempt has so far failed miserably for reasons both objective and subjective.

So that this opposition movement does not lose hope, the strategy unveiled at the meeting of March 12, 2012 was a start for the execution of events to take place on May 2 and May 9.

For the Mauritanian Spring to be born, it will need to be done via cesarean section: that is, through an inverse approach and contrary to what is generally called “revolution”. This will occur when political leaders and supporters of their parties who want to change the political landscape first encourage the people to support them in their approach.

With or without government authorization, this [political protest] is intended to create conditions for a coup d’état by the “faithful,” either military officers affiliated with the COD, or other military allies.

FMSO Commentary: Long controversial is France's overly close yet patronizing relationship with its former African colonies, derisively described as "Françafrique." French presidents from Chirac to Sarkozy have vowed to reorient France's arguably "neocolonial" relationship with West Africa. Despite these claims though, observers in West Africa such as the accompanying author are skeptical that François Hollande's recent victory in French elections actually portends real change.

Within U.S. military circles Francophone Africa typically plays only marginally into security calculi, primarily because the U.S.'s NATO ally (and former colonial power of the region), France, is assumed to "manage" the security landscape there on behalf of the Western world. To that end, France's military presence in Africa is seen in four primary locations. Its bases are found in its former colonies: Libreville, Gabon, plays host to one base, and there is a small French military contingent on the Indian Ocean island of Réunion. More important, however, is France's presence in Djibouti. There, the U.S.'s Combined Joint Task Force–Horn of Africa is leasing the former French Le Monier base; the spot is a strategic location for France (and the U.S.), given that it affords the ability to conduct operations in Africa, as well as in the Middle East.

French military presence in Africa has been expectedly critiqued, especially in Dakar, Senegal, the location of its fourth main military presence. Of relevance, in 2010 then-President Abdoulaye Wade decreed that France would have to relinquish the base that it had had there since 1974. France has since been forced to exit, though it still operates a West African regional security cooperation force there. Indeed, as the author of the accompanying article would agree, if true changes in the nature of French-African relations are desired, they will

Perspectives from Francophone Africa: Does Hollande's Election Signal Change in France's Africa Policy?

8 May 2012



Source: "Hollande et L'Afrique: Rupture ou continuité?" (Hollande and Africa: Rupture or Continuity?) Le Faso (Burkina Faso), 8 May 2012: <http://www.lefaso.net/spip.php?article47877>

NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen and US President Barack Obama welcome the French President, Francois Holland. NATO photo via www.nato.int

Hollande et L'Afrique: Rupture ou continuité? **(Hollande and Africa: Rupture or Continuity?)**

[D]espite promises for a radical change in France's policy towards Africa] we still don't know if Mr. Hollande's real vision and intentions will translate into cooperation with the black continent. But while waiting for the new government to install itself and formulate its official "new policy" towards Africa that Hollande has promised, there is reason to be skeptical. Governed by the right [Socialist party] or not, France's outlook towards Africa is always guided by the "law of its interests."

To accomplish this, the Elysee relies upon its "African outposts": outposts that exist in France, and those that exist in Africa itself. It is through these African outposts that Paris has always preserved its interests, supported its networks of influence, and made its national economy flourish.

How then [can Africa] free itself from such a dominated trusteeship status [in relation to France], especially while the need for a good relationship with France is so deeply felt, particularly in the resolution of certain [continental] problems? Will it really be possible in Francois Hollande's France to circumvent the [entrenched interests] of those individuals that belong to the various types of "African outposts?" Of course not! Given that France does nothing but pursue its own interests [in Africa], one would have to be naïve to believe for a single instant that the new team at the Elysee will renounce and call back any number of the tentacles that it uses to place its pawns [across the continent].

In waiting for the revealing of France's new Africa policy, one hopes that Hollande and his team spare us the types of proclamations made by his predecessor, Nicolas Sarkozy.

Continued: Hollande and Africa: Rupture or Continuity?

likely, first and foremost, need to be initiated by aggrieved African states themselves. End FMSO Commentary (Warner)

Not only did those proclamations reek of paternalism, but also, they deny the evidence of [France's colonial] history. One does not know how to sufficiently express to Francois Hollande the fact that he should cease this spirit of paternalism and arrogance demonstrated by his predecessor.

The continent will certainly not retain any strong memories of Nicolas Sarkozy, the [paternalistic sentiments] which he seemed to have borrowed from "Bush son" [George W. Bush]. To be sure, he actively contributed to the overthrow of certain dictators, but the fact that he did so in a selective manner ruins the act. For example, one knows the fervor with which Sarkozy protected Idriss Deby against the will of change by the Chadian people. It is true that in these last few years, there have been undeniable mistakes that have been made in the French diplomatic school. Some tentative attempts at adventurism have characterized certain French actions, particularly in regard to the Arab Spring.

To be sure, Hollande and his compatriots will have tremendous amounts to do to restore France's tarnished reputation. One worries that a true change will not be forthcoming.

How Do Belarusians Perceive Democracy?

By Alena Daneika, Wider Europe

“Pollsters conclude that Belarusian authorities rely on citizens being passive, and not active.”

<http://FMSO.leavenworth.army.mil/International.html>



FMSO Commentary: Observers are well aware that northern Nigeria is in a precarious spot: few guessed that even the governor of one of its states would claim that profound insecurity there would render it uninhabitable within several years.

The Islamic terrorist group Boko Haram is at the heart of the would-be exodus from the north, where the cell has killed hundreds in targeted and random bombings over the past four years. In the past month alone, for example, Boko Haram killed seven when it attacked the offices of a Nigerian newspaper (26 April), exploded bombs at a Catholic worship service (29 April), and killed up to 50 people after attacking a cattle market in the northeast of the country (3 May). Though continued attacks would appear to indicate otherwise, the Nigerian Federal Government might be making headway. On May 12 it was revealed that a senior Boko Haram leader had been arrested, one of the more important accomplishments of the year. Despite these steps forward, the underlying insecurity emphasized by Governor Shettima threatens to cause an exodus.

Nevertheless, even while governors are making proclamations about the tenuous relationship between north and south, journalists in Nigeria seem to be quick to critique the notion that the U.S. government “predicted” that Nigeria might splinter. In a fascinating piece released on May 15, Tokunbo Adedjoja proclaimed that, despite the U.S. National Intelligence Council’s insinuation that it might happen, indeed, the “U.S. Never Predicted Nigeria’s Break up by 2015” (<http://allafrica.com/stories/201205150276.html>).

*Whether the U.S. intelligence community explicitly or implicitly foresaw the potential splitting off of northern Nigeria from the south, it appears ever more likely that such a reality is not so far-fetched after all. **End FMSO Commentary (Warner)***

Governor: Terrorists will Make North Nigeria Uninhabitable in Five Years

8 March 2012

Source: Muideen Olaniyi, “Nigeria: North Will Be Inhabitable in Five Years – Shettima” Daily Trust (Nigeria), 11 May 2012: <http://allafrica.com/stories/201205111014.html>



The Executive Governor Borno State, Governor Kashim Shettima. Photo by Borno State via www.bornostate.gov.ng

Nigeria: North Will Be Inhabitable in Five Years – Shettima

Governor Kashim Shettima said yesterday that the north will be [un]inhabitable if the current security situation is not addressed.

The governor spoke when some members of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) National Working Committee (NWC) visited him to sympathize with the state over the incessant attacks by the group in north-eastern states.

“For now, we have to do it in our enlightened self interest, because nobody would stay in northern Nigeria, believe me in the next five years! Believe me, nobody! None of us here is prepared to. Somebody was telling me that he went to greet the Sultan of Sokoto, when he came out the areas boys came and knocked on his car and were asking for money. If you refuse to give them, they will scratch your car,” he said.

“Another friend was telling me that his wife and driver were driving in his Prado jeep in Kano. Some boys came and broke the windscreen and said, ‘you bastards, you are enjoying the comfort of an air conditioned car and we are suffering!’ So, the bottom line is poverty,” Shettima said.

FMSO Commentary: The United Nations World Drug Report 2011 emphasizes that drug trafficking in Asia remains dominated by opium and heroin. The opium is raised in Afghanistan and Burma (Myanmar), with Afghanistan continuing to provide the bulk of the world's supply. Seizures of synthetically manufactured and designer drugs have grown dramatically in Southeast Asia. Burma (Myanmar) is now the leading source of methamphetamine manufacture in pill form in Asia.

Methamphetamines are not restricted to a particular geographic area by its history or manufacture requirements. Chemical precursors for the manufacture of methamphetamines are available worldwide and control of these is a major effort in international drug control. Significant illicit supply is available from India, with China a growing industrial source.

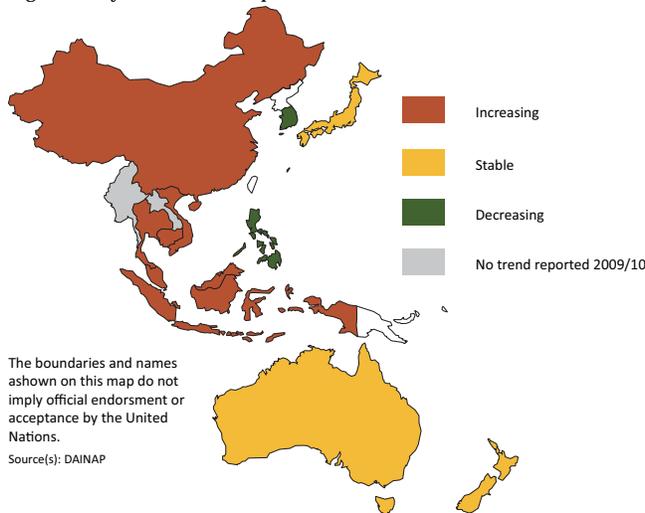
The traditional trafficking routes, security systems, and money laundering networks that have long supported opiates is now facilitating the synthetic drug trade. This infrastructure is of concern to governments and worthy of study by the military practitioner. A nexus exists between illegal economic activity and antigovernment insurgency.

Regional press reveals the widespread nature of this enterprise with continual incidents in Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Vietnam. The referenced article describes some of the problem in Jakarta; however, participants in this trafficking hail from Nepal, Russia, the Netherlands, Iran, Somalia, and Taiwan.
End FMSO Commentary (Welch)

Spread of Meth and Ecstasy in Southeast Asia

14 May 2012

Figure 2. Crystalline methamphetamine use trend, 2010



Source: Jakarta Drug Bust Nets 4 Suspects, 351 Kilos of Meth, Jakarta Globe, Bayu Marhaenjati | May 14, 2012. <http://www.thejakartaglobe.com/news/jakarta-drug-bust-nets-4-suspects-351-kilos-of-meth/517232>

2011 Patterns and Trends of Amphetamine report by Asia & Pacific Amphetamine-Type Information Center via <http://www.apaic.org>

Jakarta Drug Bust Nets 4 Suspects, 351 Kilos of Meth

Jakarta Police have uncovered a drug smuggling operation and confiscated 351 kilograms of crystal methamphetamine with an estimated street value of Rp 702 billion (\$76.5 million) smuggled in from China.

The stash of illicit drugs was found inside a van in the parking lot of a shopping complex in North Jakarta, the Jakarta Police chief, Insp. Gen. Untung Rajab, said on Thursday.

Police arrested four suspects, including three Indonesians identified only as A.K., D.R. and M.W. One Malaysian national was also apprehended.

“These were manufactured in China,” Untung said of the drugs.

He added that the police had been investigating the smuggling operation for the past three months.

“From our investigations, we found that two suspected couriers were to take the goods from a hotel in North Jakarta,” Untung said.

The suspected couriers — A.K. and D.R. — were arrested in the hotel parking lot on May 2 with one kilogram of crystal methamphetamine and three kilograms of ephedrine in their possession.

Questioning led to the arrests of M.W. and E.W.H., the Malaysian, on Tuesday in the lobby of the same hotel.

A search of E.W.H.’s hotel room yielded 12 kilograms of crystal methamphetamine.

The questioning of the two suspects arrested on Tuesday led investigators to a house in Pantai Mutiara in North Jakarta, but the police were too late.

“It turned out that the house was empty, except for some cardboard boxes and luggage,” Untung said.

E.W.H. told police that the drugs had been moved to a van and gave police the vehicle’s registration number. He said they were in the possession of a Malaysian, who is still at large.

Police found the van and watched it for 24 hours before making their move. When no one approached the vehicle, they decided to open it. They found 338 kilograms of crystal methamphetamine inside.

FMSO Commentary: *Rosa Nelly RODRIGUEZ Martinez, 30, aka La Pato, was arrested on 24 March 2012 in Monterrey. She was identified as the leader of a hitman cell working at the service of Los Zetas, and is accused of having murdered at least five young men who wanted to leave the group. She also worked as a drug dealer. La Pato is a former police officer who served in Monterrey from 2002 through 2008. After she left on maternity leave, she did not return to her position, but instead, began working for Los Zetas. Nancy QUINTANAR Manriquez, aka La Flaca, was arrested in October 2011 in Ecatepec. She is accused of having committed at least a dozen murders, also at the service of Los Zetas*

The women mentioned above represent two of the estimated hundreds of females working at the service of Los Zetas in Mexico. They also represent a new trend in Mexico: the recruitment of women to kill and hold leadership positions in previously male-dominated cartels. In the past these organizations focused their attention on recruiting GAFES and the Guatemalan Kaibiles (Mexican and Guatemalan Special Forces soldiers respectively), but that tendency is changing. Now regular citizens, to include women and adolescents, are targeted to work for cartels, and soldiers are training them.

Recruitment has expanded because drug cartels need more personnel to protect and extend their multibillion dollar business; soldiers alone are not enough. The fight for territory and the need to dominate and kill the competition has prompted drug cartels to recruit civilians from both sides of the U.S./ Mexican and Mexican/Guatemalan borders. As for the recruitment of women, they pose desirable traits, to include beauty, the ability to seduce, and the ability to earn the trust of men and women alike. Generally speaking, they can also carry out kills with increased

Female Sicarias Working at the Service of Los Zetas

23 April 2012

Sources: Los zetas utilizan mujeres como sicarios”, Mundonarco.com, <http://www.mundonarco.com/2012/04/los-zetas-utilizan-mujeres-como.html>, Accessed on 20 April 2012



According to analysts, dozens, maybe even hundreds of women are working for Los Zetas. Most are involved in transporting drugs across the border into the U.S., or money to Mexico. Photo by Mundo Narco via <http://www.mundonarco.com/>

MUNDONARCO.com

Los zetas utilizan mujeres como sicarios (Female Sicarias Working at the Service of Los Zetas)

Security experts report that the number of women involved in drug trafficking operations and contract killing within organized crime groups is on the rise in Mexico. Currently, Los Zetas are believed to employ the largest number of women. This idea is evidenced by the fact that 25% of Los Zetas operators arrested in 2011 were women.

In 2009, a former Zeta serving as a protected witness (identified only by his nickname of Pitufo) provided information to the news media source Reforma regarding Las Panteras, a group of female sicarias working at the service of Los Zetas. Pitufo stated that Las Panteras were highly effective given the fact that they were able to make initial contact with individuals of interest to Los Zetas in addition to being trained killers.

Current statistics estimate that nearly 200,000 Mexican women work at the service of organized crime groups either directly or indirectly. Furthermore, nearly 70% of women living in the northern region of Mexico are either linked to organized crime activity, or benefit from it in an economic manner. Despite the risks, it is believed that women search out roles in organized crime groups for the ‘easy money’, and to have a ‘glamorous and exciting’ life.

Since the start of the Calderon administration, 10,000 women have been arrested on charges related to homicide, organized crime, drug trafficking, weapons trafficking, money laundering, and human trafficking. Females presently represent 5% of the 221,000 inmates currently incarcerated in Mexican prisons. In 2006, they represented 3% of this population.

Jose Luis Piñero, a security analyst at the Autonomous University of Mexico (UAM),

Continued: Female Sicarias Working at the Service of Los Zetas

ease, given the fact that neither the target nor the authorities are focusing exclusively on women as killers, as it is not a common gender role for them to fill.

One of the principal reasons women turn to drug cartels is money. For their work, female sicarias (a hitwoman) are paid anywhere from \$(USD) 305 to \$(USD) 1,525 weekly. If they worked normal jobs, they may be lucky to earn \$(USD) 150 per month, a salary on which a single mother cannot support her family.

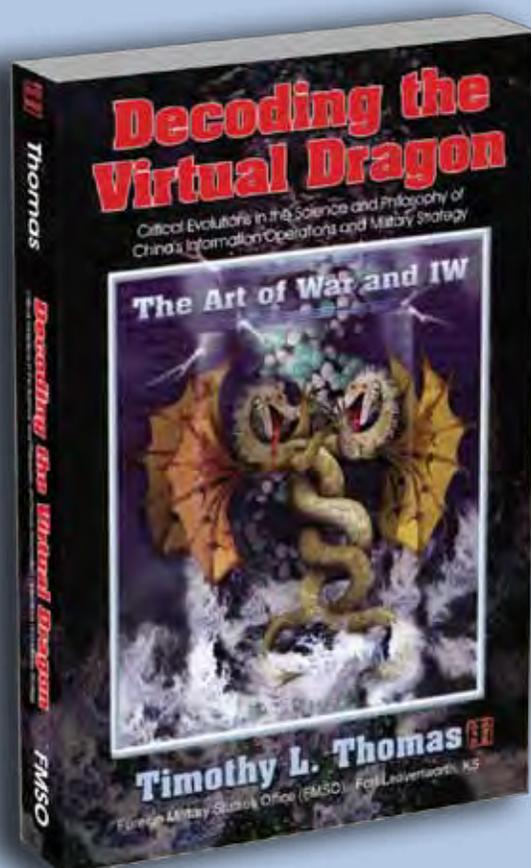
It is also said that women desire to work for drug cartels for power. To have the final say in whether or not someone lives or dies, to control millions of dollars worth of drugs, and to own multiple vehicles and houses is a situation that most women in Mexico, or in any other part of the world, will never experience. The ego trip that many cartel leaders experience, be it men or women, can be very tempting indeed.

As the recruitment of women increases, the number of trained killers along the US border will also increase. These trained assassins are ready to kill no matter who the target or where they are living. Borders are still an issue for drug cartels, but as gang participation and advanced recruitment grows, their operations will be facilitated both along the border and within the United States.
End FMSO Commentary (Fiegel and Gonzalez)

reported that today, organized crime operators see women as being fully capable of participating in acts of violence with them.

Tim Thomas's *Decoding the Virtual Dragon* explains how Chinese information warfare (IW) concepts since 2003 fit into the strategic outlook, practices, and activities of the People's Liberation Army (PLA). The book offers IW explanations directly from the pens of Chinese experts. The Chinese authors discuss the application or relation of IW to strategic thought, the transformation plans of the People's Liberation Army (PLA), the revolution in military affairs (RMA), and the revolution in knowledge warfare and cognition.

Tim Thomas provides an indispensable source for understanding the fundamentals of Chinese military thought and demonstrating how IW/IO has been integrated into the art of war and strategy.



FMSO Commentary: *As the use of the Barrett .50 caliber sniper rifle has become more widely utilized by Mexican transnational criminal organizations (TCOs) since around January 2008, Mexican forces have had to implement traditional strategies against this threat. These criminal groups continue to utilize snipers, forcing the Mexican Armed Forces to look at additional methods to counter them. For this they are looking to advanced technologies in the form of sniper detection systems, namely the commercially available 01dB-Metravib system, developed and manufactured by the French company Metravib.*

The article states that the system is proven useful in an urban environment, primarily when it comes to ambushes. This system is old technology, developed over 20 years ago for a conflict in the Southeast European country of Bosnia; this is 2012 and the dynamics are far different than during that conflict. They boast that the system can detect and locate these snipers, as well as the caliber of weapon used, in the span of approximately 2 seconds. It also helps to electronically map where these gunshots come from in order to calculate the best line of retreat. Again, this may have worked for Bosnia, but with Mexico, snipers traditionally do not stay in one spot after firing up to a few rounds. Also in urban environments the TCOs are constantly on the move in vehicles, therefore making the system less than effective, as it only shows historical data. Lastly, when the article states that it has been proven useful in ambushes, the sheer nature of an ambush quickly discredits that theory. If no gunshots have been registered into the system during an impending ambush, and one is outmanned and outgunned, a serious ambush would again prove the system to be minimally effective.

In the end, it appears that the purchase of this system would provide a poor return on investment, and that

Narcos Utilize Snipers in Attacks on Soldiers and Marines

27 April 2012



Sources: "Los Narco usa francotiradores en ataques contra de militares y marinos (Narcos Utilize Snipers in Attacks on Soldiers and Marines)," Mundonarco.com, 27 April 2012. <http://www.mundonarco.com/2012/04/los-narco-usa-francotiradores-en.html>

01dB Metravib PILARw WMS rifle-mounted acoustic gunshot detection system. © P. Valpolini / ESDPA, via www.esdpa.org

Los Narco usa francotiradores en ataques contra de militares y marinos (Narcos Utilize Snipers in Attacks on Soldiers and Marines)

Attacks by drug cartels using elite snipers against soldiers and marines have forced the Mexican Armed Forces to look for advanced technologies in order to respond to the situation; one that has caused numerous deaths during confrontations the past two years. For this, the Mexican Army and Marines are looking to buy sniper detection equipment from European companies: this technology makes it possible to determine the number of shooters, the direction and distance of the shots taken, and the caliber of weapons used. Sniper detection is achieved in the span of only two seconds following a shot and allows those being attacked to not only located their attackers, but also determine immediate escape routes and even return fire with certainty of the location of the enemy. Military and naval commanders have talks with the French company Metravib (represented in Mexico by the firm Camouflage), the maker of the sniper detection system known commercially as 01dB-Metravib.

Proven Useful in Ambushes

The Camouflage firm introduced the system during the 2012 Mexican Security Expo held at the Banamex Center. The 01dB-Metravib is mounted on combat vehicles and consists of a multi-directional antenna, computer equipment, and software designed to receive information and send it to both air and ground support equipment that tells them the exact position of the sniper. A smaller version of the antenna can be mounted on the sights of

Continued: Narcos Utilize Snipers in Attacks on Soldiers and Marines

the Mexican Armed Forces and law enforcement efforts would be better served by increasing strength in numbers and more advanced training of these individuals in traditional tactics. With the statistical data provided on Tamaulipas (the state with the highest rate of military deaths) indicating an average of only 2.2 deaths per year at the hands of snipers from January 2007 through mid-June 2011, I feel that it drives home my point that purchasing this system is not the wisest course of action. End FMSO Commentary (Scheidel)

assault rifles. This version allows you to display on a screen the four cardinal directions (up-down-left-right) leading the user to a green light in the screens center, which will illuminate when the source of the gunfire is located. When an attack begins, the antenna mounted on the gun detects the sound of the shot, the velocity of the bullet from the barrel, and the distance of the shot. When this data is processed, it is possible to locate the position of the sniper and even the caliber of bullet being utilized. The position is determined in about two seconds. The green light illuminates on the display indicating the location of the shot and then the user can proceed to repel the attack. Representatives of the French company recently presented the system to military and naval commanders and will soon provide the Army a live demonstration of the system to display its full potential and operational advantages in combat, especially when there are attacks in urban areas where ambushes are common. The demonstration was scheduled sometime during the first week of May 2012 and was to take place at either Military Base 37-B in Temamatla, México State or Military Base 37-C in San Miguel de los Jagüeyes, also in México State. Mexico's Navy has expressed interest in the system, but has not yet agreed to meet with Metravib representatives for a live fire demonstration. The 01dB-Metravib is over 20 years old and was designed in response to the sniper attacks against peacekeepers in Bosnia, primarily the capital city of Sarajevo. A Metravib representative stated that the system has been refined over the years and developed into portable pieces of equipment that can be mounted on firearms with the same effectiveness as those systems that utilized multi-directional antennas.

Similar System in the U.S.

Since 2003, the U.S. military has utilized a similar system called Boomerang, developed by DARPA (Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency), based on the same principle of 01dB-Metravib. Data provided by SEDENA in June 2011 through the Federal Access to Information Law, indicated that in five years of the Calderon Administration, that there have been 290 soldiers killed in the war on drugs. Tamaulipas has remained as the state with the highest death rate, reporting some 42 deaths from 01 January 2007 through 22 June 2011 at the hands of organized criminals. Of the 42 military deaths reported during this period in Tamaulipas, at least 10 of them were at the hands of snipers. Military sources warned that such attacks have increased due to the fact that many of the clashes occur in urban areas, like the one that occurred on 24 April 2012 in Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas, where troops of the Fourth Military Region were attacked in an ambush when they went to the scene where a car bomb had just exploded. According to SEDENA, Sinaloa (with 34 deaths), Guerrero (33 deaths), Nuevo León (24 deaths) and Chihuahua (19 deaths) are the states with the lowest rates of military deaths at the hands of organized criminals. In President Calderon's War on Drugs, there have been at least 1,051 soldiers wounded.

FMSO Commentary: Headlines from throughout Colombia and much of Latin America the week of 15 May were of a car bombing in Bogota. Former Colombian Defense Minister Fernando Londoño survived the bombing, which killed his driver and a bodyguard and wounded dozens of passersby. Mr. Londoño is a controversial and vocal public figure who is aligned with former President Alvaro Uribe's hardline stand against the FARC (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia or Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) narcoguerrillas. As of this writing, the FARC had not taken credit for the bombing, and although immediate suppositions by Colombian authorities were of FARC perpetration, FARC culpability had not yet been confirmed.

This is the first such high-level auto bombing in Bogota in years, and comes in the context of other urban bomb attempts, also of likely FARC authorship. The events are significant in that current Colombian President Juan Manuel Santos is considered by a significant slice of the Colombian electorate as too soft in his approach toward the continuing internal war there. In balance is a movement in Colombia to reconsider a negotiated political settlement with the FARC and the ELN (Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional or National Liberation Army).

General speculation is that the predicted and announced strategy shift by the FARC toward more terrorist actions responds to a need to demonstrate their presence, resolve, and, most importantly, their continuing capacity to inflict physical harm. Colombian negotiation processes, however, which have ended poorly in the past, are more difficult now due to difficulties inherent in offering amnesty to guerrilla leaders, given that a mounting array of evidence exists regarding their perpetration of violent felonies.

Ratcheting Violence in Bogota 16 May 2012

Sources: "Government Does Not Rule Out FARC 'or Any other Group' as Attack's Perpetrators," elespectador.com, 16 May 2012



With participation of the Minister of Defense Juan Carlos Pinzon, Mayor of Bogota, Gustavo Petro, and military and police high command, President Juan Manuel Santos leads a Security Council to discuss the May 15 attack on Fernando Londoño. Photo by Javier Casella - SIG via <http://wsp.presidencia.gov>

Gobierno no descarta ni a Farc "ni a otro grupo" como autores del atentado (Defense Minister Pinzon: 'Signs' Point to FARC Involvement in Bogota Blast)

Defense Minister Juan Carlos Pinzon said that although there is evidence that the FARC [Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia] could be behind the bombing in Bogotá on Tuesday that left 2 people dead and 48 wounded, he is not ruling out the possibility that "another terrorist group" was the perpetrator.

The minister said that "there is serious evidence implicating this organization," an allusion to the FARC, but he added that "we are not ruling out any other group because there is a need to continue" the investigations.

Bogotá Mayor Gustavo Petro had said more or less the same thing shortly before. But he went further and mentioned both extreme left-wing and extreme right-wing groups, although he admitted that there is no concrete evidence in this regard.

In contrast, the commander of the Metropolitan Police of Bogotá, General Luis Eduardo Martinez, said on Tuesday that he was certain that the FARC are to blame for the terrorist bombing and for the car bomb that had been deactivated some hours before in the downtown area of the Colombian capital.

Pinzon chose not to discuss this assertion and defended the professionalism of the Police, which discovered and disabled a 120-kilo explosive device that had been planted in the trunk of a taxi and which also made the first arrests in the second case in question.

The bomb whose target was former Minister Fernando Londoño wounded him and killed two of his bodyguards. Videotapes recorded in the area show a man attaching a bomb to his vehicle, a technique used by the Basque terrorist group ETA and also in the Middle East and Asia, according to Pinzon.

"What the experts are saying is that this technique has not been common (in Colombia), and this has prompted questions that are today part of the investigation," Pinzon said.

Continued: 'Signs' Point to FARC Involvement in Bogota Blast

This researcher predicts that the "peace process" approach to the FARC will ultimately be interpreted by the Colombian electorate as a tried and failed azimuth, and that the more aggressive Londono/Uribe attitude toward the Colombian narco-guerillas will be reaffirmed in the next elections.
End FMSO Commentary (Demarest)

He therefore announced that on orders from President Juan Manuel Santos he has contacted "friendly foreign governments to exchange information."

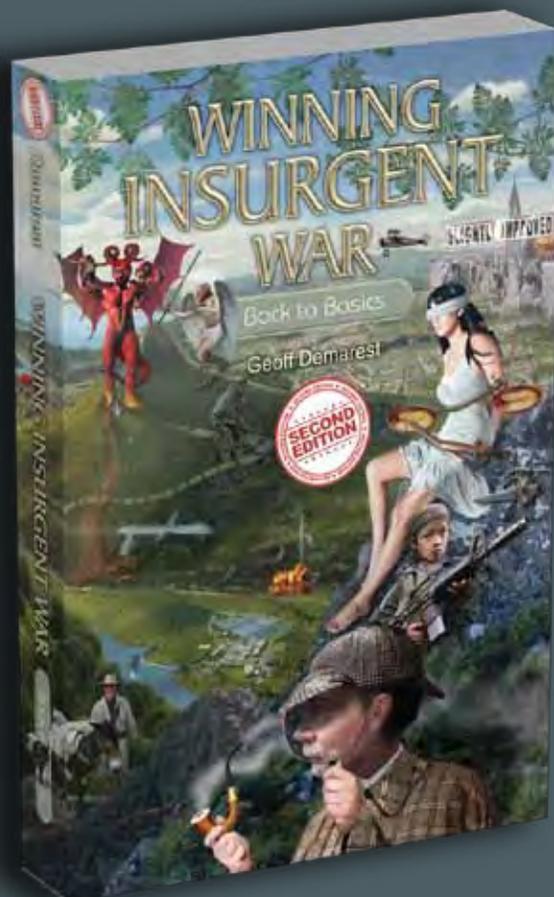
The minister said that the governments of the United States and Great Britain, as well as their respective intelligence agencies, may enable the investigation to be even more effective and produce results soon.

He also announced that as a result of the decisions by the Antiterrorist Committee on Wednesday, the recent threats against Mayor Petro and former Senator Piedad Córdoba would be investigated and precautionary security would be tightened in the Colombian capital.

What has become clear is that the target of the bombing was Londono, who received wounds in the chest and head, while his driver and one of his bodyguards were killed by the terrorist attack.

According to the medical report, the former minister is in "stable" condition after undergoing surgery to remove shards of glass that had lodged between his heart and shoulder blade.

Most of the other people who were wounded have been released. The one in the most serious condition is the driver of a bus that was stopped alongside Londono's armored vehicle when the bomb went off.



Geoff Demarest's *Winning Insurgent War* is about a broader set of conflicts than just 'insurgency.' In its 144 sections, Geoff Demarest raises new and overlooked concepts related to modern conflict in a provocative manner designed to stir up debate and critical thinking. As Geoff Demarest puts it: "I hope that some of the ideas in it will be contagious."

FMSO Commentary: The popular Taiwanese newspaper Taipei Times focused on a recent survey conducted by a group identified as pro-nationalist professionals. The Taipei Times, best known for leaning toward the liberal, pro-independence party platform, originally presented the survey's findings to highlight the supposedly indifferent attitude of Taiwanese youth toward the idea of forced reunification.

Taken in a critical light, however, one realizes that much of the study's methodology and findings, and the article's presentation of the survey are suspect. For example, survey participants were in some manner connected to the researchers instead of a random sample, and though the Taipei Times boldly highlighted the idea that Taiwanese youth will not fight for Taiwan, the survey actually finds a significant majority of youth agrees Taiwan should be mobilized against a Chinese invasion. Further, while the article stated most youth would not agree to a mandated draft, one would expect such a response regardless of situation, due, in part, to a recent law change which now makes military service voluntary for the first time. The article, however, made no such analysis. Amid accusations of inaccurately presenting the findings, the Taipei Times has since altered the original article with minor changes to wording.

Other Taiwanese media sources, however, quickly took up the story in its original form and used the article's headlines as talking points. A new sentiment has taken ground and the country is now debating plausible reasons why young Taiwanese would not fight for Taiwan. The usual arguments of futility and serious doubt of the U.S. aiding Taiwan are being thrown around, now, however, with newfound conviction.

Some in the academic and media communities deem this article and its

National Newspaper Highlights Finding: Youth Will Not Fight For Taiwan

Source: "Youth will not fight for Taiwan: poll," Taipei Times, 13 May 2012, 13 May 2012
<http://www.taipetimes.com/News/front/archives/2012/05/13/2003532684>



Taiwan Youth Ambassadors visiting Bequia. Photo by Tiwan Embassy via www.tiwanembassy.org

Youth Will Not Fight For Taiwan

A survey released yesterday showed that 45.8 percent of young people born after 1984 agreed that Taiwan is an independent nation separate from China, while almost 60 percent of the respondents said that people have the right to refuse military conscription in the event of war against China.

The 21st Century Foundation, a local think tank, released the survey to explore the "sense of efficacy" of the generation toward cross-strait peace, attempting to find what they think are the ways to achieve peace and whether it is possible to reconcile cross-strait peace with preservation national sovereignty.

"A conclusion we drew from the survey was that people in Taiwan know well that Taiwan's pursuit of de jure independence will lead to Chinese use of force against Taiwan," said Chang Yu-tzung (張佑宗), an associate professor of politics at the National Taiwan University and leader of the research team.

The survey reflected the "pragmatic attitudes" of young people in Taiwan toward cross-strait issues, he added.

"They do not want to sacrifice their lives for sovereignty," Chang said of the findings.

Chang called the research a "pioneering study" because it combined qualitative and

impact as simply another illustration of how politicians and associated groups promote their own contrived objectives. Some worry, probably justifiably, that this sentiment may create a self-perpetuating mood of futility towards resisting China's influence and aggression. These same critics further accuse the Nationalist Kuomintang Party of driving such sentiment in order to more easily regain access into the Mainland. End FMSO Commentary (Faruolo)

Continued: Youth will not fight for Taiwan

quantitative methods of conducting focus group interviews with senior high school and college students. A total of 719 copies of questionnaires were completed either online or through face-to-face interviews, and the respondents had connections to the research team rather than being randomly selected.

On a question regarding the identity of the nation, 45.8 percent of the respondents agreed that "Taiwan and China are two different states," 19.9 percent favored the characterization advocated by the Democratic Progressive Party that "the Republic of China (ROC) is Taiwan," 24.4 percent chose the option that "the ROC is on Taiwan" as the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) insists, 7.9 percent said Taiwan and China both belong to the ROC, and 2 percent said that "Taiwan is part of China."

The survey found that 57 percent of the respondents agreed that people have the right to refuse to be conscripted into the military if a war breaks out because of Taiwan's declaration of independence, while 43 percent disagreed.

Asked whether they think people in Taiwan have to fight against China until the end, even if the government has stopped resisting when China forces Taiwan into unification, 48.3 percent of the respondents disagreed, and 51.7 percent agreed.

An analysis of these two questions showed that 31.6 percent of the respondents do not want to be mobilized for military duty and would rather surrender in case of military conflict between Taiwan and China, Chang said.

The survey showed that more than 80 percent of the respondents did not think that China would renounce the use of force against Taiwan even if a majority of people in Taiwan made it clear that they support Taiwanese independence or that they oppose unification with China.

On another question, 58.5 percent of the respondents said they thought China would not resort to military action against Taiwan if a majority of people in Taiwan said that they support unification, while 41.5 percent disagreed.

The survey found that 74.2 percent of the respondents agreed that Taiwan has to continue to procure weapons even though the move will cause tensions in cross-strait relations, and 25.8 percent disagreed.

Asked whether they support the government increasing tax rates to drive military procurements to enhance the country's defenses, 44.2 percent of the respondents agreed, while 55.8 percent disagreed.

The result showed that for young people, "life is more valuable than defending the country" and that they would rather have their money spent in pursuit of their personal values than on defense, Chang said.

FMSO Commentary: The average Taiwanese citizen has little daily direct contact with mainland communications. As business developments unfold, however, this reality appears to be quickly changing, and much to the discontent of Taiwanese. The Taiwanese media establishment is currently locked in a struggle against what, according to many citizens, promises to be a future barrage of Chinese telecommunication influence.

Recent reports have focused heavily on the merger-in-the-works between the Taiwanese China Network Systems and the Chinese Want Want Broadcasting, which has strong ties with the Chinese political establishment. At home and on the mainland, Taiwan suffers an internal conflict in which media must “self-censor” themselves in order to avoid offending Chinese officials and gain access into the broad and lucrative mainland market. To make matters worse, recent reports have identified an “infiltration” by Chinese radio stations broadcasting on unused Taiwanese AM stations in which daily news programs highlight stories which Taiwanese politicians consider akin to “cultural unification” and “political brainwashing.”

*Ask the average Taiwanese person his impression on a Chinese “invasion” into his media outlets and you will probably receive a shrug, indicating he either does not often listen to radio or he does not care from where his television shows originate. Politicians and academics, however, hold much stronger opinions against the influence of the Chinese media establishment. They justify their position by identifying the relationship between media freedom and sound democratic institutions. **End FMSO Commentary (Faruolo)***

Taiwanese Concerned About Media Freedom

4 May 2012



Source: “Academics highlight threats to media freedom,” Taipei Times, 4 May 2012, <http://www.taipetimes.com/News/front/archives/2012/05/04/2003531945>

National Taiwan University professor Flora Chang. Photo by NTU via www.psc.ntu.edu.tw

Academics highlight threats to media freedom

Academics and journalists yesterday expressed concern about the threats to Taiwanese media of an increasing concentration of ownership and Chinese influence.

Various incidents in the past year showed “it’s time the government exercised its power to deal with increasing Chinese influence, concentration of ownership and the media impunity issue,” National Taiwan University professor Flora Chang (張錦華) said at a conference hosted by the Association of Taiwan Journalists on World Press Freedom Day yesterday.

Chang said that although Taiwanese laws are now able to prevent the “black hands” of political parties, the government and military from influencing the media, the government has done nothing to contain the “red hand” of China, which has placed a large volume of embedded advertisements in local media.

The phenomenon looks set to create an “everyone loses” situation: for Taiwanese, who can no longer enjoy quality journalism; the media, which has failed to live up to its gatekeeper role; and the country, she said.

“I would say it’s a national disgrace to sell news to and reduce human rights-related coverage of a country that has more than 1,000 missiles pointed at us,” she said.

Big businesses’ use of their abundant capital to expand their media holdings has also had grave and negative consequences on media ownership.

A bid by Want Want China Times Group to acquire China Network Systems’ cable TV services — a NT\$76 billion (US\$2.57 billion) merger that would affect a quarter of households with TVs nationwide — has raised heated discussion, with most people expressing concern and opposing the merger, Chang said.

Chang described the deal as “unprecedented” and said it could jeopardize freedom of the press and expression if approved.

A revival of state interference in news media appears to be taking place, with a Chinese

Continued: Academics highlight threats to media freedom

Nationalist Party (KMT) lawmaker accusing two journalists of defamation for reporting on the alleged pressure put on the National Communications Commission over the Want Want bid, said Leon Chuang (莊豐嘉), director of the online news Web site Newtalk.

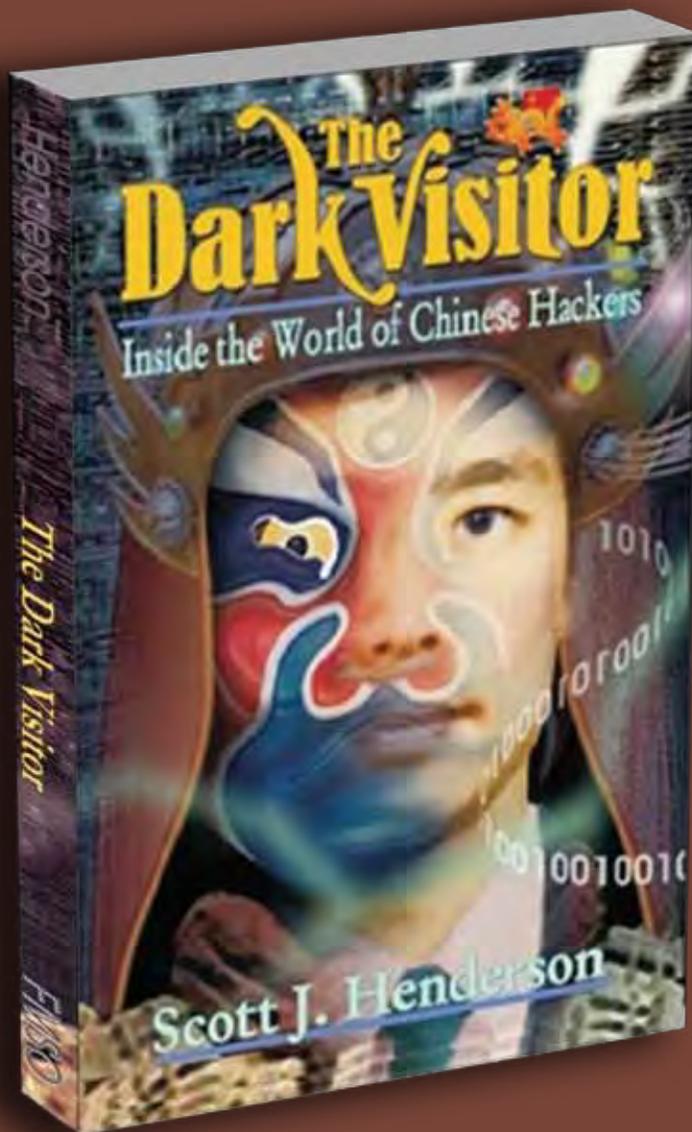
Government officials, representatives and business leaders have become accustomed to taking journalists and academics to court — in particular, filing civil lawsuits that seek huge damages — to stop their reporting, he said.

Lee Chih-teh (李志德), a Radio Free Asia reporter who has extensive experience covering cross-strait affairs, highlighted another area of Chinese influence — the way it has induced Beijing-based Taiwanese journalists to practice self-censorship.

Beijing applied political pressure on all foreign reporters, but it is also able to control Taiwanese reporters from an economic vantage point, because “most Taiwanese newspapers and television stations want to get a share of the Chinese market.”

“And that’s why Taiwanese media and reporters tend to self-censor their China coverage,” Lee said.

In the latest freedom of the press ranking released by the Freedom House on Tuesday, Taiwan ranked 47th in the world, one place higher than last year. However, Taiwan has not fared better than 43rd since President Ma Ying-jeou (馬英九) took office in 2008, when Taiwan was ranked 32nd in the world during the last year the Democratic Progressive Party was in power.



Scott Henderson’s ground-breaking work, *The Dark Visitor* analyzes the history, ideology, organization, exploits, and political motivations of the Chinese hacker network. Whenever possible, the information contained herein has been taken directly from the Chinese hacker organization itself or from interviews with individual members.

FMSO Commentary: Taiwan is no stranger to organized protest. Though generally centered on political rivalries, recent demonstrations have been focused around the real issues of labor rights and rising living costs. Most notably, the government announced a sudden increase in energy prices by as much as 35%, putting many citizens on edge. Coupled with a general rise in global commodity prices and peak summer energy usage, the island is ripe for heightened political tension, mostly directed at the current Kuomintang administration.

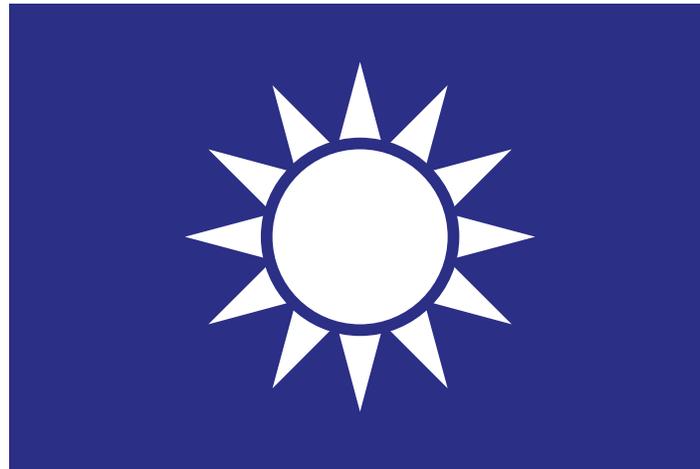
On May 20 President Ma Ying-jeou of the Nationalist Kuomintang Party (KMT) will be sworn in for his second term. A slew of demonstrations are expected for the days leading up to and following the inauguration ceremony, with the most heavily orchestrated by the opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). It should be noted that the DPP is expected to seize the opportunity presented by rising costs of living to rally grieved Taiwanese from both sides of party lines to effectively harness and drive anti-KMT sentiment among voters.

*As such, troubled times surely loom large for the KMT party. Should present economic conditions continue, the KMT will likely face increased enmity toward its policies, which traditionally seek stable, mutually beneficial relations between the Strait. In the long term, prospects for a 2016 KMT presidential victory seem highly unlikely. Previous DPP administrations and their staunch pro-independence stance against China have created past tense situations involving both the U.S. and China, forcing the U.S. to confront less than ideal relations. **End FMSO Commentary (Faruolo)***

Troubles Loom Large for KMT Party, Taiwan

26 April 2012

Source: "DPP, TSU hope to 'merge' anti-Ma rallies," Taipei Times, 26 April 2012, <http://www.taipetimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2012/04/26/2003531305>



The Naval Jack of the Republic of China since 1928 (canton of the Flag of the Republic of China), now used on Taiwan. This flag is also used as the party flag of Kuomintang (KMT). [public domain] via Wikimedia Commons

DPP, TSU hope to 'merge' anti-Ma rallies

The Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) and the Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU) yesterday unveiled their preliminary plans for massive protests against President Ma Ying-jeou (馬英九) in Taipei on May 19 and May 20.

While the parties are planning their rallies separately, the protests could become a round-the-clock "two-in-one" event beginning on May 19 and continuing throughout Ma's scheduled inauguration ceremony the next morning.

According to DPP spokesperson Lin Chun-hsien (林俊憲), the DPP protest on May 19, which expects an attendance of 100,000 people, would include three routes, with assembly points at National Taiwan University, Wanhua Railway Station and the Songshan Tobacco Plant.

Protesters would assemble at the intersection of Beiping E Road and Linsen N Road, where a rally is scheduled to be held in the evening, Lin said, adding that all individuals and civic groups are welcome to join the protest.

The TSU-organized demonstration, which would begin where the DPP holds its night rally and end in front of the Presidential Office, would act like the "second leg" of the mass protest.

"The TSU calls on the protesters at the DPP event to stay the night and begin the march toward the plaza in front of the Presidential Office on the morning of May 20, when Ma is scheduled to be inaugurated," TSU Secretary-General Lin Chih-chia (林志嘉) said.

Lin Chih-chia said his party has been in close communication with the DPP and he hoped that the two events would "connect seamlessly."

The TSU protest plans to begin at Beiping E Road and end on Ketagalan Boulevard in front of the Presidential Office so people could voice their displeasure at Ma on his inauguration day, he said.

However, people would have to break through the barriers set up by security around a large restricted zone, Lin Chih-chia said.

FMSO Commentary: In June 2011 China's Defense Minister Liang Guanglie said that China wanted to promote the constant development of military relations with Australia. Liang had reportedly told Australian Defense Minister Stephen Chan that China would make joint efforts with the country to strengthen exchanges at high military levels and deepen pragmatic cooperation between the two militaries. Cooperation between the two countries can be seen as a method to improve maritime security in the area. Then again, it could also be viewed as an effort from China toward a strategic alliance that could offset U.S. influence in the region. China has expressed concern over growing military ties between the United States and long-time ally Australia.

*China and Australia celebrated the 40th anniversary of Australia-China diplomatic relations this year. Trade between the two countries has skyrocketed. In 2007 China overtook Japan to become Australia's largest trading partner. Forty years ago the annual trade between the two countries was less than \$100 million. Today trade exceeds \$100 billion. In particular, China, with its astounding economic growth, has been pursuing and buying up opportunities to access many of Australia's rich natural resources. The relationship between the two countries is mutually beneficial, with cooperation in trade, security, safety, and disaster relief. **End FMSO Commentary (Hurst)***

China's Military Ties with Australia to Deepen

14 May 2012

Source: : Military Ties with Australia to Deepen, China Daily, May 14, 2012, <http://europe.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2012-05/14/content_15290049.htm>.



Lieut. Gen. Wei Fenghe (L), deputy chief of general staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA), meets with Bob Carr (R), the visiting Australian foreign minister, in Beijing, capital of China, May 14, 2012. (mod.gov.cn/Li Xiaowei) via www.mod.gov.cn

Military Ties with Australia to Deepen

China and Australia will continue strengthening military ties amid growing international competition, said Wei Fenghe, deputy chief of general staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and Australian Foreign Minister Bob Carr on Monday.

The two militaries have maintained frequent exchanges and good operation of defense and strategic consultation mechanisms, while China would like to deepen mutual trust and practical cooperation, Wei said.

Carr, on his first visit to China since taking office in March, said that Canberra hopes Beijing will become more involved in international affairs and resolution of global issues such as disaster reduction and maritime rescue.

Carr began the five-day visit to China on Friday. He will call on Vice-Premier Li Keqiang on Tuesday and then visit Japan from Wednesday to Friday.

FMSO Commentary: *The analysis in the following article offers a good overview on the difficulties associated with the emerging mining industry in Afghanistan. Some of the challenges of trying to kick start Afghanistan's mining industries include:*

- *General infrastructure, including transportation infrastructure is lacking*
- *Mining infrastructure is lacking*
- *Local expertise is practically non-existent*
- *Rugged, mountainous terrain makes work difficult and dangerous*
- *Successful trade is dependent on surrounding countries*
- *Possible environmental issues could present obstacles to development*
- *Security concerns could discourage investment*

Despite these and other drawbacks, by all indications China is fully intent on pursuing natural resources within Afghanistan. The country has already made great strides in acquiring certain exploration and development projects, such as the Aynak copper deposit near Kabul. China was also the first country to sign a deal with the Afghanistan government to be allowed to exploit oil and natural gas in several blocks in the northern part of the country. China is successful in its bilateral relationship with Afghanistan for a number of reasons, including its willingness to engage in "dollar diplomacy." China offers great incentives, such as promises to build refineries, roads, railway systems, power plants and other infrastructure, that will not only help to bring Afghanistan along, but also assist in furthering China's own interests.

While the Sino-Afghan bilateral relationship would seem to be a win-win situation for both countries, it does offer some possible implications. For example, U.S. and NATO forces have already sunk

Brief Analysis on the Environment of Investment in the Mining Industry in Afghanistan

14 May 2012



Copper mine, a series of monasteries, and what may be homes or workshops at Mes Aynak in Logar province, Afghanistan. Photo by Jerome Starkey [CC-BY-SA-2.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons

Source: : Wang Jian, "Brief Analysis on the Environment of Investment in the Mining Industry in Afghanistan," *Natural Resource Economics of China Journal*, (Chinese) November 2011, pp. 43-44

Brief Analysis of the Mining Investment Environment in Afghanistan

Abstract: In order to attract outside mining investment, Afghanistan is constantly drawing up and introducing preferential policies and broadening investment areas, but problems such as the grim security situation, government corruption, absent legal system, lack of qualified personnel, and inadequate infrastructure are still present. The potential for developing Afghanistan's mineral resources is tremendous, and the frequent economic and trade contacts with China are an option for "going out" and developing outside mineral resources. There is still tremendous risk involved in investing in mining development in Afghanistan; care should be given to avoiding this risk as the opportunity is seized. Businesses need to have the courage and insight necessary for strategic investment and the ability to avoid risk, and the government must provide businesses with support and guidance in the areas of technology, information, and policy.

Within the context of carrying out the "two markets, two kinds of resources" strategy for mineral resources, China's overall plans are "bringing in" and "going out," and win-win development in the mining industry has been achieved through the unending spread of international cooperation in mineral resources exploration and development and mining businesses' active participation in international cooperation in mining investment. For the "going out" businesses, within the historic context and opportunities of China's practicing "going out" and Afghanistan's "bringing in," risk should be avoided as opportunity is seized to invest in mining development in Afghanistan.

Overview of Afghanistan's Mineral Resources

Afghanistan is a landlocked country in western Central Asia, situated at the intersection of West Asia, South Asia, and Central Asia; it controls the transportation hub between the north and south, and is in an important geographic location. Through seaports in South Asia, it can provide a convenient transshipment channel for the abundant oil and gas resources of the Central Asia region as well as regional trade; the advantages of its location are obvious. Afghanistan has experienced more than 30 years of war; its industry, agriculture, and service industry are backward; it has tremendous potential

billions of dollars into trying to reshape the Afghanistan government and train its security forces. With so much financial and manpower effort having already gone into trying to rebuild Afghanistan and to promote peace and stability, China's growing influence in the country could turn out to be a major point of aggravation for the United States. In addition, Western organizations push for good governance and transparency in exchange for aid. China, on the other hand, has a non-interference policy and does not require transparency, which could ultimately be counterproductive to what the United States and NATO forces have strived for over the past decade.

*The Chinese are taking an incredible amount of risk putting so much into a country that is ranked so low on the corruption index. On the other hand, while the risks are high in Afghanistan, there are many potential benefits to China. For one thing, China is in desperate need of natural resources to help grow its economy; moreover, Afghanistan is ideally located to serve as a central transportation hub for supplies. China has been growing its own internal infrastructure and this infrastructure extends into neighboring countries. This could be a means either to secure its trade routes or, taking it one step further, to extend its regional influence. **End FMSO Commentary (Hurst)***

Continued: Brief Analysis of the Mining Investment Environment in Afghanistan

for the abundant, undeveloped mining resources it possesses; and it has ample business opportunities.

Afghanistan's mineral resources are abundant and basically have not been developed. Currently, the main mineral resources that have already been verified include iron, copper, coal, gold, oil, natural gas, chromium, lithium, salt, mica, and emeralds. The latest US Geological Survey report indicates the total value of Afghanistan's mineral resources is one trillion US dollars; according to its quantified data, Afghanistan holds 420 billion US dollars of iron ore, 274 billion US dollars of copper ore, 25 billion US dollars of gold ore, 81 billion US dollars of nickel ore, and 5 billion US dollars of cobalt ore.[1] In addition to this, there are considerable reserves of platinum, asbestos, silver, aluminum, graphite, and Celestine. At the same time, it is predicted that the lithium ore reserves in Ghazni, south-central Afghanistan, are equal to the reserves in Bolivia, the world's biggest producer of lithium ore. Such vast lithium ore resources will have a huge impact on the world's lithium battery manufacturing industry. Afghanistan's Ministry of Mines states the total value of its mineral resources exceeds three trillion US dollars.

Economic and Trade Contacts between Afghanistan and China's Government

Afghanistan and China have had friendly contact for more than 2,000 years. Afghanistan was one of the first countries to recognize China after the founding of the new China. Since the two countries established diplomatic relations in 1955, there have been constant national-level exchanges, and all previous Afghanistan governments have taken a friendly attitude toward China and supported the positions and Xinjiang policy of the Chinese government. Together with the international community, China is actively supporting and participating in the post-war rebuilding of Afghanistan, and has provided political processes, economic construction, and large amounts of materials required for humanitarian assistance. Through multilateral and bilateral channels, China has trained a large group of officials and specialists in a variety of areas for the Afghanistan government, and in 2004 it announced that the Afghanistan government was relieved of all matured debts it owed. In 2006, the president of Afghanistan visited China and the two countries signed the "Treaty of China-Afghanistan Friendship, Cooperation and Good-Neighborly Relations" and a joint statement between China and Afghanistan. In March 2010, the president of Afghanistan again visited China, and both parties signed multiple agreements centered on trade and economic development, and China applied a zero-tariff status to some products originating in Afghanistan. Regarding Chinese investment in Afghanistan, the government and people have taken a positive attitude, stationing military forces there to protect the safety of investors. In addition, the Afghanistan government signed the "Kabul Declaration on Good Neighborly Relations," "Declaration of the Signatory Governments of the 'Kabul Declaration on Good Neighborly Relations' Concerning Encouraging Closer Trade, Transit and Investment Cooperation," and "Kabul Declaration on Good Neighborly Relations and Counter Narcotics" with six neighboring countries, including China. Overall, the good exchanges between Afghanistan and China have, to a certain extent, provided the political and diplomatic support for mining investment.

In 2007, China Metallurgical Group defeated competitors from Kazakhstan, the US, and Canada, winning the rights to Afghanistan's Aynak copper mine and signing a 2.87 billion US dollar investment agreement with the Afghanistan government. In July 2009, construction officially started on the Aynak copper mine. This project was Afghanistan's first large-scale mining project to introduce foreign capital and officially open up. As a part of the contract, China will build public infrastructure, including power plants, highways,

Continued: Brief Analysis of the Mining Investment Environment in Afghanistan

mosques, schools, and hospitals.

Grim Security Situation

The situation in Afghanistan really is not completely under the effective control of the government; the Afghanistan government is still unable to independently fight Taliban forces, and one of its positions is that it hopes to resolve the conflict through dialogue. However, the US strategy of increasing troops in Afghanistan is an effort to totally defeat the Taliban through large-scale attacks, and as the fighting spreads, Taliban counterattacks are bound to intensify. It will be impossible for Afghanistan's future security situation to break free from arduous difficulties. The present situation has exacerbated the investment environment in Afghanistan, lowered the investment rate, and increased operational risks; security problems are becoming the biggest risk in mining investment.

Government Corruption Is on the Rise

Corruption in the Afghanistan government has been on the rise over the last two years. The 2010 "Corruption Perceptions Index" report from the international anti-corruption organization "Transparency International" assessed corruption in government departments in 180 countries throughout the world. Afghanistan ranked third, with a score of 1.4. To further demonstrate the government's resolve to fight corruption, the Afghanistan government passed a law in October 2010 allowing the judiciary to establish special tribunals to investigate senior officials suspected of corruption. That same month, the United Nations General Assembly's resolution on the Afghanistan problem reiterated the urgent need to deal with the various challenges within the borders of Afghanistan, strengthen the rule of law and democratic process, fight corruption, and accelerate reforms of the judiciary.

Infrastructure Building Remains Inadequate

Even though clear progress has been made in Afghanistan's infrastructure building, deficiencies still exist compared to the infrastructure requirements for overall national economic development. By 2010, the total mileage of highways within Afghanistan's borders was nearly 30,000 kilometers. Of these, the total length of highways circling Afghanistan (state roads) was 2,210 kilometers, 87% of which were already completed; the total length of the highways connecting to neighboring countries was 1,153 kilometers, 86% of which were already completed; there were 4,985 kilometers of inter-provincial highways connecting all the provinces; and 9,600 kilometers of intra-provincial highways. There were 17,000 kilometers of rural highways, but overall they cannot meet requirements for building and development. Power sources in Afghanistan are in extremely short supply, and the electric power industry is very backwards. Afghanistan

primarily relies on hydroelectric power generation, accounting for approximately 64% of the amount of electrical energy generated; the remainder is from fuel power plants. With assistance from the international community, a number of main power stations, such as the Naghlu hydroelectric power plant near Kabul and the Kajaki hydroelectric power plant near Kandahar, are being repaired. A number of key power transmission lines and facilities are about to be newly built or converted; for example, work will be getting underway on the power transmission line project that will provide power from Uzbekistan through northern Afghanistan to Kabul and the conversion of Kabul's power system. However, because Afghanistan's electrical power infrastructure is really poor, there will still be a serious shortage of electrical power for a fairly long time even after these projects are complete.

Continually Drawing Up Preferential Policies

In order to attract more foreign investment, the Afghanistan government has broadened investment areas. In addition to transnational oil and gas pipelines, the mining industry, and the telecommunications sector, other areas are also open to investment. For those sectors not open to investment, the Afghanistan government is drawing up special policies, opening international bidding, and using principles such as technological leadership, pricing concessions, and good service to determine the final successful bidders. At the same time, it is providing preferential policies for foreign investors; for example, all foreign investors can enjoy a tax-free period. For short-term investments, four years free from taxes from the date the business license is issued or three years free from taxes from when production begins; for mid-term investments, six years free from taxes from the date the business license is issued or five years free from taxes from when production starts; for long-term investments, eight years free from taxes from the date the business license is issued or seven years free from taxes from when production starts. In special situations where even more time is required for an investment project, a senior committee may agree by convention to extend the tax-free period.

Conclusion

In general, although there is huge potential for Afghanistan's mineral resources, Afghanistan and China's friendly exchanges have a historic origin, and economic and trade contacts continue to grow, nevertheless, there are still tremendous risks in investing in mining in Afghanistan, including unstable political risks and policy risks, that have an enormous impact on investment earnings. Opening the market for mining development in Afghanistan not only requires businesses to have courage and insight into strategic investment and the ability to avoid risks, it also requires technological, information, and policy support and guidance from the government.

FMSO Commentary: From April 22 to April 29 Russia and China conducted joint naval exercises in the Yellow Sea, codenamed “Maritime Collaboration 2012,” which were the largest joint military exercises at sea between the two countries. According to the Russian Defense Ministry, the purpose of this joint exercise was targeted at anti-piracy and counterterrorism operations, and not against any third party. The Chinese side stressed that the exercise was to deepen the strategic partnership between China and Russia and to safeguard peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region and the world.

This Chinese commentary from China Youth Daily Online, website of the daily newspaper sponsored by the Communist Youth League of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, highly praises the development and achievements of Sino-Russian military cooperation over the past 20 years. It also points out that behind the continuous improvement of the relations between the two armed forces has been the smooth development of Sino-Russian relations in a broader sense from “friendliness” to “constructive partnership” and to “strategic cooperative partnership.”

Nevertheless, both the Russian and the Chinese sides are very cautious and suspicious about the expression of a “Sino-Russian alliance.” On the one hand, this could be related to the hidden tensions between Russia and China. On the other, it is possible that both sides understand that a “Sino-Russian alliance” could be considered as a serious threat by other countries. This perceived alliance could have negative consequences, which may not necessarily be in line with the fundamental interests of both Russia and China. **End FMSO Commentary (Du)**

Russia and China Deepen Military Cooperation

27 April 2012

Source: Sino-Russian Military Cooperation Has Been Striding for 20 Years” Feipeng Zhao, Zhongguo Qingnian Bao Online (China Youth Daily Online), 27 April 2012



A fleet of Chinese and Russian navies, with three warships from each side, arrived at a joint drill area on Tuesday to conduct live-fire exercises via mod.gov.cn

Sino-Russian Military Cooperation Has Been Striding for 20 Years

“Varyag” missile cruiser sailed in the Yellow Sea, just like revisiting the old haunt, while “Harbin” ship encountered “Varyag”, just like old friends reunited.

“Harbin” ship had visited Vladivostok, where was the station of the Pacific Fleet where “Varyag” served. In 2009 when it was the 60th anniversary of the establishment of the People’s Navy, “Varyag” visited Qingdao on behalf of the Russian Navy and participated in the grand parade with “Harbin” ship in the Yellow Sea.

In the same sea waters, multiple branches of the Chinese and Russian land, sea and air forces held the “Peace Mission 2005” joint exercise here in 2005, and nearly 10,000 soldiers participated in the exercise. It was the first joint exercise between China and Russia. Four years later, the “Peace Mission 2009” Sino-Russian exercise was held in Taonan training base of Shenyang Military Region.

The ongoing “maritime coalition-2012” exercise was the first joint exercise of the navies of China and Russia, and the military exercises had deepened into the armed services. “It marks that the strategic mutual trust between Russian and Chinese armed forces has reached a new level.” said Li Jie, research fellow of the Naval Military Academic Institute, in an interview with the reporter of Zhongguo Qingnian Bao.

It was unbelievable 20 years ago when the Chinese and Russian armed forces just started to contact. In December 1991, China and Russia established diplomatic relations. From then on, China signed the agreements on strengthening military trust and mutual disarmament in border areas with Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan through several rounds of negotiations. Later, the friendly exchanges between Chinese and Russian armed forces became increasingly close.

“Sino-Russian military relations evolved from confrontation to close cooperation, which

Continued: Sino-Russian Military Cooperation Has Been Striding for 20 Years

was a historic change and was of historic significance for both China and Russia.” said Feng Yujun, director of the Institute of Russian Studies of China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations, in an interview with the reporter of Zhongguo Qingnian Bao.

In fact, what behind the continuous improvement of the relations between the two armed forces was the smooth development of Sino-Russian relations. By the end of 1991, China and Russia established diplomatic relations and from then on the bilateral relations had been continuously striding onto new steps.

In 1992, China and Russia announced “regarding each other as a friendly country.” Two years later, they announced the establishment of “constructive partnership facing the 21st century.” In 1996, they established the “equal, trustful, and strategic cooperative partnership facing the 21st century.” In 2001, the two countries signed the Treaty of Good-Neighborliness and Friendly Cooperation Between the People’s Republic of China and the Russian Federation and declared “establishing friendship for generations, and never being enemies.” Afterward, they solved the border issues left over by the history.

From “friendliness” to “constructive partnership” and to “strategic cooperative partnership,” the attributes used to describe the relations between the two countries were constantly enriched. Last year, Chinese and Russian heads of state announced that they would commit themselves to the development of the “equal, trustful, mutually supporting, collectively prosperous and forever friendly comprehensive strategic cooperative partnership” and that “the Sino-Russian relations are in the best age of history.”

On significant issues, China and Russia supported each other. Zhang Baoqun, the deputy director general of the European and Asian Bureau of the Foreign Affairs Office of the Ministry of National Defense of the PRC, said Russia provided strong support for China in the activities such as the Olympic Games and Shanghai World Expo and related security work, while China gave firm support to Russia in following the development path in line with its own national conditions, and gave support to Russia for its actions to fight against the Chechnya terrorist forces.

He said that China and Russia had played an important role in promoting the world multipolarization and democratization of international relations. Both countries held similar positions and had maintained close communication and cooperation in the global issues, such as the UN reform, the reform of the international financial and monetary system, and new threats from terrorism and drug smuggling. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization sponsored by both countries had become an important platform for member countries to jointly cope with new threats and challenges,

and safeguard regional peace and stability.

In the context of the smooth development of bilateral relations, friendly cooperation between the two countries has been persistently strengthened. Information provided by relevant departments showed that in recent years, senior leaders of the armed forces of both countries visited each other frequently and the armies of both countries arranged visits for the Secretary of Defense or the Chief of the General Staff of both countries once a year. Since 1997, Chinese and Russian armies had established an annual regular consultation mechanism at the Deputy Chief of Staff level for the purpose of coordinating their positions on some major issues.

Another aspect of the friendly and pragmatic cooperation between the two armies was dispatching military students. Since 1996, China had sent more than 1,000 military students to Russia for study.

Relevant information showed that over the past 20 years, exchanges between the navies of the two countries was also growing. In April 2009, Russian Navy Commander-in-Chief Admiral Admiral Vysotsky came to China to attend multinational naval activities in celebrating of the 60th anniversary of the establishment of the People’s Navy. In November last year, Chinese Navy Commander Admiral Wu Shengli visited Russia. Nowadays, the naval vessels of the two countries remained visits to each other once every two years.

The increasingly normalized bilateral joint military exercise was the proof of the two armies to deepen their pragmatic cooperation. For the ongoing “joint maritime -2012” Sino-Russian joint exercise, Feng Yujun said that the exercise was carried out against a background of many new uncertainties that faced the security situation in the Asia-Pacific region. The exercise was also the result of further deepening cooperation in the field of politics and military after the relationship between China and Russia was upgraded to the “comprehensive strategic cooperative partnership.”

Feng Yujun criticized some people for worrying about the so-called “Sino-Russian alliance.” He said “alliance may not necessarily be in line with the fundamental interests of both countries; China’s foreign policy does not have such considerations, so does not Russia.”

He said that in a recently published article called *Russia and the Change World*, Putin unprecedentedly spoke highly of the Sino-Russian relations. He also emphasized that Russia would rely on China to promote its own economic revitalization in the future. Russia had realized re-understanding of the status of China and Sino-Russian relations.

“I think that the Sino-Russian relations are at a new historical starting point.” said Feng Yujun.

FMSO Commentary: *Whether the rumor about Putin's youngest daughter marrying the son of a retired South Korean admiral is true or not, the new-old Russian government appears intent on maximizing its cooperation not only with South Korea, but also with the larger Northeast Asia region. Putin enjoys a relatively stable position compared to other Northeast Asian regional leaders, and plans to use the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit in Vladivostok in September 2012 to heighten Russia's stature as an Asia power. Like their much heralded project in Skolkovo (which is the Russian version of Silicon Valley), Russian government officials have ambitious plans to show off their APEC host city of Vladivostok as the booming 'San Francisco of Russia.'*

Over the past two decades, South Korean companies have become heavily invested in Russia's Far East economy. Indeed, South Korea was Russia's best trade partner in the Siberian and Far Eastern region in 2011, claiming 27.6% of total trade, with \$6.39 billion dollars of investment (China had 24.9% and Japan-22.9%). Hosting the annual APEC meeting in Vladivostok will not only provide Russian leaders a great chance to maximize economic development in this region (which has suffered from Russian de-population and fears of growing Chinese immigration), but also demonstrate Russia's claim to being an Asian power. This meeting will also help to solidify what some have described as Putin's weakened domestic image.

Russia not only has strengthened military cooperation with China, but also has been working on developing greater military ties with South Korea. In March 2012 Russia and South Korean defense officials signed an agreement dealing with military education, enhanced communication (between the headquarters of Russian and South Korean air forces) and the possible

Putin's Pivot to Asia

7 May 2012

Source: Putin Initiatives," The Korea Herald Online, 7 May 2012



Prime Minister Vladimir Putin with South Korean President Lee Myung-bak, 2008 via Premier.gov.ru

Putin Initiatives in Asia

Vladimir Putin's return to the Russian presidency comes at a delicate time when North Korea's move toward a third nuclear test is alerting neighboring powers, with the U.S. and China engaged in an increasing military rivalry in the Pacific region.

Putin, who began his third presidential term Monday, may well expect this situation to give him more leeway in expanding Russia's strategic presence in Northeast Asia.

He had kept his grip on power while serving as prime minister during the past four years. But in his capacity as head of state again, Putin is expected to become more aggressive to reestablish Russia's status as a key regional player.

In the face of growing domestic discontent with his heavy-handed rule, a successful push to enhance Russia's international prestige would help shore up Putin's declining popularity at home.

Though arguably in a weaker position than when he first came to power more than 12 years ago, a mandate to govern for another six years gives him a stronger diplomatic hand than other regional leaders, who will step down or bid for reelection in the coming months.

Chinese President Hu Jintao is set to hand over the top leadership post to Vice President Xi Jinping during a party congress this fall and South Korean President Lee Myung-bak leaves office in early 2013, ending his single five-year term.

exchange of military equipment for debt relief. Russia has been careful, however, not to show a preference for Seoul over the leadership in Pyongyang. The Kremlin leadership wants to retain its role as possible negotiator between the two Koreas. This editorial accurately captures the deft foreign policy Kremlin officials are now constructing in the Far East. End FMSO Commentary (Kim)

Continued: Putin Initiatives in Asia

U.S. President Barack Obama is bidding to win reelection in November on records that are less than convincing to voters, while Japanese Prime Minister Yoshihiko Noda may also put his job at stake by calling snap elections, probably in August if parliament blocks the bill to hike the consumption tax.

Putin's relatively stable position will be conspicuous when he hosts other regional leaders at the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation summit in Vladivostok, a port city in the Russian Far East, in September. He will naturally make the best use of it as a valuable occasion to heighten Russia's stature as an Asian power.

When he first took the helm of Russia at the turn of the millennium, Putin sought a mediating role in settling tensions on the Korean Peninsula. He visited Pyongyang in July 2000 and traveled to Seoul in February 2001. He received then North Korean leader Kim Jong Il in Moscow in August 2001 before they met again in Vladivostok a year later.

Although the exchanges bore little fruit because of Pyongyang's provocative stance, Putin's attempt to mediate in the standoff with the isolated regime reflected his activeness in promoting Moscow's influence in areas of strategic importance during his first two presidential terms in 2000-08.

Now that he is back at the Kremlin, he will likely seek to reactivate Moscow's role in helping ease tensions on the peninsula and thus forge favorable conditions for projects involving Russia and the two Koreas.

Putin is thought to consider that focusing on trilateral schemes such as a natural gas pipeline passing through the three nations as a most effective way to strengthen Russia's strategic presence in Northeast Asia beyond the Korean Peninsula.

Under his rule, Russia is also expected to further enhance bilateral cooperation with South Korea, whose investment and technology are needed to carry out his plans to develop resources, build infrastructure and modernize industrial structure.

Putin's aggressive approach would certainly be something both policymakers and business leaders here should consider embracing in a corresponding manner.

Considering Russia's pragmatic intent in handling peninsular issues, South Korea might be placed to benefit from leaving the mediating role to Putin. In close step with Seoul, Moscow could be conducive to resolving the dispute with Pyongyang and encouraging the isolated regime toward reform and openness.

Broader ties with Russia might also help South Korea increase its leverage with China and supplement its reliance on the U.S.

South Korean businesses are advised to take a long-term approach to form a comprehensive partnership with Russia, instead of being preoccupied with energy and resources projects.

Under Putin's reign, Russia is expected to close ranks with China in confronting the U.S. in the Pacific region, as signaled by the first-ever joint drill by the navies of the two countries in the Yellow Sea last month.

Putin has made no secret of his view that China is less aggressive globally than the U.S.

Seoul officials, especially in the next administration, might find it more necessary -- and more difficult -- to walk a fine line between the U.S. and a China supported by Russia amid their escalating military rivalry.

FMSO Commentary: In the 1990s, during the conflicts in former Yugoslavia, Bosniaks and Muslims fled along the so-called “green transversal,” also known as the “green corridor” or “green belt.” Today some believe that this same corridor now serves as a terrorist conduit for smugglers, while others posit that the channel has less to do with terrorism than with creating fear of Islam.

The “green transversal” theory surfaced as a byproduct of the violence during the war, and the most basic explanation is that the corridor served as a conduit for Muslims and/or Bosniaks to escape from the violence. Due to repression, random raids of residences, murders and abductions by Serb paramilitary and military units, Muslims fled to Turkey by way of the transversal.¹ Jihad Watch director Robert Spencer explains that the corridor also served as a terrorist route whereby narcotics and weapons were smuggled.² However, others argue that there have been no traces of radicalization due to this route. Mattia Del Conero, for instance, explained in *Reset Dialogues on Civilization*, that Serbia’s government has exploited the widespread fear of radical Islam for propaganda purposes.³

The truth lies perhaps somewhere in the middle. As the excerpted article below points out, the radicalized Serb citizen who attacked the US embassy in Sarajevo in October 2011 is thought to have ties to Austria’s Wahhabi network, which allegedly finances and recruits disenfranchised youth from Southeastern Europe.⁴ This information coincides with an article published by Europe’s Crisis Group in 2005. According to the report, the Vienna branch receives funds from Saudi Arabia and, in turn, distributes finances to groups around Southeastern Europe.⁵ The

1. Berger, Stefan. *Bundesrepublik Jugoslawien – Situation der Minderheiten und intern Vertriebenen*. Schweizerische Flüchtlingshilfe. Bern, Schweiz: 2001.

2. New Kosovo Violence is Start of Predicted 2004 Wave of Islamist Operations: the Strategic Ramifications. Jihad Watch. Accessed May 15, 2012. <http://www.jihadwatch.org/2004/03/new-kosovo-violence-is-start-of-predicted-2004-wave-of-islamist-operations-the-strategic-ramification.html>

3. Mattia Del Conero. *The Islam of the Balkans, an unknown galaxy*. *Reset Dialogues on Civilizations*. Accessed May 15, 2012. <http://www.resetdoc.org/story/00000021731>

4. “Jašarević htio pomoći muslimanima”. *Sandžacke novine*. Accessed May 15, 2012. <http://www.sandzacke.rs/vijesti/region/jasarevic-pucnjavom-hteo-pomoci-muslimanima-ispalio-105-metaka/>

5. Serbia’s Sandžak Still Forgotten. *Crisis Group Europe*

Islamic Transversal in the Balkans?

Source: Violeta Nedeljkovic and Sladjana Vukasinovic, “There Are 5,000 Radical Islamists in Balkans,” *Belgrade Press*, 15 May 2012



“Jihadist Network in the Balkans” from the Italian geopolitical review *Limes* (October 2008) shows the western half of the Green Corridor (La dorsale verde [bold black line]) and key centers of Islamic activity [double circle], via *Limes Magazine* <http://temi.repubblica.it>

There Are 5,000 Radical Islamists in Balkans

Belgrade -- Serbia is at risk from more than 5,000 radical Islamists left behind in the Balkans after the recent wars in the region. Experts agree that the murder of five youths in Macedonia could set off Islamic extremists in the region, from whom Serbia would not be safe, either.

According to Press’s information, our security services have identified Al-Qa’ida and another 10 of the biggest terrorist organizations, which have remained on the territory of the southeastern Balkans after the bloody Balkan conflicts of the 1990s. Our source says that they are the grass roots of potential avengers for the killing of Al-Qa’ida leader Usama bin Ladin and of opponents of the involvement of military troops in Afghanistan.

Islamic Transversal

About 5,000 extremists have been registered in the Balkan region, who are prepared to die for their cause. Most of them are in Bosnia-Herzegovina (about 3,000); in Albania and Macedonia there are about 500 each and about

Helsinki Bulletin, however, pointed out that these radical movements attract individuals due to poverty and the lack of social prospects.⁶ Economic hardships remain at the root of many societal ills in the Balkan region.

The lack of opportunity, high unemployment, rising prices, late payment of salaries, and high level of corruption were also important factors in Serbia's recent elections.⁷ Demagogues of all political color protect, propagate and bolster their popularity by pointing out the government's insufficient care and attention. The economic distress also fuels the drug trade along the "green belt" by providing a source of income to people, particularly minorities such as Albanians and Bosniaks, who see themselves as living on the margins. As the article suggests, severe economic conditions may also help to boost the popularity of fringe politicians, such as Mufti Muamer Zukorlić, who tirelessly works on behalf of Bosniak minority rights in Sandžak.

*Questions about the validity of the "green transversal" and whether it poses a threat are perhaps the wrong ones. Instead, one ought to ask why severe economic problems have been allowed to fester underground since the war ended in the 1990s. One possible source of the growth of radical sentiments may be that citizens of these areas feel neglected by their governments. **End FMSO Commentary (King-Savic)***

Report N° 162, 8 April 2005.

6. Radical Groups in the Balkans: The Case of Wahhabi Jašarević. Helsinki Bulletin No. 84, 2011.

7. "Od dva zla birači u Srbiji izabrali manje". DW.DE. accessed May 14, 2012. <http://www.dw.de/dw/article/0,,15934022,00.html>

Continued: There Are 5,000 Radical Islamists in Balkans

another 100 each in the other countries of the region.

Political analyst Branko Radun tells Press that Serbia is seriously at risk from Islamic terrorism.

"The Islamic transversal is very much present in the Balkans, but very little is being said about this in our country. Islamist centers are to be found all over the region -- in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in Kosovo, in the Raska [Sandzak] District, and in Macedonia. These centers are breeding ground for a European Al-Qa'ida. It is the 11th hour for mobilizing all of the institutions in Serbia that deal with this problem to start cooperating among themselves. If we wait for something to happen before taking action, it will be too late," Radun warns.

He says that security in Serbia is at risk from groups that are close to the Wahhabi movement, Albanian nationalists, and criminal gangs in Kosovo, which hold a share of political power there.

"This is not to say that all members of the Wahhabi movement are aggressive extremists, but this is the pool from which most of them are recruited. Then there are the Albanian nationalists, who could trigger attacks in Serbia of the kind that happened in Macedonia. Third on the list are criminal groups in Kosovo, which have drug money and could support the above groups. What we have here is a collusion of different groups, lobbies, and interests."

Our interviewee is of the opinion that every locality and every facility in Serbia could be a potential terrorist target. "In this respect, the greatest risk is certainly to Belgrade and some places of national importance, as well as persons and facilities that are symbols of state," Radun says.

His opinion is shared by sociologist of religion Mirko Djordjevic, who adds, however, that it is necessary to differentiate clearly between Islam as a religion and Islamism.

"Islamism is a warrior ideology, which uses methods of terror. Not just Serbia and Macedonia, but all of the Balkans and some Arab countries, too, are potentially at risk from Islamism, which is everywhere turning into a warrior ideology. We have seen this in Sarajevo, the United States, Afghanistan, and so on. We are now seeing it in Macedonia, too, and it is not impossible that tomorrow we might see similar things also in Serbia, Croatia, or Slovenia," Djordjevic warns.

Our interviewee goes on to say that it is no secret that there are extremist groups operating in Serbia that are registered from Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and some other Arab countries through their head offices in Vienna.

"Any locality in Serbia could be a potential target, because these groups appear everywhere, especially at times of conflicting situations in society. We must not forget that Mevlid Jasarevic, who opened fire at the US Embassy [in Sarajevo], is a Serbian citizen. Belgrade's Muslims strongly condemn terrorism, but the question is whether these groups that embrace the Islamist ideology may not tomorrow appear also in Belgrade, Sabac, or Novi Pazar," Djordjevic says.

He further says that Macedonian Minister Gordana Jankulovska's statement that it is no wonder that Macedonia, which has troops serving with the NATO mission in Afghanistan, found itself targeted by Islamists, bears out those who ask whether our country, too, might not be put on their hit list if it became a member of NATO.

Continued: There Are 5,000 Radical Islamists in Balkans

Nobody Is Safe

“In my opinion, a precondition for resolving this problem lies in separating religion from state, politics, and ideology, as has been done in modern European countries,” Djordjevic says.

In the opinion of military commentator Miroslav Lazanski, the event in Macedonia was a direct consequence of Macedonian troops’ involvement in Afghanistan. “This reason does not apply in Serbia’s case where the threat from the operation of Radical Islamists is concerned, because Serbia does not have troops in military operations in Afghanistan. It turns out that the state leadership took the right decision, because there is practically no country whose troops were involved in military operations in Afghanistan that was not a target of terrorist attacks.”

Former diplomat Predrag Simic, too, believes that this operation is a warning that the Balkan region is becoming a high-risk area. “The Balkans is a gateway to the Near and Middle East, which is why one should be under no illusion that the other countries of the region are safe from the operation of extremist Islamist groups,” Simic insists.

[Box 2] Zukorlic’s War Zurl

Sociologist of religion Mirko Djordjevic perceives Mufti Muarem Zukorlic’s inflammatory rhetoric as a potential threat.

“He is blowing the war zurl [ethnic woodwind instrument, a reference to bugles of war] and could encourage so me people to create tension. We must not forget that alongside the Muslims, there are Serbs and members of other religious communities living in Sandzak, who account for 25 percent of the population. Zukorlic does not recognize the principle of a modern secular state where it is necessary to divorce religion and religious communities from the government and the centers of political power. He wants to be both a religious leader and a political leader,” Djordjevic argues.

In the opinion of Miroslav Lazanski, too, Mufti Zukorlic’s inflammatory religious-cum-political speeches might be exploited. “Religious leaders here are often also political leaders, which is why it is not a good idea to stoke tensions on this basis,” Lazanski says.

The Kazakhstan-Russia Axis: Shaping CSTO Transformation

By *Roger N. McDermott*

*Senior International Fellow,
Foreign Military Studies Office*

United Kingdom



“Viewed from Kazakhstan’s perspective, the need to transcend the symbolism of the CSTO’s collective defense theme and promote ways in which it might meet real transnational and emerging security challenges is both real and urgent..”

<http://FMSO.leavenworth.army.mil/International.html>

***FMSO Commentary:** The second Kazakhstan Defense Exposition, KADEX-2012, recently took place in the capital Astana on May 3-6. The first KADEX took place in 2010, with the hope that it would become a regular event. Kazakhstan in recent years has been trying to further develop its defense industry with various levels of success. Kazakhstan has been constructing patrol boats at a facility in the city of Oral (for use on the Caspian Sea) and recently completed construction of its first armed ship. Kazakhstan has also been working with Eurocopter for production on a number of light utility helicopters.*

The first few dozen photos are a typical demonstration of inventory and capability, including photo number 34 of the HMMWVs (Humvees) that the United States supplied to Kazakhstan through the Foreign Military Financing (FMF) program. Beyond the official program there are still questions as to what Kazakhstan plans to ultimately do if and when it develops its defense industry to a level that KADEX is suggesting.

There is still a lack of technology and production capability to compete on an international level. Kazakhstan continues to utilize weapons systems, aircraft, and small arms acquired from Russia, the United States, and even Turkey, as the photos show. For the moment, it appears that Kazakhstan is striving to develop this industry for its own defense. If Kazakhstan continues to develop this sector, it will be worth watching to see if it might lead to sales. End FMSO Commentary (Stein)

Kazakhstan's Defense Industry

Source: Okasov, Dania. "II международная выставка вооружения и военно-технического имущества "KADEX-2012" (II International Exhibition of Weapons and Military-Technical Equipment "KADEX-2012")," Tengri News, 3 May 2012.

<http://tengrinews.kz/fotoarchive/292#1>

3 May 2012



HMMWVs supplied to Kazakhstan by the U.S. used in KADEX-2012. Photo by Dania Ocasio via Tengrinews.kz (<http://tengrinews.kz/fotoarchive/292#34>)

II международная выставка вооружения и военно-технического имущества "KADEX-2012" (II International Exhibition of Weapons and Military-Technical Equipment "KADEX-2012")

The II International exhibition of arms and military equipment "KADEX-2012" held in Astana. This year's enrollment in its filed more than 250 companies from over 20 countries worldwide. Among the products provided by the current uniforms, guns and everything connected with the activities of the armed forces. A special place in the exhibition devoted to the heavy military vehicles and aircraft.

FMSO Commentary: While the government of Uzbekistan is rarely open and forthcoming about violent incidents that have taken place, enough information comes out through various sources so that it is difficult to completely cut off the country. The following article is an example of how this can happen. It reports on a recent exercise conducted by the Ministry for Emergency Situations (possibly a joint exercise with the Interior Ministry, due to the use of armored personnel carriers). It also contested an article (<http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=7356>) by another news source that had been written two days before and picked up (<http://uzbekistanerk.com/eng/?p=440>) by a government opposition website that reported the exercise as a revolt of prisoners at a train station.

Looking past the debate (for a moment) among the various sources on what exactly happened, there are a couple of things to consider. The government of Uzbekistan has always acknowledged the major incidents of violence or terrorist attacks that have taken place in the country: everything from the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) incursions in August 2000, through bombings in 2004 in Tashkent and Bukhara, to the Andijan incident in May 2005. The government's acknowledgement, be it an exercise or an actual incident, never included many details, and what information it did provide was less than clear about what happened. If there was a revolt at the train station, it is certainly possible that the government would remain silent about it. However, even Uznews, which is often critical of the government, believes that this was an exercise. **End FMSO Commentary (Stein)**

An Exercise in Uzbekistan?

3 April 2012



Source: “Теракт или учения в Узбекистане - всегда неясно (An Attack or Exercise in Uzbekistan – Always Unclear),” Uznews.net, 7 May 2012
http://www.uznews.net/news_single.php?lng=ru&sub=hot&id=30&nid=19714

Tashkent airport and railway platform locations, by Open Street Map [CC-BY-SA 3.0 (creativecommons.org/by/sa/3.0)] via <http://www.openstreetmap.org/>

Теракт или учения в Узбекистане - всегда неясно (An Attack or Exercise in Uzbekistan – Always Unclear)

Military exercises that took place last week near the airport in Tashkent, with a lot of armored vehicles and shooting, could have been organized better – by notifying the public.

What happened?...

Uznews correspondent visited the Yakkasaray District in Tashkent and talked with residents of the building located across the street from the train station and close to the airport. People reported that they were scared when on May 4 at the train station, military vehicles drove up and started shooting. However, according to eyewitnesses, there was no revolt of prisoners from a special train as was reported on May by Fergana (news site). According to (the eyewitnesses), this happened on Friday from about 11am to 1pm. They resented the fact that residents were not warned in advance and many of them became frightened when they heard explosions and shooting.

An employee of the railway, on condition of anonymity, also confirmed for the correspondent that it was a Ministry of Emergency Situations exercise (although it is unclear where the ministry got armored personnel carriers).

Who causes panic

It is worth noting that this kind of thing, done without any warning at the center of a city of two million (people), is not the first time in recent months. At the end of February in the Hamza district of Tashkent, commandos suddenly stormed an empty building of a

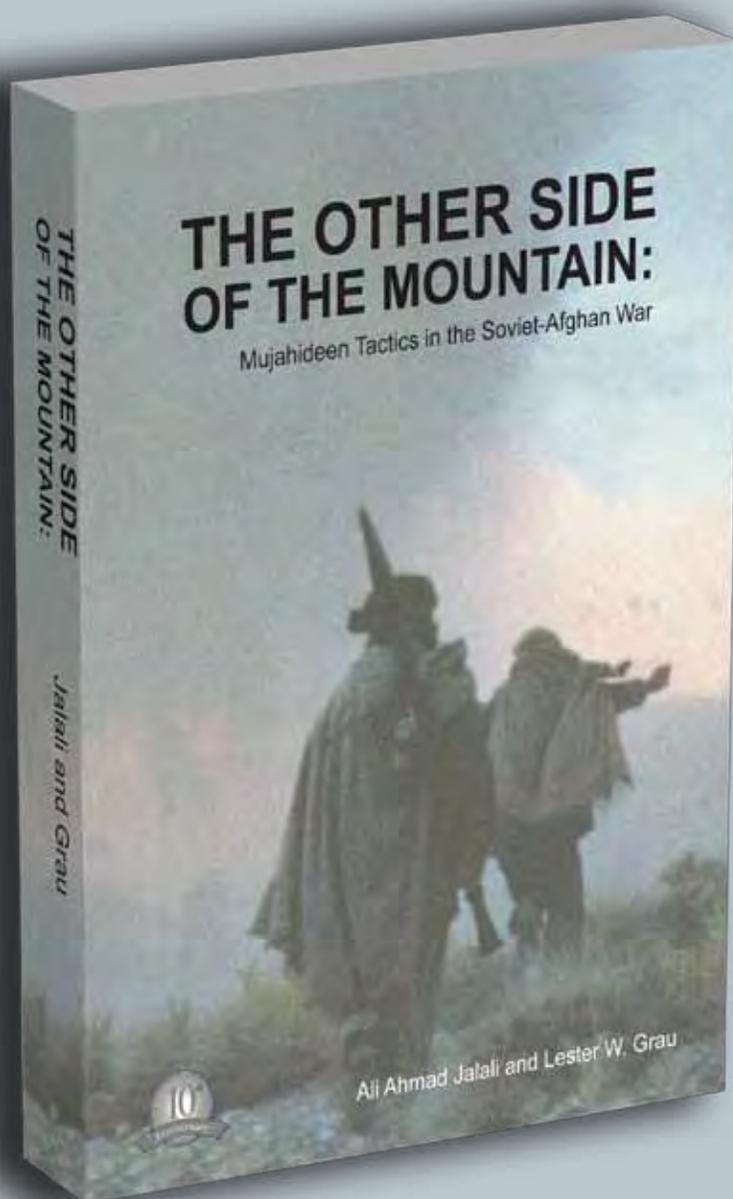
Continued: An Attack or Exercise in Uzbekistan – Always Unclear

kindergarten, shooting bursts of blank ammunition. It is obvious that the conduct of antiterrorist exercises of this kind in the city is, to put it mildly, strange. These techniques should be practiced on ranges (like Chirchik).

Lies as an immutable principle

The Uzbek authorities have lost the trust of the people, not only because of a lack of clear and accurate information, but because of lies from official sources. For example, in the spring of 2004, after eliminating extremists in Tashkent, the ministry issued a statement claiming that 20 suicide bombers blew themselves up. Soon it became known that most of them were killed in a firefight, but only two or three blew (themselves) up.

In May 2005, after the suppression of the rebellion in Andijan, Uzbekistan's Prosecutor General's Office reported that as a result of these events, 187 people died, although it is no secret that in reality there were many more victims.



Les Grau's classic *The Other Side of the Mountain*, is the most broadly distributed book on the Afghan theater. Capturing the personal stories and perspectives of Mujahedin fighters during the Soviet Afghan war, Les Grau has provided a blueprint of the belligerents in the current conflict.

It is on General Petraeus's reading list and in the rucksacks of deploying soldiers.

FMSO Commentary: Criticism from media in Kyrgyzstan of the United States military presence at the Manas Transit Center is nothing new. While this criticism has been around for awhile, it has stepped up in recent months with concerns that Manas will continue to exist beyond 2014 or that it could be used to launch an attack on Iran. The following article, however, is a somewhat different take on what the transit center means for Kyrgyzstan. It is also interesting to note that the author refers to the center as “Ganci,” which was the initial name for it before it was discovered that a U.S. facility overseas cannot be named for an American citizen.

Central Asian critics of Manas, who believe that the U.S. established the transit center with intentions to stay indefinitely, point to the security partnership of Russia and Kyrgyzstan as a reason that the U.S. presence is not needed in the region. The same concerns came up when U.S. forces operated out of Kharshi-Khanabad (K-2) in Uzbekistan, even though the U.S. withdrew all forces in 2005.

*Despite numerous other articles that criticize the U.S. transit center, this author warns of the potential loss of benefits and funding for Kyrgyzstan as a result of the reduction of the use of the center or its closing down. **End FMSO Commentary (Stein)***

Perception in Kyrgyzstan

22 March 2012

Source: Kudashev, Zhoomart. “«Ганси» переедет в Россию? (Is «Ganci» Moving to Russia?),” Asia News, 22 March 2012.

http://www.gezitter.org/amerikanskaja_aviabaza/9826_gansi_pereedet_v_rossiyu/

Kyrgyz military graduates of the George C. Marshall Center climb aboard a C-17 Globemaster III during an alumni event hosted by the U.S. Embassy Dec. 11. About 50 Kyrgyz members were given a Transit Center mission briefing and a tour of the installation. DoD photo by Staff Sgt. Bevier, via <http://www.dvidshub.net/image/349462>



«Ганси» переедет в Россию? (Is «Ganci» Moving to Russia?)

Even after the visit of U.S. Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta, the fate of the air base in the Manas airport has not been clarified. Our government continues to strongly argue that after 2014 there should not be a military base at Manas (!). It is unknown if the Americans will leave Manas in two years or “Ganci” will change only in name and status. This will have a lot to do with the position of Russia, and the agreements between Bishkek and Moscow. During the meeting between Leon Panetta and Busurmankul Tabaldiyev, it was stated that in 2014 the base in Manas will be closed. Foreign media began to speculate that if “Ganci” closes, then it will be possible to use the airport in Ulyanovsk.

Media have written that Moscow authorized NATO to transport equipment by rail through Russia for coalition forces in Afghanistan for three years. Now, this may result in the use of one of the Russian airports. Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov stated, “Use of our airport for NATO coincides with the interests of Russia, as this will help the withdrawal from Afghanistan in 2014.

Dmitry Rogozin, was cited saying “This commercial transit, Russia will receive money for this. If NATO toilet paper transits through Russia, it is not a betrayal of the motherland.” Russia is interested in closing the base in Manas is not because of strategic interests, but commercial. According to our information, the Americans paid \$60 million in rent for use of the airport Manas. If Manas is closed, and the Americans move to Ulyanovsk, the money will flow into the treasury of Russia.

High level officials often come to Kyrgyzstan. Mr. Panetta expressed his appreciation to our president “for the unwavering support of the transit center.” One reason is, apparently, the convenience and cheapness of our airport Manas.

FMSO Commentary: One hallmark of the USSR was state control over all aspects of the economy. When the Soviet Union collapsed there were various proposals as to how best privatize the economy. Key questions revolved around what property and functions belonged to the state and which were eligible for private ownership. To put it mildly, the division of formerly state-controlled assets has not been equitable, and the lines between private and public property are still being drawn. This is especially true in the realm of security.

Today in Russia there are literally hundreds of security-type agencies, some state-run (the military, FSB, MVD etc.), many private, and a number of hybrid versions. As in other countries, these semi-private security forces provide many advantages over the traditional governmental agencies. These private security companies do not wear state uniforms, nor do they officially represent the government. International regulations regarding these types of security forces are poorly defined and enforced, and, as private companies, they enjoy plausible deniability. Besides profits gained from the lucrative security business, these private militaries can act as a “not-so soft power tool” to advance a specific country’s interests.

*There has been speculation that with Putin’s return to the presidency, Russia is set to embark on a more robust foreign policy. Indeed, much of his election campaigning centered upon the need to restore Russia’s great-power status. The excerpted article below suggests that Russian privatized security companies might begin to play a greater role in this restoration, particularly in the foreign policy realm. **End FMSO Commentary (Finch)***

Russian Blackwater

19 April 2012

Source: “Do We Need Private Military Companies?”
Argumenty Nedeli Online, 19 April 2012.



Emblem for the national association of bodyguards Russia, via <http://nastural.ur.ru/>

Нужны ли нам частные военные компании? (Do We Need Private Military Companies?)

President-Elect V. Putin has spoken out in support of the idea to create a system of private military companies (ChVK) in Russia. They would provide services for guarding facilities and training foreign military abroad without the participation of the Russian state.

This statement has been viewed in various ways. Part of society sees in it a close possibility for forming “private armies for omnipotent Gazprom” and “punitive attachments for a civil war”. What are ChVK’s and why does Russia need them? How do they differ from the private security companies that we call ChOP’s [Private Security Enterprise]?

One should note that ChVK’s and ChOP’s as well as the security services (SB) of large corporations are related forms of business. They provide services in the field of the use of force. But a ChOP only guards someone’s property; an SB is essentially private counterintelligence and a company guard. The ChVK, which can do all of the same, differs in that it operates in zones of combat operations and in hot spots.

Types of ChVK’s

Contemporary ChPK’s are divided into several categories. There are military tactical services companies, and they provide support to clients during combat operations, including

Continued: Do We Need Private Military Companies?

direct participation in operations. They are essentially private military formations and, sometimes they are very large. There are those among them that are equipped with their own aviation, light armored vehicles, and artillery and have their own intelligence services.

Military consulting companies provide tactical and strategic planning, issue recommendations on reforming the armies of the states that hire them, and train officers and soldiers. These constitute those military advisors that are not listed as serving in any country. Such companies enjoy popularity, for example, in the United States. Washington does not want to besmirch itself by its involvement in the training of cutthroats sometimes called “freedom fighters”, sometimes “rebels”.

There are logistic, supply, and construction companies. They perform outsourcing in zones of combat operations in the sphere of troop supply. Finally, there are private security companies, essentially ChOP's, that function in zones of combat operations. Most companies are of this type. For example, in the United States they guard prisons, important facilities, banks, and supermarkets. Others watch the property of Western corporations in Iraq and Afghanistan and guard institutions and objects.

Heroes and Anti-Heroes of the Military Business

Among ChVK's are those both unknown by anyone and famous ones with the experience of having won military campaigns or operations. An example is the currently no-longer existing ChVK Executive Outcomes (EO) which was founded by former Republic of South Africa intelligence agents and assault troops. Its fighters helped their former opponents from the Angolan government after the withdrawal of our military and Cuban military in the struggle against UNITA detachments. UNITA, which was equipped and trained by the RSA and CIA, was defeated.

The Blackwater Company is known to everyone as a unique “symbol” of ChVK's thanks to its role in Iraq. It is now called Academi and has 20,000 employees. It has its own aviation, light armored vehicles, and the largest private military range in the world.

Several Russian ChVK's also worked in Iraq and are registered in other countries. It is about them that thanks to the combat experience of their employees and skill at using local features, they are able to work very effectively with small forces. For example, their employees knew where to hang portraits of Saddam and where of Ayatollah Khomeini on windshields while escorting convoys. As they say, if you want to live, don't make a show of yourself. There are also Russian employees in Western companies, although there are few of them -- many do not like working for Uncle Sam.

Why Do We Need ChVK's?

The reader asks -- OK, people are doing business in war, cutting budgets, and solving problems for various “natives who do not know how to fight”. What does this have to do with us? Russia has an army, the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], [FSB] Federal Security Service, and other organizations. The Americans will not let us into their markets anyway.

However, large Russian companies are evermore actively entering the international market. They operate in problem regions and need protection for their property and employees. Our troops are not in any kind of Nigeria; it is necessary to hire foreign ChVK's.

We also need ChVK's of another type, affiliated with state organizations and operating in the interests of the state without throwing a shadow on Russia directly. Sort of our own Blackwater. For example, our military advisors and technical specialists are now in Syria. They train local military in tactical methods and equipment handling, but do not participate in any combat operations. Nevertheless, there is plenty of speculation around them as well as around the Navy's base in Tartus.

If Russia had several large ChVK's, then they could theoretically be used for providing security for our citizens in Syria or for resolving other issues. They could work on contract with B. al-Asad's government. For example, they could share experience from fighting bandit formations in the Caucasus. There are plenty of veterans of Chechnya in civilian life who have not adjusted to peaceful life. There is no place for them in the Army, and they have no faith in working for a foreign American uncle. They could find other work, for example, in fighting piracy, consulting for various governmental organizations in friendly countries, training, etc.

And at the same time they could disregard from a high point of view accusations that Russian soldiers are fighting in Syria -- they are private-sector employees; they are paid money, and they have a legal contract. And generally, it is better to look after one's own. The modern world is tough, and politics in it, as in any other times, are not done in kid gloves. Russia is only accepting the established rules of the game. And since this instrument is used in the large, world game, Russia should have it, too.

FMSO Commentary: Depending on the source, the situation in Chechnya is either improving or growing progressively more repressive and dangerous. There is no question that over the past five years Chechen leader Ramzan Kadyrov has helped to bring a modicum of stability and prosperity to this war-torn region. Significant federal subsidies have helped to finance much of the reconstruction and development. Besides the billions of rubles into Chechnya, the price for this modest success, however, has been high. Kadyrov's clan (or teip) now reigns supreme, and the Kadyrovstsy (Kadyrov's personal fighting force) control all the key levers of power. There are increasing concerns that this Chechen leader may want to export his influence into other unstable regions of the North Caucasus.

A key component in Russia's counterinsurgency fight in Chechnya has been the concept of "Chechenization," or turning the struggle for stability over to a Kremlin-friendly Chechen. In exchange for political and economic support, Kadyrov has provided the Putin government with a strong ally in the volatile North Caucasus. While Kadyrov has been ever-ready to pledge his personal loyalty to President Putin, there are growing fears that the Chechen leader is less concerned with the Russian constitution. While formally still part of Russia, much of Chechnya is now subject to the whims of its leader rather than Russian law.

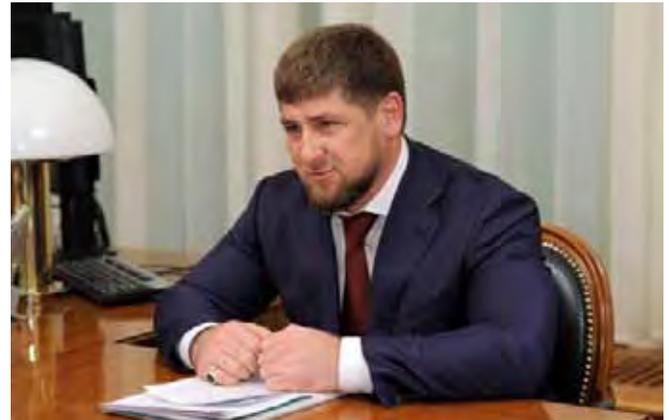
*Some of this legal transformation stems from the past 20 years. After nearly two decades of conflict many traumatized Chechens appear to prefer the arbitrary stability provided by Kadyrov to the chaos of war. Corruption within the Russian court system has not helped to convince Chechens to find justice within the Russian legal system. In the excerpted passage below the local (Kadyrov-sponsored) TV station describes how the Chechen leader uses his authority to tackle social ills within the region. This top-down, often dictatorial approach to governing this state within a state may provide for short-term stability; the long-term prognosis is less sanguine. **End FMSO Commentary (Finch)***

Chechen Stability

3 May 2012

Source: ChGTRK
Groznyy TV, 3 May
2012.

Chechen President
Ramzan Kadyrov. Photo by
Government.ru [CC-BY-3.0
(<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/>)], via
Wikimedia Commons



Chechen leader slams law-enforcement agencies for poor performance

Head of Chechnya Ramzan Kadyrov has criticized the work of law-enforcement agencies of the republic. He made the remarks at a meeting with heads of the law-enforcement agencies in Groznyy on 3 May, a recording of which was broadcast by the Chechen state-owned Groznyy TV channel.

Speaking at the meeting, Ramzan Kadyrov said: "I have gathered you to inform that your task is not only to pursue terrorists, but you also should work with teenagers and homeless and neglected children. We are doing poor work with them". "There are many children begging in the city [Groznyy]. If today we do not direct them to the right way, tomorrow they will do something worse," Kadyrov added.

He said: "There are over 200 homeless and neglected children registered in the republic. They commit robberies, frauds, cheating and everything. Tomorrow, when they become adults, there will be 200 robbers, if we let them to become adults this way. After that they will commit crimes and you will put them into prison". "The number of convicted people is increasing in the republic day by day. We should not be interested to have convictions. We should work to prevent it. In this case, all our people will be convicted and we will not have people to work," he added.

The fight against drug addiction and the trafficking in psychotropic substances was also discussed at the meeting.

Kadyrov said: "There should not be any mercy for people who are selling [psychotropic] tablets. These women, who are selling tablets, are spoiling our young people". "There are women from various villages and cities, may God curse them, who bring these tablets [to the republic]. Such women, who do not have any religion and honor, should be shown to the public. They make young people as robots who cannot understand anything. We should work on this issue day and night. Such women should be taken to public places and let people curse them and their husbands, who do not stop them," he added.

Speaking about the observance of discipline by the law-enforcers and the fight against violations of traffic rules, Kadyrov said: "Law-enforcement bodies who violate traffic rules should be dismissed".

***FMSO Commentary:** Where is Ukraine headed today? Many interpreted the election of Victor Yanukovich as president in 2010 as a sure sign that Ukraine was falling back under the sway of the Kremlin. This assessment was further strengthened when Dmytro Salamatin, a former Russian citizen, was appointed Ukrainian Defense Minister in February 2012. There is no question that the government in Kiev has become more Kremlin-friendly since 2010, and the appointment of Salamatin as chief of the Ukrainian military may be indicative of stronger Russian-Ukrainian military ties, especially with regard to arms exports.*

When the USSR collapsed Ukraine found itself in possession of much more military equipment than it could possibly field for its own defense forces. Not surprisingly, given these stockpiles and their domestic weapon factories, Ukraine has become one of the top dozen global arms exporters, particularly to countries in Africa. Whether Ukraine moved politically east or west had little impact on its desire (some would say essential need) to sell weapons. For instance, during the pro-Western regime of former president Victor Yushchenko (2005-2010), Ukraine was awarded a multibillion dollar contract to supply the new Iraqi army with major armored and aircraft systems. Weapon sales remain a key component to Ukraine's otherwise depressed economy. While exact figures are difficult to obtain, in 2011 Ukrainian arms manufacturers sold nearly \$500 million worth of weapons to countries as diverse as China, Greece, and India.

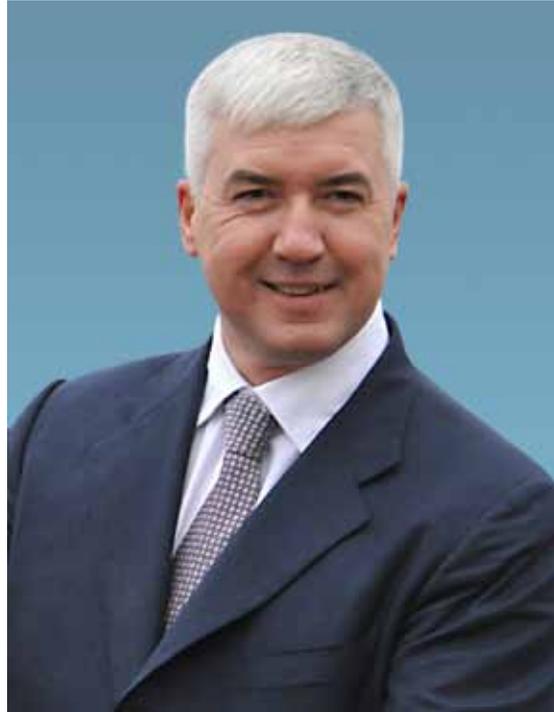
Salamatin's appointment as Defense Minister ought to be placed within the context of the desire of the Ukrainian government to generate greater revenues via arms sales. Prior to his appointment Salamatin served as the chief of Ukrainian's arms export business (Ukroboronprom State Concern), so he is well aware of the challenges and

Pro-Russian Defense Minister in Kiev?

21 February 2012

Source: Mikhail Simutov, "Interview with Retired Colonel Oleksandr Manachynskyy; Solomatin Must Show 'Teeth,'" Politkom.ru, 21 February 2012

Ukraine Defense Minister Dmytro Salamatin. Photo via <http://www.mil.gov.ua/>



Salamatin Must Show 'Teeth'

Last week, Viktor Yanukovich carried out a major reshuffle of personnel in the government and entourage. Specifically, the country gained a new defense minister - Dmytro Salamatin, a former Russian citizen and leader of the Ukrainian defense sector. Observers link his name with the Yanukovich "family," which has recently expanded its influence over the Ukrainian Government. Will the new minister be able to complete the military reform in Ukraine? What tasks has Yanukovich set him? Will the close cooperation with NATO continue? Retired Colonel Oleksandr Manachynskyy, a well-known Ukrainian military expert, answers these questions.

[Question] Will Dmytro Salamatin's appointment as Ukraine's defense minister really influence the process of reform of the Ukrainian Armed Forces?

[Answer] Broadly speaking, the reform of Ukraine's Armed Forces turned into a simple reduction of personnel and a banal sell-off of military hardware. For 20 years all that they did was sell and get nothing new. It is a different matter whether the new defense minister will resist the temptation of following the lead of the "fat cats" who, for example, dream of how to privatize the remaining infrastructure of Southern Command (just imagine for a moment - Odessa! There is scope to make money there). Or take the territory of the General Staff's Main Intelligence Directorate on Kiev's Rybalskoye Island where the "fat cats" are ready to create a commercial and entertainment center.

"Teeth" are needed here! Will the new Ukrainian defense minister be able to show them so as to defend the armed forces' interests? This is a major argument.

[Question] Will relations between Ukraine and NATO change after the appointment of

Continued: Salamatin Must Show 'Teeth'

opportunities in this market. Given his background, one might assume greater cooperation between defense officials in Kiev and Moscow, particularly in weapon production and sales.

*It remains uncertain, however, whether Salamatin can use his business organizational skills in reforming the debilitated Ukrainian military. As the brief interview below with a Ukrainian military expert makes clear, previous defense ministers in Ukraine have been able to reduce personnel and sell off military excess equipment and property, but have done little to actually construct a combat-ready military. Closer cooperation with Russian defense officials might help with both military reform and increased weapon sales. **End FMSO Commentary (Finch)***

the new head of the Defense Ministry and Viktor Yanukovich's planned adoption of the draft military doctrine?

[Answer] Nothing will change because no one has scrapped the Special Partnership Plan between Ukraine and NATO and this means that no one intends to repudiate it! NATO officials have long felt at ease in various Ukrainian structures including the Ukraine Defense Ministry.

[Question] Is it significant that prior to 1999 Dmytro Salamatin lived on Russian Federation territory and held Russian citizenship?

[Answer] The question remains open. How can you get citizenship after spending 12 years in Ukraine and even become defense minister? Phenomenal! But as the career people say, you have to look for "motive forces" here. After all, the new minister's service record is not sufficiently convincing for such an important state post.

[Question] In your view, how justified are the fears of a number of political and public figures who are concerned about possible links between the new Ukrainian defense minister and the Russian Armed Forces General Staff Main Intelligence Directorate?

[Answer] Of course, it is possible to shout out about the "enemy within" but this still does not make it a fact! We have plenty of "informers" of our own. Just look at how many NGOs there are in Ukraine where everything is "under close scrutiny." At the very least it is improper to talk about Dmytro Salamatin's links with the Main Intelligence Directorate. In the 20 years of our independence we have heard a lot of talk but the rumors have not been corroborated. We have plenty of people gifted at attaching labels!

[Question] As is well known, prior to his appointment as head of the Defense Ministry Dmytro Salamatin headed the Ukroboronprom State Concern. In your view, was this a determining factor in the choice of the new Ukraine defense minister?

[Answer] No, this is not the case. Eighteen months spent in a post is not an argument. Furthermore, the areas of work diverge quite considerably. "Ironware" is one thing, a highly complex military organism is quite another.

As we can see, the new Ukrainian defense minister has been hurled into a maelstrom of problems which needed to be resolved earlier. Whatever else he does, the defense minister must delve deeply into all the problems and resolve at least the immediate task set by the president, which means the organization of effective combat training. It all takes time and the minister has either little time or almost none! Hence the obvious question is whether new Ukrainian Defense Minister Dmytro Salamatin (incidentally, the 13th to date) will be able to ensure the functioning of the military structure actually using the real potential of a country held captive by the real potential threats of the past?

FMSO Commentary: *Some military theorists posit that air superiority has become the sine qua non for victory in modern warfare. They argue that offensive air assets are the most efficacious means in destroying command and control centers (and other vital resources), which lies at the heart of breaking the enemy's will. Military operations over the past couple of decades have helped to corroborate this theory.*

It is not surprising, then, that countries which lack an otherwise sophisticated military place great value on acquiring advanced air defense (AD) systems to deter this threat. Some have suggested that Syrian AD assets (supplied by Russia) have restrained a possible Western military intervention. Belarus could also fall into this category, as its military forces today could hardly be described as modernized. For the past decade Belarus has increasingly relied upon Russia to augment its AD capability. As the article below makes clear, the Lukashenka government plans to further align itself with Russian AD to protect the airspace over Belarus.

Russian motives behind helping to police the skies over Minsk are less than altruistic. Kremlin leaders are concerned with what they perceive to be the offensive capabilities of the US-NATO plans to create a European ballistic missile defense (BMD) system. Some of these Russian AD systems can purportedly engage incoming missiles, and could conceivably counter this new BMD "threat." There are other motives. Kremlin officials have no great love for the Lukashenka regime and are more concerned with engaging enemy aircraft before they reach Russian airspace. The notion of a buffer zone can still be found in Russian defense thinking: better to engage the enemy over the skies of Belarus than over Russia. Moreover, beefing up Belarusian air defenses with Russian technology might possibly give

Protecting the Skies over Minsk 25 April 2012

Source: Dennis Telmanov, "The Air Defenses of Russia and Belarus Will Acquire the S-400 and Digital Control: the Common Air-Defense Systems May Be Controlled both From Russia and From Belarus," Izvestiya Online, 25 April 2012



S-300PMU-2 vehicles. From left to right: 64N6E2 detection radar, 54K6E2 command post and 5P85 TEL. by Ajvol [Public Domain], via Wikimedia Commons

Russia, Belarus: Joint Digital Control of Air-Defense Systems

Russia and Belarus are before the end of the year to launch a digital system of control of the two countries' Integrated Air-Defense System. A high-ranking source in the General Staff told Izvestiya that both Russian and Belarusian military officers would have access to the system. The air-defense force will be equipped with S-300 systems and short- and intermediate-range air-defense systems and also electronic-intelligence resources (the Voronezh DM station, possibly).

"The force will be controlled under a single leadership in automated mode. This is now possible as a result of the significant work on the interfacing of the automation systems in service with the air-defense missile and radio-technical troops of the armed forces of both states and also the organization of close interaction," the General Staff representative explained.

He added that a decision to employ the air-defense assets will be made by the command post which first detects weapons of the enemy (primarily missiles). "There will be no time to coordinate actions," Izvestiya's source explained.

In Belarus there will be two such command posts, in Russia, several more. They will control all the air-defense forces and resources on the territory of Belarus and Russia's Western Military District. Sixteen S-400 battalions, at a minimum, are needed here, the General Staff calculates, to cover Russia against American cruise missiles from the west.

Izvestiya's source says that the architecture of the system of control of the air defenses of Russia and Belarus was developed in a research institute in Tver. The system itself is based

Continued: Joint Digital Control of Air-Defense Systems

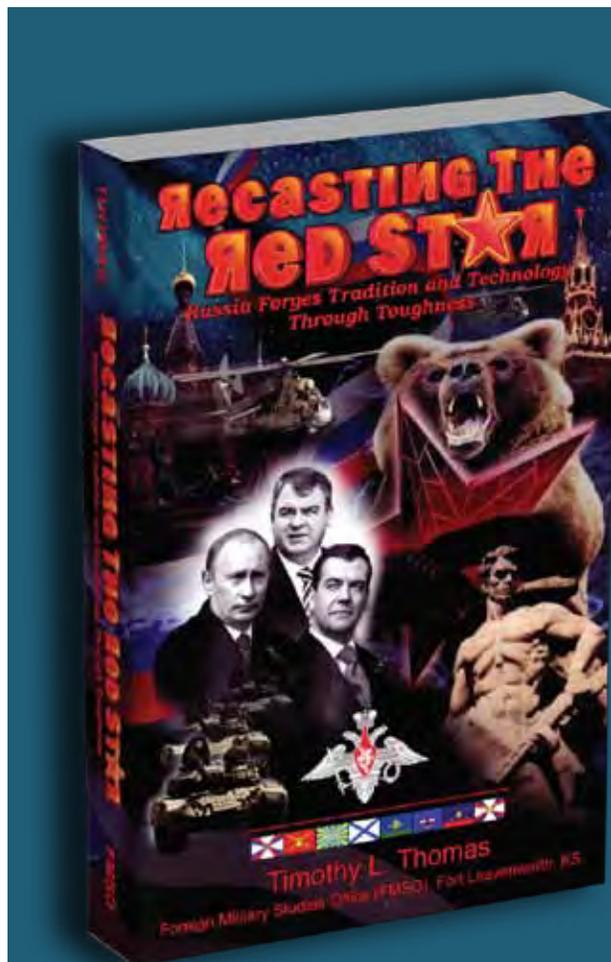
Moscow additional leverage over the sometimes recalcitrant Lukashenka. End FMSO Commentary (Finch)

on the private MSVS operating system adopted by the Russian Defense Ministry in 2002. This decision supports the interoperability of the system at the programming level.

Following a joint military board meeting in Minsk, Defense Minister Anatoliy Serdyukov promised last week that the air-defense equipment would be supplied on preferential terms. It was learned at that time that Belarus had begun to acquire new Tor-M2 air-defense missile systems. But, according to Izvestiya's information, no precise decisions were made at the board meeting, only framework accords.

"The integrated regional air-defense system of Russia and Belarus will be a most important component of the regional force grouping and also an integral part of the CIS United Air-Defense System. The system will make it possible to successfully tackle the joint protection of the states' western air borders and will ensure control of the procedure of use of the air space," a General Staff spokesman said.

The Integrated Regional Air-Defense System was formally approved in the course of activities of operational and combat training, at the Shchit Soyuz 2009 and Shchit Soyuz 2011 joint exercises of the armed forces of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation included, in the course of which Belarusian and Russian military units from the Integrated Regional Air-Defense System displayed a high level of interaction during the joint operations and also confirmed their readiness to effectively repel attacks from the air.



Tim Thomas's *Recasting the Red Star* describes Russia's culture of military thought through its modernization effort. Adding to his robust library of work on the subject, Tim Thomas illuminates Russia's Defense Ministry reform efforts, the Russian national security strategy take on the operational environment, and a relevant review of the Russian military doctrine.