

Foreign Military Studies Office

# OE WATCH

FOREIGN NEWS & PERSPECTIVES OF THE OPERATIONAL ENVIRONMENT



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# OE Watch

## Foreign News & Perspectives of the Operational Environment

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## Shifting Regional Dynamics between Turkey, Syrian Kurds and Jihadists

13 August 2013

*“Signs are increasing that Ankara is gradually... giving up its support for the radical Islamist group known as Jabhat al-Nusra, which it once promoted as the most effective force in Syria against President Bashar al-Assad.”*

**OE Watch Commentary:** Since 16 July the jihadist al Nusra Front has been attacking Kurdish-controlled areas in northern Syria. These attacks come at a time when the Kurds have started working on establishing their own administration in the region, which includes Syria's oil and gas resources. The al Qaeda-linked group is armed with sophisticated and heavy weapons, while Kurds have the support of their brethren in Iraq and Iran.<sup>1</sup>

The fighting is taking place along large parts of the Turkish-Syrian border. Turkey has historically viewed the Syrian Kurdish Democratic Union Party (PYD) -- which is fighting the al Nusra Front -- as an extension of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) and until recently vowed not to talk to them. They feared that an autonomous Kurdish region in northern Syria would potentially turn into another base for the PKK to launch attacks on Turkey. In contrast, Turkey allowed elements of the al Nusra Front to use the border areas as an operating base in fighting against regime forces. This policy had attracted much criticism from both domestic and international analysts alike. (See 'Terror Attacks and Turkey's Syria Policy' in the June 2013 issue of OE Watch).

The accompanying passages point out the dilemma that Turkey now finds itself in, with the start of fighting between al Nusra Front elements and the PYD, which it views as fighting between al Qaeda and the PKK. There are signs, however, that it is reconsidering its support for the al Nusra Front and establishing dialogue with the PYD. In what marked the first official talks between the PYD and Turkey, Salih Müslim, the leader of the PYD, visited



Kurdish fighters from the Popular Protection Units (YPG) pose for a picture in Aleppo's Sheikh Maqsood neighbourhood, June 7, 2013. (photo by REUTERS/Muzaffar Salman). Source: <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/security/2013/07/battle-oil-north-syria-kurds-jihadists.html>

**Source:** Murat Yetkin, "El Kaide-PKK savaşı Türk-Suriye sınırında (Al-Qaeda-PKK War on the Turkey-Syria Border)," Radikal.com.tr, 13 August 2013, <http://www.radikal.com.tr/radikal.aspx?atype=haberyazdir&articleid=1145873>

"Jabhat al-Nusra is the Syrian extension of al-Qaeda that has institutionalized terrorism internationally, while the PYD is the Syrian extension of the illegal PKK. In other words, al-Qaeda is fighting the PKK on the Turkish-Syrian border... It would be difficult for Turkish government to tell its public that it is now assisting the PYD, that is, the PKK. On the other hand, Ankara doesn't want the opposition forces in Syria to weaken."

**Source:** Rusen Çakır, "El Kaide kapıyı kaç kere çalar? (How many times does al Qaeda ring the doorbell?)," Rusencakir.com, 5 August 2013, <http://www.rusencakir.com/El-Kaide-kapiyi-kac-kere-calir/2075>

"With al Qaeda entering into fighting with the Kurds in the northern part [of Syria]... Ankara is now in a position of making a choice it doesn't want to make. Either it will keep its distance from the Kurds and risk the region's stability and its own peace process with its Kurds; or participate in the increasingly difficult task of getting al Qaeda out of Syria, which would make Turkey one of the targets of that international organization."

(continued)

## Continued: Shifting Regional Dynamics between Turkey, Syrian Kurds and Jihadists

*Turkey twice last month, asking the government to stop supporting the al Nusra Front, and reassuring Turkey that the PYD will not seek self-rule.<sup>2</sup> The final passage points out a shift in Turkey's policy and discusses signs that Turkey may be coming to terms with the reality of a Kurdish presence on its Syrian border.*  
**End OE Watch Commentary (Kaya)**

1. "Iran's Kurdish PJAK organization is prepared to send fighters to Syrian Kurdistan," Ekurd.net, 5 August 2013, <http://www.ekurd.net/mismas/articles/misc2013/8/irankurd955.htm>; "President Barzani Vows Help to Syrian Kurds Against Islamist Attacks," Rudaw.net, 1 August 2013, <http://rudaw.net/english/kurdistan/11082013>
2. "PYD Leader To Turkey: Stop Arms to Jabhat al-Nusra," Al Monitor.com, 4 August 2013, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/security/2013/08/turkey-still-allowing-weapons-to-jabhat-al-nusra.html#ixzz2c3CJU6mo>

**Source:** Sedat Ergin, "Suriye Kürtlerine El Kaide güvencesi (Reassurance to Syrian Kurds [regarding] al Qaeda)," Hurriyet.com, 31 July 2013, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/24426309.asp>

"As a result of [PYD leader Salih Müslim's] visit... It has become clear that the Kurds -- with or without Assad--will have a new status in the future of Syria. We do not know the exact coordinates of this area right now. But, the Kurds, who have managed to establish a constitutionally based autonomous region in Northern Iraq, should not be expected to settle for much less in Syria, in light of this reality. In any case, we can say that Ankara has come to a point of accepting that it will be living alongside a 'Kurdish presence' in a very long part of its border with Syria in the coming decades.... In this sense, Salih Müslim's trip to Turkey has been a positive step in starting a dialogue between Turkey and Syrian Kurds..."

**Source:** Semih Idiz, "Turkey Reconsiders Support for Jabhat Al-Nusra," Al Monitor, 13 August 2013, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/08/turkey-considers-support-for-al-nusra.html#ixzz2c3IH3Fy5>

"Signs are increasing that Ankara is gradually, albeit somewhat reluctantly, giving up its support for the radical Islamist group known as Jabhat al-Nusra, which it once promoted as the most effective force in Syria against President Bashar al-Assad."



## Turkey's Role in Afghanistan and Afghan Stabilization

By Karen Kaya

Turkey views its presence in Afghanistan not only as part of the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) mission, but also as a "brotherhood duty" to help the Afghan people restore peace. Turkey's views towards Afghanistan are also based on its own strategic interests: as long as Afghanistan is unstable, the whole region will be unstable, posing a security threat to Turkey. When Afghanistan becomes a secure and stable country, this will introduce wider stability in the region, bringing new economic benefits for the region in general and for Turkey in particular.

[http://usacac.army.mil/CAC2/MilitaryReview/Archives/English/MilitaryReview\\_20130831\\_art007.pdf](http://usacac.army.mil/CAC2/MilitaryReview/Archives/English/MilitaryReview_20130831_art007.pdf)



## Former Military Chief Sentenced to Life in Prison in Controversial Case

5 August 2013

*“As...Ergenekon expanded, another dimension became clear: one aimed at silencing government opposition groups, and cutting off their influence over the public.”*

**OE Watch Commentary:** On 5 August one of the most complicated legal cases in Turkish history came to a close. The case ended with heavy prison sentences for 254 individuals, including retired generals, journalists and university professors. One of the most notable outcomes was that former Chief of the Turkish General Staff (2008-2010) İlker Başbuğ received life imprisonment for allegedly conspiring to overthrow the government through a military coup and “establishing and leading an armed terrorist organization.”

The allegation was that the suspects -- many of them now convicts -- were part of a conspiratorial network and terrorist organization called Ergenekon and were planning to establish the pre-conditions in Turkey to conduct a military coup to overthrow the incumbent Islamist-rooted Justice and Development Party (AKP) government. To this end, they had allegedly planned to create instability through controversial crimes, including assassinations and attacks against Kurdish activists, liberals, and non-Muslim minorities, and plans to blow up mosques and murder Christians.

As the accompanying passages note, the Ergenekon case was promising when it first started in 2008. People hoped that this would finally shed light on many unresolved crimes and attacks that had taken place over the years and dismantle the “deep state.” However, those hopes were shattered as the arrests broadened to include political opponents of the government and journalists, while the case appeared to turn political. In addition, as the passages point out, there were significant procedural problems with the way the case was handled, ranging from forged digital evidence and lack of transparency to falsified documents.



İlker Başbuğ, former Chief of the Turkish General Staff (2008-2010).  
Source: [http://www.tsk.tr/1\\_tsk\\_hakkinda/1\\_2\\_genelkurmay\\_baskanlari/resimler/ilkerbasbug.jpg](http://www.tsk.tr/1_tsk_hakkinda/1_2_genelkurmay_baskanlari/resimler/ilkerbasbug.jpg)

**Source:** Soli Özel, “Kaçırılan fırsat (Missed opportunity),” Haberturk.com, 7 August 2013, <http://www.haberturk.com/yazarlar/soli-ozel/867060-kacirilan-firsat>

“When the Ergenekon case started, we lived in a Turkey that had started to open its politics to liberal values thanks to the European Union (EU) process... Civilianization was in full gear with the EU process and... an increasingly maturing public who was opposed to the military’s intervention in politics.

The Ergenekon case provided Turkey with the opportunity to finally transition from ‘the law of the supremes’ to the ‘supremacy of the law’. It finally provided the opportunity to go after the coup/coups attempts, unresolved murders caused by organizations that cast a dark shadow over Turkey for decades....

On the Republic’s 90th year, Turkey has demonstrated to the world that it is not capable of a trial in accordance with global legal norms, and that political actors have not transitioned from a revenge [mindset] to an understanding of justice based on law.”

**Source:** Sedat Ergin, “Ergenekon mahkumiyetlerine nasıl bakmalıyız? (How should we view the Ergenekon sentencings?)”, Hurriyet.com, 6 August 2013, [http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/24465834.asp?utm\\_source=hurriyet&utm\\_medium=yazarlar&utm\\_campaign=yazarsonyazi](http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/24465834.asp?utm_source=hurriyet&utm_medium=yazarlar&utm_campaign=yazarsonyazi)

“As the waves of Ergenekon expanded, another dimension became clear: one aimed at silencing government opposition groups, and cutting off their influence over the public. As new waves came, we saw an increase in judicial violations. There was no limit to these violations. Some of the suspects being investigated—despite not being accused—had their entire phone conversations added to the indictment and displayed for the entire public to see, an illegal procedure that can be found only in third world regimes.

Former Chief of the General Staff General İlker Başbuğ being accused of “managing a terror organization” in the Ergenekon case, dealt a heavy blow to the case’s plausibility.

No matter how legitimate the early period was, there are also plenty of reasons to believe that many of the accused were wronged....”

(continued)

## Continued: Former Military Chief Sentenced to Life in Prison in Controversial Case

*As the accompanying passages also note, some claim that the AKP government used the Ergenekon case as a witch hunt against its political opponents. Many are expressing disappointment at the Turkish judicial system, particularly regarding the sentencing of the respected former military chief. Numerous observers are lamenting that many innocents were sentenced along with the guilty.*

*The verdict is likely to serve as a deterrent to anyone who might contemplate a coup in the future. A long appeals process is expected to begin, one that will take the case to the High Court of Appeals, the Constitutional Court, and to the European Court of Human Rights. Regardless of what the outcome of those trials may be, the controversial case is another turning point in civil-military relations in Turkey. **End OE Watch Commentary (Kaya)***

*(See also 'Understanding Turkey's Historic Coup Trial' in the October 2012 issue of OE Watch.)*

**Source:** Cengiz Çandar, "Ergenekon doğruları, Ergenekon yanlışları (The rights and wrongs of Ergenekon)," Radikal.com, 7 August 2013, [http://www.radikal.com.tr/yazarlar/cengiz\\_candar/ergenekon\\_dogrulari\\_ergenekon\\_yanlislari-1145184](http://www.radikal.com.tr/yazarlar/cengiz_candar/ergenekon_dogrulari_ergenekon_yanlislari-1145184)

"I believe that the fact that there has not been one political murder (not even an attempt) in this country since 2007, that there has not been an 'initiative for a coup plot', has to do with the deterrent effect of the Ergenekon trial. ... In this sense, the Ergenekon verdicts are [like the] settlement of the 'deep state' and 'militarism.' In this sense, the Ergenekon verdicts are definitely 'historic'. But...during the Ergenekon trial, there were many instances where the right to defense was restricted. Procedural errors became impossible to count. Rights were violated left and right. This means that justice has been 'wounded' and you cannot convince anyone of the justice of decisions made by a court procedure that has such a wound. Many innocents got burned badly along with the guilty, and unfortunately this overshadowed the fact that some of the people got sentences they deserved.

On top of all this, nobody can convince me of the 'justice' of prosecuting and convicting the former Chief of the General Staff (Ret.) İlker Başbuğ... with a sentence of 'life in prison' for 'establishing and managing an armed terrorist organization' and 'attempting a military coup', a year and a half after leaving his duty."

**Source:** Mustafa Akyol, "The White, Black and Gray of the Ergenekon Trial," Almonitor.com, 7 August 2013, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/08/ergenekon-trial-secrecy-verdicts.html>

"The only Western journalist who read the whole Ergenekon indictment and wrote an analytical report<sup>1</sup> about it, Gareth Jenkins... pointed to the "the conspiratorial worldview on which the underlying premise of the case is based." Jenkins believed that most suspects were connected by ideology (an "ultranationalist" and even "racist" ideology) but not by a secret hierarchical organization called Ergenekon... He observed:

"Indeed, one of the most remarkable features of the Ergenekon investigation is the tenacity with which the investigating officers have clung to this belief [in an illegal organization] despite the absence of any proof of the existence of such a vast organization in the ever increasing volume of evidence they have collected. Instead of seeding doubts about its existence, the absence of any proof that Ergenekon exists appears merely to have reinforced their fear of its awesome power and capacity for secrecy."

That fervent belief in "secrecy," in my view, is the most important secret behind the excesses of the Ergenekon case — which I hope might be corrected at the Turkish Court of Appeals or the European Court of Human Rights."

1. Source: Gareth Jenkins, "Between Fact and Fantasy: Turkey's Ergenekon Investigation," Silkroadstudies.org, August 2009, <http://www.silkroadstudies.org/new/docs/silkroadpapers/0908Ergenekon.pdf>

*“A newspaper censoring its own ombudsman was unprecedented even in Turkey, whose press-freedom record deteriorates by the day.”*

**OE Watch Commentary:** While the problematic state of press freedom in Turkey is nothing new, the situation has worsened significantly in the last few years. Most recently, following the widespread protests that erupted in June 2013, it is becoming evident that many of the journalists who spoke up or wrote about the government’s responses are slowly either being fired or leaving their jobs.

As noted in the accompanying passages, Turkey ranks 154th (out of 179) in press freedom, behind countries like Iraq, Afghanistan and Russia. It is also the country with the highest number of journalists in prison.

One particularly stark case is that of respected journalist Yavuz Baydar, who was the ombudsman to the mass daily Sabah (Morning) newspaper. On 19 July Baydar published a piece in The New York Times in which he criticized the role of Turkey’s media conglomerates in subverting press freedom. Four days later he was fired for allegedly insulting his newspaper. Baydar had also been censored by Sabah for writing articles that criticized the government’s handling of the protests in Turkey. As one of the accompanying passages points out, a newspaper censoring its own ombudsman is unprecedented, even in Turkey.

As the first accompanying passage shows, The New York Times piece claimed that corrupt alliances between the government and media companies were obstructing true investigative journalism, because the media managers were becoming submissive to the will of politicians in an effort to win public-works contracts. Others have also argued that the private interests of businessmen and government shape news coverage of the Turkish media. Indeed, the Turkish media did not cover the initial stages of



Caption reads: “The photo of censorship” to show how CNN Turk did not cover the initial stages of the protests.  
Source: <http://www.odatv.com/n.php?n=iste-sansurun-fotografi-0206131200>

**Source:** “In Turkey, Media Bosses are Undermining Democracy,” The New York Times, 19 July 2013, [http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/21/opinion/sunday/in-turkey-media-bosses-are-undermining-democracy.html?pagewanted=all&\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/21/opinion/sunday/in-turkey-media-bosses-are-undermining-democracy.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0)

“Turkey’s mainstream media is owned by moguls who operate in other major sectors of the economy like telecommunications, banking and construction.

...Several of Turkey’s media moguls have been given extensive favors through public-works contracts, including huge urban construction projects in Istanbul.

...Editorial content is strictly controlled by media bosses who have other business interests and are submissive to the government. With, or more often without, any direct government intervention, they impose self-censorship on a daily basis and silence colleagues who defend basic journalistic ethics.”

(continued)

*the demonstrations out of reluctance to act against the prime minister. This led thousands of people to call for boycotts and stage sit-ins to protest the censorship by media bosses and their bias to justify government behavior.*

*Meanwhile, there are reports that a social media bill is on the way, following the widespread use of Facebook and twitter during the protests. International organizations such as Reporters Without Borders and the Committee to Protect Journalists point out that the problematic state of press freedom in Turkey includes arrests and prosecution of journalists, government interference in the media, harassment or firing of journalists, and vague antiterrorism laws, under which many journalists get charged. **End OE Watch Commentary (Kaya)***

*(Please also see Special Essay: "Turkey's Protests: Local Perspectives on their Causes and Implications" in the August 2013 issue of OE Watch.)*

**Source:** Orhan Kemal Cengiz, "AİHM ifade özgürlüğü için Türk Başbakan'ını sıkıştırıyor (European Court Presses Erdogan on Free Speech)," Al Monitor.com, 25 July 2013, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/tr/contents/articles/opinion/2013/07/eu-pressures-turkey-on-free-speech.html>

"...the Sabah newspaper censored the articles of its ombudsman Yavuz Baydar... in which he criticized his newspaper for ignoring the Gezi Park anti-government protests. A newspaper censoring its own ombudsman was unprecedented even in Turkey, whose press-freedom record deteriorates by the day. Having censored two of Baydar's articles, Sabah notified him formally on Tuesday, July 23, that he had been dismissed. The notification said that Baydar's criticism of the state of press freedom in Turkey in an article he wrote for The New York Times amounted to an insult to his newspaper."

**Source:** Selin Girit, "Türk medyasında neler oluyor? (What is going on in the Turkish media?)," Bbc in Turkish, 12 August 2013, [http://www.bbc.co.uk/turkce/haberler/2013/08/130809\\_turkiye\\_basin\\_ozgurlugu.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/turkce/haberler/2013/08/130809_turkiye_basin_ozgurlugu.shtml)

"According to Reporters Without Borders' free press index, Turkey ranks 154th, [out of 179] behind countries like Iraq, Afghanistan and Russia. Turkey is still the country that has the highest number of journalists detained... According to the Turkish Journalists' Union, there are 63 journalists in prison. Over 120 journalists are being tried without arrest. Most recently in the Ergenekon case, a total of 22 journalists received sentences ranging from six years to life imprisonment."



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

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.

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



*“The two official reports showed a difference of 700,000 unemployed.”*

**OE Watch Commentary:** *The Islamic Republic of Iran tolerates little media dissent, leading Reporters Without Borders to rank Iran 174th out of 179 countries in press freedom.<sup>1</sup> Yet, subtle criticism exists, especially among Iran’s financial reporters, who often highlight statistic anomalies in order to question the legitimacy of the government’s management. In the selection excerpted, the privately owned but semi-official Mehr News Agency highlights how two separate government agencies have compiled radically different unemployment statistics, which, together, show a margin of error of at least 20 percent. Mehr’s reporting appears specifically directed at mismanagement by former President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, who often played skittles with statistics in order to claim economic progress; this could portend a re-examination of his management, presaging criminal investigation.*

*That such basic economic indicators as unemployment can be the subject of such discrepancy places question marks over nearly all Iranian statistics, whether because the government does not have the ability to gather and compile such statistics with precision, or because the regime fakes data for political reasons. While ordinary Iranians do not need government statistics to understand trends in inflation and foreign exchange rates, the arbitrariness of government statistics should raise questions about government statistics in other fields, such as election participation rates, which regime officials often cite in order to prove popular legitimacy to the outside world. **End OE Watch Commentary (Rubin)***

1. “Press Freedom Index 2013,” Reporters Without Frontiers, <http://en.rsf.org/press-freedom-index-2013,1054.html>



Mahmoud Ahmadinejad

**Source:** “Natayij Dovamin Gozareh Bikari Dar Dawlat Dahom / Nagahan Ta’dad Bikaran 700,000 Nafar Afzayesh Yaft” (“Dueling Results for the Tenth Government’s Unemployment Report; Suddenly, an Additional 700,000 Unemployed Individuals Found,”) Mehr News Agency, 16 August 2013. <http://www.mehrnews.com/detail/News/2115842>

Recently the Statistics Agency and the Ministry of Labor released two different unemployment reports for the tenth government [2009-2013]. It is interesting and important to note that the first report from the Statistics Agency, there were 2.9 million unemployed for the year 1390 [2011-2012] while in the second report from the Labor Ministry showed 3.5 million unemployed for the same year. In other words, the two official reports showed a difference of 700,000 [sic].

*“The IRGC Navy will not give permission to the enemy to show themselves in the Persian Gulf region.”*

**OE Watch Commentary:** *Despite the election of a new president in Iran and his seemingly more moderate cabinet picks, the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) remains disproportionately powerful in directing Iranian policy. As such, Sepah News, an IRGC publication, provides an important indicator of Iranian behavior. Admiral Ali Reza Tangsiri’s speech to family members of those killed during the Iran-Iraq War suggests that the IRGC-Navy will, far from “depressurizing the Gulf,” instead grow increasingly confrontational toward the United States Navy as it patrols international waters in the Persian Gulf.*

*Growing IRGC naval aggressiveness in the Persian Gulf may rest on a number of foundations: the IRGC and, more broadly, the Iranian public consider the Persian Gulf to be part of Iran’s “near abroad,” an area in which Iranian forces have more legitimacy to operate than American forces. Throughout the region statesmen and older officers draw parallels between a “pivot to Asia” and British Prime Minister Harold Wilson’s “East of Suez” speech, which presaged the British Navy’s withdrawal from the Persian Gulf in 1971. Against such backdrop Iranian naval forces increasingly seek to display strength in order to convince littoral Arab states to make accommodation to Tehran.*

*Iranian naval bluster also increases tension, which, in turn, keeps the price of oil high. The IRGC benefits from high oil prices, both through its smuggling and sale of subsidized fuel and through its production in offshore oil and gas fields. As the new Iranian government seeks to address Iran’s growing economic woes, the inflated oil prices that result from Gulf tension also enable the regime to better make its payroll. Either way, Tangsiri’s speech suggests the Persian Gulf will remain a tinderbox for some time to come. **End OE Watch Commentary (Rubin)***

**Source:** “Niru-ye Darya-ye Sepah ba Aftedar Hafez Amniyat va Sabat-e Khalij-e Fars va Tangeh Hormuz Ast” (“The IRGC Navy Has the Authority to Protect the Security and Stability of the Persian Gulf and Strait of Hormuz,”) Sepah News, 19 August 2013. <http://www.sepahnews.com/shownews.aspx?ID=f1475f02-19fe-401c-a237-185f6bdc3b4f>

#### **The IRGC Navy Has the Authority to Protect the Security and Stability of the Persian Gulf and Strait of Hormuz**

“The Deputy Commander of the IRGC Navy said the IRGC Navy maintains stability and security in the Persian Gulf and Strait of Hormuz with strength and honor. According to the report of Sepah News, Rear Admiral Ali Reza Tangsiri, deputy commander of the IRGC Navy, said at a ceremony commemorating 56 precious martyrs from the eight-year sacred defense [the Iran-Iraq War], referring to the great and unmatched blessing of the Guardian of the Jurists [Supreme Leader] and the civilization and peace and security of the Islamic Republic, noted, incidents and other international events have provided a stamp of approval for the holy forces of the Islamic Republic and the value of the Guardian of the Jurists in Islamic Iran... Admiral Tangsiri, with reference to the role of the IRGC in the security of the Persian Gulf and the ability of the IRGC Navy to deal with maritime threats, addressed the people and the families of the martyrs, and said, “today, your children in the IRGC Navy, with dignity and authority protect and guarantee the security of the Persian Gulf region and the Strait of Hormuz, with trust in God and in light of their preparations will not give permission to the enemy to show themselves.”



Iranian Navy Seal

“... Ahmed al-Jarba said yesterday that the next weeks ‘will witness major advances for the opposition forces’...”

**OE Watch Commentary:** The big news coming from Syria on Eid al-Fitr (a holiday marking the end of Ramadan) was a claimed attack against Bashar al-Asad’s convoy as the embattled Syrian president made a trip to the mosque to perform Eid prayers. Footage of al-Asad at the mosque was later shown on Syrian state TV, somewhat undermining rebel claims of a direct hit.

Al-Asad was not the only Syrian political leader to pray in front of cameras on Eid al-Fitr. Ahmed al-Jarba, the new head of the opposition Syrian National Coalition (SNC), made a symbolic visit to Daraa Province (“the cradle of the revolution”) for video ops that included Eid prayers. SNC-friendly media highlighted the trip’s importance, as shown by the first accompanying article, taken from the daily, al-Quds al-Arabi, and based on reports by the German Press Agency, DPA. Regime-friendly media responded quickly with their own, more detailed account of al-Jarba’s trip. The second accompanying article, from the Arabic-language website of the Iranian news channel, al-Alam, and based on reports by the Syrian radio station, “Sham FM,” gives their account of the trip.

Mr. al-Jarba’s visit to Daraa may have been less grandiose than originally claimed. Still, he sounded optimistic speaking at an event in Jordan shortly after the visit. As detailed in the third accompanying article, taken from the Saudi daily, al-Hayat, al-Jarba made two important announcements after his visit to Daraa. The first is that Jordan may allow the SNC to open an office in Amman, something Jordanian authorities were – in typical fashion – quick to neither confirm nor deny. The second was an idea of forming a “Syrian National Army” that would begin with a 7000-strong nucleus. Free Syrian Army (FSA) leaders



Syrian opposition leader Ahmad Jarba.  
Source: <http://www.metronews.fr>

**Source:**

رئيس الائتلاف السوري أحمد الجربا يؤدي صلاة العيد في درعا  
“Syrian National Council President Ahmed al-Jarba Performs Eid Prayers in Daraa,” al-Quds al-Arabi, 8 August 2013. <http://www.alquds.co.uk/?p=71770>

**Article #1**

Syrian National Coalition President Ahmed al-Jarba performed Eid al-Fitr prayers in the city of Daraa in southern Syria on Thursday accompanied by various members of the coalition, after crossing the Jordanian border...

The entry of al-Jarba and various other members of the coalition to Daraa is considered a major challenge to the Syrian regime and a confirmation that the Free Syrian Army is able to reach all parts of the country, particularly given that some of its brigades targeted al-Asad’s convoy this morning in Damascus as he went to perform Eid prayers.

**Source:**

ما هي حقيقة دخول “الجربا” الى درعا لاقامة صلاة العيد  
“What is the Truth behind al-Jarba’s Entry to Daraa to Perform Eid Prayers?” al-Alam, 9 August 2013. <http://www.alalam.ir/news/1503586>

**Article #2**

A report by Sham FM radio, based on a source inside the city of Daraa, explained that Ahmed al-Jarba, head of the so-called “Syrian Coalition,” did not enter the city of Daraa. Rather, he snuck into the border town of Tel Shihab early Thursday morning, coming from the Jordanian village of al-Tabriyat across the border from Tel Shihab, accompanied by Jordanian intelligence.

The station said that al-Jarba entered rural Daraa province in a convoy of armored vehicles in order to perform Eid prayers for the Qatari station al-Jazeera’s cameras, under the protection of Jordanian intelligence and as part of the media wars being launched by al-Jazeera against Syria to make it seem as if Syria is ruled by two presidents...

(continued)

## Continued: Mr. al-Jarba goes to Daraa

*in Turkey were quick to explain that this second proposal was simply an attempt to unify all opposition fighters, rather than a Syrian version of Iraq's tribal "awakenings," as its critics contended.*

*The videos that emerged of al-Jarba's visit to Daraa show COL Ahmed al-Naama, the head of the FSA military council in Daraa, constantly at his side. As has been previously noted in these pages, a rift has recently emerged within Daraa's FSA, pitting al-Naama and his backers against an "on-the-ground" alliance led by LTC Yasser al-Abboud and Bashar al-Zoabi. The fourth accompanying article excerpts a harshly worded statement on al-Jarba's visit to Daraa that was shared on various Facebook pages and attributed to al-Abboud. **End OE Watch Commentary (Winter)***

### Source:

الجربا يتوقع «تقدماً كبيراً» للمعارضة خلال أسابيع  
 "Al-Jarba Expects 'Major Advances' for the Opposition over the Next Weeks," al-Hayat, 10 August 2013. <http://alhayat.com/Details/540536>

### Article #3

The head of the opposition Syrian National Coalition Ahmed al-Jarba said yesterday that the next weeks "will witness major advances for the opposition forces," noting that Jordan is currently discussing, in response to a request by the coalition, the opening of an opposition office in Amman...

It was noteworthy that Jordanian authorities unexpectedly allowed the Coalition's president to enter Syria through their territory on the morning of the first day of Eid... as it was also noteworthy that al-Jarba was accompanied on his visit to southern Syria by Ahmed al-Naama, the head of the Daraa Military Council, who receives major support from Jordan and the United States...

Al-Jarba said that a proposal is in place to "form the kernel of a national Syrian army in the north and south of the country as a first stage"...

### Source:

لاصحوات ياجربي  
 "No Awakenings, Mr. Jarba!" Posted (among others) on the "Daraa Province Media Office" Facebook Page, 11 August 2013. <https://www.facebook.com/Maktab.Daraa/posts/534117866655629>

### Article #4

The new masters snuck into Tel Shihab carrying a can of sardines and a project for Syrian "Awakenings" ... We in Hawran say to them: you have no legitimacy... you are not welcome in the "Cradle of the Revolution" and "Mother of Martyrs." Crawl back to your five star hotels and leave the trenches, graves and suffering of the revolution, by God you are not fit to represent even yourselves so how could you represent us? Your dubious projects are stillborn and will be buried with you...

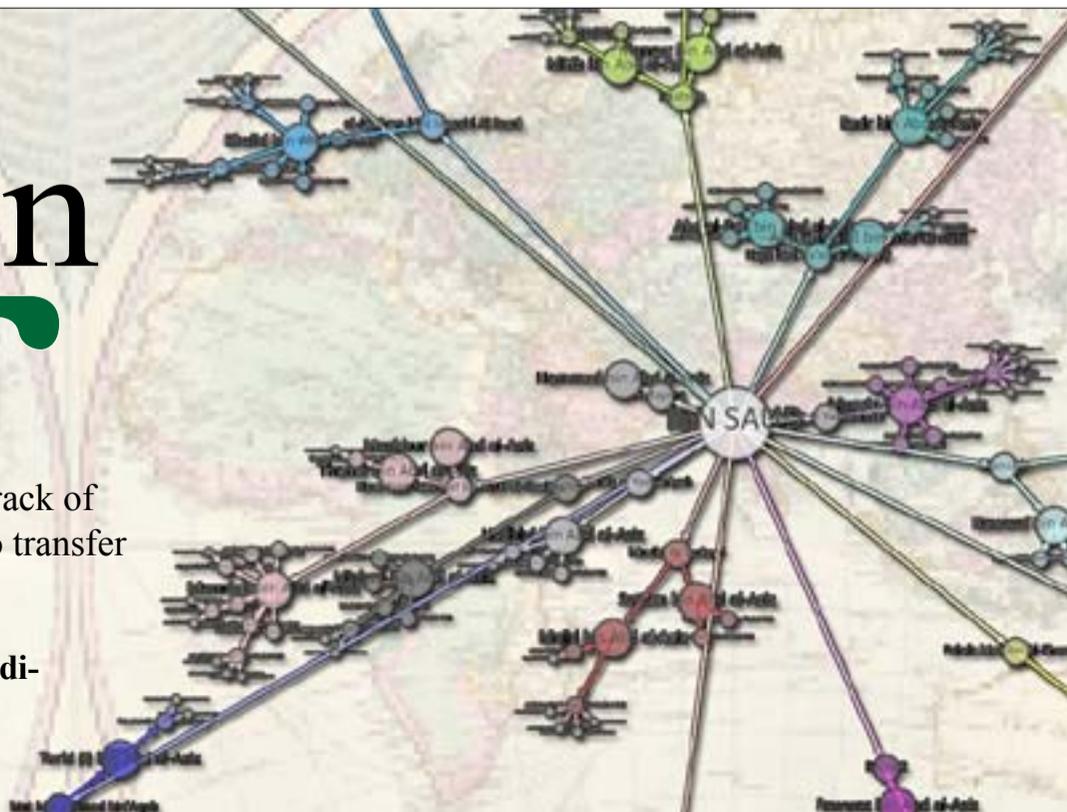
# Mapping Saudi Arabia's Succession

By LUCAS WINTER

Foreign Military Studies Office

This paper aims to serve as a guide for keeping track of the key players as the Saudi royal family seeks to transfer power to a new generation of princes.

<http://fmso.leavenworth.army.mil/documents/Saudi-Succession/Saudi-Succession.pdf>



## Africa Is Calling: Lower Cost Satellite Phones Could Be Both Boon and Hindrance for African Security

10 July 2013

*“This [lack of phone coverage in parts of Africa], says Rupert Pearce, CEO of Inmarsat, could change soon, as the price of sat-phones and satellite communication may be about to fall dramatically.”*

**OE Watch Commentary:** *When it comes to telecommunications infrastructure, Africa in some respects is ahead of the developed world by reason of what it mostly does not have... landlines. Whereas fixed phone lines are plentiful in much of the Western world, they are relatively scarce in Africa. That is because, for the most part, African nations skipped the tremendous initial and ongoing expenses associated with them and went directly to the next generation of communications... cellphones. Now satellites appear ready to help cover those areas of the continent where installation of the infrastructure necessary for cellphones is prohibitively expensive or impractical. The new satellites and their associated ground-based equipment appear poised to provide not just reasonably priced phone coverage – for the cost of satellite telecommunications has been dropping steadily – but also the capability to stream large amounts of data.*

*This rapid transformation of satellite telecommunications in Africa, as the accompanying article relates, has the potential to greatly benefit remotely located large corporations, as well as small businesses, make massive online open content courses (MOOCs) available to village schools, and perhaps even drive the telemedicine revolution not just by connecting relatively isolated hospitals, but perhaps “even by [connecting] individuals through mobile phones linked to a wifi hotspot.” No doubt creative entrepreneurs will find additional niches to take advantage of this latest technology.*

*The cost of satellite phones will probably need to drop further for much of the author’s vision to come true. However, as Rupert Pearce, CEO of Inmarsat,*



Cellphones continue to proliferate in Africa, but in areas where cell tower construction is too expensive or impractical, satellite phones might fill the gap. Source: <http://www.awebforeveryone.com/2012/04/30/rise-of-the-post-pc-age/>

**Source:** Richard Dowden, “Africa: A Big Bang and a Bright Idea As Satellite Coverage Strengthened Over Africa, African Arguments, 1 Aug 2013, <http://africanarguments.org/?s=satellite>

...Part of Ariane 5’s 9.6 tonne payload was Alphasat, a satellite built by Inmarsat – a company that provides ‘global voice, data and IP communications solutions’ – that could have a revolutionary impact on the availability of satellite communications services to African countries...

...Two and a half times more powerful than any of the previous Inmarsat satellites, it will come to rest 22,500 miles up, somewhere over the middle of Congo. So far the mission has gone well – something that is not taken for granted among its creators...

... Inmarsat continues to be at the heart of maritime and aviation safety systems whilst also growing into a global leader in mobile satellite broadband communications services. The company provides voice and data communications across the world – particularly in areas where terrestrial systems are non-existent or unreliable...

...This new satellite – Alphasat – will cover the whole of Africa, the oceans each side and most of southern Europe, the Middle East and West Asia...

...But looking at the back-lit digital wall map, it is clear that while in Afghanistan, Iraq and other stressed places, usage is very high, there are almost no calls or communications in vast swathes of Africa. And these are also the areas that are not economic for mobile phone

*(continued)*

## Continued: Africa Is Calling: Lower Cost Satellite Phones Could Be Both Boon and Hindrance for African Security

*which recently launched a satellite capable of providing coverage to the whole of Africa, stated, “The cost per bit is coming down enormously as we become more efficient and more effective with investment in new technology. Sat-phones that once cost \$2000 dollars now retail at \$500.”*

*Though the article does not discuss it, African militaries will likely also benefit from this “satellite telecommunications revolution,” if one can describe this event in such a manner. African troops in far-flung locations will now have two-way communications with their headquarters, including in some instances the ability to transmit and receive photos and maps, enabling significantly enhanced command and control of military operations.*

*Of course, African security forces will not be the only ones with weapons to benefit from the increased availability of satellite telecommunications. Terrorist groups in the past have used satellite phones to coordinate their activities. They have also used them to help finance their operations through hawala, an ancient method of fund transfers that relies on trust and is difficult to detect for a multitude of reasons, including a general lack of records and difficulty in discerning when it is being used for illicit activities, as opposed to its more common usage, where expats repatriate money to their families back home for food, clothing, and medicine.<sup>1</sup>*

*Thus, as with many technologies, Africa’s satellite telecommunications revolution will be used for both constructive and destructive purposes. It will be incumbent upon African nations, perhaps with some foreign assistance, to facilitate the former and impede the latter. **End OE Watch Commentary (Feldman)***

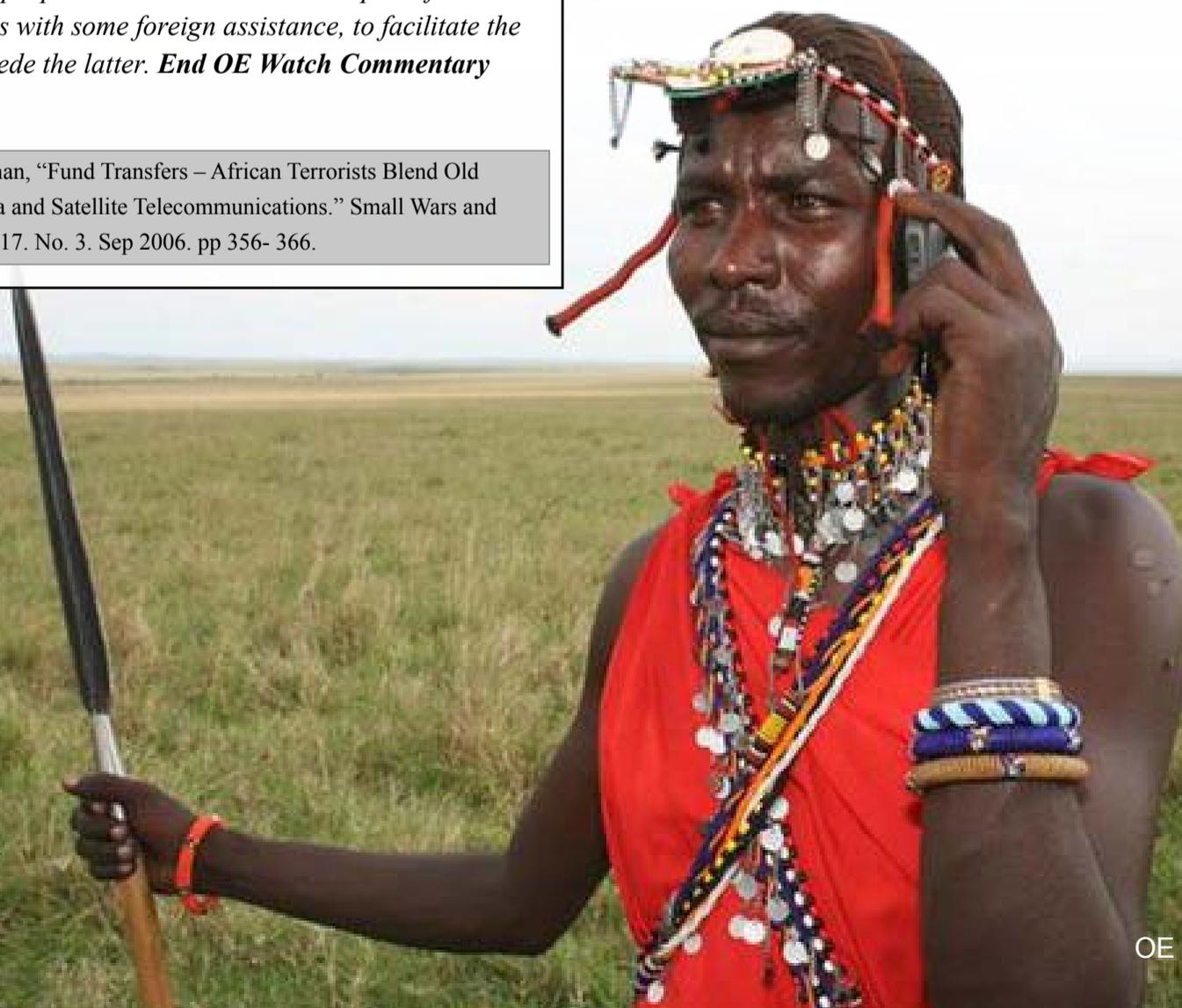
1. “Robert Feldman, “Fund Transfers – African Terrorists Blend Old and New: Hawala and Satellite Telecommunications.” *Small Wars and Insurgencies*. Vol 17. No. 3. Sep 2006. pp 356- 366.

companies to build transmitters in. Despite the explosion of mobile phone use across the continent in the last decade, these areas are not covered and satellite communications have been far too expensive...

This, says Rupert Pearce, CEO of Inmarsat, could change soon, as the price of sat-phones and satellite communication may be about to fall dramatically. “The cost per bit is coming down enormously as we become more efficient and more effective with investment in new technology. Sat-phones that once cost \$2000 dollars now retail at \$500.”

...The huge capacity and efficiency of Alphasat means that in the predictable quiet periods, airtime could be sold at a discount or subsidised for universities, schools and hospitals by the big corporate users...

...Africa has the world’s fastest growing numbers of mobile phones per capita. The bank on your phone and other major innovations in mobile telephony also started in Africa. With a relative lack of infrastructure and very few landlines, Africa has been able to jump a generation faster than most developed countries. Could this new satellite provide even cheaper telephone calls and especially broadband for all in Africa, even in the remotest places?...



## Driving Many African Protests: Waithood, a Rite of Passage Without the Passage

10 July 2013

*“...the recent protest movements, led mainly by young people, stem directly from the economic and social pressures they suffer, and from their pervasive political marginalization...”*

**OE Watch Commentary:** In 2007 Dianne Singerman, based on her studies of rising youth unemployment and delayed family formation in the Middle East, coined the word “waithood.” Alcinda Honwana, the author of the accompanying article, has applied the concept of waithood to present-day Africa, describing it as a “prolonged period of suspension when young people’s access to social adulthood is delayed or denied. While their chronological age may define them as adults, they have not been able to attain the social markers of adulthood: earning a living, being independent, establishing families, providing for their offspring and other relatives, and becoming taxpayers. They are consigned to a ... space in which they are neither dependent children nor autonomous adults.”

The reader is strongly encouraged to review the article in its entirety, which can be found by following the link in the source information below. The author’s insights help explain the situations in several African nations, where young adults find their paths to becoming productive members of society blocked and, in turn, often vent their frustration in protest movements, perhaps none so visible as the ones in Egypt.

Honwana makes several key observations regarding waithood, especially as it relates to the youth protests. At the risk of misinterpretation, the following are summaries of several of her salient points. To begin with, this period of stalemate, waithood, among the disenfranchised African youth is not viewed as capable of being solved through growth alone. The reason for this is the persistent inequity in income distribution in many countries. Accelerated growth in such economies would mainly benefit the wealthy. She also relates how the “dispersed and unstructured social and political acts” of marginalized youth have morphed into “more organized street protests.” Though she only briefly



Young adults feeling disenfranchised are often at the forefront of protests.  
Source: <http://www.theguardian.com/social-enterprise-network/2013/aug/16/social-enterprises-in-warzone>

**Source:** Alcinda Honwana, “Youth, Waithood, and Protest Movements in Africa,” African Arguments, 12 Aug 2013, <http://africanarguments.org/2013/08/12/youth-waithood-and-protest-movements-in-africa-by-alcinda-honwana/>

...Political instability, bad governance, and failed neo-liberal social and economic policies have exacerbated longstanding societal problems and diminished young people’s ability to support themselves and their families. Many are unable to attain the prerequisites of full adulthood and take their place as fully-fledged members of society. The recent wave of youth protests can best be understood in the context of this generation’s struggles for economic, social, and political emancipation...

... Youth transitions to adulthood have become so uncertain that a growing number of young men and women must improvise livelihoods and conduct their personal relations outside of dominant economic and familial frameworks...

...the recent protest movements, led mainly by young people, stem directly from the economic and social pressures they suffer, and from their pervasive political marginalization...

... while these social movements have been able to overthrow regimes, systemic transformation takes time and requires more than a mere change in leadership. Major challenges arise in the process of transition as a new political order is being established. Young activists appear to be struggling to translate the political grievances of the protest movement into a broader political agenda...

...Taking the perspective of the youth involved in these movements, I examine their sense of being ‘trapped’ in a prolonged state of youth, and their view that global and national political structures create serious obstacles to real change and new politics...

...The events in Tunisia in 2011 attracted international attention. Youth from diverse social strata articulated grievances ranging from unemployment, to corruption, to the denial of free expression. They not only mobilized other Tunisians to oust the regime of Ben Ali, but also inspired similar activism within the continent, in the Middle East, and more globally. However, after the ousting of the regime, formal party politics superseded the broad base

(continued)

## Continued: Driving Many African Protests: Waithood, a Rite of Passage Without the Passage

*mentions the use of communications technologies, they clearly appear to be a significant force driving this transformation. As an example, in 2010 young Mozambicans, protesting price increases in several key items, used text messaging to mobilize peers who, in turn “blocked the streets, burned tires, and confronted the police.” The Egyptian street protests of 2011, fueled, in part, by social media, are clearly another example where modern day communications played a role in mobilizing disgruntled youth.*

*Additionally, Honwana notes that while “some social movements have been able to overthrow regimes, systemic transformation takes time and requires more than a mere change in leadership.” Protesting youths seem to struggle to transform their agenda, which is often based on what they do not want - such as the present regime remaining in power - into broader political organizations and objectives. This commentator would point to how many young Egyptians helped overthrow Mubarak, but were then unable to capitalize on that event in the political arena, with the result the Muslim Brotherhood was able to come to power, implementing policies many Egyptian youths opposed.*

*Despite how it sounds, waithood is not a passive event. African youths, frequently plagued by unemployment even when college educated, are migrating to Europe and the U.S., expressing their frustration in art and music, protesting, becoming involved in criminal activities or finding other ways to survive and vent their anger against the many corrupt and/or incompetent regimes which impede their upward mobility. Unfortunately, in many countries obstacles to youth employment remain stubbornly in place, making waithood a rite of passage without the passage. **End OE Watch Commentary (Feldman)***

coalition of the street protests and marginalized young activists...

...What factors make waithood in Africa particularly depressing? Young Africans constitute a disenfranchised majority, largely excluded from major socioeconomic institutions and political processes. Whatever their class background, many youths cannot afford to form families and households and are unable to become fully independent and partake in the privileges and responsibilities of social adulthood...

...Liggey, which means work in Wolof, the national language of Senegal, is celebrated as an important marker of adulthood. The ability to work and provide for themselves and others defines a person’s self-worth and position in the family and in the community. Yet, the majority of young people in Senegal and elsewhere in Africa are unable to attain the sense of dignity embedded in the notion of liggey...

...Youth are especially vulnerable to the structural conditions that generate poverty and limit socioeconomic mobility. Declining opportunities in rural areas lead young men and women to migrate to the cities, where their chances of finding employment and stable livelihoods remain very slim. Although growing numbers of young people are completing secondary school and even attending university, the mismatch between educational systems and the labor markets leaves many unemployed or underemployed; they are pushed into the oversaturated informal economy or become informal workers in the formal sector...

...Recent accelerated growth rates in the continent bear considerable promise. However, growth alone, without equity, will not guarantee social inclusion and better lives for the majority of the population. Indeed, young people rebel against the widening gap between the rich and the poor, and the rampant corruption that they observe as elites enrich themselves at others’ expense...

## Médecins Sans Frontières Driven from Somalia by Violence: Loss of Medical Care Is Not the Only Implication

10 July 2013

*“TMSF’s departure shows that although the African Union Mission in Somalia and an independent Ethiopian force have driven Al-Shabaab out of the country’s main cities, the extremist group is still able to perpetrate wide-scale violence.”*

**OE Watch Commentary:** After over two decades of providing badly needed medical services to the people of Somalia, Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF, also known as Doctors Without Borders) is leaving that war-torn country, driven out by the increasing harassment, kidnappings, and murders of its staff. As the accompanying article states, “Many analysts believe MSF’s departure will be a huge blow to recent efforts to bring foreign aid and investment to the country.”

MSF’s departure, as well as that of several other nongovernmental organizations (NGO), is a reflection of the insecurity that continues to exist in Somalia despite the presence of a nascent Somali government and military and troops from other African nations, and progress made against the extremist group al-Shabaab. Indeed, it appears some Somali officials were complicit in the attacks, benefitting from ransom monies paid for kidnapped NGO workers. As Dr. Unni Karunakara, MSF’s international president, told reporters, “The final straw was the realization that authorities, armed actors and community leaders were actively supporting or tacitly approving the attacks, the abductions, the killings against our staff.”



Dr Unni Karunakara. Source: <http://www.msf.org/international-president>

**Source:** William Lloyd-George, “Somali Officials Back Terrorists Against Aid,” Inter Press Service, 16 Aug 2013, <http://www.ipsnews.net/2013/08/somali-officials-back-terrorists-against-aid/>

... Foreign aid workers are increasingly becoming targets of corrupt officials within the Somali government and the Islamist extremist group Al-Shabaab...

... “Kidnapping foreign aid workers has become a way to extract cash from NGOs. Al-Shabaab is mistrustful of the NGOs for fear of losing control in the way aid is administered and [mistakenly believes] that these relief agencies are spying on the terror group.”...

...MSF, which was one of the very few providers of essential healthcare in the Horn of Africa nation, has persevered to provide aid through a civil war, in-fighting among local clans, and piracy. But it will immediately stop all operations...



With foreign aid officials increasingly being targeted, Médecins Sans Frontières has announced its departure from war torn Somalia. Photo source: <http://www.ipsnews.net/2013/08/somali-officials-back-terrorists-against-aid/>

## Continued: Médecins Sans Frontières Driven from Somalia by Violence: Loss of Medical Care Is Not the Only Implication

*Violence was and continues to be not just directed against NGOs. "Several government institutions and airports have been attacked or bombed and government officials, district commissioners and civil servants have been assassinated. Recently, [al-Shabaab] attacked the Turkish embassy in Mogadishu on Jul. 27, killing three people. And on Jun. 17, the United Nations compound in the city was also attacked. Fifteen were killed in the attack."*

*The recent increase in violence in Somalia, a country already known for its instability and insecurity, appears to be due, in part, to al-Shabaab changing tactics, as well as in-fighting within the extremist group. Coupled with tribal militias trying to extend their power and a weak government unable to extend its power much beyond Mogadishu, the violence appears unlikely to diminish in the near term. As Somalia tries to change from a transitional government to a permanent one and to convince the world that the country has turned a corner after years of anarchy, famine, and what appeared to be perpetual human crises of enormous magnitude, the uptick in violence and the departure of MSF because of it call into question whether Somalia, despite progress in some areas, is truly ready to shed its failed state moniker. **End OE Watch Commentary (Feldman)***

...Karunakara explained that in some cases, the actors MSF had negotiated safe passage with had played a role in the abuse of MSF staff, either through direct involvement or tacit approval. "Because of their actions, hundreds of thousands of Somalis will now be effectively cut off from medical humanitarian aid," said Karunakara...

...In total, 16 MSF members have been killed, and MSF says they have experienced dozens of attacks on their staff, ambulances, and medical facilities since 1991...

... "The departure of MSF shows the incapacity of the new government to manage local security," Jabril Ibrahim Abdulle, head of the Centre for Research and Dialogue in Mogadishu, told IPS...

...MSF's departure shows that although the African Union Mission in Somalia and an independent Ethiopian force have driven Al-Shabaab out of the country's main cities, the extremist group is still able to perpetrate wide-scale violence...

...While violence is known to increase during Ramadan and abate afterwards, Abukar believes that it is unlikely to reduce "because of the new dynamics of Al-Shabaab factions that are killing each other for control of territories..."

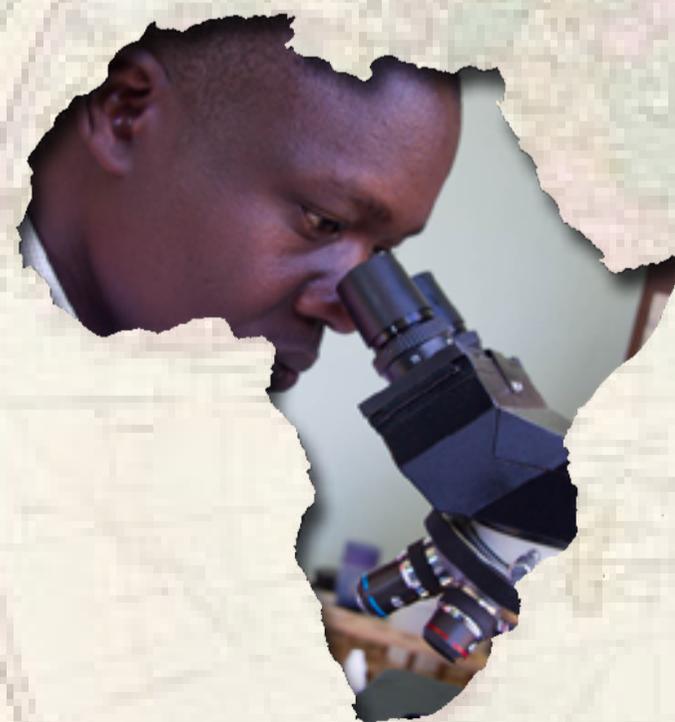
... "As the latest U.N. Monitoring Group report on Somalia has pointed out, the Somali government cannot control a territory without international support..."

## Africa's Brain Drain: Its Impacts on Security and Stability

By Lieutenant Colonel Robert Feldman, U.S. Army Reserve.

Africa is bleeding. Much of its lifeblood, composed of well-educated individuals who could help tackle its toughest problems, is flowing away. This hemorrhaging of engineers, doctors, teachers, nurses, businesspersons, scientists, and others with extensive training constitutes Africa's brain drain. This brief study examines the impact of this loss in the social, economic, political and security spheres.

<http://fms0.leavenworth.army.mil/documents/Africa's-Brain-Drain.pdf>



## Weak CAR Army Made Even Weaker with Incorporation of Seleka Insurgents

4 August 2013

*“With the takeover of the Seleka rebel coalition, the national army’s problems have gotten even worse. It is now bedridden, having contracted the ‘Selekmania’ disease.”*

**OE Watch Commentary:** *The Seleka insurgency that swept across the Central African Republic (CAR) in December 2012 can now claim a major victory: on 18 August 2013 its leader, Michel Djotodia, was officially inaugurated as the country’s newest president. Along with Seleka’s official takeover of the government, so too have members of the former rebel group found themselves incorporated into the national army apparatus, a reality that is creating numerous problems, as highlighted by the accompanying article.*

*Long ignored by the international community, CAR is garnering surprisingly little attention even in the midst of its all out collapse since the Seleka coup in January 2013. Under the leadership of deposed leader François Bozizé, the country languished in autocratic rule, with various rebel factions – many left over from former attempted coups – threatening his rule, especially in the so-called Central African Bush War of 2004. Though CAR’s national army – described in the article below as culpable of “bullying, harassment, and antisocial behavior” – was not a formidable force even before the takeover, it is now in deep disarray in the aftermath.*

*As the author details, the already dilapidated CAR military is now even more defunct than before as a result of having former rebels operating alongside the very forces that failed to repel them. Imperative, as the author argues, is that the country begin to undergo the process of disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR), yet again. Ironically, news headlines from the country in May 2012, for instance, heralded the fact that the DDR process from previous conflicts was “back on track” with former combatants. Less than a year later many of those who had “successfully” completed DDR are presumed to have been in the ranks of the Seleka coalition that overthrew the government.*

*In short, CAR’s long history of chronic instability is unlikely to change in the near future. To that end, the mishmash of former rebels now operating within the national military’s ranks will surely offer no help. End OE Watch Commentary (Warner)*

**Source:** “Obstacles to Restructuring the Central African Republic’s Army,” [Les obstacles à la restructuration de l’armée centrafricaine]. Le Confident (Bangui, CAR). 4 August 2013: [http://www.leconfident.net/LES-OBSTACLES-A-LA-RESTRUCTURATION-DE-L-ARMEE-CENTRAFRICAINE\\_a6175.html](http://www.leconfident.net/LES-OBSTACLES-A-LA-RESTRUCTURATION-DE-L-ARMEE-CENTRAFRICAINE_a6175.html)

### Article:

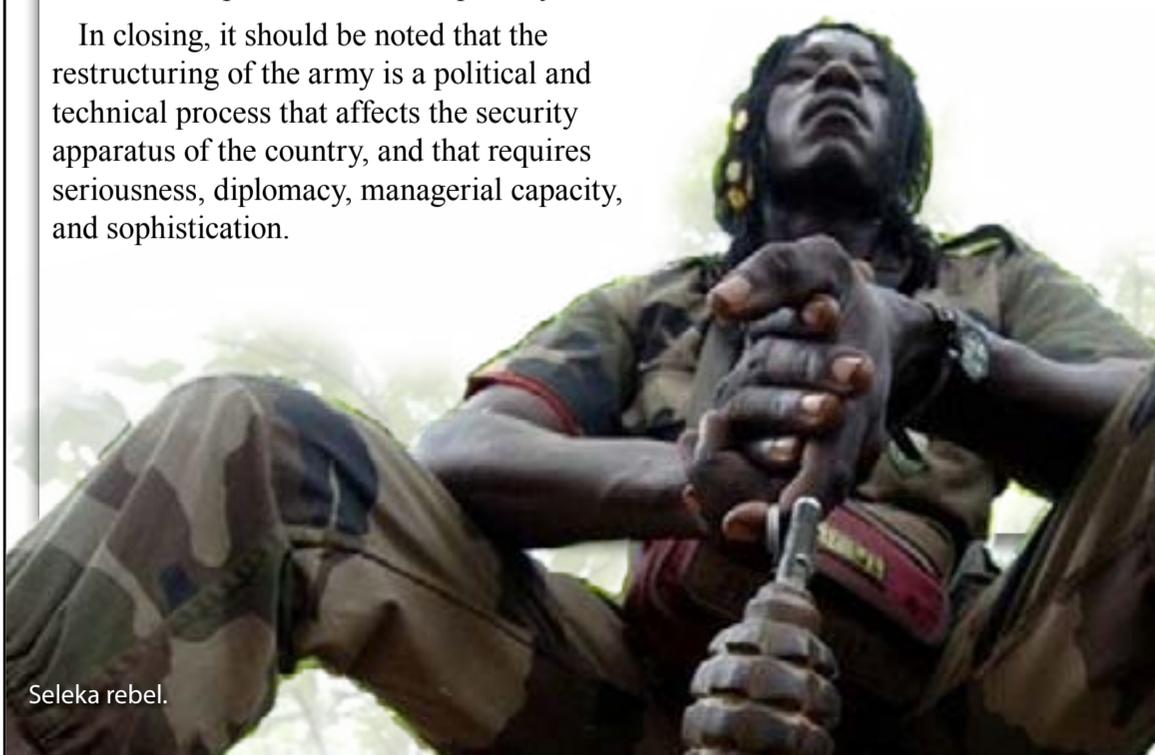
[The CAR’s army] commits bullying, harassment, and antisocial behavior; it engages in humiliating and degrading acts against our population, and makes people slaves in their own territory; it kills, pillages, rapes, and destroys the homes and property of the population with impunity; it indulges in heinous and criminal acts. The recruitment of its staff has always been done on a clan basis, and has been nepotistic and tribal. [The CAR] army is one that has also always suffered from the problem of training, logistics, and being under-staffed. It retreats with the advance of rebel factions. Measures need to be taken to rehabilitate this sick patient.

But with the takeover of the Seleka rebel coalition, the national army’s problems have gotten even worse. It is now bedridden, having contracted the “Selekmania” disease. The national army is now “a mixture of elements of the Seleka coalition combined with the regular national forces.” This is where the biggest obstacle lies: How can we restructure an army that is composed of both a mixture of unarmed elements of the Seleka coalition along with the regular forces of the CAR army?

After a politico-military crisis like the coup d’état that we just experienced, it is necessary for us to begin the process of disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of ex-combatants. It is in this process that some ex-combatants who meet the conditions can use their skills and return to the CAR army, and enroll in basic training. But the “mixture of elements from the Seleka coalition” that has already integrated the CAR army has not yet undergone DDR. This poses a real problem.

Indeed, no serious financial partner can agree to finance such restructuring, and the results will not be achieved. In order to overcome these obstacles, the Central Government should first proceed in the process of DDR by identifying some “genuine” elements [from the Seleka coalition], and incorporate them into the army under the auspices of a certain quota system.

In closing, it should be noted that the restructuring of the army is a political and technical process that affects the security apparatus of the country, and that requires seriousness, diplomacy, managerial capacity, and sophistication.



Seleka rebel.

## Former Nigerian Leader: Ignore Claims that Nigeria is on Brink of Disintegration

**OE Watch Commentary:** *The prospect of a Nigerian disintegration has been a touchy topic in the country since independence was achieved in 1960. Recently, Ibrahim Babangida, the military dictator of the country from 1985 to 1993, asserted that, contrary to what international observers and some Nigerians themselves have suggested, Nigeria is destined to stay in tact.*

*A colonially created hodgepodge of ethnicities and religions often in competition with one another for access to power, Nigeria has been a tenuously composed polity since its inception. Roughly speaking, Nigeria is divided into three general geographic areas: the north (Muslim, dominated by the Hausa and Fulani ethnic groups), the southwest (Christian, dominated by the Yoruba ethnic group), and the southeast (Christian, dominated by a variety of smaller ethnic groups, particularly the Igbo and Ijaw). In the middle of the three regions, in the center of the country, is the national capital Abuja, which is religiously and ethnically neutral.*

*History has shown that secessionist proclivities among the three regions run deep in Nigeria. One of the earliest and most notable attempts at Nigerian dissolution was the Biafran war for independence, waged in the country from 1967 to 1970. Though the separatist Biafran nation never came to fruition – having been suppressed by the national army and leading to an estimated 1 to 3 million deaths – contemporary groups such as MASSOB (Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra) continue to keep the hopes of an independent Biafran state alive.*

*Elsewhere, other threats to a Nigerian breakup are prevalent. Most notably, the northern region of Nigeria, currently under the control of the Islamist Boko Haram insurgency – most notably in Adamawa, Borno, and Yobe states – has been thought to be ripe for a split from the rest of the country. On one hand, Boko Haram's leadership would like to see the institution of sharia law there, which would be facilitated by secession. Conversely, some in southern Nigeria have noted that, given the chaos that the northern regions under Boko Haram's rule have caused, they too would be glad to see the split occur. This is all without mentioning the potential for a split by states in the oil-rich southeastern Niger Delta, which was the country's prime source of insecurity until the emergence of Boko Haram in approximately 2009.*

*Given these tendencies, the international community and Nigerians themselves have long speculated that a Nigerian disintegration into smaller states could occur. Yet, if we are to take heed of Babangida's words, such a breakup is unlikely in the near future. **End OE Watch Commentary (Warner)***

*“Nigeria cannot disintegrate in 2015 as being predicted by some Nigerians and foreign countries.”*



Former Military President,  
Gen. Ibrahim Babangida (IBB)

2011

1993

**Source:** “Nigeria: Nation Cannot Disintegrate – IBB,” Vanguard (Lagos, Nigeria), 17 August 2013: [http://allafrica.com/stories/201308180100.html?aa\\_source=acrdn-f0](http://allafrica.com/stories/201308180100.html?aa_source=acrdn-f0)

### Article:

Former Military President, Gen. Ibrahim Babangida (IBB) has allayed the fears of Nigerians on the 2015 general elections saying, “Nigeria cannot disintegrate in 2015 as being predicted by some Nigerians and foreign countries.”

Answering questions from Journalists in his uphill residence in Minna yesterday, as part of activities to mark his 72nd birthday, the former president said the prediction can never come to pass, saying the country instead will continue to wax stronger and stronger even beyond 2015.

According to him, “people say all sorts of things to instill fear in people. If you believe that majority of people in this country also believe in the unity of this country, why do you worry about somebody up there saying it will disintegrate? I know it wouldn't. The press should not also give such utterances prominence,” IBB declared.

Gen. Babangida described Nigeria as one of the most amazing countries in the world, pointing out that what is written and read about the country especially when one is outside the country is scary but one comes back to see people going about their normal business happily.

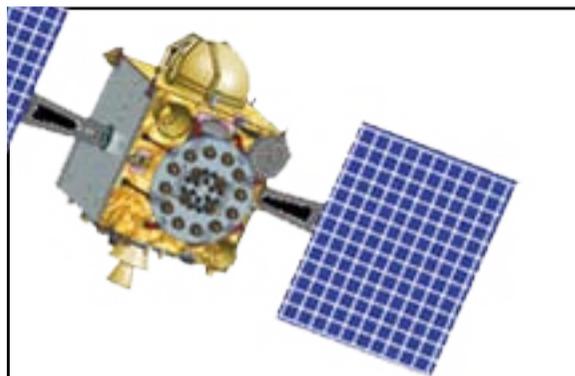
“One of the most amazing countries in the world is Nigeria. If you live outside it and you read and hear about it, you'd think the world is coming to an end only to come back and find people happy, laughing and attending football matches. That's Nigeria for you,” the former President remarked.

He described those making such predictions as prophets of doom who are just crying wolf just and called on all Nigerians to see themselves as leaders in their own rights and therefore work towards what will hold the country together and not what will divide it.

## India Launches First Navigation Satellite

1 July 2013

*“Most countries build their own navigation systems because global systems like GPS owned by a single country cannot be relied upon in times of war and conflict.”*



**OE Watch Commentary:** As discussed in the first excerpted article, India has become the latest country to begin deploying its own navigation satellite system (NSS) constellation. Countries such as India are seeking independence from the global positioning system (GPS) for multiple reasons. Having a domestic system fosters sovereignty by reducing reliance upon foreign technology. A domestically owned NSS facilitates indigenous development of precision munitions and other NSS-related technologies while advancing domestic technology industry. Moreover, by stationing satellites in geostationary and geosynchronous orbits focused exclusively in and around the Indian sub-continent region, India is able to provide competitively precise positioning information and increase regional influence.

Perhaps more importantly, as the excerpts from articles two and three clearly state, there is a perception that potential combatants have or will develop capability and willingness to conduct anti-satellite (ASAT) operations to disrupt or degrade the GPS in a future conflict. This is despite the GPS constellation



IRNSS-1A Satellite undergoing test in clean room. Source: <http://www.isro.org/pslv-c22/Imagegallery/satellite.aspx#4>

**Source:** Brigadier Rajat Jairath, “Space: The Indian Odyssey,” *Air Power*, Vol. 8 No. 2, April – June 2013, pp. 141-159 <http://www.aerospaceindia.org/New%20Journal%20Summer%202013.htm>

### Article 1:

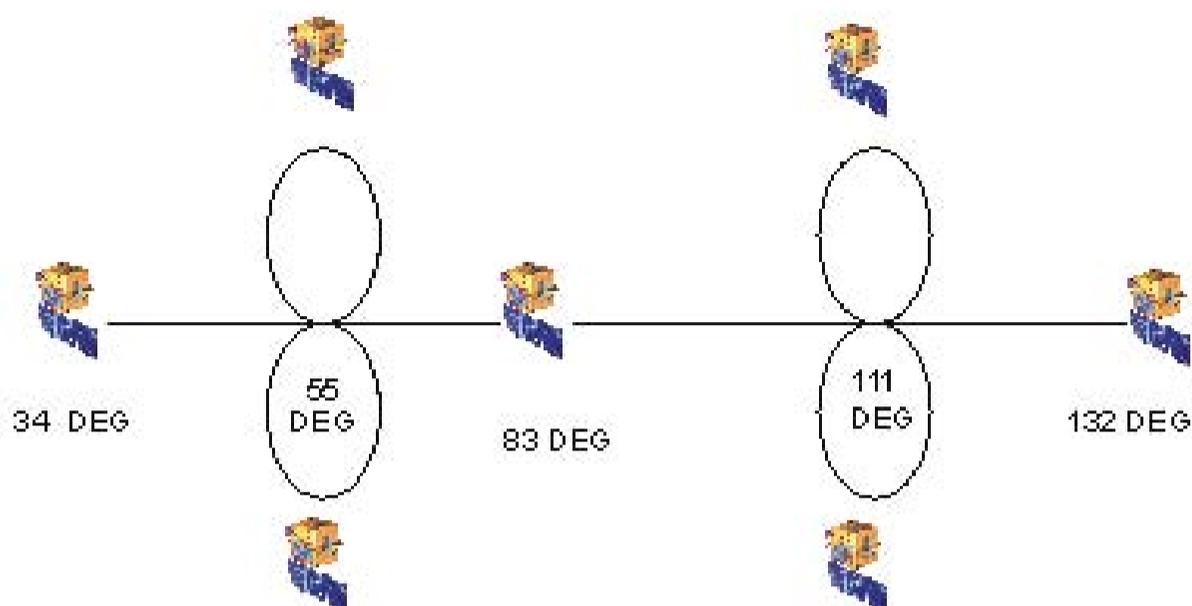
In yet another giant leap towards self-reliance, the Indian Regional Navigational Satellite System (IRNSS) is being fielded by ISRO [Indian Space Research Organisation]. Approved in 2006, the project envisages a constellation of seven navigation satellites, three in geo-stationary and four in geo-synchronous orbits, providing 10 m accuracy over the mainland. ... The project includes complete indigenous content in the space and ground segments as well as in the end-user

Sketch of IRNSS-1A (Top left). Source: [http://www.isro.org/satellites/images/irnss-1a\\_img.jpg](http://www.isro.org/satellites/images/irnss-1a_img.jpg)

(continued)

## Continued: India Launches First Navigation Satellite

*location in mid-Earth orbit; the only kinetic ASAT operations targeting space components of satellite systems publicized to date have been against low-Earth orbit satellites. Ironically, continued development of alternatives to GPS actually decreases constraints against targeting the GPS by reducing international dependence upon it. Thus, creation of alternatives to the GPS in fear of ASAT attack could be a self-fulfilling prophecy. End OE Watch Commentary (Freese)*



Planned locations of IRNSS constellation.

Source: <http://www.isro.org/newsletters/contents/spaceindia/apr2006sep2006/images/chart.png>

**Source:** Ishan Srivastava, "Satellite Launch to Put First Piece of India's Own GPS in Orbit Today," The Times of India, 01 July 2013, [http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2013-07-01/india/40306552\\_1\\_irnss-1a-pslv-c22-beidou](http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2013-07-01/india/40306552_1_irnss-1a-pslv-c22-beidou)

### Article 2:

When PSLV-C22 lifts off with IRNSS-1A satellite in tow from Sriharikota on Monday, it will mark India's first step towards building its own satellite navigation system. Named IRNSS for Indian Regional Navigation Satellite System, it ... will provide an alternative to systems like the GPS (global positioning system) owned by the US, for navigation in and around India. Most countries build their own navigation systems because global systems like GPS owned by a single country cannot be relied upon in times of war and conflict. This system will ensure India has access to navigation systems in hostile situations.

**Source:** K. Radhakrishnan, "On Record: Dr K. Radhakrishnan Talks to Raj Chengappa; after the Moon, It is Mission Mars," The Tribune, 18 August 2013, <http://www.tribuneindia.com/2013/20130818/people.htm>

### Article 3:

The Russians and the Americans have their own GPS systems. The Europeans, Chinese and Japanese are also in the process of building their own GPS systems. Now India is building its own regional navigational system .... It will have a constellation of seven satellites at 36,000 km altitude, which when set up will give us the assured availability of signals even during hostile conditions. The first satellite of the series, IRNSS-1A, went up last month and the entire constellation would be up and ready in 2014.

*“...The exercise has provided the ideal opportunity to learn from each other’s experiences and best practices, particularly in the field of HADR and military medicine,”*

**OE Watch Commentary:** *When it comes to the nations surrounding the South China Sea, a popular meme in Western media reporting is the clash of words and presence of naval forces, burgeoning on open armed conflict. A more under-reported trend is that of multinational cooperation in that region regarding disaster management and maritime security. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has taken the lead on regional multisector collaboration and is building on its long legacy of peaceful dispute resolution among its members. The most recent example of this is the Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Response and Military Medicine Exercise (HADR & MM EX). This event involved all ten ASEAN countries, along with ASEAN’s eight partner dialogue nations: Australia, China, India, Japan, New Zealand, Russia, South Korea, and the United States.<sup>1</sup>*

*More than just a command post exercise with observers, this event brought together significant assets from the participating countries and provided opportunity for combined training. The articles included here from the Ministry of Defence Brunei Darussalam provide details on the Brunei government’s desire for regional peace and cooperation. In this online news source it is reported how the meeting of the ASEAN defense ministers was held in conjunction with the exercise. This insured a tremendous gathering of senior defense officials, as reflected in the attendance of 3000 officers from 18 nations at the closing dinner and ceremony. The magnitude of military-to-military contacts and potential for confidence building is evident. An article from the China Xinhuanet English language website emphasizes the joint participation of US Navy and People’s Liberation Army Navy ships.*



U.S. Navy Lt. Cdr. Michael Termini, left, listens as People’s Liberation Army Senior Col. Xiang Shiping explains acupuncture techniques at a medical exchange June 17 in Bangar, Brunei Darussalam, as part of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations Humanitarian Assistance/Disaster Relief and Military Medicine Exercise, hosted by Brunei. Termini is part of a medical observation team participating in the multilateral exercise, which provides a platform for regional partner nations to address shared security challenges, strengthen defense cooperation, enhance interoperability and promote stability in the region. Source: <http://www.dvidshub.net/image/956265/asean-plus-nations-share-best-practices-medical-exchange>

**Source:** Ministry of Defence Brunei Darussalam, “ADMM-PLUS HADR & MM Ex Was Impressive“ June 20, 2013, <http://www.mindef.gov.bn/ADMM2013/index.php/admm-plus/171-admm-plus-hadr-mm-ex-was-impressive>

**JERUDONG, Brunei** - The ASEAN Defence Minister’s Meeting Plus (ADMM-Plus) Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief and Military Medicine Exercise (HADR & MM EX) came to an end yesterday with the visit of His Majesty Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkhiah Mu’izzaddin Waddaulah Ibni Al-Marhum Sultan Haji Omar ‘Ali Saifuddien Sa’adul Khairi Waddien, Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan of Brunei Darussalam, Minister of Defence and Supreme Commander of Royal Brunei Armed Force (RBAF).

Enhanced commitment, friendship and cooperation were among the major achievements of this year’s said the Deputy Minister of Defence ....

“Within a few days of working together, we have forged closer friendships and cooperation with each other,” he said...

“Your presence in Brunei has been meaningful and is well appreciated and has reaffirmed the hope for greater unity in the region for the future.”

... He also said the role of defence diplomacy and highlighted the prevailing trend for increasing deployment of military personnel and assets for peace keeping and disaster response operations, particularly during the emergency phase. “This trend is likely to continue in the future and brings countries closer together in strengthening defence cooperation.”

... The inaugural exercise, the first ever practical collaboration involving eighteen ADMM Plus countries, brought together more than 3,000 personnel, making it one of the biggest multi-

*(continued)*

## Continued: Indo-Pacific Asia – ASEAN “Plus” Military Cooperation

The Asian Military Review, published in Thailand, provides insight into the Singaporean view of the value of this interchange. Information from South Asia Defence and Strategic Review points out the significance of China’s and India’s participation with respect to issues of regional maritime security. The article is well worth reading in its entirety.

The intention of the initial ASEAN Defense Ministers Meeting expansion to the “Plus 8” was to provide a platform to discuss both traditional and nontraditional security issues. This recent HADR & MM EX has validated that concept and brought into tangible reality the goal to build institutionalized cooperative arrangements among the multiple partners. **End OE Watch Commentary (Welch)**

1. Scott Cheney-Peters, “Southeast Asian rivals Work Together in Disaster Relief Exercise,” US Naval Institute website, June 24, 2013  
Source: <http://news.usni.org/2013/06/24/southeast-asian-rivals-work-together-in-disaster-relief-exercise>

lateral joint exercises of its kind in the region.

...the sharing of knowledge and ideas and the adoption of a common set of standing operating procedures had helped to enhance interoperability and confidence among the member countries.

“It is important for ASEAN members not to get caught with our pants down when disasters strike, stressing the importance of preparedness for all scenarios. “Incidentally, this is in line with our theme this year — ‘Securing our people, our future together.’”

*“Essentially, the objective is to enhance military-to-military interoperability, coordination and cooperation amongst the 18 participating countries.”*

**Source:** Xinhuanet, “ASEAN-Plus exercise officially kicks off in Brunei,” 17 June 2013, <http://www.asianmilitaryreview.com/saf-and-other-militaries-conclude-the-admm-plus-hadrmm-exercise/>

**RUARA, Brunei, (Xinhua)** -- ...ASEAN Defence Ministers’ Meeting-Plus Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief and Military Medicine Exercise ( ADMM PLUS HADR & MM Ex) was held ...

.... Ships from the United States of America, T-AKE 9 U5N5 USS Matthew Perry and the Chinese People’s Liberation Army Navy’s hospital ship PEACE ARK arrived ... to partake in the drill from June 17 until 20.

... making contributions to the regional cooperation in non- traditional security, and also at promoting friendship among the ADMM-Plus nations.

...The exercise is essentially a military-to-military cooperation exercise, designed to formulate and develop a common set of Standing Operating Procedures (SOPs). The exercise objective is to elevate military practical cooperation from ASEAN level to ASEAN Plus level, and build upon ASEAN militaries’ experiences of previous exercises....



People’s Liberation Army Navy Rear Adm. Kan Li Kui drinks a sample of purified water at a disaster site in Biang, Brunei Darussalam June 19, as part of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations Humanitarian Assistance/Disaster Relief and Military Medicine Exercise. US Marine Corps Photo. Source: [http://news.usni.org/2013/06/24/southeast-asian-rivals-work-together-in-disaster-relief-exercise/brunei\\_hadr](http://news.usni.org/2013/06/24/southeast-asian-rivals-work-together-in-disaster-relief-exercise/brunei_hadr)

(continued)

## Continued: Indo-Pacific Asia – ASEAN “Plus” Military Cooperation

‘PEACE ARK’ Hospital Ship of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army (PLA) Navy.  
Source: <http://www.mindef.gov.bn/ADMM2013/index.php/admm-plus/158-us-and-china-ships-arrive-today>

Source: Asian Military Review, “Singapore and Other Militaries conclude the ADMM-Plus HADR/MM Exercise,” 20 June 2013, <http://www.asianmilitaryreview.com/saf-and-other-militaries-conclude-the-admm-plus-hadmm-exercise/>

*“The multi-national forces exercised the evacuation of casualties and displaced personnel, as well as the delivery of aid to affected communities.”*

...The ADMM-Plus HADR/MM Exercise saw the deployment of approximately 3200 personnel, seven ships, 15 helicopters as well as military medical, engineering and search and rescue teams and assets from the 18 nations in scenarios relating to collapsed buildings, landslide and flash flood. The multi-national forces exercised the evacuation of casualties and displaced personnel, as well as the delivery of aid to affected communities.

During the closing ceremony, Singapore Armed Forces’ (SAF) Chief of Defence Force Major-General (MG) Ng Chee Meng highlighted the significance of the ... Exercise. “This marks the first time that 18 nations have come together, participated constructively and demonstrated practical cooperation in a HADR/MM exercise...”

Source: South Asian Defence and Strategic Review, “ADMM-Plus: HADR/Military Medicine Exercise,” June 22, 2013, <http://www.defstrat.com/exec/frnArticleDetails.aspx?DID=420>

The ASEAN initiative to expand the ASEAN Defence Ministers’ Meeting (ADMM) to ADMM Plus appears to have paid off. It is contributing significantly to security cooperation among the partners particularly in the five priority areas (a) maritime security; (b) counter-terrorism; (c) disaster management; (d) peacekeeping operations and (e) military medicine. ...

...The Chinese participation in the HADR / MM has attracted attention. Rear Admiral Shen Hao of the PLA Navy and the Commander ‘Mission Harmony-2013’ noted that ‘A good relationship between the militaries of China and Brunei is in line with the interests of our two peoples and benefits world peace and stability as well.’ He also stated that ‘We [China] are looking forward to conducting exchanges and cooperation with other countries’ navies during our stay in Brunei.’...

The Indian participation was led by INS Gharial, an amphibious ship, and in a unique act of community service, 50 personnel from the ship donated blood at the Blood Donation Centre, in Raja Isteri Pengiran Anak Saleha (RIPAS) Hospital, Muara....

... Some major Asian navies fielded large ships and heavy lift air assets. For instance, ... Japan was represented by its destroyer ‘Shirane’; the Royal Malaysian Navy fielded its LST (L) ‘Mahawangsa’ and Singapore Navy its ‘Endurance’ class LST. The US was represented by USNS Mathew Perry and one dry cargo and fuel replenishment ship. Besides, some of the countries sent their aircraft and helicopters (China: IL 76; Japan and Philippines C-130; Malaysia: ‘Nuri’ helicopters) while others decided to send their military delegations.

...Disaster diplomacy is an important tool of international relations to help cut through the icy chill of dealings among states, communities and people. ...

... the attributes of flexibility and mobility of maritime forces makes them the most suitable platform for engaging in a variety of disaster assistance related activities. These forces can be mobilised and positioned without many of the constraints of geographic boundaries encountered by land and air forces. ....Maritime forces provide a good combination of both military and contracted ships for lifting relief materials across long distances. Their own supplies makes them self sustaining and therefore can be deployed for extended periods of time with minimal external support....

The ADMM Plus is a welcome development and offers phenomenal opportunities to a number of stakeholders in the Asia Pacific security architecture. The security cooperation through the ADMM Plus would further reinforce security engagement particularly in the maritime domain. ...

*“In June 2013, the ADMM-Plus countries held the first ever Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief /Military Medicine (HADR / MM) exercise in Brunei, Darussalam to ‘represent a concrete demonstration of practical cooperation’.”*



## Who is Horacio Cartes?

21 April 2013

**OE Watch Commentary:** *Whatever else, Horacio Cartes is now the President of Paraguay, chosen in open elections on 15 April and inaugurated 15 August. The election and inauguration are of additional interest, since Paraguay's last president, leftist and not-so-celibate Catholic archbishop Fernando Lugo, was impeached and ousted in 2012. The elections enjoyed high voter turnout and the result was not unexpected. Candidate Cartes beat runner-up Efraín Alegre by over nine percentage points. No other candidate made a substantial showing. Mr. Alegre had been a minister in Fernando Lugo's government, as had Alegre's vice-presidential running-mate.*

*The election appears to be public confirmation of the 2012 removal of President Lugo, who had made ideological and geopolitical company with the leftist governments of Argentina, Bolivia and Venezuela. President Cartes' definitive victory and inauguration supposes that while Paraguay's government may have to tread lightly in a neighborhood full of ideological adversaries, Paraguay is unlikely to openly embrace the socialist leadership of the Forum of Sao Paulo or any of the regional organizations engendered by the left in recent years, such as UNASUR, TELESUR and MECOSUR. President Cartes is exuberantly pro-business and free-trade. Of interest to Kansans: President Cartes took technical training in Wichita.*  
**End OE Watch Commentary (Demarest)**



Picture of Horacio Cortés en Paraguay. Source: <http://es.paperblog.com/los-oscuros-negocios-de-horacio-cortes-en-paraguay-1604526/>

**Source:** La Nación, “Quién es Horacio Cartes, el empresario que gobernará Paraguay” (Who is Horacio Cartes, the businessman who will govern Paraguay?), Lanacion.com, 21 April 2013, <http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1574996-quien-es-horacio-cartes-el-empresario-que-gobernara-paraguay>

“Cartes is 56 years old. He went to college in the United States (aeronautic mechanics) and then returned to Paraguay at age 19 to begin his life in the business world, in his father's (Ramón Telmo Cartes Lind) company. But it was just in 2009 that he formalized his entrance into politics by registering with the Colorado Party.” (Demarest translation)



Picture of former Paraguayan archbishop and politician Fernando Armindo Lugo. Source: [http://ann.az/file/pic/news/2012-06-en/midia-indoor-wap-presidente-do-paraguai-fernando-lugo-1281469834375\\_300x230.jpg](http://ann.az/file/pic/news/2012-06-en/midia-indoor-wap-presidente-do-paraguai-fernando-lugo-1281469834375_300x230.jpg)

## Sour Opinion in Colombia

10 August 2013

**OE Watch Commentary:** *The Presidency of Colombia's Juan Manuel Santos may be collapsing in popularity with the Colombian public, according to recent survey results. President Santos is having a harder time appearing in public without having to deal with jeering. Much of the public distaste appears to be related to ongoing peace talks with the FARC. Those talks are becoming unseemly as the FARC leaders have been quite agile -- in determining not only a favorable venue (Havana, Cuba), but the agenda as well.*

*In the late 1990s Andrés Pastrana entered into peace negotiations with the FARC, after which it became apparent to the Colombian public that the FARC was not only out-negotiating the Pastrana government, it was also making the presidency seem submissive and impotent. The Colombian electorate changed directions sharply in the 2002 elections as a result. President Santos may be coursing down the same path as President Pastrana, at least in the eyes of the public.*

*President Pastrana, facing similar disapproval for the unproductively conciliatory approach he had taken, tried to make a turn toward firmness, but it was too late. The voters swept in Álvaro Uribe, who ran on a promise to address the FARC problem militarily. Today's polls seem to be showing that ex-President Uribe and his policies toward the guerrillas are more attractive to the Colombian public than the current administration's. It is hard to say how President Santos will respond to the unsupportive message of the opinion polls. He has just entered the fourth year of his term, that is, just entered an election year. Either the peace agreements will come to something in the next couple of months, or, if they do not, President Santos might decide to take an abruptly harsher stance toward the FARC, before it is too late to affect the 2014 elections. **End OE Watch Commentary (Demarest)***

**Source:** Alfredo Rangel, "Surveys and Booing," *Semana*, 10 August 2013, <http://www.semana.com/opinion/articulo/encuestas-rechiflas/353879-3>

"Effectively, in just a few days time, the results of three important opinion surveys converged, all of which coincide in a negative grade of how the Administration has managed, as well as a rejection of President Santos' reelection possibilities. In the Ipsos poll, 60% of the respondents expressed that Colombia was going down the wrong road, 62% declared that Santos had not fulfilled what he had promised for his government program, and 60% indicted they were opposed to his reelection. In the Datexco poll, the government was criticized in 14 of 17 categories about which citizens responded; in that same poll 65% said they would not vote for Santos if he ran for reelection. In the poll by Polimétrica, 29% would vote for an Uribista (Uribe-aligned) candidate and only 24% would do so for Santos; 63% are opposed to his reelection. To cap it off, in an opinion survey of the military forces, 88% repudiated the reelection of Santos." (Demarest translation)

Andrés Pastrana Arango was the 30th President of Colombia from 1998 to 2002.



Álvaro Uribe Vélez was the 31st President of Colombia from 2002 to 2010.



## Mexican Drug Cartels Hire US Soldiers as Hitmen and to Provide Tactical Training

10 July 2013

**OE Watch Commentary:** US gangs have been collaborating with Mexican drug-trafficking organizations for years. This collaboration has resulted in recruitment on US soil, and currently approximately 20% of all gang members working with Mexican drug cartels are from border states, including Texas, Arizona, and California. This gang collaboration may also be precipitating the recruitment of US soldiers. This idea is evidenced by that fact that since 2011 at least three US soldiers have been arrested for collaborating with Mexican cartels.

### What is the Connection between US Gangs and US Soldiers

A 2010 FBI study entitled, "Gang Activity in the U.S. Armed Forces Increasing," indicated that members of nearly every major street gang, including the Bloods, the Crips, the Mexican Mafia, and the Mara Salvatrucha, have been identified on both domestic and international US military bases. The manner in which gangs actually recruit US soldiers to work at the service of Mexican cartels is not clear. What is known is that those most likely to be recruited are junior enlisted soldiers who are working on bases located along the US-Mexican border.

### Why Would Mexican Cartels Be Interested in US Soldiers?

Reasons cartels may look to US soldiers as possible employees are numerous. First, these soldiers possess US passports. Second, soldiers are expected to be disciplined, to have previous weapons training, and to have some background knowledge of reconnaissance and surveillance operations. Third, just as Mexican cartel operators are assigned to specific areas because of familiarity and/or connections, the same can be done with US soldiers on US soil. Fourth, in a military capacity, soldiers may have special contacts or privileges they could use to the advantage of the cartel by which they were recruited. **End OE Watch Commentary (Fiegel and Gonzalez)**

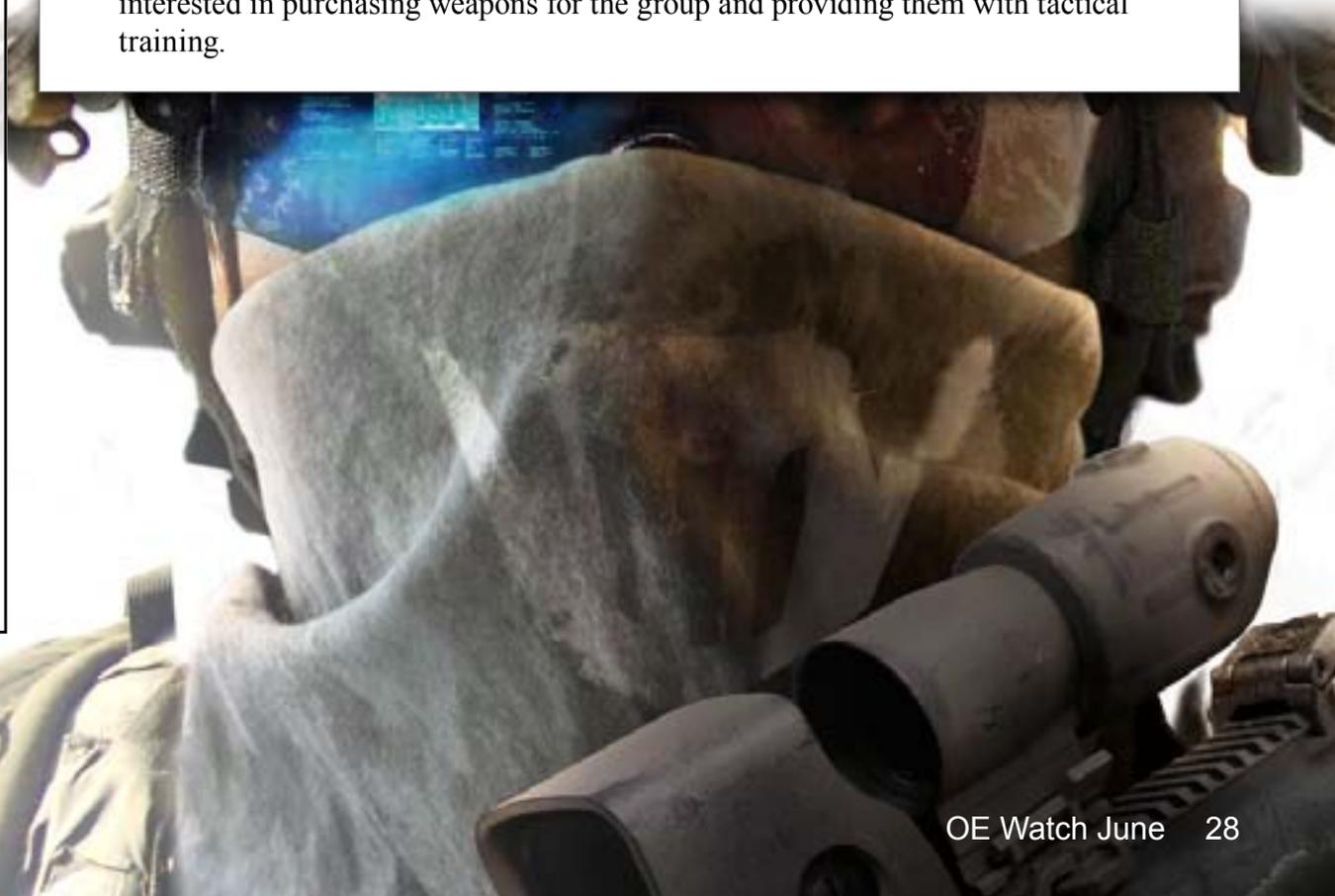


**Source:** "Cárteles mexicanos contratan soldados de EU como sicarios y capacitadores." Historiasdelnarco. Accessed on 14 August 2013 from <http://www.historiasdelnarco.com/2013/08/carteles-mexicanos-contratan-soldados.html>

### Mexican Drug Cartels Hire US Soldiers to Work as Hitmen and to Provide Tactical Training

In the last three years, at least three US soldiers have been arrested for their affiliation with Mexican drug cartels. Details regarding some of these cases were reported as follows:

- A 22-year-old male US soldier stationed at Fort Bliss, TX was arrested for murdering a U.S. Customs informant in 2009. For this job, he was allegedly paid \$(USD) 5,000 by the Juarez Cartel.
- In September 2012, a 29-year-old male US soldier stationed at Fort Carson, Colorado was charged with conspiracy to commit murder after it was discovered that he had been hired as a Los Zetas hitman. He was arrested during an undercover operation along with a 28-year-old Sergeant (see following bullet point).
- On 21 June 2013, a 28-year-old Sergeant was sentenced to 15 years in prison for a murder he committed at the service of Los Zetas in November 2012. He was allegedly paid \$(USD) 50,000 for the job. He also admitted to undercover agents that he was interested in purchasing weapons for the group and providing them with tactical training.



*“The 22 commanding generals involved in the reshuffle show a better age structure, have a complete knowledge and experience mix.”*

**OE Watch Commentary:** The excerpts from the following article describe a new type of leader in China and the country's evolved thinking. On the eve of People's Liberation Army (PLA) Day, also known as Army Day, which commemorates the 1 August 1927 Nanchang Uprising, 22 commanding generals at the level of military region full commander successively took office at their new posts in all seven military regions. Interestingly, every one of the 22 promoted commanding generals was born in the 1950s.

Many of these officers are said to have participated in the 1979 Sino-Vietnamese war, which was China's last large-scale military conflict. The article places a lot of emphasis on this war, explaining that while warfare has changed since the conflict, there is a gap between China's military and that of other countries that have fought more recent wars. Despite changing warfare strategies, it would seem that China recognizes the value in promoting officers with at least some experience in military conflict.

Another commonality these high ranking generals have is in their interest in informatization, which is a critical component of China's military modernization. Many of them have higher degrees, and all are said to be interested in computers and information.

Also noteworthy is a new pattern of cross-service or cross-region “job exchanges” evident in the promotions. According to the article, “it shows that the military is trying to break the restriction of the established organizations and strengthen the combined operations of all systems in the course of force building...”

**Source:** Yu Dong et al, “大军区正职“50后”接棒 (Officers Born in the 1950s Take Over the Leadership of All Military Regions),” (Chinese) Nanfang Zhoumo, August 12, 2013, <http://www.infzm.com/content/93195>

#### Officers Born in the 1950s Take Over the Leadership of All Military Regions

“The 22 commanding generals involved in the reshuffle show a better age structure, have a complete knowledge and experience mix.” That was the comment made by Major General Luo Yuan at the Academy of Military Science.

All the 22 newly promoted commanding generals are officers born in the 1950s. They have rich experience in commanding troops at the grassroots, and some of them are veterans taking part in the war against Vietnam. Such experience is exceptionally valuable in peacetime.

#### War Tests

...“An important piece of experience gained by the PLA from the Sino-Vietnamese War was to enhance the regularization of the military forces. They came to realize that they must not fight contemporary wars in a way of fighting guerilla warfare, and must get rid of the previous experience.”

... “Today, our military has not experienced actual fighting for many years, but war continues to take place in the world. In this regard, the gap between our military and foreign counterparts is getting wider day by day...”

Other than the border war against Vietnam in 1979, Chinese military personnel did not have any other opportunity to experience large-scale military conflicts. In peacetime, those with battle exploits and military merit are exceptionally valuable assets. On the other hand, political loyalty, training and management capability, educational backgrounds, and ability to handle interpersonal relations are all indispensable assessment criteria.

#### Focus on Military Transformation

Most newly promoted commanding generals who were born in the 1950s received advanced education... These high-ranking officers have a common hobby -- “informatization”.

This comes into line with the requirement set forth by the report to the 18th party congress: “Strive to basically accomplish mechanization and make substantial development in informatization by 2020.”

It has almost become a consensus: The key to the transformation of the military forces lies in crossing the “informatization” threshold, and that is particularly the case for various services and the armament department.

With regard to informatized warfare, all Army leaders in the seven military regions do not pale in comparison. By scanning open publications, the Nanfang Zhoumo reporters found that among the seven new military region commanders, at least five published academic papers on informatized warfare.

(continued)

## Continued: New Era of PLA Leaders in China's Military Regions

*Finally, the article describes the shift in how its leaders function and their motivation. Whereas the thinking used to be “guarantee the party’s absolute leadership over the army...,” now the thinking is more, “We would rather let capable personnel wait for equipment than letting equipment wait for personnel capable of using it.” In other words, in today’s China, more emphasis is placed on its people and what they can bring to the table.*

*All in all, the article indicates that China’s military leaders are becoming more highly qualified and more rounded individuals. It also demonstrates that China understands that military modernization is not just about modernization of military capabilities and weaponry, but also an evolution in its leadership.*  
**End OE Watch Commentary (Hurst)**

### **Promotions Through “Job Exchanges”**

A new pattern of cross-service or cross-region “job exchanges” appeared in this round of high-ranking general reshuffle: ...This shows that the military is trying to break the restriction of the established organizations and strengthen the combined operations of all systems in the course of force building.

“Job exchanges” between different regions and different services is regarded as a fast track for settling the difficult issue caused by the “regionalized” structure.

According to the stipulations of the active-duty officers law, military officers should be assigned to perform duties at different posts and in different units...

...In the spring of 2009, “job exchanges” began among PLA officers, mostly within the same military regions and the same services, with cadres being transferred between organs and combat units. In early 2012, “job exchanges” upgraded on a large scale, and were arranged in the organs of the Central Military Commission and the General Headquarters as well as all military regions and services.

At present, job exchanges between different levels have become a normal measure for cultivating military cadres. All the seven new military region commanders have the experience of being group army commanders....

...Through several rounds of transformation, group armies are no longer infantry units in a traditional sense, but are corps comprised of different arms in a battle area. Today, the group armies have displayed a clearly trait of being “informatized, combined, integrated” units. The new military region commanders who have work experience in commanding group armies for many years have mastered the basic capability of commanding multi-service joint operations.

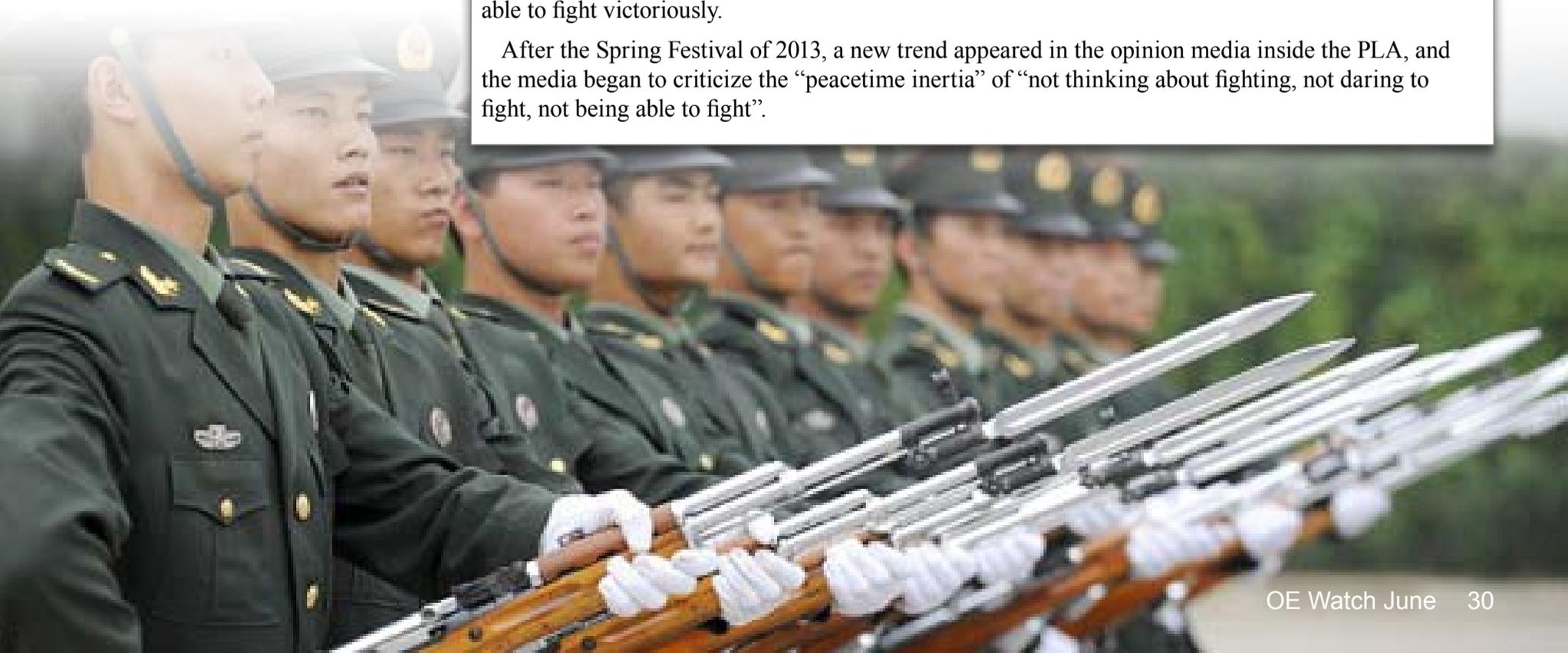
### **The “Ideology”-based Combat Power**

Half of the 22 new military leaders at and above the military region level are principal political officers. Western military analysts seldom noticed the weight of this group. Anyhow, their work does not exist in the Western military forces.

In February 1931, the central authorities of the Soviet region established the general political department, and its main task was: Guarantee the party’s absolute leadership over the army, guarantee the character of the people’s army, consolidate the internal unity of the army and the unity between the army and the government and between military troops and civilian people, guarantee the continuous enhancement of the force’s combat power and the smooth fulfillment of all tasks.

Now, the forces in the Guangzhou Military Region still loudly shouted Zhang Yang’s slogan: “We would rather let capable personnel wait for equipment than letting equipment wait for personnel capable of using it”. At the two sessions in 2006, Zhang Yang introduced the strategy of “starting personnel cultivation ahead of other parts of work” to the whole PLA. Zhang Yang said: “Military personnel, as a special kind of work, are allowed to have their personalities, but at all times, their personalities must comply with the requirement of the work -- obeying the party’s orders and being able to fight victoriously.

After the Spring Festival of 2013, a new trend appeared in the opinion media inside the PLA, and the media began to criticize the “peacetime inertia” of “not thinking about fighting, not daring to fight, not being able to fight”.



# India Launches First Indigenous Aircraft Carrier: Opposing Viewpoints

August 2013

*“China should speed up its construction of domestic aircraft carriers. India’s actions remind us that the strategic significance of developing aircraft carriers in Asia is not declining. Rather, they are one of the most effective strategic tools in maintaining national maritime interests.”*

**OE Watch Commentary:** *There has been a lot of excitement coming from India’s media, surrounding the launching of the country’s first indigenous aircraft carrier, the INS Vikrant. China, on the other hand, saw the event, at least publicly, in a different light. The following four article excerpts offer examples of the contrast between the two sides in their expressed opinions.*

*The first two highlighted articles originate from India. Not surprisingly, the country is proud of the achievement, seeing it as a strengthening of “India’s confidence of emerging as a naval superpower in Asia,” and emphasizing the fact that the ship is indigenously designed and built. According to the second article, which was written by retired Admiral Sureesh Mehta, former chief of the Indian Navy, “If we have to be a big superpower, we must have the capability to build ships of such caliber ourselves. We will continue to build some more ships of the same class.”*

*The first two articles are also quick to focus on what it views as China’s shortcomings. For example, China’s sole aircraft carrier is not indigenously designed, having used the framework from Ukraine. The second article also points out that India is years ahead of China in technology and insinuates that China is not prepared to have an aircraft carrier of its own because of its lack of experience.*

*The last two articles, originating from Chinese sources, however, downplay the launching of the INS Vikrant through various, somewhat diplomatic, tactics. For example, the third article compares*

**Source:** “समुद्र में अजेय (Invincible At Sea),” New Delhi Amar Ujala (Hindi), August 14, 2013, [http://epaper.amarujala.com/svww\\_zoomart.php?Artname=20130814a\\_012101005&ileft=-5&itop=214&zoomRatio=130&AN=20130814a\\_012101005](http://epaper.amarujala.com/svww_zoomart.php?Artname=20130814a_012101005&ileft=-5&itop=214&zoomRatio=130&AN=20130814a_012101005)

## Article 1:

### Invincible At Sea

At present, the launch of the [aircraft carrier] INS Vikrant... has further strengthened India’s confidence of emerging as a naval superpower in Asia. It is noteworthy that only the United States, the United Kingdom, Russia, and France have the capability to design and construct an aircraft carrier of this size.

China, which launched its first aircraft carrier last year, had taken its framework from Ukraine.

... our three aircraft carriers are smaller than the only aircraft carrier that China has at present. No doubt, all our aircraft carriers are comparatively small, but their mere presence is enough to fill new enthusiasm and energy in our armed forces. China gave a skeptical response to the launch of Vikrant and it evidences the fact that China is going to face tough competition from India at sea because, through Vikrant, India can now keep a watch on the Pacific Ocean...

**Source:** Sureesh Mehta, “INS Vikrant to Put China at Sea,” Daily News and Analysis Online, August 13, 2013, <http://www.dnaindia.com/india/1873655/report-ins-vikrant-to-put-china-at-sea>

## Article 2:

### INS Vikrant To Put China at Sea

The biggest gain is that this ship was indigenously designed and built by us. If we have to be a big superpower, we must have the capability to build ships of such calibre ourselves. We will continue to build some more ships of the same class.

This brings us close to our maritime strategy of having three aircraft carriers. The idea is that two out of three must be fully operational all the time. One can be deployed on the eastern seaboard and the other one on the western seaboard.

An aircraft carrier is a huge instrument to project force and this gives us a huge advantage over China that is still far behind on experience in aircraft carriers. China is getting its first aircraft carrier and its navy doesn’t have any right now.

We are years ahead of it in terms of experience and capability, and it will take time for the Chinese to get their act together. It takes years to induct a carrier and it has to work with other forces.

It also takes five to seven years to build maritime doctrines for an aircraft carrier and in this area, we have decades of experience.

(continued)

## Continued: India Launches First Indigenous Aircraft Carrier: Opposing Viewpoints

*the launching of the INS Vikrant to the recent launching of Japan's light carrier, the Izumo. According to the article, Japan is the bigger threat due to its "attitude... toward territorial disputes" and because "India's overall national strength lags behind that of China."*

*The fourth article blasts "hyping the Indian feat as a threat to China," pointing out that there is enough room for the world's two top developing countries to expand and cooperate. As such, the fourth article claims that "the normal buildup of [India's] defense capabilities is no cause of worry."*

*While China seems to have taken a cautious stance in these last two highlighted articles, the third article offers a possible glimpse into a deeper concern when it goes on to promote the idea that "the earlier China establishes its own aircraft carrier capabilities, the earlier it will gain the strategic initiative." China wants to be number one. Rather than expressing a deep concern over India's new aircraft carrier, which might prompt India to move more quickly forward, China relies on a more diplomatic stance, which could potentially ease the other country's drive. **End OE Watch Commentary (Hurst)***

India's solitary aircraft carrier, INS Viraat.  
Source: <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/photo/18821546.cms>

**Source:** "Aircraft Carriers Key to Strategic Deterrence," Global Times, August 13, 2013, <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/803420.shtml#.UhJ-0Z3nYqQ>

### Article 3:

#### Aircraft Carriers Key to Strategic Deterrence

The waves caused by India's aircraft carrier launch haven't been as sensational as those caused by Japan's light carrier the Izumo among Chinese.

India has adopted a different attitude than Japan toward territorial disputes with China. Meanwhile, India's overall national strength lags behind that of China. Therefore, China perceives Japan rather than India as its biggest neighboring threat.

The fact that India is moving faster in terms of developing armaments such as aircraft carriers provides China with a more favorable international opinion environment in terms of the development of its own advanced armaments.

However, there is no arms race between China and India.

China should speed up its construction of domestic aircraft carriers. India's actions remind us that the strategic significance of developing aircraft carriers in Asia is not declining. Rather, they are one of the most effective strategic tools in maintaining national maritime interests. The earlier China establishes its own aircraft carrier capabilities, the earlier it will gain the strategic initiative.

China is a latecomer among big powers in terms of developing domestic aircraft carriers. Even India has moved ahead of us...

**Source:** Lu Rui, "Aircraft Carrier Creates No Waves for China India Cooperation," Xinhua, August 13, 2013, [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/indepth/2013-08/13/c\\_132627434.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/indepth/2013-08/13/c_132627434.htm)

### Article 4:

#### Aircraft Carrier Creates No Waves for China India Cooperation

Indian Defense Minister A. K. Antony hailed the launch of INS Vikrant as a "crowning glory", saying "India needs a strong navy to defend itself and will press ahead with developing its maritime capabilities."

Pundits obsessed with geopolitical rivalry wasted no time in hyping the Indian feat as a threat to China, fanning speculations the two Asian neighbors would slide deeper into an arms race aimed at regional supremacy.

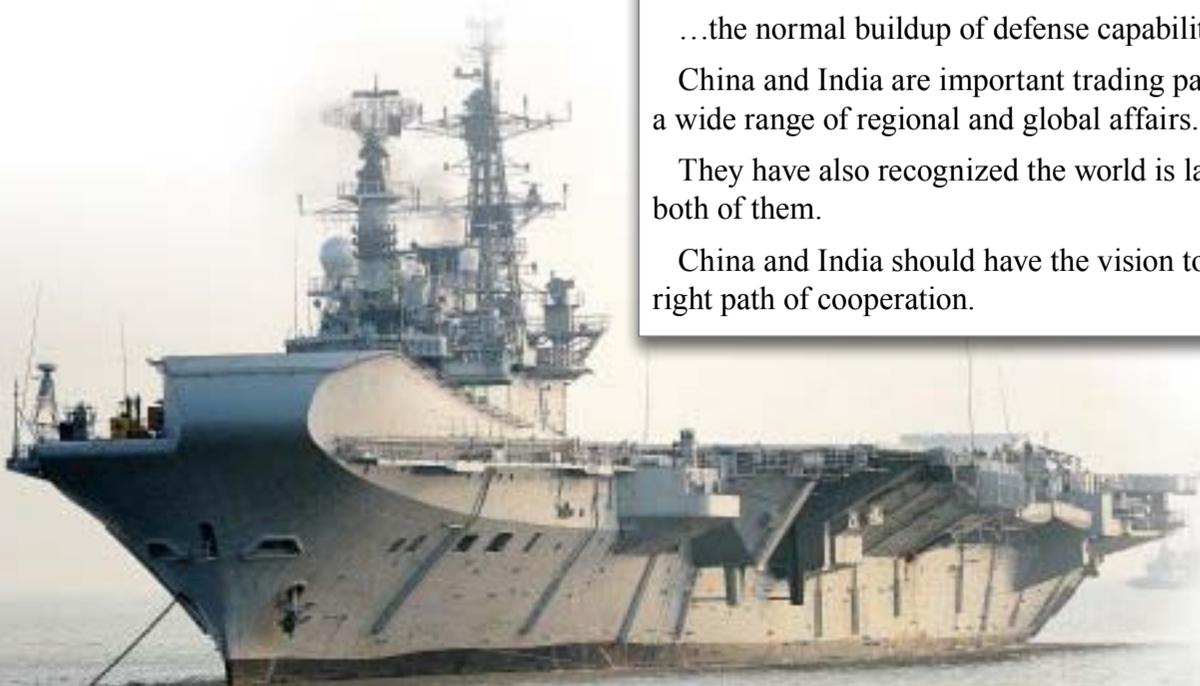
However, such conflict-obsessed fear-mongers have apparently ignored the larger picture. For starters, China and India, the world's top two developing countries, have vast interests in common.

...the normal buildup of defense capabilities is no cause of worry.

China and India are important trading partners, and they hold identical or similar stances on a wide range of regional and global affairs.

They have also recognized the world is large enough to accommodate the development of both of them.

China and India should have the vision to look beyond slanted interpretations and stick to the right path of cooperation.



(continued)

## Calls for a Crude Strategy: China Set to Surpass US as World's Largest Oil Importer

*“...Following these trends, America’s sensitivity to events in the Middle -East and other important oil-producing regions will be reduced, while at the same time, China will increasingly feel the effects of political issues in the Middle East and related regions.”*

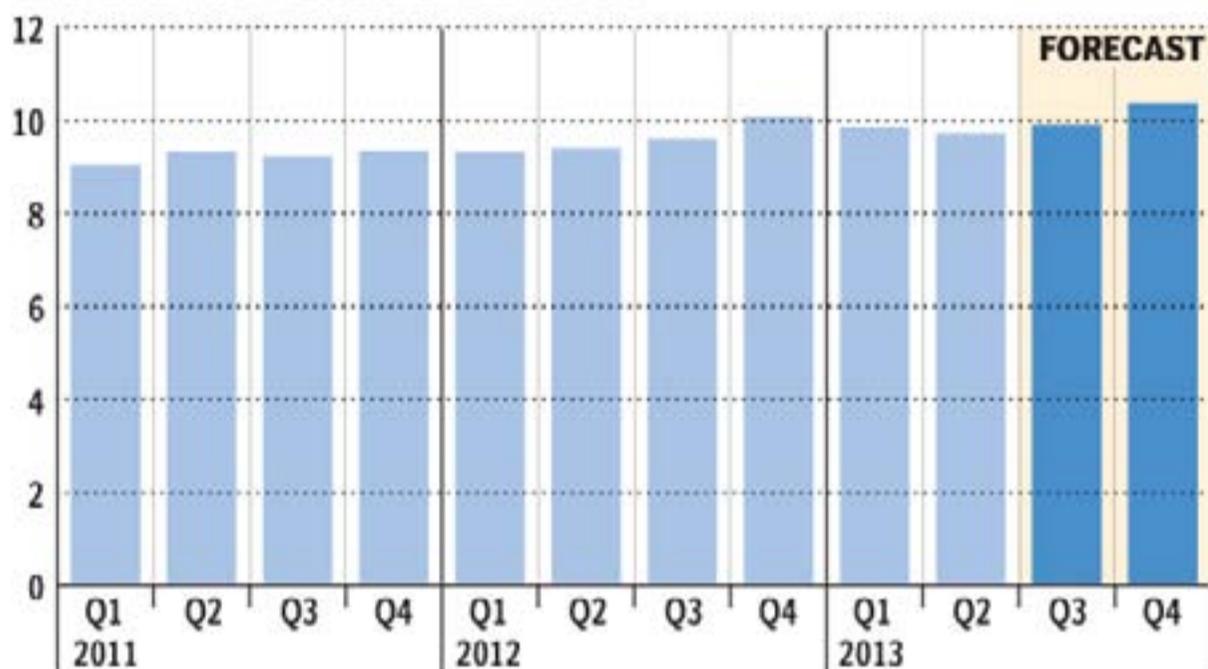
**OE Watch Commentary:** As China Energy News notes, according to the US Energy Information Agency, by October China is expected to surpass the US as the world’s leading importer of crude oil. While the US will continue to lead the world in oil consumption for some time, its oil needs are stabilizing, and its demand for foreign oil has been offset by the exploitation of domestic shale oil reserves. Meanwhile, China’s need for energy imports continues to grow as a result of its “rapid economic growth” and domestic energy reserves, which are still being developed.

Various Chinese experts quoted by Xinhua point out that this shift has long been inevitable and is not the result of any short-term fluctuation in China’s energy consumption. Rather, “in recent years, the pattern of global oil demand and attendant price mechanisms have undergone profound changes. The international locus of demand has shifted East, while the axis of supply has gradually moved West.” As the experts note, in the long term this shift means “new global and regional realities, and it is critical that China sets its energy policy in a way that properly accounts for these new strategic realities.”

The articles note the success of America’s pursuit of energy independence and the way this has tipped certain geostrategic realities against China. According to Lin Boqiang of Xiamen University’s Chinese Energy and Economics Research Institute, this shift means that China will be increasingly “sensitive” to political events in the Middle East and other important oil-producing regions, while America is

### CHINA’S OIL DEMAND

MILLIONS OF BARRELS PER DAY



SOURCE: INTERNATIONAL ENERGY AGENCY

ANDREW BARR / NATIONAL POST

Source: [http://wpmedia.business.financialpost.com/2013/07/fp0711\\_china\\_oil\\_demand\\_c\\_ab-jpg1.jpeg](http://wpmedia.business.financialpost.com/2013/07/fp0711_china_oil_demand_c_ab-jpg1.jpeg)

**Source:** “Mei nengyuan xinxi shu: Zhongguo 10yue qi jiangcheng zuida shiyou zhengjinkouguo” ( USEIA: China set to become world’s largest oil importer by October ) Zhongguo Nengyuan Bao (China Energy News) 19 Aug 2013 <http://finance.sina.com.cn/money/future/futuresnyzx/20130819/110616490974.shtml>

#### From China Energy News

The US is currently the world’s largest net importer of crude oil. However, according to recent forecasts by the US Energy Information Administration (USEIA), China will surpass the US as the world’s largest net importer by October [2013]. The trend is expected to continue through 2014 [and beyond].

...The reasons behind this shift: though the US is the largest consumer of oil, its demand for oil is stable, and growth is offset by increasing domestic production of shale oil reserves. On the other hand, China, the world’s second largest consumer of crude oil is in a period of rapid economic growth, during which oil consumption has soared. Statistics show that China’s crude oil imports hit a record high in July, with an increase of 20 percent over last year.

...It is expected that for China, by October, oil demand will exceed 11 billion barrels per day, a comparative growth rate of 2 percent. Imports will need to increase by nearly 1.4 million barrels per day to make up the gap. China is expected to be importing an average of 6.57 million barrels per day by 2014, surpassing US imports by 1 million barrels daily.

(continued)

## Continued: Calls for a Crude Strategy: China Set to Surpass US as World's Largest Oil Importer

*increasingly insulated from such events by its diminished reliance on foreign oil.*

*As Lin Boqiang and others note, pursuing the concept of “sustainable development” with regards to energy resources is the only way to absolutely ensure China’s long-term energy security. However, while China is already a leader in investment in various alternative energy projects, the strategic payoff of such efforts is still a long way off. “For the time being, oil imports remain a necessary mechanism to ensure China’s critical energy supply security.” As such, the mechanisms that facilitate such continued imports, including global diplomacy, foreign investment and the security of pipelines and both land and sea-based import routes, will remain absolutely critical to Chinese strategic security as well. **End OE Watch Commentary (Moskowitz)***

**Source:** “Zhongguo ying changqi yueju quanqiu zuida yuanyou zhengjinkouguo yanjunxing” (China needs to address the long-term seriousness of becoming the world’s leading oil importer) Xinhua (China) 19 Aug 2013. [http://news.xinhuanet.com/fortune/2013-08/19/c\\_116998590.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/fortune/2013-08/19/c_116998590.htm)

### From Xinhua

According to energy experts, it was only a matter of time before China became the world’s largest oil importer. But the normalization of this trend brings about new global and regional realities, and it is critical that China sets its energy policy in a way that properly accounts for these new strategic realities.

Lin Boqiang of Xiamen University’s Chinese Energy and Economics Research Institute emphasized that China’s coming ascension to top oil importer was long-expected and wholly normal, the result of an accumulation of a number of factors. This does not reflect any short-term shift in China’s energy consumption patterns, however China’s long-term effect on world oil supplies is obvious.

According to Jiang Xinmin, deputy director of the National Development and Reform Commission’s (NDRC) Center for Strategic Studies of Economics and Energy Development, compared with other commodities, oil supplies are more vulnerable to geopolitical shifts, economic conditions in major trading countries, emergent energy needs, and even shifts in the weather.

In recent years, the pattern of global oil demand and the attendant price mechanisms have undergone profound changes. The international locus of demand has shifted East, while the axis of supply has gradually moved West, an emergent pattern unlike any seen before. ... As America has enacted its “energy independence policy” it has achieved stability, while China conversely continues down a path of rapid rise. These phenomena appear to map out trajectories that will remain in place for a long time.

According to the white paper “China’s Energy Policy,” dependence on foreign oil imports has grown from 32 percent to 60 percent since 2000. Aside from great demand resulting from China’s high-speed economic growth, the commercialization of alternative energy, shale oil and gas... all are long-term projects. For the time being, oil imports remain a necessary mechanism to ensure China’s critical energy supply security.

Lin Boqiang noted that following these trends, America’s sensitivity to events in the Middle-East and other important oil-producing regions will be reduced, while at the same time, China will increasingly feel the effects of political issues in the Middle East and related regions.

...He added that it is imperative to recognize the seriousness of these long-term trends, and strive for the implementation of the concept of sustainable development. “To safeguard China’s energy security we must act now to implement a comprehensive, precautionary national energy policy.”

“The Internet of Things provides omni-dimension perception and disperses ‘battlefield fogs.’”

**OE Watch Commentary:** Clive Thompson, a well-known digital affairs writer for Wired magazine, once defined The Internet of Things as “the long-prophesied phenomenon of everyday devices talking to one another—and us—online, creating odd new behaviors and efficiencies. Fridges that order food when you’re almost out of butter. Houses that sense when you’re gone and power down.” That is, the Internet of Things is represented by connections made from thing to thing or human to thing at any time and from any place over the Internet.

This development (along with cloud technology) is currently under discussion in the People’s Liberation Army (PLA). It will be important over the next few years to see how the Chinese develop new innovative approaches and uses for the Internet of Things. The current articles under consideration are uses the PLA envisions for the Internet of Things in logistics. Will the Internet of Things follow the age old Marxist thought that “technology determines tactics” and find extended battlefield use? Only time will tell. **End of OE Commentary (Thomas)**

**Source:** “PLA To Build Internet of Things,” Jiefangjun Bao Online, 2 May 2013; “Internet of Things: New Engine That Boosts Revolution in Military Logistics,” Jiefangjun Bao Online, 30 May 2013, p. 12.

### The PLA’s “Internet of Things”

#### Article One:

The Chinese People’s Liberation Army (PLA) will start building an Internet of Things for quartermaster, materials and POL in an all-around way, according to a working conference of the quartermaster, materials and POL system of the PLA logistics departments held on April 27, 2013 in Wuxi city of east China’s Jiangsu province.

It has been noted that the building of the Internet of Things for quartermaster, materials and POL includes such content as a perception control system, a data transmission system, an operational software system, information exploitation and utilization, and IT-based transformation of equipment and facilities.

According to the plan, by 2016, the Internet of Things of the PLA will basically connect its quartermaster, materials and POL departments at all levels and various supply entities, and apply the perception control system to the material supply entities of major directions and major troops of the PLA, so as to initially realize accurate support.

By 2020, the PLA will basically complete its Internet of Things covering such professional services as materials procurement and POL support, so as to basically realize real-time perception of requirements, visual control of resources, accurate distribution, and full-course regulation of quartermaster, materials and POL support.

#### Article Two:

An all-army work meeting on the system of logistics for military supplies and petroleum, oil, and lubricants (POL) that was held recently revealed that the PLA will comprehensively carry out the construction of the Internet of Things for military supplies and POL, promote the transformation of sectors toward informatization, and raise the comprehensive capabilities to provide support for winning battles and serving units. The Internet of Things provides omni-dimension perception and disperses “battlefield fogs.”

With the Internet of Things, a logistics commander can use sensor information networks that cover supply chains for the automatic prediction and collection of such information as battlefield logistical support needs, support resources, and support forces; for the integrated analysis and formation of comprehensive, full-spectrum, all-time domain, and multi-dimensional logistical situation maps; and to achieve precise, systematized, intelligent real-time perception and performance control of logistical support throughout the entire process of an operation. It is necessary to make progress amid stability and build “smart logistics.” The construction of the Internet of Things for armed forces logistics is a humongous and complex systems engineering that has such characteristics as high science and technology content, large-scale investment, and long construction period and must have strong centralized and unified leadership, effective work on the top-level design, and the strengthening of unified planning and coordination.



# China's Mismatch: Workers, Skills, and Changing Aspirations

18 August 2013

“...graduates struggling to find jobs before leaving school is estimated to have reached over 3 million...”

**OE Watch Commentary:** *Is China running out of workers or the right type of worker? As the first source points out, official data for 2012 shows China with 3.5 million fewer citizens between the ages of 15 and 59 (retirement age on the mainland). Concurrently, according to the China arm of Manpower, urban employment expanded 17%, with factory job growth dragging down this average and high-skilled job demand growing rapidly. Yet, the government reports a growing number of college educated Chinese unemployed or taking low-paying jobs. Relatively educated Chinese seem set to hold on to the prospect of landing prestigious white-collar jobs while refusing good paying factory jobs that are seen as tedious and dead-end. Consequently, the cost of labor for China's factories is rising, while there is increasing discontent among those whose economic prospects are not growing along with the country's burgeoning number of skyscrapers.*

*While these trends represent a long-term danger to “social harmony,” a falling working-age population or, for that matter, a military re-focusing from quantity to the quality of its personnel is not a bad thing in a slowing economy. A key variable for China's growth trajectory in the coming 30 years is how well changes in the type of human capital demanded by its civil and military sectors match the skills and aspirations of the labor on hand. China is challenged by its continued dependence on low-skilled jobs to man the world's factory floor, while its educational system, as indicated in the second article, is producing higher-skilled workers, but ones who are not sufficiently skilled to participate in the country's increasingly important knowledge-intensive sectors. This mismatch applies even more to the country's military, since civil sector remuneration can far outstrip a People's Liberation Army paycheck. **End OE Watch Commentary (Zandoli)***



Foxconn's "human dexterity" robot on display.  
Source via: <http://www.wantchinatimes.com/news-subclass-cnt.aspx?cid=1206&MainCatID=12&id=20130818000002>

**Source:** “Working-age population shrinkage challenges China's growth”, China Want Times, 21 January 2013. <http://www.wantchinatimes.com/news-subclass-cnt.aspx?id=20130121000082&cid=1102>.

## China's Working Age Population Begins Progressive Decline

In 2012, the number of working-age people in China decreased by 3.45 million to a total 937.27 million, Ma Jiantang, director of the National Bureau of Statistics, told a press conference on Friday. “I can't deny that I'm worried about this problem,” he told reporters, adding that he expects China's working-age population to decrease “steadily and gradually” over a long period or “at least before 2030.” The working-age population, which covers ages between 15 and 59, accounted for 69.2% of the country's total population in 2012, down 0.6 percentage points from 2011, the year in which the rate declined for the first time, said Ma.

**Source:** “Jobless graduates may exceed 3 million this year.” Xinhuanet, 5 August 2013. [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2013-08/05/c\\_132602442.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2013-08/05/c_132602442.htm).

## Chinese Graduates Find Landing a Job Increasingly Difficult

With nearly 7 million graduates this year, and adding on the unemployed students from previous years, the number of graduates struggling to find jobs before leaving school is estimated to have reached over 3 million, said Wang Yujun, from the Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security.

**Source:** “Foxconn faces challenges replacing laborers with machines,” Want China Times, 18 August 2013. <http://www.wantchinatimes.com/news-subclass-cnt.aspx?cid=1206&MainCatID=12&id=20130818000002>.

## Largest Consumer Electronics Assembler (Slowly) Substituting Robots for Chinese Labor

Foxconn is continuing to recruit employees instead of replacing them with robots as they had originally planned. “The project (replacing human laborers with robots) is complicated and challenging, so we still have this need to recruit more talent...” Terry Gou, the company's chairman, said in 2011 that Foxconn was looking to replace certain laborers who are responsible for repetitive or dangerous positions...the company plans to see the first fully-automatic factory within five to 10 years.

*“It is also in line with an impure, wicked plan to further reduce South Korea to an outpost base for realizing the US strategy of dominating Asia and drive the puppet army into being a shock brigade for the United States’ aggressive schemes.”*

**OE Watch Commentary:** *From the North Korean (DPRK) perspective, the withdrawal of US forces has been one of Pyongyang’s strategic goals over the past 60 years. For the DPRK the transfer of US operational control (OPCON) of South Korean (ROK) forces back to the government in Seoul is considered an essential step toward the eventual withdrawal of all US forces from the Korean peninsula. Despite significant evidence to the contrary, the DPRK leadership still maintains that without the presence of US forces, the North Korean People’s Army could easily destroy the ROK Army, that South Korean revolutionaries would easily overthrow their ROK government, and that the peninsula would be soon reunited under Pyongyang’s leadership.*

*It is not surprising, then, as the excerpt for the referenced article illustrates, why the DPRK leadership is upset with a possible delay in the transfer of OPCON of South Korean forces back to the government in Seoul. They claim that Washington is deliberately delaying this decision so that it can continue its “permanent forced occupation of South Korea, intensify anti-Republic nuclear commotion... and to further reduce South Korea to an outpost base for realizing the US strategy of dominating Asia...”*

*This transfer of control is also hotly debated in ROK between those who claim that America’s continued control is a force for greater stability and those who argue that ROK is now better able to make its own security decisions. The leadership in DPRK is well aware of this divide, and over the past decade has used articles such as this to aggravate the situation and to further its fundamental policy objective: the withdrawal of US forces from South Korea. **End OE Watch Commentary (Kim)***

**Source:** “Information Bulletin No 1039 by the Secretariat of the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland,” Rodong Sinmun (KPM), 27 July 2013.

#### **DPRK Reunification Committee Bulletin Assails ROK Request to US for OPCON Transfer Delay**

The Secretariat of the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland issued Bulletin No 1039 on 26 July criticizing the disgraceful conduct of the puppet gang that begged the United States to delay the time for transfer of wartime operational control [OPCON] authority.

##### **The bulletin is as follows:**

The puppet gang aroused the anger of the South Korean people and the entire nation recently by begging the United States to delay the time for transfer of wartime operational control authority.

The transfer of wartime operational control authority, which has been an issue [since] the traitor Yi Su’ng-man handed operational command authority of the puppet army to the United States during the past Korean war, was supposed to be handed back in 2012, but the traitor Lee Myung-bak pleaded to the United States and extended it to 2015.

The present South Korean chief executive, who made the transfer of wartime operational control authority a “presidential election” pledge, stated the position, “I will promote the 2015 transfer according to schedule,” and even proclaimed it to be a core task of diplomatic and security policy.

However, as revealed this time, the puppet gang overturned their own vow with no concern for the demands from all levels of society, and they tacitly begged their US master to delay the time of transferring wartime operational control authority yet again while going on about “North Korean nuclear [weapons]” and “the security threat.”

With regard to this, South Korean opposition parties and civil and social groups at all levels now are strongly reacting and denouncing this as “an act of abandoning military sovereignty” and “pro-US thinking that goes to the bone.”

The puppet conservative gang’s maneuver of delaying the transfer of wartime operational control is an expression of wicked designs to pursue the United States’ permanent forced occupation of South Korea and intensify anti-Republic nuclear commotion, war maneuvers, and joint pressure with US backing; as such, it is a dangerous, reckless act that exacerbates tensions in the Korean peninsula and Northeast Asia region and increases the risk of a nuclear war of northward aggression.

It is also in line with an impure, wicked plan to further reduce South Korea to an outpost base for realizing the US strategy of dominating Asia and drive the puppet army into being a shock brigade for the United States’ aggressive schemes.

If the puppet gang’s plan to delay transfer of wartime operational control authority again becomes reality, the United States will grow more frantic at realizing its scheme for provoking a war of northward aggression and its strategy for world hegemony while it continues to militarily control South Korea and pursue its hostile policy against the Republic.

Also, as the South Korean people are dragged into the United States’ brigandish, aggressive demands, they will become pawns and victims in domination, subordination, and war maneuvers and undergo even greater misfortune and sacrifice....

...The South Korean people must never tolerate the maneuver of the United States and the puppet gang to delay transfer of wartime operational control authority; they will have to resolutely settle accounts with the pro-US gang of traitors and vigorously launch forth in a struggle to drive the US imperialist forces of aggression from South Korea....

*“As long as we divide the north and south, we will not grow the economy and strengthen our army, and our neighbors will treat us with contempt.”*

**OE Watch Commentary:** *Water in Central Asia is regularly brought up by media or security analysts as the next source of conflict. The accompanying article provides some insight into a Kyrgyz perspective on conflict over water and some of the specific problems that the author believes might cause an incident. He mentions that Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan refer to the 1992 agreement on joint use of transboundary rivers (these rivers supply the majority of the water used for irrigation), but does not elaborate on the details of this agreement. He also believes that Uzbekistan created (presumably recently) cross-border conflicts as a way of showing contempt for Kyrgyzstan over issues like this. It is these types of conflicts that the author believes they (the Kyrgyz) should be ready for.*

*There have been several cross-border conflicts in Central Asia just in the past few months. After the April 2013 clash on the Kyrgyz-Tajik border a former government official of the Vorukh enclave*

**Source:** Meimanov, Daiyrbek. “Вода станет причиной вооруженного столкновения в Средней Азии? (Will Water Become the Reason for Armed Conflict in Central Asia?),” Alibi, 30 July 2013. [http://www.gezitter.org/economics/22437\\_voda\\_stanet\\_prichinoy\\_voorujennogo\\_stolknoveniya\\_v\\_sredney\\_azii/](http://www.gezitter.org/economics/22437_voda_stanet_prichinoy_voorujennogo_stolknoveniya_v_sredney_azii/)

#### **Will Water Become the Reason for Armed Conflict in Central Asia?**

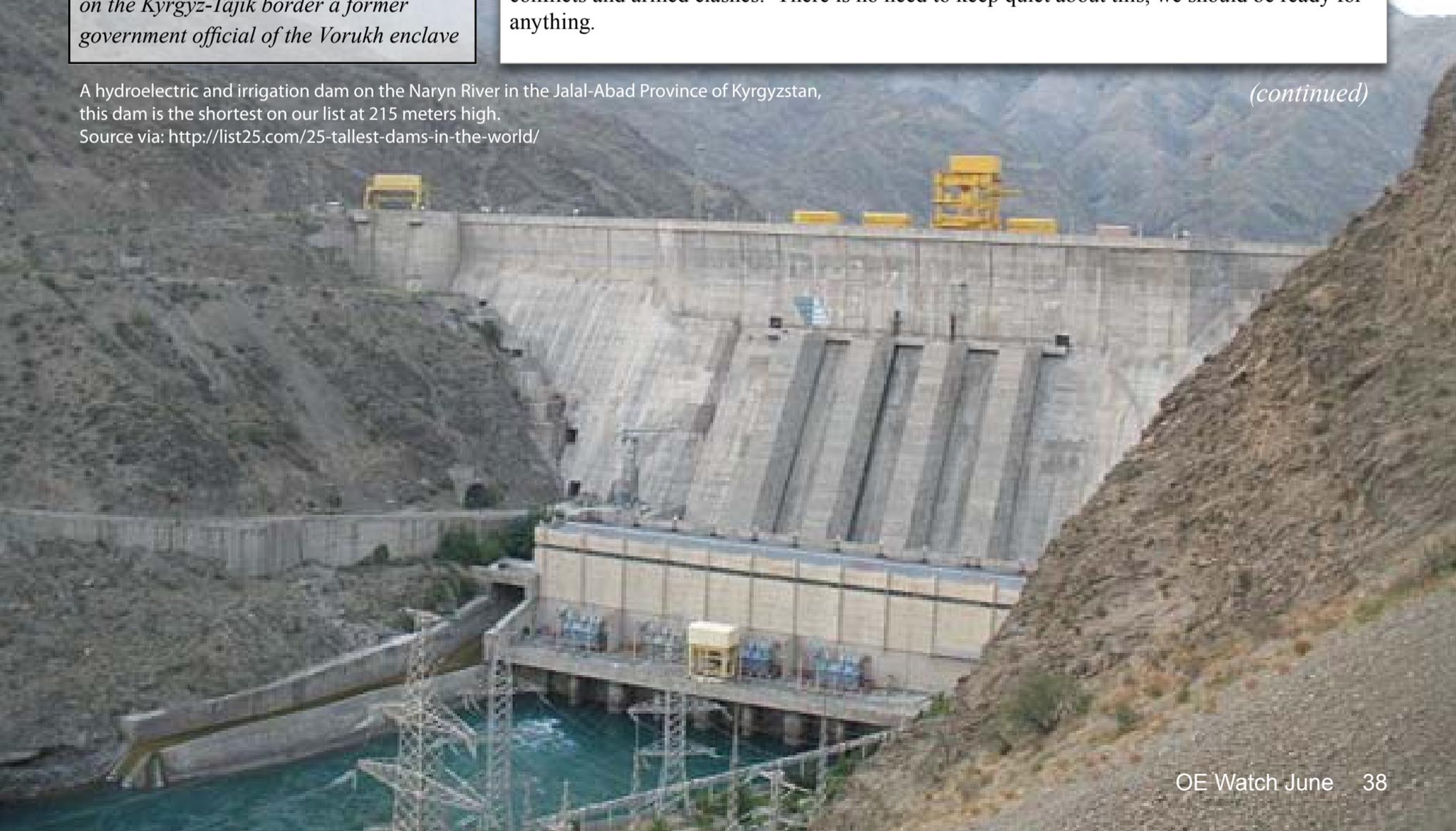
I recently visited my home town – Toktogul. I have a tradition of swimming in the reservoir, or as the residents of Toktogul say – the lake. The water level is noticeably lower. Locals suspect that the water was sold secretly by our officials...The current government says that not even a liter of reservoir water has been sold since Bakiyev (was removed from power). However, the water level does not rise – it’s a fact. Officials associate this fact with a small amount of water inflow...

...In Kyrgyzstan there are about a dozen reservoirs. Only neighboring countries receive the profits. In recent years, due in part to the Toktogul reservoir and Naryn River, Uzbekistan has achieved prosperity on 1.5 million hectares of land, and two provinces of Kazakhstan – 720,000 hectares of land. We can rejoice in our hard earned 189,000 hectares...

We do not know that water is more precious than gold, and even if we did know, we do not act like it...it is time to sell water as a valuable commodity like oil and gas...There is a reason that Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan can refuse to give water the status of a commodity. They do not take a neighbor seriously that has a backward economy and weak statehood. Additionally, they refer to the 1992 agreement on the joint use of transboundary rivers...As long as we divide the north and south, we will not grow the economy and strengthen our army, and our neighbors will treat us with contempt. This became obvious with how Uzbeks have started to create cross-border conflicts. Experts are constantly repeating that water is a source of border conflicts and armed clashes. There is no need to keep quiet about this; we should be ready for anything.

A hydroelectric and irrigation dam on the Naryn River in the Jalal-Abad Province of Kyrgyzstan, this dam is the shortest on our list at 215 meters high.  
Source via: <http://list25.com/25-tallest-dams-in-the-world/>

*(continued)*



## Continued: A Kyrgyz View on Conflict over Water

*(Tajikistan) mentioned that water access plays a role in tension between the two sides. However, it was construction near the border that ultimately led to the clash. There is no question that water is a serious issue in Central Asia, so it is somewhat surprising that there is not more violence over access to it. There is one entity that the author does not mention, possibly because he is simply not aware of it, that has mitigated some tension over water. Water users associations formed and developed in the early 2000s in Central Asia are nongovernment, nonprofit organizations that handle issues of water distribution for farmers (who make up the bulk of each association's members). They rarely cooperate across borders (a few associations in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan have reportedly had meetings together) and, as such, are not able to have much of an impact beyond the village or district level, nor do they receive much publicity. Those who work on agricultural and water management programs in the region widely believe that the associations have had a significant and positive impact.*

*The author makes a good point that each of the governments is in contention over water, largely for agricultural purposes, but this has not led to a conflict between any of the states. Political pressure in various forms has been the method these governments use, and this should be separated from incidents that take place in a particular area. Regardless, it appears that the author sees these two as directly linked and an important factor to watch. **End OE Watch Commentary (Stein)***

## Fergana as FATA?

### Central Asia after 2014 – Outcomes and Strategic Options

By Ted Donnelly

The analysis presented in this essay describes the most likely effects of the 2014 U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan on the Central Asian States, focusing on the Fergana Valley – the strategic center of gravity of the region.



<http://FMSO.leavenworth.army.mil/products.html#Europe>

*“Vice Prime Minister Shamil Atakhanov announced in March 2013 that “there are some territories, about which no one can say to whom they belong, since in 1925 the territory was shared and it is unclear what basis the map still has.”*”

**OE Watch Commentary:** Shootings on the borders of Central Asian countries are a fairly common occurrence, as demonstrated by the accompanying article’s reporting on the one that took place between Kyrgyz and Uzbek border guards on 23 July 2013. The article attempts to show a few of the factors involved in incidents like this and mentions the number of disputed areas on the Kyrgyz-Uzbek border. While there is no other source to compare the number (58) that the author mentions, it is at least a starting point in determining what areas are disputed or what previous maps or demarcation each side refers to, something that is almost always left out of reporting on either country (one article from earlier this year discussed specific areas of where the border is disputed on the Kyrgyz-Tajik border near the Vorukh enclave, see: June 2013 OE Watch, “The Backgrounds of Border Conflicts”).

While the author fails to mention exactly where the shooting happened (it took place on the border near the Aksy District, Jalal-Abad Province, Kyrgyzstan and the Namangan Province, Uzbekistan), he does bring up an important point about economic activity on the borders. While it would be useful to determine which areas of the border are disputed, and even whether or not the governments could reach an agreement on demarcation, the economic impact of a change in the border should not be overlooked. There are no examples of a change in the border directly causing any incidents like those that have taken place in 2013; however, it was pointed out after the clash on the Kyrgyz-Tajik border (April 2013) how the residents of the Ak-Say village depend on the Vorukh enclave for trade. Ak-Say’s geographic isolation from the rest of the Batken Province essentially requires it. It is worth considering the author’s point, that even if border disputes were to be resolved between governments, the economic impact could present more challenges. A clear (re)demarcation might reduce the number of conflicts, but there might be some that stand to lose out on trade, legal or otherwise. **End OE Watch Commentary (Stein)**



Customs point on the Kyrgyz border. Source: [http://m.knews.kg/action/19249\\_uzbekistan\\_zakryil\\_granitsu\\_s\\_kyrgyzstanom\\_posle\\_prigranichnoy\\_perestrelki/](http://m.knews.kg/action/19249_uzbekistan_zakryil_granitsu_s_kyrgyzstanom_posle_prigranichnoy_perestrelki/)

**Source:** Mikhailov, Grigoriy. “Бишкек и Ташкент живут по утерянной советской карте (Bishkek and Tashkent live by the lost Soviet map),” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, 25 July 2013. [http://www.ng.ru/cis/2013-07-25/6\\_bishkek.html](http://www.ng.ru/cis/2013-07-25/6_bishkek.html)

#### Bishkek and Tashkent live by the lost Soviet map

...A recent shooting has resulted in two Uzbek border guards being killed; Kyrgyz border guards were not injured. All day yesterday Tashkent and Bishkek officials blamed each other...The descriptions of the events of that day are different. The Kyrgyz side claims that the two armed Uzbek border guards crossed five meters onto Kyrgyz territory and refused to leave...“At the demand to leave the territory of Kyrgyzstan, the Uzbeks tried to use force...Then there was a shot in the direction of our soldiers,” Returning fire “one Uzbek soldier was killed and the second injured...” The Uzbek version sounds different – the conflict took place on the territory of Uzbekistan, Uzbek border guards asked the guests to leave after which the Kyrgyz began to shoot...

These incidents regularly happen on the Kyrgyz-Uzbek border. There are border guards killed or injured from both sides every so often. The reaction to the incident is traditional – Tashkent, through controlled sources, blames the Kyrgyz, Bishkek – insisting on its innocence, calls for both sides to show restraint. Information about someone being punished as the result of an investigation usually never comes.

...Beyond the accusations and exchanging barbs, a conflict must not break out. Neither Uzbekistan nor Kyrgyzstan is interested in increasing tension on the border. On the other hand, a quick solution of problems and the elimination of conditions for a repeat incident should not be expected. The main reason – the delimitation of the border is still not finalized. On the Kyrgyz-Uzbek border there are 58 disputed areas, enclaves and exclaves...Vice Prime Minister Shamil Atakhanov announced in March 2013 that “there are some territories, about which no one can say to whom they belong, since in 1925 the territory was shared and it is unclear what basis the map still has.”...

There is another circumstance that could bring unrest to the border – contraband. Every day on the Kyrgyz-Uzbek border there are dozens, if not hundreds of tons of smuggled goods...The earnings are in the millions of dollars. The border is full of holes – thousands of people rely on it and it is difficult to change the status quo.

*“Political scientist P. Mullajanov said that if the aim was to isolate former commanders, this would have the opposite effect and “strengthen and expand their social base and popularity – especially among the young.”*”

**OE Watch Commentary:** It has been one year since the clash that took place in the city of Khorog, and, as the accompanying article discusses, there are still some unanswered questions about the operation. Despite this lack of clarity, there are a few of things that can be taken away from this. First, the number of soldiers (3000) reportedly involved in the operation should be taken with some level of skepticism. There were reports that the government of Tajikistan deployed units or personnel from the Ministry of Defense, the Interior Ministry, and the National Security Committee, which could explain the high estimate. It is very likely that a significant number of soldiers were involved in the operation. Perhaps the question that needs to be asked, but is not brought up in the article, is what logistical capabilities government forces have to conduct an operation like this. If the number mentioned in the article is accurate, this would rank as one of the largest operations ever conducted by government forces.

Second, the author makes a valid point that the public of Badakhshan Province’s trust in the central government has been reduced as a result of the operation. On the other hand, the influence that the Aga Khan Foundation had on the outcome might be more significant. Despite the existing animosity toward the government and the level of resistance put up during the operation, the Aga Khan Foundation was able to help negotiate a ceasefire. The sway that the foundation has in Gorno-Badakhshan is already known, but this is a recent and relevant example that demonstrates just how influential it is.

Finally, the author mentions that the different versions of what prompted the operation remain unclear. While it is important to look back at this, there are a couple of outcomes that should be focused on. Two men were found guilty of murdering General Nazarov and sentenced to lengthy prison terms in February of this year, but Tolib Ayombekov, the opposition leader allegedly involved in the clash, was not one of them. Ayombekov was placed under house arrest, although there are rumors that this has not restricted his day-to-day life. The main outcome might be what the political scientist noted at the end of the article: former opposition commanders (at least in some areas) could have a stronger support base as a result of an operation like this. **End OE Watch Commentary (Stein)**

Tajik forces deployed in Khorog, July 2012  
Source: <http://www.rferl.org/content/tajikistan-restive-badakhshan/24712386.html>

Source: Mirzobekova, Ramziya. “Хорог, 2012. Год спустя (Khorog, 2012. A Year Later),” Asia-Plus, 25 July 2013. <http://news.tj/ru/node/162907>

#### Khorog, 2012. A Year Later

Yesterday marked the anniversary of the Khorog events, but since then it is unclear...what prompted the government to deploy three thousand soldiers to Khorog and carry out a 16 hour shootout, which resulted in a number of casualties? Today it is possible to hear different versions, but it is unclear which of these is true.

The military operation in Khorog was carried out (by the official version) to arrest the killers of National Security Committee (GKNB) General Abdullo Nazarov, who was killed July 21 (2012) near Khorog. The accused men were associates of (former) Colonel of the Ishkashim border detachment Tolib Ayombekov, which he allegedly refused to hand over to authorities...For two days the heads of the Ministry of Defense, Interior Ministry, GKNB, and the Prosecutor General’s office negotiated with Ayombekov and could not find a solution. During this time a number of soldiers from various security structures of the country were transferred to Khorog...on July 24 all communication to the city was completely cut off and the operation began...an accurate count of the number of victims of the residents of Khorog amounted to 21 people... According to official data, the number of government forces killed was 23.

Despite the fact that there was a ceasefire in the city and that residents of Khorog surrendered their weapons at the urging of the Aga Khan, the situation remained tense and did not immediately become stable...the city held a rally at which residents demanded the withdrawal of the soldiers. But that did not happen...On the night of August 22 the informal leader of Badakhshan Imumnazar Imumnazarov was killed in his home...

The Khorog events have caused significant damage to the image of our country in the international arena and dramatically reduced the level of public trust of Badakhshan for the central government...E. Fayzov (head of the Aga Khan Foundation) said that the authorities are willing to forgive participants of the fighting if they surrender their weapons. However, it was stated that former (opposition) commanders – Imumnazarov, Muhammadbokirov, Yodgor Mamadaslamov and Tolib Ayombekov, must be handed over to authorities. The question of the suspects in the murder of Nazarov is not an issue...Political scientist P. Mullajanov said that if the aim was to isolate former commanders, this would have the opposite effect and “strengthen and expand their social base and popularity – especially among the young...”

*“During combat activity all satellite signals coming through space will be actively suppressed with so-called ‘white noise’”*

**OE Watch Commentary:** One common thread in Russian military thought about the U.S. military is the U.S. military’s overreliance on technology, especially the use (or overuse) of GPS/satellite technology. Despite this criticism, Russia has made great efforts to complete its own satellite navigation system, known as GLONASS (Global’naya navigatsionnaya sputnikovaya sistema/Global Navigation Satellite System). Due to the development of GLONASS, Russia has seen little need to further support terrestrial-based navigation technologies such as the Long Distance Radio Navigation Station (RSDN) system.

As the accompanying article discusses, the Russian Federation has taken a new look at the feasibility of relying solely on satellite navigation technologies, and a decision point has been reached requiring Russia to look for other options, namely returning to the utilization of terrestrial-based navigation as the primary navigation system in combat operations. As the article points out, several nations have airborne counter-GPS technologies, and the Russian Federation Ground Forces have GP-jamming platoons in the electronic warfare companies of most maneuver brigades.

The Russian Federation’s reassessment may have as much to do with Chinese, as with U.S. technology. The Chinese have made antisatellite technologies a high national priority, successfully destroying their own defunct weather satellite in 2007 with an airplane-launched missile. In May 2013 the Chinese launched a high altitude rocket from the Xichang Satellite Launch Center in western China, which demonstrated a possible capability to destroy a satellite with a ground-based rocket, as the rocket could be used in the future to carry an antisatellite



GLONASS RSDN-10 . Source: <http://ermakinfo.ru/narodnyie-izbranniki-predpolozhili-cto-ghonass-budet-za-nimi-sledit/>

**Source:** Aleksey Krivoruchek, “Skorpion System to Replace GLONASS,” Izvestiya Online, 6 August 2013, <http://izvestia.ru/news/554793#ixzz2bBRC0pRQ>, accessed 18 August 2013.

### Skorpion System to Replace GLONASS

#### Radio waves of new stations can seal Russia from the sky, sea, and land

The Ministry of Defense has begun to replace RSDN-10 [Long Distance Radio Navigation Station] ground-based long-range navigational radar systems with new Skorpion systems. In the event of war, these ground-based positioning systems will replace the space systems GPS and GLONASS [Global Navigation Satellite System]. The renewal program is calculated up to 2020 and started this year with three systems in the Transbaykal circuit.

“During combat activity all satellite signals coming through space will be actively suppressed with so-called ‘white noise,’” Izvestiya was informed by Yuriy Kupin, spokesman for the Russian Institute of Radio Navigation and Time. “The armories of Russia, the USA, and a number of other countries have specially equipped aircraft which can block all near-Earth radio space with noise. The Skorpions are designed to be a kind of backup of GLONASS in such a situation.”

The current long-range navigation systems were developed back in the 1940-50s and partially fulfilled the functions of a positioning system (with an error of 150-800 meters) which is now entrusted to GLONASS and GPS. Now, due to deterioration of the equipment and



GLONASS logo

(continued)

## Continued: Russia Hedges Bets on Satellite Navigation

*payload on a similar trajectory.*

*Whatever the reasoning, the Russian military leadership is veering away from satellite technologies for combat operations, and is likely interested in expanding their own GPS-jamming and antisatellite technologies. End OE Watch Commentary (Bartles)*

the difficulty of servicing it, the RSDN-10 is practically not used and most of the stations have been destroyed. The replacement of ground systems is conditioned firstly by the need to ensure national security in respect of radio-navigation.

Scientific developments of recent years were used in creating the new RSDN. The Skorpions are able to provide greater coverage (1,000 as against 600 km). In addition, the RSDN-10 does not have LKKS - the so-called local control and correction stations which are very remotely deployed, which prevents radio waves from penetrating the territory of a potential enemy and renders the radio-navigation invisible.

“Long-range aviation and the Navy are also the main ‘consumers’ of these stations, which are in service with the PVO [Air Defense] and VVS [Air Force],” Kupin said. “They receive exact time signals and synchronize equipment via such networks.”

The Skorpions, unlike the obsolete stations, are able to automatically support the parameters of a radiated signal, can be managed from a single console, and can suppress residual radio pulses. The system’s receivers can be installed on aviation, land, sea, and river equipment. Another advantage of the Skorpions is the ability to synchronize stations with the GLONASS system, which greatly increases their effectiveness.

“Long-range aviation crews are never guided by the data of only one system when determining a location,” Izvestiya was told by former Air Force commander Petr Deynekin. “We are always engaged in the comprehensive use of applications for determining the exact locations of aircraft. There should also be a stand-alone navigation system so the crew does not depend on radio and space applications which could be susceptible to interference. Incidentally, accuracy of navigation is one of the important problems of war and peace.”

As well as adopting the latest radar developments, a modernization of old systems is also planned. Rosoboronpostavka [Federal Agency for Supplies of Armaments, Military and Specialized Hardware, and Materiel] has ordered repair and restoration work on RSDN-10 complexes and on the RSDN-20 Alfa system. The upgrade is being carried out in the framework of the “Global Navigation Systems” federal target program and in accordance with the Russian radio-navigation plan for 2008-15. About 50 million rubles has been allocated for these purposes from the Defense Ministry budget.

The commissioning of the Skorpion will take place in four stages. Three systems of the Transbaykal circuit will be replaced in 2013-15, four systems of the North Caucasus chain in 2016-17, four in the Far East in 2017-19, and three systems in the South Urals circuit in 2019-20. In addition to the new long-range navigation systems, the Russian army will take delivery of PPA DS/V jam-resistant aircraft receivers which work on GLONASS, GPS, the entire arsenal of ground-based RSDN, and Skorpion signals.



Scorpion. Source: [http://technicamolodezhi.ru/news/novosti\\_nauki\\_i\\_tehniki/GLONASS\\_V\\_MOZGU\\_U\\_NAS](http://technicamolodezhi.ru/news/novosti_nauki_i_tehniki/GLONASS_V_MOZGU_U_NAS)

# Detention Camp in Galyanovo Reflects Russia's Larger Issues With Migration

6 August 2013

**OE Watch Commentary:** On 27 July a violent clash in Moscow's Matveyevsky Market between the police and relatives of rape suspect Magomed Magomedov, a Dagestani, put one Moscow police officer in the hospital with a fractured skull. Following this incident Moscow police conducted a number of raids throughout Moscow's market community, arresting some 1400 alleged illegal immigrants. After the arrests Moscow's three detention facilities lacked adequate space.<sup>1</sup>

The Russian authorities placed approximately 600 of the arrested, primarily Vietnamese, into a hastily set-up tent camp in the Galyanovo district in Eastern Moscow. Moral outrage quickly spread over the treatment of these alleged illegal immigrants in what some described as concentration camps, while others questioned why these individuals needed to be placed into a camp at all, suggesting that soon the Russian government may put political opponents into camps.<sup>2</sup>

Le Hong Truong, consular office chief in the Vietnamese Embassy in Moscow, said the conditions in the camp were poor. "Forty people staying in a 50-square-meter tent – these are simply inhuman conditions," he explained.<sup>3</sup>

The excerpts below further describe the living arrangements in the camp. They also reflect the initial anger towards the treatment of the Vietnamese in Galyanovo, and what appeared, by some reports, to be some improvements in response to this anger.

Ayder Muzhdabaev, deputy chief editor of youth-oriented Moskovskiy Komsomolets, argued emotionally on his Facebook page on 4 August that, in addition to the immorality of such a camp, its creation reflects a poor geostrategy. "By demonstratively humiliating the Vietnamese," he wrote, "Russia loses the last sincere human sympathy in the world...Disgrace, shame for a once-great country and its people. Including in particular – for me."

**Source:** Ayder Muzhdabaev, "КАК НАМ ОБУСТРОИТЬ КОНЦЛАГЕРЬ" (How should we set up the Concentration Camp), Facebook, 4 August 2013 <https://www.facebook.com/ayder.muzhdabaev/posts/619540078079871>

## How we should set up the Concentration Camp

...I won't talk about the morality of such camp - in itself it is outside the moral line. But there are also the political - or rather, the geopolitical effect about which I want to tell the patriots of apartheid and other public of the great power. Well, the one that is so worried about the Great Russia...

A psychologically balanced person cannot consider himself to be a great. At least someone should recognize that from the outside. It is the same with states.

...We are already almost universally despised in the world, in the best case - are tolerated (it's too bad you do not like that word, the rest is worse). But Vietnam - it's a different story. And not about them, but about us (you).

By demonstratively humiliating the Vietnamese, Russia loses the last sincere human sympathy in the world. If someone does not know, then I responsibly declare: in Vietnam they treat (ed) the Russians not just well – well underscored. Perhaps in the best way out of everyone in the world, and at all times. Here the history overlapped, and much more; all Vietnamese, perhaps are the most well-meaning people in the world. And in the first place, they are (have been) to us.

And now we have them here this way - in camps, shivering from the cold in the night? ...

It is still scary to humiliate the Dagestanis, they may start a protest in return—and the Reich is flexing its muscles on the most helpless ones...

Disgrace, shame for once-great country and its people. Including in particular - for me.

Forgive me, my dear Vietnamese friends that I live in such a country, I live - and still have not yet died of shame...

If you, Mr. President [Vladimir Putin], do not stop this disgrace, you will enter into history as leader who brought the world's respect for Russia to the very bottom....

**Source:** Сергей Митрохин: «Туалеты у мигрантов в Гольяново чистые, мы проверяли» (Sergei Mitrokhin: "Bathrooms for Migrants in Golyanovo are Clean, we Checked." TV Dozhd (TV Rain), 11 August, 2013 [http://tvrain.ru/articles/sergej\\_mitrohin\\_tualety\\_u\\_migrantov\\_v\\_goljanovo\\_chistye\\_my\\_proverjali-349782/](http://tvrain.ru/articles/sergej_mitrohin_tualety_u_migrantov_v_goljanovo_chistye_my_proverjali-349782/)

...Sergei Mitrokhin, candidate for mayor of Moscow: Communicating with them [Vietnamese] was impossible, because they did not speak in Russian. The way they are kept does not invoke much criticism. There was an area organized for eating, for washing, bathrooms are clean - we checked - laundry. A question for me was not so much their living arrangements and conditions, as the effectiveness of this endeavor. Money for this are allocated from the federal budget. For me, it is still unclear whether or not the real investigation into finding these people in Russia, whether or not those employers who hired them are being held responsible.

Actually, even if life really did improve, only a week ago, everything was not that great. The camp had no hot water, not enough food and clean clothes. Many people could not find their children who disappeared during the arrest. 30 people had to be hospitalized with maybe with an allergy, or maybe with chickenpox. Even though Gennady Onishchenko [title] said that there is no infection in the camp. But even he found violations in food. Most likely, had it not been for social control, for different volunteers and humanitarian aid, the Vietnamese will be in much worse off than they are right now. So at least they now have rice, fans, clothes, although they continue to live almost 40 people per tent. After the camp came under public scrutiny, it

(continued)

## Continued: Detention Camp in Galyanovo Reflects Russia's Larger Issues With Migration

*Sergei Mitrokhin, candidate for mayor of Moscow, told the liberal, opposition-leaning TV Dozhd (TV Rain) on 11 August, “[a]fter the camp came under public scrutiny, it seemed that the camp administrators began to address some problems quicker.” Mitrokhin described an initial situation where nothing got done, as different government agencies pushed the responsibility onto each other for taking care of the camp, “because no one knew who should do it.”*

*Press reports suggest it is difficult to talk to the Vietnamese about their treatment, in part because they do not speak Russian, in part because the authorities are not keen on allowing them to speak. The reports do suggest improvement, created both by the authorities and through donations of food and clothing from volunteers.*

*Larger questions, however, remain about the Russian government's treatment of migrants, legal or not. Russia's dependence on their labor, combined with a negative public perception toward their presence has resulted in an explosive situation. The very creation of the Galyanovo camp reflects this volatile situation. **End OE Watch Commentary (Borshchevskaya)***

1. Yekaterina Kravtsova, “‘Migrant Camp’ Inspires New Facilities” August 5, 2013, The Moscow Times, <http://www.themoscowtimes.com/news/article/migrant-camp-inspires-new-facilities/484138.html>
2. Aydar Burabiyev, “Аквариум в Гольяново. Как строят гетто,” August 8, 2013, Slon.ru [http://slon.ru/russia/akvarium\\_v\\_golyanovo\\_kak\\_stroyat\\_getto-975769.xhtml](http://slon.ru/russia/akvarium_v_golyanovo_kak_stroyat_getto-975769.xhtml)
3. “Rights Workers, Vietnamese Embassy Concerned About Moscow Migrant Camp,” August 5, 2013, RIA Novosti <http://en.rian.ru/russia/20130805/182595050.html>

seemed that the camp administrators began to address some problems quicker. For example, almost all women were immediately taken out of the camp: they have found a special place for them in deportation centers. It is possible that they could not provide adequate living conditions in Golyanovo, because no one knew who should do it. FMS [Federal Migration Services], MOE [Ministry of Emergencies], and the police - all push this onto each other, and it seems as if no one is responsible for anything....

**Source:** Olga Marandi, “Столичные власти пожалели мигрантов и решили не сносить лагерь в Гольяново,” (City Authorities Spared Migrants and Decided not to Demolish the Camp in Galyanovo,) Moskovskiy Komsomolets, 12 August 2013 <http://www.mk.ru/moscow/article/2013/08/12/897900-stolichnyie-vlasti-pozhaleli-migrantov-i-reshili-ne-snosit-lager-v-golyanovo.html>

### City Authorities Spared Migrants and Decided not to Demolish the Camp in Galyanovo

Last week information appeared that 20 migrants from this camp developed some kind of a rash caused, probably, chicken pox or an allergic reaction. The Moscow City Government denied information about the outbreak of ASF [African Swine Fever]. In turn, the Federal Service said that the camp revealed violations of sanitary and epidemiological rules with regard to food and living accommodations. Human rights organizations noted this earlier, and the Vietnamese ambassador called the detention conditions of foreigners “inhuman.” Human Rights ombudsman Vladimir Lukin came to the camp, who said that the migrants are held in better conditions than when they had been living in the capital with an illegal status.

## Russian Bioweapon Defense

30 July 2013

*“According to Captain 1st Rank, Retired, Konstantin Sivkov, vice president of the Academy of Geopolitical Problems, the United States with its state-of-the-art technologies remains the primary threat of the employment of biological weapons against Russia.”*



CPT (R) Konstantin Sivkov.  
Source: <http://army-news.ru/2011/09/eshhyo-49-let-na-afganskoj-ambrazure/>

**OE Watch Commentary:** *The Soviet Union had the largest and most developed biological weapons program ever created. Even after the USSR ratified the Biological Weapons Conventions treaty in 1975, the country continued to improve and refine its offensive capabilities in this class of weapons. Employing over 50,000 workers in over 40 major research institutes and production plants, the Soviet leadership apparently did not believe that its Cold War foe would abide by the treaty, so they persisted in developing offensive bioweapons.*

*After the collapse of the USSR in 1991, and as relations improved between the US and Russia, leaders in Washington offered to provide funding and expertise to secure and destroy these biological stockpiles. Over the past two decades, while working with its Russian partners, the US has invested considerable expense and effort to reduce the likelihood that these weapons would ever be used. Even with this close cooperation, however, questions remained over Russia's complete transparency in biological weapon defense and development.*

*As the accompanying excerpt points out, Russian defense officials plan to improve their ability to quickly identify and then create vaccines to neutralize any biological pathogen. This extraordinary system will purportedly use “genetic-engineering technology,” whereby the disease vector can quickly be neutralized by a genetically engineered vaccine. According to the article, a similar system has already been fielded within the Ministry of Emergency Services.*

**Source:** Denis Telmanov, “Минобороны объявило войну вирусам,” [Defense Ministry Has Declared War on Viruses] Izvestiya Online, 30 July 2013.

#### MoD Builds Bio Defense System, US ‘Covert’ Use of Bio Weapons Against Russia,

A system to neutralize deadly viruses and bacteria will be available to the Russian military late in 2014. The Defense Ministry has ordered the development of such a system with the aim of defense against biological threats -- the random or malevolent dissemination of pathogens. Tests will be conducted at military institutes where in Soviet times biological weapons -- combat strains of plague, anthrax, and other infections -- were manufactured.

According to the documentation, the total cost of developing the protective system, comprising five components, amounts to R284 million. With this money it is planned to create a computer complex capable within one hour of conducting a DNA analysis of any bacterium or virus, formulating a vaccine capable of neutralizing the pathogen, and organizing its production.

At the core of the complex will be a system of support for decision making relating to the tackling of emergency situations at installations posing a biological hazard (SPPR LChS), which is to be designated Berkut-1. In structural terms it will be similar to an analogous system of emergency situations prevention operated by the Emergency Situations Ministry and a troop command and control system that the Defense Ministry is now actively introducing.

The system will display contamination data for a territory on an electronic map, and it will make a mathematical prognosis of the development of the situation and indicate the options for countering the threats employing the available manpower and equipment, from RKhBZ (Radiation, Chemical, and Biological Defense Troops) subunits to strategic stockpiles of gas masks, antidotes, and disinfectants.

For its calculations the system will maintain a database of lethal viruses and bacteria with an indication of the drugs required for their neutralization, and of the country's biologically hazardous installations.

A complex for the separation of nucleic acids, which is being developed under the codename Solovey-1, will identify the type of virus and bacterium. Within the space of one hour this complex is to isolate the DNA and RNA of the detected pathogens, which are essential for the creation of a vaccine. In this context, the capacity of the complex should enable it to conduct four parallel analyses in an hour.

*(continued)*

## Continued: Russian Bioweapon Defense

*In justifying the need for this new equipment, the article includes a statement from Captain (Retired) Konstantin Sivkov, Vice President of the Academy of Geopolitical Problems. One of the basic premises of this organization (<http://akademiagp.ru/>) is that the West (and the US in particular) is out to weaken Russia. Quoted as an expert source, Captain Sivkov suggests that the US has been responsible for spreading a number of recent diseases which have plagued Russia and other countries. Against such a dire threat, he claims that Russia needs to maintain a robust biological weapons program.*

*This article is doubly noteworthy in that it was published in what has been regarded as a mainstream Russian daily. In the past such a bellicose accusation by an "expert" like Sivkov would be countered with a more moderate assessment, allowing the reader to draw his own conclusion. That this accusation remains unchallenged speaks volumes about the level of trust between the two countries today. **End OE Watch Commentary (Finch)***

Once the enemy has been identified, a system codenamed Ukhod-1 will go into action, and will create a vaccine on the basis of genetic engineering. The job of this system is to introduce the DNA of the pathogen into a laboratory cell and identify the mechanism with which to combat it. What is actually being created for the army for the first time is a genetic-engineering technology that permits protein synthesis and cell cloning to obtain new-generation antiviral vaccines....

...The system will be deployed in Kirov on the site of the Defense Ministry's Military Biological Institute, where viruses and bacteria have been studied since Soviet times, and also where combat strains of plague, anthrax, and other biological weapon components were produced (in the technical specification it is designated the Scientific Research Center (Military Unit 23527, disposition Kirov) of the Federal State Public Institution #33 Central Scientific Research Test Institute of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation)....

...This program, according to the certification, was formulated for the neutralization of biological threats, ranging from the chance importation of dangerous pathogens into Russia to the propagation of biological weapons by terrorists or other countries' special services.

According to Captain 1st Rank, Retired, Konstantin Sivkov, vice president of the Academy of Geopolitical Problems, the United States with its state-of-the-art technologies remains the primary threat of the employment of biological weapons against Russia.

"During the last three years one or two new bacterial and viral epidemics have been spreading around the world and across Russia -- swine flu, bird flu, atypical pneumonia, African hog cholera, serous meningitis in children. Mutation rates in the viruses are extremely high and are not typical for nature. Mutations such as these can occur only by artificial means. I believe, therefore, that this is nothing other than the fruits of the covert employment of biological weapons against Russia and other countries. And today only the United States can be working with such weaponry," Sivkov commented for Izvestiya.

In the expert's words, in order to protect itself against biological threats, Russia must have "a powerful system capable of reacting promptly to the emergence of previously unknown pathogens"....

...At the same time, however, he stressed that a system such as this cannot be built for the R284 million allocated by the Ministry of Defense.

"This is sufficient only for the theory segment. Much more is needed before a practicable system becomes available," Sivkov believes.

On top of that, as he described it, there are essentially no science schools left in Russia that are capable of offering the military effective technologies for the detection and combating of combat viruses and bacteria.

*(continued)*

## Well-Fed Russian Soldiers

16 July 2013

**OE Watch Commentary:** *Up until quite recently the Russian military was not known for its culinary prowess, particularly when it came to the diet of the average conscript. While the profiles of some senior officers reflected a healthy appetite, most Russian soldiers barely filled out their uniforms. Indeed, there have been a handful of tragic incidents over the past two decades where Russian conscripts were literally starved. However, as part of their reform efforts to improve the prestige of Army service, Russian military leaders have made substantial improvements in the conscript diet.*

*As the brief excerpt illustrates, most Russian conscripts now actually gain weight during their one-year tour of duty. Even with a rigorous training schedule, it is a challenge for Russian soldiers to burn off the 4400 calories found in their daily combat rations. In contrast to the past, most young Russian men today weigh more when they leave the military than when they joined.*

*While these statistics are quite impressive, even more convincing are photos from a recent visit by a group of Russian bloggers to an army mess-hall.*

*<http://www.liveinternet.ru/users/2763549/post285701953/>*

*As this blogger points out, this was not your standard “pokazuka” (dog and pony show) to impress visitors. The bloggers were free to photograph and comment on both the positive and negative aspects of their visit. Except for some mold*

**Source:** Viktor Sokirko, “Армия толстеет,” [Army Puts on Weight] Izvestiya Online, 16 July 2013.

### New Diet Leads To Average of 5kg Weight Gain Among Conscripts

Conscripts have started to put on weight much faster than five years ago. According to the results of control measurements, during six months of service recruits in 2012 gained up to 5 kg in weight.

“The previous indicator, until 2009, was 3 kg,” Izvestiya was told by an informed source in the military medical service of the Western Military District.

As was explained to Izvestiya by Andrey Datsko, head of the Ministry of Defense Central Military Medical Commission Department for the Examination of Conscripts, the recruits’ weight gain was established following the results of a medical survey conducted in April-May 2013 -- the military doctors conduct such surveys of soldiers every six months. The data are summarized in military districts and then are forwarded to the Ministry of Defense Main Military Medical Directorate (GVMU), and from there to the minister of defense.

The main reason for the rapid increase in weight among soldiers is that they are fed very nutritiously: Russian combat rations are the richest in the world at 4,400 kilocalories per day, while only those who undertake considerable physical effort burn fat.

“A serviceman in a year eats 235 kg of bread alone, while the amount of potatoes and meat available is twice as much as for his peers in the civilian world,” Izvestiya was told by a former employee of the outsourcing company Keytering R, which supplied food to servicemen in the Eastern Military District.

The lower weight reading for Russian conscripts is 44 kg at a height of 150 cm. Those who stand at 175 cm (the norm is 60-70 kg) and show on the scales a mark

(continued)



*“Soldiers really do put on weight during their service, especially those who are underweight when conscripted.”*

## Continued: Well-Fed Russian Soldiers

*on the ceiling, the dining facility appears to be in decent shape and the food looks both fresh and plentiful. As the comments to the blog point out, this unit was located not too far from Moscow; the mess hall situation in remote units may be quite different.*

*Whether attracting conscript or contract soldier, the Russian military continues to face serious manpower challenges. Part of the reluctance among young Russian men to don a military uniform stems from a long history of soldier abuse, where food deprivation was sometimes used as a form of punishment. Recent reforms, to include allowing bloggers to visit military units, would suggest that the “hunger games” are finally over within the lower ranks of the Russian military. **End OE Watch Commentary (Finch)***

above 107 kg are regarded as “corpulent” -- such recruits are not put under arms.

Viktor Goremykin, head of Ministry of Defense Main Cadres Directorate, said that he sees no problem in weight increases among servicemen.

“Soldiers really do put on weight during their service, especially those who are underweight when conscripted. We feed those ones up especially so that they can gain their natural weight, - the chief military cadre officer said.

According to him, the problem of excess weight could be a greater threat to senior officers than soldiers or lieutenants.

“For example, in our yard we have installed two volleyball courts and trainers so that staff officers can keep themselves in shape,” Goremykin noted....

...The Russian Army diet has indeed become more plentiful and diverse, which is noted even by Valentina Melnikova, secretary of the Committee of Soldiers’ Mothers, who had actively quarreled previously with the generals about of the paucity of army rations. Meanwhile, physical training, which logically would be essential to burn calories, has declined....

...According to Izvestiya, the soldiers’ average weight gain of 5 kg is still not considered critical. However, if this figure rises to 7-8 kg (which is not ruled out with such a rate of weight “gains,”) then, according to military doctors, it can be argued that the problem of excess weight has not spared even our army.

## Russia’s Strategic Mobility

Supporting ‘Hard Power’ to 2020?

By Roger N. McDermott

[http://www.foi.se/ReportFiles/foir\\_3587.pdf](http://www.foi.se/ReportFiles/foir_3587.pdf)

Roger N. McDermott’s Russia’s Strategic Mobility: Supporting ‘Hard Power’ to 2020? examines the rapidly changing Russian military’s strategic capabilities for logistics, combat service support, and force projection. McDermott’s work for The Russia Studies Programme of the Swedish Defence Research Agency (FOI) sheds light on the unglamorous, but vitally important logistic backbone upon which the Russian military relies. Roger N. McDermott is a Senior International Fellow for the Foreign Military Studies Office.



APRIL 2013



“...The Defense Ministry links Shoygu’s decision to return officer ranks to military commissars with an elevation in the prestige of military service...”

**OE Watch Commentary:** Russian defense officials will begin the Autumn 2013 conscript campaign next month (October 2013). Due to budget constraints, there have been reports that the number of conscripts will increase to offset the fewer number of contract soldiers joining the military. Exact figures have yet to be announced, but approximately 200,000 young Russian men will be drafted this fall to serve a one-year tour of duty in the military.

The Military Commissariat (Военный коммисариат) is the organization responsible for processing young Russian men into the military. In 2009 the former defense minister, in an effort to fight corruption and outsource nonmilitary functions, directed that many of these commissar positions be transformed into civilian positions. As the excerpt points out, this decision has now been reversed, and military officers will serve as commissars to handle the Autumn 2013 draft.

The article lists a number of reasons for this change in commissar status: the prestige associated with military rank; the authority vested in military commissars to appoint rank; the responsibility of military commissars to also handle mobilization plans; and the discipline required to manage a military induction center. The article neglects to mention the corruption which has traditionally surrounded this position and which served as the partial basis to assign civilians to this task back in 2009. Bribing one’s way out of military service remains widespread. Many young Russian men (or their parents) are willing to pay off induction or medical officials to avoid wearing a conscript uniform. Given the scale of corruption within Russia today, assigning military officers back to these commissar positions may not result in higher prestige for military commissars.  
**End OE Watch Commentary (Finch)**

**Source:** Viktor Sokirko, “Шойгу вернул военкомам погоны,” [Shoygu Returned Epaulets to Military Commissars] Izvestiya Online, 18 July 2013.

#### Defense Minister Orders Return of Military Rank to Military Commissars

Defense Minister Sergey Shoygu ordered that military ranks taken from military commissars of Russian Federation [RF] components by Anatoliy Serdyukov in 2009 be returned to them. Shoygu voiced the decision on this in the closed part of the Defense Ministry Collegium on 27 June 2013. Serdyukov made military commissars civilians by Defense Minister Order No 520 of 13 October 2008.

Defense Ministry Main Cadres Directorate Chief Colonel-General Viktor Goremykin told Izvestiya that Shoygu was to sign the order in August for returning the ranks.

“Military ranks will be returned before the beginning of the fall draft campaign. These will be colonel ranks, inasmuch as the president confers general ranks,” Goremykin explained.

According to plans of the Main Organization-Mobilization Directorate to which military commissars are subordinate, a minimum of one more officer position will appear in their tables of organization, inasmuch as an officer must have servicemen subordinate to him.

Contradictions connected with military commissars not having rank were the reason for the return of military ranks. According to the statute on performance of military service, the military commissar of a component of the country confers the first military rank of “private” on conscripted soldiers; however, he himself now is a civilian employee.

The military commissar’s civilian status does not allow him to hold servicemen disciplinarily liable despite the fact that he is responsible for military discipline in draftee recruiting depots.

The military department explained to Izvestiya that as an officer, the military commissar of a federal city, kray, republic, or oblast will be subordinate to the military district commander, and to the military district deputy chief of staff in questions of organization-mobilization work.

His range of duties will be broadened somewhat compared with the civilian position. Now he will be responsible for organizing and maintaining combat and mobilization readiness of the military commissariat and will hold inspections, exercises, and drills with personnel. The military commissar will be armed with an authorized pistol, which will be stored in the armory....

...The Defense Ministry links Shoygu’s decision to return officer ranks to military commissars with an elevation in the prestige of military service -- military commissar positions had become unpopular among officers, because to become a military commissar it was necessary to be discharged from military service, lose pay for rank, and lose the military service seniority on which the right to a pension and apartment depends.



Military Commissar patch.  
Source: <http://voencom-eao.narod.ru/>

*“Rely on NATO but keep your powder dry. International relations are vital but, even so, we can only count on ourselves.”*

**OE Watch Commentary:** *This past month (August 2013) marked the fifth anniversary of the conflict between Russia and Georgia. The war and its aftermath were widely discussed in all forms of media in both countries. According to the Kremlin’s narrative, this brief war served as a watershed in spelling out Russia’s post-Soviet identity. In this retelling, Russia would no longer submit to Western encroachments, but would, if necessary, use military force to protect its legitimate interests.*

*Besides Georgia, some of Russia’s other neighbors have constructed a far different narrative from this conflict, where, not surprisingly, they portray Russian actions as proof of renewed aggressiveness. In the adjacent excerpt, former Estonian Defense Minister Mart Laar spells out what he considers the most important lessons learned from this conflict. A couple of Laar’s points merit closer examination.*

*Even though the Russians did not throw the first punch, Laar claims that the Kremlin had long been planning for such a contingency. The Georgian Armed Forces, however, “were living a life of illusions,” and failed to make concrete plans to counter a possible full-scale Russian attack. Even with NATO intelligence support, they were operating under the false presumption that Russia would not attack its neighbors.*

*Laar’s other observations, e.g., importance of information, cyber operations, air superiority etc., are all valid and have been noted by many other analysts. His final three comments, however, are especially poignant. While some claim that new technologies are changing the very nature of war, Laar insists that defense forces be truly proficient in the application of traditional military power, particularly in armor and artillery support. His final comment regarding not overrelying upon NATO suggests that individual members of the alliance must still take the lead in providing for their own national defense. **End OE Watch Commentary (Finch)***

**Source:** Mart Laar, former Estonian defense minister (2011-2012), “Russian-Georgian War -- Ten Lessons for Estonia” Tallinn Postimees, 9 August 2013.

#### Former Estonian Defense Minister Ponders Lessons of Russian-Georgian War

Within days, five years will have passed since the Russian-Georgian war. Much has been written about it and even a movie was made; still, many questions remain unanswered. For example, opinions differ as to when exactly the war started and ended, who started it, and who was to blame. Leaving political aspects aside, I will focus on 10 lessons that may hopefully be useful for Estonia’s national defense.

1. Better the bitter truth than fancy illusions. While Russia had been preparing for the war for years, knowing exactly what it wanted, Georgia had not. Georgia let itself be drawn into the war at a most unfavorable time. Its best brigade was serving in Iraq and another was about to replace it. A part of the army was being re-armed and the equipment was in maintenance; many officers were on leave. The minister of defense was on holiday in Italy.

The Georgian Armed Forces were living a life of illusions. No thorough preparations had been made for the defense of Georgia. There were hopes to wage the war on Abkhazian or South-Ossetian soil. In the minds of the Georgians, Russian intervention was only feasible within the scope of the wars of the 1990s. A wider Russian intervention was considered extremely improbable, and this was never really considered while planning the operation. Therefore, facing the Russian Armed Forces came as a total shock and surprise for the Georgians; for several days they struggled to overcome it. The entire Georgian military was living in illusion, and therefore predestined to march into defeat.

2. The work done by headquarters and proper plans determine the course of the war. Russia was ready for the war to the very last button, having been thoroughly prepared and trained for the operation. The Georgian armed forces were to be forced into launching an attack in South-Ossetia; then, they were to be encircled and defeated. After that, it would have been easy to attack the totally defenseless Georgia and execute a change in power.

Georgia’s plans, in contrast, were extremely hazy. Their initial plan did, indeed, take into account the possibility of a limited intervention by the Russian Armed Forces, and this had some roots in reality; even so, an attack against the South-Ossetian capital Tskhinvali was not envisaged. One brigade was supposed to pass the city on the left and the other on the right in order to meet up on the other side of the city, and move towards Gupta and the Roki Tunnel to cut off any aid from Russia.

Taking Tskhinvali was supposed to happen later. At the last minute, however, the plan was changed and a direct attack on Tskhinvali was launched. Instead of moving forward quickly, they directed their units toward the town. The Georgian Forces never made it to the Gupta Bridge, let alone the Roki Tunnel. That determined the fate of the war...



Former Estonian Defense Minister, Mart Laar. Source: <http://upload.wikimedia.org/>

*(continued)*

...3. Intelligence equals sight. In the Russian-Georgian war, both sides were rather presumptuous regarding intelligence. The Russian intelligence lacked precise information on Georgia, and they severely underestimated Georgia's ability to resist.

The Georgian intelligence did have lots of data on Russia, but they did not have decent analysis capability to put the data together. Also, they trusted NATO's technical reconnaissance and surveillance too much, which totally missed the amassment of Russian troops on the border, which were able to move swiftly into South-Ossetia. It was presumed that Russia would not attack its neighbors. This presumption was done away with by the Russian-Georgian war, and everything is now analyzed from a totally different angle....

...4. Psychological defense matters. The war was preceded by a massive information attack by Russia. Attempts were made to present the world with a view of Georgia being a small, aggressive and unpredictable country, which was led by crazy and morally corrupt bastards. Thereby, it was possible to isolate Georgia from its allies, and make its warnings sound unreliable. ...

...5. Modern wars are total by nature. As revealed by the Russian-Georgian war, in contemporary warfare, conventional means are entwined with new methods such as cyber and information wars. When Russian tanks moved forward, cyber attacks were launched....

...6. Decent medical services and personal means of protection save lives....

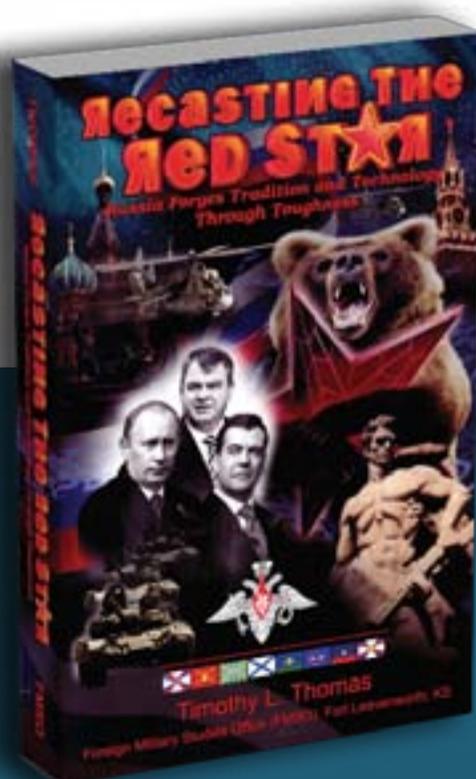
...7. Controlling air space is of vital importance. Georgia's air force is small, and it was only used in one mission during the war. That was reasonable because otherwise those planes would also have been shot down. Theoretically, at least, the Russian Air Force felt totally confident in Georgian skies. Georgia's air defense forces tried to put up resistance but were quickly subdued, and, having lost the radars, they were quite in the dark....

...8. Do not scrap tanks and artillery. As revealed by the Russian-Georgian war, both tanks and artillery have a significant role in contemporary warfare. Tanks helped stop the Russian offensive at the start of the war, and played the decisive role in destroying the convoy under General Khrulev, commander of the Russian 58th Army on 9 August 2008....

...9. Half-baked solutions will not work. Instead of a "paper army" and parade units, fully integrated units must be formed. They could be less in number but should be capable. What good were the Georgian brigades when the men lacked decent communications and others had no transportation? The ability of such units to participate in battle is nonexistent....

...10. Rely on NATO but keep your powder dry. International relations are vital but, even so, we can only count on ourselves. The hopes of Georgia for solid help from somebody were crushed during the war....

...For Estonia, the experience means that we must be well integrated and be ready to interact with NATO, while diligently seeing to our independent defense capabilities. At that, it is vital to have a strong will to defend ourselves, that being the desire to stand up and fight for our country if needed. The stronger the will, the safer the state will be.



**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.**

*“Ukraine is facing a new choice: join with Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan to form a Eurasian economic union, or associate itself more closely with the European Union.”*

**OE Watch Commentary:** Ukraine has often proven vital in neighboring Russia’s history. In 1654 Bogdan Khmelnytsky and his Ukrainian Cossacks allied with Russia against the Polish-Lithuanian state. Ukraine was gradually absorbed into the expanding Russian Empire - completely by the latter half of the 18th century. In 1991 Ukraine regained its independence by refusing to remain in Gorbachev’s disintegrating Soviet Union. Kiev’s surrender of Soviet nuclear weapons in exchange for Russian recognition of Ukrainian sovereignty eased Russia’s transition from a superpower to a great power.

Independence has not brought economic wealth or even national identity. Many Eastern Ukrainians identify with Russia and regard the Soviet Union with nostalgia. Many Western Ukrainians were oriented toward the West, but their reception did not meet their expectations.

Dimitri Trenin, Director of the Carnegie Moscow Center, sees Ukraine at an impasse and looks to the elections of 2015 to provide impetus to settling Ukraine within the East or the West. **End OE Watch Commentary (Grau)**

**Source:** Dimitri Trenin, Director of the Carnegie Moscow Center, 12 August 2013

### Whose Ukraine?

... The Eurasian option carries strong emotional overtones of rich shared legacy and promises immediate economic benefits, such as easier access to the market of some 170 million people, and lower gas prices. The European option does not offer an EU membership prospect, but an association and “deep free trade” with the world’s biggest and richest economic entity. It is also emotionally charged, linked to expectations of a “European future” for Ukraine.

So far, the Ukrainian people have been divided on the issue, which illustrates the complexity of the emerging Ukrainian nation. The Ukrainian government, for its part, has been pursuing a policy of winning as many concessions as possible from its EU and Russian partners, and playing them off against each other, while doing as little as possible to lead Ukraine in either direction. The double fear of the Ukrainian elite is easy to see. It abhors assimilation with Russia, and consequent loss of its own power. It equally dreads real Europeanization of Ukraine, which will again take away its power and give it to the Ukrainian people instead. Staying put in order to preserve its power and its riches, while making countervailing gestures east and west, has been the elite’s standard policy approach.

It would be wrong to describe the “battle for Ukraine” as one waged between Brussels and Moscow. The Europeans are very much focused on themselves for the time being, and as far as the EU enlargement goes, on the Balkans. To them, Ukraine is still a bridge too far, even though they do not relish the prospect of Kiev succumbing to the Kremlin’s wooing. The Kremlin, of course, is pushing for Kiev’s accession to the Customs Union, and geopolitics is as important a factor here as economics. Yet, Russia will not subsidize Ukraine much beyond giving it a discount on gas prices and re-integrating the Ukrainian arms industry with its Russian counterparts.

The choice, and then the battle, is essentially for the Ukrainians themselves to take. What looks like geopolitics and international relations is actually very much about Ukraine’s domestic politics, its political economy and the unfinished process of nation-building. There is again a need for the Ukrainian people to speak out and decide the future of their country. The 2015 presidential election appears as the next best opportunity for that.

Eurasian Union Map (right)  
Source: <http://heritage.org>



## Mandatory Russian Military History Lessons for the Troops

10 July 2013

*“According to Shoygu’s orders, the Russian national anthem will be played every morning in military units.”*

**OE Watch Commentary:** Ever since the fall of the Soviet Union the Russian military has discussed the need to reinvigorate a patriotic and cultural climate within the armed forces in order to stress the importance of traditions and to underscore the sacrifices that were made to make Russia great. A recent speech by Defense Minister Sergey Shoygu, excerpted below, addressed that requirement once and for all on Russian TV. Shoygu stated that patriotic instruction would be mandatory, not recommended, for the force and would include, above all, films and books.

Of interest is that in 2011 just such an expanded program of learning was published in the Russian military newspaper *Krasnaya Zvezda*. It discussed in detail the lectures, films, and books that represent the best traditions and military-patriotic events in Soviet and Russian history (a translation of this program can be found on pages 60-67 of the FMSO book *Recasting the Red Star*. It is expected that most of the films and books Shoygu’s staff will choose will come from this list.). One must assume, based on Shoygu’s statement, that this program of military-patriotic instruction never made it too far beyond the words printed in *Krasnaya Zvezda*. In addition, a history book will be prepared that will discuss the traditions and exploits of those soldiers, sailors, and airmen who proceeded the current generation in serving Mother Russia. **End of OE Commentary**  
(Thomas)



Coat of Arms of the Russian Federation. Source: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Coat\\_of\\_Arms\\_of\\_the\\_Russian\\_Federation.svg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Coat_of_Arms_of_the_Russian_Federation.svg)

**Source:** Kadri Gürsel, “Mağduriyet Simyacıları (Victimization Alchemists),” *Milliyet*, 7 July 2013, <http://dunya.milliyet.com.tr/magduriyet-simyacilari/dunya/ydetay/1733378/default.htm>

### Defense Minister Sergey Shoygu Speaks on Russian TV Show

I think it is extremely important to prepare a full list of mandatory films and books to be watched and read in the Armed Forces. That is the first thing. I repeat, mandatory films. Not recommended ones. One hundred films. So, one serves a year, and he must watch one hundred films in that year. Next, as regards books, define a list of books that, first, will be included in the mandatory program and, second, I don’t know whether it will be in the form of end-of-term tests or some other form of conversation, but this has to happen. We must be convinced that they have read these books. Third, I am asking you to set up a group and prepare, if you like, a short course on the history of the Russian army, the Soviet army. I think that such a course must be prepared in order to [changes tack] allocate appropriate funds for this issue, and this must be a mandatory book in all military units and [military] educational establishments. If a single history textbook for the country cannot be prepared, well, let us create a single history textbook for our army. In any case, we fully understand what we defended, how we defended it, what our fathers and grandfathers defended and how they defended it. It should not be too long, but it should cover the major milestones in the history of our army.

## SAUDI ARABIA: THE SUCCESSION IS BEING TWEETED

If recent history is to be our guide, Saudi Arabia's next crown prince will come from one of the country's three security institutions (Ministry of Defense [MoD], Ministry of Interior [MoI], Saudi Arabian National Guard [SANG]). This has been the case with the past four crown princes: King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz had been commander of the SANG for nearly two decades when he was named crown prince in 1982. Abdullah's ascent to the throne in August 2005 allowed longtime Minister of Defense Prince Sultan bin Abdulaziz to become crown prince. Sultan's death in October 2011 paved the way for Prince Nayef bin Abdulaziz, who had led the MoI for over 35 years, to become crown prince. Sultan's replacement atop the MoD was his brother Salman bin Abdulaziz, who became crown prince when Nayef passed away in June 2012. Even King Fahd bin Abdulaziz, the man whom Abdullah replaced as king in 2005, was minister of interior for more than a decade before being named crown prince in 1975.<sup>1</sup>

Over the years, these three security institutions developed into fiefdoms ruled by a powerful prince: Prince Sultan lorded over the MoD and its massive weapons acquisitions; Prince Nayef oversaw the expansion and paramilitarization of the MoI in the post 9/11 era; and King Abdullah built the SANG into the country's premier military force.<sup>2</sup> Each of the three minister-princes also groomed a son to take over once the father moved on to greater things.

The SANG was the first to change hands. In November 2010, after heading the force for nearly fifty years, King Abdullah transferred command to his son Mutaib bin Abdullah.<sup>3</sup> The handover was fairly seamless in part because King Abdullah was still alive to oversee it.

Succession in the MoD and MoI, on the other hand, was complicated by the deaths of Sultan and Nayef. While each had an heir apparent serving as assistant minister, each also had a brother serving as deputy minister. Upon Sultan's death, his brother and longtime deputy Abd al-Rahman bin Abdulaziz believed he was entitled to at least one of Sultan's posts (crown prince and minister of defense).<sup>4</sup> His logic was based on primogeniture: with Sultan's death, he became the eldest of the "Sudairi Seven," the strongest faction from among the sons of Abdulaziz Al Saud (Ibn Saud), the founder of modern Saudi Arabia. This group of seven full-brothers consisted of (by order of age): Fahd (former king), Sultan (former crown prince), Abd al-Rahman, Nayef (former crown prince), Turki II, Salman (current crown prince), and Ahmed.

Instead, the positions went to two of his younger brothers: Nayef became crown prince and Salman was appointed minister of defense.<sup>5</sup> On 5 November 2011, Abd al-Rahman was retired and replaced as deputy defense minister by his nephew – Sultan's son and heir apparent Khalid bin Sultan. Abd al-Rahman's younger brother Salman (who had spent the bulk of his career as governor of Riyadh) was named defense minister on the same day.<sup>6</sup>



Prince Salman Bin Abdul Aziz. Source: <http://www.saudigazette.com.sa/index.cfm?method=home.regcon&contentid=20120618127409>

*(continued)*



## Continued: SAUDI ARABIA: THE SUCCESSION IS BEING TWEETED



Mohammed bin Nayef. Source: [http://www.aljeeran.net/inp/Upload/2241452\\_gal.Mohammed.bin.nayef.jpg\\_-1\\_-1%5B1%5D.jpg](http://www.aljeeran.net/inp/Upload/2241452_gal.Mohammed.bin.nayef.jpg_-1_-1%5B1%5D.jpg)

The death of Crown Prince and Minister of Interior Nayef on 16 June 2012 created a similar situation in the MoI. In this case, however, Nayef's longtime deputy Ahmed bin Abdulaziz was in fact promoted to the position of minister of interior. Nayef's son and purported heir, Mohammed bin Nayef, was in turn promoted from assistant to deputy minister, as had been done with Khalid bin Sultan at the MoD.

Ahmed bin Abdulaziz, the youngest of the "Sudairi Seven," was considered one of the ruling generation's few remaining viable candidates to the throne even before this promotion. On 5 November 2012, however, exactly one year after the MoD reshuffling and dismissal of Abd al-Rahman, Ahmed bin Abdulaziz was dismissed as interior minister and replaced by his nephew and deputy Mohammed bin Nayef.<sup>7</sup> Ahmed's abortive reign as interior minister may have dented his candidacy for the crown, although if the inter-generational transfer continues to be postponed he may remain one of the only viable candidates for managing its later stages.<sup>8</sup>

With his promotion, Mohammed bin Nayef, meanwhile, joined Mutaib bin Abdullah as one of the new generation's indisputable powerbrokers.<sup>9</sup> The promotion may have also increased expectations for a similar move in the MoD. Prince Salman, who had been named defense minister the year before and crown prince several months later, had spent his career as governor of Riyadh. At the time, viewing him as a transitional figure between Sultan bin Abdulaziz and Khalid bin Sultan in the MoD seemed reasonable, though it proved to be inaccurate.<sup>10</sup>

On 20 April 2013, a royal decree dismissed Khalid bin Sultan from his post as deputy minister of defense, replacing him with the former head of the navy Fahd bin Abdullah Al Saud.<sup>11</sup> The dismissal appears to have come at the behest of Salman; in a possible rebuke to Khalid, the royal statement announcing the change did not say that he had been dismissed at his own request, as had become customary with royal reshufflings.<sup>12</sup>

Less than four months later, on 6 August 2013, King Abdullah relieved Fahd bin Abdullah of his duties as deputy defense minister, replacing him with the young Salman bin Sultan.<sup>13</sup> According to Mujtahidd, a prominent Saudi tweeter and critic of the royal family, the brevity of Fahd bin Abdullah's tenure was due to a combination of greed and ignorance of the position's political protocol.<sup>14</sup> He attributed the selection of Salman bin Sultan to his close friendship with Mohammed bin Salman (the son and chief of staff of Crown Prince Salman) and the fact that Mutaib bin Abdullah and Khaled al-Tuwaijri<sup>15</sup> did not see him as a threat.



Mutaib bin Abdullah Al Saud. Source: <http://www.alnaharegypt.com/t15461>

Bringing one of Sultan's sons back into the defense ministry may help smooth any tensions that may linger from Khalid bin Sultan's dismissal. Salman bin Sultan, though, is too young and inexperienced to be a power player in family politics. Instead, a collaborative effort between him and his half-brother Bandar appears to be underway to reclaim at least some of the influence that was lost with the death of their father.<sup>16</sup>

A recent article in the Lebanese daily "al-Safir" claims that all important decisions in Saudi Arabia are now made by a "security troika" consisting of Mutaib bin Abdullah, Mohammed bin Nayef and Bandar bin Sultan.<sup>17</sup> With the sons of Sultan and Salman seemingly content with the current distribution of power at the MoD, the royal family may have finally found equilibrium – however temporary – in the wake of Nayef and Sultan's deaths.

All is not quiet on the Saudi front, though. Social media, and Twitter in particular, has begun to drive the terms of public discussion in Saudi Arabia and is exposing the latent rift between conservatives and liberals in the kingdom.<sup>18</sup>

Speaking for the conservative camp, Saudi Arabia's religious establishment has repeatedly expressed concern with the growth of social media. Most recently, in April 2013 the imam of the Grand Mosque in Mecca described Twitter as a threat to national unity, a slightly stronger statement than the earlier one made by the country's Grand Mufti calling Twitter users "fools."<sup>19</sup>

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## ***Continued: SAUDI ARABIA: THE SUCCESSION IS BEING TWEETED***

Liberals from within the royal family are becoming more vocal. On 26 July 2013, Khalid bin Farhan (a member of the Al Saud family, though not of the ruling branch) publicly “defected” from the royal family, announcing via Twitter that he supported all reform movements and in particular the Movement for Islamic Reform in Arabia led in exile by Dr. Saad al-Faqih.<sup>20</sup>

Two days later, royal tycoon al-Walid bin Talal, who unlike Khalid bin Farhan is a man of consequence in Al Saud family politics (as well as a major investor in Twitter), posted a tweet on his personal account linking to a 14-page electronic file consisting of a handful of newspaper articles and three letters addressed to ministers and prominent royal family members (including the king). In his letters, Prince al-Walid expressed grave concerns with the country’s current direction and highlighted the dangers to come unless major changes are made to the kingdom’s social and economic policies.<sup>21</sup>

Saudi Arabia’s principal Twitter spectacle is Mujtahidd, whose true identity remains unknown to the public. Now with more than one million followers, Mujtahidd has provocatively decoded every one of the recent reshufflings, spinning high dramas of greed and betrayal in clusters of tweets that are increasingly available in translation.<sup>23</sup> For those wondering about Saudi succession, it is underway and being live-tweeted by Mujtahidd.

Might Twitter simply be an echo chamber for Saudi Arabia’s liberal factions, of minimal consequence to regime survival so long as conservatives remain in control of key state institutions? Perhaps. Conservatives, however, seem genuinely concerned. One of the keys to Saudi regime survival has been its ability to prevent internal squabbles from metastasizing. Social media is making this more challenging. The old ways of maintaining internal unity and preventing broader dissent are becoming unsustainable. The Saudi regime’s ability to adapt to a new reality in which a gerontocracy on its last legs must confront broader citizen empowerment amidst unprecedented regional turmoil will be the new key to its survival.



Al Waleed bin Talal bin Abdulaziz al Saud.  
Source: [http://farm9.staticflickr.com/8057/8238750778\\_94b995b7c7\\_z.jpg](http://farm9.staticflickr.com/8057/8238750778_94b995b7c7_z.jpg)

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Kingdom Centre in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.



## **Continued: SAUDI ARABIA: THE SUCCESSION IS BEING TWEETED**

### **END NOTES:**

- 1 Fahd ceded the ministry to his younger brother Nayef upon becoming crown prince. The other four retained their security position upon becoming crown prince.
- 2 “In the course of his half century in command of the SANG, Abdullah lavished on it the best weapons and equipment money could buy and turned it into the strongest military force in the country, larger and better led than the regular army.” See: Bruce Riedel, “Saudi Arabia’s Quiet Transition,” Al-Monitor, 6/5/13. <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/06/saudi-arabia-succession.html>
- 3 Also spelled Miteb and Mitib, among others.
- 4 See for instance: Basheer al-Baker, “Saudi Arabia: An Ailing Monarchy,” Al-Akhbar (Lebanon), 10/25/2011. <http://english.al-akhbar.com/node/1144>
- 5 Abd al-Rahman was especially unhappy with the appointment of Nayef as crown prince and allegedly refused to pledge his allegiance. See for instance: Talal Kapoor, “Senior Royals Dissent: Trouble At The Top?” datarabia.com, 12/1/11. <http://www.datarabia.com/royals/viewCommentary.do?id=65645>
- 6 The announcement of the reshufflings in English available at: [http://www.saudiembassy.net/latest\\_news/news11051101.aspx](http://www.saudiembassy.net/latest_news/news11051101.aspx)
- 7 As David Ottaway notes: “Ahmed’s abrupt firing as interior minister stemmed from a dispute with the king over a plan to split off the ministry’s 500,000-man security force into a separate body.” See: David Ottaway, “The Struggle for Power in Saudi Arabia,” Foreign Policy, 6/19/13. [http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/06/19/the\\_struggle\\_for\\_power\\_in\\_saudi\\_arabia\\_abdullah?page=full](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/06/19/the_struggle_for_power_in_saudi_arabia_abdullah?page=full)
- 8 The effects of Ahmed’s dismissal and his future are not yet clear. See: “What’s Next for Former Saudi Interior Minister Prince Ahmed?” Riyadh Bureau, 11/11/12. <http://riyadhbureau.com/blog/2012/11/prince-ahmed-next>
- 9 Although Abdullah’s son Mutaib had ministerial rank and headed a security institution at the time of Mohammed bin Nayef’s promotion, the SANG was not a ministry. Perhaps for the sake of balance, on 27 May 2013 the “Ministry of National Guard” was created and Mutaib became its first ever minister.
- 10 The opposite was the case, as David Ottaway explains: “But the king, in retrospect, clearly had other ideas. He also put another half-brother, Prince Salman, in charge of the Defense Ministry shortly before naming him crown prince last June, and authorized him to dismantle the Sultan family empire there. Salman did this partly by detaching the civil aviation portfolio from the Defense Ministry and stripping Khalid of any role in lucrative military procurement contracts.” David B. Ottaway, “The Struggle for Power in Saudi Arabia,” Foreign Policy, 6/19/13. [http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/06/19/the\\_struggle\\_for\\_power\\_in\\_saudi\\_arabia\\_abdullah?page=full](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/06/19/the_struggle_for_power_in_saudi_arabia_abdullah?page=full) Khalid bin Sultan fell out of royal favor following the Saudi military’s 2009-2010 intervention against the Huthis in Yemen, which Khalid commanded and the results of which were well below the king’s expectations. As Simon Henderson wrote in 2010: “Khalid’s epaulets are large, but his military credentials are weak -- his leadership during the recent skirmishes against rebels in the border area with Yemen was marked by a series of tactical blunders. But Sultan’s entourage is insisting that Khalid replace his largely incapacitated father.” Simon Henderson, “Bandar is Back,” Foreign Policy, 10/21/10. [http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/10/21/bandar\\_is\\_back?page=full](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/10/21/bandar_is_back?page=full)
- 11 Fahd bin Abdullah is not a direct descendant of Ibn Saud; consequently, he is not eligible for the crown.
- 12 For more on the reshuffle, see Lucas Winter, “Saudi Defense Reshuffle,” FMSO OE Watch, 5/20/13. [http://fmso.leavenworth.army.mil/Archives/GSW/201306/MiddleEast\\_04.html](http://fmso.leavenworth.army.mil/Archives/GSW/201306/MiddleEast_04.html)
- 13 Salman bin Sultan was born in 1976. He has been part of Saudi Arabia’s National Security Council, which was created in 2005 and chaired by his half-brother Bandar bin Sultan. Salman bin Sultan is not to be confused with Sultan bin Salman, a former air force pilot turned astronaut who is currently minister of tourism and the son of current Crown Prince Salman.
- 14 An English translation summarizing the tweets available at: [http://www.liveleak.com/view?i=3e8\\_1376245945](http://www.liveleak.com/view?i=3e8_1376245945)
- 15 Al-Tuwaijri is the king’s chief of staff (head of the royal court). A Guardian newspaper editorial referred to him as the Richelieu of Saudi Arabia. See: “House of Saud: Built on Sand,” The Guardian, 6/2/13 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2013/jun/02/saudi-arabia-editorial>

## Continued: SAUDI ARABIA: THE SUCCESSION IS BEING TWEETED

- 16 It bears noting that Bandar bin Sultan is not considered a viable candidate to the throne for reasons of both lineage and lifestyle. The important and sensitive Syria file is in the hands of Bandar and Salman bin Sultan. See: "Saudi edges Qatar to control Syrian rebel support," Reuters, 5/31/13. <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/05/31/us-syria-crisis-saudi-insight-idUSBRE94U0ZV20130531>
- 17 See "Lubnan 'ala Raff al-Mamlaka fi Intidhar al-Hasm al-Suri," Al-Safir, 7/26/13. <http://assafir.com/Article.aspx?ArticleId=2506&EditionId=2524&ChannelId=60893#.UgzYs5Ksh8F>
- 18 It is also providing a forum for discussing mismanagement and corruption that would otherwise go unreported. See: Christopher Davidson, "Looming Political Shift," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Sada Journal, 8/15/13. <http://carnegieendowment.org/2013/08/15/looming-political-shift/gign>  
Saudi Arabian authorities take Twitter seriously. See for instance Diana Sayed, "Who's Afraid of Twitter? The Absolute Monarch of Saudi Arabia, That's Who," Human Rights First, 5/22/13. <http://www.humanrightsfirst.org/2013/05/22/who%E2%80%99s-afraid-of-twitter-the-absolute-monarch-of-saudi-arabia-that%E2%80%99s-who/>
- 19 "Saudi religious police boss condemns Twitter users," BBC, 5/15/13. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-22543252>
- 20 See: [https://twitter.com/khaled\\_f\\_alsaud/status/362015706964967424](https://twitter.com/khaled_f_alsaud/status/362015706964967424)  
Mujtahidd attributes the defection in part to overreach by Prince Salman: [http://www.liveleak.com/view?i=648\\_1375093279&utm\\_source=dlvr.it&utm\\_medium=twitter](http://www.liveleak.com/view?i=648_1375093279&utm_source=dlvr.it&utm_medium=twitter)  
In February 2012, Al-Faqih published an editorial in The Guardian newspaper, arguing that "It is only a matter of time before the revolutions that have swept the Arab world in the past year reach the Saudi kingdom." See: Saad al-Faqih, "Arabia awaits its spring," The Guardian, 12/27/12. <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/feb/27/saudi-arabia-protest-uprising-mujtahidd>
- 21 The file included three letters he sent to ministers involved in economic planning, with copies to several prominent royal family members, including King Abdullah, al-Walid's father Prince Talal, Crown Prince Salman, Deputy Oil Minister Abd al-Aziz bin Salman and Prince Muqrin. The file, which consists of these three letters and a handful of newspaper articles, is available at: <https://docs.google.com/file/d/0BwFJWUq7tFunUHdDTUh2UDRGNEk/edit>  
See also:  
"Saudi Prince Alwaleed warns against falling oil demand," Reuters, 7/29/13. <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/07/29/saudi-alwaleed-oil-idUSL6N0FZ07Y20130729>
- 22 See: Robert F. Worth, "Twitter Gives Saudi Arabia a Revolution of Its Own," New York Times, 10/20/12. [http://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/21/world/middleeast/twitter-gives-saudi-arabia-a-revolution-of-its-own.html?pagewanted=all&\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/21/world/middleeast/twitter-gives-saudi-arabia-a-revolution-of-its-own.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0)  
and Jomana Farhat, "Mujtahidd: A Tweeting Thorn in the Side of Al Saud," al-Akhbar (Lebanon), 2/20/12. <http://english.al-akhbar.com/node/4345>
- 23 See footnotes 14 and 20.