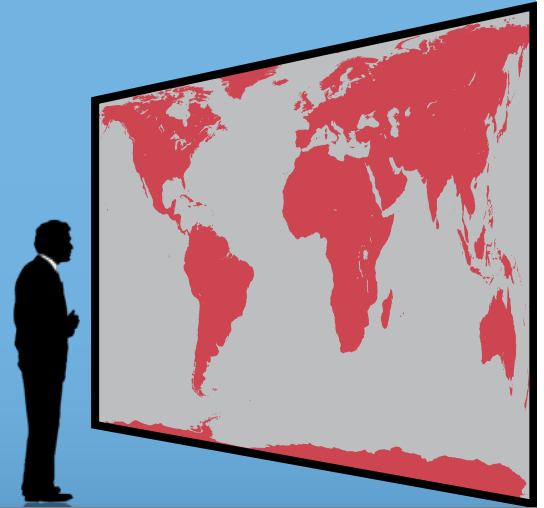


# OPERATIONAL ENVIRONMENT WATCH



Volume 2 | Issue 6

June | 2012

For over 25 years, the Foreign Military Studies Office (FMSO) at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, has conducted open source research on foreign perspectives of defense and security issues, emphasizing those topics that are understudied or unconsidered.

FMSO's Operational Environment Watch provides translated selections and analysis from a diverse range of foreign articles and other media that our analysts and expert contributors believe will give military and security experts an added dimension to their critical thinking about the Operational Environment.

Materials, outside of the original foreign press article, under copyright have not been used. All articles published in the Operational Environment Watch are not provided in full, and were originally published in foreign (non-US) media. For questions or original articles, contact FMSO at [usarmy.leavenworth.tradoc.mbx.fmsoweb@mail.mil](mailto:usarmy.leavenworth.tradoc.mbx.fmsoweb@mail.mil). The Operational Environment Watch is archived, and available at <http://fmsoweb.leavenworth.army.mil>.

FMSO has provided some editing, format, and graphics to these articles to conform to organizational standards. Academic conventions, source referencing, and citation style are those of the author.

The views expressed are those of the author and do not represent the official policy or position of the Department of the Army, Department of Defense, or the U.S. government.

The Journal of the United States Army  
for Foreign News & Perspectives

## IN THIS ISSUE

### IRAN

- 3 Tehran's Losing Battle with Air Pollution
- 5 Revolutionary Guard Chief Exacerbates UAE-Iran Island Dispute
- 7 Food Prices Skyrocket in Iran

### TURKEY

- 9 Drone Controversy over Uludere Incident
- 11 Turkey Wants Armed Drones
- 12 Turkish Viewpoint on the NATO Summit in Chicago

### SYRIA, YEMEN

- 14 Gulf Support for the Free Syrian Army
- 16 Syrian Conflict Crosses Borders
- 18 Yemen Army Purges Continue

### SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

- 20 Tensions Rise as Foreign Investors Make Large-Scale Purchases of African Land
- 22 Malawi Threatens to Arrest Sudan's al-Bashir; African Union Summit Forced into Last-Minute Move to Ethiopia
- 24 Al-Shebab Offers Camel Bounty on Obama, Clinton
- 25 Protests Erupt as Al-Qaeda and Mali Rebels Declare New Islamic State

### SOUTHEAST ASIA

- 27 Regional Response to US Strategic Pivot to the Pacific

### MEXICO

- 31 Is Contract Killing Cheaper in Mexico?
- 33 Cartels Clone Company Vehicles

### COLOMBIA

- 35 More Colombia Polarizing

### CHINA

- 37 Taiwan in Africa
- 39 ROC Military Showcases New Technology and Equipment
- 40 Update: Troubles for KMT Party but DPP No Better
- 42 Shanghai Composite Index Hacked on Tiananmen Anniversary
- 43 Afghan Strategic Partnerships: East or West?
- 46 PLA Informatization Institute Determined to Boost Combat Effectiveness

### KOREA

- 49 North Korean Cyber

### BALKANS

- 50 Religion and Crime in Serbia

### CENTRAL ASIA

- 52 The Popular Front without Weapons
- 53 Interview with Kazakhstan's Minister of Defense
- 55 Cyber Security in Kyrgyzstan
- 56 Uzbekistan's Growing Role in Afghan Security

### RUSSIA

- 58 Putin's Defense Priorities
- 60 A Russian DARPA?
- 62 Hyper-Rhetoric?
- 64 French-Russian Naval Cooperation
- 66 What is behind Russia's Population Decline, and Why it Matters
- 68 Russian Small Arms Production

Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa

Middle East

Turkey

China, Korea

India, Southeast Asia

Mexico, South America

Balkans

Central Asia

Russia, Eastern Europe

Layout/Graphics

Editors

FMSO Contact

Robert Feldman, Jason Warner

Lucas Winter, Michael Rubin

Karen Kaya

Cindy Hurst, Youngjun Kim, Tim Thomas, Lianna Faruolo

Ivan Welch

Tony Scheidel, Brenda Fiegel, Cynthia Gonzalez,

Geoff Demarest

Sandra King-Savic

Matthew Stein, Chuck Bartles

Ray Finch, Scott McIntosh, Anna Borshchevskaya

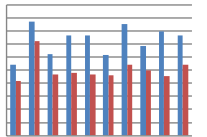
Aaron Perez

Ray Finch, Harry Orenstein, Thomas Wilhelm

usarmy.leavenworth.tradoc.mbx.fmso-web@mail.mil



## Features



### 7 Food Prices Skyrocket in Iran

“Jadul-e Qeymatha be ravayat-e bank markazi” (“Table Prices According to the Central Bank,”) ATY News. 4 June 2012  
*As the government seeks to replace subsidies with cash payout, it risks even higher inflation into the coming year.*



### 14 Gulf Support for the Free Syrian Army

“The Arab Gulf Battalion in Syria,” Gulf Security (Kuwaiti Blog) 8 June 2012  
*That the Syrian conflict will engulf Lebanon is practically a certainty; how and when it might move south into Jordan and the Gulf is becoming the crucial question.*



### 24 Al-Shebab Offers Camel Bounty on Obama, Clinton

“Somalia’s Al-Shabaab offer 10 camels for Obama’s ‘capture.’ Africa Review (Nairobi, Kenya). 9 June 2012  
*“Al-Shebab recently offered a bounty on both President Obama and Secretary of State Clinton: ten and two camels, respectively.”*



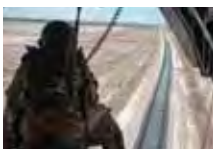
### 33 Cartels Clone Company Vehicles

“Cárteles “Clonan” Autos de Compañías (Cartels Clone Company Vehicles),” El Universal, 01 June 2012  
*Cloned vehicles of courier and telephone companies, as well as those of local and federal authorities in the U.S., are being used by Mexican cartels to smuggle drugs and illegal migrants towards the U.S., according to a report emitted by the Department of Homeland Security. The cartels are using those cloned vehicles to conceal their operations on U.S. soil.*



### 46 PLA Information Institute Determined to Boost Combat Effectiveness

“总参某信息化研究所助推我军战斗力生成模式转变纪实” (For Winning Future Informatized Wars – A Factual Account of the Effort of a Certain Informatization Research Institute of the General Staff Department), People’s Daily, April 24, 2012  
*These new bright spots symbolize that our (China’s) military’s informatization building is marching toward a new stage of accelerated development!*



### 56 Uzbekistan’s Growing Role in Afghan Security

“Uzbekistan to Build More Facilities to Ensure Security in Afghanistan,” Trend Daily News (Azerbaijan) 21 May 2012  
*The Asian Development Bank hopes that this course of action will turn Mazar-i-Sharif into a major shipping terminal, and source of revitalization for the Afghan economy*

**FMSO Commentary:** Air pollution is a major problem in Tehran; ineffective government efforts to rectify it remain a grievance that transcends all segments of society, from religious to secular, rich to poor, and regime loyalists to oppositionists.

Tackling Tehran air pollution will be a Herculean task. At the time of the Islamic Revolution, Tehran was a city of approximate 4.5 million people; today, its population has doubled. Consider the greater metropolitan area, however, and the population approaches 14 million. Topography works against a simple solution. Tehran is much like Denver, gently rising from relatively flat plains before ending abruptly at a wall of mountains. Prevailing winds trap pollution against the mountains and air quality plummets. Electronic billboards in central Tehran report on pollutant levels, but Iranians remain suspicious that the government manipulates their readings in order to avoid mandatory furloughs of outdoor workers. Ordinary Iranians judge pollution by whether they can see Mount Damavand, an 18,406-ft peak 41 miles northeast of Tehran. Whereas two decades ago Tehranis would spot Damavand several times per week, at current pollution levels they are lucky to see the mountain twice a year.

On particularly bad days, when denial is impossible, the state-controlled press will discuss pollution levels. The story below places levels of particles smaller than 10 microns at between 72 and 129 micrograms per cubic meter; the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) allows for spikes to 150, but defines a safe level averaged across the year at 50. The reading of 2.5 micron particles was 87 micrograms per cubic meter; in comparison, the EPA sets an annual standard of 15 micrograms, allowing spikes only to 65.

The failure to combat pollution undercuts the regime's already troubled

## Tehran's Losing Battle with Air Pollution

27 May 2012

Source: "Hava-ye Tehran Hamchinan Nasalam Ast" ("Tehran's Air is Still Unhealthy,") MehrNews.com. 27 May 2012. <http://www.mehrnews.com/fa/newsdetail.aspx?NewsID=1613346>



Tehran air Pollution by Matthias Blume [CC-BY-SA-2.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons

هوای تهران همچنان ناسالم است

## Tehran's Air is Still Unhealthy

The Director-General of Tehran's Air Quality Control Company said that with a reading of 105 [micrograms per cubic meter], Tehran's air was unsafe according to the exposure index of particulate matter of less than 2.5 microns. Dr. Yusuf Rashidi, in an interview with the Mehr News Agency, said suspended particulate matter of less than 2.5 microns was at 87 [micrograms per cubic meter] yesterday, and so Tehran's air was unhealthy. According to him, particulate matter less than 10 microns registered 129 [micrograms per cubic meter] and in the previous day was 72 [micrograms per cubic meter].

Rashidi said that comparisons of readings of carbon monoxide and sulfur dioxide emissions from the previous day taken at the same time, as well as ozone, and suspended particles both less than 10 microns and less than 2.5 microns, shows they have been reduced.

The Director-General of Tehran's Air Quality Control Company said weather reports predicted a clear sky with some clouds in the afternoon with some wind and a rising cloud of dust, and so conditions in the capital would remain unhealthy.



## Continued: Tehran's Losing Battle with Air Pollution

*relations with disabled veterans. As air quality declined, the government warned Iranians disabled in Iraqi chemical weapons attacks to stay indoors so that poor air quality did not exacerbate their health.<sup>1</sup> While such precautions are sensible, they nonetheless antagonize a constituency which, on one hand, is lionized for its service to the revolutionary regimes while, on the other hand, complaining that the regime no longer compensates them for their sacrifice.*

*The regime's decades-long inability to reduce Tehran air pollution also reflects the rise of Khatam al-Anbia, the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps' economic wing. Khatam al-Anbia stands above the law and so is neither subject to parliamentary regulation nor responsive to popular protest. The group has become especially active in vehicle manufacture and sales, and so resists basic regulation and pollution controls in order to both bolster its bottom line and avoid any precedent of subordination to Iran's other power centers.*

*Ordinary Iranians have long since abandoned the ideological precepts of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's revolution. They distrust regime statistics and its claims of economic progress. Rather, they consider metrics they can judge with their own eyes. So long as Tehran remains shrouded in a haze of debilitating pollution, they will dismiss any notion that their quality of life is improving. **End FMSO Commentary (Rubin)***

1. "Chemically-Wounded Veterans in Tehran Advised to Stay Indoors," Mehr News Agency, May 27, 2012 (in English). <http://www.mehrnews.com/en/newsdetail.aspx?NewsID=1613249>

## Foreign Military Studies Office ([FMSO.leavenworth.army.mil](http://FMSO.leavenworth.army.mil))

## International Research Collaboration Program

Quality researchers outside of the U.S. government express new ideas that will help define the current and future defense and security environment from understudied and unconsidered perspectives.

**FMSO Commentary:** Concerns over Iran's nuclear ambitions and its sponsorship of terrorism dominate American strategic thinking regarding Iran. Within the Persian Gulf, however, pre-existing disputes simmer. Iranian nationalists, for example, have never fully reconciled themselves to Bahraini independence; they still consider Bahrain a renegade province separated from Iranian control by the Portuguese in the early sixteenth century. In 2007 a major Iranian paper, whose editor the Supreme Leader appoints directly, revived the Islamic Republic's claims to Bahrain, and in recent weeks Iranian officials have increased demands to bring Bahrain back into the Iranian fold, as a response to Saudi moves for confederation with the Arab island nation.

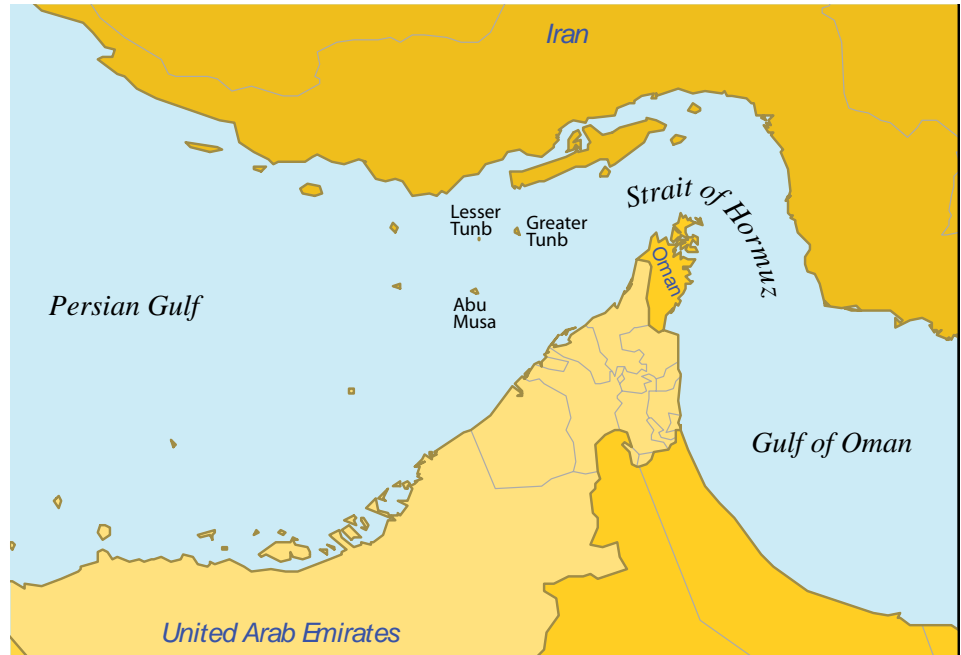
Iran's dispute with the United Arab Emirates (UAE) over possession of Abu Musa and Greater and Lesser Tunb Islands also predates the Islamic Revolution. In 1971 Iranian troops invaded the three islands despite international agreements awarding them to the United Arab Emirates. Abu Musa is approximately 50 miles from the coast of Iran and 40 miles from the coast of the UAE. It lies only ten miles from the Strait of Hormuz, however, and tanker traffic must pass between it and the Tunb Islands, amplifying Iranian strategic leverage.

Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) commander Muhammad Ali Jafari's surprise visit to Abu Musa reinforces Iran's claim and signals to littoral Arab states that the Islamic Republic remains both confident and resurgent in the face of international condemnation. That Ali Fadavi, the commander of the IRGC-Navy, also visited Abu Musa suggests an implied threat to international shipping, as he has advocated asymmetric warfare and developed the IRGC-Navy's small boat swarming tactics.

## Revolutionary Guard Chief Exacerbates UAE-Iran Island Dispute

31 May 2012

**Source:** "Estikbar az Gostaresh-e negah va tafakiri basiji dar jehan emrouz be vahshat aftadeh ast" ("The Arrogance has Fallen into a Panic over the Spread of Basiji Thought in the World Today,") Fars News.com. 31 May 2012. <http://farsnews.com/newstext.php?nn=13910311000367>



Map of the Strait of Hormuz derived from Planiglobe.com data

استکبار از گسترش نگاه و تفکر بسیجی در جهان امروز  
به وحشت افتاده است

**The Arrogance has fallen into a Panic  
over the Spread of Basiji Thought in  
the World Today**

**F**ars News Agency: Commander [and] Major-General Muhammad Ali Jafari, during a course of a visit to the three islands, said: The Basij's vision and thoughts have terrorized the industrialized world, global imperialism, the forces of Zionism and the countries supporting them.

Commander [and] Major-General Mohammad Ali Jafari, commander of Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps, expressed satisfaction with the level of combat-readiness and praised the defensive efforts and commended the determination and perseverance of the people of Abu Musa in support of the Islamic Revolution especially during the time of the Sacred Defense [Iran-Iraq War]: With all the Basijis assembled, he discussed the struggle

*While Jafari and Fadavi seek to exert and confirm Iranian power, they may also spark a backlash within the United Arab Emirates, much as recent Iranian actions have in other Gulf Cooperation Council states. If four decades of Iranian control of Abu Musa and the Tonbs affirm the notion that possession is nine-tenths of the law, then the UAE may very well consider its own unilateral contingencies, should an international conflict with Iran divert Tehran's attention from the contested five-square-mile island off the United Arab Emirates' shore. End FMSO Commentary (Rubin)*

## ***Continued: The Arrogance has fallen into a Panic over the Spread of Basiji Thought in the World Today***

for the goals of Islam and the realization of the aims of the revolution.

Jafari said, "We should thank God that the thoughts and the vision of the Basij are today recognized around the world, and that global imperialism, international Zionism, and the countries supporting them are terrorized by the Basij."

He pointed out that combating global arrogance and oppression had been the Islamic Revolution's true blessing and said that in light of this view, Islamic communities and nations are able to rely upon their capabilities for their own security and peace, and they can work together to stop the global arrogance.

The commander of the Revolutionary Guards said we are offering a hand of friendship and brotherhood to Islamic countries and especially the countries of the southern Persian Gulf, and they should want to help each other with unity and brotherhood against the hand of the Global Arrogance and that the region itself can provide security for itself and its coastal waters and so disappoint our enemies, and the glory of Islam will become more dear...

[IRGC] Navy Admiral Ali Fadavi assessed the readiness and capabilities of the IRGC units and will prepare reports on the three islands. Brigadier [General] Barani, commander of the Imam Sajad [IRGC] unit for the province of Hormuzgan and Mr. Mousavi, governor of Abu Musa described the status of the island and its inhabitants...



The RED DIAMOND is the Army's leading e-journal highlighting current threats in the Operational Environment.

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

**FMSO Commentary:** Most Iranians are not particularly political. While ten percent of the population participated in the 1979 Islamic Revolution—a huge proportion in the pre-Facebook, pre-Twitter era and one which stands in sharp contrast to the one percent of the population which historians say participated in the American Revolution—economic issues can motivate them to action. The labor movement is growing in Iran in reaction to unpaid back wages, and both government nepotism and profiteering by government officials remain a frequent source of complaint in Iranian teahouses and blogs.

While many prices have declined in the past week—a seasonal phenomenon—the huge jump in the price of basic foodstuffs over the past year should worry the Iranian regime. Rice, tea, and greens are staples of Iranian cuisine; all have shot up precipitously in price. While the Iranian government claims a per capita income of \$13,000, wealth distribution is uneven, and many Iranians, both in the countryside and among the urban poor, live on a fraction of that. In the southeast and northwest of the country, for example, per capita income is below \$4,000. If Tehran, Markazi, and the oil-producing provinces of Khuzistan and Hormuzgan are omitted, then per capita income is below \$9,000. When income is below \$1,000 per month, spending almost \$7 (at the official exchange rate) per pound for beef is quite onerous.

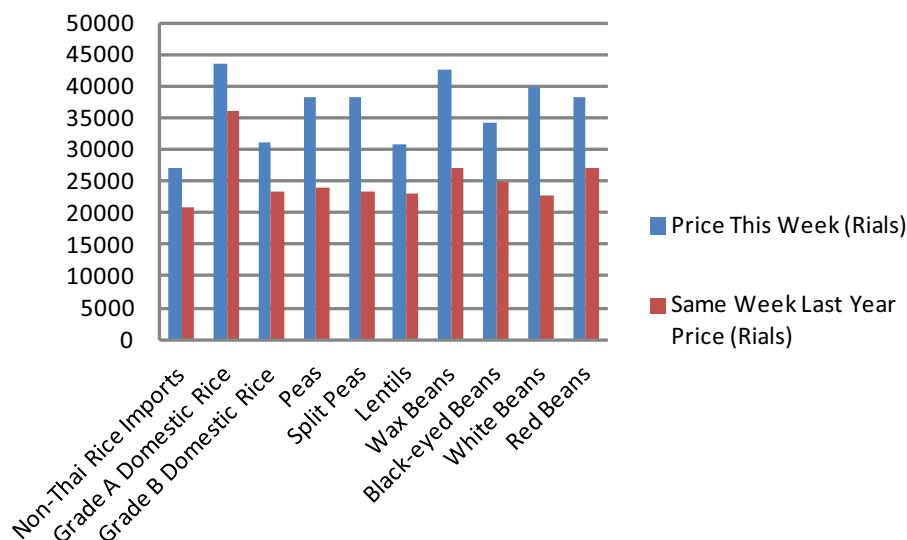
The rise in food prices may also reflect the decline in the value of the Iranian rial, which, as of March 18, 2012, was valued officially at 12,260 rials per dollar, but which could be purchased on the street at 19,050 rials. The record decline of the rial is both the result of sanctions—after the United States sanctioned Iran's Central Bank, the value of the rial plummeted—and also the Iranian government's own fiscal

## Food Prices Skyrocket in Iran

4 June 2012

Source: "Jadul-e Qeymatha be ravayat-e bank markazi" ("Table Prices According to the Central Bank,") ATY News. 4 June 2012. <http://tinyurl.com/bq4ftyo>

### Rice & Grain



### جدول قیمت‌ها به روایت بانک مرکزی

## Table Prices According to the Central Bank

Group and Commodity	Unit	Price This Week (Rials)	Last Week (Percent Change)	Same Week Last Year (Percent Change)
<b>1- Dairy</b>			0.1	44.4
Unpasteurized Yogurt	Kg	16370	0	36.4
Pasteurized Yogurt	Kg	15660	0	33.2
Unpasteurized Cheese	Kg	117000	0	56.3
Pasteurized Cheese	450g pkg	24470	0	61.1
Pasturized Butter	kg	106050	0.7	22.7
Pasturized Milk	Liter	15000	0	50
<b>2- Eggs</b>			-1.2	-26.2
Eggs	Container ~2kg	40420	-1.2	-26.2
<b>3- Rice</b>			0.6	22.7
Non-Thai Rice Imports	kg	27020	0	29.3
Grade A Domestic Rice	kg	43440	0.8	20.2
Grade B Domestic Rice	kg	31060	-0.3	33
<b>4- Grains</b>			0	54
Peas	kg	38230	0	60.4



## Continued: Table Prices According to the Central Bank

*mismanagement. Still, while the decline in the rial relative to foreign currencies might be expected to send up the price of imported goods, it does not explain the rise in such domestically-produced goods as rice, peas, apples, and yogurt. The only prices to decline are potatoes, peaches, and eggs, and these are not enough for Iranians to subsist upon. As the government seeks to replace subsidies with cash payouts, it risks even higher inflation into the coming year. The risk for the Iranian government is that even short-term spikes in food prices can lead to limited civil unrest. During the winter of 2007-2008 a record cold snap led to a 200-700 percent spike in bread prices across northern Iran. This, in turn, led to riots, which forced the regime to deploy security forces into the streets.<sup>1</sup> Dismissing economists who warned him that war and ideological fervor threatened to sink the Islamic Republic, Ayatollah Khomeini famously quipped, "You can't have a revolution over the price of a watermelon." Should even the price of this again increase 12 percent, however, Iranians may increasingly test Khomeini's theory. End FMSO Commentary (Rubin)*

Group and Commodity	Unit	Price This Week (Rials)	Last Week (Percent Change)	Same Week Last Year (Percent Change)
Split Peas	kg	38140	0	62.8
Lentils	kg	30900	0	33.8
Wax Beans	kg	42570	-0.4	57.4
Black-eyed Beans	kg	34300	0	38.3
White Beans	kg	39680	0.5	75.3
Red Beans	kg	38220	0.4	40.7
<b>5- Fresh Fruit</b>			-2.9	27.8
"Lebanon" Red Apples	kg	45450	17.1	47.6
"Lebanon" Yellow Apples	kg	47360	22.3	56.7
Grade A Oranges	kg	27060	4.9	30.6
Apricots	kg	54530	-11.1	47.1
Green Tomatoes	kg	49810	16	97.8
Cherries	kg	74430		28.1
Peaches	kg	50210	-16.6	-21.7
Cantaloupe	kg	115880	-10.2	28.9
Melon	kg	18570	-7.6	14.8
Watermelon	kg	6800	-10.8	12
<b>6- Fresh Vegetables</b>			-2.4	78.6
Cucumbers	kg	13240	-2	69.1
Tomatoes	kg	10390	-11.9	40.2
Eggplant	kg	14050	-0.4	74.5
Zucchini	kg	10830	-6.7	55.6
Potatoes	kg	6990	0.9	-10.6
Onions	kg	5700	0.7	14
Green Beans	kg	21470	1.4	47.9
Leafy Vegetables	kg	14520	0.3	143.2
<b>7- Red Meat</b>			-0.1	39
Mutton with Bone	kg	221580	-0.1	31.4
Beef and Veal without Bones	kg	176740	0.4	48.5
<b>8- Chicken</b>			2.6	57.1
Chicken	kg	50680	2.6	57.1
<b>9- Sugar</b>			-0.6	19.2
Sugar Cubes	kg	18180	-0.8	17.2
Sugar	kg	15800	-0.2	23.1
<b>10- Tea</b>			0	40.4
Imported Tea	0.5 kg pkg	74020	0	40.4
<b>11- Vegetable Oil</b>			0	23.2
Hydrogenated Solid Vegetable Oil	5 Kg tin	147480	0	23.1
Liquid Vegetable Oil	Liter	27890	0	23.6

1. "Belva-ye Gaz, Belva-ye Nan" (Gas Riots, Bread Riots), *Iran-e Emrooz*, January 11, 2008. <http://www.iran-emrooz.net/index.php?news1/15168/>



**FMSO Commentary:** On December 28 the Turkish Armed Forces (TAF) bombed and killed 34 Kurdish citizens after mistaking them for members of the Kurdish terrorist organization PKK. It turned out that the convoy was a group of men on mules smuggling fuel from Iraq. The incident caused a huge uproar in Turkey against the government and the TAF, with the public demanding an apology, compensation and a full investigation of the incident. It also led to increased tension between Turks and Kurds, with some Kurds claiming that the incident was deliberate. In addition, the question of who made the decision to bomb remained unanswered, because government officials, including the Prime Minister and Defense Minister, claimed that they did not have prior knowledge of the decision.

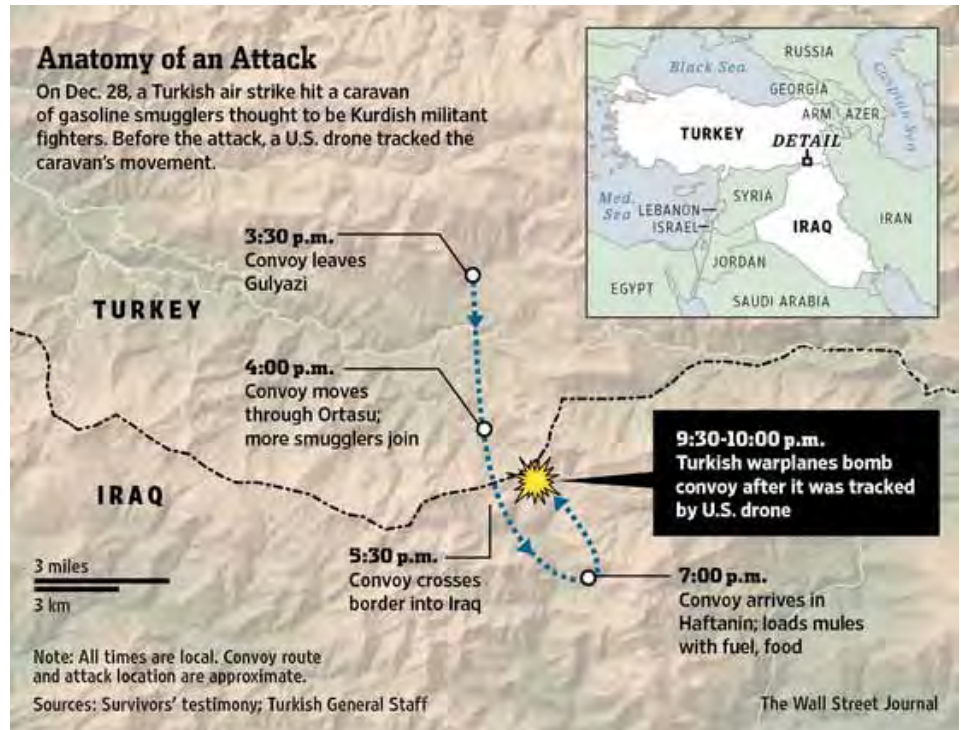
On May 16 the Wall Street Journal published an article with the headline “Turkey’s Attack on Civilians Tied to U.S. Military Drone,” claiming that the intelligence that led to the bombing was supplied to the TAF by U.S. drones.<sup>1</sup> The article stated that American officers had alerted the Turkish officers, and then the Turks directed the drone elsewhere, clearly indicating that the decision to bomb was made by the TAF. Experts, analysts and the media in Turkey claim that the information was ‘leaked’ to the Wall Street Journal by some Pentagon officials who are opposed to Turkey’s request to buy armed drones from the U.S. The argument goes that the information was leaked to demonstrate that Turkey’s standards for deciding what is a justified target are problematic, and that if intelligence from unarmed drones led to the killing of civilians, armed drones could have even more disastrous consequences in Turkey’s hands.

1. Entous, Adam and Joe Parkinson. “Turkey’s Attack on Civilians Tied to U.S. Military Drone,” The Wall Street Journal, May 16, 2012, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052702303877604577380480677575646.html>

## Drone Controversy over Uludere Incident

**Source:** Zaman, Amberin. “Wall Street Journal’ın Uludere Bombası Nelere Mal Olabilir? (What Can the Wall Street Journal’s Uludere Bomb Cost?), Haber Türk. 18 May 2012. <http://www.haberturk.com/yazarlar/amberin-zaman/743249-wall-street-journalin-uludere-bombasi-nelere-mal-olabilir>

18 May 2012



Map of the Uludere Incident. by The Wall Street Journal via <http://online.wsj.com>

## Wall Street Journal’ın Uludere Bombası Nelere Mal Olabilir? (What Can the Wall Street Journal’s Uludere Bomb Cost?)

An article that appeared in the Wall Street Journal, one of the most respected newspapers in the U.S., on Wednesday about the Uludere disaster has the potential to damage the Justice and Development Party government and Turkish-American relations.

According to the piece by Adam Entous and Joe Parkinson, the intelligence that led to the killing of 34 villagers after being mistaken for PKK members on December 28, came from U.S. unmanned aerial vehicles. But the government had said that the information came from national sources. Some colleagues claimed that the article was a journalistic success for the Wall Street Journal, while others, including some politicians, declared that the U.S. was responsible for the Uludere massacre.

*The incident has led to controversy and raised many questions among the public and media in Turkey: Who analyzed and evaluated the intelligence? Who authorized the bombing? Did the Chief of the Armed Forces know about this? Were the Prime Minister and the Defense Minister aware of the decision to bomb? Did they approve this decision? Why didn't the TAF ask for more detailed images from American officers? Why was this information leaked to the Wall Street Journal? What messages is the Pentagon trying to send to Turkey and to Congress by leaking this information? Pundits have also pointed out that it is problematic that the Armed Forces carried out such an operation without the knowledge of the government or the national intelligence agency. They point to the lack of civilian control over the military in Turkey, thus questioning the state of democracy in the country.*

*The following article from the widely-read mainstream daily Haber Türk (Turk News) explores these questions. End FMSO Commentary (Kaya)*

## Continued: What Can the Wall Street Journal's Uludere Bomb Cost?

What is the truth?

1. Even though I don't agree with its conservative right views, Wall Street Journal's professionalism, seriousness and success cannot be debated. But it is clear that the information about Uludere was leaked to the newspaper by Pentagon sources. U.S. officials that I spoke with agree with this assessment. Sources that spoke to the Wall Street Journal are officials of the U.S. Department of Defense (Pentagon). They are sharing the Pentagon report on the Uludere incident, which is for official use only.

The article also implies that real-time intelligence obtained from U.S. Predators was sent to a center called the "Combined Intelligence Fusion Cell" where the intelligence was shown on screens. The center has been described to the reporter. The paper claims that the center in Ankara was a "dimly lighted complex where U.S. and Turkish officers sit side by side."

2. Why was this information leaked? The Chief of the General Staff Necdet Özel visited the U.S. recently and reiterated Turkey's request for armed Predators. The Israeli Heron UAVs that Turkey currently has are not armed. But Congress approval is required for the armed Predators to be given to Turkey. There are members of Congress who oppose this. It is alleged that the Obama administration is trying to find a formula to overcome this. By leaking the Uludere article, the Pentagon has thwarted this effort.

[The Pentagon] sent the message that "Turkey did not correctly evaluate the intelligence we gave them and this led to the killing of civilians. Think of what they'd do with armed Predators. We'll end up appearing responsible." If you read the Wall Street Journal article clearly, you can see that Pentagon officials are placing full responsibility for the disaster on Turkey. Apparently U.S. officials gave information

of villagers on mules at the [Turkish-Iraqi] border and offered to get more images, but this offer was rejected by Turkish officers. The Turkish officers told them to "direct the drone somewhere else". The Americans obliged. The rest is obvious...

3. The Wall Street Journal article comes at a time when there is heated debate in the U.S. about civilian deaths caused by Predator and such unmanned aerial vehicles. Recently, John Brennan, chief counter-terrorism advisor to the U.S. President, announced for the first time that CIA-controlled UAVs that were recently used to bomb Al-Qaida camps in Afghanistan and Pakistan had also hit civilians. Even though Brennan described these deaths as being "very rare," some Washington based think-tanks argue otherwise. According to information by the independent New American Foundation, 471 civilians lost their lives in such operations since 2004. 309 of these were killed during the Obama administration.

4. It is not a surprise that the issue of the Kurds have become part of this debate. It is also not a surprise that Kurds are pressuring members of Congress to stop providing military support to Turkey in its fight against the PKK. The co-chairman of the [pro-Kurdish] Peace and Democracy Party Selahattin Demirtaş has already told the U.S. to apologize to the Kurds. It is also being reported that family members of those killed in the Uludere disaster are planning to bring a legal case against the U.S.

**FMSO Commentary:** Turkey wants to buy armed drones from the U.S. The sale requires approval from Congress. The Obama administration has been trying to convince Congress to approve the sale, but faces significant opposition. Those against the sale point to Turkey's strained relations with Israel and the recent Uludere blunder, which killed 34 civilians based on Turkish military officers' evaluation of intelligence from Predators. Turkey wants to use these armed drones against PKK camps based in the Qandil Mountains in northern Iraq.

Turkish President Abdullah Gül is reported to have met with President Obama on the sidelines of the NATO summit in Chicago in May. Gül told Turkish reporters that he had repeated his demands to Obama and that both President Obama and Secretary of State Clinton were supportive and that they were trying to convince Congress.

The Turkish press has been widely reporting the Obama administration's efforts to allow the sale. One theory is as follows: President Obama will make a list of countries that cooperate with the U.S. on Iran and those that do not. Those countries designated as 'fully compliant with sanctions,' including Turkey, would be declared full allies and have special status, thus paving the way for selling the Predators to Turkey.

Turkey currently operates its own Israeli-made Heron unmanned planes for surveillance, and has four U.S. Predators. These are drones that the U.S. deployed from Iraq to Turkey to help support Turkey's fight against the PKK.

**End FMSO Commentary (Kaya)**

## Turkey Wants Armed Drones

17 May 2012

**Source:** Altaylı, Fatih. "Türkiye Silahlı Predator İstiyor (Turkey Wants Armed Drones)," Haber Türk. 17 May 2012. <http://www.haberturk.com/yazarlar/fatih-altayli/742899-turkiye-silahli-predator-istiyor>



MQ-1 Predator UAV Drone  
By U.S. Air Force photo/  
Lt Col Leslie Pratt [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons

### Türkiye Silahlı Predator İstiyor (Turkey Wants Armed Predators)

If you're sick and tired of the country's internal squabbles, I've written an interesting piece for you today. "Deep" information from the U.S.

As you know, the Chief of the General Staff Necdet Özel has a trip to the U.S. This trip is a first for Turkey. The reason that it is a first is this: For the first time, the visit will consist of "one hundred percent technical talks" between a Turkish Chief of the General Staff and U.S. officials. Politics will not be discussed; only military issues will be discussed, completely isolated from politics." This is a first.

One of the important issues is unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs).

Turkey wants UAVs. You might say, "We already have them. The Predators leave from Incirlik and convey information to Turkey." No, that's not what I'm talking about. Turkey wants "armed Predators" from the U.S. So, predators that have the capacity to can both see and hit what they see.

But the U.S. only gives these weapons to those countries with whom it carries out joint operations. President Obama wants to help Turkey on this, but it looks like it will be hard for him to overcome the Congress obstacle. But Turkey really wants the Predators. Because it believes that it can use them to destroy PKK terror camps especially in Qandil. It wants to replicate the success that the U.S. has had in hitting Al-Qaida targets in similar geography in Afghanistan, in its own fight against the PKK. President Obama is suggesting a different formula to give the Predators to Turkey. Here is the formula:

In the coming days, the U.S. will make a list of countries that cooperate with the U.S. on the issue of Iran and those that don't. Those countries designated as 'fully compliant with sanctions' will be defined as full allies and have special status. In this framework, President Obama has asked Turkey to minimize its relations with Iran, and Turkey quickly reduced its trade relations with Iran by 20%. President Obama sees this as a very important gesture and will thus include Turkey in the list of special status countries that fully comply with sanctions. President Obama believes that this way he can give the armed Predators to Turkey, at least for a period of time. And the Chief of the General Staff will have meetings in the U.S. to discuss the technical details of this. If the U.S. gives the armed Predators, it is certain that Qandil will become an unlivable place.



**FMSO Commentary:** *The NATO summit in Chicago concluded on May 21, 2012. Turkey had several major goals regarding the summit: to get the international community to do more to help resolve the Syrian crisis; to negotiate with President Obama for armed drones; and to demonstrate its ability to play a mediatory role by highlighting its friendly relations with both the U.S. and Pakistan at a time when U.S.-Pakistani relations are strained. It also wanted to highlight its role as a host of the NATO missile defense shield radar.*

*On the issue of Syria, Gül claimed that Turkey was doing all it could to alleviate the Syrian humanitarian crisis by hosting close to 25,000 refugees, but said that the international community had not done enough. Turkey has been calling for more international help on the issue for several months. The Turkish Prime Minister recently said that the Turkish-Syrian border was “also a NATO border.” In addition, when clashes from Syria spilled over into Turkey in April, causing fury over the border violation, the Turkish Prime Minister brought up the possibility of invoking NATO’s collective self-defense article.*

*On the issue of armed drones, Gül met with President Obama on the sidelines of the summit. The meeting came at a sensitive time – just one week after the Wall Street Journal had published an article linking intelligence from U.S. drones to a Turkish Armed Forces bombing that killed 34 civilians (see previous articles).<sup>1</sup>*

*On the issue of Pakistan, Gül backed Pakistan’s position on re-opening the roads that lead into landlocked Afghanistan to the NATO supply convoys,*

1. Entous, Adam and Joe Parkinson. “Turkey’s Attack on Civilians Tied to U.S. Military Drone,” *The Wall Street Journal*, May 16, 2012, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052702303877604577380480677575646.html>

## Turkish Viewpoint on the NATO Summit in Chicago

**Source:** Bilici, Abdülhamit. “Eski NATO’da Yeni Türkiye! (New Turkey in Old NATO!),” *Zaman.com*, 22 May 2012. <http://www.zaman.com.tr/yazar.do?yazino=1291326>

22 May 2012



NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen and US President Barack Obama welcome the President of Turkey, Abdullah Gül. Photo by NATO via [www.nato.int](http://www.nato.int)

### ***Eski NATO’da Yeni Türkiye!*** **(New Turkey in Old NATO!)**

Chicago- home of blues music and Al Capone and U.S. President Barack Obama’s hometown, is a colorful and warm city hosting a cold NATO summit. Even though we are celebrating our 60th anniversary as a member, NATO -the defense organization of a bipolar world- is a structure that the public and political institutions in Turkey have not warmed up to.

We should think about this: Is it the fact that it’s a military organization; is it the mysterious structure which overrides politics; is it the hierarchical management style that reflects the power balances despite the fact that, in theory, everyone has an equal vote; or is it the fact that there is no other Muslim country other than Turkey?

On the other hand, NATO, which has 28 members today, is an organization that Turkey worked hard to join in the face of the Soviet threat, even fought in far-away Korea to achieve this. And, perhaps it is the only institution that has deterrence power in the world, as evidenced by the situations in Bosnia, Kosovo and Libya.

Despite this, it is an institution whose raison d’être has been questioned following the end of the Cold War in the 1990’s. It has been trying to adapt its conventional structure to the asymmetrical threats that the world faces. It is also an institution that has long debated a more equal distribution of financial contributions instead of the U.S. shouldering most of the burden.



and called for a resolution of the issue through dialogue. Turkish sources claimed that Turkey had played a crucial role in getting Pakistan invited to the summit, claiming that Turkey could understand and explain the Islamic world's sensitivities to others in the Alliance.

The Turkish press also discussed the possibility of Abdullah Gül being a candidate for the next Secretary General of NATO. This debate was fuelled by a May 21 article in the *Chicago Tribune* written by former U.S. ambassador to NATO Nicholas Burns, in which Burns called on NATO members to offer a greater leadership role to Turkey and to consider a Turkish secretary general to lead the Alliance within the next decade.<sup>2</sup> The following article demonstrates Turkey's own view of how unique it is within NATO. **End FMSO Commentary (Kaya)**

2. Burns, Nicholas. "Anchoring NATO with Leadership," *Chicago Tribune*, May 21, 2012, <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/opinion/ct-oped-0521-leadershipna-to-20120521.0.3868940.story>

## Continued: New Turkey in Old NATO!

By agreeing to host the radar system in Malatya, Turkey has become one of the most critical countries of the Missile Defense System- considered to be NATO's most important reason to exist. This system, which was decided on in Lisbon two years ago, is currently partially operational and will take 10 years to become fully operational. The radar has caused a headache in Turkey's relations with Iran and Syria, with whom Turkey had good relations until two years ago. The official declaration that the radar is part of NATO has been one of the most important outcomes of the NATO summit for Turkey.

It is important that we are hosting part of the Missile Defense System, but there has been another factor that has rendered Turkey very valuable in recent times: the fact that it is the only Muslim NATO member. A NATO without Turkey can easily turn into a 'crusader force' in

Afghanistan. In this respect, Turkey is a country that understands the sensitivities of the Islamic world, and can explain these to the other members.

When discussing the events that took place behind the scenes at the NATO summit, President Abdullah Gül said that he discussed with U.S. President Barak Obama the sensitivities of our brethren in Pakistan and Afghanistan. He told him that an Afghanistan strategy that ignores the human factor and focuses only on military actions will be futile; and that there will be no solution in Afghanistan if the security concerns of Pakistan aren't understood and if Pakistan is left out of the equation. Isn't it meaningful that Turkey is the one that got Pakistan invited to the summit that was meant to talk mostly about Afghanistan? President Gül expressed that Turkey would continue to stand with Afghanistan even if the others withdraw in 2014.



Tim Thomas's *The Dragon's Quantum Leap* peels back the transformation process and uncovers the digital-age impacts of new modes of Chinese military thinking.

*The Dragon's Quantum Leap* expands the scope of Tim Thomas's two previous works on Chinese information warfare concepts. As with his previous work, Tim Thomas primarily uses all-Chinese source material

**FMSO Commentary:** The following article is taken from the blog of Zafer al-Ajami, a retired Kuwaiti officer, professor of military history and analyst on security issues. The topic of the post is Syria, specifically how the Gulf countries can help the burgeoning Free Syrian Army (FSA). The author mentions three pillars representing avenues of Gulf influence in the Levant: political, media and financial. He does not explicitly mention arming the rebels.

This blogpost highlights the importance of the media and Arab public opinion in the divisive Syrian conflict. The Arab League recently called for Syrian media broadcasts to be banned on the region's two principal satellites (ArabSat and NileSat). This is a gamble, given that the credibility of Qatar's al-Jazeera as an independent news outlet has been undermined by its reporting on Syria. On Monday, June 11, a new Beirut-based news channel began broadcasting. The channel, called al-Mayadeen, is staffed by several prominent al-Jazeera figures who defected from the Qatari channel in protest against what they saw as biased coverage of the Syrian uprising.

Another important issue raised by this blogpost is the coherence of the FSA as it enters a new phase of escalation in its fight with the Syrian regime's military and paramilitary forces. While increased Turkish and Gulf Cooperation Council support may help centralize the FSA, it may also create divisions within the armed insurgency. Increased involvement by Gulf countries may translate into growing Sunni jihadism within FSA ranks, in turn sharpening the conflict's sectarian contours as it moves beyond Syrian borders. That the Syrian conflict will engulf Lebanon is practically a certainty; how and when it might move south into Jordan and the Gulf is becoming the crucial question. **End FMSO Commentary (Winter)**

## Gulf Support for the Free Syrian Army

8 June 2012



Source: "The Arab Gulf Battalion in Syria," Gulf Security (Kuwaiti Blog). [http://gulfsecurity.blogspot.com/2012/06/blog-post\\_08.html](http://gulfsecurity.blogspot.com/2012/06/blog-post_08.html)

Free syrian army coat of arms via wikipedia.org

### كتيبة الخليج العربي المقاتلة في سوريا The Arab Gulf Battalion in Syria

Among the pretty grassy hills whose tops are covered with symmetrically planted green trees we find bearded lieutenant Abdullah al-Hassan, from the 4th Division's 84th Infantry Brigade, reading the Quranic verse: "O you who have believed, if you support Allah, He will support you and plant firmly your feet" and reminding us of the massacres committed against children and unarmed protestors. The announcement of the formation of "the Arab Gulf Battalion," under the command of the "Hama Countryside Martyrs Brigade," comes in a video filmed two months ago on Youtube showing two lines of men, with twenty men in the first one and seven in the second. They wear a mix of military and civilian clothing, military boots and sneakers, and regular shirts. Some cover their heads with a keffiyeh and others do not. They all carry anti-armor weapons and Kalashnikovs, some with rocket launchers attached.

On Youtube there are more than 250 different videos from the Free Syrian Army (FSA), as the supporters of the Syrian revolution say on their Facebook page. There is an Excel file with the names of all its battalions and brigades, their cities, the battalion leader, and the statement announcing their formation on Youtube. These include the "Daraa al-Sham and Gulf Battalion" in Idlib, the "Abu Hamza al-Kuwaiti" Battalion in Deir al-Zour, the "al-Qassam Battalion" and the "al-Quds Battalion." In Idlib there are 67 battalions, in Deir al-Zour 36, in Homs 38, Daraa 39, Hama 29, Aleppo 16, Rif Damascus 12, Damascus 3, Latakia 3, al-Riqqa 2 and a single battalion in Tartous, Suweida and Quneitra, for a total of 250 battalions and 17 brigades in the Free Syrian Army, the founding of which was announced by defected soldiers on July 29, 2011.

The open appearance of the twenty-seven men in this way is a brave act. Their defection on 23 March 2012 under the Arab Gulf name is also a message to us in the Gulf. Perhaps the main reason for helping these young men who carry our name, and the rest of their comrades in the FSA, is their devotion despite their youth and the absence of even minimal

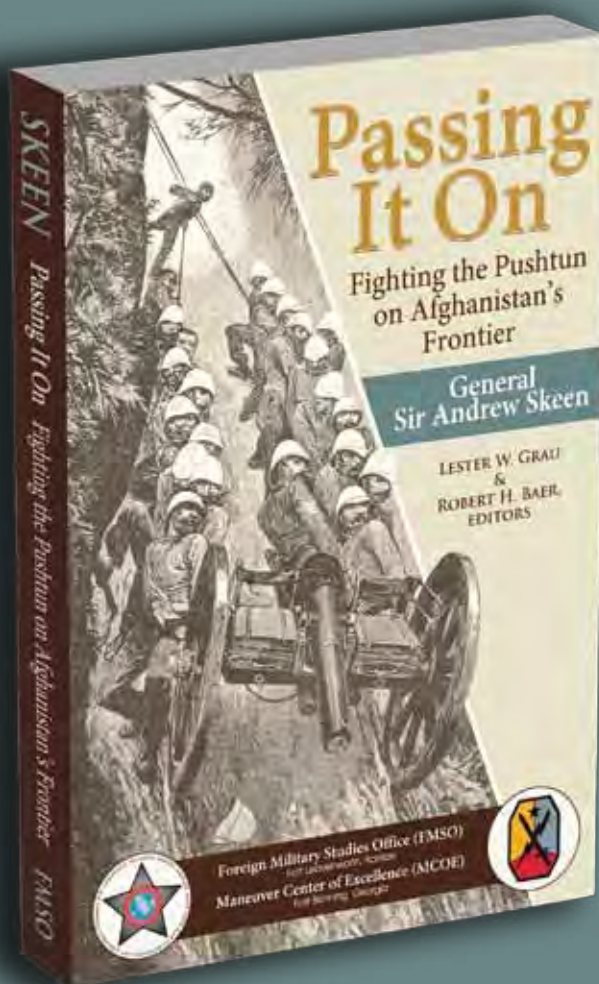
## Continued: The Arab Gulf Battalion in Syria

instruction in military security in the face of a massive and ugly security-intelligence machine. In open air they announce to the enemy and the world their defection from the child-killing Assad army and publish the names of their battalions and their locations as well as that of their leaders. Perhaps in this there is a positive to encourage the rest of Syria's young men to join them and then the battalion will fade. Or perhaps it is a discreet security measure, even if a late one, after we read about their work in manufacturing and managing a remote-controlled car bomb with "Gulf technology," as the Damascus regime says. Perhaps the battalion wanted to break away from the limits of totalitarianism and be part of the general mobilization of the FSA and in its name.

The Arab Gulf Battalion is a Syrian battalion that carries our name without having asked us or received our approval, in return for the Gulf effort in Syria. It and the rest of the FSA hope that they are not abandoned and are given no less than is requested. Some countries have supported revolutionary battalions and then abandoned them at crucial turning points. When the Cuban Revolution became a target for Washington, the CIA trained Cuban refugees and prepared them to fight Castro. The men of the "Brigada Asalto 2506" battalion, made up of 1,511 fighters, descended on the Bay of Pigs on April 16, 1961. Within three days the battalion had surrendered and 114 of its men had been killed, with Castro imprisoning 1,197 others. Kennedy admitted fully to responsibility for the failed operation and regained freedom for the prisoners one year later in exchange for 53 million dollars of American food and medicine, handed over in a ceremony in Miami where President Kennedy was presented with the battalion's flag and told them "I assure you that this flag will be returned to you in a free Havana."

Time passed and then Kennedy was assassinated and with him the Cuban thorn in his side. Johnson and then Nixon sank in the Vietnam quagmire while remembering that the Cuban thorn was still there. In 1977, veterans of the afflicted Cuban battalion – all by now elderly – asked to have their flag returned from a Canadian museum "since the promise had been broken." The flag was sent to them through the mail by an anonymous employee. We applaud the Syrian battalion that carries our name with hope and faithfulness. The Gulf brigade that we will use to help a free Syria is composed of three battalions, made up of political, media and financial support. The first of these is the GCC foreign ministry corps, which in a minister-level meeting asked the Arab League in Doha on June 2, 2012 to cut off the channels of Syrian misinformation from the ArabSat and NileSat satellites, making way for the media battalion, represented by the Gulf channels which represent a large portion of Arab Spring media. Finally the battalion of official assistance and popular donations will fund the operations of the Gulf Brigade and others of the FSA, so they may one day raise the green and black three-starred flag of Syrian freedom and independence.

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





**FMSO Commentary:** Syria has reached a turning point and seems headed toward a civil war that will reverberate beyond its borders. This, at least, is the prognosis of Ibrahim al-Amin, editor-in-chief of the secular, left-leaning Lebanese newspaper al-Akhbar, who in the following article examines the dynamics of regional intervention in Syria and its possible consequences.

There is no shortage of commentary on Syria, and the conflict is becoming increasingly divisive; as a consequence, a full picture of the view from the region requires looking at a variety of sources. Al-Akhbar represents one such source. It puts forth a viewpoint that, although not necessarily backing the al-Assad government, is highly skeptical toward the growing armed rebellion. In line with a large segment of Arab public opinion, the newspaper's editorial line evinces little sympathy toward the Gulf monarchies or toward U.S. policies in the region. The newspaper was founded by several prominent Lebanese journalists in 2006 and has since become one of the most important voices in the Levant.

The following article was originally published in the newspaper's Arabic-language version and then translated for its recently launched English-language website. It is the first in a two-part series, the second of which looks at the Syrian regime's calculations. If al-Amin's analysis is correct, one likely impact of the inevitable escalation in Syria is spillover into Lebanon. That the Syrian conflict will affect other parts of the region is also seen as inevitable, although how and to what degree still remain unclear. **End FMSO Commentary (Winter)**

## Syrian Conflict Crosses Borders

11 June 2012

**Source:** "Fire in Syria (I): Preparations on the Turkish and Lebanese Borders," al-Akhbar (Lebanon) <http://english.al-akhbar.com/content/fire-syria-i-preparations-turkish-and-lebanese-borders>



The Levant, (Arabic: Bilād ash-Shām or al-Mashrīq al-'Arabiyy) is a geographic and cultural term referring to the region of the eastern Mediterranean littoral between Anatolia and Egypt. The Levant includes most of modern Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Israel, the Palestinian territories, and sometimes parts of Cyprus, Turkey and Iraq, and corresponds roughly to the historic area of Greater Syria. Map of Levant based on data from planiglobe.com and Wikipedia [CC-BY-SA]

## Fire in Syria (I): Preparations on the Turkish and Lebanese Borders

Syria and the wider region are witnessing preparations for a phase that can be described as critical. The international and regional contexts reveal the severity of the upcoming battle, not just in Syria but in all the countries of Bilad al-Sham (the Levant), spreading to the remaining Arab countries and the whole region. Gulf countries are in a state of high alert based on information regarding possible violent attacks in the context of the Syrian crisis. They are alert because the rulers of these countries know what they are doing, especially after proclaiming that they are in an existential struggle. Reports from the field and in the media indicate a discernible increase in the number of Arab fighters from Gulf countries joining the battle against the Syrian government and on its soil.

Some regime opponents speak about Turkish officers training Syrian fighters on advanced anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons. Turkey is left on its own to answer the strategic question: Shall we get involved in the bloody game engulfing Syria and are we ready to pay the costs?



## ***Continued: Preparations on the Turkish and Lebanese Borders***

While all sides find it difficult to contemplate any type of political solution, they are all quick to reveal thorough practical arrangements for a new round of violence to change the situation on the ground. Each hopes to tip the balance of power in its favor to use in negotiations that are expected to follow at a later time. Kofi Annan's mission is over, mainly because there is no consensus to support it. On the contrary, the mission was an opportunity for adversaries of the Syrian regime, whether the opposition or foreign powers, to catch their breath after the latest wave of diplomatic efforts and confrontations on the ground that tipped the balance in the regime's direction.

Syria's opponents made an effort to unite the opposition. It turned out to be difficult for many reasons. So they began working on making the opposition work in a common direction. Foreign powers such as Turkey, Gulf states, Europe, the United States, and even Israel would take charge of practical matters. Failing to attract diplomatic and military groups loyal to the regime to the other side, they decided to expel all Syrian diplomats. They also carried out calculated security-military attacks on a number of officers in the Syrian army to give them a taste of the dangers involved in remaining loyal to the regime. This was in conjunction with a concentrated campaign to spread rumors, aiming, as usual, to create an atmosphere of doubt and mistrust. They then decided to forbid the regime from replying, even through the media, through attempting to ban satellite transmission of Syrian channels and preparing to disrupt their signals even inside Syria.

On the level of security, work is speedily underway to create the support zones needed by the armed Syrian groups. In the last several weeks, the Turkish border has effectively become a military training ground for Syrian fighters. Some regime opponents speak about Turkish officers training Syrian fighters on advanced anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons. They are also undertaking logistical tasks to coordinate the work of armed groups and train them on modern communications techniques.

In the meantime, some Gulf countries increased their financial support to an unprecedented level. They are financing the purchase of various weapons, providing salaries for the enlisting of more fighters, recruiting young Syrians in Turkey, Iraq, and Lebanon, in addition to the continuation of the open media campaign against the regime until further notice.

In Lebanon, efforts to provide the necessary political and popular support for the Syrian opposition are now at the stage of practical preparations. Several steps were taken in that direction by the Saudis through Salafi groups and Future Movement supporters, some of whom are employed in the civil and military departments of the Lebanese state. They implemented a part of the plan to control large areas in the North.

One could say now that the Saudis succeeded in having a veto,

through its partisans, on any political, security, or other action in the northern Lebanese region. Practically, this veto meant restricting the movement of the Lebanese army, obstructing its intelligence work, warning its leaders that monitoring the opponents of Syria could be considered an aggressive act.

In Lebanon, efforts to provide the necessary political and popular support for the Syrian opposition are now at the stage of practical preparations. This meant extending the distribution of Lebanese and Syrian armed groups in the city of Tripoli and a substantial section of Akkar. They also created a hostile sectarian situation to increase tensions in the street. This is done by targeting Alawis in such areas, even if this meant a wide and open war. In North Bekaa, on-the-ground preparations continue, with sympathetic groups transporting arms to the mountains of Ersal that have become open bases for Syrian fighters and their Lebanese supporters, under political and even security cover. The clearest indicator was in the statements of Ersal's head of municipality, Ali Hujairi, who called on the people of his town to arm themselves and confront the state security forces.

Records of investigations with those detained for transporting and smuggling weapons and explosives in the area have shown that there is an advanced plan underway. Confiscated materials reveal a plot that could destroy whole villages or city neighborhoods.

In the meantime, armed Syrian groups are active along a line connecting the surrounding areas of Damascus and Homs to Lebanon's eastern borders. They are clashing with people in those regions using the pretext that Hezbollah is deployed in the area to support the regular Syrian army. It should be noted that areas under Hezbollah's influence did not hinder the transportation of injured Syrian opposition members through these border points to hospitals in the North. There is also an increased level of sectarian incitement in a strip of villages along the Syrian border, whose populations are a mix of sects.

It seems there is a zero hour planned by those who control these groups. On the other side, the regime is prepared to face the inevitable...So what is going to happen?

**FMSO Commentary:** On April 6, in the context of Yemen's military restructuring efforts, interim President Abd Rabo Mansour Hadi issued a decree stripping the command from several allies of former president Ali Abdullah Saleh. One of them was Saleh's nephew Tarek, who was dismissed from his post as commander of the Republican Guard's 3d Armored Brigade. Initially refusing to comply, the former president's nephew finally agreed to step down at the end of April, and an official ceremony for the handover of command, attended by UN Envoy Jamal Benomar, took place a few days later. Immediately following Tarek's departure, though, Saleh loyalists took over the brigade and refused entry to the newly appointed commander.

In early June, a counterrebellion broke out within the brigade. A few days later, the Saleh loyalists were expelled and the brigade's new leader, Abdul Rahman al-Halili, finally assumed command, more than two months after his initial appointment. The following article, taken from Yemen's al-Ahale newspaper, recounts the events that led up to the final resolution.

The Republican Guard's 3d Brigade (sometimes referred to as the "Presidential Guard") is one of the Yemeni Army's most important formations. It is among the army's best equipped brigades and occupies important positions overlooking entry to the capital Sanaa, in addition to guarding the presidential palace. Although Saleh's relatives still retain key security posts, the loss of the 3d Brigade is a major blow to their hope of retaining power in the new Yemen. Looming on the horizon is the status of Ahmed Ali Abdullah Saleh, the former president's son and one-time purported successor, who, although still the nominal head of the Republican Guard, no longer controls all of its key formations. **End FMSO Commentary (Winter)**

## Yemen Army Purges Continue

10 June 2012

**Source:** "Commander of the 3d Brigade, Brig. Gen. al-Halili tells al-Ahale: I have no Information on what is going on inside the Brigade and am still at Home," al-Ahale (Yemen). <http://alahale.net/article/3689>



Coat of arms of Yemen, by Connormah (Own work) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons

قائد اللواء الثالث العميد الحليلى للأهالي نت: ليس لدي أي معلومات حول ما يجري داخل اللواء ولا زلت في منزلي حتى اللحظة

**Commander of the 3d Brigade, Brig. Gen. al-Halili tells al-Ahale: I have no Information on what is going on inside the Brigade and am still at Home**

**T**he commander of the 3d Armored Republican Guard Brigade, Brig. Gen. Abdul Rahman al-Halili, told al-Ahale that he was not aware of what was taking place inside the 3d Brigade headquarters. Speaking by phone, he said, "I do not have any information."

Al-Halili said that he was still at his home and had until now been unable to enter the headquarters and take over as brigade commander. Last April 6, President Hadi issued a decree appointing Brig. Gen. Abdul Rahman Abdullah al-Halili as commander of the Republican Guard's 3d Armored Brigade. The previous commander, appointed internally by Republican Guard Commander Ahmed Ali Abdullah Saleh (son of the elder Saleh), was Tarek Mohammed Abdullah Saleh.

The 3d Brigade is one of the strongest military units of the Republican Guard. It has some of the Yemeni army's most modern armored vehicles and tanks (more than 300) and is stationed in the mountains surrounding the presidential palace in the area of al-Sabain, in the south of the capital Sanaa.

The officers in the 3d Brigade confirmed that the gates to the brigade had been locked since last Saturday night. An officer told al-Ahale that six out of seven battalions of the

## ***Continued: I have no Information on what is going on inside the Brigade and am still at Home***

3d Brigade had joined those calling for the ouster of commanders who were refusing the orders of President Hadi. He added that the situation inside the brigade headquarters could become tenser and he did not rule out armed clashes breaking out inside the base. The officer, who wished to remain anonymous, said that members of the brigade had prevented the entry of cargo trains that were to move weapons out of the brigade headquarters. He explained that two cargo trains had arrived this afternoon to transport tanks and weapons but that soldiers had prevented their entry and they had returned empty.

A military source told al-Ahale that the battalions had dug positions inside the headquarters and said that there had been an attempt to open the gates by force. Another officer said that clashes had broken out within the brigade headquarters on Saturday night and had resumed on Sunday. He said the gates remained shut by soldiers asking that Gen. Abdul Hamid Maqwala and a police officer in the brigade, Mohammed al-Jamaai, leave and the newly appointed commander Abdul Rahman al-Halili be allowed to exercise his duties. The officer explained that members of the brigade's security battalion, who are tasked with security the brigade's gates, as well as the 2d Battalion, tasked with ensuring the brigade's security, had closed all gates last night. He added that during attempts by the Republican Guard to dialogue at the gates heavy fire was opened on the security battalions from within the base, which he attributed to soldiers loyal to Maqwala. The officer added that Abdul Hamid Maqwala had left the brigade last night but this morning his vehicles were still inside the base, resulting in the gates being closed again. The officer added that yesterday morning forces from the Republican Guard mobilized toward the main gates of the base to negotiate with the security battalions but were surprised when heavy gunfire was directed toward them.

In a report presented to the Security Council, UN Yemen Envoy Jamal ben Omar previously indicated that several relatives of former president Ali Abdullah Saleh had blocked the implementation of republican decrees issued by President Hadi regarding their dismissal or transfer from their posts. Most prominent is Brig. Gen. Tarek Mohammed Abdullah Saleh, Saleh's nephew, who refused to give up his post as commander of the 3d Republican Guard Brigade to the new appointed commander Abdul Rahman al-Halili.

A military source told al-Ahale that Saleh had answered to the request that he give up the 3d Brigade by saying: "No one hands over his own neck."

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

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





***FMSO Commentary:** Much has been written in the international press about foreign entities purchasing African oil and rare earth minerals, perhaps because those two commodities are critical for maintaining modern industries and military forces. However, significantly less appears to have been written regarding foreign entities purchasing large tracts of African land, a practice which has important security and stability implications across the continent.*

*These foreign owners often grow crops for export back to their own countries, where land scarcity precludes their own populations from raising enough agricultural products - for food or biofuel - for domestic consumption. To be sure, such foreign investment can be extremely beneficial for all parties involved, with locals receiving jobs and the nations receiving sorely needed tax revenues. However, as many African governments are weak and/or corrupt, officials do not always act in the best interests of their people or their country, not just preventing benefits from accruing to the local populace but actually harming them in the process.*

*Many of the foreign-owned farms have been purchased in areas where the local African population depends on subsistence farming, grazing small herds, and/or fishing for survival. Large-scale agribusiness by foreign property owners sometimes diverts scarce water resources from these impoverished individuals. The accompanying article notes one project, Saudi-based billionaire Mohammed Al-Amoudi's plantation in Ethiopia, uses water diverted from the Alwero River for irrigation. Unfortunately, local farmers and fishermen depend on the Alwero for a living. This probably helps explain why in April an armed group ambushed Al-Amoudi's Saudi Star development operations, leaving five people dead.*

*As desertification claims more of*

## Tensions Rise as Foreign Investors Make Large-Scale Purchases of African Land

Typical highland scene in Amhara, Ethiopia with high levels of deforestation in contrast to lowland areas. Photo by Oakland Institute via oaklandinstitute.org

12 June 2012



**Source:** Emma Batha, "Africa: Land Grabs Leave Africa Facing 'Hydrological Suicide' - Report," Alertnet on AllAfrica.com, 12 June 2012. <http://allafrica.com/stories/201206130508.html>

### Africa: Land Grabs Leave Africa Facing 'Hydrological Suicide' - Report

**A** scramble for cheap African farmland by foreign investors threatens to leave millions of people without water and could ultimately drain the continent's rivers, a report warns.

"If these land grabs are allowed to continue, Africa is heading for a hydrological suicide," said the report's co-author Henk Hobbelink, coordinator of GRAIN, an organisation supporting small farmers.

Foreign governments and wealthy individuals are snapping up millions of hectares of land on the continent for large-scale agriculture projects to grow food and biofuels for export.

But the report warns there is simply not enough water in Africa's rivers and water tables to irrigate all the newly acquired land.

In some cases communities are already being moved off land to make way for these mega-projects. In others, the plantations will divert water from rivers that local people depend on for their own farming and everyday needs.

"Millions of Africans are in danger of losing access to the water sources they rely on for their livelihoods and for the survival of their communities," Hobbelink said.



*Africa at the same time as populations are growing, removing land and water for the purpose of large-scale agribusiness, often done with little or no benefit to the local population, is a recipe for disaster. With major purchases of farmland by foreign entities continuing in African countries that have governments unable and/or unwilling to implement the necessary regulations to create shared benefits for all - choosing instead to marginalize a largely politically voiceless African subsistence population for the benefit of a few - it is almost certain armed resistance will grow, perhaps even threatening the security and stability of some regions.*

**End FMSO Commentary (Feldman)**

## ***Continued: Land Grabs Leave Africa Facing 'Hydrological Suicide'***

“The worst case scenario is indeed we end up with a situation where the entire continent’s river systems will dry out.”

Hobbelink said the land deals - many of them along the Nile and Niger rivers - were already creating tensions in some parts and could fuel conflict.

Countries leasing land include Sudan, South Sudan, Ethiopia, Egypt, Zambia, Kenya Tanzania, Mali and Senegal.

The report, Squeezing Africa dry: behind every land grab is a water grab, said those acquiring farmland knew that the access to water they were automatically gaining - often without restriction - could well be worth more in the long term than the land deals themselves.

Agriculture already sucks up around 70 percent of freshwater used globally. But demand is likely to soar as the world population increases.

Investors come from India, Saudi Arabia, China, UAE, Libya, Qatar, the United States, Britain, France and Canada among others, according to GRAIN.

But the report said Africa was in no position to support these massive new agribusiness projects - one in three Africans already lives with water scarcity and climate change will make things worse.

Hobbelink also pointed out that in many parts of Africa there were distinct dry and rainy seasons and local communities had adapted their farming methods to suit these fluctuations. But he said many crops being farmed on the new plantations, including rice, sugar cane and palm oil, required huge amounts of water all year round.

### **POVERTY**

Much investor interest is focused on countries in the Nile basin. The United Nations’ Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) has estimated the ten countries in the basin have enough water to irrigate a maximum of 8 million hectares.

But four countries alone - Sudan, South Sudan, Ethiopia and Egypt - have already established irrigation infrastructure for 5.4 million hectares and leased out a further 8.6 million hectares.

Tensions have already flared over one project in Gambela in Ethiopia. The plantation, owned by Saudi-based billionaire Mohammed Al-Amoudi, is irrigated by water diverted from the Alwero River which locals depend on for fishing and farming.

In April an armed group ambushed Al-Amoudi’s Saudi Star development operations, leaving five people dead, according to GRAIN’s report.

Advocates of land deals and irrigation projects say these big investments in Africa should be hailed as an opportunity to tackle hunger and poverty. But Hobbelink said people were being paid as little as 70 cents a day to work on projects.

“Virtually all the land use we’ve seen is about installing huge plantations and removing people from their territories,” he added.

Hobbelink said the key to ending poverty was to invest in and improve on local technologies and methods for managing and conserving water.

**FMSO Commentary:** *The storyline: Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir is indicted by the International Criminal Court (ICC) on charges of war crimes for his government's actions in Darfur. Meanwhile, Malawi is slated to host the African Union's (AU) biannual summit in July. Malawi's new president, Joyce Banda, declares that, in line with her country's commitments to the ICC, if al-Bashir enters her country for the AU summit, she will arrest him. The AU tells Banda to back down and allow Bashir in; Banda stands firm. At a relatively late date, and in order to appease al-Bashir, the AU swiftly moves the scheduled summit out of Lilongwe, Malawi, and back to the AU headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Praise and condemnation of the AU, the ICC, Banda, and al-Bashir follow.*

*A variety of subplots have revealed themselves in the intrigue. First is the overarching African stance towards the ICC, which many in Africa – not least the AU itself – have decried as harboring an “anti-African bias.” That Malawi is now willing to step up to the plate to honor its commitments is a sign to the African international community that simple calls of neo-imperialism no longer suffice when history leaves the culpability of the accused unquestionable. Second, there is the issue of the moral fortitude of the AU itself. Some Africans, like the accompanying author, believe that the AU had no other option than to move the summit as a result of its own bylaws demanding total continental inclusiveness; others have condemned the AU as being spineless and kowtowing to the wishes of a despot. The third subplot is perhaps the most fascinating: that the bold decision to arrest al-Bashir came from not only the continent's newest head of state, but also only its second female one. Indeed, Malawi's Joyce Banda seems to be fulfilling the long believed prophecy that African women heads of state think about and*

## Malawi Threatens to Arrest Sudan's al-Bashir; African Union Summit Forced into Last-Minute Move to Ethiopia

10 June 2012

**Source:** Simon Allison, “Africa: AU Summit Move - What Choice Did They Have?” Daily Maverick (Johannesburg). 10 June 2012: <http://allafrica.com/stories/printable/201206121011.html>

Omar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir, president of Sudan [Public Domain] via Wikimedia Commons



### Africa: AU Summit Move - What Choice Did They Have?

**M**alawi's principled refusal to invite Sudan's president to the African Union summit in Malawi put the continental body in an impossible quandary. Their solution was imperfect, but the right move in complicated circumstances.

If one ever doubted the influence that just one person can have on the fate of an entire country, then Malawi's new president Joyce Banda should reassure you that a single change in personnel at the very top can turn a struggling, declining nation into one of Africa's brightest prospects.

Her boldest decision was to respect Malawi's international commitments and declare that Sudan's President Omar al-Bashir would be arrested should he set foot on Malawian soil. Bashir is wanted by the International Criminal Court to answer charges of committing genocide in Darfur; Malawi, as a signatory to the Rome Statute which created the court, is obligated to enforce the arrest warrant. This brave, principled decision is not entirely without self-interest.

Malawi is expecting some \$500 million-plus in aid money as the likes of the International

*care about the protection of human security (and the punishment of those who undermine it) in ways that are qualitatively different than their male counterparts.*

*Indeed, of all of the pieces written from an African perspective that have been circulating on the recent controversy, the one below offers amongst the clearest and most nuanced analyses. **End FMSO Commentary (Warner)***

## ***Continued: AU Summit Move - What Choice Did They Have?***

Monetary Fund and the Millenium Challenge Corporation queue up to help the popular new president, after aid was almost entirely suspended during Mutharika's second term. A picture of Joyce Banda greeting an alleged war criminal on her own red carpet would have seriously jeopardised the resumption of support, as illustrated by a recent US warning - no doubt directed at Malawi - to cut off aid money from any country that allows Bashir in. Looks like it worked.

The financial incentive should not detract from what was still a courageous decision. The ICC has a bad reputation among most African leaders, who have consistently defied calls to arrest Bashir and dismissed his arrest warrant as just another example of the court's anti-African bias (with the notable exceptions of Botswana, South African and Zambia).

By taking the opposite view, Banda - a relatively young, female leader in a group of old, grumpy men - is openly defying the African consensus, something sure to make her unpopular amongst her counterparts. This put the AU in a very tight spot. The continental body has previously been vocal in its criticism of the ICC and Bashir's indictment.

This decision is hardly going to improve the AU's already battered reputation, especially as it comes in the midst of organisation's inability to elect a commission chairperson. Critics will question the AU's commitment to justice, and use this as another example of the AU choosing to protect the status quo, and the likes of President Bashir, over doing the right thing.

But the reality is that the AU had little choice in the matter. For a start, it needed to abide by its own rules and regulations, which require all heads of member states to be invited to attend each summit. This is no mere diplomatic nicety: the whole point of a summit is to bring all the presidents together to thrash out issues facing the continent. To have it in a place where one president is persona non grata is deliberately exclusionary, and certain to encourage divisions rather than cooperation. Furthermore, the AU is not a signatory to the Rome Statute - it's not a country, so it can't be. And of its member states, only 33 of 54 have ratified the treaty, meaning there are 21 countries who have chosen not to do so.

This is not about whether Bashir should be arrested or not: given Malawi's very public position, there was no chance of him traveling to the AU summit anyway, so this is a red herring. What it's really about is whether Sudan would be best served by being alienated from the African community of nations, by being humiliated in a very public fashion. Alienation and humiliation is almost certainly not the answer to any of Sudan's problems, especially not now, as the AU helps to mediate in the very delicate negotiations between Sudan and South Sudan.

By refusing to welcome a wanted war criminal, Malawi will attract plenty of well-deserved praise. But so should the African Union, for taking the difficult decision to move the summit to Ethiopia, a decision that will ultimately serve peace and justice in Africa more than what would have been a largely symbolic gesture of support for an arrest warrant that won't be implemented any time soon anyway.

**FMSO Commentary:** *The Somali militant group al-Shebab knows how to play hardball. In response to the offering of a \$33 million U.S. bounty for members of al-Shebab, the militant Islamist group issued their own bounty on the heads of both President Obama and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton: ten and two camels, respectively.*

*The counter-bounty from al-Shebab comes at a time when it seems to be increasingly destabilized, with a combination of forces from the African Union (under the aegis of AMISOM), Ethiopia, Kenya, and the United States (particularly the CJTF-HOA) severely weakening its hold on Somalia. Recent military successes against al-Shebab have led to optimism that the country is moving down the road towards long-term stability; other observers have claimed that Somalia is inching towards no longer qualifying as a “failed state.”*

*Throughout East Africa, however, the sentiment seems to be that Kenya and Ethiopia are fighting al-Shebab simply because the U.S. is demanding that they do so. Substantial amounts of domestic discontent have been seen in recent months from both Ethiopians and Kenyans questioning why their cash-strapped governments are fighting al-Shebab at all, given their ethnic similarities to the Somalis and the rather mild threat that they view al-Shebab posing to their own national security. In these countries many would seem to be happy to see al-Shebab relocate to either Yemen or regroup in the Sahel, if not simply because it would mean reduced government expenditures fighting what they view as an unnecessary and costly war. **End FMSO Commentary (Warner)***

## Al-Shebab Offers Camel Bounty on Obama, Clinton

9 June 2012

**Source:** “Abdulkadir Khalif, “Somalia’s Al-Shabaab offer 10 camels for Obama’s ‘capture.’ Africa Review (Nairobi, Kenya). 9 June 2012: <http://www.africareview.com/News/Somalia+Al+Shabaab+puts+bounty+on+Obama/-/979180/1423690/-/15sgcrk/-/index.html>

Camels by M1st91 (Own work) [CC-BY-SA-3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons



## Somalia’s Al-Shabaab offer 10 camels for Obama’s ‘capture.’

**A** senior official of the radical Islamist Al-Shebab group announced Friday that his movement was ready to reward anybody bringing in information leading to the killing or capture of top American leaders.

Sheikh Fu’ad Mohamed Khalaf alias Shongole specifically mentioned US President Barack Obama and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton.

Sheikh Shongole was reacting to a statement from the US State Department putting a bounty of \$33 million for the capture of top Al-Shabaab leaders. We are offering 10 camels for any information concerning (Barack) Obama,” said Shongole.

Suggesting and mocking that a woman is valued less he added, “We are going to reward 10 hens and 10 cocks to anyone easing information about (Hillary) Clinton.”

The Sheikh also informed the crowd that Al-Shabaab leaders survived attempts on their lives by former US President George W. Bush. “We fought Bush and why not Obama?” remarked the hardline cleric.

He added that his militants will seize any American in response to the bounty put on Al-Shabaab heads.

On Thursday, the US offered \$7 million to information leading to the capture of Al-Shabaab’s Ameer (Spiritual Leader), Ahmed Abdi Aw Mohammed Godane, also known as Sheikh Mukhtar Abdurahman Aby Zubayr. Other rewards were offered for other six wanted militant leaders including Sheikh Shongole.

On Friday, the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) issued a statement, welcoming the position taken by the United States in offering rewards towards the capture of the top Al-Shabaab leaders.



**FMSO Commentary:** In March 2012 the government of Mali was overthrown: in the isolated Saharan north of the country, this resulted in an even greater power vacuum than that which had existed theretofore.

Now, two main groups are in de facto control of northern Mali: the radical Islamist group Ansar al-Din, which is affiliated with al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, and a secular nomadic Taureg nationalist group, the National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad (MNLA). In late May the two groups announced that they were merging to consolidate power in the area, forming a new state that they are calling Azawad. Despite the fact that the new state rests on tenuous footing (disputes have emerged because the Ansar al-Din wants to enact Shari'a law while the MNLA is uncomfortable with it and simply wants a Taureg homeland), residents of the north, like those described in the accompanying article, are now beginning to protest whatever new form of government the alliance is proposing the establish.

While the claims of the new state are coming strong from the north, it is highly doubtful that any of the parties that would have the capacity to grant Azawad sovereignty – the African Union, the United Nations, or the U.S. or any of its allies – would ever recognize a Saharan state with an openly radical Islamic government. Even less likely would this be, given that the new state would be born of a splintering of Mali, one of the U.S.'s most steadfast allies in the West African region (principally, and ironically, because of its perceived stability). Indeed, that Malian citizens' protests against the Ansar al-Din and MNLA merger and occupation have been so loud bodes well for the global community's likely rejection of any emergent state there. **End FMSO Commentary (Warner)**

## Protests Erupt as Al-Qaeda and Mali Rebels Declare New Islamic State

11 June 2012

**Source:** Jemal Oumar, "Les habitants de Kidal manifestent contre les islamistes," ("Residents of Kidal Protest Against Islamists"). Magharebia (Noukchouatt, Mauritania). 11 June 2012: <http://www.magharebia.com/cocoon/awi/xhtml1/fr/features/awi/features/2012/06/11/feature-01>



The people of Kidal protest against armed Islamists present in their city. Photo by Jemal Oumar via [www.magharebia.com](http://www.magharebia.com)

### ***Les habitants de Kidal manifestent contre les islamistes*** **(Residents of Kidal Protest Against Islamists)**

**C**lashes erupted last week between the two main factions of Taureg rebels in northern Mali after citizens' protests against the continued presence of armed groups and those groups' imposition of Shari'a law.

Thursday, June 7, on the outskirts of Kidal, supporters of the National Movement for the Liberation of Azaouad (MNLA), a strictly secular group, clashed with fighters from the tribe of Iyad Ag Ghaly Ifogas, affiliated with the Islamist group radical Ansar al-Din.

Mohamed Ag Ahmedu, a journalist living in Gao, told Magharebia that the clashes had erupted in the aftermath "of the events organized by the inhabitants of the Kidal on the 6th, 7th and 9th of June. These events are also a reflection of the political differences that have led to the cancellation of the agreement signed on May 26 between the two groups, which included the creation of an Islamic state, and furthermore reflects the population's rejection of this agreement."

Both groups, however, are quick to refute the information about these armed

## ***Continued: Residents of Kidal Protest Against Islamists***

confrontations. In a statement released Friday by the head of press office MNLA Bakai Ag Ahmed Hamad, the rebel group said that information about the clashes between the two factions were “totally false”.

“There is rather a convergence of views between the two parties to the fact of working together in Azaouad, and discussions are ongoing between group elements and the MNLA office in Kidal,” said the statement. He adds that “the MNLA and Ansar al-Din organize meetings in Kidal and Timbuktu to reach a solution satisfactory to all parties.”

However, ANI reported the words of Mohammed Ag Mahmoud, one of the leaders of Ansar al-Din, saying that “the confrontation erupted after the MNLA had used civilian inhabitants of Kidal protesting this week against the Islamic group, they encouraged women and children to demonstrate against us, and we are now engaged in a showdown.”

Moussa Salem, an MNLA supporter, said that they were “attacked”. He explained that the house of the leader of Ansar al-Din Iyad Ag Ghaly was attacked by some Tuareg rebels.

According to observers, these clashes reflect contradictory positions between secular and Islamist factions Tuareg.

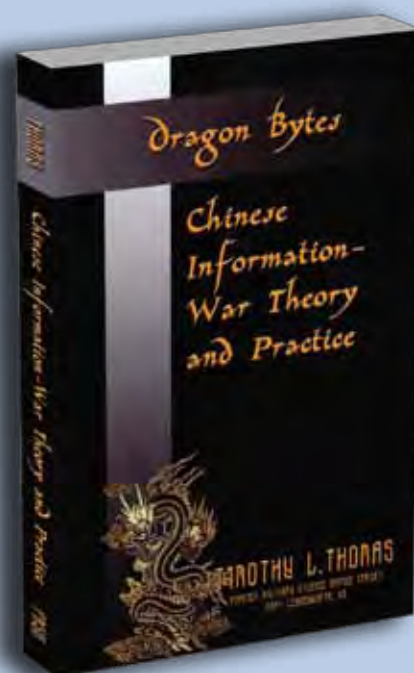
“These incidents also show that a conflict is imminent about to erupt between the two groups, although they refute the recent clashes to avoid further tensions,” said analyst Abdul Hami al-Ansari.

The crisis in Mali remains a cause for concern for the international community. Last Thursday, the regional leaders endorsed a proposal by President of the African Union Boni Yayi to refer the situation to the Security Council UN for possible military intervention. This decision was taken at the conference of the Liaison Group on the African Mali AU, in Abidjan.

However, some observers doubt that any Malian military intervention will solve the problem. “This military force of which they speak is still just words,” said Baba Ahmed, correspondent for Jeune Afrique in Mali. “I do not think that military action whatsoever will resolve the situation quickly, because the armed groups in the north every day reinforce their positions within the population,” he added.

For their part, many observers believe that the protests will continue until that Ansar al-Din al-Qaida and leave the area.

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



**FMSO Commentary:** *The official announcement of the US strategic pivot to the Pacific and Asia has brought reaction from several nations in this very large region. These responses come from regional governments, political parties, regional militaries, and activists reflecting a widespread and growing concern.*

*US PACOM has maintained a robust annual exercise program with treaty partners in the region. Numerous military-to-military exchanges that are meant to promote shared regional security aspirations continue to be planned, coordinated, and executed.*

*This traditional US military presence in the vast Asia Pacific region has now become a key element of the “re-balancing” of US forces across the globe. This published policy has focused historic apprehensions regarding the utility and value of this geostrategic military engagement effort.*

*Regional press reveals the multilevel and broad-based dialog that is building. Theories regarding the ultimate US intentions, speculation on new weapon systems to be employed, and potential negative outcomes are all grist for this geostrategic mill. **End FMSO Commentary (Welch)***

## Regional Response to US Strategic Pivot to the Pacific

1 June 2012

Source: US Plans Naval Base in Chittagong: Indian TV <http://www.bdnews24.com/details.php?id=225709&cid=2>



CHITTAGONG, Bangladesh (Sept. 24, 2011) - Representatives from the U.S. and Bangladesh Navies watch a briefing on a review of events held during Cooperation Afloat Readiness and Training (CARAT) Bangladesh 2011. (U.S. Navy photo by Mass Communication Specialist 2nd Class Jessica Bidwell)

## US Plans Naval Base in Chittagong

bdnews24.com is Bangladesh's first Web-based news service that draws on the resources of nearly 500 journalists and photographers around the country to bring accurate news and unique insight into headlines to a widely dispersed audience.

**D**haka, Jun 1 (bdnews24.com)—An Indian TV station says the United States is desperate for a strong naval presence in Bangladesh to counter growing Chinese influence in the region

The Times Now ran an investigative report titled “U.S. eyes Bangladesh” on May 31 saying the Americans want to use Chittagong port to park a large part of its Seventh Fleet.

The report was followed by a debate on the TV channel styled “America eyes Bay of Bengal”.

It suggested the US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton recent visit to Bangladesh “was much more than a friendly gesture” and she discussed military co-operation with Bangladeshi officials last month.

“America... wants to park its seventh fleet in the country - for its strategic interests. Worried by increasing presence of Chinese naval bases in the South China Sea - America now eyes a counter strategy - as it wants an overall presence in Asia - right from Japan to its Diego Garcia base in the Indian Ocean,” said the report by the 24-hour English news channel.

Times Now's Editor-in-Chief Arnab Goswami moderated the debate titled “America Eyes Bay of Bengal” based on its own investigation.

The discussants were The Heritage Foundation's Senior Research Fellow Lisa Curtis,



## Continued: US Plans Naval Base in Chittagong

Former Indian High Commissioner to Bangladesh Veena Sikri, Member, National Executive Committee, BJP Sheshadri Chari, Strategic Affairs Analyst Mahroof Raza, Times Now's Consulting Editor Wasbir Hussain and Centre for Strategic Research & Analysis (CESRAN) Representative Antony Ou China.

The report said the Americans were increasingly worried over the string of pearls of Chinese bases across the South China Sea and their naval might spreading all across Asia - putting America behind.

Spokesperson for the United States Department of State Victoria Nuland was quoted by the Times of India as saying, during the Bangladesh visit of Hillary Clinton no talks took place regarding the issue.

But Priscilla Huff, Washington Correspondent of Times Now, said: "The US State Department is confirming the US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton did discuss a future home for the Seventh Fleet when she was in Bangladesh."

The Seventh Fleet currently has homes in Japan, Guam and Singapore, she added.

"The Bangladeshi Government remaining extremely tightlipped over the recent developments - as they have internally decided to deny it on record - fearing backlash from their own hardliners," said the Times Now report.

But Bangladesh's High Commissioner to India told Time Now that he was "not aware of any such requests to the best of my knowledge", when he was asked by TV reporter whether the US had

asked to allow Chittagong port to be used as their naval base and whether Bangladesh will allow it.

"Bangladesh is not willing to comment on record even offering explanation to deny the developments. This Clinton visit is a more strategic one than just a friendly one- the Indian establishment caught unawares--as this base could cast a shadow on India's own strategic interests," the report concluded.

Lisa Curtis in the debate said she did not see any reason for US to go for any deal in Asia without consulting with India beforehand.

The debate claimed Bangladesh's Ministry of Home Affairs held secret meeting with the US representatives on issues like containing militancy, extremism, terrorism and even guarding the border with India.

Consulting editor of the television Wasbir Hussain said he had information from Bangladesh that the talks between Bangladesh and US were going on since 2008. US proposed to survey Bangladesh's airfield and also wanted to have its marine fleet reach till inland river port Narayanganj.

He claimed to have talked with Bangladeshi commandos in the military and members of parliament.

The discussants questioned whether the Awami League government would risk such a decision with the next national election so close to come.

Some of them claimed the discussion was being held unofficially under the pretexts of different occasions.



U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton participates in a town interview with Bangladeshi youth moderated by Ejaj Ahmad, Founder and President of Bangladesh Youth Leadership Center, and Munni Saha, Head of News at ATN News, in Dhaka, Bangladesh, on May 6, 2012. [State Department photo/ Public Domain]

## *Continued: Regional Response to US Strategic Pivot to the Pacific*

### US navy hopes stealth ship answers a rising China

**Source:** US navy hopes stealth ship answers a rising China <http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics/nation/us-navy-hopes-stealth-ship-answers-a-rising-china/articleshow/13809034.cms>



8 March 2012

An artist rendering of the Zumwalt class destroyer DDG 1000, a new class of multi-mission U.S. Navy surface combatant ship designed to operate as part of a joint maritime fleet, assisting Marine strike forces ashore as well as performing littoral, air and sub-surface warfare. (U.S. Navy photo illustration/Released)

**S**INGAPORE 4 Jun, 2012: A super-stealthy warship that could underpin the U.S. navy's China strategy will be able to sneak up on coastlines virtually undetected and pound targets with electromagnetic "rail guns" right out of a sci-fi movie.

But at more than \$3 billion a pop, critics say the new DDG-1000 destroyer sucks away funds that could be better used to bolster a thinly stretched conventional fleet. One outspoken admiral in China has scoffed that all it would take to sink the high-tech American ship is an armada of explosive-laden fishing boats.

With the first of the new ships set to be delivered in 2014, the stealth destroyer is being heavily promoted by the Pentagon as the most advanced destroyer in history - a silver bullet of stealth. It has been called a perfect fit for what Washington now considers the most strategically important region in the world - Asia and the Pacific.

Though it could come in handy elsewhere, like in the Gulf region, its ability to carry out missions both on the high seas and in shallows closer to shore is especially important in Asia because of the region's many island nations and China's long Pacific coast.

On a visit to a major regional security conference in Singapore that ended Sunday, U.S. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta said the Navy will be deploying 60 percent of its fleet worldwide to the Pacific by 2020, and though he didn't cite the stealth destroyers he

said new high-tech ships will be a big part of its shift.

The DDG-1000 and other stealth destroyers of the Zumwalt class feature a wave-piercing hull that leaves almost no wake, electric drive propulsion and advanced sonar and missiles. They are longer and heavier than existing destroyers - but will have half the crew because of automated systems and appear to be little more than a small fishing boat on enemy radar.

Down the road, the ship is to be equipped with an electromagnetic rail gun, which uses a magnetic field and electric current to fire a projectile at several times the speed of sound.

"Whether the Navy can afford to buy many DDG-1000s must be balanced against the need for over 300 surface ships to fulfill the various missions that confront it," said Dean Cheng, a China expert with the Heritage Foundation, a conservative research institute in Washington. "Buying hyper expensive ships hurts that ability, but buying ships that can't do the job, or worse can't survive in the face of the enemy, is even more irresponsible."

The Navy says it's money well spent. The rise of China has been cited as the best reason for keeping the revolutionary ship afloat, although the specifics of where it will be deployed have yet to be announced. Navy officials also say the technologies developed for the ship will inevitably be used in other vessels in the decades ahead.

## *Continued: Regional Response to US Strategic Pivot to the Pacific*

### US ships arrive in Da Nang for naval exchanges

**Source:** US ships arrive in Da Nang for naval exchanges, Tuoi Tre (April 23, 2012) <http://tuoitrenews.vn/cmmlink/tuoitrenews/politics/us-ships-arrive-in-da-nang-for-naval-exchanges-1.69575>

23 April 2012



DA NANG, Vietnam (April 24, 2012) - Operations Specialist 3rd Class Zachery Craig demonstrates search and rescue plotting techniques to Vietnamese People's Navy officers aboard the guided-missile destroyer USS Chafee (DDG 90). Chafee is one of three ships taking part in Naval Exchange Activity (NEA) Vietnam. The event, held annually since 2010, promotes cooperation and understanding between U.S. and Vietnamese Navy participants. (U.S. Navy photo by Mass Communication Specialist 2nd Class Joy Kirch-Kelling/Released)

**T**he US 7th Fleet Flagship USS Blue Ridge, the guided missile destroyer USS Chafee and rescue and salvage ship USNS Safeguard made their berth at Tien Sa port in the central city of Da Nang on April 23 afternoon, beginning a five-day naval exchange between the two nations.

As many as 1,891 officers and crewmen onboard the ships were warmly received by local naval officers and David Shear, a representative of the US embassy.

Admiral Scott H. Swift, commander of The US 7th Fleet Flagship USS Blue Ridge, said the trip aims to develop naval exchanges between the two countries. The US Fleet paid its first visit to Vietnam in 2004.

The trip will focus on skills exchanges such as navigation and maintenance, search and rescue activities, and marine medicine.

The US commander expressed high appreciation for local naval forces and emphasized that Vietnam and other countries in the region should have regular naval exchanges.

According to a source, the US naval forces will also take part in other events like offering a courtesy call to Da Nang City's leaders and play football and basketball with local students and naval soldiers.



Vietnamese border policemen communicate with port authorities in preparation for the arrival of U.S. 7th Fleet flagship USS Blue Ridge (LCC 19) to Danang, Vietnam for Naval Exchange Activity Vietnam. The event, held annually since 2010, promotes cooperation and understanding between U.S. and Vietnamese Navy participants. (U.S. Navy photo by Mass Communication Specialist 2nd Class Jessica Bidwell/Released)



**FMSO Commentary:** Contract killing in Mexico is cheap when compared to countries like Australia and Spain. One reason hitmen in Mexico are cheap is that there is a large labor pool to choose from, despite the fact the average life of an assassin in Mexico is three years. Becoming a hitman and moving up within the ranks of an organized crime group are nearly a certainty. Most of these deadly criminals start out as street vendors and begin working as hitmen in as little as three months. According to the Secretariat of Public Security in Mexico, the average age at which young adults become contract killers is 24.

Two additional factors that facilitate transition into the life of a hitman are the high availability of weapons and the unlikely chance a murder will be investigated in Mexico. Hired assassins realize that if their boss is important, charges against them will be dropped, even if they are arrested for murder charges. Moreover, the pay is good compared to a normal 9-5 job, where the average employee earns around \$150 a month. Starting salaries for organized crime operators range between \$(MXN) 2,000 and \$(MXN) 5,000 (\$(USD) 152 and \$(USD) 381) bi-weekly. Once recruits prove their loyalty, they are promoted within the organization and begin working as recruiters and/or informants. This cycle continues, and soon the recruiters and informants become kidnapping assistants, then kidnappers, and subsequently, hitmen. The Mexican media portray these contract killer as glamorous daredevils and as all-powerful.

Take, for example, a recent TV series in Mexico, *La Reina del Sur* (The Queen of the South). This soap opera chronicles the life of Sandra Avila Beltran, a prominent Mexican drug trafficker. Her lead hitman, a character known as "El Pote," is portrayed as a character with nine lives. In multiple scenes, El Pote is involved in contract killings,

## Is Contract Killing Cheaper in Mexico?

20 April 2012



Source: Rios, Viridiana. "¿Por qué matar es tan barato en México?" EstePais, [http://www.gov.harvard.edu/files/FinalEstePais\\_Junio.pdf](http://www.gov.harvard.edu/files/FinalEstePais_Junio.pdf), Accessed on 23 April 2012

Scope of M-91 by HEATHER S. GORDON [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons

### ¿Por qué matar es tan barato en México? (Is Contract Killing Cheaper in Mexico?)

Contract killing in Mexico is relatively cheap when compared to fees charged in other countries. In Mexico, the average hitmen earns a monthly salary of \$(MXN) 10,000 and \$(MXN) 12,000 (\$(USD) 757 and \$(USD) 909). Services provided by Mexican hitmen include a sure kill and removal of the body from the scene if necessary. Hitmen dedicated to high-profile killings are paid a higher salary. Take for example the hitman hired to kill Robles Liceaga, the Chief of Police in the Federal District. This individual was paid \$(MXN) 200,000 (about \$(USD) 15,000). However, even high profile Mexican killers are cheap when compared to international standards.

In Australia, a study done by the National Institute of Criminology of Australia revealed that on average, a hitman is paid anywhere from \$(USD) 12,700 to \$(USD) 76,000 for a single murder. In other words, a high-profile Mexican hitman would have to work at least eight months to receive payments that equal their Australia counterparts. At the same time, not even considering the pay, the work of Mexican hitmen is much more dangerous than the work of those in Australia. Hitmen in Mexico work to kill other hitmen and/or members of rival cartels, while Australian hitmen are most commonly hired to kill cheating housewives.

In Spain, official statistics confirm that nearly 40 contract murders are carried out yearly. For each murder, hitmen receive between \$(EUR) 20,000 and \$(EUR) 50,000 (\$(USD) 26,000 and \$(USD) 66,000). The number of murders reported in Spain per year is high for Europe, but is substantially low when compared to nearly 12,000 murders that have been carried out on a yearly basis since 2009 in Mexico.

## Continued: Is Contract Killing Cheaper in Mexico?

*gunfights, and near death experiences. He always survives, and is portrayed as the hero and protector of the series' protagonist, Teresa Mendoza. Shows such as La Reina del Sur idolize hitmen, and teach younger generations that a life of crime is profitable and worthwhile. They also portray hitmen as invincible.*

*As long as key drug cartels in Mexico continue battling each other for territory, the demand for hired assassins will continue. The young recruits desiring to work as hitmen generally do not understand the implications of their job. They do not realize their lives will not mirror the life of "El Pote," or that most likely they will be dead within three years after starting their job. **End FMSO Commentary (Fiegel & Gonzalez)***

The most common motive behind murders in Spain is drug trafficking. Spain is considered the second largest consumer country of cocaine following the United States. Regarding nationality, hitmen in Spain are typically not Spaniards, but migrants from Third World countries to include Latin America and Eastern Europe. These imported hitmen are known as 'Tysons' because similar to professional boxers, they go to Spain to carry out hits and leave following completion of the job. Colombian cartels are the most common supplier of 'Tysons,' and are often arrested on tourist flights from Bogota-Madrid.

In Argentina, where the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita and levels of equity are similar to those in Mexico, hitmen are paid between \$(USD) 3,508 and \$(USD) 5,263 per job. The only region in which hitmen are paid less than those in Mexico is Central America. In Honduras, hitmen are paid as little as \$(USD) 264 per job.

### Reasons behind Cheap Contact Killing in Mexico

The Mexican labor market is often blamed for the surplus of hitmen available to work. Low wages and lack of jobs are common, and are directly correlated with crime. Furthermore, these low wages, lack of jobs, and lack of education provided to young adults makes the job of a hitman seem very attractive. This idea is evidenced by the fact that the majority of hitmen in Mexico come from low income families who lack formal education.

On the other hand, conclusions gained from multiple investigations regarding the hitmen phenomena conclude that the salary/crime relationship is weaker than one would think. For example, Peruvian hitmen charge fees between \$(USD) 10,000 and \$(USD) 25,000 per murder, even though the nation is 44% poorer than Mexico. These are fees considerably higher than in Mexico despite the lesser economic status. The conclusion made regarding this case is that Peruvian young adults, even though there are poorer than Mexican young adults, are less prone to criminality. Thus, less availability of individuals willing to kill in Peru drives prices higher.

The question then remains, if poverty, inequality, and low salaries are not the driving factors behind a surplus of hitmen in Mexico, what is the true reason?

The answer is relatively simple: being a hitman involves a series of economic remunerations in addition to a base salary. Mexican hitmen, besides being dedicated to kill, work as extortionists, drug traffickers, kidnappers, gasoline thieves, pimps, and child pornography photographers. In Michoacan alone, the number of reported kidnappings increased by 653% between 2006 and 2011.

The extortion business is also very profitable, according to a report from El Universal (2009). Hitmen in Tijuana collect between \$(USD) 500 and \$(USD) 23,000 dollars per month in extortion fees from local businesses. These extortion fees are paid by business owners to keep their families safe, and to avoid organized crime groups from setting their property on fire. The same extortion modus operandi has been documented in Veracruz, Nuevo Leon, Tamaulipas, Michoacan, Chihuahua, and other states.

Regarding human trafficking, Los Zetas are known to charge 'derecho de piso' (rent or extortion fees) to 'polleros' (human smugglers) that range between \$(USD) 50 and \$(USD) 60 dollars (as of 2007) for each undocumented person that crosses through an organized crime owned plaza.

Another factor that facilitates contact killing in Mexico is the ample availability of weapons necessary to carry out the work. In 2008 alone, an estimated 200,000 weapons, to include bazookas, submachine guns, grenade launchers, and 3,000,000 rounds of ammunition entered into Mexico from the US. It is estimated that only 10% of these weapons were seized. The rest ended up in the hands of drug traffickers.

A second factor is unlikely punishment if caught. This is due to the fact that execution style murders are not commonly investigated by police. Of all homicides committed, only around 27.6% are actually solved. In Tlaxcala, a state with low punishment rates, only 7% of crimes are punished.

Considering the availability of weapons, and the low probability of punishment, it can be concluded that hitmen are well paid in Mexico. But the abilities of a hitman go beyond just killing. To reduce the number of hitmen in Mexico, authorities need to fight all types of crimes in order to reduce the profit flow that hitmen gain from other activities besides killing.

**FMSO Commentary:** Mexican organized criminal groups have been masters at making replica contraband for decades. They have widely diversified operations in a wide variety of forms in order to maximize profit potential from almost every angle. From selling imitation brand-name clothing, purses, and accessories, to pirated CDs/DVDs, to cloning official Mexican military and law enforcement vehicles in order to conduct extortions and more, this is not a new modus operandi for these groups.

What also is not new is the cloning and utilization of U.S. company and law enforcement vehicles (whether local, state, or federal) on U.S. soil. The use of these cloned vehicles, including the AT&T, UPS, and FedEx company vehicles mentioned in the article, is an increasingly active and disturbing trend, reiterating that they are being utilized with a greater presence within the borders of the U.S. This is no longer the “war next door” that it once was.

There have additionally been recent reports that the transnational criminal organizations (TCOs)/cartels are looking to establish a “zone of impunity” on the U.S. side of the U.S.-Mexican border in order to conduct operations more effectively and efficiently. A September 2011 *El Paso Times* article alleged that the wife of a high-level Los Zetas member holds a non-law-enforcement job with the DEA in Las Cruces, New Mexico; this may be just one of many similar cases in an effort to further and establish this zone in a more expeditious manner. With the addition of cloning U.S. law enforcement and other national company vehicles and operating them on U.S. soil, the Mexican TCOs are definitely taking a large risk and making a bold statement in an apparent effort to turn the U.S.’s southwest border into an extension of the region of perceived impunity in which they operate in Mexico’s northern states.

**End FMSO Commentary (Scheidel)**

## Cartels Clone Company Vehicles

1 June 2012

**Source:** “Cárteles “Clonan” Autos de Compañías (Cartels Clone Company Vehicles),” *El Universal*, 01 June 2012. <http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/nacion/197096.html>



Company vehicles like AT&T and UPS, as well as official Border Patrol vehicles are used for smuggling drugs and people. Photo by Texas Department of Public Safety

### Cárteles “Clonan” Autos de Compañías (Cartels Clone Company Vehicles)

Cloned vehicles of courier and telephone companies, as well as those of local and federal authorities in the U.S., are being used by Mexican cartels to smuggle drugs and illegal migrants towards the U.S., according to a report emitted by the Department of Homeland Security. The cartels are using those cloned vehicles to conceal their operations on U.S. soil. Just recently in May 2012 in California, two cloned United Parcel Service (UPS) delivery vehicles were seized transporting illegal migrants, narcotics, and weapons, as well as the confiscation of a cloned AT&T pickup (like the one pictured) loaded with 945 kilograms of marijuana. Since July 2010, the U.S. Government has issued several warnings and memorandums to state and local officials informing them to take precautions regarding local authority vehicles that have been cloned by the Mexican cartels, indicating that they are being utilized inside the U.S. Since February 2011 U.S. authorities, especially those operating along the border, have reported that Mexican drug cartels have also cloned federal vehicles and uniforms that their members are currently using. Authorities in the U.S. and Mexico have forewarned their staff of the existence and on the detention of these cloned vehicles operating on the highways, because some drug traffickers have utilized them to conduct attacks against federal agents in both countries, according to a DHS report.

#### Arrests

Meanwhile, the official DHS magazine reported that on 18 May 2012, Customs and Border Protection (CBP) agents operating in the southern sector of California arrested a 21-year-old male attempting to smuggle 13 illegal migrants using a cloned UPS delivery truck. Later in May 2012 in Texas’s Rio Grande Valley, authorities seized a cloned FedEx



## Continued: Cartels Clone Company Vehicles

delivery truck carrying bundles of cash, weapons, and narcotics. The FBI is currently investigating this case. As reported in the previous paragraph, in January 2012, Texas Department of Public Safety (Texas DPS) officials seized a clone AT&T telephone company pickup transporting 945 kilograms of marijuana.

### Cloning Official Vehicles Too

With respect to official U.S. Border Patrol vehicles, authorities have seized exact replicas of these vehicles cloned by the cartels, to include the license plates. Vehicles like these have been confiscated in both Texas and California. On 12 March 2011, CBP agents arrested an individual driving a cloned Border Patrol vehicle carrying 680 kilograms of marijuana in Del Rio, Texas. Subsequently on 14 March 2011, Border Patrol spokesman Michael Jiménez stated that Border Patrol agents operating at a checkpoint along Interstate 8 east of San Diego, California, seized a cloned San Diego police vehicle that also bore cloned official license plates. From this vehicle (most likely a van), authorities detained the unidentified driver and 13 illegal migrant passengers dressed in U.S. Marine uniforms.

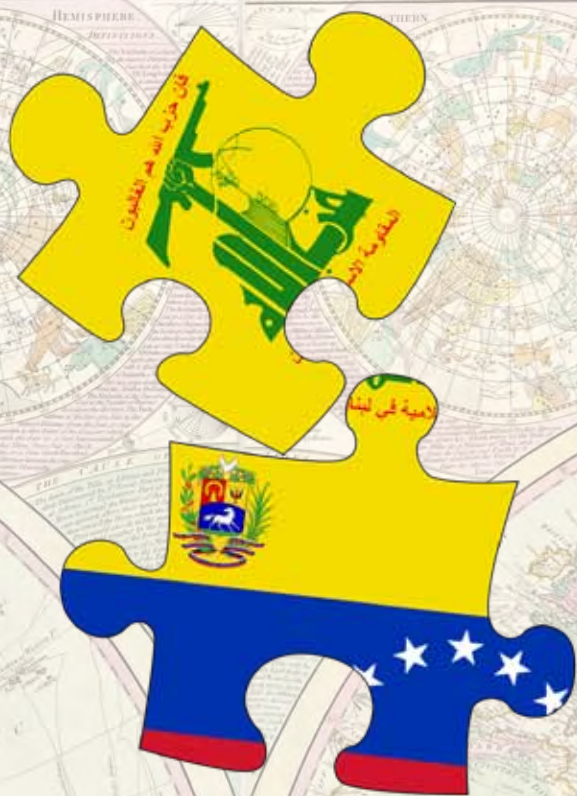
## Radical Islam's Western Foothold:

Hugo Chavez and Hezbollah

By Sam Pickell

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

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



**FMSO Commentary:** Offered below is an opinion piece from a senior advisor to former Colombian President Alvaro Uribe. The author, Mr. Jose Obdulio Gaviria Velez, is an intellectual of recognized caliber and is considered by many Colombians as Uribe's go-to polemicist or ideologue.

This editorial outlines an accelerating divergence of positions, if not ideas, between those who favor former President Uribe's aggressive posture toward the Colombian anti-government guerrilla groups (notably the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, FARC, and the National Liberation Army, ELN), and those who favor a more conciliatory pathway, that is, some form of politically negotiated peace settlement. Current President Juan Manuel Santos is, at least according to detractors such as Mr. Gaviria, overly inclined toward a negotiated settlement of the guerrilla conflict. Into this emotionally charged and politically partisan question is thrown the role of the (apparently dying) president of the neighboring country of Venezuela and his support to the Colombian guerrilla organizations. Note that Mr. Gaviria references the attempted assassination of former Uribe cabinet member Fernando Londono, an event reported in the May issue of *Operational Environment Watch* ('Ratcheting Violence in Bogotá,' Vol. 2, Issue 5).

Based on the failed history of past "peace processes" and the clear results achieved against the guerrillas during the years of the Uribe administration, this researcher predicts that the Colombian electorate will again choose in favor of a harsh stance toward the FARC and the ELN. If President Santos' detractors can paint him clearly as the proponent of reconciliation and compromise toward the guerrilla leaders (and, by extension, toward what many Colombians see as a dying Venezuelan dictator), they may succeed in denying

## More Colombia Polarizing

29 May 2012

**Sources:** "José Obdulio Gaviria, El Tiempo, Bogotá, 29 May 2012. Republished on the blog site Debate Nacional at <http://www.pensamientocolombia.org/DebateNacional/author/jos-obdulio-gaviria>

Colombian President Juan Manuel Santos Calderón via <http://wsp.presidencia.gov.co>



### Quien cohabita con Chávez terminará indefectiblemente enredado con las Farc (Cohabit with Chávez: End up Involved with the FARC)

**“S**anto-Holguinismo” [refers to the policies of Colombian President Juan Manuel Santos Calderón and Foreign Minister María Ángela Holguín Cuéllar] supposes that in order to have good relations with Venezuela it is necessary to keep quiet about that country's criminal regime. “Santo-Holguinismo” wants to change our coat of arms: the condor facing forward with wings outstretched and a laurel wreath in its beak will be replaced by an ostrich with its tail in the air and head buried in the sand. And in place of “Liberty and Order,” they want “Resignation and Silence” to appear.

In circulation is a lovely Colombian edition of *Animal Farm* [published as *Rebelión en la granja*], the work in which genius George Orwell examines the lies, crimes, cult of personality, and false achievements of Stalin's regime.

*Animal Farm* was written in 1943, in the midst of world war. England (Orwell was English), allied with the Communist regime of the Soviet Union, was fighting against Nazi Germany. One would assume that, in the mecca of freedom of thought, the alliance with Stalin would not affect free inquiry at all. That was not the case. Orwell, in a 1944 column, condemned the fact that “the servility of the so-called intellectuals” toward Russia was silencing any denunciation of their crimes. Outraged, Orwell sent this warning “to English left-wing journalists and intellectuals generally”: “Don't imagine that for years on end you can make yourself the boot-licking propagandist of the Soviet regime, or any other regime, and then suddenly return to mental decency. Once a whore, always a whore.”

Orwell's book was almost not published because it wasn't convenient to “bother” their ally with such truths. “Santo-Holguinismo” thinks likewise. They wring their hands at



## Continued: Cohabit with Chávez: End up Involved with the FARC

*President Santos' aspirations for election to a second term. End FMSO Commentary (Demarest)*

any condemnation of the Chávez regime's cooperation with FARC terrorism because this, they say, endangers Colombian-Venezuelan friendship. See? Just like the English Left of the 1940s, which wanted to silence writers and journalists to "avoid endangering Anglo-Russian friendship."

But "Santo-Holguinismo" makes some qualitative leaps. From silence in response to outrages, it progressed first to servile flattery ("new best friend") and then to shameless glorification (Chavismo "is an element of stability in the region"). But, due to the inexorable logic of politics, anyone who cohabits with Chávez will inevitably end up involved with the FARC. And that is what is happening to the "Santo-Holguinista" regime.

The terrorist attack against Fernando Londoño revealed the complex plot. To stay friends with their buddy Chávez they must indulge his goddaughter FARC. First it was declared that the FARC were from a good

family; the insulting nickname "terrorist" was withdrawn, and they were baptized with the aristocratic surname "Insurgent." It was then proclaimed that the greatest yearning of Colombians is that the FARC Secretariat will become a parliamentary delegation, with their commanders as government ministers.

"Santo-Holguinismo" went on to declare enemies of Chávez, and by extension of the FARC, to be enemies of Colombia. That is the explanation for why the government and *Semana* magazine closed ranks to defend the good name of the FARC against the rude people who accused them of wanting to kill journalist Fernando Londoño. And they therefore take as a serious "working hypothesis" the Chavista assertion that there was not an attack but a piñata that former President Uribe caused to burst. Ah, of course!, and it wasn't shrapnel that pierced Londoño's lung but rather a razor blade that he, masochistically, embedded in himself.

Geoff Demarest's *Winning Insurgent War* is about a broader set of conflicts than just 'insurgency.' In

its 144 sections, Geoff Demarest raises new and overlooked concepts related to modern conflict in a provocative manner designed to stir up debate and critical thinking. As Geoff Demarest puts it: "I hope that some of the ideas in it will be contagious."





**FMSO Commentary:** In recent weeks Taiwanese diplomacy in Africa has been of high interest as the Republic of China (ROC) works to strengthen existing ties and forge new ones in an attempt to not only expand Taiwan's presence in Africa, but also, more importantly, to counter Beijing's influence there. This is but one part of what Taiwanese President Ma has called a policy of "viable diplomacy," in which Taiwan will attempt to build its international image through economic, cultural, and aid-based partnerships.

Taiwan conducts humanitarian projects independently and in conjunction with international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Most recently the ROC shipped 1150 tons of rice to displaced East African refugees in Kenya, Somalia, and Ethiopia. In April President Ma toured African ally nations on a 12-day, 3-country trip, during which he visited Taiwanese-funded infrastructure and aid programs and participated in high-level honorary welcoming ceremonies. Notable for the trip was the cancellation of ally Sao Tome and Principe. While officials downplayed the slight, many worry that Sao Tome and Principe's attendance at a conference hosted by China for Portuguese-speaking countries may be an important indication of a shifting allegiance.

Taiwanese policymakers see a strong African diplomatic program as a means to help the island gain international recognition and partners. This is especially so within the United Nations, where African states often utilize their collectively large voice and vote en bloc on many issues. Furthermore, Taiwan is attempting to shape its image as an international aid provider that recognizes the need for proactive and sustainable initiatives. Some believe this could be an attractive alternative to Beijing, which has a reputation for giving little consideration to the impact its operations have on the host country. **End FMSO Commentary (Faruolo)**

## Taiwan in Africa

Source: "Strengthening ties with Africa," Taipei Times, 8 May 2012, <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2012/05/08/2003532298>

8 May 2012



Taiwan International Cooperation (ICFD) and Development Fund workers instruct local residents as part of the Tilapia Cultivation and Technological Transfer Project in Gambia. Photo by the ICFD, via [www.icfd.org.tw](http://www.icfd.org.tw)

## Strengthening ties with Africa

After helping its African allies in areas such as agriculture and medicine for decades, Taiwan is now putting greater emphasis on training local people to do the work themselves to foster sustainable development, a government-funded agency said recently.

"We've broached the issue of localization for years," deputy secretary-general of the Taipei-based International Cooperation and Development Fund, Lee Pai-po (李柏淳), said in an interview.

A common problem with many assistance projects set up in developing countries is that they take a top-down approach which often fails to deliver sustainable outcomes because it lacks a local perspective, Lee said.

"A localized project is a must for sustainable development," he said. "Our goal is to provide training that makes people able to work independently."

To this end, Taiwan has been implementing assistance programs based on a model that promotes local people engaging in the programs under the guidance of Taiwanese consultants, Lee said.

Examples of this approach include agricultural projects in Burkina Faso, one of Taiwan's four allies in Africa, which have been in place for more than 40 years, he said.

Taiwan is also helping the Gambia expand its upland rice projects in an effort to address food scarcity in the African country.

Such initiatives echo Gambian President Yahya Jammeh's policy of attracting young adults to return to the countryside and engage in the farming industry to help increase food supplies, Lee said.

## Continued: Strengthening ties with Africa

Taiwan also offers several medical programs to its African allies.

In addition to providing medical care, another important goal is to train local doctors and other medical personnel so they can operate and manage hospitals on their own, Lee said.

This way, “their hospitals will continue to be up and running after our assistance teams leave,” he said.

Taiwan’s assistance programs to its African allies also include vocational training programs aimed at improving local people’s professional skills and knowledge so they can earn more money.

For example, some women in Swaziland have benefited from sewing classes offered by Taiwan, which equipped them with skills they could use to make a living. The program was cited by President Ma Ying-jeou (馬英九) as an example of Taiwan’s successful development projects in Africa.

Ma’s remarks came at a recent news conference held shortly after his 12-day visit in April to three of Taiwan’s allies in Africa -- Burkina Faso, Swaziland and the Gambia.

For several decades, Taiwan has been helping Africa through humanitarian emergency assistance and projects aimed at improving local industrial developments.

Besides helping the countries’ people, the assistance programs have also played a significant role in maintaining bilateral ties between Taiwan and its African allies.

Taiwan was a beneficiary of US foreign aid in the 1950s and 1960s. Helping the African allies is an opportunity for Taiwan to give something back to the international community at a time when its economic achievement allows it to do so, National Chengchi University professor Yen Chen-shen (嚴震生) said.

Yen, an expert in Taiwan-Africa relations, said the assistance programs not only help the countries in need, they also strengthen ties between the countries.

These African allies often stand up for Taiwan, voicing support for the nation’s bid to participate in organizations such as the WHO, the International Civil Aviation Organization and the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change.

Having their support is “what we need at the moment,” Department of African Affairs Director-General Hsu Mien-sheng (徐勉生) said in a recent interview.

Officials from the US or the EU are unlikely to speak publicly in support of Taiwan during meetings of UN organizations, Hsu said.

Asked about Taiwan’s future Africa policy, Hsu said the foreign ministry would continue to work closely with the four allies.

Meanwhile, “we will seek to deepen relations with non-diplomatic allies in Africa,” Hsu said, adding that this can be

achieved through more frequent interpersonal exchanges and increased trade.

Echoing Hsu’s remarks, Yen said Taiwan needed to maintain ties with its African allies and keep a close eye on the region for any sign of them switching recognition to China.

**Tim Thomas’s *Cyber Silhouettes* explores the impact of the Cyber Age on military thinking and operations worldwide.**

***Cyber Silhouettes* presents challenges to the American information operations (IO) expert regarding inadequate current terminology, and the need for reevaluation of “core capabilities and supporting elements.” Tim Thomas further recognizes how cyber processes have allowed criminals and insurgents/terrorists to practice guerilla warfare tactics and illegal or extremist activities online. He contends that the subjective nature of war has changed to include a social context unlike any other time in history.**

**Tim Thomas provides a unique perspective that will lead to a better understanding of our complex digitized lives, new ideas for US armed forces to consider, and help analysts identify potential danger zones.**



**FMSO Commentary:** *The Republic of China's (ROC) 203<sup>rd</sup> Arsenal of the Armaments Bureau recently showcased the latest productions of its research and development endeavors, including "... protective helmets, various protective vests, CB-99 waterproof para-boots, single tents, multi-functional command tents, navy 5' SPC gun propellant, Navy Dagaie interference cartridge, anti-ultra rays, anti-heat paint, and various digital camouflage clothing, field backpacks and sports shoes..."*<sup>1</sup>

*Most notable among the new releases was a newly designed camouflage uniform reportedly improved with 60% higher air permeability, an increased disguise camouflage of 37%, and a Velcro and folding design that increases soldiers' ease and speed of movement.*<sup>2</sup> *Additionally, a portable, multifunction tent and high heat-resistant paint were of interest.*

*China's ever-expanding military assets are increasingly disturbing to ROC policymakers. Recently, Taiwanese media took note of a statement by Assistant Secretary of Defense for East Asia David Helvey, in which he stated Taiwan is the "principal focus and driver" of China's military expansion.*<sup>3</sup> *The ROC's military equipment is in sore need of an update, and while this year's ROC military budget rose by 7.7% from last year, this measure is considered far from sufficient. Thus, the ROC armed forces can be expected to continue research and development production at an increasingly accelerated rate.* **End FMSO Commentary (Faruolo)**

1. "Media Delegation Visit 203<sup>rd</sup> Arsenal and Witness the Superior Research Results of Armed Forces," Military News Agency of ROC Ministry of National Defense, 25 May 2012, <http://www.mnd.gov.tw/english/Publish.aspx?cnid=436&p=53195>.

2. Ibid.

3. "Taiwan 'focus' of Chinese military modernization," *Taipei Times*, 20 May 2012, <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/front/archives/2012/05/20/2003533262>.

## ROC Military Showcases New Technology and Equipment

23 May 2012



**Source:** "Taiwan designs its own digital military camouflage uniform," Central News Agency, 23 May 2012, [http://focustaiwan.tw/ShowNews/WebNews\\_Detail.aspx?Type=aIPL&ID=201205230024](http://focustaiwan.tw/ShowNews/WebNews_Detail.aspx?Type=aIPL&ID=201205230024)

Military camouflage clothing developed by the bureau's 203rd Arsenal in Kaohsiung. Photo by Taiwan Embassy, via [www.taiwanembassy.org](http://www.taiwanembassy.org)

### Taiwan designs its own digital military camouflage uniform

**K**aohsiung, May 23 (CNA) Culminating a project to design its own military camouflage clothing, Taiwan's Ministry of National Defense has chosen one of four uniforms developed to be used for its three forces, ministry officials said Tuesday.

Once the ministry's budget permits and it decides to launch its plan to replace the existing camouflage uniform that has been used since 1995, the new design will be put into mass production for the Air Force, Army and Navy, the ministry's Armaments Bureau said.

The design, aimed at improving combat capabilities, was unveiled during a media tour at the bureau's 203rd Arsenal in Kaohsiung, which is responsible for the camouflage uniform project.

The new uniform with its digitally generated pattern will render military forces significantly less detectable to enemy forces, and its cotton and nylon blend makes it comfortable to wear in all seasons, a bureau official said.

Another result of the country's defense technology research and development program displayed during the tour was paint used on military aircraft that has earned international recognition.

The Taiwan-developed paint has been applied to its F-16 A/B jets, IDFs, C-130 transport aircraft and others, Cap. Lin Ching-wu said.

The Texas-headquartered Lockheed Martin Aeronautics Company also certified the 203rd Arsenal's paint manufacturing facility, he added.

"This shows that our paint is of very high quality and reaches an international standard," Lin said.

The arsenal has also invented a portable, multi-functional tent that is convenient to carry.

The 1.7-kilogram tent for a single person can be set up and folded down within five seconds, Lt. Col. Chou Fei-yeu said, adding that the outer part of the tent can also be used as a raincoat.

The tent set, which includes a mattress and a pillow made of memory foam, can ensure that military personnel get a good night's rest when conducting drills in the wild or carrying out rescue missions in disaster-affected areas, Chou said.

The tents can also be provided to residents of disaster-stricken areas, Chou added.

Providing rescue relief assistance in the event of natural disasters such as flooding and earthquakes is one of the core missions of Taiwan's military.

Designed by the arsenal and manufactured by private companies, the new tent is already being used by some military units, Chou said.



**FMSO Commentary:** Amid a series of heated protests that included egg-throwing and symbolic death statements, Kuomintang (KMT) President Ma Ying-Jiue was re-inaugurated for his second term on May 15. Protests, organized by the main opposition Democratic People's Party (DPP), rallied against Ma's recent decision to significantly raise utilities prices for households and businesses, new rules regarding a hotly contested capital-gains tax, and the usual anti-Pro-China policies.

Earlier this month a survey found that support for Ma had dropped to below 25%. The DPP jumped upon this as "proof" that Ma should not be president and attempted to push through an amendment to the Election and Recall Act that would enable them to recall President Ma in his second term. At present, the law states a president may not be recalled after his first year in office.

The lack of support for President Ma and his KMT Party should have made an easy platform for the opposition DPP to gain momentum. However, a recent editorial presents a comprehensive argument of how the DPP has back-pedaled on rebuilding its damaged reputation from 2008 and may lose its chance to win over the constituency. Many voters feel the DPP has consistently blundered its way through the legislative system, has showcased itself as an immature group of politicians using over-the-top and desperate measures to condemn the ruling party, and has failed to effectively present a credible alternative to the established Kuomintang. This has left many in the communities wondering about the young state of democracy, where one party is seen as too soft on critical Cross-Strait policy and the other party is seen as inept and visibly corrupt. **End FMSO Commentary (Faruolo)**

## Update: Troubles for KMT Party but DPP No Better

18 May 2012

Source: "Editorial opinion: The DPP's self-defeating shenanigans," Taipei Times, 18 May 2012, <http://www.taipetimes.com/News/editorials/archives/2012/05/18/2003533086>



logo for Democratic Progressive Party via [www.dpp.org.tw](http://www.dpp.org.tw)

### The DPP's self-defeating shenanigans

**A**fter nearly four years of rebuilding a party that in 2008 had been reduced to a pale shadow of itself, former Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) chairperson Tsai Ing-wen (蔡英文) has good reason to worry about the direction the party seems to be taking since she stepped down.

While Tsai, for various reasons, failed in her bid to unseat President Ma Ying-jeou (馬英九) in the Jan. 14 election, she demonstrated her vision and maturity as party leader, a role she had assumed on May 20, 2008, the day Ma was first inaugurated.

On that day, few people would have thought that the DPP, after suffering resounding defeats in the legislative and presidential elections, and hit by scandals surrounding former president Chen Shui-bian (陳水扁), could, a mere four years later, again present a credible challenge to Ma and the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT).

Tsai accomplished just that, giving hope to many that the KMT would not go unchallenged in what are challenging times for Taiwan.

All those accomplishments are being threatened now by a party leadership battle that appears to have lost all sense of purpose and direction. Since Tsai stepped down as chairperson on March 1, the DPP has fallen into disarray, unable to propose any clear policies, while constantly resorting to all-out attacks against Ma and his policies.

This reflex action was taken to an extreme when DPP legislators announced they would seek to recall Ma with little more than a week left in his first term in office.

Although Ma's popularity has fallen to record lows in recent weeks following a series of bungled policy proposals, the only thing that the pan-green camp achieved with its recall motion was to unify the KMT, which, facing a crisis of its own, was starting to show

## ***Continued: The DPP's self-defeating shenanigans***

cracks in its foundations — including legislators jumping ship on important votes in the legislature.

Had the DPP acted with caution and maturity on the matter, if only by limiting itself to protests, the disunity within the KMT could have widened, which in turn would have allowed the pan-green camp to reach out to potential allies within the pan-blue camp.

Now that opportunity seems lost and the pan-blue camp, seeing its leader under siege, has rallied around, scuttling any chance of credible, interdenominational pressure on the president and the executive.

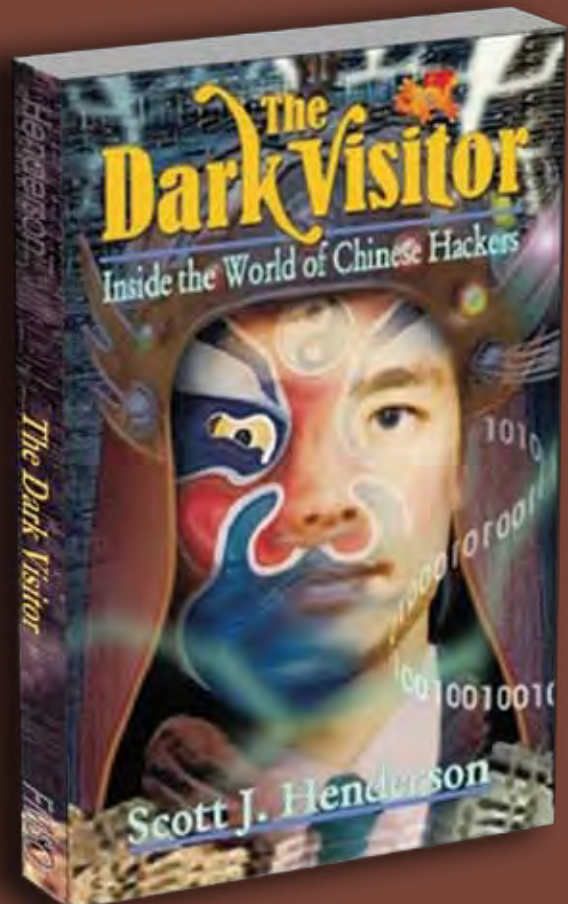
Furthermore, by acting in this manner, the DPP is sounding like a sore loser and telling us that rather than rebuild itself — as it did over the previous four years — following its defeat in the January presidential election, it would resort to desperate measures, which is what the recall attempt certainly was.

As for the voices within the pan-green camp who, looking at Ma's low popularity rating, argue that if an election were held today the DPP would win, they are missing the point altogether. Opinion polls are not elections and how one responds to each is contingent on very different considerations. Disliking Ma does not automatically translate into not voting for him and his party.

Ma's unpopularity at the moment is the result of several things, a combination of ineptitude, yes, but also the necessity to make difficult decisions, such as raising fuel and electricity prices. Choices that the DPP, had it prevailed in January, would also likely have had to make.

For the future of this nation, the pan-green camp must abandon such self-defeating strategies, which can only alienate the various segments of the polity that it will depend on if it is ever to run the Presidential Office again. Let us hope that whoever is voted the next DPP chairman has the wisdom and ability to ensure that desperation does not alight the party's behavior.

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

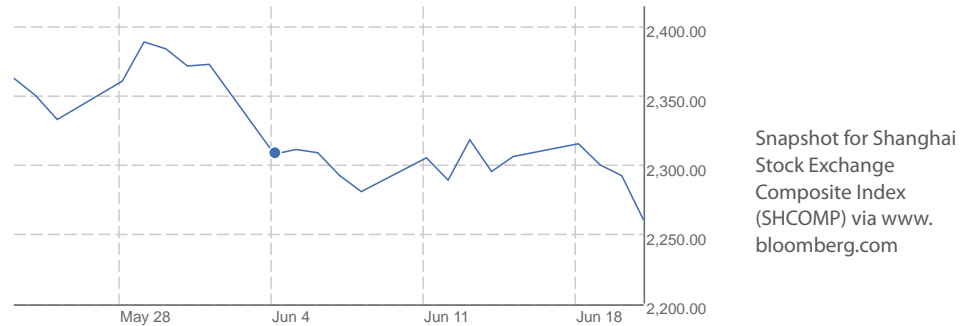


*FMSO Commentary: On 5 June the Financial Times reported that the Shanghai Composite Index had been hacked in commemoration of events in Tiananmen Square on 4 June 1989. The article indicates that two parts of the index were changed, the initial drop in the index and the opening number. If true, this indicates that it is quite easy to manipulate the composite index in Shanghai, questioning the overall reliability of the system. The intrusion should also serve as a warning sign to China's Communist Party that the Party's response to the demonstrations in 1989 is still being questioned by many citizens. Chinese authorities immediately attempted to hide the incident by allowing censors to ban the phrase "Shanghai Composite Index" and terms referring to the Tiananmen incident such as "anniversary," "blood," and "candle." End FMSO Commentary (Thomas)*

## Shanghai Composite Index Hacked on Tiananmen Anniversary

5 June 2012

**Source:** Simon Rabinovitch in Beijing and Enid Tsui in Hong Kong, with additional reporting by Emma Dong. "Another reminder of Tiananmen that China could not censor: the market," The Financial Times, 5 June 2012, p. 1



### Another reminder of Tiananmen that China could not censor: the market

In a country that ascribes great meaning to numbers, the Chinese stock market's fall yesterday was a potent and, for the government, dangerous reminder of the Tiananmen Square massacre. The Shanghai Composite index tumbled 64.89 points – a freakish coincidence on the anniversary of the June 4 1989 crackdown on pro-democracy protesters in Beijing, an event known in Chinese simply as “liu-si” or “six-four.” Beijing, which has long tried to silence talk of the bloody events 23 years ago, acted quickly. Searches for the phrase “Shanghai Composite index” were banned by censors on popular microblogs. “According to the relevant laws, regulations and policies, the results for this search term cannot be displayed,” Weibo, the Chinese version of Twitter, informed users. Other censored search terms included the words “anniversary,” “blood,” and “candle,” a reference to a candlelight vigil held every year in Hong Kong. But news of the stock market's apparent memorial to the democracy protesters still spread quickly on the internet, where another odd coincidence was also noted.

The market had opened at 2,346.98 points. With a little bit of parsing, the message seemed clear: 23 for the 23rd anniversary of the killings, and 46.98 was the infamous date rendered backwards. “Looking at the opening and the drop of the market today, I finally realize that there truly is a big force behind its movements,” said Wang Chunxiao, a Weibo blogger. Monday's decline of 2.7 per cent also marked the biggest daily fall in the main Chinese equity index since November last year. The Communist party's official verdict on the events of June 4 1989 concluded that the actions of China's leaders were justified to “quell a counter-revolutionary rebellion.” Since then, the ruling party has worked to erase all traces of the incident from public memory and discourse within China.

But with Chinese travelling abroad as never before, and information flowing more freely on the internet despite censorship, the government has had to redouble its efforts to snuff out allusions to the protests. In Hong Kong, a record 180,000 people attended the annual candlelight vigil. Lee Cheuk-yan, a member of Hong Kong's legislative council and chairman of the group that organizes the event, said attendance had swelled in recent years because of participation by younger generations and mainland visitors. Mr. Lee estimates that a fifth of this year's visitors to a June 4 memorial installation in Hong Kong were from the mainland.



**FMSO Commentary:** *The following are excerpts taken from a recent broadcast radio talk show, which discussed a possible strategic pact between China and Afghanistan. Afghanistan has already signed strategic agreements with seven countries pledging varying degrees of support – financial, infrastructure, education, military. Other countries are poised to come on board to pledge their support as well.*

*This support could be highly beneficial as Afghanistan continues to pull itself up out of the mire. On the other hand, it could potentially cause strained regional relations as well. The area is not without its historic rivalries, even fueled by third party relationships. For example, there has been a historical rivalry between China and India, as well as Pakistan and India. Meanwhile, the United States, which currently enjoys good relations with both India and Afghanistan, has been experiencing poor relations with both Iran and Pakistan. Iran clearly wants the United States out of the picture. Iran has even warned that any long-term U.S. presence in Afghanistan could plunge the country back into further chaos.*

*A strategic partnership between China and Afghanistan could be mutually beneficial, without ruffling the feathers of surrounding countries. China will gain through trade between the two countries and access to Afghanistan's natural resources. Meanwhile, China is poised to offer financial and infrastructure aid in exchange. For many third world countries, dealing with China is a more attractive option due to the country's non-interference and no questions asked policies. Receiving aid from the West requires more transparency and a certain level of conduct. Moreover, new infrastructure and mining operations, if they come to fruition, will likely draw in employment opportunities for Afghan citizens. While many Western observers*

## Afghan Strategic Partnerships: East or West?

30 May 2012

**Source:** Amiri, "The Little Boat Without a Destiny," Radio Faryad (Dari), May 30, 2012



Engineers from the China Railway Company are to start researching the technical aspects of a railway which will run from the Aynak copper mine south of Kabul to Afghanistan's shared border with Uzbekistan.

Photo: An Afghan Border Police officer standing on the Afghan side of the Afghanistan–Uzbekistan Friendship Bridge. (U.S. Navy photo by Petty Officer 1st Class Mark O'Donald) [Public Domain] via Wikimedia Commons

## The Little Boat Without a Destiny: Radio Talk Show

Afghanistan is seeking to sign a strategic agreement with China. The Lower House of the Afghan Parliament ratified the US-Afghanistan strategic agreement by an overwhelming majority on 26 May. Out of 199 members of the Lower House of the Afghan Parliament present, only five members voted against the agreement. What were the factors that united Afghan parliamentarians? Was it Iran's interference or media pressure on Afghan parliamentarians that united them?"

According to Nasrullah Stanikzai, an Afghan expert, China, which is a world power and member of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization as well as the United Nations Security Council, can cooperate with Afghanistan in international relations and economic development. China has had friendly relations with Afghanistan. The Afghan Foreign Ministry has announced that it has prepared a draft of the long-term agreement with China, and the Afghan foreign minister is to hold talks with Chinese officials over the agreement on the sidelines of the Shanghai conference.

According to several Afghan economic analysts, presently, Afghanistan has good trade relations with China and several Chinese companies have invested in the mining industry in Afghanistan. Mr Saifuddin Saihoon, professor of economy at Kabul University, said that the long-term agreement will expand trade ties between the two countries. The China-Afghanistan relations are more economic than political. The long-term cooperation agreement may result in the construction of trade and transit routes between the two countries and development of infrastructure in Afghanistan. Recently, China has shown great interest in investing in Afghanistan's mines. Chinese companies have already invested in the Aynak copper mines in Logar Province and oil fields along the Amu Darya river. According to reports, China's annual exports to Afghanistan reach \$2 billion. Afghanistan

*will likely cringe at the idea of China swooping down to reap the benefits bought by Western financial support and bloodshed, it could well be the best option for the country.*

*In 2014 U.S. and NATO troops will withdraw from Afghanistan, with hopes that Afghanistan's economy and security will continue to improve and that the new government will be able to hold sway. The direction the country will go is anyone's guess. **End FMSO Commentary (Hurst)***

## ***Continued: The Little Boat Without a Destiny: Radio Talk Show***

has already signed long-term cooperation agreements with seven countries of the world including the United States, India, Germany, Australia, Italy, France, and Britain. Afghan officials say that the Afghan Government will sign similar agreements with several other countries such as Turkey.

Afghan parliamentarians favoring the US-Afghanistan strategic agreement believe that Afghanistan needs to sign strategic agreements and develop close relationship with the world's major powers including the United States in order to maintain stability, fight against insurgents, and prevent neighboring countries' interference. On the other hand, opponents believe that close relations with the US and the West will not bring peace and stability to Afghanistan rather, it will raise neighboring countries and regional powers' concerns and that they may continue to support anti-government forces and interfere in internal affairs of Afghanistan in order to protect their interests and Afghanistan may remain a battlefield for international rivalry. Opponents also complain about ambiguities in the agreements such as the number of foreign troops that will remain in Afghanistan after 2014, where they will be deployed, and what their roles will be.

According to a (unnamed) US congressman, "30,000 US troops will stay in Afghanistan for 10 years after 2014." However, neither the United States Department of Defense, Barack Obama, nor Hillary Clinton have made any statement in this regard.

### **Listener comments**

A caller named Haji Meer said: "Strategic agreements with any country will be in Afghanistan's interest. Whoever supports parliamentarians, they will vote for them. Some parliamentarians have received \$25 million from Iran. Iranian agents have voted against the agreement. If strategic agreements are implemented with sincerity, they will benefit Afghanistan."

Amiri reads a message from Nadim Kakar from Kabul: "Afghan representatives have proved their independence by supporting the agreement and that Afghanistan has been an independent state throughout the history."

Another caller named Rahmani said: "Thanks to God that Afghans have become aware and understand what is in their interest and can distinguish between friends and enemies. A decade ago, only 1% of Afghans would support strategic agreements with the United States, France etc. An isolated country cannot achieve development and stability. China has had economic relation with Afghanistan and has remained neutral during periods of war in Afghanistan. Strategic agreement with China will be in the interest of both the countries. Iran claims to be an independent and sovereign state, but some of its authorities are unaware of politics. The Afghan Parliament approved the US-Afghanistan strategic agreement with majority in reaction to the statements made by the Iranian ambassador in the Afghan Parliament. Afghanistan has a golden opportunity today and we have got rid of Pakistani and Iranian slavery. At the time of Soviet invasion of Afghanistan when Afghans were buried alive, Iran signed friendship agreements with the then Soviet Union, but today, Iran is urging Afghans not to support the strategic agreement with the US."

Amiri reads a message from Ali Raza from Kabul: "Afghanistan needs strong friends such as the United States. I have witnessed the time when Pakistan invaded Afghanistan and killed Afghans and that the US had vested interests in Pakistan; therefore, it did not take any significant step against Pakistan. I hope the agreement will guarantee fair relation between the two countries."

## ***Continued: The Little Boat Without a Destiny: Radio Talk Show***

Bahar from Germany writes: “I am sure that 90% of Afghans are happy and support the strategic agreement with the US, because development and end of war in the country is more important than anything else. Opponents of the agreement are traitors.”

Syed Arif Zaiffee from Herat Province writes: “I salute members of the Afghan Parliament. Iran and Pakistan have always been afraid of a stable and strong Afghanistan; therefore, they have been inciting violence in the country. History is the witness and testifies that any emperor or country of the world that has tried to enslave and invade Afghanistan have been defeated.”

Another caller named Mr Khaikhah says: “We all know that several representatives were invited to Wariz Akbar Khan, Kabul, and were offered bribe for voting against the strategic agreement. It is good news for Afghans that such plans failed. Afghan senators have hit back at enemies. In last 15 years, China has reached at the acme of economic development and a strategic agreement with such a developed country is in Afghanistan’s interest. Afghan authorities should avail such opportunities. Our neighboring countries claim to be Muslims but they have always been cruel to their Muslim brothers; therefore, Afghanistan should sign strategic agreements with friendly countries no matter if they are Buddhist or communist states. Afghanistan should not wait for neighboring countries to help. Over the last 30 years, there has not been peace in the country and Afghanistan was compelled to sign strategic agreements with other countries. If the Afghan Government and the United States want to serve Afghans and implement the strategic agreement in order to bring peace and development in the country, Iran and Pakistan will not dare to point a finger at Afghanistan.”

Javed from Kabul writes: “Friendship with the United States cannot address Afghans’ concerns rather, it may raise concerns.”

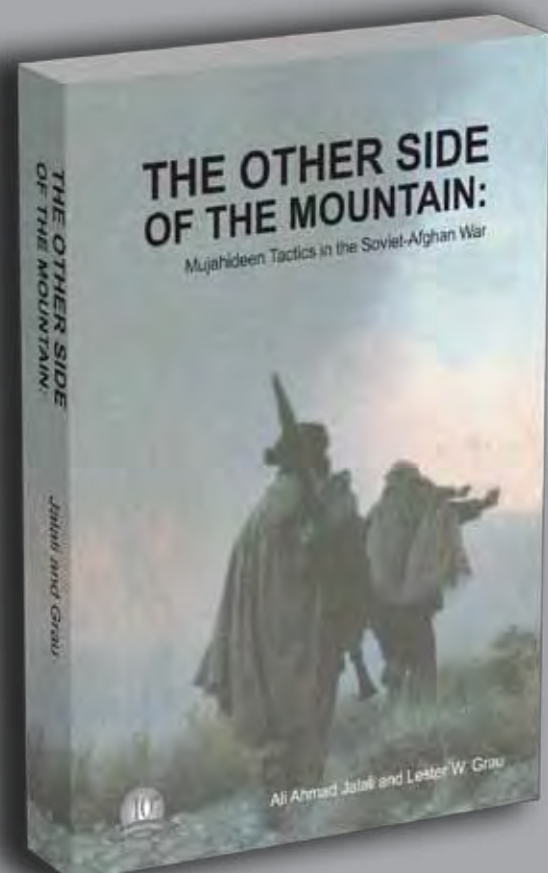
Abdul Samad from Kabul writes: “There is no guarantee the strategic agreements will be implemented. The United States and its allies should assure Afghans that the international community will not leave them alone.”

Mohammad Essay Sadat from Kabul writes: “Members of the Lower House of the Afghan Parliament have voted for the agreement so that they are not recognized as Pakistani and Iranian spies. If they had casted their votes in a secret ballot, the number of votes against the agreement would be higher.”

Mirwais from London writes: “After 11 years of the government, Afghan senators have shown the world that they are united on important national issues such as the strategic agreement.”

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

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





**FMSO Commentary:** *The following article is a condensed version of a more lengthy article that discusses the efforts and drive behind an unnamed informatization research institute of China's General Staff Department. The institute's primary objective is to boost the country's transformation of its military combat effectiveness. By many accounts, the transformation of China's military is progressing much faster than previously expected.*

*The Gulf War has had a huge impact on the ongoing shaping of Chinese military strategy and the country's focus on research and development. Chinese military thinkers have studied every aspect of this war in an effort to incorporate the strategies into their own military operations, using Chinese characteristics. Informatization of the military and joint operations stand out as the two key strategies that have propelled the United States to victory.*

*Joint operations under informatized conditions allow military commanders to understand both enemy and friendly battlefield situations and how they are changing in real time. Informatization also provides precise target data. According to the 2010 Chinese National Defense white paper, "The PLA takes the building of joint operation systems as the focal point of its modernization and preparations for military struggle, and strives to enhance its fighting capabilities based on information systems."*

*In order to be effective in modern warfare, China has been striving toward developing the capability to conduct integrated joint operations – naval, air, and ground operations. The following article goes on to discuss the institute's relentless pursuit of how to informatize its forces, thereby joining all participants together in joint operations. The people involved in research and development tend to be younger, approximately 35 years old, and highly determined*

## PLA Informatization Institute Determined to Boost Combat Effectiveness



24 April 2012

**Source:** “总参某信息化研究所助推我军战斗力生成模式转变纪实” (For Winning Future Informatized Wars – A Factual Account of the Effort of a Certain Informatization Research Institute of the General Staff Department), People's Daily, April 24, 2012, <http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64093/64104/17728483.html>

Photo: Cyber Warfare via Atlantic Council US <http://www.acus.org/trackback/34868>

### 总参某信息化研究所助推我军战斗力生成模式转变纪实 (For Winning Future Informatized Wars)

Since the beginning of the year, from the shore of the Yellow Sea to the foot of the Kunlun Mountains, and from the great desert beyond the Great Wall to the islands in the South China Sea, relying on an integrated command information system developed primarily by a certain informatized research institute of the General Staff Department, the three services (Chinese army-PLA, navy-PLAN, and air force-PLAAF) have been hustling and bustling, and joint operations exercises have been going on in full swing, with climax one after another. Inside the command tent, the battlefield posture is nowhere to hide, all kinds of commands get through to the combat units. These new bright spots symbolize that our military's informatization building is marching toward a new stage of accelerated development!

In recent years, the institute -- while seizing the leading edge, scaling new heights, and daring to fight tough battles amid the tide of the times of informatization development -- has surmounted technical barriers one after another and gained major breakthroughs one after another, thereby directly pushing forward and speeding up the process of our military's informatization building. According to statistics, since the "10th Five-Year" Plan period alone, the institute has won state and military science and technology [S&T] progress awards for 200-plus science research achievements, including one state S&T progress special-class award, three first-class awards, eight second-class awards, and 54 military S&T progress first-class awards.

At the beginning of the century, the Iraq War -- the first informatized war in its true sense in the history of mankind -- broke out, and experts of the institute paid close attention to the war process. They saw that by relying on the C4ISR system and with the powerful might of "destruction upon discovery," the US military made the allegedly million-strong Iraqi Army totally powerless in striking back and thus caused the latter's collapse as if it was a collapse

## Continued: For Winning Future Informatized Wars

*to create an environment/strategy in which China will never lose the next battle. Their determination goes as far as to affect their personal lives. Putting everything else on hold, they only have one objective – to ensure China's success in military affairs.*

*The country's research and development of cyber warfare and informatization are heavily shielded in secrecy. Whether or not the Chinese military will one day successfully meet all its goals of achieving superiority through informatization and joint operations remains to be seen. In the meantime, however, the country has been making huge strides in technology, and its people are determined to one day be number one. End FMSO Commentary (Hurst)*

of a thousand-li dike.

Faced with the severe challenge of the new revolution in military affairs in the world and the rapid development of information technology, building up our military's own joint operations command information system was imminent. The cruel reality was placed before the Chinese military. Back then, our military's informatization remained at the stage of scattered construction...

The Military Commission resolutely decided to build our military's integrated command information system and called for the quickest possible deployment and generation of capability, and also assigned the research and development task to the institute -- this was bound to be a brand-new starting point in the development history of the institute!

The whole institute was shrouded with the atmosphere of an imminent major battle, and many people could not sleep the whole night.

The science research building was like a command center ready for an imminent war, and the phone kept ringing. Veteran experts who were close to retiring were jogging vigorously along the way like young people; and graduate trainees who just stepped out of school already joined the project team the day they reported for duty at the institute, and they were on the run for a thousand li and battled from north to south. Camp-beds were erected in every research office, and laying on the beds to take a break became the most luxurious enjoyment. Nobody cared about that, what was in their minds and what they were thinking about was nothing but stepping up the building of China's own integrated command information system.

Faced with the unprecedented great challenge and decisive battle, the institute took the lead in organizing 8,000 science research personnel from 300-plus units of various services and arms, theaters, science research academies and institutes, and national defense industry departments; after countless round-the-clock hard struggles, they eventually opened up the "bloodline" of our military's joint operations command. Our military took a vital step forward toward the goal of building an informatized army and winning informatized wars!

During the construction of our military's first-generation command automation system, because of a lack of technical reserves, the institute was prepared to jointly develop it with a certain foreign company. To its surprise, on the negotiation table, the other side asked for an exorbitant price of \$100 million. At that time, the institute's science research funding for the whole year was less than 1 million yuan.

The indisputable fact pricked hard on experts of the institute: "As far as foreign key technologies and core technologies are concerned, people will not give you no matter how much you pay. Only when we stick to independent innovation can we climb to the top of new and high technology."

At the beginning, the institute developed a network security protection system and thought that the system was secure and reliable after multiple drills. However, during an exercise, the directing staff quietly arranged technical personnel to implant a new virus into the command post, thus causing a complete breakdown of the entire system. In order to reach the requirement of "top-notch protection and absolute security," they were determined to break through the major difficult problem of inner protection, and they creatively constructed an in-depth defense system from outside to inside.

Underground communications, which are well-concealed and highly invulnerable, have a special military value in informatized wars. In order to conquer this world-class technical difficulty, Situ Mengtian, a senior communications expert of the institute, led a science

## ***Continued: For Winning Future Informatized Wars***

research team to painstakingly dig into it and assiduously tackle it; after 30-plus years of work, they finally succeeded in developing an “underground communications system” and honorably won a first-class award.

In this institute, there are still a lot more such major projects with the possession of key and core technology and independent intellectual property rights; such innovation achievements as Tactical Internet and data chain have provided important technical support for accelerating our military’s informatization building! Now, the science research personnel of the institute again set their sights on the applied study of cloud computing, information grid, and other new concepts and new technologies, in an effort to make new, greater contributions to speeding up the transformation of our military’s combat effectiveness generation model!

In order to create an array of endeavoring and difficulties-overcoming science research talents, the party committee of the institute has specially worked out a leading talent grooming plan and a long-term program for the grooming of back-up academician candidates, conducted comprehensive evaluations of research office leaders who have to compete for their positions, exercised AB role competition management over responsible persons of the research groups, and strictly enforced a not lower than 10% last-place elimination system on high-ranking technical cadres; it has also set up a institute director fund, innovation fund, and special contributions award, and drawn up categorized and level-by-level performance-evaluation standards, in an effort to create a fine growing and talent-emerging environment for S&T cadres.

(Note: The article goes on to describe in detail a number of young, talent who have been contributing to the program)

Currently, the institute has three academicians of the Chinese Academy of Engineering, eight all-army S&T leading talents and tip-top talents, 31 outstanding young and middle-aged experts of the state and the General Staff Department, and a top-notch talent lineup made up of 57 people enjoying special government allowance, thus creating a gratifying situation in which the first line is really up to the mark, the second line can catch up, and the third line is in store. In 2011, the institute was even rated as an “All-Army Advanced Talent-Grooming Unit.”

Take the research and development of our military’s integrated command information system as an example, there are over 8,000 people getting involved in the research and development. Staying in the institute, which is not large in size, it was quiet everywhere, we only saw science research personnel walking in a rush, coming and going between laboratories, and it seemed no different from ordinary science research institutes.

These talents, who come from 300-plus units throughout the army and national defense industry departments respectively, are

scattered everywhere at ordinary times and will come together when called upon and rapidly assemble into teams in case of a major science research project. There is only one goal: tackle key problems!

Thanks to the brand-new talent pooling mode, the science research field has become vertically and horizontally connected, and the institute’s science research strength has shown exponential growth.

Stepping into this institute, what people saw was a group of extremely ordinary-looking guys. They were so busy. Inside the machine room, the buzzing sound of computer was all through the night: Group discussion extended from the conference room all the way to the dining hall and dormitory; even walking along the street, people were all in a hurry ...[ellipsis as published] They looked tired, and yet were full of persistence.

The “two bombs and one satellite” meritorious scientists that people revere have concealed their identity for the sake of the state’s supreme interests. In this institute, the science research work they are engaged in is a military secret as well. All the science research personnel have a common understanding: Doing this kind of work, do not even think about being able to turn the achievements into published papers, do not even think about being able to get the deeds printed on the newspaper, and do not even think about being able to win social recognition. Cao Jiang, deputy chief engineer of the integrated command information system project, attended a 25-year class reunion, and when talking about personal career, some said they were conducting startup business in Silicon Valley, some said they were engaging in high-end research at institutes of higher learning, and some others said they were senior executives in big corporations, but he could only remain silent and keep himself from sharing his career achievements with his classmates. Nevertheless, they knew that their names would be in the annals of the party and the military; and leaders of the General Headquarters’ affirmations and commendations of a series of the institute’s science research achievements are their highest and also the most precious honor.

While covering the news, these reporters were more than once shocked by the spirit emitted from them, and wanted time and again to find an answer from them. In this institute, these reporters saw an eye-catching slogan: “The country-serving spirit of remembering well the mission and having the courage to take on important tasks, the innovative spirit of daring to be a pioneer and to scale new heights, the hardworking spirit of sparing no effort in tackling key problems and daring to fight tough battles, the collaborative spirit of having the whole situation in mind and pooling the wisdom and efforts of everyone, and the dedication spirit of not being sidetracked but being indifferent to fame and wealth.” These “five spirits” make people passionate and spur on people.



**FMSO Commentary:** Kim Jung Il, the former North Korean leader, started to employ significant human resources on a national level for its cyber capability after he recognized the importance of cyber warfare in the US Gulf War victory in 1991. At that time he sent cyber units to the North Korean embassies in Russia and Eastern Europe to start their training in, among other things, low-level cyber-attacks. This training and cyber capability have accelerated under the leadership of Kim Jung Un, the current North Korean leader: cyber units are now being developed and included as subunits of the North's Reconnaissance General Bureau (RGB).

North Korea has continued to strategically develop its human resources for cyber warfare. Elite young people are trained from an early age in computer science, then sent to become cyber specialists at prestigious university-level institutes, such as the Kim Check Institute of Technology, Kim Il Sung University, and the Kim Il Sung Military Academy. These young cyber specialists are then assigned to units within the RGB, whose primary mission is cyber warfare. Some of these young specialists are sent to China, where they learn about advanced technology and how these skills can be applied to cyber warfare.

Because the North Korean military, government and industry are not based on a network-centric model of connectivity, but rather on one that is much more primitive, they would appear to have a defensive advantage against cyber attacks from their chief enemies, South Korea and the US. As the brief article suggests, they are also beginning to refine their offensive cyber capabilities. **End FMSO Commentary (Kim)**

## North Korean Cyber



7 June 2012

**Source:** N. Korea's Reconnaissance Unit Likely Culprit For GPS Disruption: Scholar," Yonhap, 7 June 2012

Korea Cyber based on Kim Jong Un photo by Onion, Inc., via [www.theonion.com](http://www.theonion.com)

## Professor Says DPRK's Reconnaissance Unit Possibly Linked to GPS Jamming

**T**he recent jamming of satellite navigation signals, which affected hundreds of commercial flights and ships in South Korea's border area, may have been carried out by an affiliate of the North's Reconnaissance General Bureau (RGB), a professor said at a conference on Thursday, 7 June 2012.

"North Korea can pull off various cyber attacks including electronic and psychological warfare, denial-of-service attacks and hacking into a network," Lee Dong-hoon, a professor at Korea University, said at a conference hosted by the Defense Security Command.

"The global positioning system (GPS) disruptions were likely carried out by the cyber warfare unit, an affiliate of the North's RGB," he added.

Since 2010, Pyongyang has launched a series of cyber attacks that disrupted Seoul's navigation signals. It has denied responsibility for the most recent GPS jamming attacks carried out between April 28 and May 13.

South Korean intelligence officials believe that North Korea runs a 3,000-strong cyber warfare unit under the direct control of the RGB, its top intelligence agency. The unit is in charge of distributing viruses and hacking into computer networks.

According to Lee, North Korea has been pushing to develop its electronic warfare abilities since the late 1980s, fostering human resources on a national level for its military purposes.

It is now among the three most powerful nations in terms of cyber warfare, trailing behind Russia and the United States, Lee added.

In regard to the South's countermeasures against the potential threats to national security, Defense Security Commander Bae Deuk-sik said "the military is striving to strengthen its ability to react by developing related policies and information protection systems."

The South Korean government is currently seeking ways to have the international community punish the North for its attempts to sabotage the South's GPS signals.

**FMSO Commentary:** *Early on 31 May Serbian police executed a raid in Belgrade, Novi Pazar, Pančevo, Kikind, Subotica and Novi Beč. During the swoop eight customs officers and fourteen directors and/or owners of private businesses were detained. In all, 200 police officers were used in this lightning assault against organized crime in Serbia, and those detained were charged with bribery, money laundering, abuse of public office and tax evasion.*

*The case received much attention in Novi Pazar, where the police surrounded and searched the home of prominent Mufti and local politician Muamer Zukorlić. The search fueled the already existing antipathy between Rasim Ljajić – Minister of Labor, Employment and Social Issues – and Zukorlić, who claimed Ljajić had organized the raid as a personal affront and to remove a political opponent. Ljajić responded to these allegations by declaring that it was absurd to think he had the power to order a clandestine police raid in all of Serbia.*

*It should be mentioned that Ljajić and Zukorlić cooperated during the 1990s – together with Sulejman Ugljanin (Party of Democratic Action of Sandžak) – before all three went their separate political and religious ways. Officials in Belgrade likely noticed the mufti's declining popularity, and this police search may illustrate Zukorlić's weakened political status in Sandžak. Of the 50,000 votes Zukorlić received in the recent presidential election, only 19,000 were from the Sandžak region. As such, he can hardly consider himself as the sole representative for the Bosniak people. The mufti, for instance, called on the Bosniak population to demonstrate against the police demonstration of force, but only a handful of people showed up in support.*

*The mufti's rhetoric in the brief interview below is interesting for three reasons. First, Zukorlić explains*

## Religion and Crime in Serbia

31 May 2012

**Source:** P. Jeremic, "Muamer Zukorlic: Gendarmerie Members Offended Muslim Women," Pravda Online, 31 May 2012



Mufti Muamer Zukorlic in his office by Giuliano Koren via [www.giulianokoren.com/bosniaks/](http://www.giulianokoren.com/bosniaks/)

### Serbian Mufti Says Police Offended Muslim Women by Raiding Crime Suspects' Homes

**N**ovi Pazar -- Yesterday, at the crack of dawn, several units of the Gendarmerie raided houses of residents of Novi Pazar. According to their explanation, they were acting on suspicion that these persons had something to do with some financial and customs crimes, Chief Mufti Muamer Zukorlic of the Islamic Community in Serbia says in an interview to Pravda.

"Government organs and the police have the right and the obligation to fight and act against all unlawful behavior, but in doing so, they do not have the right to violate the law. What was impermissible in this case was that the Gendarmerie stormed into people's houses while they were sleeping. Its members broke down doors. This was a violation of people's sovereign space for life and rest. Such a thing is especially sensitive in the case of Muslims, where women are believers, too, and it is strictly forbidden to enter their quarters unless they are properly dressed. This was perceived here as an offense against the dignity of Muslim women and a threat to the fundamental religious and human right to a peaceful life."

[Jeremic] Are the people scared?

[Zukorlic] Children and other family members have been traumatized by this kind of violent behavior of the police. I received this information early in the morning. Outside the house where I live, too, there appeared a police unit of the Gendarmerie. They sealed the entire street and blocked traffic with the maximum demonstration of force under the pretext that they were looking for some documentation for a business whose books are kept by a bookkeeping agency that has offices on the ground floor of my house. At the agency itself,

*that the police action was especially traumatizing for the Muslim population. Muslim women who have chosen to veil themselves do not wish to be seen uncovered by anybody but close family members. It may not only be Belgrade that noticed the Mufti's sinking popularity, but Zukorlić himself might also have noticed this. His appeal to pious dress may be no more than an appeal to his religious base. Second, the Mufti's explanation as to why it was insensitive to enter his house prompts a thorny question. If a practicing Muslim commits a crime – financial or otherwise – are police forces required to follow different procedures? Finally, does Zukorlić represent all 100,000 Bosniaks who live in Novi Pazar? After the police stormed his house, Zukorlić stated, "If this does go on, Bosniaks will have no choice but to organize themselves in defense of their honor, dignity, home, and fundamental human rights." Yet it was only Zukorlić's house that the police stormed. The rest of the Bosniak community was left alone. **End FMSO Commentary (King-Savic)***

## ***Continued: Serbian Mufti Says Police Offended Muslim Women by Raiding Crime Suspects' Homes***

they behaved quite professionally. However, this demonstration of force outside my house disturbed the people, who began gathering outside, so that at one point there was a danger of an incident erupting, because somebody had circulated a disinformation that my house was being searched and that I was in danger.

[Jeremic] Do you think that you were the target?

[Zukorlic] The Gendarmerie perpetrated torture against the people of Novi Pazar. This was a textbook case of intimidation of people. There is no doubt that the operation in Novi Pazar had a political background with a view to intimidation, punishment, and humiliation of those that are not prepared to bow their backs before the political power wielders of this country. This is evidently how it will be in Sandzak and for the Bosniaks for as long as some government organs that represent themselves as Bosniak representatives have a say in this country and as long as they have at their disposal special units of this country for persecuting and punishing those that did not join the political-cum-criminal organization.

[Jeremic] Have you spoken to anybody about this?

[Zukorlic] I am warning the top leaders of the police that they must take urgent steps for this kind of behavior of special police units never to be repeated again, because this is trifling with the stability of this region. This kind of behavior smacks of Milosevic's special units of the 1990s. Whatever the offense, it cannot and must not be an excuse for brutally trampling on elementary dignity and freedom in one's own home, the right of a child to sleep in peace.

[Jeremic] What if this does continue?

[Zukorlic] If this does go on, Bosniaks will have no choice but to organize themselves in defense of their honor, dignity, home, and fundamental human rights. All this is a kind of message. Just a few short days ago, electricity was violently cut off for the Faculty of Islamic Studies with the explanation that the faculty was not paying its bills. This also disturbed the people. However, Elektrodistribucija [power distribution company] is refusing to issue invoices in the name of the faculty. All this has a political background designed to help Novi Pazar's tycoons to usurp the premises of the faculty. Power has not been cut off to the town administration, which is controlled by Belgrade, although it has a big debt. Pressure has been intensified since the elections, because those that helped Boris Tadic to lose the election and who spoiled the political calculations are now being targeted.

[Jeremic] Your cousin Nermin Smailovic was also detained.

[Zukorlic] In the house of my cousin the police behaved in the most brutal way. Until recently, he was an activist of Rasim Ljajic's SDP [Social Democratic Party]. Since he stepped out of that party, his businesses have been persecuted on a daily basis. There is no way that there are no political implications to this. He was indeed detained, but he was released quickly. The very ugly pictures have provoked people's indignation.



**FMSO Commentary:** While the Tajik Civil War (1992-97) is often summed up as a conflict between the government and the groups that made up the United Tajik Opposition (UTO), the line between the two sides was not always clear. The fighting involved a number of different regional commanders (from both sides) in charge of paramilitary or militia forces. The government and the Popular Front received support from Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) Peacekeeping Force that helped legitimize it, but their support among the population was not total, even in regions considered to be loyal to the government.

One of the most revealing quotes in the following article from the leader of the Popular Front revival is the decision to add “without weapons” to the official party name. He specifically mentions how people do not have good memories of the Popular Front, and he is not likely referring only to supporters of the UTO, but also to people who supported the government. The majority of the violence during the war did not take place between combatants so much as it involved commanders and their men targeting civilians in acts of revenge against supporters of a rival group. This took place on all sides.

The chance that the Popular Front without Weapons would stir up any kind of violence now is slim to none, but because of their history and the weariness people in Tajikistan still have from the Civil War, the party may find it difficult to find supporters. **End FMSO Commentary (Stein)**

## The Popular Front without Weapons



17 May 2012

Source: Mekhrangiz Tursunzoda.

“В Таджикистане хотят возродить Народный фронт (They Want to Revive the Popular Front in Tajikistan),” Asia Plus, 17 May 2012.

<http://news.tj/ru/news/v-tadzhikistane-khotyat-vozrodit-narodnyi-front>

President Emomali Rahmonov of Tajikistan. DoD photo by R. D. Ward. (Released) [Public Domain] via Wikimedia Commons

### **В Таджикистане хотят возродить Народный фронт (They Want to Revive the Popular Front in Tajikistan)**

In Tajikistan they want to revive the Popular Front of Tajikistan, but now under the name “The Popular Front without weapons.” According to one of the initiators of the movement people of Tajikistan do not have good memories of the Popular Front, and in order to revive the movement without scaring people, it was decided to add the phrase “without weapons.”

The initiator of the revival of the Popular Front believes that “now the time has come where there is no need to walk with weapons at hand, but to improve the lives of people in a country rife with corruption and parochialism by peaceful means.” This is the main goal of the revival of the Popular Front.

According to Murodov (the party leader), they intend to draw into their ranks anyone. He added, “We intend to support all parties and movements, but in time will nominate a worthy candidate.” Murodov noted that the Popular Front restored constitutional order in Tajikistan (after the Tajik Civil War, 1992-97), but now no one appreciates its members.

The Popular Front of Tajikistan was established in October 1992 and in 1993 ceased operations. In 1992, the current president of Tajikistan, Emomali Rakhmon, was elected leader of the country with the support of the party. In subsequent years, dozens of supporters of the organization were convicted of various crimes.

Last week, the National Movement of Tajikistan put in a request to the Ministry of Justice for registration for the (presidential) election in 2013. The request was not accepted by the ministry.

**FMSO Commentary:** The following article is the second time in a week that Kazakhstan's Defense Minister Adilbek Zhaksybekov stressed that the military must be better prepared. In a previous article (<http://megapolis.kz/art/Ministrsnayper>) he criticized generals for not participating on the firing range and urged them to set an example through doing the same training as their soldiers. Zhaksybekov even set up a shooting competition between commanders and their deputies from different services in the Ministry of Defense.

In the interview Zhaksybekov seems fairly open about the problems the military of Kazakhstan currently faces, particularly housing. His answers about Kazakhstan's small but growing defense industry also provide a little more information about the direction the sector is taking. It was already known that Kazakhstan signed an agreement with Eurocopter for production of EC145 light utility helicopters, but agreements for small arms and ammunition show that the country is trying to broaden this sector.

Finally, it is interesting that the author mentions that the minister did not want to talk about the incident at the Arkankergen border post, where 14 border guards and one park ranger were discovered dead on May 30 at the outpost in the mountains near the Kazakh-Chinese border. The exact circumstances of the incident are still not clear. While it might seem that Zhaksybekov is evading questions about this, the incident, in fact, falls outside his area of responsibility: the border guards are not within the Ministry of Defense, but rather are a part of Kazakhstan's National Security Committee (KNB).  
**End FMSO Commentary (Stein)**

## Interview with Kazakhstan's Minister of Defense

11 June 2012



**Source:** Severniy Vladimir.  
“Адилбек ДЖАКСЫБЕКОВ: «Мы готовимся к возникновению серьёзных ситуаций...» (Adilbek Zhaksybekov: “We are Preparing for Serious Situations...”),” Megapolis, 11 June 2012. [http://megapolis.kz/art/Adilbek\\_DZhAKSIBEKOV\\_Mi\\_gotovimsya\\_k\\_vozniknoveniyu\\_seryoznih\\_situatsiy](http://megapolis.kz/art/Adilbek_DZhAKSIBEKOV_Mi_gotovimsya_k_vozniknoveniyu_seryoznih_situatsiy)

Minister of Defense Adilbek R. Dzhaksybekov, via <http://en.government.kz/structure/government>

**Адилбек ДЖАКСЫБЕКОВ: «Мы готовимся к возникновению серьёзных ситуаций...»  
(Adilbek Zhaksybekov: “We are Preparing for Serious Situations...”)**

Last week, a Megapolis correspondent talked with Defense Minister Adilbek Zhaksybekov. He (Zhaksybekov) was on a working visit to an Almaty garrison and agreed to answer some of our questions.

“Despite the fact that we often carry out exercises and prepare personnel for different military operations, there is always the question of how military commanders and their personnel prove themselves in different, difficult situations,” – says Zhaksybekov. “Peace time should go on as long as possible, but we must constantly prepare for a complication of geopolitical circumstances.”

The defense minister did not want to talk about the incident at the border post Arkankergen, though he willingly answered questions related to the armed forces.

(Severniy) – “Adilbek Ryskeldinovich, soldiers are spreading rumors that officers will be dismissed from the army without being given the allotted housing.”

(Zhaksybekov) – “Accommodation will be provided to military personnel. For current service members we give out keys for military housing. Where there is no available

## ***Continued: Adilbek Zhaksybekov: “We are Preparing for Serious Situations...”***

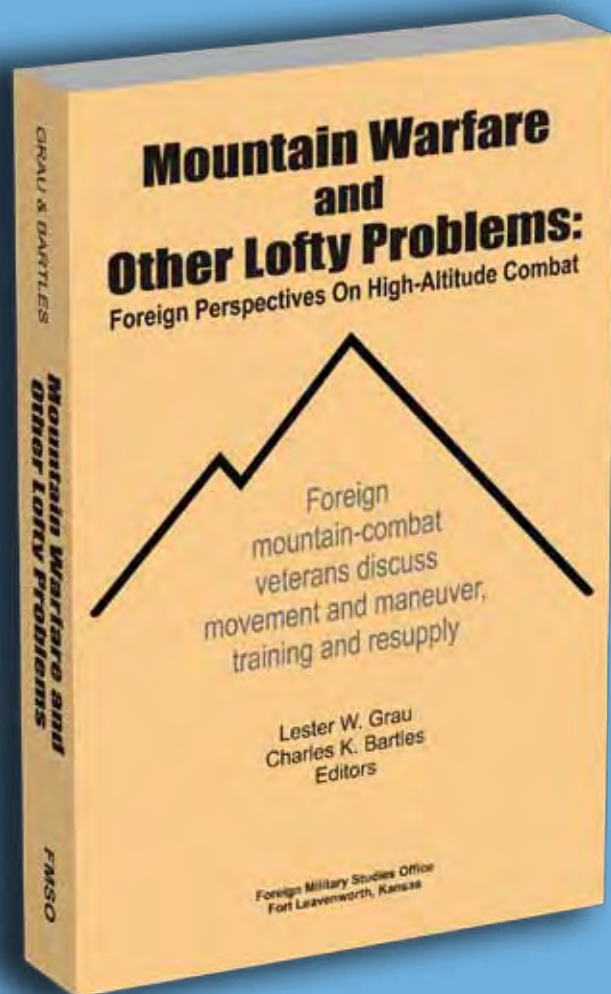
housing, compensation is provided for sublet housing. You know that it is a fact that the state has never had the opportunity to provide housing for all military personnel. Nominally, a law existed, but it has not worked. There have always been a lot of service members without apartments. When I came to the Ministry of Defense three years ago, I met one lieutenant colonel who lived in a back room. There are no apartments during (garrison) rotations, and officers and sergeants cling to apartments and do not want to go to another garrison. They refuse. They have nowhere to take their family. Soldiers stayed in one place for 15-20 years.

(Saverniy) – “Mr. Defense Minister, they say that you have paid a

lot of recent attention on reviving defense factories.”

(Zhaksybekov) – “KADEX-2012 has demonstrated that we can already complete and produce our own products. The breakthrough project is the production of helicopters. The Ministry of Defense, the joint-stock company «Kazakhstan Engineering», and the European company «Eurocopter» signed one of the first (production agreements).

(Additionally) An agreement was signed with representatives of the Bulgarian company Arsenal to resume active cooperation for small arms and ammunition. Also a Polish company, Bumar, discussed the supply the ammunition and small arms.”



**The United States Army has been involved in a mountain war for a decade. After all this time, mountain combat remains a stubbornly difficult mission and technology can offer only modest support to the infantry’s mission of closing with the enemy or the logistician’s mission of getting support forward. This book by Les Grau and Chuck Bartles covers operations and tactics, artillery, and aviation support, reconnaissance, communications, training, and logistics in the mountains.**

**This book is not United States Army doctrine. Rather, it is offered as an alternate view to a most-challenging military environment.**



*Maintaining an outdated content management system reflects, according to this article, a small vulnerability of Kyrgyzstan's Defense Ministry. End FMSO Commentary (Stein)*

How to hack websites with Joomla 1.5 is publicly available on the internet, including a (how to) video on You Tube. The site Zone H, which collects data about attacks on websites, says “Co-cain” hacked the ministry on May 18.

**FMSO Commentary:** In 2010 the Asian Development Bank bankrolled the majority of a 170 million dollar project to connect the Uzbek city of Hairatan on the Uzbekistan-Afghan border to the city of Mazar-i-Sharif in northern Afghanistan. In the short term the Hairatan-Uzbekistan rail project extended the rail network of the Northern Distribution past the previous termination point at Termez (a few kilometers from Hairatan) well into Afghanistan. In the past all cargo had to be offloaded to trucks and driven in to Afghanistan. The offloading and customs processing often caused major shipping delays. Now the containers, which are sealed at their points of origin, may move across the border without interruption to the freight terminal at Mazar-i-Sharif. The Asian Development Bank hopes that this course of action will turn Mazar-i-Sharif into a major shipping terminal, and source of revitalization for the Afghan economy.

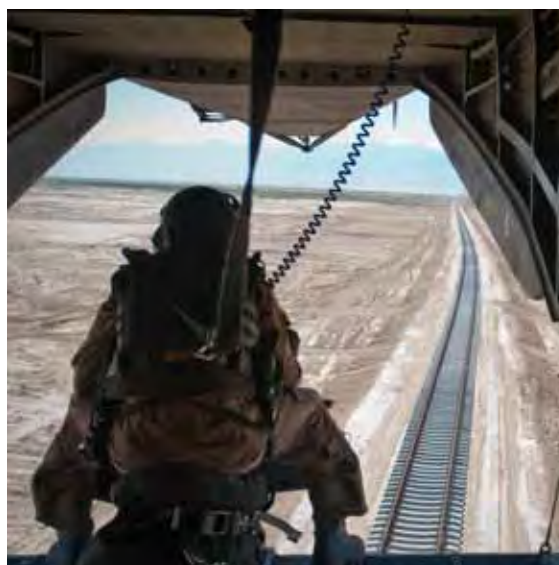
In the long term this project is part of an action plan of the Central Asia Regional Economic Cooperation Programme to make Afghanistan a transit hub for markets in post-Soviet Central Asia, Pakistan, South East Asia and Europe. If the Afghan city of Herat was connected by rail to Mazar-e Sharif, Afghanistan would have the bulk of the shortest rail link connecting Central Asia to the ports in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean.

Obviously, the primary obstacle to any economic development is the volatile security situation in Afghanistan. For this reason, the Hairatan-Uzbekistan rail project was not tendered for bidding, but was offered solely to the Uzbek state-owned company "Uzbekistanllari," which constructed and now manages the rail line. "Uzbekistanllari" provides maintenance and rolling stock for the rail line and, according to the following articles, is constructing \$3.67 million dollars worth of security infrastructure. Although it is not mentioned in the

## Uzbekistan's Growing Role in Afghan Security

21 May 2012

**Source:** D. Azizov, "Uzbekistan to Build More Facilities to Ensure Security in Afghanistan," Trend Daily News (Azerbaijan) 21 May 2012. <http://en.trend.az/>



The rear-gunner in a Sikorsky UH-53 helicopter watches the end of the new railway from Mazar-e-Sharif to Termez, Uzbekistan. Photo by Petty Officer 1st Class Mark O'Donald (U.S. Navy)

### Uzbekistan to Build More Facilities to Ensure Security in Afghanistan

**U**zbekistan Railways will construct buildings and facilities worth \$3.672 million to ensure the security of personnel and the property of the Hairatan-Mazar-i-Sharif railway, a government source told Trend on Monday.

A relevant decree was signed by Uzbek President Islam Karimov, the source said.

In late last year, the Afghan Public Works Ministry and Uzbekistan Railways signed an additional agreement to the contract dated November 27, 2009 to build these facilities. The customer is the Afghan side.

Under the project fencing around the perimeter of the stations, freight yards and sidings will be installed.

As reported, in November 2010 Uzbekistan Railways completed the construction of the Hairatan - Mazar-i-Sharif railway in Afghanistan worth \$129 million.

The total length of the railway line, built by Uzbek specialists, is 106 km, including the length of the main ways is 75 km. The capacity of the road is eight pairs of trains per day, or more than nine million tons of cargo per year.

The project has been implemented due to grant of the Asian Development Bank (ADB) at \$165 million and own resources of Afghanistan Government at \$5 million.

In 2011, Uzbekistan Railways signed a contract with the Afghan government to operate the railway for a period of three years.

articles, it is very likely that elements of the Uzbek security forces (Ministry of Defense, Border Troops, etc.) are directly involved with securing this railway, based on Tashkent's previous actions in the region, and Uzbekistan's distrust of Afghan security forces that are entrusted with protecting Uzbek property and national interests in Afghan territory.  
**End FMSO Commentary (Bartles)**

## Continued: Uzbekistan to Build More Facilities to Ensure Security in Afghanistan

In accordance with the contract, an Uzbek company carries out maintenance of the road by Uzbek specialists and performs freight transportation by its rolling stock.

The Uzbek side will receive for operation of the railway each year from Afghanistan \$32 million.

Funding for operational works at Mazar-

i-Sharif railway will be carried out due to ADB funds provided to Afghanistan.

The Afghan side also provided adequate safeguards to ensure security.

Uzbekistan Railways was formed in 1994 after the withdrawal from the Central Asian Railway, and is fully owned by the state.

## Uzbekistan Railways to Construct Security Objects in Afghanistan

**Source:** Uzbekistan Railways to Construct Security Objects in Afghanistan," Uzbekistan Daily, 22 May 2012. <http://uzdaily.com/>

**22 May 2012**

**S**tate joint stock railways company Uzbekistan Temir Yollari will construct additional objects and establishments for ensuring security of personnel and property of railway Hairatan-Mazar-e-Sharif with the cost of over US\$3.672 million.

President of Uzbekistan Islam Karimov signed a resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers "On construction additional objects and establishments on ensuring security of personal and property of railway Hairatan- Mazar-e-Sharif".

The document was adopted for additional construction of railway infrastructure and ensuring security of personnel, participating in implementation of the project "Exploitation and serving railroad Hairatan-Mazar-e-Sharif".

The document said that Ministry of Public Works of Afghanistan and Uzbekistan Havo Yollari signed additional agreement No. 3 from 27 November 2009 No. MPW/ADB/0161/001 on 7 December

2011 on construction of establishments on ensuring security of personnel and railway infrastructure railroad Hairatan- Mazar-e-Sharif. The Afghan side is customer of the project.

Total cost of the project is US\$3,672,310.75. It is planned to install fences along stations, warehouse depot and double-track sections, install security equipment, construct supervisory towers, etc.

As earlier reported, Uzbekistan Temir Yollari completed construction of Hairatan-Mazar-e-Sharif railroad in the end of 2010 with the cost of US\$129 million.

The Uzbek company constructed 75 km railroad and several stations, as well as reconstructed Hairatan station within the project.

The project was financed due to US\$165 million grant of the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and US\$5 million of own funds of the Afghanistan Government.



**FMSO Commentary:** In a televised meeting on 30 May, President Putin briefed his top military leaders, describing his top defense priorities for the next term (or longer). An excerpt from this speech is below. For those who understand Russian, the president's remarks are available at this link: <http://news.kremlin.ru/video/1191>. Even for those who do not understand the language, the theatrical and media aspects of this meeting are quite instructive.

Of course, Putin is at the head of the table, where he recites from a stack of prepared cards to his uniformed audience. There is no dialogue, and the senior generals dutifully take notes while the president speaks. As this was clearly a staged event for the media (and given the Russian penchant for secrecy and deception), there is some question whether these are really his defense priorities. Still, they are revealing.

In this dangerous world Russia must have a well trained military. Unlike the chaotic 1990s, when funding precluded a robust training cycle, so far this year the Russian military has already conducted nearly 300 exercises. Putin neglects to mention, however, that most of these training events were at the battalion-level and below.

Nor is the country preparing for the last war. Just as the US plans to construct a Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) system to protect against modern threats, so Russia has created its own Aerospace Defense forces. Putin believes that Russia must retain a viable strategic retaliatory capability, and these forces will presumably be able to counter Western hegemonic designs.

Putin's third priority deals with modernizing and re-equipping the Russian military. This is not a novel addition. Over the past couple of years there have been similar meetings, where

## Putin's Defense Priorities

30 May 2012

Source: "Meeting with senior Defense Ministry officials," President of Russia website, 30 May 2012. <http://news.kremlin.ru/video/1191>

President Vladimir Putin. DoD photo by Cherie A. Thurlby. (Re leased) [Public Domain] via Wikimedia Commons



### Putin sets out priorities for developing Russia's armed forces

**P**RESIDENT OF RUSSIA VLADIMIR PUTIN: Good afternoon, We are here today to discuss the Armed Forces' development, and will focus in particular on the priorities for military organization, combat training, and ensuring social protection for service members and their families.

We have made some progress of late in all of these different aspects of modernizing our armed forces, primarily in the changes we have made to our system of military planning and the use and organization of troops. But we must continue the work to strengthen our defense capacity and put even more effort into this task than before. In today's world there are many risks and threats, as you know well, and Russia must have the means to respond adequately to challenges of any nature, so as to be able to effectively guarantee our people's security and country's sovereignty, and fulfill our obligations to our allies.

We need to set our armed forces on a qualitative new level over these coming years. This means that we must complete the process of putting into place a modern model for troop training and command and ensure that all units are manned with well-trained servicemen and have the modern equipment they need.

The Russian Federation Defense Plan through to 2016 will set out the main objectives and stages of this work. This basic document must be drafted and approved in December this year.

What are our biggest priorities, as I see them? First, we must carry out more intensive and better quality combat training. This is essential if we want our military units and divisions to have a high level of combat readiness. We remember the days when training exercises were a rarity. The situation has changed completely now. We have conducted more than 280 command and staff and field maneuvers, naval exercises, and other exercises at various levels over the first five months of this year alone, and by the end of the year we plan to carry out around 300 more exercises in various areas, including in the Arctic region.

We must also step up our cooperation with our allies in the Collective Security Treaty Organization, and with our partners in the CIS and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, including through joint exercises that will enable us to address not just defense but also counterterrorism objectives.

Second, another of our definite priorities is work to continue developing the new branch of our armed forces - the Aerospace Defense Forces. They took up combat duty

## Continued: Putin sets out priorities for developing Russia's armed forces

*Putin (or Medvedev) has castigated defense officials for not fulfilling the rearmament plan. Now that more than 20 trillion rubles have been allocated through 2020 toward re-equipping the military, Putin (again) makes clear that failure will not be tolerated.*

*The final (and longest) portion of his remarks dealt with personnel and social issues within the military. Putin tries to explain how the country will make military service attractive for contract soldiers while still maintaining a draft; or how the military will improve social benefits for current members (i.e., housing) while resolving the huge backlog from the past. To accomplish these tasks in the midst of deep structural reform of the military will be a daunting challenge (and may account for his apparent lack of sincerity). **End FMSO Commentary (Finch)***

on December 1, 2011, and today carry out a range of air and missile defense missions, early warning of missile attacks, and monitoring outer space, and make an important contribution to maintaining strategic parity.

I ask you to keep proper watch on all issues related to infrastructure development in this area. We plan to commission two new radar stations soon - in Armavir and Irkutsk, and by 2020, we must complete the work set out in the Aerospace defense Forces' development plan.

Third, the entire armed forces must undergo a complete re-equipment. Let me remind you that we have three years to bring the share of new equipment up to 30 per cent of the total, up to 70 per cent within five years, and in some cases even up to 100 per cent. Our military arsenal must include the modernized Topol-M systems, the latest and most important space systems (important in terms of ensuring our defense capacity), air defense systems, aircraft, ships, and submarines. I ask you to report immediately any failures to meet the set deadlines or delivery-related problems. Everyone involved in the state defense procurement work bears personal responsibility.

The fourth priority I want to draw to your attention is the need for new approaches to the way the armed forces are manned. The main logic here is the need - for clear objective reasons - to gradually reduce the number of conscript servicemen and increase the number of professional servicemen.

The plan is to increase the number of contract servicemen 2.5-fold over the next five years - up to 425,000 people. Let me say straight away that this is not an easy task for the budget, and we will need to keep close watch on the budget's possibilities, but we must keep working towards this target.

Contract servicemen will work primarily as sergeants and warrant officers, and also as specialists working with the new military

equipment. We will soon introduce a new system of service for contract servicemen that gives them incentives for professional development and raising their qualifications.

Let me stress that the selection process for contract service should be stringent, and the training centers and sergeants' schools must provide effective training. The armed forces need people with the right moral and physical qualities, educational and professional level.

Conscript service must change too, again, for obvious reasons. Conscripts must concentrate on their main task - intensive training and preparation, all the more so as compulsory military service is now only 12 months. Of course, with only this short timeframe, use of conscripts for auxiliary work of various kinds should be kept to a minimum.

Effort must also continue to improve provision of food and material supplies for conscript servicemen.

Let me say a few words separately about social protection for military personnel. As you know, decisions took effect as from January 1 this year, under which Defense Ministry service pay will increase 2.5-3-fold on average, and all military pensions will increase 1.6-fold. Furthermore, as we agreed, all servicemen in need of permanent housing must receive it in 2013 at the latest. We must complete construction of modern service housing by 2014. Enough money has been allocated for these tasks, enough funds have been set aside.

But I am forced to note, nonetheless, that there are still a lot of problems with housing provision and service pay. There are unacceptable glitches and red tape, as well as cases of blatant professional carelessness on the part of officials. Things might look fine on paper and in the reports, but in reality servicemen and their families sometimes encounter all manner of bureaucratic hurdles, formalism and indifference.

**FMSO Commentary:** In June 2010 then Russian President Medvedev visited Silicon Valley to gather ideas (and possibly venture capital) to construct a similar innovation hub in the town of Skolkovo (located just outside of Moscow). Medvedev suggested that this technological focal point could serve as a modernization catalyst for the entire country. By concentrating the best high-tech minds and facilities in this city, Russia could gain an economy of scale, reduce duplication and obsolete methods, and regain its status as a scientific and technological powerhouse.

As the following article points out, some Russian defense officials now propose to develop a similar high-tech center for military technologies. Mimicking, perhaps, the success of the US Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA), the innovative remnants of the once powerful Soviet military-industrial complex would be modernized to work alongside its civilian counterpart. On the surface, such a proposal makes sense. Advances in communication technology could help to consolidate Russia's sprawling military-technological base under one roof. In the realm of theory and design, Russian scientists and engineers still enjoy a solid reputation.

The proposal does, however, raise questions regarding the nature of innovation and whether technological advances can be mandated from above. Government can certainly help to sponsor research, attracting quality personnel and providing state-of-the-art facilities. It is another question whether a 'power-vertical' form of governance can allow the essential freedom required for independent research. Bringing this research to fruition requires not only state of the art facilities, but also a solid social fabric (i.e., independent courts, free press, good schools and health care, etc.). Some have suggested that Russian leaders might consider mastering the mundane of good governance before designing the next super weapon. **End FMSO Commentary (Finch)**

## A Russian DARPA?

31 May 2012



**Source:** Dmitry Runkevich and Anton Lednev, "Russia To Get Military 'Skolkovo,'" Izvestiya Online, 31 May 2012. <http://www.izvestia.ru/>

An illustration of DARPA's Falcon Hypersonic Technology Vehicle-2 (HTV-2) test aircraft. [Public Domain] via Wikimedia Commons

## В России появится военное «Сколково» A Military "Skolkovo" will Appear in Russia

The "League for Assistance to Defense Enterprises" is examining the question of creating an innovation city along the lines of "Skolkovo" in the Moscow region. Izvestiya was told about the new initiative by the head of the League, State Duma Deputy Vladimir Gutenev. The difference between the two centers will lie in their specialization -- the initiators' idea is that leading scientists engaged in the development of modern military technologies should be based at the new center.

"After a detailed study of proposals from the supporters of the creation of a major science center and an analysis of its effectiveness, the League for Assistance to Defense Enterprises will of course embark on its implementation," Gutenev said. "The League is interested in specific projects and in taking them to a conclusion, which has not happened until recently not only in the League but in many other sectors too."

The parliamentarian speculated that in the event of the project's success the possibility of "reproducing it all over Russia" cannot be ruled out.



## ***Continued: A Military “Skolkovo” will Appear in Russia***

“If this project is implemented and bears fruit, then they may possibly create innovation centers in various regions of the country,” Gutenev announced.

Beforehand, at a conference of the League, Vice Premier Dmitriy Rogozin proposed considering how cooperation will be implemented in the future among enterprises in the military industrial complex on questions of technological development and cadre policy. In this context it was proposed to the vice premier that a military innovation city be created. This initiative was put forward by Zinovi Pak, ex-minister of the defense industry and deputy head of the Assistance League. In his opinion the majority of defense enterprises in Moscow Oblast will be interested in the creation of a military Skolkovo.

Gutenev reported that the military innovation city will be created after the formation, on the initiative of Vice Premier Dmitriy Rogozin, of a counterpart to DARPA [US Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency], which will happen in the near future.

“Alongside the complete separation and transfer of commissions in the defense industry complex to Rosoboronpostavka [Federal Agency for Deliveries of Arms, Military and Special Equipment, and Material Resources], on the one hand, and on the other the formation of the Strategic Defense Research Agency, which will set the task and the technical substantiation for the formation of these centers,” he said.

Modern technologies make it possible to perform long-distance work, as Boeing demonstrates. It is not possible to form a conglomerate of innovation centers and major production clusters in one place. It is not possible to make the whole country in Moscow alone; new growth points will be formed that will not have negative stains on them. [They will be formed] where there are viable young shoots, on the basis of applied research institutes and Russian Academy of Sciences Institute, and also on the basis of large and successful holding companies, the greater part of which are inside Rostekhnologii [State Corporation for Assisting the Development, Production, and Export of High-Tech Industrial Products].

International partnerships [koopratsii] will be taken from the Skolkovo innovation city in the so-called outer loop. There should be several loops. The inner loop -- here a “library” of innovations, developments, materials, and promising ideas will be formed. Within this loop there will be extremely limited access for all foreign partners. The second loop -- those partners with whom Russia can establish a relationship of trust within the framework of military-technical cooperation. They will be permitted to put forward proposals for joint work. And finally, the secret loop -- the transfer of those defense technologies that could increase the competitive capability of our products. This will be done in order to establish a process of commercialization of this research, which will

be funded to a large extent by the state. Although with the passage of time the share of the state and that of private business should approach parity.

For his part, Andrey Krasov, member of the State Duma Committee on Defense, believes that the creation of a military innovation city will make it possible to attract young specialists to the industry and give new impetus to the development of military industry.

“The creation of an innovation city along professional military-technological lines is extremely useful to the country. The emergence of and proper support for this center will attract talented young people with a new way of thinking and new ideas into the development of new armaments,” Krasov told Izvestiya. “Russia needs high-tech breakthrough armaments, we need future generations of weapons right now. We cannot permit ourselves to lag behind other countries in technological development -- that would pose a direct threat to security.”

Aleksandr Vladimirov, vice president of the Collegium of Military Experts, hopes that the idea of creating a military innovation city will not just be a high-profile statement and yet another inappropriate use of state monetary resources.

“I would like to believe that under the currently fashionable heading of ‘innovation project’ a proper center will indeed be created, rather than people siphoning off resources amounting to many billions allocated by the state for the development of the Army and military science,” Vladimirov stated.

“I think Moscow Oblast’s defense enterprises will allocate the tastiest morsels of the land in their possession for the creation of a science center like this. It is quite probable that the territory of Ramenskoye PKB [Instrument Making Design Bureau] OAO [open-type joint-stock company] may be used as the base for this innovation city,” Pak speculated.

In his opinion the new center could give a boost to scientific development in military industry, and this in turn will bear fruit for civilian industry and for science in general.

**FMSO Commentary:** *This excerpted article is a good example of Russia's desire to innovate in order to defend against a perceived threat. Ever one to warn of American military dominance and bemoan the loss of Soviet power, Deputy Prime Minister Dmitry Rogozin is a loquacious advocate of developing new military technologies to protect the motherland. Now in charge of modernizing Russian defense capabilities, Rogozin suggests that Russia must concentrate upon those innovative weapon systems (i.e., hypersonic), which will both ensure parity with other great powers and allow Russia to "exert the country's significant influence on the global political situation."*

*Rogozin assumed his new position within the Kremlin in December 2011, in what was interpreted at the time as a move to attract some of the nationalist electorate into the Putin camp for the March 2012 presidential election. While Putin enjoyed a resounding victory in this election, subsequent protests over his and earlier parliamentary elections have forced some Russians to question the direction of their political system. Exaggerating foreign threats is a tried and true method of both distracting the people and quashing political dissent. Rogozin's claim that Russia must focus more on hypersonic weapons to deter against a probable threat from the US should be measured in this heated rhetorical light. **End FMSO Commentary (Finch)***

## Hyper-Rhetoric?

12 May 2012



**Source:** Leonid Khayremdinov, Andrey Garavskiy, "Hypersonic into the Arsenal," Krasnaya Zvezda Online, 11 May 2012. <http://www.redstar.ru>

Dmitry Rogozin by A.Savin [FAL, GFDL ([www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html](http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html)) or CC-BYSA-3.0-2.5-2.0-1.0 ([www.creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/](http://www.creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/))], via Wikimedia Commons

## Гиперзвук на вооружении (Hypersonic Weapons into the Arsenal)

**D**mitriy Rogozin, who oversees issues dealing with the defense industrial complex for the Russian Federation government, held a conference yesterday (10 May) on problems in the development of new missiles. This was at the Raduga State Machine-Building Design Bureau base (in the city of Dubna, Moscow Oblast), which is part of the Tactical Missiles Corporation.

Research in the sphere of advanced hypersonic armament system developments was revived in Russia back in 2009 in accordance with orders by the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense. Acting Deputy Prime Minister Dmitriy Rogozin spoke on this on Friday, 11 May 2012.

"Carrying out the body of this work will enable us to lay the groundwork for the development of competitive domestic models of hypersonic weapons in the near term," Dmitriy Olegovich noted.

Taking into account Russia's substantial lag behind the United States in this sphere, Dmitriy Rogozin noted that it is necessary to raise this topic to the highest state level, to which purpose the development of corresponding regulatory legal acts is envisaged.

He brought to mind that the United States possesses technologies which will allow them to develop an operational multirole long-range hypersonic missile by 2015-2018.

"Breakthrough solutions which have been approved to this point by the United States will open up prospects for them to move from demonstration prototypes to the development of an operational multirole long-range hypersonic missile by 2015-2018," Dmitriy Rogozin

## Continued: Hypersonic Weapons into the Arsenal

specifically stated.

In his words, the work being carried out by the United States within the framework of programs for the X-51, Falcon, HiFair, HiFly, and many others presents a particular danger to Russia from the point of view of providing for defense capabilities.

In regard to Russia, in the opinion of the acting deputy prime minister for the Russian Federation government, decisions by the political leadership of the USSR at the end of the 1980s have led to Russia's substantial lag in the development of technologies for the creation of hypersonic weapons.

"Decisions by the country's higher political leadership at the end of the 1980s, when the most advanced developments in hypersound were suspended in a contrived manner, I cannot call anything other than a betrayal," Dmitriy Rogozin stated during the conference at the Raduga State Machine-Building Design Bureau.

In his words, these subjective decisions must once again be analyzed from the point of view of their relationship to the moment and to the interests of national security.

The acting deputy prime minister added that, due to these actions, a substantial lag by Russia has been noted in this sphere and the work being conducted for the development of hypersonic weapons in the United States, Germany, Great Britain, Australia, and other countries is now eliciting concern from the standpoint of providing for Russia's defense capabilities.

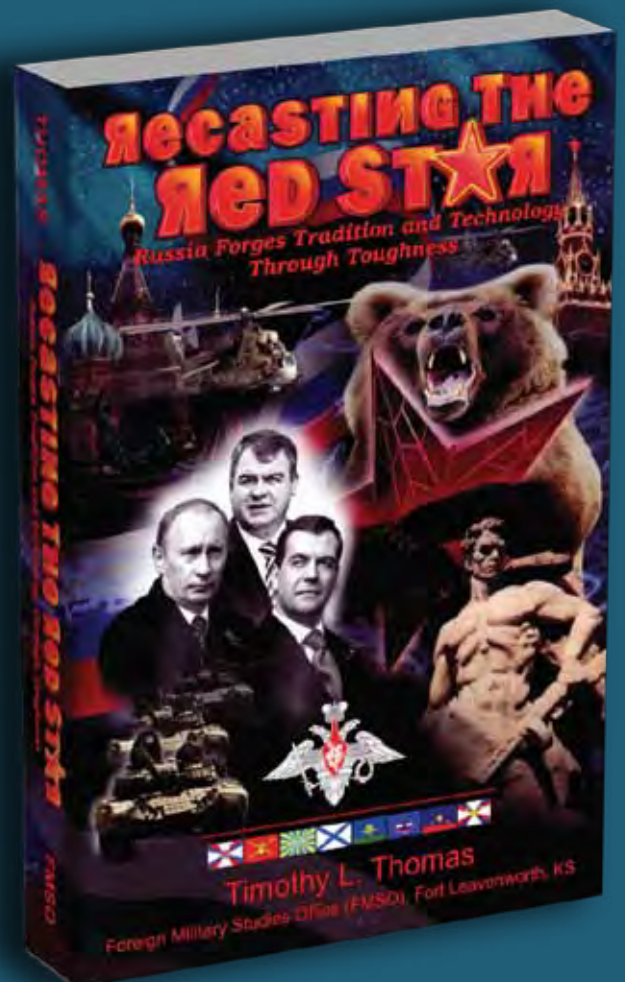
"The development of hypersonic weapons has been worked on in the USSR since the 1960s. Moreover, we have outperformed the United States in many sectors. We are currently seeking solutions which will allow us to 'cut corners' and move to serious developments," Dmitriy Rogozin noted.

In his opinion, the mastery of prolonged flight in the atmosphere at hypersonic speed is a fundamental and qualitative leap for aviation and missile production, which will facilitate the development of highly effective armaments systems possessing new properties.

"Models of hypersonic armaments will substantially increase the effectiveness of combat equipment due to an increase in operational speed, which ensures survivability by means of modern and advanced interception systems, expands the operational range in both distance and altitude, and also increases the velocity of the strike elements," he stated.

Dmitriy Rogozin also added that it is not only the presence itself of hypersonic weapons and the potential capability of their engagement, but it is the mere availability of the technologies that facilitate the development of such weapons which will exert the country's significant influence on the global political situation.

**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.**





**FMSO Commentary:** *This year Russia is celebrating the 200th anniversary of Napoleon's ill-timed invasion, with many events to commemorate its victory over the French leader. The Russian-French relationship has ebbed and flowed over the past two centuries, with the past two decades marked by a general improvement of relations. Foreign trade between the two countries accounted for nearly \$28 billion dollars in 2011, with over one billion dollars in the arms business.*

*Russian defense officials continue to work with their French counterparts to construct Mistral amphibious assault ships for the Russian navy. As it stands now, Russia will add four of these powerful assault helicopter carriers to its naval inventory, with the first two scheduled for delivery in 2014-15. As the following article indicates, the St. Petersburg-based shipbuilding construction company Baltiyskiy Zavod (Baltic Factory) will assist in building the hulls for the first two ships.*

*There has been considerable conjecture as to the motivations behind this joint project. From the Russian perspective (particularly those involved in military industry) this deal was initially seen as a blow to national pride. With its long shipbuilding history, some Russians were offended that the country would seek arms expertise abroad. They also complained that such a deal will not only deprive Russians of valuable jobs, but would also further retard efforts to modernize the Russian defense industry. Other sources pointed out that this deal would convince Russian defense manufacturers (which have often not been the most efficient) that their political leadership was now willing to purchase essential military equipment abroad.*

*The following excerpted article, which appeared in the Russian naval industry website (Flotprom.ru),*

## French-Russian Naval Cooperation

**Source:** "Baltiyskiy Zavod Confirmed as Shipbuilder for Floating Elements for Russian Mistral," Flotprom.ru, 20 Apr 2012. <http://flotprom.ru>

20 April 2012



Launching of the Mistral Projection and Command vessel in Brest (6th of Octobre 2004) Photo by [www.netmarine.net](http://www.netmarine.net) CC-BYSA-3.0 ([www.creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0](http://www.creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0)), via Wikimedia Commons

**“Балтийский завод” утвержден  
в качестве верфи-строителя  
плавучих частей для российских  
“Мистралей”  
(Baltiyskiy Zavod-Shipbuilding  
Approved to Build Mistral-class  
Vessels)**

**T**he company STX France has confirmed to United Shipbuilding Corporation its concurrence with the assignment of ООО Baltiyskiy Zavod-Shipbuilding (BZS) to be the shipyard responsible for building the floating elements for two Mistral-class helicopter carriers. This was reported to the Central Naval Portal by the United Shipbuilding Corporation press service.

STX France General Director Laurent Castaing reported the French company's final position on the matter of the assignment of ООО Baltiyskiy Zavod-Shipbuilding (BZS) as the shipyard responsible for building the floating elements of the hulls for the amphibious assault helicopter carriers (DVKD-1 and DVKD-2) [Desantno-Vertoletnyy Korabl-Dok] on 16 April. As the result of positive meetings and negotiations and after reviewing the

## Continued: Baltiyskiy Zavod-Shipbuilding Approved to Build Mistral-class Vessels

*attempts to allay these concerns. It points out that the Russian shipbuilding industry will be playing an integral role in the construction of these ships. The Mistral deal has the potential to strengthen both Russia's navy and its industrial infrastructure. End FMSO Commentary (Finch)*

documents presented by BZS management, Mr. Castaing confirmed his agreement with the assignment.

As of today the French party has given BZS final notification of its order for rolled sheet metal. Now BZS will conduct the bidding procedures to determine who will supply the rolled sheet metal to the shipyard. The project documents are supposed to be turned over to BZS on 1 June, and the cutting of metal for the first Mistral will begin on 1 August. The keel of the first Mistral is scheduled to be laid on 1 October. They will begin cutting metal for the second Mistral in May 2013, once the same procedure for the first ship is completed.

The contract for delivery of the two Mistral-class amphibious assault helicopter carriers for the needs of the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense was signed by FGUP Rosoboroneksport and the French company DCNS in June 2011. In turn, United Shipbuilding Corporation was involved in the deal as a subcontractor. It will be building 24 hull sections (the sterns for both vessels), which amounts to 40% of their hulls. Then the sections will be sent to France, where the helicopter carriers will be fully assembled at the wharves in Saint-Nazaire.

The Mistral universal amphibious assault helicopter carrier has a displacement of 21000 tons with a maximum length of 210 meters. The ship is capable of generating speeds in excess of 18 knots, and it can cover up to 20000 miles.

The helicopter carrier has a standard crew of 160 men. In addition, the ship can take on another 450 men, 13 main battle tanks, or 70 automobiles. The Mistral's aviation group includes 16 combat helicopters (eight air assault and eight ground-attack), of which six can be on the flight deck at the same time. Russia plans to carry eight Ka-52K Alligators and eight Ka-29 combat transport helicopters on the ships.

OOO Baltiyskiy Zavod-Shipbuilding (OOO BZS) is part of United Shipbuilding Corporation. The company was created in 2011 to save the labor collective and production competencies of Baltiyskiy Zavod, which was driven into bankruptcy by its former owner. In January 2012, a large number of OAO Baltiyskiy Zavod workers transferred over to the manning rolls of OOO BZS. Thanks to this the enterprise not only is successfully completing previously started jobs, but is also attracting new contracts.

OAO Baltiyskiy Zavod (St. Petersburg) was founded in 1856. The plant specializes in the construction of warships, heavy-tonnage civilian vessels for shipping a variety of freight, and icebreakers (with both nuclear and diesel power plants).

OAO United Shipbuilding Corporation is Russia's largest shipbuilding company. It was created by Russian Federation presidential decree in 2007 with 100% of its stock owned by the federal government. The holding includes 50 of the industry's enterprises and organizations (primarily shipbuilding and ship repair yards, and the top design bureaus). At this time approximately 70% of the domestic shipbuilding complex is consolidated under United Shipbuilding Corporation. The Russian market is the primary market for the state corporation, which also exports its goods to 20 countries around the world.

**FMSO Commentary:** On June 9, 2012, Russian news source *Utro.ru* published an article about a recent Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) finding: in the course of reviewing Russia's health care system, the organization found that Russia's mortality rate is "incredibly high," double that of the average for OECD countries; moreover, life expectancy in Russia is also very low.

That Russia's population is declining is well known, as are the reasons, which include health and economic conditions. What is interesting is the unexpected, rapid increase in the number of Russians who indicate that they would emigrate from Russia in response to these mortality factors.<sup>1</sup> The importance of Russian demographics from a strategic perspective is particularly meaningful in places where the Russian population is already very thin. In the Russian Far East, for instance, where emigration is not a practical option, many Russian women are marrying Chinese nationals, according to Russian blogs, which also indicate that Russian women claim to prefer foreign husbands because they are, among other things, less prone to abusive health risks (e.g., alcoholism) than Russian men.<sup>2</sup>

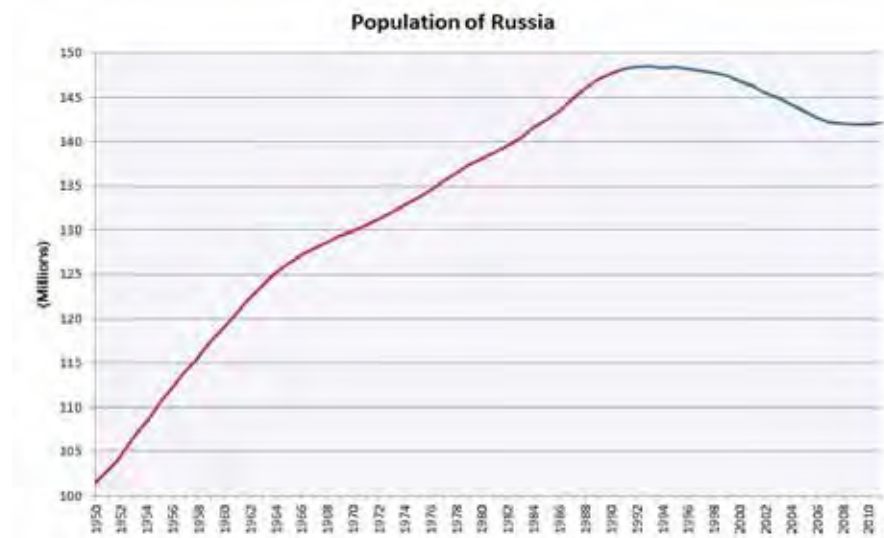
1. A recent Levada Centre poll found that 20 percent of Russians would like to live outside of Russia—an increase from 13 percent three years ago. Half of the respondent also felt they could not speak with confidence about their future beyond more than several months ahead. See "Poll: 20% of Russians say they want to live abroad," June 6, 2012, *Gazeta.ru*. [http://en.gazeta.ru/news/2012/06/08/a\\_4618261.shtml](http://en.gazeta.ru/news/2012/06/08/a_4618261.shtml). See also David Satter, "Russia's Looming Crisis," Foreign Policy Research Institute, March 2012. <http://www.fpri.org/pubs/2012/201203.satter.russiasloomingcrisis.pdf>

2. See for instance; "Russian women are marrying Chinese men," posted May 6, 2012. <http://ringchaos.livejournal.com/91881.html>, which says that it only takes inputting "Russian women marrying Chinese men" into a search engine for the internet to produce "a ton of forums;" the

## What is behind Russia's Population Decline, and Why it Matters

9 June 2012

**Source:** Petrenko, Yekaterina. "V Rossii zhivut nedolgo i muchitel'no. Uroven' smertnosti v nashei strane zashkalivayet. (In Russia, people live painfully and not for long. The mortality rate in our country is off the scale.)" *Utro.ru* (Morning), 9 June 2012. <http://www.utro.ru/articles/2012/06/09/1051970.shtml>



Population of Russia from 1950 - January 2012. Own work by uploader, Data from federal state statistics service of Russia and demoscope.ru CC-BYSA-3.0 ([www.creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/](http://www.creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/)), via Wikimedia Commons

**В России живут недолго и мучительно  
Уровень смертности в нашей стране зашкаливает  
(In Russia, People Live Painfully and not for Long. The mortality rate in our country is off the scale)**

**T**he mortality rate in Russia is incredibly high, and life expectancy is much lower than in countries with similar indicators of social support. To such conclusions came the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) while reviewing the Russian Federation's health care system.

This organization, which Russia wants to join, conducts such reviews to assess how well a country's policies comply with OECD norms.

To give one example, in Turkey, the cost of medicine is comparable with that of Russia,



*Despite the occasional assurance that the population of the country has begun to rebound, Russian security officials are increasingly aware of this demographic decline. For instance, plans to equip, train, and man a reformed million-man military have stumbled on the sheer shortage of available manpower. Some commentators have suggested that the military has only met 75% of its actual manpower needs.<sup>3</sup> This OECD report suggests that health care ought to be a primary concern in the campaign to restore Russia's status on the global stage. End FMSO Commentary (Borshchevskaya)*

*first article in this post also discusses the phenomenon of Russian women marrying foreign men in general. See also "Chinese women do not want to marry Russian men," August 1, 2011, RussianChina.org. [http://russian.china.org.cn/exclusive/txt/2011-08/01/content\\_23114674.htm](http://russian.china.org.cn/exclusive/txt/2011-08/01/content_23114674.htm), which writes that Russian men's proclivity to alcoholism and spousal abuse makes them poor husbands in the eyes of both Chinese and Russian women.*

*3. Dmitry Gorenburg, "The million man army does not exist," June 14, 2012 <http://russiamil.wordpress.com/2012/06/12/the-million-man-army-does-not-exist/>*

## **Continued: In Russia, People Live Painfully and not for Long. The mortality rate in our country is off the scale**

while life expectancy is the lowest among OECD member countries - 73 years. But in Russia it is even lower - just over 68 years.

Government spending on health care in 2012 in Russia was 4.7% of GDP, which is much lower than in OECD countries (the lowest rate - 6.1% of GDP in Mexico). But even these small amounts are spent inefficiently: the same results, according to the organization, could be achieved with 30% - 40% less funding.

The mortality rate in Russia is twice as high as the average mortality rate in OECD countries. The growth of this indicator has stopped only in the mid-2000s. In other OECD countries, this indicator has been declining constantly since the 1970's.

But even this mortality level is no more than "the average temperature in the hospital." The indicators vary greatly depending on the social status. For example, among the unemployed youth, mortality is 7 - 11 times higher than among the wealthy. Access to health care depends on the place of residence: regional disparities in per capita funding of almost seven-fold - from about 3.5 thousand rubles in Ingushetia to over 23 thousand rubles in Moscow.

Healthcare problems in Moscow were discussed at a roundtable "Health of the nation: diagnosis and prospects." The event was attended by doctors, the State Duma and cultural figures. During the discussion it became clear that Russian children smoke, drink, and suffer from obesity. The situation with adults is no better. Almost half the population (48%) believes that a healthy lifestyle is to sleep and eat well and on-time. Moscow's chief nutritionist Andrey Sharafetdinov says that more than half of Muscovites suffer from overeating, and from this flow diabetes, osteoporosis, and even oncology.

About 5% of Muscovites suffer from anorexia (i.e. malnutrition), and among the capital's female students, this figure reaches 40%. Dieting female Muscovites are not even aware that they probably have "a deep reservoir of metabolic disorders," protein deficiency, impaired reproductive functions, and even "high mortality."

Reporting in April at the State Duma on government activities over the past year, the then Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin said the government had already begun implementing the second phase of its demographics policy. The policy is written for 2011 - 2015. For this purpose, 1.5 trillion rubles are allocated for these four years. "What key results do we expect in 2015? First - growth of average life expectancy to 71 years. Second - increase, compared with 2006, in the birth rate, by 25% - 30%. And also, reducing mortality," announced Putin.

**FMSO Commentary:** In his book, *AK-47: The Weapon that Changed the Face of War*, journalist Larry Kahaner quotes UN Secretary General Kofi Annan: “In some places, an AK-47 assault rifle can be bought for as little as... a bag of grain. They are easy to use: with minimal training, even a child can wield one. They are easy to conceal and transport. Since they require little maintenance, they can last for decades.” Kahaner goes on to describe small wars around the world, where warlords had plenty of human capital to arm and the collapsing, cash-hungry states of the former Soviet Union had “AK stockpiles and ammunition” ready to ship to any party who could broker a deal. “Because of its low price and availability, the reliable AK became the perfect weapon for guerrilla fighters and terrorists. Politics aside, the AK was the perfect item from a seller’s point of view. It was cheap, easy to produce in great quantities, simple to transport, good value for the price, and easily repairable, and it came with a ready market.”

Last month the Russian website *lenta.ru* ran an interview with Maksim Kuzyuk, the new General Director of “Izhmash,” the Izhevsk Machine-building Plant, the principal producer of the Kalashnikov (Lieutenant General Mikhail Kalashnikov, the designer, allegedly still works at the firm). It is worth noting that Kuzyuk, in the excerpted portion of the interview, emphasizes the new generation of his company’s small arms products and repeatedly mentions the need to maintain standards in reliability, ease of operation, and low cost. His desired export market and the work Izhmash is doing with Russia’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs to facilitate those aspirations may also raise some eyebrows in U.S. national security circles. **End FMSO Commentary (McIntosh)**

## Russian Small Arms Production 3 May 2012

Source: : Vasiliy Sychev, “The Most Reliable Plan,” *lenta.ru*, 3 May 2012. <http://lenta.ru/articles/2012/05/02/izhmash/>



SVDS sniper rifle (actually, as the MMG stamp on the receiver states, this is a non-functional dummy rifle, a ‘муляж массово-габаритный’ to be precise - a 1:1 scale exact weight replica used for training purposes). Photo by User:Koalorka. CC-BYSA-2.0 (www.creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0)), via Wikimedia Commons

### The Most Reliable Plan

Not long ago the Russian concern Izhmash completed the basic reorganization phase, having received an operational increase to do so. Preparing to fully execute restructuring, Izhmash is occupied with creating a new weapon. A new automatic weapon and what is needed for the concern’s reorganization is discussed in *Lenta.ru*’s interview with the enterprise’s general director Maksim Kuzyuk.

*Lenta.ru*: And how would you estimate the outlook for our military market?

Maksim Kuzyuk: Right now there are no alternatives. We create a leading weapon which, from one side, will satisfy all the modern demands, and as good as its most advanced contemporary while essentially cheaper. We will see that, having created a platform and a sufficient collection of different products, looking at ergonomics and costs, we will satisfy the demands of our customers.

*Lenta.ru*: In 2010 the General Director of the state-corporation “Rostekhnologiya” Sergei Chemezov met with Prime Minister Vladimir Putin and related that they are conducting negotiations with Beretta for a relatively joint production with Izhmash. Is there some sort of movement on this end?

Maksim Kuzyuk: We’re conducting these negotiations not only with Beretta, but with an entire series of other Western arms firms that have now realized our market is quite large. Also, politics is all localized. They understand that they can gain or lose this market, and this is of great interest to an entire series of arms companies with which Izhmash, at its own level, is conducting separate negotiations—that is at the level of the Ministry of Industry and Trade—but for now, we have no concrete and precisely-formed plans nor selected partners. Although in principle such negotiations are ongoing, I don’t rule out the possibility of cooperation and localization of production of some kind of Western wares.

*Lenta.ru*: And the basic aim is to get hold of technology?

Maksim Kuzyuk: That’s not the goal. The goal is to shorten the period to launch a

## ***Continued: The Most Reliable Plan***

completely new product, because the Western firms have production exclusive from what we do. The AK-12 is already different from fixed production principles; the technology answers definite demands. In the realm of very expensive weapons we now have no alternatives which would cost a lot and have some sort of better characteristics. Nevertheless, it's possible.

Besides these arms companies we are conducting negotiations with an entire series of accessory producers who are also prepared to go to localized production. We don't have any need to produce a big gamut of accessories. We are prepared to work with both our internal and external suppliers to start integration and to supply a solution regarding the whole set and the strike system, so to speak.

Lenta.ru: Looking at Izhmash's sales record, which type of weapon is most requested? Sport, automatic rifles for the military, or sniper weapons?

Maksim Kuzyuk: If we're talking about shooting weapons, we have now a correlation—approximately 70 percent civilian production, 30 percent military. The numbers are affected by the fact that most of the orders aren't coming from MoD, but contracts related to military-technical cooperation—it's a bit irregular. The sole consistent customer appears to be the MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs), as I already said.

We are actively developing a civilian sector; we have control and comprehension of how to develop this market, how to solve the problem of progress. We are orienting more toward commerce. Here, in the civilian segment, we are leveraging our popularity, building on the basis of the AK—this is the "Saiga" carbine and rifle, as well as civilian versions of the "Vityaz" submachine gun, the Dragunov sniper rifle, and the "Tigr" carbine.

Unfortunately, we can't supply the sniper rifle built on the SVD platform—the "Tigr" carbine—to the U.S., as it's prevented by an intergovernmental agreement that I think should be removed; it's there to protect U.S. producers. This has forced the U.S. customer to pay 10,000 dollars for something analogous, though we sell it our essentially more effective product much cheaper. Dmitrii Rogozin at one of our meetings told us to work with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to get this limitation removed. So we're working to widen the market.

That concerns, for example, our civilian version of the Kalashnikov, the "Saiga" rifle—this is a unique weapon with nothing out there like it. The presentation in stores is a semiautomatic due to its gas-discharge tube, which operates quickly and very reliably. It's the most reliable and quick weapon in its class. A majority of sportsmen themselves tune up our "Saiga," so we are now working up a specialized version already refined in conjunction with the demands of sportsmen. We are working with the Federation of Practical Shooting in Russia to put this version

together. The state corporation "Rostekhnologiya" supports our team that now, in general, appears to be an instrument of progress for our production...

Lenta.ru: What share of your production goes to export?

Maksim Kuzyuk: Nearly half of what we produce is for export, and 80 percent goes to the U.S., which represents two-thirds of the world weapons market and is therefore the most interesting market. We focused on that very market last year in order to derive an instant effect and, in general, we secured it. In 2011 we augmented our shipments to the U.S. by 50 percent and in 2012 we plan to raise it another 20 percent. Right now, in the first quarter, we already are seeing that plan over-fulfilled.

Lenta.ru: Earlier it was reported that American police departments purchased the "Saiga"...

Maksim Kuzyuk: Completely true. They bought it directly, but through our partner in the U.S., which is occupied with finishing up the deal. Unfortunately we can't introduce the configuration that they want because of U.S. importation limits. Therefore we are introducing a line of hunting versions which then our partner completes by installing a pistol grip, another butt—such a version already exists, and it won't be the first dispatched for delivery.

There is interest, as the first trial was very successful, which speaks to the quality of our "Saiga-12". This is a hunting rifle, very fast, and switching magazines is very comfortable and we can put different cartridges in them. The first cartridge will be one police use to knock doors down—that is, to breach a lock. We have a special muzzle adapter which can rest right against a lock, fire, and nobody gets injured. The next bullet will already be either a small-or grape-shot—it depends on the orders: we can either lessen or, on the other hand, raise the lethality.

In this manner we can have different magazines and different cartridges. This includes a version we're working on that will function with non-lethal ammunition. The complexity lies in the fact that non-lethal ammunition has a completely different energy. Correspondingly, there's a need for an automatic rifle with a smaller-scale and higher power. This task is harder, because special adjustments are needed but, I hope, we will solve this problem. The non-lethal version is already prepared and now we continue to work to combine a lethal and non-lethal version.

Lenta.ru: Is this a major order with the Americans?

Maksim Kuzyuk: It's sufficiently large. It's estimated in the thousands, but I can't discuss concrete numbers; it's a commercial secret.