

# OPERATIONAL ENVIRONMENT WATCH



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Layout/Graphics

Editors

FMSO Contact

Robert Feldman, Jason Warner

Lucas Winter

Karen Kaya

Ruoxi Du, Cindy Hurst

Ivan Welch

Tony Scheidel, Brenda Fiegel

Matthew Stein, Chuck Bartles

Sandra King-Savic

Ray Finch, Scott McIntosh

Aaron Perez

Ray Finch, Harry Orenstein, Thomas Wilhelm

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



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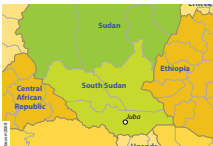


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While the videos only show a limited number of minutes of what took place in Zhanaozen on December 16, they help answer some questions. The sequence of events was more than just the video shot from the apartment of police retaking the square. Videos taken by police show how they were unable to control the crowd at the concert on the square. The videos also show that they were not armed, other than a few who had batons, and that they were overwhelmed by the crowd and forced to withdraw

**FMSO Commentary:** Until a year ago Turkey was pursuing good relations with neighboring Syria. Even when the Arab revolts hit Syria in March, Turkey initially used dialogue to persuade the Assad regime to stop the violence.

As the violence continued, Turkey changed its stance completely and started harshly criticizing Assad and calling on him to step down. Turkey currently hosts thousands of Syrian refugees on its border and harbors the Syrian opposition, providing sanctuary along its border to members of the Free Syrian Army, a militia of military defectors fighting the Syrian forces.

As Syria's neighbor and a rising regional actor in the Middle East, Turkey has taken it upon itself to call for an international conference on Syria. Its goal is to establish a forum similar to the Libya Contact Group, which helped the Libyan opposition to topple the Gadhafi regime. This is interpreted as a response to the Russian and Chinese veto in the UN Security Council, where the two countries refused to condemn the Syrian government and refused to endorse an Arab League plan for Assad to step aside.

Turkey has to balance its need to co-exist with its neighbor (with whom it shares its longest border) while supporting the Syrian people against the regime. The article below from the mainstream daily Radikal newspaper sheds light on the debate going on in Turkey on how it should respond to Syria. **End FMSO Commentary (Kaya)**

## Debating How to Respond to Syria

**Source:** Çandar, Cengiz. "Türkiye, Suriye'de Savaş'a mi Gidiyor? (Is Turkey going to War in Syria?)" Radikal.com, February 8, 2012, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/19868516.asp>

8 February 2012



Political map of Turkey via <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/turkey.html>

### Türkiye, Suriye'de Savaş'a mi Gidiyor? (Is Turkey going to War in Syria?)

**R**ussia's latest maneuvers looks like it's aimed more at confirming the 'big power' status of the legacy of the Soviet Union, more than its designs to enable Bashar to stay in power.

Are we going into Syria? Are we getting pulled into war? Are the U.S. and the West pushing Turkey towards a military invasion of Syria? If Turkey enters Syria, will Russia start a war against Turkey? All these questions have started emerging on the streets of Turkey. These questions are too premature, and the answers to them are 'no'. We are getting ahead of ourselves.

Following the Russian veto at the UN Security Council yesterday, the Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov, along with the Russian intelligence chief, went to Damascus yesterday and had a long meeting with Bashar al-Assad. Lavrov announced that Assad had promised to stop the violence and said that Russia would work with the Arab League to find a solution.

We don't believe that this Russian initiative will accomplish anything. Bashar has made many promises until now; which of his promises did he keep? Plus, the Gulf countries—who make up the backbone of the Arab League—, announced yesterday that they were pulling their Ambassadors from Damascus.

By its very nature, and the results it has 'achieved' in the last year, the regime in Damascus is impossible to reform. It is trying to win time to stay in power. And this is precisely what Russia is enabling it to do.

Meanwhile, with its 'no' vote in the UN Security Council, Russia has led itself to

## ***Continued: Is Turkey going to War in Syria?***

isolation in international diplomacy. But it does not have the power to keep the Assad regime in power. It is highly likely that the Russian initiative will fall flat and leave Russia with no leverage.

Russia's latest maneuvers looks like it's aimed more at confirming the 'big power' status of the legacy of the Soviet Union, more than its belief that it'll enable Bashar to stay in power.

Let's not forget that the UN Security Council vote resulted in a 13-2 vote. Those 13 countries include India and South Africa- two countries which previously backed Assad. Since even they have been forced to withdraw their support for Assad, Russia's efforts to gain time will eventually be limited.

Just like Russia, Turkey has the power to influence the outcome of Syria's future. This is due to Turkey's geographic position and its hosting of the Syrian opposition.

Yesterday, Prime Minister Erdoğan gave a speech that slammed Bashar al-Assad and announced that Turkey would start an initiative that included countries that stood by the Syrian people and not the Syrian regime. It is unclear what kind of initiative this will be, and who it will include. But it is clear that it will be an initiative to have Bashar step aside without a war. Therefore, it is inaccurate to say that 'Turkey is going to war with Syria on behalf of others.'

### **'Unintended Consequences'**

Having said all that, the characteristics of the crisis in Syria are such that they might also lead to 'unintended consequences'. Let's not forget that Syria was Turkey's best friend up until a year ago. There was a 'family feeling' between the Erdoğan family and the Assad family. In the first decade of the 21st century, particularly after the assassination of Hariri, when it had to leave Lebanon, Turkey really got close to Syria. Even when the Arab revolts hit Syria in March, it initially tried to keep the regime in power. It offered ways to Assad that would keep in power. But it didn't work.

Subsequently, it opened its doors to the Syrian opposition, to those running from the Assad regime. The Syrian opposition believes that a Turkish 'buffer zone' inside Syria would defeat the Assad regime and accelerate the collapse of the regime. Thus, it believes that this would avert a possible civil war. Turkey has been objecting to such an idea, and is against a repeat of the Libyan example in Syria.

However, judging by the 180 degree turn that Turkish-Syrian relations have taken in the last year, and by the fact that Turkey eventually took part in the NATO operations after initially objecting to the operations, we should consider that Syria might also yield 'unintended consequences' and prepare ourselves accordingly.

The Middle East and especially Syria is going through a very rapidly unfolding history right now, and is on a slippery slope. Positions that were inapplicable just a year ago can become valid

today. Options that we cast aside a month ago can end up becoming necessary just one month later.

Such situations require dynamic political moves and tactics. What should not be dynamic is 'principle'. That principle is as follows:

Do we want to see the bloody regime in Syria stay or go? (Keep in mind that we have a 911 km [560 mile] border with Syria and we've been living within the same geography with them for centuries).

### **From Milosevic to Bashar**

In the post-Cold War world, particularly starting with the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis, the principle of not intervening in a country's internal affairs is becoming equivalent to giving the green light to conduct campaigns bordering on ethnic cleansing. This 'peace rule' that has been in effect since the 1648 Westphalia Peace treaty is not valid anymore. Don't forget the 'Serbian butcher in Bosnia and Kosovo' Slobodan Milosevic's journey from the President's seat to a seat at the International Criminal Court as a 'war criminal'. Bosnia and Kosovo were also Milosevic's internal affairs but the international system did not tolerate Milosevic.

Turkey cannot escape the outcome in Syria. On the other hand, Turkey can influence the outcome of Syria.

Thus, the question is not whether Turkey is going to war with Syria, but rather, 'How will Turkey respond to the developments in Syria as an active international and regional actor?'

It all comes down to asking this question and finding the right answer.



**FMSO Commentary:** *There has been a notable increase in the defense and military ties between Greece and Israel recently. This is a mutually beneficial move: Greece, whose economy is in crisis, needs to attract foreign investment, buy new defense systems and counter an increasingly influential neighbor (Turkey); Israel needs a new ally in the region after losing its former ally (Turkey).*

*Greece has historically been pro-Arab and did not even officially recognize Israel until the early 1990s. Its current economic crisis, coupled with Turkey's rise in the region as an influential player, has left Greece in search of new alliances. Israel, which had excellent military ties with Turkey throughout the 90s, is now in search of new alliances following the 'flotilla crisis' with Turkey, during which nine Turkish citizens were killed, leading to a breakdown in Turkish-Israeli relations.*

*Though the two countries' relations have been good since 2008, Greece and Israel have recently stepped up their military cooperation and held several high-level meetings, during which they pledged to increase joint military cooperation. Greece is also interested in buying Heron planes and the SPICE bomb detection system from Israel. The two countries are also exploring cooperation on the issue of energy: Israel is interested in both exploring the natural gas fields in the Eastern Mediterranean with Greece and Cyprus, and exploring a possible pipeline through Greece, which would carry its natural gas to Europe.*

*Turkey views this development as a new axis against it and as a potential change in the balance of power in the security environment in the Mediterranean. It views the Greek-Israeli rapprochement as an initiative on both sides to "make friends with the enemy of my enemy." End FMSO Commentary (Kaya)*

## Greece-Israel Military Ties: A New Axis against Turkey?

11 January 2012

**Source:** "İsrail Yunanistan'ı Silahlandırıyor (Israel is Arming Greece)" Haber365.com, 11 January 2012, [http://www.haber365.com/Haber/İsrail\\_Yunanistani\\_Silahlandiriyor/](http://www.haber365.com/Haber/İsrail_Yunanistani_Silahlandiriyor/)

Greece and Israel flags drawing based on photo via Frontpagemag.com



### İsrail Yunanistan'ı Silahlandırıyor (Israel is Arming Greece)

**D**ebt-stricken Greece has come to an agreement with Israel to buy smart bombs and Heron planes. It is significant that Israel is now arming Greece, after Greek Cyprus. The Greek newspaper Kathimerini reported that a new security environment was taking shape in the southeast of the Mediterranean due to deepening Greek-Israel security cooperation and the defense cooperation agreements signed between Israel and Greek Cyprus.

The Greek Defense Minister Dimitri Avramopoulos and his Israeli counterpart Ehud Barak met yesterday and discussed expanding cooperation against common threats, to establish a secure and stable environment, thus deepening cooperation on economics, energy and tourism. They also discussed the joint desire to increase military cooperation with Greek Cyprus as well.

#### MILITARY COOPERATION WILL BE STRENGTHENED

The Greek Kathimerini newspaper noted that the Avramopoulos-Barak meeting yielded many decisions on how to increase cooperation, including expanding joint military exercises, mutual information exchanges and weapons programs. The paper noted that the Greek armed forces have ordered the bomb directing system SPICE from Israel and that "Greece is interested in the unmanned Heron planes."

#### JOINT WEAPONS PRODUCTION

The meetings that took place between the technical delegations focused on expanding programs on the joint production and modernization of weapons systems.

#### ENERGY COOPERATION

The Greek Defense Minister Avramopoulos, who made a statement following his meeting with the Israeli Defense Minister Barak, said that Greek-Israeli cooperation could benefit not only the two countries' citizens, but also create "new sources of wealth" for other nations in the region. This was interpreted as a referral to the benefits from energy sources. Avramopoulos said that Athens' relationship with Israel did not have anything to do with its relations to other countries and re-iterated that "the cooperation is genuine and honest," and "is not directed against anyone."

Ehud Barak, who also met with the Greek President Karolos Papulias yesterday, will watch the military exercise that will take place in Megalo Pefko tomorrow. His meeting with the Greek Foreign Minister Stavros Dimas is expected to cover energy cooperation and the developments in the Middle East and the Aegean.

**FMSO Commentary:** Turkey is considering legislation to increase defense cooperation with England, which would include military exercises and training, support on electronic and information systems, and intelligence cooperation.

This comes after a visit by Turkish President Abdullah Gül to England in November 2011, during which military cooperation was discussed. Previously, in October 2011, British Ambassador to Turkey David Reddaway called on defense companies to invest in long-term partnerships to expand even further military and defense relationships between the two countries.

Meanwhile, the Financial Times reported that BAE Systems was hoping to sell its newest Type-26 Global Combat Ship to Turkey. Turkey has ambitions to strengthen its naval fleet and BAE is exploring opportunities for partnerships in the maritime sector. The article below discusses this BAE initiative. **End FMSO Commentary (Kaya).**

## Military and Intelligence Cooperation with England

**Source:** Avrupa Silah Devi Türkiye'ye Göz Kırptı (European Weapons Giant Winks at Turkey)" Haber7.com, 18 January 2012, <http://www.platinhaber.com/avrupa-silah-devi-turkiye-ye-goz-kirpti-17381h.htm>

18 January 2011



A computer generated model of BAE's Global Combat Ship via Baesystems.com

### **Avrupa Silah Devi Türkiye'ye Göz Kırptı (European Weapons Giant Winks at Turkey)**

**E**urope's largest weapons company BAE Systems has started talks with Turkey and Brazil to secure orders for the company's most advanced warship in the hopes that it could save its UK shipyards from closure.

In an article entitled, "BAE Looks Abroad to Save UK Shipyards," the British Financial Times newspaper reported that BAE Systems was re-evaluating its programs due to the cuts in the UK defense budget.

The article noted that in contrast to the UK, Brazil and Turkey were expanding their navies and that BAE had sold three ocean patrol boats to Brazil earlier this month for £133 million and that it hopes to sell them Type-26 Global Combat Ship, its newest warship.

#### **BRAZIL AND TURKEY WILL BE THE SAVIORS**

The paper reported that the Type-26 ship was technically a complicated ship, and would require a few samples to be built in the UK with Turkish and Brazilian engineers learning the production process before they take the knowledge home to build subsequent ships at home. Such a development would extend the life of BAE's shipyards.

#### **ANTI-SUBMARINE CAPABILITIES**

The paper also reported that the Type-26 Global Combat Ship would support anti-submarine capabilities and have the potential to add air defense capabilities.

**FMSO Commentary:** *Governing is becoming increasingly difficult for Egypt's Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF). The popular trust they gained from their role in the popular uprising that brought down Hosni Mubarak is continually eroding, due in large part to their bafflingly convoluted transition plan, as well as the deadly violence that has plagued the country, most recently the soccer riot in Port Said. Among protesters, Field Marshall Tantawi has replaced former president Mubarak as the perceived embodiment of an oppressive and antidemocratic regime.*

*The article below, taken from Egypt's most important independent daily, alleges that some of the difficulties that SCAF has faced in running Egypt's state media were behind the retirement of SCAF media boss Ismail Etman. It alludes, for instance, to the poor production quality of some of Field Marshall Tantawi's speeches; indeed, not only does Egypt's current leader – in Mubarakesque fashion – look frail and ghostly, but the footage also has an archival feel too genuine to be classified as irony or artistry. The images make SCAF look old. As if to underline this, Chief of Staff Sami Anan, arguably Egypt's second most powerful man after Tantawi, was forced to dispel rumors of a heart attack in early February. Their contrast with the energized youth that was the main force driving last year's protest movement is stark.*

*A media makeover may benefit SCAF, but their actions are what concern most. The junta may be aiming to control the message in order to consolidate support among Egypt's large rural and semi-rural population. This type of politicking doubtless alarms the masses that spearheaded Egypt's revolution, and may be a gamble that Egypt's armed forces would be best off avoiding. **End FMSO Commentary (Winter)***

## SCAF Media Boss Replaced

31 January 2012



Source:

المصري اليوم» تكشف أسباب الإطاحة بـ«إسماعيل عثمان»  
Al-Masry al-Youm Uncovers the Reasons for  
Ismail Etman's Dismissal," al-Masry al-Youm.  
<http://www.almasryalyoum.com/node/630771>

Egypt Coat of Arms by Flag\_of\_Egypt\_(variant).  
svg: F l a n k e r from original Flag of Egypt.svg  
derivative work: Fry1989 (Flag\_of\_Egypt\_(variant).  
svg) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons

### المصري اليوم» تكشف أسباب الإطاحة بـ«إسماعيل عثمان» (Al-Masry al-Youm Uncovers the Reasons for Ismail Etman's Dismissal)

**A**nonymous military sources claim that the publicly stated reasons for the retirement of SCAF member Maj. Gen. Ismail Etman are "illogical," especially given that many SCAF members are at retirement age, most prominently 66-year old General Sami Anan. The source instead linked the forced retirement of Etman to the renewed discussion of the Maspero events and the summoning of state news anchor Rasha Magdy, who is charged with inciting attacks against protesters. Etman directed Egyptian state media at that time.

"The poor technical quality of broadcasts of Field Marshall Tantawi's speeches and the fact that people did not respond to them are the second reason for his dismissal," the sources added. "That is why the SCAF asked three well-known journalists and media figures for help producing the field marshall's speeches." The sources believe that a third reason for the dismissal is Etman's reliance on former governor of Luxor Maj. Gen. Samir Farag to help manage the affairs of the Morale Department, despite the continued legal case against Farag, known in the media as the "Olympic Pool" case. Maj. Gen. Ahmed Abu al-Dahab, who was chosen to replace Etman, has a "strong personality" as well as respect among the troops, although he is "more military" than Etman.

Military analyst Maj. Gen. Hamdi Bakhit said that Maj. Gen. Etman retired after reaching retirement age, as is the case with any member of the force. He asserted that the military continues to operate and make decisions based on rules and regulations and not in a haphazard fashion. Media analyst Yasser Abdel Aziz, meanwhile, sees a dangerous change in the nature and work environment of the Armed Forces Morale Department. Rather than focusing on raising morale among the troops and deepening cohesion and loyalty, the department has become responsible for managing media affairs for the political justification of the military. More importantly, the institution that once completely controlled its images and what was said about it – both positive and negative – is now vulnerable to strong criticism.



**FMSO Commentary:** Following is an article from Syria's semi-official al-Watan Newspaper. Much of it is standard Syrian media fare: Israeli sabotage, conspiracies against the nation, the Syrian government's superior diplomatic skills, and the clumsiness and utter predictability of Western policies in the region, all with high doses of both goading and didacticism. Interestingly, the article relies almost exclusively on foreign sources for its facts, particularly the British newspaper "The Guardian" and (in all likelihood) Wikipedia.

The article, of course, does not mention that Syrian Baath rule is clearly fraying. Nonetheless, despite the absence of fully accurate information, the regime still enjoys the support – even if tacit – of a significant segment of the Syrian population. Maintaining this support is becoming increasingly difficult, and one can expect Syrian government media to ramp up their rhetoric against what they are portraying as a barefaced attempt by outside powers (Qatar, Israel, United States) to overthrow the Syrian regime by use of an armed proxy (the Free Syrian Army). Syrian media have always been quick to accuse the United States and Israel of hatching conspiracies to sabotage Syrian strength and progress, but they are usually muted, if not deferent, toward its Gulf neighbors, Saudi Arabia in particular. This is changing. As the media wars over Syria continue to escalate, they may affect events on the ground in an even greater fashion.

Al-Jazeera's well-earned reputation for neutrality and objectivity, gained during its coverage of events in Tunisia and Egypt, has undoubtedly been compromised by its politicized coverage of the Syrian uprising, and Qatar is now clearly in the Syrian media's crosshairs. As well fed and aging Gulf monarchs continue calling for the immediate installation of democracy in Syria, one has to wonder whether they are ready to

## Syria v. Qatar

6 February 2012



B-300 RPG from Israel Military Industries brochure, via [www.armyrecognition.com](http://www.armyrecognition.com)

Source:

إدخال السلاح إلى سورية الوقائع والحقائق - الجزء الأول

"Introduction of Weapons into Syria: The Facts (Part One)," al-Watan (Syria). <http://alwatan.sy/newsd.php?idn=117045>

## إدخال السلاح إلى سورية الوقائع والحقائق - الجزء الأول "Introduction of Weapons into Syria: The Facts (Part One)"

The vast majority of experts and political analysts agree that foreign military intervention is not an option in Syria following successful Syrian international diplomacy and the restraining of American zeal and the zeal of its European and regional allies. The Syrian political scene has become hopeless for those opposing Damascus. Wondering how to deal with the situation in Syria is beginning to concern them, in turn creating new and more confusing calculations.

The expectations of the Arab allies of the Washington-Paris-London triangle had been raised when the strategy of internationalization (Plan A) was used under the pretext of a UN Security Council. Damascus foiled this plan, though, forcing them to turn to plan B, which Damascus knows well how to manage.

The United States, Britain and France fell into a political impasse when they were unable to interfere directly in Syrian affairs, imagining that economic collapse would doubtless result in defections within the Syrian Arab Army. After burning up all these cards they were forced to resort to the use of weapons, the result of a deliberate and studied plan. None of this would be possible without ground-level data and a close study of the geography, as well as massive financing for the armed movement to have a steady supply of smuggled



*stand by their words. If Syria's growing civil insurgency explodes, the Gulf monarchies are likely to receive a decent share of public ire that would otherwise have preponderantly been aimed toward Syria's Baath Party. Saudi Arabia in particular could face difficulties, were sectarian violence to explode in the Levant. End FMSO Commentary (Winter)*

## **Continued: Introduction of Weapons into Syria: The Facts (Part One)**

weapons. This was made easier by the topography of neighboring countries and political groups in some of these countries that helped smuggle weapons and militants across the Lebanese and Turkish borders. Various media sources have confirmed this theory; most important among them was the report written by The Guardian senior report Ghiath Abdul Ahad from within Syria, where he spoke at length of weapons smuggling from Turkey into Syria's Idlib province.

The smuggling is not limited to light weapons and every day there is news on gunmen using weapons they could not have obtained without international cover and support. It has become clear that some militants are using Israeli weapons, as some have proudly appeared carrying them and there have been others confiscated by Syrian authorities. A Zionist researcher confirms that the Israeli enemy has provided the terrorists called "the Free Army" with anti-armor Shipon B-300s, which were smuggled in parts to the gunmen by the Qatari Diplomatic Mission via Lebanon and Turkey and on an Italian plane that arrived to the Beirut Airport on the 22nd of last month. An analyst noted that "between 15 and 20 of these weapons systems are effectively in the hands of the gunmen in more than one part of Syria. Some have been equipped with infra-red lighting for night vision."

The weapon, which was manufactured by an Israeli Military Manufacturer at the end of the 1970s, can be transported, smuggled and used easily. Its weight does not exceed 8 kilograms with a projectile, and it is no longer than 140 cm. It is appropriate for use in civilian and populated areas, especially streets, as its maximum range is 400 meters. It is also appropriate for attacking fortifications and buildings. The gunmen appear in other photos near B-10 rifles, which are considered heavy weapons. This in addition to Russian fears that a system of Russian-manufactured Strela missiles that have disappeared from Libyan stockpiles following the fall of Muammar Gaddafi had been smuggled out of Libya. They will appear in another country soon. All of this in addition to mortars of various calibers, RPGs and sniper rifles.



**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:** Yemen is entering the post-Ali Abdullah Saleh era in much better shape than many thought, especially given that the blueprint for transitioning to competitive elections has been accepted by most factions. Not everyone is satisfied, though. Many of the young protesters who paid dearly over the past year see the transitional period as little more than an exercise in power redistribution among the country's opportunistic political elites. In the country's north the Huthi movement has allied with various tribes and defected government officials and established control over Saada province and areas nearby.

Neither of these two groups, however, is likely to sabotage the transitional period. The more important battle will be fought within the institutions bequeathed by Ali Abdullah Saleh, specifically the military and security forces. Many of the military's top cadres and equipment are under the command of Saleh's close relatives and responded directly to the president rather than working through the military chain of command. Incorporating them into an institutionalized national military in a state that is no longer dominated by Saleh and his kinsmen may prove to be the transitional period's greatest challenge.

The "Committee for Military Affairs and Return of Security and Stability," one of various mechanisms created by the interim government for managing the transition, has thus far performed well. It is chaired by the interim president and includes 14 other members, headed by the minister of defense. Tasked initially with removing roadblocks and fortifications in the capital, the committee will subsequently face the difficult task of reforming the armed forces. Its success in doing so will likely have a major impact on the success of Yemen's transition to a new era. Following are summarized parts of an interview that Egypt's Middle East News Agency conducted with Yemeni Defense Minister Maj. Gen. Mohammed Nasser Ahmed. **End FMSO Commentary (Winter).**

## Yemen's Military and the Transition

6 February 2012



Source:

وزير الدفاع في حديث لوكالة أنباء الشرق الأوسط  
The Defense Minister Speaks to the Middle East News Agency," 26 September. [http://www.26sep.net/news\\_details.php?sid=79330](http://www.26sep.net/news_details.php?sid=79330)

Photo: Maj. Gen. Mohammed Nasser Ahmed via 26 September News ([www.26sep.net](http://www.26sep.net))

### وزير الدفاع في حديث لوكالة أنباء الشرق الأوسط (The Defense Minister talks to the Middle East News Agency)

**D**efense Minister Maj. Gen. Mohammed Nasser Ahmed confirmed the depth of Yemen-Egypt relations and their excellence in various domains, especially the military one. The minister, in an interview with the Middle East News Agency, expressed his deep concern for the events currently taking place in Egypt on the heels of the soccer game in Port Said and the casualties there. He expressed his deepest condolences to the Egyptian people and to Field Marshall Hussein Tantawi, head of Egypt's Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, as well as the defense minister and the victims' families.

He pointed out that the different military leaders and officers accept the full institutional neutrality of the armed and security forces regarding the ongoing political conflicts. Following is the text of the interview:

What role do you expect for the armed forces in the next stage?

The military and security forces currently have more than one task. We are well aware of the current situation and recognize what has been achieved despite the many difficulties. Commitment, interdependence and preserving readiness in combat preparation as well as technical and human resources are all achievements appropriate to this leading national institution. We are a national military institution that intends to become a professional military force, loyal only to God almighty, to the Yemeni Revolutions (26 September and 14 October), to the unity of the Yemeni nation. We follow the decisions of the people and defend them and make the greatest sacrifices for their sake.

Today, in a stage as important as the one we are living, the military and security forces hope to show their support for the people in promoting the new directives of the National Reconciliation Government. We will support state efforts in the historical new era that will begin with the 21 February 2012 elections and which was made possible by political agreement and popular support. The military and security forces are fully conscious of what is required of them to support the democratic process. This is why we have trained 103,000 soldiers and officers to provide security in the early presidential elections. This is a milestone in the work, competence and tasks of the Yemeni defense and security institution.

## ***Continued:* The Defense Minister talks to the Middle East News Agency**

The military and security forces will also not neglect their tasks and roles regarding national sovereignty and in continuing to address, with strength and resolve, the terrorism of al-Qaeda's militants. These militants still wish to exploit the gaps arising from our being preoccupied with the political crisis in order to impose their own reality. This defense and security institution has not and will not give al-Qaeda even the slightest chance to impose a new balance of this sort.

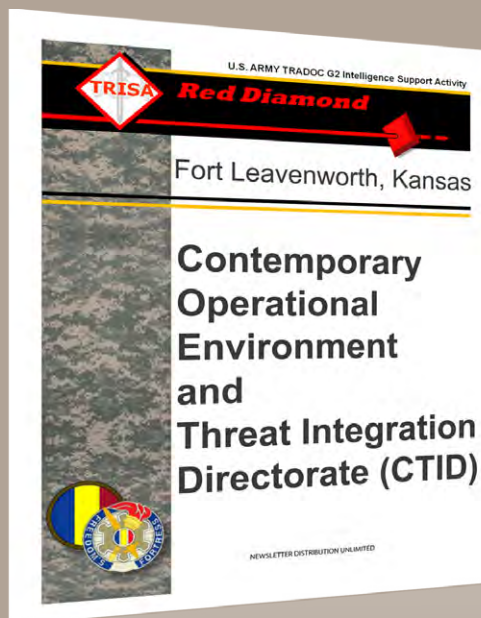
What about the performance of the Military Committee and how its work is going in the fight against terrorism and achieving security and stability?

We in the Committee for Military Affairs and Return of Security and Stability realize that the committee's functions and powers have as their scope defusing armed confrontations, settling clashes and bringing back security and stability. At a later, subsequent stage, the task is restructuring the military and security forces. As officers and leaders, we lead, administer and are responsible to the leadership of the ministers of defense and interior and the security services. In our plans and as part of our work programs, the security issue is critical and involves confronting and combating terrorism and all manifestations of this phenomenon. The Committee for Military Affairs and the defense and security institutions have incorporated

into their calculations dealing seriously with the terrorist threat whether existing or potential.

How do you see the rebuilding of cohesion in the military and security forces and emerging from the situation and current challenges, especially with the start of a new training year (2012) for the armed forces?

All of the Military Committee's efforts are toward achieving the goals that I mentioned of rebuilding and bringing back cohesion and commitment in the different units. This cohesion still exists in a strong way, only we do not want to ignore the challenges of the political crisis, as well as its consequences and its justifications. Therefore we have launched our efforts by intensifying the dissemination of morale programs and guidance work. One consequence is that many of the military leaders and officers have accepted the full neutrality of the armed forces and security establishment. We will maintain our distance from any affiliation and stay out of the ongoing political conflicts. The officers and military leaders have clearly told all parties and politicians: let us build and reorganize our security and defense establishments far from the noise of politics. We are soldiers, we do not and will not allow politicians and partisans to poke their noses in our military and security affairs. This is the first step in the right direction.



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: The announcement that Sudan and South Sudan signed a nonaggression pact occurred the same time media headlines were warning the two nations were inching their way to war, making it difficult to discern which it is going to be, “peace or war?” Presently the answer seems “both.” Certainly from an economic standpoint peace would be the most advantageous route. That would allow oil-rich but landlocked South Sudan to send its oil through Sudan, which is oil poor but has the infrastructure that would allow the oil to be piped to a port for shipment elsewhere. War, too, seems to be a likely option, as the two nations argue over borders and oil transit fees. Perhaps the present situation, neither a full peace nor all out war, will be the ongoing condition until an event, or series of events, tips the nations one way or the other.*

*The problems inherent between the two nations stem in large part from how they divided. The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) signed in 2005 between the northern and southern parts of Sudan was intended to end the Second Sudanese War and allow the southern part of Sudan in six years to have a referendum on its independence. There were other aspects to the CPA, including demilitarization, revenue sharing and borders, though this last part planned for an additional referendum in the sensitive oil-rich area of Abyei near the historical division between the north and south. It is possible the two would not have been able to agree on independence for South Sudan had the exact demarcation of Abyei been fully decided. On 9 July 2011, following a referendum held in January the same year, the independent nation of South Sudan was born, and immediately found itself in turmoil with its northern neighbor.*

*With neither side trusting the other, disarmament never occurred. With Abyei being a tremendous economic*

## South Sudan and Sudan March Toward Peace and War

10 February 2012



Source: “Khartoum and Juba sign non-aggression pact,” Sudan Tribune, 10 Feb 2012.

<http://www.sudantribune.com/Khartoum-and-Juba-sign-non.41574>

Map of Sudan and South Sudan by Aaron Perez. Map derived from planiglobe.com vector images [CC-BY-SA 2.5 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.5/>)]

### Khartoum and Juba sign non-aggression pact

The governments of Sudan and South Sudan have signed a non-aggression treaty in the Ethiopian capital that is hoped to de-escalate growing tensions between the neighboring states.

The chairman of the African Union High Level Implementation Panel (AUHIP) Thabo Mbeki said that the accord also provides for a monitoring mechanism that would look into any allegations of violations by either side.

“In the event that there are complaints or allegations from either side... then they should be appointed to the joint mechanism,” Mbeki told reporters according to Agence France Presse (AFP).

The deal was signed by the head of South Sudan’s intelligence bureau, Thomas Douth, and Sudan’s director of National Intelligence and Security Services (NISS) Mohammed Atta.

In recent weeks the leaders in Khartoum and Juba have exchanged warnings of possible outbreak of war particularly as the long standing dispute over oil showed no sign of easing.

Last month, South Sudan suspended its oil production in retaliation to a decision by Khartoum to seize part of its crude exported through the north’s pipelines to satisfy what it

*prize, border disputes were inevitable. With Sudan charging what South Sudan felt was an exorbitant oil transit fee, South Sudan stopped sending its oil northward, resulting in both countries losing a tremendous amount of revenue their economies can ill afford to lose. Corruption, lack of transparency, and a long history of bilateral hatred makes negotiations even more difficult. South Sudan has the additional burden of intertribal warfare, which is costing large numbers of lives and is stretching even further an already overextended military.*

*Though Juba and Khartoum seem to realize it is in their best economic interest to pursue peace, as evidenced by their recent signing of the non-aggression pact, many feel a major war between the two is a strong possibility, as evidenced by the bellicose words periodically emanating from both sides. Perhaps the best chance of peace is pressure from China, which is both heavily invested in oil facilities in the region and dependent on South Sudanese oil to help fuel its economy. Thus, it would not be surprising to find the Chinese behind any peace moves between Sudan and South Sudan. **End FMSO Commentary (Feldman)***

## **Continued: Khartoum and Juba sign non-aggression pact**

claims to be financial arrears.

On top of that, the two countries accuse each other of supporting rebel groups fighting their respective governments.

In particular Khartoum lodged complaints with the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) detailing support it claims Juba gives to the Sudan People's Liberation Movement North (SPLM-N) fighting the Sudanese army in the border states of Blue Nile and South Kordofan.

There have been several reports of aerial bombardments by Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) inside the borders of South Sudan in the last few months.

It remains to be seen whether the agreement will produce any change on the ground or tone down rhetoric from officials in the two countries.

Since its inception in October 2009, the AUHIP has worked tirelessly to help Khartoum and Juba sort out their post-secession contentious issues such as oil, borders, Abyei, national debt and citizenship.

But so far little progress has been made on resolving these items. Last June, the Sudanese President Omer Hassan al-Bashir even scrapped an AUHIP brokered framework agreement his assistant signed relating to the conflict in South Kordofan.

Furthermore, another accord on Abyei crafted by Mbeki's panel faced difficulties in implementation after Khartoum later attached conditions to fully withdrawing its troops from the disputed region.

In New York, the United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-moon warned Friday that tensions between the two nations could escalate if outstanding issues are not resolved, urging peace and reaching agreements on all issues.

"The moment has come for the leaders of both countries to make the necessary compromises... that will guarantee a peaceful and prosperous future for both nations," he said in a statement.

**FMSO Commentary:** *As the celebrations die down following South Sudan's independence from Sudan on 9 July 2011, the world's newest nation is confronted, perhaps overwhelmingly, with governing a nation composed of many ethnic groups whose main unifying factor was they did not want to be part of Sudan. Unfortunately, ongoing intertribal fighting continues to weaken this fledgling country, threatening the world with the possibility of yet another failed state in Africa.*

*Much of the trouble can be attributed to a lack of homogeneity among the South Sudanese. From a religious standpoint, they are mainly animists and Christians, though an unknown number of Muslims are also present. Most of the fighting, however, does not appear to be religious in nature, but rather based on longstanding tribal differences, of which there are many. Some of the worst violence has occurred in Jonglei State, where thousands have died, frequently from cattle raids which escalate into tribal border confrontations.*

*Unfortunately South Sudan was a nation born into very difficult circumstances. Its health indicators are horrendous, with the world's worst maternal mortality rate and one of the world's worst infant mortality rates. Corruption is rampant. Barring any new finds, oil reserves, upon which the country is economically heavily dependent, will halve by 2020. The list of economic, health, and other problems goes on, calling for a national consensus to help tackle these challenges, but, with the country fractured into so many ethnic pieces, it is difficult to imagine any sense of unity in the immediate future. Surely any progress that does occur towards cultivating shared values, common ideals, and a national identity, as the below article states, will be a long, slow process.*

*Prior to independence South*

## Born Broken, Needing Unity: South Sudan

8 February 2012

Source: Malwal, Makol, "The Myth of South Sudan," Pambazuka News, 8 Feb 2012.  
<http://pambazuka.org/en/category/features/79774>



South Sudan political map based on South Sudan State map via Community Empowerment for Progress Organization (<http://ceposouthsudan.com>)

## The Myth of South Sudan

**S**outh Sudan was conceived on the myth that we are one people with one common destiny. We are now discovering that regional and tribal differences are not dissolving and that South Sudanese think and act very differently from one another.

The simple fact is that people who are raised thinking of their tribe/nationality as Pojulu, Dinka, Shuluk, Zande, Bari, Murle, Nuer, or what have you will probably always think of themselves in that way. It may take several generations for the concept of being Pojulu, Dinka, Shuluk, Zande, Bari, Murle, Nuer, or what have you to become the equivalent of being a New Yorker or Californian to an American, and those generations will be longer than generations were in the USA in the 1800s.

It is very important that we highlight the possible challenges and the insoluble pains to face South Sudan beyond the passionate emotions for independence and try to stimulate the start of thinking rationally for all our future's sakes. Our new country will face many challenges, despite simplistic categorizations of our war of independence as being between Africans and Arabs/Christians versus Muslims. South Sudanese are not a unified group;



## Continued: The Myth of South Sudan

*Sudan was in an untenable situation. The northern part of Sudan was overwhelmingly Muslim and was regularly intent on imposing its political will, as well as periodically intent on imposing Sharia, on its lesser populated, overwhelmingly non-Muslim southern part. Out of this a new nation was founded, but it is unstable. Over time it might move towards becoming a fully functioning state; meanwhile, South Sudan partly reflects the continent's precolonial era, when there were no nations in Africa but tribal kingdoms instead. End FMSO Commentary (Feldman)*

this is a profoundly and proudly multi-ethnic, multi-racial and multi-religious lot/land.

Any sense of a common national identity that does exist was forged in the struggle against the Mundukuru (north Sudan), something that we are all acutely aware of.

The point is that South Sudanese must ask themselves if a 'South Sudan Nation' is, in fact, truly what they want. A true nation of South Sudanese will require the majority of its citizens to share common values, common ideals, common mores and most likely a common language. If these do not exist naturally, they must be cultivated and that leads to some very difficult ground for debate and discussion (and the potential for many, many problems). As part of this, South Sudanese must ask themselves why they want a nation. Is it to compete economically with the Mundukuru (north Sudan), East Africa and other large population economies (a really bad reason to build a nation)? To prevent any possibility of another grand South Sudanese civil war (South Sudan imploding)? Or why?

This lack of unity is South Sudan's most profound crisis, one that underlies the country's economic and political woes. Most South Sudanese have little idea what the country stands for, what binds its people together, where it has come from in the past and where it is going to in the future. After decades of war and a hefty (and still growing) death toll, we have succeeded in attaining independence without gaining a nation.

Yes, but what is a South Sudanese?

Values matter because they are the glue that binds countries and peoples together. They help define what a society stands for and against. There is no consensus within South Sudan or among South Sudanese, not even the beginning of a consensus, about what South Sudanese values are.

Diversity does not equal tolerance and the existence of differences does not mean acceptance of them. A fact that has come glaringly to the fore as South Sudan has slipped deeper into crisis and relationships have strained among its people and tribes.

One can of course have multiple identities. Some Europeans are Catalan and Spanish, as well as European. But identities cannot be artificially created; they are forged early on and never go away. We must construct common institutions, laws and create all the symbols of a nation-state. Prosperity for a war-torn country, freedom from tyranny and peace among our people and tribes after decades if not centuries of bloodletting should be some of the ideals we should aspire too.

This is not to say that a united South Sudan will never happen, but it must be understood that it will be a long, slow process and will likely be longer and slower than the process was in the US for example, due to a longer legacy of conflict between our tribes and people and of all things longer life-spans of those generations today that think of themselves as coming from specific tribes rather than being South Sudanese.

Over the long term though, people need the solace and sense of community and shared culture, history and custom that nationhood provides.

**FMSO Commentary:** *The National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad, commonly referred to as the MNLA, derived from its French name, Mouvement National pour la Libération de l'Azawad. The MNLA is an insurgent group in northern Mali, populated mostly by Tuareg, who wish to create their own nation, Azawad, and who have been quite active since January of this year. They have battled Mali forces on several occasions, capturing several northern towns in the process. In the rural commune of Aguelhoc, estimates of the number of soldiers killed by the rebels range as high as 93, with reports that some had been executed.*

*There is a long history of Tuareg resistance against both Mali and Niger. Prior to this latest outbreak of violence, which some have called the Azawad Insurgency of 2012, there had been several notable rebellions, including the relatively recent one from 2007 to 2009. Although the rebels had some success during that rebellion, they ultimately were no match for government forces. Something, however, has changed since then, which makes the Tuareg and their present day Azawad Insurgency significantly more powerful: the return of Tuareg soldiers who during the Libyan Civil War fought in Libya's army or for the National Transitional Council. Following Gaddafi's fall they brought heavy weapons looted from his arsenals to northern Mali. These trained fighters, with their impressive arsenal, appear to have taken the Mali government by surprise, battling, and at times defeating, the overstretched Mali army. It is a far cry from the first rebellion, which occurred in 1963, when the Tuareg, armed with traditional takouba swords, as well as several old Mauser rifles, were crushed by the Mali military.*

*Despite the Tuareg's newfound military success there is still much going against their dream of an independent Azawad. Not all Tuareg are united in a desire to*

## With the Fall of Gaddafi, A Better Armed Tuareg Insurgency

10 February 2012

**Source:** Diarra, Soumaila, "Fifty Thousand Flee as Political Parties Call for Dialogue," Inter Press Service, 10 Feb 2012. <http://ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=106717>



A Malian refugee rests in her makeshift shelter in Gaoudel, Ayorou district, northern Niger. © UNHCR/H. Caux via <http://www.unhcr.org/4f3e4e839.html>

## Fifty Thousand Flee as Political Parties Call for Dialogue

**M**ali's political parties have jointly called on the government to hold a forum for peace and reconciliation as a way to end a Tuareg rebellion launched several weeks ago. The uprising has forced around 55,000 people out of their homes, the majority fleeing the fighting in the north of the country, but others are seeking shelter from ethnic tension and violent demonstrations in cities in the south.

The uprising by the National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad (MNLA) has claimed dozens of casualties since mid-January, including members of the army and the rebels, though precise numbers have not been established by independent sources.

In a Feb. 7 statement, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees said it has sent emergency teams to countries bordering Mali to help meet the needs of around 20,000 refugees in neighbouring countries.

"In the past three weeks, at least 10,000 people are reported to have crossed to Niger, 9,000 have found refuge in Mauritania and 3,000 in Burkina Faso," UNHCR spokesman Adrian Edwards said in Geneva on Tuesday. The Red Cross estimates that 30,000 others have been displaced within Mali since the first MNLA attack, against the town of Menaka, took place on Jan. 17, against the town of Menaka. The rebels have gone on to attack several

## Continued: Fifty Thousand Flee as Political Parties Call for Dialogue

*form a separate nation. Additionally, there are other people in Azawad besides the Tuareg - including Songhai, Arab and Peul - and while the MNLA says it is a revolution to free all of the people of that region, not all are necessarily supportive of the movement. Finally, and perhaps what will become the MNLA's greatest obstacle to independence, is that the surrounding nations, especially Libya and Algeria, do not support such a move, fearing their own Tuareg populations might push for autonomy. As Libya's government is preoccupied with trying to govern after its civil war, Algeria has been the one to offer Mali support in order to, as one writer put it, "make sure that an independent Azawad never sees the light of day." Additionally the Tuareg's possible affiliation with Al Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb, which the MNLA denies but the Mali government accuses them of having, has cast the rebellion in an unfavorable light for the Western world.*

*Meanwhile, the fighting between the MNLA and Mali army continues in the north, and, as seems to happen with all ethnic conflicts, a large number of internally displaced people and refugees has been created. The Mali government is calling for a peaceful settlement to end the uprising, but with a newly armed and emboldened rebel force, it is possible the fighting, and the flow of refugees, will continue for some time. **End FMSO Commentary (Feldman)***

other army garrisons in the north of the country.

Since then, popular anger over the attacks has grown in the south. Violent demonstrations took place in several southern cities including Kayes, Ségou, and the capital, Bamako, between Jan. 31 and Feb. 2. The marches were organized in reaction to what protesters view as a "timid" reaction by the authorities against the rebellion, but in many cases degenerated into rioting.

Modibo Diaby, a resident of the southern town of Kati, told IPS that he saw numerous businesses belong to Tuaregs - or people believed to be Tuareg - were looted; similar scenes occurred elsewhere in the south.

The Malian president, Amadou Toumani Touré, has called on Malians not to confuse the insurgents with Tuareg civilians more generally. "Those who attacked military barracks and other locations in the north must not be conflated with our other compatriots - Tuareg, Arab, Songhai, Peul - who live with us," said Touré in a televised address on Feb. 1.

He highlighted military operations against the rebels. "The army has all that it needs to secure the safety of all our people. We will continue to send weapons and ammunition."

Also seeking to ease ethnic tension, Mali's Minister for Infrastructure and Transportation, Ahmed Diane Semega, the following day stressed that not all Tuareg are part of the rebellion. "Of the nearly 3,600 Tuareg in the national army, fewer than one hundred have deserted," he said.

According to a military source, 300 Tuareg fighters - the largest contingent of Malian Tuareg soldiers who returned from Libya after the fall of Moammar Gaddafi - have been deployed with the Malian army in the areas of Kidal, Tessalit and Gao, all in the north.

These fighters, drawn from the Imghad Tuareg community, have been placed under the command of Colonel Elhadj Gamou, a Tuareg who joined the Malian army in line with the terms of a 1992 peace pact that ended a previous uprising in the same region.

On Dec. 3, 2011, well before the latest uprising, two representatives of this Tuareg community - Colonel Waqqi Ag Ossad and Commander Inackly Ag Back - met with President Traoré and told him their group was ready to give up their weapons and serve the state.

According to Bamako-based journalist Cheikna Hamalla Sylla, the presence of the Imghad soldiers is the reason that an attack on the rebels' main objective, the city of Kidal, has been delayed so far.

Notwithstanding continued military operations against the rebels, Touré has stated that the government still plans to hold presidential elections scheduled for Apr. 29.

Leaders of Mali's political parties want a forum on peace and reconciliation to be held from Feb. 17 to 19, and they have called on the Malian authorities to contact the governments of Algeria, Burkina Faso, Mauritania and Niger for assistance in opening a dialogue with the rebel groups.

They also want the government to speak to leading Tuareg and Arab figures who have left Mali for neighbouring countries; and to the ambassadors of France, the United States and the European Union for assistance in creating the forum for peace and reconciliation.



**FMSO Commentary:** *Since independence, African states have been wary about the threats posed by external imperialism. As the accompanying article details, these apprehensions are still contemporarily manifest in discussions around potential U.S. security assistance on the continent.*

*Such African rhetoric cautioning about collaboration with an imperial U.S. military is nothing new. Sour memories linger in Africa of the U.S. backing of Jonas Savimbi in Angola during the 1970s, while U.S. attempts to reclaim Mogadishu in 1993 from the fighters allied with Mohamed Farrah Aidid, while admittedly unsuccessful, were nevertheless viewed by many local populations as having been undertaken to instill a U.S. presence in the region.*

*Flash forward to today, and similar sentiments still linger. The contemporary African apprehension about U.S. security assistance can in large part be traced back to 2007 discussions of AFRICOM, an institution that was nearly universally decried across the continent as a tool of U.S. imperial ambitions. Those latent sentiments were dredged up again in 2011, when the U.S. announced that it was sending troops to Uganda to fight the Lord's Resistance Army, a move that received some criticism from populations there too.*

*Even though many across the African continent hold assumptions about an imperial U.S. military, such feelings are not universal. Particularly in Nigeria (which, as the article details, is struggling to combat the domestic terrorist group Boko Haram), discussions have been circulating within the national press about the potential benefits and drawbacks of allowing the entrance of a U.S.-led military force to fight the group. In the Horn of Africa U.S. aid in Somalia stabilization efforts has likewise been both derided and lauded.*

## African States Believe that U.S. Security Assistance Underwritten by “Ulterior Motives”

13 February 2012



GLW4President campagne ad via Facebook.com (<http://www.facebook.com/pages/George-Luchiri-Wajackoyah/202339911479>)

**Source:** Anthony Awunor “Nigeria: Kenyan Politician Cautions Against U.S. Assistance, The Moment (London), 13 February 2012: <http://allafrica.com/stories/201202141179.html>.

## Kenyan Politician Cautions Against U.S. Assistance

**K**enya: Presidential candidate in the forthcoming poll, Professor George Luchiri Wajackoyah, has warned President Goodluck Jonathan against seeking foreign assistance in tackling the security challenge posed by the Boko Haram sect.

He said doing such might not be good for the country in the long run as most western countries usually have ulterior motives.

Wajackoyah, however, charged leaders like Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, Gen. Ibrahim Babangida and Muhammadu Buhari to support President Jonathan in his fight against insurgents and terrorism in the country.

He believed that if all parties were involved and sincere in tackling the issue, the spate of bombings in the country could be resolved, adding that any country with serious insecurity would lose its values and image in the comity of nations and potential investors would also desert it.

‘I feel so bad that Nigeria, which was once a beacon of security in Africa, which was a beacon of economic activities in Africa is going that way. It’s my prayers that God intervenes and solve the situation.

## Continued: Kenyan Politician Cautions Against U.S. Assistance

*While there exists no qualitative consensus on the continent in regards to U.S. security assistance, policymakers in this country would be well-advised to take stories expressing apprehension, such as this one, seriously. Indeed, any potential offers of U.S. security assistance to Africa need to be filtered through this ever-present lens. End FMSO commentary (Warner)*

'Who is losing at the end of the day? The economies go down, the country's name goes down, the people themselves also go down and foreign investors also run away,' he explained.

Wajackoyah said seeking for foreign assistance could only be taken as a last resort, adding that during the apartheid challenge in South Africa, the country did not invite foreign forces to resolve it, rather, it settled it internally.

He recalled that despite the fact that the white government in South Africa jailed Dr. Nelson Mandela for 27 years, later as a president, he still had a round table discussion with them on how to move the country forward, which, he said, yielded the expected fruit.

'If South Africa could solve their problems, what is wrong with Nigeria's ex-presidents sitting together with the current president and call in people like Mandela and people from the Arab countries that are willing to change to come and sit down with these people.

'These are Muslims from the North, they must be fighting for a reason; we don't know that reason. But if there is any kind of hooliganism, then, let the law of this country take its due.

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

## International Research Collaboration Program

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**FMSO Commentary:** *They're not just a terrorist group anymore.*

*Boko Haram, the radical Islamist sect based in Muslim northern Nigeria, has been wreaking havoc upon the country since 2009, operating as a terrorist cell bent on instilling Sharia law in Nigeria's northern states. Long operating simply as a terrorist rebel group, Boko Haram's material needs have meant that it has now morphed into a broader criminal organization, engaged, as the accompanying article relays, in a number of bank break-ins. Nor were the break-ins minor: one was purported to be worth some 41 million Naira (approximately USD \$259,000). Little discussion has been heard, however, on how and why such revenue-generating activities might run counter to the highly conservative Islamist ideologies that underwrite the group's existence.*

*Arguably one reason why one hears few of these conversations is rooted in how Boko Haram actually spends the money it steals. The article details that Boko Haram's expenditures are divided into fifths. One-fifth of the money goes to "zakat." Loosely translated, "zakat" means "alms," and is one of the five pillars of Islam that requires the donation of some fixed amount of one's income to the less fortunate. This zakat donation, coupled with the one-fifth of Boko Haram's money that goes to the (semantically indecipherable) "less privileged" and another one-fifth that goes to the wives of deceased Boko Haram members, means that, in fact, the group donates more than half of the money it steals to the poorest members of the communities in which it operates. This tactic, which might seem irrational, rather speaks to Boko Haram's methods of recruitment. By actively working as a social safety for some of the poorest people in the country, if not on earth, Boko Haram is, in effect, building a cocoon of social protection around itself. In filling the roles that would normally*

## How Terrorist Group Boko Haram Gets and Spends its Money

14 February 2012



Nigeria naira bank notes by Chippla at en.wikipedia (Transferred from en.wikipedia) [Public domain or Public domain], from Wikimedia Commons

**Source:** Malachy Uzendu and Ahmed Mari, "Nigeria: How We Share Boko Haram Loot - Abdul Qaqa," Daily Champion (Lagos, Nigeria), 14 February 2012: <http://allafrica.com/stories/201202140935.html>

## How We Share Boko Haram Loot

**I**nterrogation of the spokesman of the killer fundamental Islamic sect, Boko Haram yesterday revealed that the group was also engaged in criminal activities, breaking banks and seeking for money from every available illicit source.

Sources from the nation's security agencies who have been drilling Alhaji Abu Qaqa, informed that after every robbery operation, the monies realised would be shared out to five groups. It was further gathered that he "married" the wife of their erstwhile leader, Mohammed Yusuf and other wives of deceased members, purporting to be giving them protection.

Qaqa who has been speaking on the exploits of the dreaded body said though they agreed to split such monies into five, "nobody dared ask how the money was spent and nobody dare ask questions for fear of death".

He added that even those who participated in each bank robbery, were compelled to pay zakat on their share to the leadership, while Shekau would appropriate the other four shares they had collected.

Said Qaqa at yesterday's interrogation: "A major source of distrust and acrimony in the group was N41million got from bank robbery that was not accounted for.

"Normally, the money is supposed to be shared to five groups: the less privileged, widows



*be assumed by the Nigerian state, Boko Haram is not only winning new adherents, but also effectively inching ever closer to itself becoming the type of theocratic form Sharia-based sovereignty that it seeks to instill in the north. **End FMSO commentary (Warner)***

## Continued: How We Share Boko Haram Loot

of those that died in the Jihad, Zakat, those that brought in the money and the last to the leadership, to be used in prosecuting the Jihad.

“We don’t know how this money was spent and nobody dare asked questions for fear of death. Even those that took part in the robberies are also always compelled to pay Zakat on their share to the leadership.

“The leader (Shakau) appropriates what goes to the widows, less privileged, Zakat and leadership.

“The leadership also gives out wives of those killed the way he wants and marry some in the name of giving them protection.

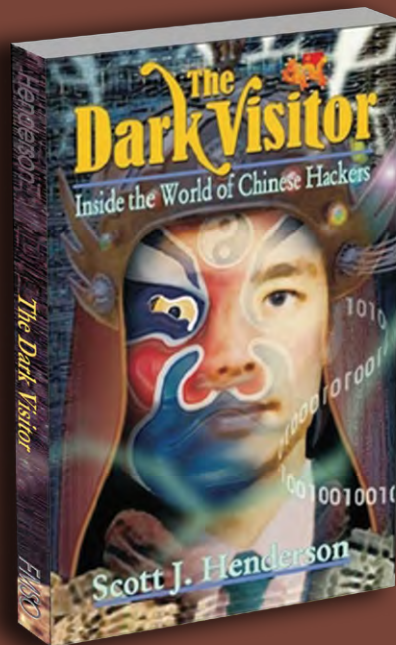
“For instance, he’s ‘married’ to one of Mohammed Yusuf’s (deceased leader of the group) wives.

“Everyone lived in fear more of leadership of the group even more than the security agencies. For instance, I never for once believed I could be arrested.

He said the killing of their leader late Mohammed Yusuf and some of their sect members did not in any way stop them from what they were doing, as such the arrest of Dardaa and Sokoto is just a will of God and rather than demoralize they would come out stronger in doing what he described as “work of God”.

The spokesman said they made tremendous success, more especially their operation Sunday night according to him they killed many soldiers in Budum Maiduguri and Baga shores of the Lake Chad and that they were also successful in Kaduna, stressing that security operatives claimed that they killed the intended suicide bomber and that he is with them healthy and hearty and that very soon they would strike again.

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:

*Q: What do you get when you combine two of Africa's most nefarious terrorist groups?*

*A: A lot of angry Somalis.*

*The announcement last Thursday that Somalia's homegrown terrorist group al-Shebab had officially been recognized as an offshoot of the larger al-Qaeda terrorist web was the apparent end game in the long-lingering question about the extent of true collaboration between the two groups. As the accompanying article details, that merger has given rise to widespread protests by civil society in the country.*

*While observers think that the merger between al-Qaeda and al-Shebab last week speaks more to the latter group's foundering than to its fortification, the unprecedented protests that materialized across Mogadishu underline that citizens there do not view the newly official alliance as positive. Indeed, the irony of the Somali protests is that citizens are bemoaning the culture of insecurity engendered by al-Shebab, though the mere fact that an open-air protest can take place in Mogadishu speaks to the rare and relatively serene state of security in which the city currently exists.*

*Perhaps most interesting is that the new merger has galvanized an open and public disdain for al-Qaeda, which is now being portrayed in the Somali press as "colonizers." While most Somalis have never thought very highly of al-Shebab, the group's new collaborations with the wider global terrorism ring are only serving to exacerbate its alienation from the rest of an increasingly fed-up Somalia.*  
**End FMSO commentary (Warner)**

## Somalis Express Anger Over al-Shebab, al-Qaeda Merger

15 February 2012

**Source:** "Somalis rally against al-Qaeda and allied Shebab fighters," Al Arabiya News (Mogadishu, Somalia), 15 February 2012: <http://english.alarabiya.net/articles/2012/02/15/194875.html>

Al-Shebab war flag by Ingoman (Own work) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons.



## Somalis rally against al-Qaeda and allied Shebab fighters

**H**undreds of Somalis marched through the war-torn capital Mogadishu on Wednesday in a rare open protest against Islamist Shebab insurgents and their al-Qaeda allies.

"Down with al-Qaeda! Down with al-Shebab!" the crowds chanted, as they marched through the streets near the presidential palace, passing areas recently hit by suicide and car bomb attacks set off by the hardline Shehab.

Demonstrators waving banners daubed with slogans against the Islamist al-Qaeda network said they wanted to defeat the extremist insurgency battling the weak Western-backed government.

"This country is for Somalis and not for foreign fighters like al-Qaeda - we do not tolerate their violence any longer," Somali President Sharif Sheikh Ahmed told the crowd.

The demonstration followed rallies on Monday across Somalia by Shebab fighters, as they celebrated their group's recognition by Osama bin Laden's successor as a member of al-Qaeda.

"We have suffered enough and do not want more violence: Al-Qaeda should stop meddling with Somalia's affairs and leave our country," said Suleiman Mumin, one of the protestors. "Al-Qaeda and al-Shebab have said, 'no to life' in Somalia, so everyone is ready to fight against them now," Mumin added.

Although organized by Mogadishu's mayor, such a march would have been impossible just months ago, when Shebab gunmen dominated the city.

Al-Qaeda chief Ayman al-Zawahiri announced in a video message posted on jihadist forums last week that Shebab fighters had joined ranks with the Islamist network. "The name Al-Shebab is over - now we are facing al-Qaeda inside Somalia," Sharif said. "We ask the international community to help us fight al-Qaeda."

Shebab insurgents, fighting to overthrow the weak Western-backed government in the Horn of Africa country, proclaimed their allegiance to then al-Qaeda chief Osama bin Laden in 2009.

"So many people have attended the rally to show their defiance against al-Qaeda and its Somali allies," said Mohamed Abdulkadir, a Somali security official. "No one will accept that the chaos in our country goes on forever, but that is what al-Qaeda wants."

***FMSO Commentary:** Southeast Asian countries are buying major weapons systems to bolster their capability within their region and their prestige globally. Malaysia has taken delivery of a Scorpene-class submarine from France, with two more on the way. Vietnam awaits arrival of six Kilo class submarines from Russia. Singapore commissioned its first Archer-class submarine (Swedish design) in December 2011.*

*Due to the great archipelagos of Indonesia and the Philippines, access to the region is channeled through limited narrows with long historic significance. The South China Sea continues to be a nexus of tension amongst the several states bordering it. National and economic claims overlap in these waters and have resulted in violence and confrontation.*

*Interests of the United States and Europe continue to be market driven. These markets span commodities and manufactured goods, with weapons and materiel becoming increasingly important. **End FMSO Commentary (Welch)***

## Southeast Asia Arms Sales 9 February 2012 and Transfers

**Source:** Communist Party of the Philippines. "Transfer of US naval cutter to Philippines stoking Spratly conflict", Philippines Revolution Web Central, 9 February 2012. <http://www.philippinerevolution.net/statements/transfer-of-us-naval-cutter-to-philippines-stoking-spratly-conflict-cpp>



U.S. Coast Guard Cutter Dallas, via [www.navytimes.com](http://www.navytimes.com)

### Transfer of US naval cutter to Philippines stoking Spratly conflict – CPP

**T**he Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) today said the US government is further heightening tension over the Spratly islands issue and provoking a military conflict in the South China Sea region by deploying another naval cutter to the Philippines to help augment its power projection operations in the region.

Yesterday, officials of the US congress announced that its Foreign Relations Committee is about to wrap up its decision to transfer the US naval cutter Dallas by the end of the week and plan to sail it to the Philippines soon thereafter. The naval cutter Dallas was commissioned by the US Coast Guard in 1967. It is being "sold" to the Philippine armed forces under the Excess Defense Articles program of the US.

"The transfer of another naval cutter from the US government serves the purpose of US military buildup in the South China Sea," said the CPP. "Through such, the US is able to employ the Philippine Navy as an augmentation force in the course of its operations to permanently project its military presence and power in the area and secure the trade routes



## ***Continued:* Transfer of US naval cutter to Philippines stoking Spratly conflict**

and Asian markets in the interest of US monopoly capitalist companies.”

The upcoming transfer of the US naval cutter is part of the US-directed and -supported modernization program of the AFP. Defense and security officials of the US and Philippine governments have been negotiating for the transfer of several F-16 fighter jets and other war matériel from the US EDA program.

“By acquiring the US naval cutters and manning it to serve US interests, the Aquino regime is making the Philippines a possible target of the potential enemies of the US, whether China or another imperialist country or emerging capitalist power which may put its foot forward in challenging US control of sea lanes, markets and sources of raw materials in the Asia-Pacific region,” added the CPP.

“Officials of the Aquino regime are fooling the Filipino people when they claim that the purchase of the aging naval cutter has nothing to do with the brewing US conflict with China and that it seeks only to beef up the naval defense capabilities of the Philippines,” said the CPP. “In the first place, the US government allows only the transfer of its excess military equipment to other countries when such serves the purpose of US national security and foreign policy objectives.”

“Long before the Aquino government made noise over the Spratly islands, security and military officials of the US have been proposing the transfer of US naval and air capabilities to the Philippines in view of what it has long perceived as the threat of the growth of China as an economic and political power,” said the CPP.

## **Indonesia, Daewoo Sign \$1.1 Billion Contract For 3 Submarines**

**Source:** AHN. “Indonesia, Daewoo Sign \$1.1 Billion Contract For 3 Submarines”, Daily Indonesian, 22 December 2011 <http://www.dailyindonesia.com/news/2011/12/indonesia-daewoo-sign-11-billion-contract-for-3-submarines.php>

**22 December 2011**

Soviet Kilo class submarine. Photo by US Navy [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons



**J**akarta (AHN) - Indonesia’s defense ministry announced Wednesday it has signed a contract with South Korean shipbuilder Daewoo Shipbuilding Marine Engineering (DSME) to construct three submarines for the Indonesian navy.

The ministry’s Defense Facilities Agency chief, Maj. Gen. Ediwan Prabowo, and DSME president and CEO Nam Tae-sang signed the contract in Jakarta with South Korean ambassador Kim Young-sun, South Korean defense attaché Col. Cheol Moo-dae and officials from the Indonesian Defense Ministry, Indonesian Military and Navy headquarters as witnesses, according to the ministry.

Under the contract, worth a total \$1.1 billion, DSME will build two submarines together with Indonesia’s state-owned shipbuilder PT PAL. The third submarine will be built in PT PAL’s yard in Surabaya.

**FMSO Commentary:** *In the past couple of years Mexico has seen an armament evolution that is escalating to the point where local, municipal, ministerial, and possibly even federal police can no longer match the firepower now in the cartel inventory. What quickly changed from handguns to a mainstay of assault rifles (chiefly AK-47 and AR-15 variants) a few years back has evolved to the use of, among others, Barrett .50 caliber sniper rifles, hand grenades, heavy machine guns, and anti-tank/-aircraft weapon systems, to include the RPG-7, M72 LAW, M203 grenade launcher, and even the recent seizure of a Mk 40 Folding-Fin Aerial Rocket from behind the bench seat of a pickup in the Mexican state of Sonora, bordering Arizona. These transnational criminal organizations (TCOs) have utilized these weapons systems mainly against ground vehicles, but it has been evidenced in more than one occasion that a Barrett .50 caliber sniper rifle has been used against federal police helicopters on the ground or in a low hover. As helicopters are now commonly used to transport just arrested high profile criminal leaders to Mexico City in order to avoid blockades where the TCOs attempt to regain control of their captured leaders, it may just be a matter of time before they attempt to acquire and implement man-portable air-defense systems(MANPADS), known also as shoulder-launched surface-to-air missiles (SAMS). When it comes to capture and every man for himself, the TCOs just might take this next step in order to keep those captured leaders from divulging sensitive information, or to keep them from making a plea with authorities.*

*This is yet another example of the power held by the TCOs through money obtained via illicit trafficking operations, now estimated at \$1 trillion globally. With sales in a globalized weapons market, where products are easily obtained by the highest bidder, the*

## Weapons Fueling the Drug War

07 February 2012



An RPG-7 with warhead by Michal Mañas (User:Snek01) (Own work (own photo)) [CC-BY-2.5 (www.creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.5)], via Wikimedia Commons

**Sources:** Se roban del CALFFAA 22 RPG-7 con sus respectivas municiones (22 RPG-7s and Their Respective Munitions Stolen from Command of the Armed Forces Logistics Support Center-CALFFAA),” El Heraldo.hn, 07 February 2012. <http://www.elheraldo.hn/Secciones-Secundarias/Unidad-Investigativa/Se-roban-22-lanzacohetes-RPG-7-del-Comando-de-Apoyo-Logistico#panel1-1>

### ***Se roban del CALFFAA 22 RPG-7 con sus respectivas municiones*** **(22 RPG-7s and Their Respective Munitions Stolen from Command of the Armed Forces Logistics Support Center-CALFFAA),”**

**A** total of 22 RPG-7 rocket launchers and their grenades, capable of destroying tanks and armored cars, were stolen from the bunkers of the Command of the Armed Forces Logistics Support Center (CALFFAA) located in the municipality of Ocotal (approximately 30 miles SE of the capital city of Tegucigalpa), in the Francisco Morazán department of Honduras.

The incident occurred in mid-2010, and to-date, the Honduran Armed Forces have made no progress in the investigation to find those truly responsible for the robbery and to recover the weapons.

A weapons expert consulted by the El Heraldo Investigative Unit, who spoke on the condition of anonymity, explained that the RPG-7 rocket-propelled grenade launchers are high power devices utilized to destroy specific targets such as tanks, aircraft, and armored cars. This weapon consists of a grenade and a propulsion system.

The theft of the lethal weapons is recorded in file number 2010-24 of the Court of Military Instance, whose proceedings are at a standstill.

This loss of 22 RPG-7 weapons systems reveals that within the Honduran Armed Forces there may be some military personnel involved in arms trafficking who were not only not investigated nor punished, but that they may be operating with impunity.

armament potential of these groups is virtually limitless. Given the unknown number of weapons still in depots throughout Central America (some byproducts of the arming of Central America during the Iran-Contra affair), the said article provides another example of how extremely underpaid troops could make nearly a lifetime's wages in a single transaction, not only in Honduras, but also throughout the region. In the case of the missing Honduran RPG-7s, we see that not only has the technical sergeant deemed responsible for their disappearance gone practically unpunished, but also the case behind creating charges has been all but erased from the books.

The story sheds light on Honduras's broken judicial system, but recent changes may make some think twice before committing a like crime. Less than 24 hours after Honduran President Porfirio Lobo met with US officials in Miami on 18 January 2012, the Honduran Congress passed a constitutional reform to allow the extradition of Honduran nationals charged with drug trafficking, terrorism, or organized crime. The legislation was ratified later that month, reversing a ban on extraditing nationals that had been in place since 1982. Although the passing of this new legislation may well make a temporary difference in these activities in Honduras, buyers and sellers will most likely just shift operations to other regional hubs within Central America, again making US authorities adjust to the ever-changing strategies of the TCOs.

**End FMSO Commentary (Scheidel)**

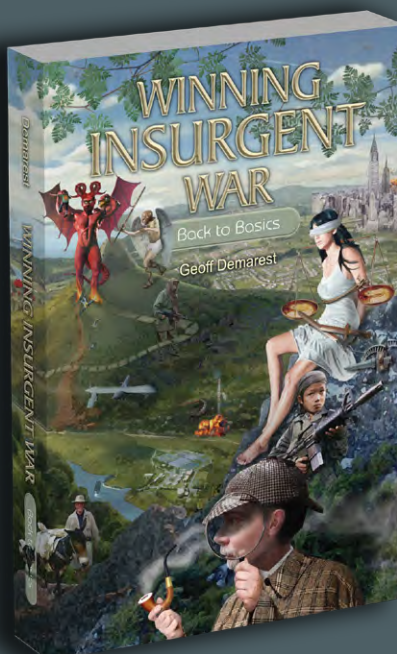
## Continued: 22 Stolen RPG-7s and Their Munitions

The background of the existence of arms trafficking gangs and others conducting distinct irregular actions within the armed institution bears witness to the fact that the entity responsible for national security is showing signs of corruption and vulnerability.

According to file number 2010-24, the weapons of war were allegedly smuggled from the facility in multiple trucks, hidden under scrap metal leaving the CALFFAA military installation in mid-2010, as a precise date could not be ascertained.

Confidential military sources involved with the case explained that no stolen weapon, like the RPG-7s taken, fall into the right hands – their destination is always organized crime, narcotraffickers, or subversive groups.

**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:** Recently, many Chinese commentaries on international affairs have been focusing on US hegemony and its suspected intention to curb China's growing regional and global influence. Concerns over US intentions were first raised by the new US defense strategy, "Sustaining US Global Leadership: Priorities for 21st Century Defense," presented by Barack Obama on January 5, 2012 at the Pentagon; they then were further intensified by a series of US-led military exercises in the Asia-Pacific region, especially those near South China Sea waters.

According to this particular article, the US is using these military exercises to add pressure on countries in the Asia-Pacific region and to create for them two common enemies – China and Russia. In this way the US will be better capable of retaining its absolute leadership in the region and its global hegemonic status by containing and encircling China and Russia. The author also believes that Cold War thinking is still considered by the US as a valuable asset in formulating its global strategy.

Nevertheless, it needs to be pointed out that such a perception does not represent all Chinese views on the US' move in the Asia-Pacific region. Some experts, for example, suggest that China might benefit from reconsidering the idea of a G2 (Group of Two), a proposed informal special relationship between the United States and China, designed to promote a cooperative Sino-US relationship. **End FMSO Commentary (Du)**

## Chinese Perception of the US-led Military Exercises in the Asia-Pacific

13 February 2012



**Source:** Meijun Yatai Junyan Modaoahuohuo, Simazhaozhixin Shirenjiezhhi (US-led Military Exercises in the Asia-Pacific Reveals US's Ambition)," Xinhua Net, 13 February 2012. <http://mil.huanqiu.com/Observation/2012-02/2431843.html>

U.S. Army Pacific Commander Lt. Gen. Francis Wiercinski and Middle Army Commander of the Japan Ground Self Defense Force Lt. Gen. Ryuichiro Arakawa shake hands during the bilateral press conference Yama Sakura 61 Jan. 30, via DVIDS (<http://www.dvidshub.net>)

### 美军亚太军演磨刀霍霍 司马昭之心世人皆知 (US-led Military Exercises in the Asia-Pacific Reveals US's Ambition)

US-led joint military drill in the Asia-Pacific is jeopardizing regional peace. Following the 7-day long US-Japanese joint military exercise "Yama Sakura 61", which has just came to an end on February 6, the largest ever multinational military exercise in the Asia-Pacific region "Corba Gold" immediately announced its start. Countries participating in the exercise include not only the United States and Japan, but also Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and Singapore. It is said that the U.S. and South Korea will hold military exercises code-named "key decision" and "vulture" in late February to cope with "the situation on the peninsula in the post-Kim Jong-il era".

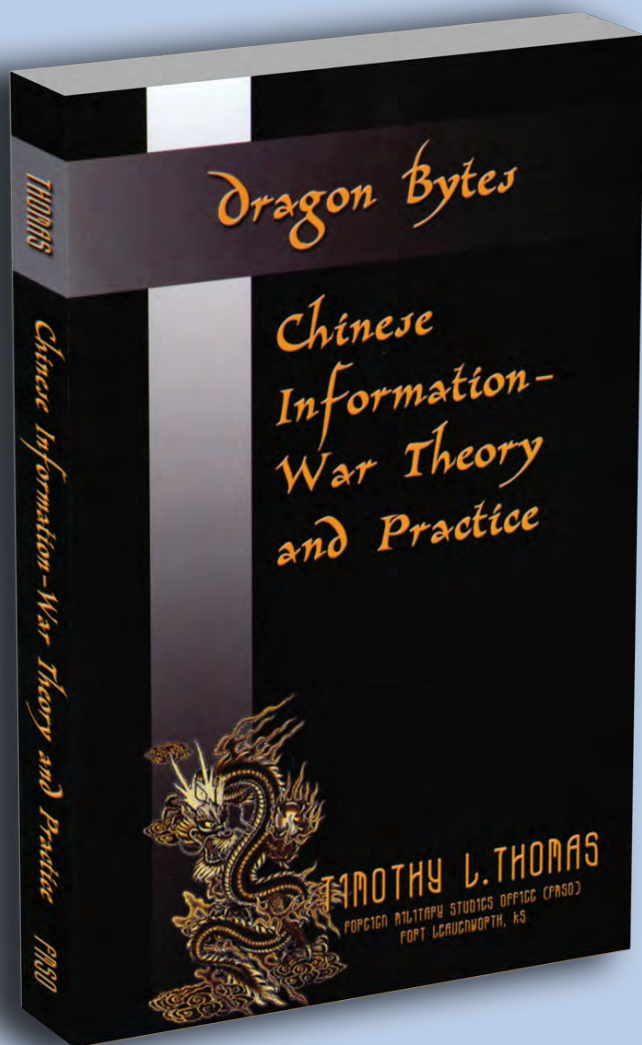
What is the US's purpose for holding all these military drills? It is, of course, attempting to let Japanese people, Korean people, and people in other countries think that if a war breaks out, only the US soldiers will be able to protect them. The joint military exercises are no more than a political show or a psychological warfare characterized by violence. They are the essential part of the US's global strategy, which has been built up since the Cold War era.

The military exercises are used by the US as a tool for keeping pressure on countries in the Asia-Pacific region. Japanese media claims that the US-Japanese drill is held for the purpose of facing the new challenges in East Asia and further fortifying US-Japanese alliance. It appears that Japan is merely closely following the US without taking regional security and the stability of Sino-Japanese relations into considerations. For Washington, the military exercises help to create enemy for the US's allies and let its allies feel the tension in the region, thus showing the irreplaceable importance of the US. The US can only use the military exercises to demonstrate its value and ensure its influence in Asia.

The military exercises are subject to US's long-term strategic goal. Currently, only two countries are capable and enough courageous to challenge the US's status: Russia and China. Therefore, in the surrounding areas of China and Russia, the US needs to create a

## **Continued: US-led Military Exercises in the Asia-Pacific Reveals US's Ambition**

strategic situation of confrontation and intensive atmosphere, so as to realize its containment and encirclement of China and Russia. For Washington, the Cold War thinking remains a valuable asset. It is precisely through these military exercises that the US attempt to create tensions in the Asia-Pacific region, and thereby promote its leading position in the region and realize its strategic ambition of remaining its global hegemonic status.



***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:** There has been a lot of talk lately about the current crisis in Syria and the Security Council resolution condemning Syria for its oppression of antigovernment forces. China and Russia both vetoed the resolution, causing many observers to ask, why? In the case of Russia, according to the Center for Analysis of World Arms Trade (CAWAT) Syria is Russia's seventh largest customer in arms sales. Over the past decade Syria is estimated to have accounted for approximately 10 percent of Russia's total arms sales. If sanctions are imposed, Russia could lose billions of dollars in revenues.

In the case of China, some observers believe China would not have vetoed the resolution without Moscow pressuring it. Meanwhile, the country has long opposed what it views as domestic meddling. China has long been adamant about maintaining the status quo, possibly for two reasons. First, the status quo is a known entity. Should the status quo change, it could possibly create a worse scenario. Second, maintaining the status quo has been a practical excuse for China to fall back on in the past when engaging in business practices deemed inappropriate by Western standards. For example, when the country protected Sudan several times from sanctions by exercising its veto power, it allowed the two countries to maintain positive relations, thus providing diplomatic protection for a government accused by the United Nations of genocide, and China access to oil reserves in the country. **End FMSO Commentary (Hurst)**

## Commentary on China's Decision to Veto the 4 February UN Resolution on Syria Issue

6 February 2012

**Source:** Zhong Sheng, People's Daily, 建立全球“网军控”, (“How to be Truly Responsible to the Syrian People”) 06 Feb 2012. <http://world.people.com.cn/GB/57507/17024866.html>



A view of the Security Council as thirteen Members – including Néstor Osorio of Colombia (centre, back to camera) – vote in favour of a draft resolution on Syria. The draft demanding an immediate end to violence by the Syrian Government against its people and withdrawal of armed forces from cities and towns, and supporting the League of Arab States' decision for a Syrian-led political transition to democracy, was vetoed by China and the Russian Federation. [UN Photo/Paulo Filgueiras] via <http://www.unmultimedia.org/s/photo/detail/503/0503651.html>

### 建立全球“网军控”， (“How to be Truly Responsible to the Syrian People”)

**T**he UN Security Council voted on a draft resolution on the Syrian issue 4 February. China, which adheres to its principled stance of solving the problem politically through peaceful dialogue, vetoed the draft resolution along with Russia.

The situation in Syria has continued to worsen as the number of civilian casualties mounts. Vetoing the Security Council's draft resolution does not mean letting the worrisome situation continue. On the contrary, by vetoing the resolution, China is acting responsibly with regard to the fundamental interests of the Syrian people. The current situation in Syria is most complex. Simplistically siding with one party against another may appear to help turn the situation around. In fact, it will only sow the seeds of future trouble.

The case of Libya teaches us what not to do. NATO countries misused a UN Security Council resolution to set up a “no fly zone” and directly provide one side in the conflict with firepower support. Was the original intent of protecting civilians achieved? Civilians were hurt in the limited conflict, but a large-scale civil war turned out to be even more bloody. No person with a smattering of military knowledge will deny that.

Diligently promoting a peaceful solution to a nation's internal conflict is not only an effective means to prevent the spread of violence, but will also help build a solid foundation for the nation's long-term stability. Violence for violence will not produce lasting peace.



## ***Continued:* How to Be Truly Responsible to the Syrian People**

It is a cakewalk for the world's most powerful military alliance to flex its military muscle and effect a regime change in a small country through war. The problem is that once the fighting stops, the foreign giant leaves. Even if it stays for a period of time, protecting the civilians' security of person and property will not be its top priority. The tragedies of Iraq and Afghanistan should be enough to open the eyes of the people of the world. Preventing a humanitarian disaster by force sounds like a righteous and responsible thing to do. Yet isn't a dozen years of endless attacks and bombings a humanitarian disaster in itself? This scenario is a possible outcome. In dealing with the unrest in a country, UN Security Council members could use a larger dose of humility and circumspection.

Another argument being bandied about these days seems to suggest that forcing a regime change in Syria is to respect the Syrian people's democratic pursuit. It is the democratic right of the Syrian people to choose their own form of government. There is no escaping the fact that hatred and divisions will always be the albatross around the rulers' necks. Regardless of which group forms the government, it has the obligation to maintain national stability and protect the people's security. This cannot be accomplished in the absence of national reconciliation. If national reconciliation is ultimately something that must be done, why not start at an early date? Would reconciliation be easier after they start fighting each other?

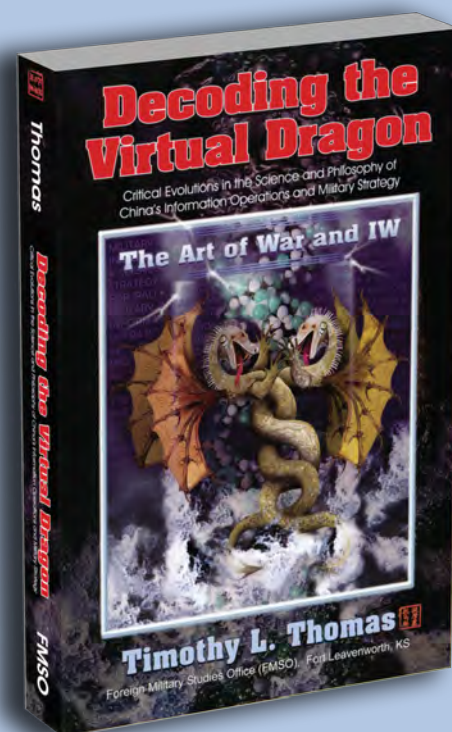
If only there is a 1% chance for peace, we must put in 100% of effort. The international community must give peace more of an opportunity. This is the only way to be truly responsible to the Syrian people.

The purpose of the United Nations Charter is to defend international peace and security. The United Nations may stop aggression, but it cannot force regime change on a nation. Back in the spring of 2003, the United States tried to persuade the Security Council to authorize it to launch a military attack on Iraq. At the time, then UN Secretary General Kofi Annan said, "I understand that some people on Capitol Hill have a different opinion as to how to deal with the Iraqi issue, but that does not concern me. The United Nations cannot make a country change its president. That would be illegal in this organization."

Encourage the peaceful solution of the Syrian crisis and promote the gradual stabilization of the situation in the Middle East. This has always been China's principled position. It fully accommodates the basic interests of the Syrian people and embodies China's high sense of responsibility for world peace as a permanent member of the UN Security Council.

**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: Candid discussions that take place in private, at floor level, can often be the most revealing about what a country is truly thinking. While Russia and China have publicly pledged further military cooperation, it would appear that, based on the following article, things are not as they seem and there are likely plenty of daggers being planted in the other country's back.*

*China and Russia have experienced a relationship filled with ebbs and flows. One of the most threatening events between the two countries came when, at the height of a bitter border dispute in 1969, Moscow threatened to "wipe out the Chinese threat and get rid of this modern adventurer" with a nuclear strike. Soviet diplomats divulged this plan to the United States and the United States threatened to impose its own nuclear attack against the Soviet Union if the country did indeed strike China.*

*It is impossible to determine in which direction bilateral cooperation between the two countries will go. Military-technology cooperation could very well wane, but actual cooperation in other areas could grow as well. One concern is that the cooperation between the two countries could become most threatening in a scenario in which both sides are able to participate in coordinated nuclear coercion. According to Richard Fisher, a senior fellow on Asian Military Affairs at the International Assessment and Strategy Center, "such coercion would become a regular crisis for the United States if the Administration moves below 2,000 warheads. If we moved to reported levels of less than 300, then our strategic security would become as unstable as a ball on a field." End FMSO Commentary (Hurst)*

## Russia Finalizes New Policy on Arms Sales to China

1 November 2011

**Source:** Kanwa News St. Petersburg: Military Policy News, Russia Finalizes New Policy on Arms Sales to China, 01 Nov 2011

### Russia Finalizes New Policy on Arms Sales to China

A senior executive of the Russian military told Kanwa at an exclusive interview at IMDS (International Maritime Defense Show) 2011: "Cooperation between the Russian and Chinese navies has made no progress, and the two sides have been negotiating for a long time on a series of issues, including China's intention to upgrade the first two 956E DDG to 956EM standard, and repairing KIL0 636 submarines and 956E/EM DDGs on its own. China's position on these issues is still far apart from that of Russia." Russia is no longer willing to drag on with the Chinese on these differences and China's imitation of Russian weapons. "There is no more need to talk with the Chinese. The bottom line is, they keep on violating the agreements, and we have to introduce new policies to protect our interests. Because of this, we will gradually decrease the arms sales to China in quantity and genres until finally suspending all the deals. Currently, Russia's arms export to China is limited to several types of aviation engines, including continued supply of RD93 turbofan engines for Pakistan's JF17 fighters and the AL31FN engines for China's indigenous fighters (referring to J10, other Russia media claimed that China would continue to purchase 123 units of AL31FN, indicating that J10A will continue to be powered by Russian engines)," said the source.

"Of course on the issue of military equipment export to China, we do not want to take any actions that would stimulate China. As such, we have decided to gradually reduce the supply of military equipment there," added the source.

Kanwa has noticed that at the Paris Air Show and IMDS 2011, there were almost no Chinese delegations paying official visits to the reception rooms of ROSOBORONEXPORT and UAC, which was very different from the situation in the 1990s. During that time, a large number of visitors seen in the reception rooms of the Russian military enterprises at the exhibitions were very often Chinese delegates. Meanwhile, a substantial number of Russian military enterprises have also openly indicated that they would no longer be willing to entertain the Chinese visitors. "They learned about the Russian technologies by way of taking photos, making video tapes and asking for technical materials, and within a few years time, they would introduce their imitated weapons very similar to those of the original Russian systems," said a source. A source from the Paris Air Show said that at the 2009 air show, there was an espionage incident during which a Chinese delegate stole the French exhibits. Because of this, security measures at the 2011 Paris Air Show were drastically reinforced.

At the IMDS 2011, the Chinese naval attaché stationed at the Chinese Embassy in Moscow visited the Russian exhibition platform in plain clothes, which caught high attention of the Russians, who took photos to verify his identity.

**FMSO Commentary:** Serbia's pre-election machinery is running on high speed, as is quickly evident when combing through the local news media. The May 2012 parliamentary elections in Serbia are as interesting for observers of the region as they perhaps are for the politicians themselves. As elections take their course, peculiar coalitions are being formed among former enemies and emerging, of course, for the greater good of the society. One particular political battlefield can be found in the Serbian borderland region of Sandžak, home to a large Bosniak (Bosnian Muslim) population.

For instance, in October 2011 Muamer Zukorlić, the Sandžak-based mufti, teamed up with Tomislav Nikolić, leader of Serbia's Progressive Party (SNS). The partnership is perhaps odd, given Zukorlić's adamant defense for the rights of Bosniak Muslims in Sandžak, while Nikolić, a far right politician, is considered a successor to Milošević's policies. Another interesting collaboration was announced recently between Sulejman Ugljanin and Rasim Ljajić. Ugljanin heads the Democratic Action Party (SDA), which originated in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) during the civil war, while Ljajić heads the Social-democratic Party of Serbia. To be sure, the coalitions are about capturing as many votes as possible so as to unseat Boris Tadić's ruling Democratic Party (DS). Nikolić's strategy might just have paid off, as he reached out to include the otherwise forgotten Bosniak dominated area of Sandžak; as of mid-February, his party leads in the polls, ahead of Tadić's DS.

Another actor on Sandžak's political stage is Esad Džudžević, who heads the Bosniak National Council (BNV). As the excerpted article points out, Džudžević has recently released a draft resolution demanding that Bosniaks of Sandžak be guaranteed the rights granted to all of Serbia's citizens under the constitution. The resolution was criticized by Ljajić, who assured that Bosniaks enjoy rights that are enshrined by international law while, at any rate, all of Serbia's citizens were equally disadvantaged. In effect, all sides claim to defend the rights and values of Sandžak's population and are busy fighting one another.

One could argue that though the Sandžak is quite neglected from a Belgrade-centered point of view, there are yet enough voters to render this area important enough for the election season. The question is, however, what will happen after the election is over. There are growing concerns that, should the ballot be insufficient to improve life in this depressed region, more violent methods may gain support. **End FMSO Commentary (King-Savic)**

## Political Maneuvering in Sandžak

26 January 2012

**Source:** Cvijanovic, Sandra. "Bosniaks in Serbia Issue Declaration Alleging Denial of Right to Ethnic Identity," Radio Belgrade, 26 January 2012



## Bosniaks in Serbia Demand Right to Ethnic Identity

**T**he Bosniak National Council forwarded a declaration to the Serbian Government on the position of Bosniaks in Sandzak and the exercise of their rights in Serbia. They alleged that their right to ethnic identity was denied. The declaration was also forwarded to officials of the EU and State Department. Sandra Cvijanovic reports.

[Cvijanovic] The declaration of the Bosniak National Council says that Sandzak Bosniaks in Serbia are denied the right to an ethnic identity and their constitutional human and minority rights are curtailed, said Chairman Esad Dzudzevic.

[Dzudzevic] The right to official use of the Bosnian language, the right to education in Bosnian, to information in the Bosnian language and script, the right for safeguarding and promoting Bosniak cultural heritage, and the right to proportional representation in government



## ***Continued: Bosniaks in Serbia Demand Right to Ethnic Identity***

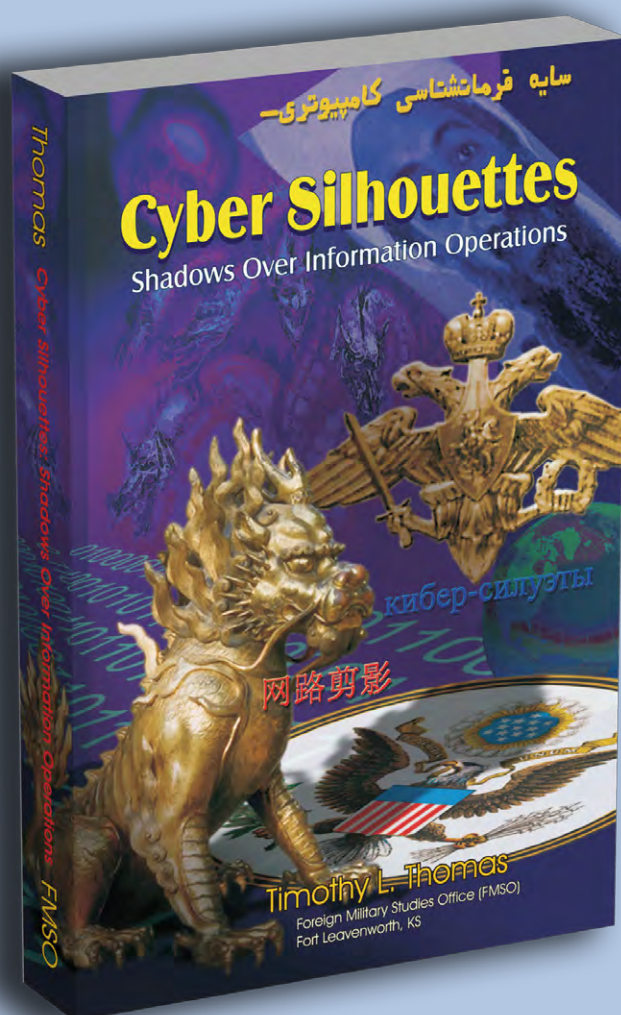
organizations and agencies with public jurisdiction.

[Cvijanovic] Milan Markovic, the minister for human and minority rights, said that problems in Sandzak developed primarily within the Bosniak community. He sees the declaration as part of the election campaign.

[Markovic] Their human and minority rights are really not threatened in any way. I think this is part of the election campaign which is extremely lively among Bosniaks. Bosniak leaders who are making these claims are assembly deputies and part of the government; they have been in the past three governments. I remember when I was an assembly deputy from an opposition party, Mr. Dzudzevic was in power, and today when I am minister, Mr. Dzudzevic is again in power. I mean, it is a bit strange, who are they complaining to, themselves? They have been in government for so long.

[Cvijanovic] The declaration urges prosecution against persons responsible for crimes committed against Bosniaks in the 1990s. The council welcomes unification of the Islamic Community in Serbia and the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but believes that the entities should be dismantled using all legal and political means created on the policy of ethnic cleansing and genocide.

### **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.

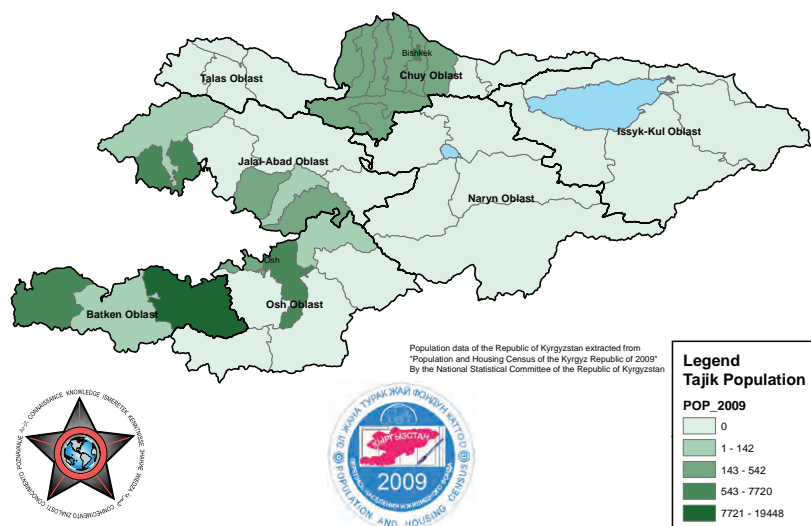
## Ethnic Strife Still a Major Concern in Southern Kyrgyzstan

30 December 2011

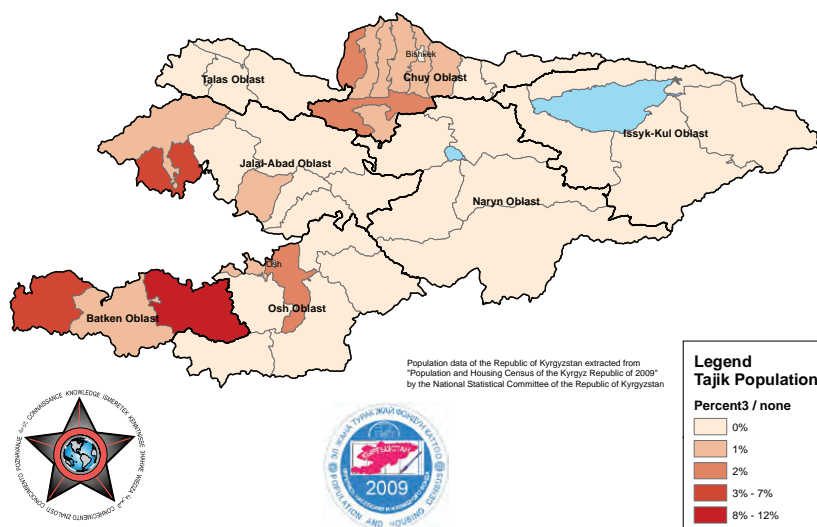
**FMSO Commentary:** On 26 January 2012 an ethnic Tajik murdered a Kyrgyz woman during a bank robbery, causing a group of around 200 Kyrgyz to demand vigilante justice against the Tajik suspect and his family. This was the second such incident of ethnic unrest in the Kyrgyz province of Batken within the last month; on 29 December 2011 some Kyrgyz and Tajik youths got into a brawl, which almost turned into a riot. These incidents set off fears that Kyrgyzstan was heading towards another round of ethnic violence similar to the summer 2010 Uzbek-Kyrgyz riots.

The Kyrgyz government has long been sensitive to ethnic discord in the ethnically diverse Osh, Batken, and Jala-Abad southern provinces in the Fergana Valley. Ethnic animosity has long been a recurring theme in the Fergana Valley; even in Soviet times under much stricter controls there were incidents of mass ethnic violence.

### Distribution of Ethnic Tajiks in the Republic of Kyrgyzstan



### Distribution of Ethnic Tajiks by Percentage of Population in the Republic of Kyrgyzstan



**Source:** Ethnic Tajiks allegedly leave village in Kyrgyz south," Fergana.ru, 31 January 2012. <http://www.ferghana.ru>

## Ethnic Tajiks allegedly leave village in Kyrgyz south

A new ethnic conflict was about to break out in one of the mountainous urban-type settlements in Kyrgyzstan's south. However, in spite of the fact that there were no open clashes some citizens became victims on ethnic grounds.

Everything started when a 24-year-old female cashier, Kamila Abdykaarova, was killed on 26 January 2012 in a branch of the RSK savings bank in Batken Region's Aydarken village. The reported offender, who is a local resident and ethnic Tajik, was soon detained in the town of Kyzyl-Kiya. The detained man, 25-year-old Jonibek Mahmudov, is currently in a local remand centre.

Unscheduled rallies were held in Aydarken on 28 and 29 January. Several hundreds of representatives of the ethnic majority (Kyrgyzs) demanded strict punishment of the murderer and that the relatives of the suspect leave the village immediately and get out to Tajikistan. Otherwise, they threatened to take law into their own hands.

Although law-enforcers assured that the situation is currently under control, additional police and special task forces have been deployed in the village. The village is being patrolled to prevent escalation of the situation.

"To prevent destabilization of the situation we introduced a heightened regime of protecting public order. We will be working in this mode during the coming 10 days," said Jenish Razzakov, the head of the regional police directorate of Kyrgyzstan's Batken Region.

Kyrgyzstan's Batken Region is situated on the border with Tajikistan. Aydarken village (Haydarkan until 2006) was founded in 1940s of the 20th century

## Continued: Ethnic Strife Still a Major Concern in Southern Kyrgyzstan

*The plight of ethnic Tajik and Uzbeks in the southern provinces is of great concern to Bishkek. These ethnic groups comprise large segments of the population, as can be seen in the "Population and Housing Census of the Kyrgyz Republic of 2009" by the National Statistical Committee of the Kyrgyz Republic, which shows significant Tajik and Uzbek populations in the southern provinces. It is important to keep in mind these groups are likely underrepresented in the census, as illegal immigration in these areas is common and only legal residents were counted in the census.*

*Bishkek's concern for the plight of the Uzbeks goes beyond just civil unrest. Uzbeks are extremely active in the local economy and own the vast majority of businesses. The ousting of the Uzbeks from the local economy will likely negatively impact the economic outlook of the already economically deprived southern provinces. Other problems could result if Uzbekistan perceives the persecution of ethnic Uzbeks has gone "too far." Uzbekistan is keenly aware of the plight of the Uzbek diaspora, and in the past has militarily crossed international borders in counterinsurgency operations. If ethnic unrest reaches certain levels, Uzbekistan may feel obligated to militarily intervene to secure the Uzbek diaspora. **End FMSO Commentary (Bartles)***

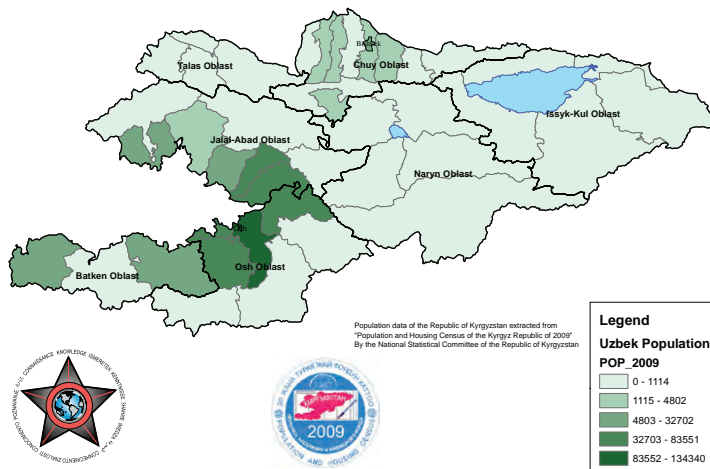
in connection with the opening and developing of a well-known in all Soviet Union mercury mine.

As we already reported, the State National Security Committee of Kyrgyzstan logged 147 hotbeds of interethnic tension in the country, 29 of them are especially dangerous.

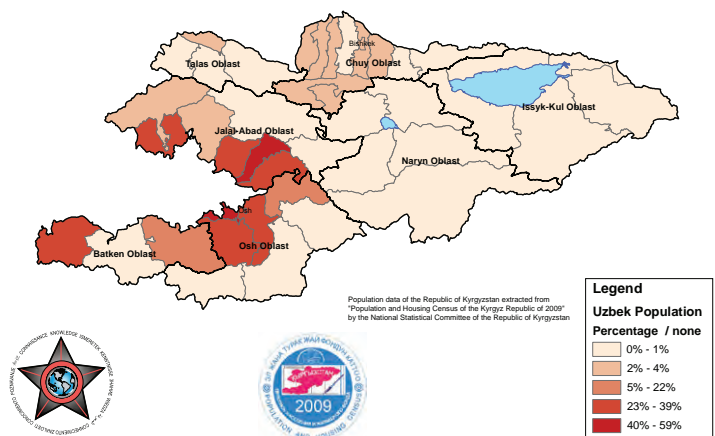
According to BBC, in June 2010 ethnic Tajiks - residents of Aydarken asked Tajik President Emomali Rahmon to protect them and help those who want to return to their historic motherland.

1. Demographic information from the "Population and Housing Census of the Kyrgyz Republic of 2009" by the National Statistical Committee of the Kyrgyz Republic may be downloaded at: <https://www.intelink.gov/sites/fmsogis/gis/centcom/Pages/KyrgyzOSINTmaps.aspx>

Distribution of Ethnic Uzbeks in the Republic of Kyrgyzstan



Distribution of Ethnic Uzbeks by Percentage of Population in the Republic of Kyrgyzstan





## Witnessing the Zhanaozen Violence

16 December 2011

**FMSO Commentary:** The recent violence in the city of Zhanaozen can be traced back to when oil workers in Kazakhstan's western Mangystau Province went on strike over low wages in May 2011. The strike reportedly started without support from the workers' union. The strikers sat peacefully in the main square of Zhanaozen for several months. Several incidents of high profile violence took place in other parts of Kazakhstan in 2011, including the first ever suicide bombing (in the city of Aqtöbe) and another bombing (in the capital Astana) in May, shootings in July (near the village of Shubarshy, western Kazakhstan) and in November (in the cities of Almaty and Taraz) that killed policemen, and another bombing in October (in the city of Atyrau). While media in and outside Kazakhstan covered the striking oil workers, the violence overshadowed their situation.

On December 16 reports came out of Zhanaozen that police and a crowd of people clashed during a concert for Kazakhstan's Independence Day celebration. The reports stated that police fired on unarmed people. A video of police shooting at the crowd emerged on YouTube a few days after the incident. It was filmed from the window of an apartment building and became the main

source of criticism of how the government of Kazakhstan (at the national and local level) and police reacted to the situation. While the video unquestionably shows that police opened fire on the crowd, other videos posted on YouTube show the events that led up to that moment from multiple perspectives.

The videos here are copies of the originals in case they are no longer available on YouTube.

The video titled "Жана озен 3 (Zhana Ozen 3)" appeared on YouTube a few days after the incident. It shows a number of people in the square and a few people throwing rocks at the 0:10-0:14 mark. Shots can be heard at around the 0:14 mark and then throughout the video. At the 0:48 mark a few people have been shot in the leg; one was possibly killed. From 1:18-1:26 a plainclothes policeman in the center of the frame is walking with a camera in his right hand. Footage from this camera appears in a later video.

Other videos, titled "Беспорядки в Жанаозене (Disorder in Zhanaozen)" and "Жанаозен. Как все начиналось (Zhanaozen. How It All Started)," show how the clash with police in the square



## Continued: Witnessing the Zhanaozen Violence

started earlier in the day on December 16. Both videos were filmed by a policeman. The policeman, grabbed from behind by a man in the crowd at the 2:18 mark (from *Disorder in Zhanaozen*), can be seen in the other video (*Zhanaozen. How It All Started*) at 0:05-0:17. The man shouted at the policeman to stop filming. Both videos also show how the crowd overwhelmed the police and pushed past them to the stage.

A video (probably edited together from multiple videos from bystanders) titled “Без комментариев. Беспорядки Жанаозен 16.12.2011 / kplustv (No commentary. Zhanaozen Disorder 16.12.2011 from kplustv – an independent TV station based in Moscow)” shows what happened as the crowd forced police to withdraw. From 2:37-2:47 police try to stay in the square, but are chased off by men carrying sticks. From 4:00-4:38 the police completely withdraw from the square (at 4:16 a few people threw rocks at police). The rest of the video shows some of the subsequent destruction in the square, as well as a couple of failed attempts by police and the fire department to restore order.

Looting and arson of buildings near the square, including the mayor’s office, a hotel, a bank, and a number of small businesses, soon followed. A video titled “Жанаозен документальное видео беспорядков 16.12.2011 (Zhanaozen documentary video of disorder 16.12.2011)” shows the mayor’s office on fire, north of the square.

It is unknown exactly how long the disorder lasted, but police responded by sending in an armed unit to retake the square and restore order. Most of the unit was armed with riot shields and batons, while a few carried a Kalashnikov variant (visible in the following video at the 0:35 mark) and several plainclothes policemen carried pistols. A video titled “Жанаозен. Видео расстрела безоружных людей (Zhanaozen. Video of the shooting of unarmed people)” shows the footage from the man seen in the video *Zhana Ozen 3*. Starting from 0:04 and throughout the video, gunfire can be heard, although it is not until around the 2:14 mark that police fired on the crowd in a concerted effort. Some police possibly shot people before this. However, footage from 0:39-2:13 shows that several people remained on the street on both sides of the police column as it moved to the square. While the main crowd moved away from the column during this time, people do not appear to run away with any urgency until the 2:14 mark. From 3:40-3:54 the crowd, emboldened, can be heard shouting while police scramble to reform a defensive line. A number of shots can also be heard as the crowd shouts.

A video titled “Вид на стрельбу в Жанаозене с крыши (View of the shooting in Zhanaozen from the roof)” shows police retaking the square from a different angle. It shows the column

marching in from northeast of the square from the roof of an apartment building. At the 0:51 mark, there is a muzzle flash from the weapon of the policemen at the front-left side of the column. Plainclothes police on the left side of the column appear to be waving off bystanders from 1:06 -1:11. However, they take aim at people from 1:14-1:21, but it is difficult to tell if they fired their weapons or aimed them as a threat.

While the videos only show a limited number of minutes of what took place in Zhanaozen on December 16, they help answer some questions. The sequence of events was more than just the video shot from the apartment of police retaking the square. Videos taken by police show how they were unable to control the crowd at the concert on the square. The videos also show that they were not armed, other than a few who had batons, and that they were overwhelmed by the crowd and forced to withdraw. Some of the men in the crowd wore coats with the KazMunayGaz logo on the back

(this is Kazakhstan’s national oil and gas company, which owns OzenMunayGaz, the company that employed a number of the workers involved with the strike in Zhanaozen). The government asserted that these men were part of an outside effort, or “third force,” to destabilize Kazakhstan. It is much more likely that they were frustrated with the concert taking place in the location of their strike.

The videos show some of the looting and arson that happened after police withdrew. A photo-essay by bloggers in Kazakhstan shows the destruction in detail. Footage of the police column retaking the square is the most significant of all. It shows that police did fire warning shots in the air as the government claimed, but the plainclothes police could have fired their weapons only seconds after waving the crowd off. These videos also show that, despite warning shots, the crowd did not leave the square or nearby streets until several people were shot. This still leaves the question of why police did not try to use tear gas or other nonlethal means before resorting to force. A political analyst from Kazakhstan speculated that the order to use weapons could have come from a local government or police authority. This would give some credibility to the government’s actions after the violence; several police are now under a criminal investigation and a few government officials lost their jobs, including the president’s son-in-law and head of the Mangystau Province. It remains to be seen what effect these actions will have and it certainly could have been an effort to divert attention away from the national government. In any case, the violence in Zhanaozen ends a year of events in Kazakhstan in which the police and other security services were targeted by criminals and others with ties to radical religious groups. A problem that could come out of this



## Continued: Witnessing the Zhanaozen Violence

is that police and other security services will continue to bear the brunt of violence in Kazakhstan.

Finally, the videos represent a shift in the information battle of official versus unofficial accounts of incidents in Kazakhstan. Both “Zhana Ozen 3” and “View of the shooting in Zhanaozen from the roof” were probably made using cell phone cameras. Cell phones with video capabilities are widely available in Kazakhstan. The government searched for the woman (and family) who filmed “Zhana Ozen 3” from the apartment window almost immediately after the video was released. As more information about the violence came out, the government toned down some of its rhetoric, which is somewhat evident in allowing the bloggers to photograph the city. Despite this, it is certainly possible that the government continues to search for the apartment tenants. The visit from bloggers also came after the government shut down cell phone and internet use in the city. However, a few of the videos were made by police, suggesting that they were either purposely leaked or stolen. The police videos may not vindicate the government, but at least show their view of events. As a result of this, the government will try in the future to exert control over various forms of social media or use them to its own advantage, as it appears the public has already done. **End FMSO Commentary (Stein)**

23, 2012, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S-J7CAR0Gd0>, (accessed February 8, 2012).

7. “Zhanaozen. Nine Days Later...,” Vox Populi, December 29, 2011, <http://www.voxpopuli.kz/en/post/view/id/546>, (accessed February 9, 2012).



Video backups saved on FMSO web server

- [Disorder-in-Zhanaozen](#)
- [View-of-the-shooting-in-Zhanaozen-from-the-roof](#)
- [Zhana-Ozen-3](#)
- [Zhanaozen-Disorder-16-12-2011-kplustv](#)
- [Zhanaozen-documentary-disorder-16-12-2011](#)
- [Zhanaozen-How-It-All-Started](#)
- [Zhanaozen-shooting-of-unarmed-people](#)

<sup>1</sup> Жанаозен Расстрел бастуящих 16.12.2011 (жана озен 3), YouTube, December 21, 2011, [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m2H4Z7K\\_fMI](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m2H4Z7K_fMI), (accessed February 7, 2012).

<sup>2</sup> “Беспорядки в Жанаозене,” YouTube, December 18, 2011, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o9cSHFtE2lc&NR=1&feature=endscreen>, (accessed February 8, 2012); “Жанаозен. Как все начиналось,” YouTube, January 2, 2012, [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kYKqTsJlboxA&feature=channel\\_video\\_title](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kYKqTsJlboxA&feature=channel_video_title), (accessed February 8, 2012).

<sup>3</sup> “Без комментариев. Беспорядки Жанаозен 16.12.2011 / kplustv,” YouTube, December 17, 2011, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xOMD4aTSrxc&feature=related>, (accessed February 8, 2012).

<sup>4</sup> “Жанаозен документальное видео беспорядков 16.12.2011,” YouTube, December 22, 2011, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WzcdZH22sv8&feature=related>, (accessed February 8, 2012).

<sup>5</sup> “Жанаозен. Видео расстрела безоружных людей,” YouTube, December 31, 2011, [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QjpC15Xfmg0&feature=player\\_embedded](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QjpC15Xfmg0&feature=player_embedded), (accessed February 8, 2012).

<sup>6</sup> “Вид на стрельбу в Жанаозене с крыши,” YouTube, January



**FMSO Commentary:** *Most military professionals share an affinity for maps. Indeed, some of the earliest known writing samples are maps depicting conquest and defense. Because military maps may show the disposition of troops or the plan of attack, they are often regarded as confidential. This high regard for maps has been especially true for the Russian military, where the creation, storage, and access to military maps have been closely guarded secrets. During the Soviet period maps were treated with almost religious reverence, and a commander's signature upon a map carried the force of law.*

*Like much of the other paper universe, maps have now entered the digital realm. While there will always be a need for a fold-up version, many military planners rely upon the highly-detailed and precise digital images afforded by new satellite and drone technologies. Incorporating advanced weapon systems into these mapping systems allows for pinpoint accuracy and provides commanders with real-time imagery of terrain and troop disposition.*

*Russia continues to make progress with military reform, to include its renowned topographic service. Russian military leaders understand that new technologies have transformed the mapmaking business. The excerpted interview from the director of a Siberian topographic service highlights some of the changes and challenges facing Russian mapmakers. Like many other service support sectors, military mapmaking has been privatized and is now handled by private organizations. Another noteworthy revelation deals with the dangers of relying upon non-Russian satellites to determine location, particularly during combat operations.*  
**End FMSO Commentary (Finch)**

## Russian Mapmaking

4 February 2012

**Source:** Vladimir Pylayev, "You Can't Get Anywhere Without Topographic Intelligence," *Suvorovskiy Natisk*, 4 February 2012

Logo for the Topographic Service of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation by George Dolgopsky [CC-BY-SA (creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0)] via Wikipedia



## Eastern MD Topographic Service Profiled

**T**he Russian Federation Armed Forces Topographic Service will be 200 years old on 8 February. This is quite a long time, in which the service has performed and continues to perform assignments in the interests of the army and navy. The forms and methods of armed conflict change constantly, but topo-geodetic support has always been in demand for all types and methods of this conflict.

In the Eastern Military District the tasks of topo-geodetic and navigation support of troop employment are tackled by the Topographic Service, which is directed by Lieutenant-Colonel Anatoliy Tyurin. We offer our paper's readers an interview with the chief of the district headquarters' topographic service.

[Pylayev] Anatoliy Anatolyevich, what principal tasks today are entrusted to the district's topo-service?

[Tyurin] The topographic service of the Eastern MD implements the decisions that are made by the senior officers of the RF Armed Forces General Staff and the General Staff Military Topographic Directorate and the RF Armed Forces Topographic Service and supports the district's troops in a topo-geodetic and navigation respect. As distinct from previous years, the topographic maps of our territory are printed by commercial organizations under the defense procurement contract. The former military mapping factories, of our district included, are now public corporations. And now they, again under the defense procurement contract, print military maps.

And the mapping unit that we have now is intended for the publication and compilation of individual lists of topographic and special maps, which, for example, are needed in the interests of the district on an urgent basis. We take mapping material in electronic form and publish a topographic map. This happens if, for example, an exacerbation of the situation is suddenly anticipated in some area, if a threat emerges, and if some topographic maps have simply been completed here.

As far as navigation support is concerned, the field is today, as you know, supplied with satellite navigation equipment--portable and transportable GPS/Glonass instruments. The

## Continued: Eastern MD Topographic Service Profiled

topographic service monitors the signals lest the adversary insert a “slight adjustment,” as was the case in the period of the Georgian-Ossetian conflict.

[Pylayev] Kindly tell us about this in a little more detail.

[Tyurin] We made use there of the same instruments, but in places, let’s say, Glonass was not received because the group of these satellites was smaller than the GPS group, and the troops were unable to precisely determine their coordinates, for the survey of their positions, for example. And this is why we availed ourselves of the GPS group of satellites. The Americans implanted a small bug in the signal, and the coordinates proved inaccurate. This is why, in the event of some threat arising, our service has been entrusted with monitoring duty: we have to establish control and determine in good time if there has been such a signal in order to warn the field.

This was not done in Ossetia, we are learning from our mistakes, our own experience, as they say, therefore. If, that is, the adversary inserts a “correction,” we have to understand this signal and convey the information to the field in time so that it not make use of the GPS and that it make use either of the topographic maps or only the Glonass group.

We monitor the tie of the launch positions in the interests of the Missile Troops and Artillery, incidentally. We altogether do plenty in terms of combat functions. These could briefly be called topo-geodetic support of the district’s troops.

[Pylayev] What can you say about the financing of the topographic service?

[Tyurin] We filed our suggestions as to how we would like to see the financing of the service with the RF Armed Forces General Staff. In 2011 the financing of the Topographic Service improved appreciably compared with previous years. Whereas it was at that time very meager and did not meet requirements, now the situation is changing. In 2012, the chief of the General Staff Military Topographic Directorate and the RF Armed Forces Topographic Service assured us, the financing-support situation will be even more favorable. We are counting on this.

[Pylayev] Are the district’s troops acquiring new plant and equipment for the Topographic Service?

[Tyurin] Yes, Volynets PTsTS (mobile digital topographic system) navigation systems have arrived. Each system consists of three all-purpose modules, one graphics module, and one life-support module on a Ural base. Its main intended function is the accomplishment of tasks of topo-geodetic support with the use of digital technology of the transmission, processing, and storage of terrain information and also the publication of special maps with photographic documents afield. There is a shelter for the processing of digital information, the creation of spatial 3-D terrain models, for

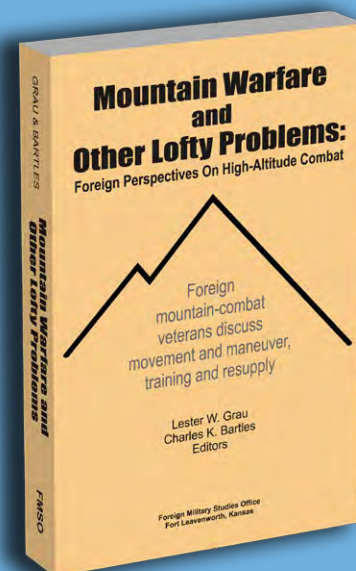
printing maps....

We are also getting the KamAZ-based PNGK--mobile navigation geodetic system. It is intended for the prompt determination of the plan coordinates and heights of points of detail in motion and at halts.

It has inside transportable satellite navigation equipment. You could say that this is a topographic survey vehicle of the most modern standard. The PNGK may pave the way and perform topo-geodetic surveying.

**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.**



**FMSO Commentary:** *In both World Wars, Russian and Soviet military forces confronted weapon and ammunition shortages. We have all heard the stories about how Russian soldiers were sent into battle poorly equipped and supplied. After the Great Patriotic War (WW II) Soviet military planners were determined that this history would never be repeated, and began to stockpile military supplies. The Soviet economic model was largely based on defense production, and planners were rewarded for exceeding the plan. As a result, once the Soviet Union collapsed, Russia found itself literally bursting at the seams with weapons and ammunition. These stockpiles grew even fatter after war materials were removed from Eastern Europe and sent back to the motherland.*

*Unlike old soldiers, who often fade away, old munitions tend to become more volatile with age. Besides the concern that these explosives could end up in the wrong hands, there have been considerable challenges related to their disposal. Anyone who has followed the Russian military over the past decade knows that explosions at these ammunition storage sites have been frequent occurrences. After the most recent series of deadly fireworks in 2011, the Russian Ministry of Defense (MoD) began a concerted effort to reduce and/or eliminate these deadly stockpiles.*

*Scientists and weapon manufacturers have developed systems and procedures to safely neutralize, and in some cases recycle, old munitions. Unfortunately, this equipment and expertise are both expensive and time consuming. Faced with a Siberian-sized mountain of old ammunition, the Russian MoD has opted for the less technical, though more dangerous, method of eradicating these old munitions. As the extracted TV report below makes clear, hastily destroying old ammo can lead to an explosive situation. **End FMSO Commentary (Finch)***

## Ammunition Disposal

29 January 2012

Source: NTV Mir, 29 January 2012



A crew reloads their BM-13 Katyusha rocket launcher, [Public Domain] via militaryfactory.com. Katyusha rounds are among the ammunitions being disposed of by the MoD.

## Explosions and Complaints as Russian MoD Blows Up Old Munitions

**E**xcerpt from report by the international stream of Gazprom-owned Russian NTV on 29 January

[Presenter] The theory and practice of the Big Bang. It rumbled across pretty much all the country last week. The military have finally got on with the job of disposing of ammunition, a fantastic amount of which has been stockpiled at various depots. It's clear already that this will take a vast amount of time and resources - not just one year. And through the bangs you can also hear the groans. People living in towns near military ranges are complaining. It's bad enough living in what sounds like a war zone but walls crack and windows rattle and could blow out at any moment.

Aleksey Pobortsev examines this explosive subject, does some investigating and also sees some technology that borders on fantasy.

[Correspondent] The 125-mm tank rounds are carried carefully. Drop them on the frozen ground and they could go off.

When the TNT charges have been neatly placed along the shells, a single officer - the team commander - remains alongside. He connects all the detonators and takes cover.

The explosions continue from morning to evening. With a break for lunch. In a month new troops and officers will arrive at the tent camp. Rotation is essential. The sapper's



## Continued: Explosions and Complaints as Russian MoD Blows Up Old Munitions

enemy is complacency.

The Soviet army was five million strong and it left behind a huge amount of munitions. After the USSR collapsed Russia took in the arsenals of east Europe and the Baltics. It hadn't carried out any large-scale disposal of munitions for over 20 years. As of today 6m tons of shells, rockets and mines are way past their storage life. This disposal of old munitions on an industrial scale is 15 years late, to put it mildly. There is simply no past experience of how to dispose of them and what the dangers are.

[Aleksandr Rybas, general director, state research and production enterprise for munitions] In the Far East they still have old munitions from the 1930s. They've still got Katyusha rounds, from the after the war. And in some places the crates have rotted away and nobody knows how to get near to them.

[Correspondent] A research institute headed by Vladimir Chobanyan has built a machine that washes explosive substances out of munitions using high-pressure water.

[Vladimir Chobanyan, full member, Russian Academy of Rocket and Artillery Sciences] The machine makes it possible to remove hexogen and TNT from munitions, hundreds of rounds within five minutes. The exterior surface meanwhile remains as clean as a mirror.

[Correspondent] There are other industrial methods for recycling but many munitions have accumulated and the industrial capacity isn't there. This year alone, the military plan to dispose of over 2m tons. Factories can handle less than 10 per cent of that.

The military say there is no alternative to blowing them up. The Ministry of Defense is now in the third of doing just that at dozens of ranges across the country. About 800,000 rail wagonloads of shells, rockets and mines remain to be destroyed. So the explosions are going to continue for years to come.

[Tatyana Nikitina, resident, Popovka village] It's as if we're in a war zone. It's breaking windows and buildings. The water goes off. Who can we petition to have these explosions stopped?

[Correspondent] The people of Popovka in Saratov Region are threatening to blockade a federal highway if the military don't stop blowing up time-expired munitions at a nearby range. The range is 3 km from Popovka.

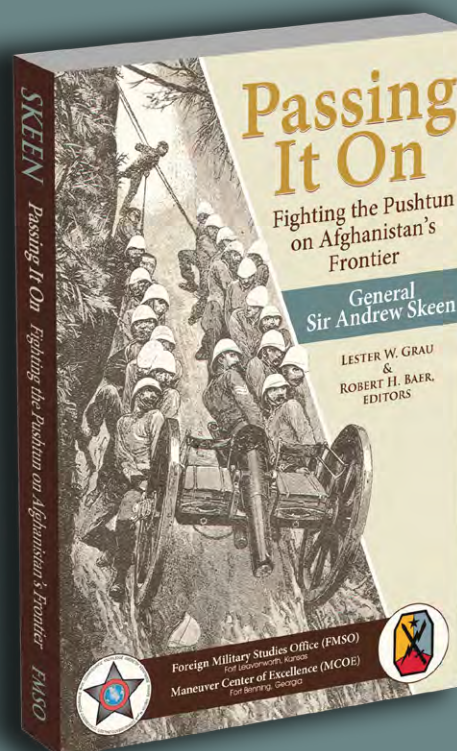
Here is a new way of destroying munitions. A device with a small explosive charge is placed alongside the shell. When it is detonated it discharges its energy into the casing of the old shell, and the explosive inside that burns out immediately.

You don't even get a big crater at the site of the detonation. The

round is destroyed and the metal debris remains within half a meter's radius. No need to clear up shrapnel. This new method is already being used at ranges in the Central Military District.

The disposal program is planned to last until 2015 but the Ministry of Defense says that most time-expired munitions will be destroyed this year and next.

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:** Aristotle once remarked that the “soul never thinks without a mental picture,” implying that perspective has much to do with where one stands. The Kremlin’s view of the recent NATO military operation in Libya illustrates this point. Where some in the West view NATO’s involvement as trying to support the democratic aspirations of Libyan people against a cruel tyrant, many Russians tended to take a less charitable view of this operation. For them the destruction of the Gaddafi regime was more about petroleum and power projection than protecting the freedom of the Libyan people.

Since the collapse of the USSR many Russian security officials maintain that the West/NATO/US has abrogated the Cold War bipolar model of global balance. They point to the aggression of NATO/US in Serbia, Iraq, Kosovo, and Libya, and their willingness to bypass or distort resolutions. From the Russian viewpoint, in using the façade of democracy promotion or concern for human rights, the strong have unilaterally used force over the weak.

Based on this realpolitik interpretation, the extracted article below spells out the required lessons learned for the Russian military. Besides the emphasis upon creating more agile and adept special forces (to include ‘information warriors’), the author points out that there is still a need for robust conventional forces to handle threats along Russia’s borders. Interestingly, the author also maintains that money played a critical role in bribing military leaders in both Iraq and Libya. The author’s implication suggests that Russian political leaders need to ensure that those who guard the state are well compensated. **End FMSO Commentary (Finch)**

## Russian Lessons from Libya 1 February 2012

**Source:** Colonel Anatoliy Tsyganok, candidate of military sciences: “The Libyan War Teaches: Can the Russian Army Acquire a New Look and Re-Equip Before a Real Danger of Aggression Against the Russian Federation Arises?” *Voyenno-Promyshlennyy Kuryer Online*, 1 February 2012



Libyan Rebels at a check point on the road between Benghazi and Ras Lanouf. March 2011 — Photo Gratiane De Moustier/IRIN ([www.irinnews.org](http://www.irinnews.org))

### Успеет ли российская армия приобрести новый облик и перевооружиться до возникновения реальной опасности агрессии против РФ (Libyan War Lessons for New-Look Russian Army)

**C**ombat operations between the troops of the ruling Muammar Gaddafi regime and elements of insurgents reporting to the Transitional National Council (TNC) and supported by the air forces, navies, and special ops units of a number of NATO members were prosecuted for eight months (247 days) of 2011 in Libya.

Since many of the events and facts of this war are as yet unknown, an exhaustive analysis of all that happened in the North African country is still to come. But even the available information permits certain important conclusions concerning the consolidation of Russia’s defense capability. To what should attention be drawn first and foremost?

#### Particular Features of the Campaign

Under the specific conditions of the theater Gaddafi’s army frequently quite skillfully combined concealment and the tactics of operations employing small units against the rebels: hit-and-run attack, rapid retreat. Gas stations were destroyed and supplies of military gear and equipment, munitions, and fuel for the elements of the oppositionists were disrupted in this way. The average statistical combat encounter was a battle involving the

## Continued: Libyan War Lessons for New-Look Russian Army

forces of two or three army companies, a battalion at the most. It would appear that it was these tactics that enabled the Gaddafi-ites to put up resistance to the detachments of the TNC for quite some time, despite the fact that the latter were actively supported from the air by aviation of the North Atlantic alliance.

NATO, the UAE, and Qatar airlifted units of special forces to Libya. The special ops warriors performed sabotage and reconnaissance in the rear areas of the Gaddafi troops, revealing targets for strikes by planes and helicopters. British and French special forces drew up a plan for the assault on Tripoli and coordinated the operations of the insurgent detachments. The taking of the government Bab Al-Aziziya complex by the rebels was directed by service personnel of the UAE and Qatar.

During the Libyan war the charge against Muammar Gaddafi that he was employing mercenaries was the favorite propaganda method of the Transitional National Council. The insurgents and their Western allies maintained that the leader of the Jamahiriya had “bought” fighters in the Maghreb and Equatorial Africa and then began to talk about “soldiers of fortune” from Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine.

‘Under the specific conditions of the theater the Gaddafi army frequently quite skillfully combined concealment and the tactics of operations involving small units’

But the institution of mercenary hire had always been part of the Libyan war machine. In all Gaddafi’s foreign wars the main strike force of the Libyan expeditionary forces had almost always been composed of the pan-African Islamic Legion formed in the image and likeness of the French Foreign Legion and numbering to up to 7,000 men (mainly citizens of Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Nigeria, Pakistan, and Tunisia).

Meanwhile, the Transitional National Council itself was aided by foreign private military companies. Some of them planned and conducted combat operations. Others instructed TNC elements and advised its members. Yet others performed logistic support and serviced complicated arms systems.

Simultaneously with the start of the “revolution” in Libya against Gaddafi and his supporters, a veritable information war, which peaked with the coverage of the storming of Tripoli, was mounted. True, the city had yet to fall when Al Jazeera and CNN showed scenes of the “victory” of the insurgents taken... in Qatar, in the desert not far from Doha. But the episodes that were shown were the signal to attack for the rebels and commandos. Immediately after this, “sleeping cells” of oppositionists throughout the Libyan capital began to set up fortified checkpoints and to burst into the command posts and apartments of officers who had remained loyal to Gaddafi.

### Money as the New Wonder Weapon

A second war, in which funds achieve far more success than as a result of an air operation and blockade of the coastline, is taking place before our very eyes in the 21st century. What was done in Iraq, when the main role was performed by the CIA, which had bribed the commanders of military districts, was practically repeated in Libya. Of the eight Iraqi Army corps, only two fought the troops of the Western coalition, the rest took practically no part in the fighting against the interventionists, abandoning Saddam Husayn to the whim of fate.

The CIA not only paid for treachery but also provided for the removal of the families of the traitors from Iraq at the culminating stage of the operation, when four corps surrendered to the American troops in a week. The following episodes were the most characteristic of this stage: units of the Iraqi Army corps laid down their arms in front of one American battalion, and Saddam Husayn’s home town was “taken” by a CNN television crew.

There was a similar situation in Libya. Realizing that the air operation had practically failed and was not affording the rebels the opportunity to seize power, the NATO command went another route. The main efforts to oust the Gaddafi regime were now entrusted to the US CIA and intelligence officers and special forces of France, Britain, and Italy. The aim was to bribe military officers and diplomats of the Jamahiriya. The bombing is not working, let’s employ the financial weapon. It is known that Italian “knights of the cloak and dagger” ferried back home the families of five generals of Libya’s government troops and then worked energetically with roughly 100 high-level Gaddafi service personnel.

What is interesting, by all accounts, is that NATO and the United States were not particularly tight in spending on bribery and the prosecution of the war. Why? Farhat Bengdara, former chairman of the Libyan Central Bank, who fled to the West in March 2011, maintained that at that time the government of the Jamahiriya had no more than \$500 million in cash and gold reserves amounting to approximately 155 tons. At the same time Libya by the end of 2010 had overseas bank holdings totaling \$150 billion. Part of these funds had been frozen as part of the UN sanctions, and, it is not inconceivable, will go to pay the costs involved in the ouster of Gaddafi.

But this can, as we know, cut both ways.... The Libyan campaign pushed into the background a number of media reports on the withdrawal of funds from banks of the United States and West Europe by the governments of states of Indochina and Latin America that had already begun.

### Lessons for Us

The Libyan war once again showed the following. International law will be broken at any moment if premier states of the West



## Continued: Libyan War Lessons for New-Look Russian Army

deem it expedient for themselves to take such a step. Double standards and the principle of force have become the rule in international politics. Military aggression against Russia is possible in the event of the maximum weakening of its economic, military, and moral potential and the lack of readiness of citizens of the Russian Federation to rise to the defense of their homeland.

The main conclusion is this--the speed of development of a military-political situation unfavorable for our country could significantly overtake the process of formation of the new Russian Army provided with modern weaponry.

Main lessons of the Libyan campaign.

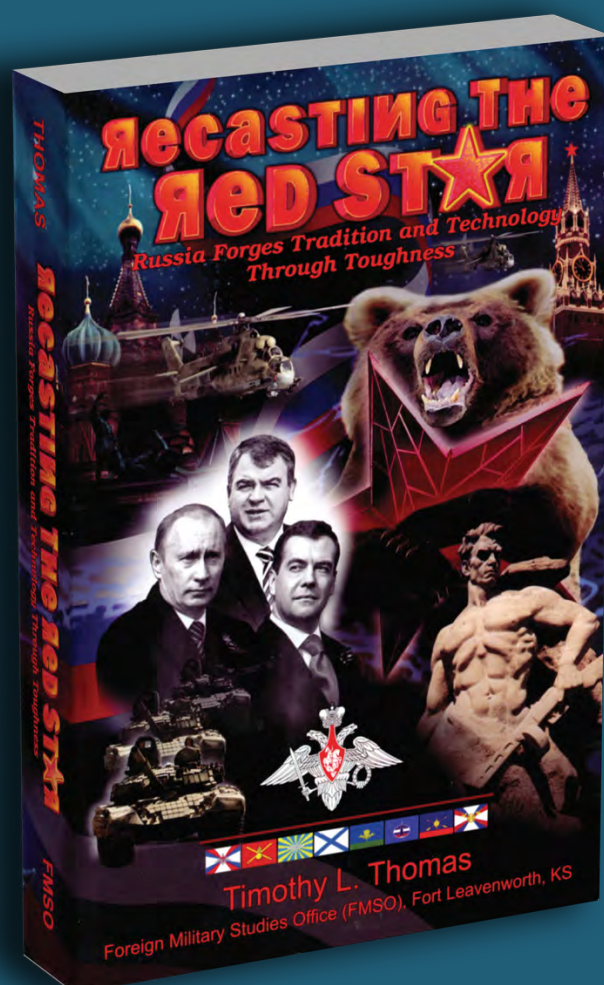
The first. A fundamental revision of the theory of the use of modern armies and special ops forces in future armed conflicts is needed.

The second. The opinion of Western experts that the combined employment of an air operation and a limited number of special forces will be the basis of military operations is wrong. It is essential to form by presidential decision large special ops forces. We have such possibilities. We need to create in the South, West, Center, and East operational-strategic commands the conditions for the conduct of combat operations in individual sectors. Unfortunately, some special brigades and submarine commando forces have either been abolished or are planned for abolition. A reconsideration of the Defense Ministry orders adopted earlier here is required. We need to form new GRU special brigades, detachments, and companies and submarine commando subunits in the fleets.

The third. The Russian Army leadership should evidently begin work on the formation of a new combat arm--information. It is obvious that special organizational-managerial and research entities for countering information aggression have to be formed by presidential decision. It is essential to have information troops, of which state and military news media will be a part.

The fourth. Russia should no longer conduct military exercises only in terms of combating terror. This is ridiculous. We need, I believe, to organize maneuvers with the armed forces of bordering countries. To teach the troops to operate in a situation which actually could come about in these states.

**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:** Since his promotion to the rank of vice-premier in charge of defense issues in December 2011, Dmitry Rogozin has been maintaining a grueling schedule. One day he will be giving pep talks to arms manufacturers, the next promising new weapons factories, while the day after warning of both domestic and foreign threats. Some of this frantic activity is likely tied to the upcoming presidential election and lending support to his chief patron, Vladimir Putin. Rogozin was likely elevated from his station as Russia's representative to NATO to an inner Kremlin position to help capture some of the nationalist and great-power Russian vote.

Even though Putin still enjoys considerable popularity among many Russians, the Kremlin leadership appears reluctant to base his mandate solely on the ballot. Instead, they have relied upon exaggerating foreign threats, particularly the US and NATO. As the excerpted article below makes clear, in such a scheme it is essential that the Russian people are well informed about the many threats surrounding them. Given that Russia plans to spend considerably more on defense during the next decade, creating a new bureaucratic agency to better describe and define foreign dangers is predictable. **End FMSO Commentary (Finch)**

## Distant Threat Assessments

**Source:** Viktor Khudoleyev, "In the Interests of National Security," *Krasnaya Zvezda Online*, 31 January 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-BY-SA-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



## В интересах национальной безопасности (In the Interests of National Security)

### Rogozin Announces New Threat Evaluation, Long-Term Planning Agency

**P**roblems associated with the further development of the main tenets of military science in light of the new nature of the defense missions facing Russia, and prospects for the development of the world geopolitical situation were discussed at a general meeting of the Academy of Military Sciences held Saturday, 28 January, at the Cultural Center of the Armed Forces.

Reports were delivered by: Dmitriy Rogozin, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Government with responsibility for the defense industry complex and head of the Military-Industrial Commission under the Russian Federation Government; General of the Army Nikolay Makarov, first deputy minister of defense and chief of the Russian Federation Armed Forces General Staff; and General of the Army Makhmut Gareyev, president of the Academy of Military Sciences.

The meeting was attended by members of the Academy of Military Sciences and representatives of the government, the Federal Assembly, the Security Council apparatus, ranking personnel of the Ministry of Defense, the General Staff, military academies and scientific research institutions, and the defense industry complex.

Let me mention the fact that the event, which summarized the results of the academy's work in 2011 and identified the objectives for this year, broached questions relating to the continued organizational development of Russia's Armed Forces in light of the changes that have occurred in the nature of armed warfare, and to the forms and modes of the combat



## Continued: In the Interests of National Security

employment of troop groupings in contemporary conditions.

Addressing the gathering, Vice Premier Dmitriy Rogozin announced plans to establish an agency for strategic analysis and planning, which is to evaluate the threats to Russia's national and technological security.

"Its functions will be to evaluate the prospects for the development of the world situation in the security sphere, and to identify the risks and threats to Russia's national defense capability and technological independence for a period of 30 years into the future -- no less, and maybe for an even longer period," Dmitriy Rogozin explained. "This agency is to formulate a strategy for the principal military, economic, and scientific-technical areas of our country's development for the designated period. This will provide a basis on which to compile a forecast of the Russian Armed Forces' requirements in terms both of the appropriate armament and elaboration of the forms of armed warfare. Recommendations on the technological and industrial development of the nation's defense industry complex will also be formulated."

In the opinion of the Russian Federation Government's deputy chairman, there is now a pressing need for a fuller and more effective evaluation of the threats to our state's security. This evaluation needs to be conducted to facilitate the subsequent preparation of proposals for valid measures to counter these threats. The given problem requires a systems-level approach and the statewide execution of interconnected political, economic, diplomatic, informational, and other measures.

"At present, Russia is not fully addressing the questions of medium-term and long-term planning, because this is largely an innovative business," he stated.

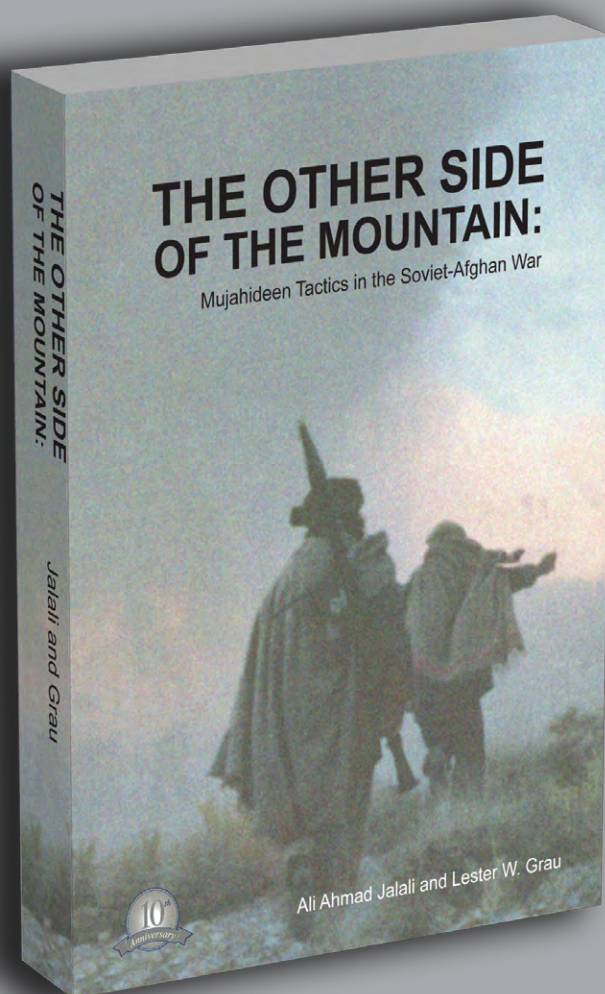
A little later Dmitriy Rogozin made clear that the new structure being set up to evaluate the threats to Russia's national and technological security will not be functioning as a separate agency. It will most probably operate under the guidance of the Scientific and Technical Council of the Russian Federation Government's Military-Industrial Commission.

After emphasizing that the objective of equipping the Armed Forces with domestically produced state-of-the-art types of armament must be achieved as soon as possible, the vice premier announced that three new plants will be built in Russia to manufacture air defense and missile defense systems for the Aerospace Defense Troops.

"A lot of money has been invested in this -- R3 trillion. These resources are being allocated in addition to what it is planned to spend on purchases of military output as part of the State Armaments Program through 2020," Dmitriy Rogozin stated.

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:** During the past 20 years, with regard to the situation and combat readiness of the Russian Air Force, there has often been a gap (some would say abyss) between official announcements and reality. Despite the frequent proclamations that Russian designers are on the cusp of producing 5th or 6th generation aircraft, there have been few new additions, and most of the old Soviet inventory has continued to deteriorate. Despite Russia's overwhelming air superiority, the brief conflict with Georgia in August 2008 illustrated problems with readiness, command and control, and target selection. The lack of Russian unmanned aerial vehicles (UAV) to help with intelligence gathering and target location was certainly a factor. The resources committed to knock down Georgian UAVs (at least six of them) over Abkhazia before the 2008 conflict, however, demonstrate the importance Russia's air planners have attached to this battlefield technology (not to mention subsequent diplomatic communications between Georgia, Russia, and the UN Security council over this issue on the eve of the conflict).

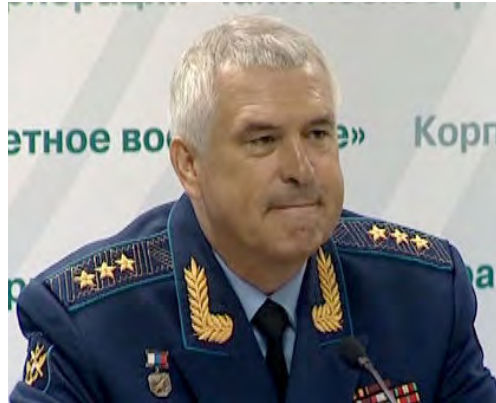
Since their not-so-stunning victory over Georgian forces, Russian political and military leaders have promised considerable increases in defense expenditures to modernize their forces. Should fossil fuel revenues remain robust, the defense rubles may, in fact, be allocated and the Russian military's combat capability (to include the Air Force) is likely to improve. Embarrassed over recent purchases of tactical UAVs from foreign sources, the Russian defense establishment certainly sees the need for developing its own drone technology. Indeed, Soviet engineers had conceived and advocated strategic drones as far back as the 1960s. As the excerpted comments by the Russian Air Force chief indicate, Russia plans to now develop such a long-range, heavy UAV. Despite mastering the theoretical concepts of unmanned aircraft, there are considerable doubts whether Russia has the ability to actually construct and field a strategic strike and reconnaissance UAV. **End FMSO Commentary (McIntosh)**

## Long-Range, Strategic Dreams

13 February 2012

Source: Interfax-AVN Online, 13 February 2012. <http://www.militarynews.ru>

Air Force Commander Alexander Zelin, via RIA Novosti (rian.ru)



### Strategic strike and reconnaissance UAV to be made by 2020 - Air Force commander

**R**ussia will develop a strategic strike and reconnaissance unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV) by 2020, Air Force Commander-in-Chief Col. Gen. Alexander Zelin has told Interfax-AVN.

"One of the main directions of our work is the development of our own strategic unmanned aerial vehicle that would carry out strategic reconnaissance and strategic application tasks. This means that we must develop a new vehicle capable of carrying out both reconnaissance and actual strike functions," he said.

"We are to develop such a strategic unmanned aerial vehicle by 2020," Zelin added.

"We are dealing with the issue directly," he said.

"The vehicle will be used in conditions when unmanned aviation is applicable. If we start saying that it can be used in warfare when domination in the air has not been established, then it is a problematic task," Zelin said.

He said that the UAVs that the domestic industry has been making "unfortunately, don't meet modern requirements existing in the world today."

"We have organized the production of modern unmanned aviation directly on Russian territory, even though there is the opinion that pilots mistrust unmanned aviation because it seems to leave them without their main job as it will take over many of the tasks. Nevertheless, the place and role of unmanned aviation has been defined and the concept has been developed," Zelin said.

Denis Fedutinov, editor-in-chief of Bispilotnaya Aviatsia (Unmanned Aviation) portal, commenting on Zelin's announcement told Interfax-AVN that "he was probably speaking of making a strike UAV of a sufficiently heavy class."

"These are vehicles of the first day of war that are expected to permit delivering strikes to key military infrastructure facilities of the enemy at times when the air force of the enemy still poses a threat to the lives of pilots of conventional aircraft. The possible targets include air defense systems, communications, energy and other facilities," Fedutinov said.

He said that the world does not have very many projects of this UAV class. Two of them are being implemented in the United States: X-45 of Boeing and X-47 of Northrop Grumman. They are expected to be used by the U.S. Air Force and Navy.