

OPERATIONAL ENVIRONMENT WATCH



Volume 1 | Issue 5

September | 2011

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

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

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

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

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

Foreign News & Perspectives

IN THIS ISSUE

TURKEY

3 Turkey Concerned over U.S. Withdrawl from Iraq

5 A New Approach to Fighting PKK Terrorism

EGYPT, SAUDI ARABIA

7 The Sinai, Camp David and Egypt's Transition

9 Saudi Arabia and GCC Condemn Syrian Government Violence

LIBYA

10 A Key Player in Post-Qaddafi Libya

11 Missing from Libya's National Decision Process: Women

12 Pardonne?! French Arms For Libyan Rebels End up in Pro-Qaddafi Hands

13 Africa: Qaddafi's Ouster was a Veil for Imperialism

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

14 Is a Sub-Saharan Spring in the Making?

NIGERIA, KENYA

16 Unusual Business as Usual: China's Geothermal Project in Kenya

18 Nigeria Goes Extra-Terrestrial

CAMBODIA

19 High-level Border Talks Between Cambodia and Thailand

MYANMAR

20 Fresh Govt Attack on KIA at Hydropower Dam

THAILAND

21 Running the Yala Gauntlet, 53 Killed in the Far South

MEXICO

22 Global Narco-Trafficking Operations

24 Deep-Seated Corruption

CHINA

26 China's First Manned Submersible Will Take the Country to New Depths

28 Expansion of the SCO?

CENTRAL ASIA

29 Mines Along Central Asian Borders

KAZAKHSTAN

30 Media Freedom and Security in Kazakhstan

RUSSIA

31 Training to Avert Disaster

32 Does Decapitation Work?

34 Non-Incentive Pay

Regional Analyst

Africa	Robert Feldman, robert.feldman1@us.army.mil
Sub-Saharan Africa	Jason Warner, jason.s.warner2.ctr@us.army.mil
Middle East	Lucas Winter, lucas.winter@us.army.mil
Turkey	Karen Kaya, karen.kaya@us.army.mil
China	Ruoxi Du, dorol1988@ku.edu, Cindy Hurst, cindy.a.hurst@us.army.mil
India	Ivan Welch, ivan.welch@us.army.mil
Mexico	Tony Scheidel, anthony.scheidel@us.army.mil
Central Asia	Matthew Stein, matthew.stein2@us.army.mil
Russia	Ray Finch, raymond.c.finch@us.army.mil
Layout/Graphics	Aaron Perez, aaron.d.perez.ctr@us.army.mil
Editor	Harry Orenstein, horenstein@me.com



Features



3 Turkey Concerned over U.S. Withdrawl from Iraq

“Türkiye PKK’ye Karşı ABD’ye Bağımlı Hale Geldi (Turkey has become Dependent on the U.S. against the PKK),” Evrensel.net, 11 September 2011

“The pending withdrawal of all American troops by the end of 2011 is a cause for great concern in Turkey. Turkey fears that the eventual departure of U.S. forces could exacerbate security problems in Iraq; jeopardize Iraq’s territorial integrity and give the outlawed terrorist organization the Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK) a freer hand to attack Turkey.”.



9 Saudi Arabia and GCC Condemn Syrian Violence

“Masdar s’audi yanfi aya taharruk ‘askari b-itijah al-hudud al-urduniya-al-suriya” (Saudi Source Denies Military Mobilization toward the Syria-Jordan Border), Elaph, 19 August 2011

King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz has taken a strong stand against the Syrian regime and asked that the demands of the Syrian people be addressed.



11 Missing from Libya’s National Decision Process: Women

Abushwsha, Farah. “Libya will only become inclusive when women are given a say in its future,” The Guardian, 2 Sept 2011

To exclude women is to exclude a vital force in the reconstruction of a stable, representative and democratic Libya.



13 Qaddafi’s Ouster was a Veil for Imperialism

“Over 200 African Leaders: NATO’s Libyan War Part Of Plan To Recolonize Continent” Mathaba, 25 August 2011

Because of this connection between sovereignty and freedom in African thought, when one African country’s sovereignty is fundamentally threatened – as was the case when NATO decided to oust Qaddafi – all other African leaders become both indignant at the perceived injustice and apprehensive about their own states’ security

深海蛟龙

26 China’s First Manned Submersible

“Nanfang Ribao Online “深海”蛟龙” — 探秘中国首个载人深潜器“蛟龙”号 (Deep Sea Dragon – First Manned Deep Submersible in China),” 15 Aug 2011

While the Jiaolong, according to China’s scientists, is intended for benign purposes, its uses could extend well beyond its present purposes in time of escalated tensions.

Turkey Concerned over U.S. Withdrawal from Iraq

11 September 2011

Source: "Türkiye PKK'ye Karşı ABD'ye Bağımlı Hale Geldi (Turkey has become Dependent on the U.S. against the PKK)," Evrensel.net, 11 September 2011. <http://www.evrensel.net/news.php?id=13423>



Turkey Credits U.S. Predator drones for Intelligence on PKK targets in Iraq. MQ-1 Predator Drone By U.S. Air Force photo/Lt Col Leslie Pratt [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons

Türkiye PKK'ye Karşı ABD'ye Bağımlı Hale Geldi (Turkey has become Dependent on the U.S. against the PKK)

The Washington Post claimed that Washington was considering a request from Turkey to base a fleet of Predator drones at the joint Incirlik to fight the PKK in northern Iraq. In its detailed article, the Washington Post claimed that Washington was undecided about the request but that American officials were leaning towards agreeing to the request. The article also mentioned that Turkey had become dependent on the U.S. in its fight against the PKK.

In a long article by Craig Whitlock, the Washington Post newspaper claimed, "The Obama administration is considering a request from Turkey to base a fleet of Predator drones on Turkish soil for counterterrorism operations in northern Iraq. Such a decision might strengthen the diplomatic alliance but also drag the United States deeper into a regional conflict."

The Dependency was highlighted

The paper claimed that the U.S. had flown the unarmed Predators from Iraqi bases since 2007 and shared the planes' surveillance information as part of a joint fight against the PKK. "Unless a new home for the Predators is found, however, the counterterrorism partnership could cease by December 31, when all U.S. forces are scheduled to withdraw from Iraq."

The paper also claimed that the Obama administration had not yet made up its mind about the request. It alluded to the Wikileaks documents and claimed that Turkey had become dependent on the Predator drones, U-2 spy planes and other U.S. intelligence resources in its fight against the PKK.

The Washington Post argued that the Predator missions in northern Iraq have improved

FMSO Commentary: The pending withdrawal of all American troops by the end of 2011 is a cause for great concern in Turkey. Turkey fears that the eventual departure of U.S. forces could exacerbate security problems in Iraq, jeopardize Iraq's territorial integrity and give the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), the outlawed terrorist organization, a freer hand to attack Turkey.

Regarding the U.S. departure from Iraq, Turkey's greatest concern is that the U.S. will cease providing intelligence regarding PKK activities. Turkey credits U.S. intelligence provided by reconnaissance planes with assisting in the fight against the PKK. Given that the PKK continues to launch attacks on targets in southeastern Turkey from its bases in northern Iraq, this intelligence support remains critical. Without the daily satellite monitoring it will become difficult for Turkey to follow PKK elements' activities, their internal fights, and where and how they get support. The drones that provide this intelligence are set to be withdrawn along with the rest of U.S. forces by 31 December 2011.

Turkey is also concerned about whether the Iraqi government will deny it permission to conduct cross-border operations against the PKK. Based on its agreement with the U.S., Turkey conducted at least 30 air strikes against PKK targets in 2008 alone, including one which lasted ten days, and it is possibly getting ready to conduct another one. When Iraqi air space was under American military control, Turkish war planes had the freedom to bomb PKK targets in northern Iraq as they wished. However, once all U.S. forces have left, the Iraqi government may try to restrict this freedom for the Turkish war planes.

The withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Iraq at the end of the year has been the cause of great debate in Turkey. As many warn that Turkey may be on

the brink of upsetting events, they also caution the U.S. to plan its withdrawal very carefully, and to take note of Turkey's concerns in the process. The article below discusses a recent initiative by Turkey in which Turkey requested U.S. Predator drones to be moved from Iraq to the joint Incirlik Air Base in Turkey.
End FMSO Commentary (Kaya)

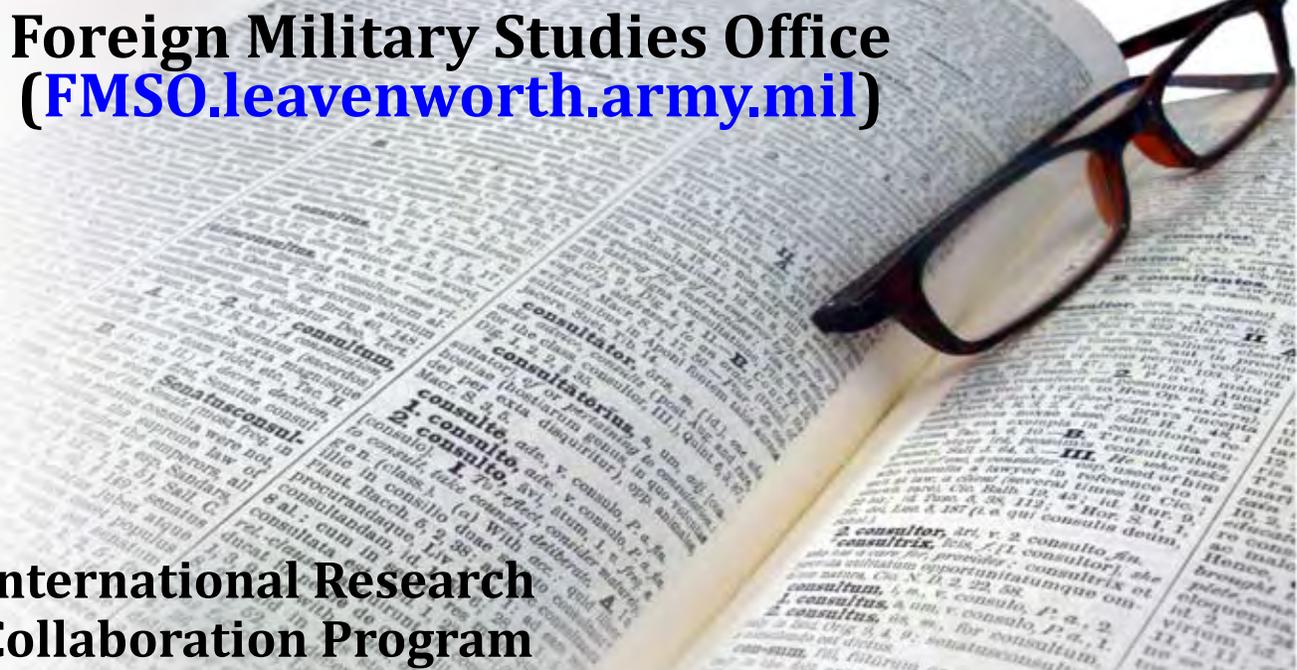
Continued: Turkey has become Dependent on the U.S. against the PKK

relations with Turkey but also exposed the U.S. to the possibility to a local war. It also claimed that, “the U.S. government officially labels the PKK as a terrorist organization, but the PKK has not targeted American interests.”

According to the paper, U.S. State Department spokesman Michael Hammer declined to answer specific questions about the role of the Predators, but said that, “Turkey is a long-standing ally and partner of the United States, and we continue to support Turkey in its struggle against PKK terrorism through various forms of cooperation,” adding that “We support continued cooperation between Iraq and Turkey in combating the PKK, which is a common enemy of Turkey, Iraq and the United States.”

Risks that the Washington Post Pointed Out

In the last part of the article, the Washington Post warned that selling the drones to Turkey posed other risks, pointing out that PKK leaders had made vague public threats against the United States, warning them not to supply Turkey with “special assassination aircraft.” The article also pointed out that PKK leader Murat Karayilan had said in a 2010 interview that, “If the U.S. gives these aircraft to Turkey and if we are hit by them, then we will hold the U.S. responsible.”



Foreign Military Studies Office (FMSO.leavenworth.army.mil)

International Research Collaboration Program

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

A New Approach to Fighting PKK Terrorism

20 August 2011

Source: Bila, Fikret. "Terörle Mücadelede Yeni Dönem (A New Era in Fighting Terrorism)," Milliyet.com.tr, 20 August 2011. <http://siyaset.milliyet.com.tr/terorle-mucadelede-yeni-donem/siyaset/siyasyazard-eyay/20.08.2011/1428993/default.htm>



Kurdish Inhabited Areas [Public Domain] via Wikimedia Commons

Terörle Mücadelede Yeni Dönem (A New Era in Fighting Terrorism)

The National Security Council statement has identified a framework for fighting terrorism in the next era. The armed fight against terrorism will continue and will be particularly focused on the Qandil Mountains. Security forces will fight with all their resources against the terror attacks perpetrated by the PKK. The air strikes against the Qandil Mountains will continue.

The National Security Council statement highlighted the strategic goal one more time: "One nation, one flag, one country, one homeland." From Ankara's point of view, the strategic goal, in other words, is to protect the national and territorial integrity of the Turkish Republic and ensure its continuity as a "democratic, secular, social state with the rule of law." Policies regarding the armed, economic, social and cultural fight against terror and its resources will be carried out with this ultimate goal in mind.

The strategic goal from the PKK's point of view is to dismantle Turkey's national unity first, and then its territorial integrity. This ultimate goal has been suspended in recent years, but the requests that have been made, the deals that have been forced through terror, are all milestones on the way to this ultimate goal.

Government Authority

The primary goal of terror organizations is to damage government authority and gain the

FMSO Commentary: In reaction to an upsurge in violence by the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), a terror group fighting for an independent Kurdish state in southeastern Turkey, the Turkish government is taking steps to revise its doctrine to respond to the challenge. Since August 2011, elements of the PKK have launched an increasing number of attacks in Turkey from their stronghold in the Qandil Mountains in northern Iraq. The rebels escalated the violence and killed over 40 Turkish soldiers and policeman in the last month. Following this, Prime Minister Erdoğan declared that his patience had run out and ordered a wave of air strikes against PKK targets in northern Iraq.

As Turkish military and government officials often say, the PKK is to Turkey what Al-Qaida is to the U.S., or that "the PKK is Turkey's Al-Qaida." Indeed, both the U.S. State Department and the European Union designate the group as a foreign terrorist organization. Founded on Marxist principles, the PKK (the Kurdistan Workers' Party) is considered a terrorist organization by the Turkish and U.S. governments, as well as the E.U. It began its armed campaign for Kurdish independence in 1984, and it is estimated that approximately 35,000 lives have been lost as a result of the PKK's insurgency. Weakened after the capture of its leader, Abdullah Öcalan, in 1999, the PKK declared a ceasefire and partially withdrew into Northern Iraq. Since then, the organization has called off its cease-fire and increased its attacks, particularly during 2006-2009, then again in August 2011. Turkey fears that an independent Kurdistan emerging from the Iraq conflict would embolden separatist aspirations within its own Kurdish population. With approximately 14 million Turkish Kurds, Turkey is home to the largest Kurdish population in the world. Turkey has been a vocal advocate for Iraq's territorial integrity, fearing that any federal

structure would lead to an independent Kurdistan.

The below article discusses a new National Security Council statement which identifies what the Turkish government's approach should be to fighting PKK terrorism. It contains an analysis of the current and possible future situation in Iraq and claims that the most important strategy must be to undermine the PKK's authority in Turkey's southeast. End FMSO Commentary (Kaya)

Continued: A New Era in Fighting Terrorism

public's recognition of its existence. The PKK has been trying to achieve this since its inception. The recent increase in terror incidents, the increase in the number of attacks against soldiers and policemen, road blockades, the kidnapping of government officials including mayors are all aimed at gaining recognition as the ruling authority in the region. Creating parallel legislative and executive institutions, trying to solve public problems through terror instead of courts, controlling small business products, collecting fees like taxes and recruiting youth from families as if they are being recruited for the military are all efforts to create a government-like authority.

Now the PKK is trying to send the message that it is the authority that organizes the economic and society, in order to make its presence felt in the fields of education, health, municipal services and cultural activities.

The National Security Council statement indicates that the government is aware of this. The statements claims, "The authority's strength will be made clear." It is becoming clear that one of the main goals regarding the fight against terror within the next phase is to prove that government authority is the only authority in the country.

The PKK's Pressure

I had a chance to chat with Ankara Parliamentarian Yalçın Akdoğan, who is close to Prime Minister Erdoğan. While telling me about his impressions from a recent visit to Batman, he said the following about the authority and security problem: "The PKK camp is really putting a lot of pressure on the public through its military wing. It's trying to show that it is the dominant authority. We have great complaints about this from our citizens. Under these circumstances, we need to show citizens that we are there to protect and secure them. We cannot abandon the

citizens of the region to the organization's authority. Our main goal should be to show that the government authority is supreme and has the power to protect the citizens."

"A Declaration of War"

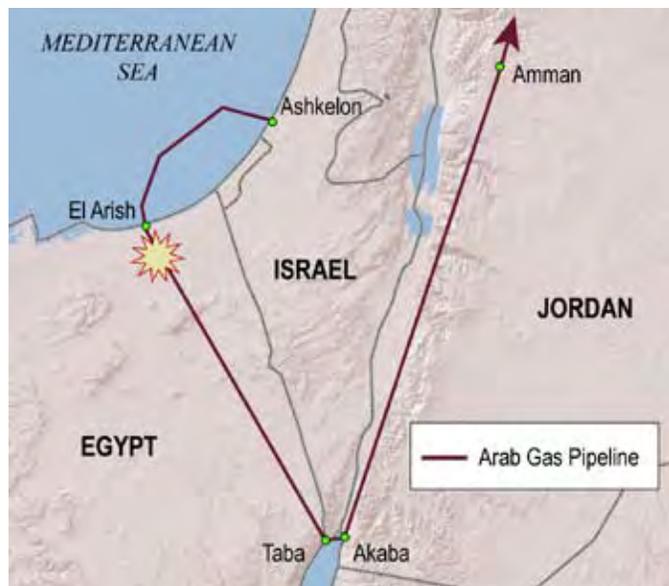
Akdoğan also talked about how the PKK speakers interpreted Prime Minister Erdoğan's speech following the terror attacks on Silvan and Cukurca, as "a declaration of war" and said: "They said that the Prime Minister's speech is a declaration of war. Can this be an acceptable approach? You are going to continue your terror activities, attacks on soldiers and policemen, recruit people to your organization, and expect the government to do nothing... The security forces are supposed to do nothing. Then, you say that the Prime Minister is declaring war. You are the one who has declared war from the start. It is unthinkable for the government to accept this."

"No more 'Missing in Action's'"

Akdoğan summarized the approach to be taken against terror in the new phase: "The fight against terror is a comprehensive one. It has economic, social, cultural and legal facets. These will all be addressed. We must view the process of democratization in this framework as well. Democratization will continue. But the armed fight against the terror organization will also continue, but will continue within the boundaries of a state with the rule of law. There will be no pressuring the public because we are fighting terror. We will not view the entire region's public as potential terrorist group members. This is an important distinction. We will not deviate from the laws and repeat past mistakes. There will be no more 'missing in action's. The fight will always be conducted within legal boundaries.

The Sinai, Camp David and Egypt's Transition

21 August 2011



Source: Sinai contested: Outlaws, Islamists, Israel and army, al-Masry al-Youm, 21 August 2011. <http://www.almasryalyoum.com/en/node/488224>

Explosions of Arab pipeline during and after Egyptian protests affect the region. Map by Aaron Perez [CC-BY (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0)] Data from ESRI, Wikipedia, and AFP

Sinai contested: Outlaws, Islamists, Israel and army

Moussa al-Delh, a member of Sinai's influential Tarabeen tribe, was a fugitive before Egypt's uprising began in January, accused of inciting violence against Egyptian security forces in the peninsula. Now he sits at a café in the center of Arish, the capital of North Sinai Governorate, and praises the military's "purging" campaign. "It is important to understand that the army is mainly targeting Islamists in Sinai, and not Bedouin outlaws, like some claim," he says, adding that "outlaw" is a pre-revolutionary concept created by the much-resented former State Security Investigation Services.

The question of militant Islamist groups operating in the peninsula has been simmering for months, since security there collapsed in the wake of the uprising that brought down former President Hosni Mubarak. The issue boiled over last Thursday, when a coordinated attack in Israel near the Sinai border left eight Israelis dead and then five Egyptian border guards killed in what appeared to be "friendly fire" from the Israeli army.

As of recently, the Egyptian armed forces, previously banned from operating in large numbers due to stipulations in its 1979 peace treaty with Israel, joined the confusion by entering Sinai in full force. The United Nations peacekeeping force in the area says that Israeli troops entered the territory on Thursday. Egypt's interim cabinet issued a statement on Friday saying that the current security measures in Sinai are internal issues that have nothing to do with the attacks inside Israel. "They strictly target local outlaws," the statement said. What exactly makes an outlaw an outlaw remains unclear.

On 29 July, dozens of men on motorcycles and pickup trucks armed with machine guns attacked a police station in Arish. The perpetrators and organizers of the attack remain unknown and an investigation is still underway. Egyptian authorities have pointed

FMSO Commentary: The Arab Gas Pipeline, which transports Egyptian natural gas to Israel (and Jordan through a different pipeline), has been attacked in the northern Sinai a number of times since the overthrow of the Mubarak government. The fifth and most recent attack came on July 30, when a terminal near the restive town of Arish was blown up with dynamite by attackers wielding rocket-propelled grenades. The attack came the day after an armed group – seemingly a coalition of revolutionary Islamists and men with particular grievances against the government – attacked the town's central police station and clashed with police.

Since stipulations of the Camp David Peace Accord restrict Egyptian army presence in the Sinai, there has been a considerable police presence there since the accords were signed. When popular protests shattered the Egyptian intelligence and security apparatus of the Mubarak regime, groups within the Sinai began challenging government control by strength of violence rather than numbers. The clashes in Arish were quelled when the army intervened. A few days later a group calling itself al-Qaeda in the Sinai Peninsula issued a highly publicized statement calling for the establishment of Islamic rule in the Sinai and an end to the Camp David regime. The Egyptian Army responded by launching "Operation Eagle," sending troops into northern Sinai with an initial focus on three particularly restive areas in the peninsula's north: Arish (in north-central Sinai), Rafah (on the far east along the border with Gaza) and a town between the two called Sheikh Zuwaid. The deployment of Egyptian army troops and tanks in Area C of the Sinai (the easternmost third of the peninsula), as per the Camp David Accords, requires coordination with Israeli authorities.

Amidst these growing tensions, on August 18 five Egyptian soldiers were killed by Israeli forces, who allegedly crossed into Egyptian territory in pursuit of the perpetrators of an attack in the

Israeli Red Sea resort town of Eilat (across the Egyptian border) that left eight Israelis dead. The incident further heightened already significant anti-Israeli resentment throughout Egypt and led to various protests and sit-ins in front of the Israeli embassy. In what has quickly become an iconic image in Egypt, a young man (#Flagman) scaled the Israeli mission, removed the Israeli flag and replaced it with an Egyptian one. Work to build a massive wall around the Israeli embassy is underway at the time of writing, after the iron fence surrounding the embassy was destroyed by protesters last month. The new wall, naturally, is highly unpopular with Egyptian protesters and activists.

*It is in this context that the following article explores events in the Sinai. Making matters more complicated is that the increasingly tenuous Israeli-Egyptian relationship faces a major test as Palestinian authorities prepare to bring a vote on statehood before the UN. Amidst all this, Egypt's transitional authorities are faced with the unenviable task of maintaining security both in the Sinai and other parts of the country, while at the same time heeding popular demands that they end the cultures of impunity, heavy-handedness and coziness with Israel that characterized the Mubarak era. **End FMSO Commentary (Winter)***

Continued: Sinai contested: Outlaws, Islamists, Israel and army

fingers at Islamist radical groups, but the situation appears less simple. Mohamed Ali, an administrator at North Sinai University, says that he also recognized local thugs taking part in the attack. The outlaws, he says, are among those who were sentenced in absentia to years of prison during the harsh crackdown on Sinai tribesmen following the terror attacks that hit the peninsula between 2004 and 2006. This group was followed by radical Islamists who raised black flags with “No God but Allah” inscriptions on them and, according to people living in the neighborhood, battled the police for nine hours. It is unclear if the two groups of attackers coordinated.

Infiltrations from the Gaza Strip have also raised concerns about a rising Islamist insurgency in Sinai. Palestinian factions competing with Hamas’ control of Gaza are chased out and driven into Sinai by way of tunnels that bypass the tightly controlled border. “Both Hamas and the military intelligence here in Arish have full information about all groups infiltrating into Egypt from Gaza. No one can expand and form a whole armed movement here, because they are well-tracked,” says a Palestinian living in Arish who requested anonymity.

Egyptian tanks and armored personnel carriers are currently present at military checkpoints between Arish, Rafah, and the nearby town of Sheikh Zowayed. The military show of force is part of the Egyptian armed forces’ “Operation Eagle,” a troop mobilization that began on 12 August. The deployment, which is ostensibly in response to terrorism threats, needed to be authorized by Israel, as it technically breaches the peace accords, according to reports in the Israeli daily Haaretz. The mobilization came a week after a statement from a group advocating for an Islamic emirate in the peninsula and calling itself Al-Qaeda in the Sinai Peninsula went viral in the Egyptian media. In response, the military said it would “purge” the peninsula. Many people in Sinai voiced their support for the operation, but others raised concerns.

The assailants in the 18 August attack in Israel were reportedly wearing Egyptian army uniforms. The attack was, according to Israel, perpetrated by insurgents from Palestinian Resistance Committees based in Gaza who infiltrated Sinai through tunnels. The incident led Israeli officials to condemn Egypt’s unsuccessful military campaign in Sinai. Some Israeli commentators even suggested that the Israeli military move into Sinai and establish a security perimeter near the border.

A security source tells Al-Masry Al-Youm that the current military presence is only a precursor to a strong comeback from the police, and nothing more. For some, the military incursion into the peninsula sets up a perception that there are two clear options for the area: Islamist rule or orderly military rule. That is a convincing argument for some.

“All that I care about is not having Islamic rule. If it takes the army to guarantee that for me, I totally support it,” says Ali.

For Delh, the Islamists pose no threat, mainly because they seem to lack interest in state institutions. According to him, while Bedouins are not particularly paying attention to the different political propositions with regards to the country’s future, there is a sense of comfort with a military presence that respects tribal autonomy. “The relationship between the army and the Bedouins is so strong and it is showcased in the current campaign,” says Delh, who sees in it a beginning for a potential attribution of more security functions to the tribes. “Outside cities, the Bedouins should be given legal authority to maintain security within their tribes, as was the case before [the Israeli occupation in] 1967,” he says.

Saudi Arabia and GCC Condemn Syrian Government Violence

19 August 2011



Source: “Masdar s’audi yanfi aya taharruk ‘askari b-itijah al-hudud al-urduniya-al-suriya” (Saudi Source Denies Military Mobilization toward the Syria-Jordan Border), Elaph, 19 August 2011. <http://www.elaph.com/Web/news/2011/8/676998.html>

Syria and its borders. Syria 2007 Political Map by CIA [Public Domain] via Perry-Castaneda Library Map Collection (www.lib.utexas.edu)

Saudi Source Denies Military Mobilization toward the Syria-Jordan Border

A Saudi official source denied to the “Elaph” website that there is any Saudi Arabian military mobilization toward the Syria-Jordan border. Several sites, mostly loyal to the Syrian regime, had broadcast news over the past twenty four hours saying that “columns of Saudi tanks had moved from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia toward the Syria-Jordan border,” in a reference that some interpret as a threat to the Syrian regime, perhaps of an impending military operation against the Syrian government. This comes in light of reliable intelligence that the mines across the Syria-Jordan border are being removed.

The Saudi source described the news as “fabricated, unreliable and far from the truth.”

King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz has taken a strong stand against the Syrian regime and asked that the demands of the Syrian people be addressed. In a statement described by the media as “historic,” on August 7 the Saudi King recalled his ambassador from Damascus, stating that the repression against demonstrators taking place in Syria “is unacceptable to Saudi Arabia, for what is happening is greater than the reasons given to justify it. The Syrian leadership should put comprehensive and quick reforms in place.”

The Saudi king alluded to the large number of martyrs killed and also the many wounded and injured. “That is not religion,” he added, “nor is it values or morality.” The Saudi king also said that “Syria’s future is one of the two options only, either making the wise choice or drifting into the depths of chaos and loss, God forbid.”

King Abdullah’s speech came a day after an emphatic call from the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) asking Syria to “immediately stop the bloodshed” and expressing “grave concern and regret” regarding “the excessive use of force” in Syria. Syria was quick to reject the GCC statement, expressing its “regret” for its release and saying that it would have been more appropriate for the GCC to call for “an end to the acts of sabotage and condemn the violence of armed groups that wish ill on the Syrian homeland.”

King Abdullah’s statement came after a similar one issued by the Secretary General of the Arab League, Nabil al-Arabi, which called on Syrian authorities to “put an immediate stop” to violence, in the first official statement issued by the league regarding the suppression of popular protests in Syria.

***FMSO Commentary:** With the Libyan armed conflict having entered its endgame phase, international focus and pressure will likely turn on the Syrian government, which continues killing its nationals with impunity. Syria has made itself strategically powerful in the region through a complex and sophisticated foreign policy established during the times of Hafez al-Assad. Its strategic location and complex regional links are among the reasons other countries have treaded with more care in Syria than they did in Libya; awareness that foreign intervention is highly unlikely is often mentioned as an important element in the Syrian government’s risk calculus.*

With American and European diplomatic and economic pressure received with indifference by Syrian authorities, Saudi Arabia and the rest of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) have entered the fray. The irony of Saudi kings calling for democracy is lost on no one in the region. At the same time there is little sympathy for the Syrian government’s current behavior and the messenger’s sins are temporarily easy to overlook for many pro-democracy activists in Syria and across the region.

*The Syrian government could turn to Iran if fully isolated from its neighbors. The national economy is being run to the ground in ways that will eventually become unsustainable, barring significant economic assistance. Even “staunch ally” Iran has called on the Syrian government to dialogue with protesters. The Syrian government, even to Iranian leadership, may be starting to look reckless. Syria sits at the center of the Middle East powder keg, sharing borders with Iraq, Turkey, Jordan, Israel and Lebanon. Continued recklessness by Syrian authorities will likely drag one or more of these countries into the spotlight alongside Syria, as the second phase of the “Arab Spring” kicks off. **End FMSO Commentary (Winter)***

FMSO Commentary: Among the distinguishing features of the Libyan uprising is the speed with which government officials defected to the rebel side. Some of the defectors have played important roles during the uprising, including “technocrats” and “reformists” such as Mustafa Abdel Jalil (former justice minister) and Mahmoud Jibril (former head of National Economic Development Board), arguably the two most influential figures in the Transitional National Council (TNC). Whether they would yield similar influence in a United Libyan Democratic Republic is uncertain. Another group of Libyan defectors includes scores of ambassadors and foreign diplomats. Some are likely to play a part in the new Libya, particularly those who defected within the first few days; later defectors, such as former security head and foreign affairs minister Musa Kusa, may be too closely associated with Qaddafi.

The latest defection was that of Abdelsalam Jalloud, a highly influential figure during the early and middle phases of Qaddafi’s rule, until he was sidelined by the “brother leader” in 1995. Despite being one of the regime’s final defections, he is likely to play an important role in the future of Libya. His credentials are unique and diverse: an original Free Officer who helped overthrow the Sanussi monarchy in 1969 and was initially Qaddafi’s right-hand man; former foreign representative of the Qaddafi government who helped broker internal disputes in Syria and Lebanon, among others; viewed as a reformer who fell out with Qaddafi after criticizing regime corruption and growing autocracy. Although Jalloud’s activities during the Libyan uprising are unclear, he is believed to have been under house arrest and likely sympathetic with the uprising from early on.

*His intention of forming a secular political party will certainly draw the attention of those inside and outside Libya concerned with the well-funded Gulf-backed religious parties that are likely to emerge. Coming from an important tribe in western Libya (Magariha), Jalloud could have a vital role to play in helping the largely Cyrenaican (eastern Libya) TNC gain legitimacy in the eyes of the Tripolitanian (western Libya) majority of the population. Indeed, incorporating Tripolitanian elites, many of them with past ties to the Qaddafi regime, is likely to be the TNC’s first major challenge in the post-Qaddafi era. **End FMSO Commentary (Winter)***

A Key Player in Post-Qaddafi Libya

26 August 2011

Source: Jalloud Plans Role in Future Libyan Government; Will Form Political Party, Tripoli Post, 26 August 2011. <http://www.tripolipost.com/article/detail.asp?c=1&i=6767>

Jalloud Plans Role in Future Libyan Government; Will Form Political Party

Once one of Al Qathafi’s closest allies, Jalloud escaped to Rome with his family a few days ago. Now he said he is ready to take part in the transition phase in Libya and resuscitate himself in politics.

Former Muammar Al Qathafi aide and prime minister in the first years of the First of September Revolution in Libya, Abdelsalam Ahmad Jalloud proved right when last night he announced that he was planning to have a role in a future Libyan government. In a press conference in Rome, Jalloud said he is forming a secular political party with an eye towards future elections in Libya.

When weeks ago rebel spokesperson Mahmoud Shammam broke the news that 67-year-old Jalloud had ‘defected’, this website said: “Now, with the rebels so close to eventual victory, many people close to the NTC leadership seem to believe that Jalloud still could have a part to play in a new Libya after Al Qathafi. He has the experience and also worldwide connections that sources close to him say he has continued to foster.”

Once one of Al Qathafi’s closest allies, Jalloud escaped to Rome with his family a few days ago. Now he said he is ready to take part in the transition phase in Libya and resuscitate himself in politics. Jalloud, a popular figure who fell out of favour with the Libyan strongman in the mid-1990s, served in the role of prime minister of Libya in the Al Qathafi government for five years, between July 1972 and March 1977.

Jalloud, who fled Libya along with 13 members of his family, in a statement on Al Jazeera on Sunday, called on Al Qathafi’s tribe to disown him, saying the “tyrant” Al Qathafi will go. “The noose has tightened around him.” Jalloud had been increasingly distanced from politics starting in the 1990s following a reported fallout with his childhood friend.

He has had contacts with the leaders of the National Transitional Council, and had received their approval to encourage Libyans to rebel against Al Qathafi and mobilise support abroad. While not part of the NTC, Jalloud said they were “in the same boat” and that he plans to form a secular, liberal, nationalist party.

Jalloud who said he tried to escape Libya six times by sea and 12 times by land during recent months, believes it was too late for Al Qathafi to strike a deal to leave power and he would likely be killed. Italian media has speculated he was finally able to get out only with the assistance of foreign diplomats or intelligence agents, or the help of Italian oil company ENI.

Jalloud insisted however that he is not beholden to anyone. “I am a free person, completely independent. I don’t owe anything to Italy, or Russia, or France,” he said in response to a question from AFP.

Missing from Libya's National Decision Process: Women

2 September 2011



Source: Abushwasha, Farah. "Libya will only become inclusive when women are given a say in its future," *The Guardian*, 2 Sept 2011. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/global-development/poverty-matters/2011/sep/02/libya-inclusive-women-future?INTCMP=SRCH>

Libyan women celebrate their new colors after the fall of their capital city to anti-Gaddafi rebels, in Tripoli. Photo by Amar Abd Rabbo [CC-BY-NC 2.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/2.0/>)] via Flickr

Libya will only become inclusive when women are given a say in its future

At this week's conference on Libya in Paris, the Libyan National Transitional Council (NTC) and the international community talk about "inclusiveness" in the new country's future. It seems strange, then, that half of the population - women - seem to be excluded from the discussions on the future of their country.

It is not commonly known, but Libyan women started the revolution when the mothers, sisters and widows of prisoners killed in the 1996 Abu Salim massacre took to the streets in Benghazi on 15 February to protest outside the courthouse after their lawyer was arrested.

Since then Libyan women at home and abroad have protested, smuggled arms beneath their clothing, founded countless civil society groups, tweeted, blogged, fed, nursed, mourned, mothered, raised funds and awareness, and sent in humanitarian aid and medical staff for the cause. Women have taken a central role alongside men and it has united us.

Libyan women may not have been visible on the streets with guns, but they have played an equally important role, displaying courage and strength that has been invaluable to the success of the country's revolution. We have seen the iconic images of Iman al-Obeidi, who spoke out about the sexual violence inflicted on so many who have otherwise suffered in silence; the elderly lady praising rebels at a lay-by and giving them her blessing; and Malak, the five-year-old amputee from Misrata - to name a few.

Women for Libya is calling for the full inclusion of Libya's female population in accordance with United Nations security council mandate 1325, which emphasizes the important role women play in peacebuilding. We are also calling for: aid to be ringfenced to support women's rights; financial aid to be accessible to civil society and grassroots initiatives set up by women, for women; and negotiations and meetings on the future of Libya to be inclusive of all tribes and regional representatives, which should include sufficient numbers of women.

Sara Maziq, one of Women for Libya's founders, recently said: "We are facing an enormous challenge of rebuilding Libya and to exclude women is to ignore a vast resource for transitioning from conflict to stability. We can be a powerful unifying force in the aftermath of the conflict."

Women are a beneficial and vital force in Libya's future. We must be openly and transparently included in discussions and supported to participate at all levels. To neglect this is to dishonor the legacy of the brave Libyan men and women who have given their lives for basic human rights.

To exclude women is to exclude a vital force in the reconstruction of a stable, representative and democratic Libya.

FMSO Commentary: Reviewing the list of the forty members of the Libyan National Transitional Council (NTC), available with their geographic affiliations and an occasional brief bio at the Christian Science Monitor website, one notices the preface "Mr" before all of them. Women may be fifty percent of the Libyan population, but they are zero percent of the Libyan NTC.

Unfortunately with the Arab Spring this is not an isolated incident. In Egypt, when the military rulers appointed a panel to revise the Constitution, an extremely important undertaking, there were no women members. This probably helps explain why none of the Constitution's amendments mentioned equality for women, or why Article 6 prohibits discrimination based on "race, origin, language, religion or creed" but fails to mention gender.

Tunisian women have had more success, winning a campaign for gender parity in that country's constituent assembly. Why women in Tunisia were successful, whereas so far those in Egypt and Libya have not, is uncertain. Perhaps several factors, including Tunisia generally having a more secular culture than the other two, play a part.

Several questions arise with regards the situation of women in Libya and Egypt. What can be done to encourage these governments to be more inclusive? Will there be revolutions after the revolutions, where women demand greater rights than the new governments are offering? What should be the role, if any, of the United States in these matters?

*The revolution in Libya is still young. Perhaps the NTC will reconsider its composition to better reflect Libyan society. Until that time, describing what is going on in Libya right now as the beginning of a democracy is only half right. **End of FMSO Commentary (Feldman)***

FMSO Commentary: France has always had a rather tumultuous relationship – particularly militarily – with African states. It is no surprise then that the recent snafu described in the accompanying article has been seen as both perturbing yet unsurprising.

Particularly under Sarkozy's watch, France has maintained a firm – if not duplicitous – stance towards African intervention. Sarkozy has stated many times in very public fora that France's tendency of meddling in African affairs – a tendency described pejoratively as "Francafrrique" – is officially dead. Yet these proclamations seem to be easily forgotten, as France has intervened in both Cote d'Ivoire (in December 2010), as serving as a leading voice in the NATO intervention into Libya.

Apart from the fact that the weapons intended for anti-Qaddafi troops ended up in the hands of pro-Qaddafi Malians, the larger problem is what the use of the weapons might mean once Qaddafi is actually deposed. Indeed, the nomadic Tauregs, who have historically occupied the Saharan regions of Mali, Niger, Libya, Algeria and Burkina Faso, are notoriously aggressive towards the central governments of the states in which they live. Particularly, Mali has had tremendous problems with its population of Tauregs, who have taken to attacking symbols of the Malian state as a sign of defiance of its supposed authority over them. That these anti-statist rebels – many of whom are assumed to be members of Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb – are now armed with French weapons intended for the ouster of Qaddafi is troubling, and strangely, both ironic yet unsurprising.
End FMSO Commentary (Warner)

Pardonne?! French Arms For Libyan Rebels End up in Pro-Qaddafi Hands

30 August 2011



Source: "Des armes françaises aux mains d'ex-combattants pro-Kadhafi au Mali" (French Arms in the Hands of Ex-Pro-Qaddafi militants in Mali). Maliweb.net, 30 August 2011, <http://www.maliweb.net/category.php?NID=80255&intr=>

Areas where significant numbers of Tauregs live. Map by Mark Dingemans [CC-BY 2.5 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.5/>)] via Wikimedia Commons

Des armes françaises aux mains d'ex-combattants pro-Kadhafi au Mali (French Arms in the Hands of Ex-Pro-Qaddafi militants in Mali)

Malian Tauregs who have returned to Malian after having fought for Moammar Qaddafi are in possession of arms parachuted by France to the Libyan rebels in the West of Libya, the Associated Press has learned from sources in Bamako.

"The arms that France airdropped for the Libyan rebels fell into the hands of Taureg combatants, who returned to the Malian desert with these arms and other baggage," declared a Malian security source, whose identity remains anonymous.

At the end of June, the French government confirmed media reports revealing that it had parachuted arms to the Libyan rebels in Djebel Nefoussa, in the west of Libya.

According to Paris, the airdropped light arms were to be used for the purposes of humanitarian aid, for the benefit of populations threatened by Libyan troops directed by Colonel Qaddafi in this mountainous region several dozen kilometers from Tripoli.

The airdropped arms were of a type that would "be able to be used by civilians, light infantry arms of the gun variety," explained the spokesperson for the military headquarters, Thierry Burkhard.

The daily French newspaper the Figaro noted that among other weapons were rocket-launchers, assault rifles, machine guns and Milan anti-tank missiles.

According to various sources in Mali, the ex-pro-Qaddafi militants that have recently reclaimed the northern parts of Mali are comprised of men who have been recruited from the beginning of the Libyan rebellion (in mid-February), but also Libyans of Malian origin who have lived for many years in Libya, and who have been integrated into the Libyan army.

Africa: Qaddafi's Ouster was a Veil for Imperialism

30 August 2011

Source: "Over 200 African Leaders: NATO's Libyan War Part Of Plan To Recolonize Continent" Mathaba, 25 August 2011, <http://www.globalresearch.ca/index.php?context=va&aid=26200>

Over 200 African Leaders: NATO's Libyan War Part Of Plan To Recolonize Continent

A group of African intellectuals has written an open letter criticising the NATO-led military attacks on Libya, saying Africa ran the risk of being re-colonised. "Nato has violated international law... they had a regime change agenda," said one of the signatories, University of Johannesburg head of politics, Chris Landsberg.

"The re-colonisation of Africa is becoming a real threat," he told reporters in Johannesburg.

The letter was signed by more than 200 prominent Africans, including ANC national executive member Jesse Duarte, political analyst Willie Esterhuysen of the University of Stellenbosch, former intelligence minister Ronnie Kasrils, lawyer Christine Qunta, former deputy foreign affairs minister Aziz Pahad, former minister in the presidency Essop Pahad, Sam Moyo of the African Institute for Agrarian Studies, former president Thabo Mbeki's spokesperson Mukoni Ratshitanga, and poet Wally Serote.

Landsberg said it was up to the Libyan people - and not the United Nations Security Council - to decide if their leader, Muammar Gaddafi, who had been in power for 42 years, had overstayed his welcome.

The letter reads: "Contrary to the provisions of the UN Charter, the UN Security Council authorised and has permitted the destruction and anarchy which has descended on the Libyan people. At the end of it all, many Libyans will have died and have been maimed (and) much infrastructure will have been destroyed."

The Security Council had not produced evidence to prove that its authorisation of the use of force was an appropriate response to the situation in Libya.

"Thus they (Security Council) have empowered themselves openly to pursue the objective of 'regime change' and therefore the use of force and all other means to overthrow the government of Libya, which objectives are completely at variance with the decisions of the UN Security Council," reads the letter, which was also supported by the Congress of SA Trade Unions, the SA Communist Party and the Media Review Network.

The Security Council also "repudiated the rule of international law" by ignoring the role of legitimate regional institutions in solving conflict.

Landsberg said Britain, France and United States "continue to act as a rogue states".

"A rogue is an errant state that does not live by rules... the tragedy is that they are not likely to be charged in the International Criminal Court."

Gaddafi's rule has been teetering on the brink of collapse after months of Nato airstrikes causing most of his forces to flee as rebel forces took control of the capital this weekend.

President Jacob Zuma said earlier this week that powerful nations had abused the UN resolution "to further interests other than to protect civilians and assist the Libyan people".

FMSO Commentary: If there is one lesson that the global policy community should know when it engages with Africa is this: an apprehension about Western imperialism is a guiding force in African foreign policy-making. It is no surprise then that NATO's intervention into Libya is being understood in African intelligentsia circles as a step by the West to re-colonize the continent.

Indeed, African states – and to a lesser extent, individuals on the continent – have always understood their sovereignty as a manifestation of freedom from colonialism. This is easily understood. The African state was created in the aftermath of colonialism, as African peoples needed to be incorporated into the global system of states. To be free of colonialism was then necessarily to inherit the African state. Because of this connection between sovereignty and freedom in African thought, when one African country's sovereignty is fundamentally threatened – as was the case when NATO decided to oust Qaddafi – all other African leaders become both indignant at the perceived injustice and apprehensive about their own states' security. The NATO intervention into Libya (as opposed to another African country) was also seen as an especially sensitive move, given that Qaddafi had long been one of the chief donors to the African Union, which, above all, serves to African states and peoples as a symbol of African freedom and unity. That he was so summarily dismissed at the whim of the West was sure to cause alarm for already apprehensive African leaders.

End FMSO Commentary (Warner)

***FMSO Commentary:** There are rumblings for reform south of the Sahara, but so far the vast desert continues to serve as the dividing line between the African nations which have already overthrown their governments - Tunisia, Egypt, and now, Libya - and those whose long term dictators still seem firmly entrenched. The question of whether or not successful revolutionary movements can cross that sandy divide remains unsettled. Also uncertain is what the implications would be should sub-Saharan nations change their governments. Is it possible anti-Western governments could come into power? Would oil flow be disrupted? Could terrorist organizations take advantage of the instability? Thus, while many in the West are hoping true democracies take hold in sub-Saharan Africa, Arab Spring, if it spreads, might lead to far less desirable outcomes.*

Though there are many similarities between the sub-Saharan countries ruled by long term strongmen and those nations toppled so far in North Africa, there are also striking differences, beginning with the northern countries all being Arab and sub-Saharan Africa being non-Arab. When revolution came to Tunisia, it was other Arab countries, notably Egypt and Libya, which quickly followed suit. Perhaps the cross flow of information and ideas is greater among the Arab nations of Africa than between the Arab and non-Arab ones of the continent, or maybe it is a sense of solidarity among the Arab nations culminating in the belief that it is possible to throw one Arab dictator out it is possible to throw them all out. On the other hand, in sub-Saharan Africa greater differences exist among the various nations, with precious little solidarity among them. This situation is evidenced in part by the way several of the sub-Saharan nations rather quickly recognized Libya's National Transitional Council as that country's new rulers, whereas others refused to do so, clinging to the belief the overthrow was illegal and/or a form of neocolonial action by NATO. Such nations, furthermore, have expressed their desire that Libya should be blocked from the African Union, citing article 30 of the Constitutive Act of the African Union, "Governments which shall come to power through unconstitutional means shall not be allowed to participate in the activities of the Union."

Is a Sub-Saharan Spring in the Making?



8 September 2011

Source: Samora, Mwaura. "Africa: Will the Arab Uprising Spread to Sub Saharan Africa?" Daily Nation (Kenya) 9 Sept 2011 <http://www.nation.co.ke/Features/DN2/Will+the+Arab+uprising+spread+to+Sub+Saharan+Africa/-/957860/1232568/-/item/3/-/cxdknr/-/index.html>

Student protestors at Omar Bongo University (UOB) in Libreville, Gabon. Photo by Carel Dorian Ondo Ellassoumou [CC-BY (www.creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0)] via globalvoicesonline.org

Africa: Will the Arab Uprising Spread to Sub-Saharan Africa?

The power of dictatorships comes from the willing obedience of the people they govern, if the people can develop techniques of withholding their consent, a regime will crumble," Dr Gene Sharp, the author of *From Dictatorship to Democracy*, once said.

These words will forever be immortalised by the spectacular downfall of not only Hosni Mubarak, but also the fall of long-serving Libyan strongman Colonel Muammar Gaddafi.

While Gaddafi's admirers have blamed Gaddafi's fall on NATO neo-colonialism, it has inspired down trodden people across Africa.

In Zimbabwe, watching the triumphant rebels overrun Gaddafi's compound in the capital was a huge moral boost for the citizens of that nation who have been in a protracted struggle against the suppressive ZANU-PF regime.

"This is a victory for Zimbabweans. This is a message to other surviving dictators that they cannot hold down people forever," Knowledge Magwenzi, a staunch supporter of Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai told *The Zimbabwe Mail*.

"There is hope for oppressed people in Africa who have resigned themselves to believing the dictator was immortal". But few Zimbabweans had the courage to celebrate publicly, preferring to exchange messages via social networks and other discreet platforms.

Many still recall how, early this year, Munyaradzi Gwisai, a political activist and lecturer at the University of Zimbabwe's law school, and other political activists, were arrested and charged with treason for arranging a meeting to celebrate the ousting of former Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak.

And President Robert Mugabe has labelled NATO a "terrorist organisation". His generals, most of whom have vowed never to allow a Tsvangirai presidency, have been issuing thinly veiled threats warning Zimbabweans against any attempt to imitate the Arab uprisings.

The Libyan ambassador in Harare, Taher Emalgrahi, and his staff irked the ZANU-PF side of the coalition after pledging loyalty to the National Transition Council (NTC) and hoisting the red, green and black flag of the rebels.

Continued: Africa: Will the Arab Uprising Spread to Sub-Saharan Africa?

The Zimbabwe government reacted by declaring the action illegal and ejecting the entire diplomatic team from the country. But the ambassador was far from apologetic, prophesying that the Harare regime would face Libyan-style revolt in the very near future if it continued suppressing the people.

Besides being a comrade in arms with Mugabe in criticizing the west, Gaddafi has also been bailing out the financially crippled Zimbabwean economy through aid and handouts.

In failing to recognize the NTC, Zimbabwe has joined the African Union (AU) which more often than not treated the deposed Libyan despot with velvet gloves.

However, over 20 African countries have recognized the NTC including Nigeria, Ethiopia, Tunisia, Burkina Faso and Ghana.

But Robert Mugabe is not the only leader whose nights have been deprived of sleep by the unprecedented fall from grace of the man once described as the “Don Vito Corleone of Libya”.

President Museveni is long-time ally of Gaddafi. Last week Uganda banned an opposition victory parade planned to be held at the Clock Tower in Kampala in honor of the triumphant rebels.

The “solidarity rally” was meant to show backing for the Libyan opposition, which has spent six months fighting against the 42-year-old regime.

“We know that like Col Gaddafi has been doing, President Museveni is equally using the institutions of the state to persecute any form of opposition,” Mr Mathias Mpunga, opposition member of parliament for Masaka Municipality, told journalists.

Mr Mpunga, who is also the coordinator for Activists for Change (A4C), was quoted by the press as saying the president should “hang up his political boots because Ugandans are fed up with his regime” and because “a state that does not respect the rule of law, a people

paralysed by fear and a weak opposition are the result of years in power by President Museveni”.

Presidential Press Secretary Tamale Mirundi rubbished the idea that the Ugandan leader could be deposed in the same manner as his north African ally.

“The two countries are different,” he said. “Uganda has a different political system from that of Libya.

Although the two leaders have had their differences in the past, many analysts have observed that the fall of Gaddafi has robbed Museveni of his most important allies in the club of Africa’s long serving leaders.

Long before the drums of war fell silent in Ivory Coast, seeds of discord were already taking root in the tiny West African nation of Senegal.

The masses were displeased with President Abdoulaye Wade’s attempt to use his majority in parliament to manipulate the constitution to pave way for his son’s ascension to power.

Despite spirited efforts by the police to crush the demonstrations with teargas, rubber bullets and water cannons, the protests spread rapidly from central Dakar to three major towns in the hinterland as well as Paris and Montreal.

Although the octogenarian leader succumbed to the people’s power and withdrew the law, the protesters have continued to protest against the president’s intention to run for a third term in next year’s general elections.

“People are not dumb,” says Sanou Mbaye, a London-based Senegalese writer and critic.

“We were just waiting for a detonator. Everywhere else people are rising up -- Tunisia, Egypt, Libya... But nothing was happening here. This is the drop of water that made the vase run over”.

Some of the most vocal voices behind the anti-Wade protests have been those of young

There are also significant economic differences between North and sub-Saharan Africa which may play a role in fomenting revolutions. On the whole, many of the North African countries, with some notable exceptions, are better developed than sub-Saharan ones. The per capita spending power in places such as Tunisia and Egypt allow for better education, as well as the purchasing of computers and cellphones, important devices for spreading revolutionary fervor, compared to a country such as Zimbabwe, where the broken economy has resulted in people, who, while still angry at the government, do not always have the resources to foster an uprising based on a spontaneous event. Word of the self-immolation of Mohamed Bouazizi in Tunisia was quickly spread through social media such as Facebook, touching off the riots which led to the overthrow of President Ben Ali. Had an individual protested in a similar way in Zimbabwe, it is unlikely the story would have been repeated so often and with a similar outcome.

*Perhaps some sub-Saharan African nations will overthrow longstanding rulers, as happened in the Arab north, and perhaps some will muddle along with very little change in the status quo. Perhaps for those which do change governments, some will do it rapidly through force or large scale protests, whereas others will take a more prolonged route. Thus, it is uncertain the Arab Spring will spread to sub-Saharan Africa in the near future, and, even if it does, it might take a different form, “Sub-Saharan Spring,” reflecting the region’s own unique characteristics. Most unsettling is the uncertainty, should revolution occur, if it will result in true democracy or just different long-term rulers; preservation of minority rights or intolerance of those who are different; stronger national identities or civil wars; and, among those countries with significant Muslim populations, a pro-Western tilt or a casting of their lot with radical Islamists. The situation bears close watching to see which direction sub-Saharan revolutions take, if they do occur, for the outcomes will have implications not just in Africa, but far beyond its shores as well. **End FMSO Commentary (Feldman)***

FMSO Commentary: It's difficult to completely untangle China's complicated deal in the rapidly growing geothermal sector of Kenya. On the one hand, China has the technical prowess to drill the large holes required by geothermal facilities. However, such an undertaking is quite expensive, yet the Chinese company, Great Wall, signed a memorandum of understanding to do so before funding was in place. Who might be behind the funding that will eventually be required to allow such an operation to occur? That would be the Chinese Exim Bank. Thus, the entire operation, where funding occurs after the agreement instead of before, has aroused suspicion.

Further raising eyebrows is the reportedly less expensive but capable ability of Kenya's state-owned geothermal Drilling Corporation not being given the nod to undertake the work. At approximately half the cost of the Chinese drilling operations, it would seem to be the driller of choice for this lucrative new market. This is not the case, and the article bravely asks why it isn't so.

Chinese investment in Africa has eclipsed that of the United States. Much of it has been for procuring natural resources, such as oil and minerals, to keep Chinese factories humming. However, the Chinese have also invested in numerous other large scale projects, including the construction of airports, roads, and what many see as the future: green energy projects. Already Chinese made solar panels dot the landscape in certain countries. In Kenya they are into geothermal in a big way, and just as it's difficult for non-Chinese solar panel manufacturers to compete with Chinese made ones, it looks like it's going to be very difficult for non-Chinese geothermal companies to compete with Chinese geothermal companies as well. The article raises important questions regarding Chinese tactics and whether or not they are engaging in fair trade.

Unusual Business as Usual: China's Geothermal Project in Kenya

10 September 2011

Source: Kiseru, Jaindi. "Kenya gives Chinese secret geothermal deal," The East African, 10 Sept 2011. <http://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/news/Kenya+gives+Chinese+secret+geothermal+deal/-/2558/1234070/-/view/printVersion/-/idm0ujz/-/index.html>



Chinese Olkaria Geothermal Plant by Brian Muita [CC-BY-NC-SA 2.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/2.0/>)] via Flickr

Kenya gives Chinese secret geothermal deal

Chinese contractor, the Great Wall Drilling Company, has secretly signed a memorandum of understanding with the Kenya government to drill 80 geothermal wells, with funding expected to come from the Chinese Exim Bank.

Although Kenyan officials were keen to play down the significance of the deal, arguing that a memorandum of understanding was not a commitment, the deal has once again exposed the tactics Chinese construction companies employ to bag multimillion-dollar contracts, especially when they are pitted against contractors from Western Europe.

The geothermal sector in Kenya is the new battlefield, with Western development finance institutions and the Chinese Exim Bank scrambling for a stake in what has quickly emerged as the preferred target for international development finance intuitions.

Under the new memorandum, Great Wall Drilling, which has just completed another Exim Bank-supported drilling programme, sinking in excess of 50 wells — has offered a contract price of \$400 million for the 80 wells.

In reality, the fact that a Chinese company is angling to clinch a big infrastructure project with the support of China Exim Bank is not new. Indeed, tied aid as a phenomenon is commonplace even with contractors from Western Europe.

The point of departure of Great Wall's new bid is that it graphically demonstrates how the Chinese have perfected the game of circumventing international competitive bidding.

The first thing the Chinese contractor does is to approach the client directly with a deal and an

Continued: Kenya gives Chinese secret geothermal deal

offer to sign a memorandum of understanding with an implementing agency — a government utility or parastatal, for example.

The next stage is to lobby the Ministry of Finance to apply to Exim Bank for a loan. The larger the Chinese contractor and the bigger the scale and scope of the project, the more the chances that it will be supported by Exim Bank of China.

And, companies like Great Wall Drilling, which already have the scale and international experience, usually find it easy to mobilize the Exim Bank to support them in winning contracts.

Indeed, Chinese contractors are adept at recruiting politically connected agents capable of influencing decisions across power centers in government.

Which is why it does not surprise that even though Exim Bank of China has not made a commitment to fund the drilling of 80 geothermal wells, Great Wall Drilling has gone ahead and signed a memorandum of understanding with the government on the presumption that concessional financing will follow later.

The documents stipulates that the total amount and financing terms will be provided in a loan agreement to be directly negotiated between the Ministry of Finance — the designated official borrower on behalf of either Geothermal Development Company or Kenya Electricity Generating Company) and the government of China.

Great Wall's first break in Kenya was a contract in 2005 to drill six wells in the Ol Karia fields.

This was followed by an even bigger contract to drill 15 more wells, which were completed in 2008. Subsequently, Great Wall clinched another contract to drill 10 additional wells.

Right now, the Chinese company has a new contract to drill 26 wells. This latest contract is supported by a \$98 million loan from the Chinese Exim Bank.

The snag is that Great Wall's latest scheme to clinch a multimillion-dollar deal to drill 80

new geothermal wells comes at a time when the attractiveness of using Chinese contractors to drill wells is beginning to wane in Kenya.

In the first place, the state-owned Geothermal Development Company is not only purchasing its own rigs at a frenetic speed, but it has already demonstrated that it can drill geothermal steam wells at half the cost at which the Chinese are drilling in Olkaria.

Currently, GDC has two rigs purchased by the government on its behalf and currently drilling in the Menengai fields. The estimated cost of a geothermal rig is \$25 million.

Secondly, the state-controlled KenGen under its own geothermal development programme is also at an advanced stage of procuring two new rigs.

Sooner or later, critical voices will start asking why the Chinese should be granted single-sourced contracts to drill 80 new geothermal wells when local institutions can do the job at a cheaper price.

Three factors drive geothermal drilling costs up:

First, is what the policy wonks call upfront country risks. International geothermal drilling companies load costs associated with lack of engineering infrastructure in Africa to maintain drilling plants. The assumption is that you may be forced to transport drilling equipment abroad for repair.

Second, Chinese companies load "resource and development risk" on to their contract prices to mitigate the possibility of hitting corrosive geothermal fluids.

The third factor is the large expatriate component of the workforce. Typically, a Chinese drilling construction company operates with a crew of about 250 workers, depending on the number of rigs employed. They have to return to China every now and then for holidays, in the process incurring heavy travel costs.

Thus, in terms of cost reduction, GDC and Ken Gen go into geothermal drilling with major advantages over the Chinese companies.

From an American perspective, not only is there concern because US companies find it difficult to compete in such an environment, but it also diminishes the chance to build better ties with Kenya. China's influence in Africa is growing, often at the expense of America.

*Perhaps everything is in order. Maybe it's the way reporters have written the news, providing innuendo where there shouldn't be any. However, with Kenya's recent firing of its anti-corruption chief, Patrick Lumumba, along with four other members of the Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission, and in conjunction with China's trade practices, concerns appear well deserved. **End FMSO Commentary (Feldman)***

FMSO Commentary: That the Nigerian government just revealed that it has launched two satellites into space – both of which could potentially be used for military purposes – should send a signal to world at large that Africa should no longer be viewed as a military backwater.

Indeed, the Nigerian military has always been amongst the continent's strongest, in no small part because of the country's massive population, as well as the relative wealth enjoyed by the central government thanks to substantial national oil profits. Yet recently Nigeria has been actively attempting to show its relative African dominance vis-à-vis its technical capabilities, particularly in the military arena, not least of which are exemplified by the launching of the two aforementioned satellites.

*Such shows of Nigerian military might are at once impressive and ironic. While they may signal to other African countries Nigeria's comparative military advantages, such high-tech equipment as the satellites described have yet to show much in the way of helping to secure Nigeria's own domestic security situation, which has been deteriorating in past months because of the presence of the anti-Western group, Boko Haram. Its attacks on the National Police station in June of this year underscored Nigeria's vulnerability, while the truly devastating attack on the UN Headquarters in Abuja in August that killed 23 was, at the very least, a symbolic gesture of the relative impotence of Nigerian security forces in the face of non-state threats. One might argue that the Nigerian security apparatus needs fewer satellites and more on-the-ground reconnaissance capabilities. **End FMSO Commentary (Warner)***

Nigeria Goes Extra-Terrestrial

16 August 2011



Source: Onche Odeh, "Nigeria: FG Launches Two Satellites in Space" Daily Independent (Lagos), 16 August 2011, <http://allafrica.com/stories/201108170775.html>

Nigeria Sat-2 and Nigeria Sat-X being integrated onto the Dnepr rocket, August 2011. Photo by SSSL via www.sssl.co.uk

Nigeria: FG Launches Two Satellites in Space

Nigeria will today make history in the global community in Russia as NigeriaSat-2 and NigeriaSat-X satellites go into orbit at exactly 8:12 a.m. local time.

The head, media and corporate affairs of the National Space Research and Development Agency, Felix Ale, said all is now set for the successful launch of the two new satellites at the launch site in Yasny in Russian Federation at the stipulated time.

According to him, the two spacecraft have been integrated on the launch vehicle and fuelling of the launcher is already completed, while all parameters required for a successful launch have all been met.

The Federal Government delegation to the launch, led by Minister of Science and Technology, Professor Ita Okon Bassey Ewa, has arrived Russia and in contact with the Nigerian Embassy in Russia.

The delegation will be departing Moscow for the launch site in Yasny that is about two hours flight from the Russian capital, to witness the historic event.

NigeriaSat-2 after its launch would be the most advanced satellite of its kind in the global community.

The potential areas of application of the two satellites are agriculture, forestry, land use and mapping, environmental and disaster monitoring, mitigation and management, geological mapping and transportation.

Others are hydrology and water resources, population and urban development, National Geospatial Data Infrastructure (NGDI), as well as military, security and tourism.

The successful launch of NigeriaSat-2 and NigeriaSat-X will no doubt re-echo the strategic position of Nigeria as a leading space faring nation in Africa, but it would also represent a landmark achievement of the government and people of Nigeria in the field of space science and technology across the globe.

FMSO Commentary : *Borders and Wars go hand-in-hand in geostrategic experience and expression. Cast by colonialism or pure product of physical geography, they are demarcations in mind and matter that often forebode conflict.*

In Southeast Asia current cultural, economic, and political factors are being expressed on the landscape through violence. In Thailand we see a historic cultural concern over Khmer influence being exploited for political gain, which came to naught after recent presidential elections. Also in the south insurgents are using the border with Malaysia as a barrier to pursuit by Thai military and police. Farther north along the Myanmar – China border historic ethnic and national enclaves are once again in armed resistance against government control.

These smouldering hotspots along state boundaries are worth watching. The subsequent articles about these area borders (Cambodia – Thailand, Myanmar – China, and Thailand – Malaysia) help illustrate this point. End FMSO Commentary (Welch)

Thailand – Cambodia: High-level Border Talks Between Cambodia and Thailand

Source: <http://www.phnompenhpost.com/index.php/2011090151393/National-news/meet-to-set-border-agenda.html>

1 September 2011

Senior military officials at the Secretariat of the General Border Committee are scheduled to meet next week in Phnom Penh, as preparations are made for high-level border talks between Cambodia and Thailand.

Thai defence minister Yutthasak Sasiprapa is reportedly also planning a visit to the Cambodian capital to discuss the deployment of Indonesian observers to monitor the border area near Preah Vihear temple, following deadly clashes earlier this year.

Chhum Socheat, spokesman at Cambodia's Ministry of Defence said yesterday at least 50 senior military officials from the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces and the Royal Thai Army would meet in Phnom Penh from September 6 to 8 to draft an agenda for the long-awaited GBC summit.

"The Secretariat of the GBC of Cambodia and Thailand are expected to approve documents as an agenda for the GBC summit. After that we will arrange the exact date to invite Yutthasak to attend the summit," Chum Socheat said.

Yutthasak was reported as saying on Monday that he would take up an invitation from Tea Banh to visit for informal talks.

Although no time frame was set for the visit, during which he will reportedly visit Prime Minister Hun Sen, he indicated it would take place before the long-delayed GBC.

"We will discuss adjustments to the deployment of combat units and arrangements for [Indonesian] observers, in preparation for the GBC meeting," the Bangkok Post quoted Yutthasak as saying.

Thai foreign ministry spokesman Thani Thongpakdee could not be reached for comment.

Diplomatic relations between Cambodia and Thailand, which have warmed since the election of new Thai Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra in July, were again bolstered yesterday by a positive statement released by RCAF deputy commander Chea Tara.

"The conflict in the past was because of [former] Thai prime minister Abhisit Vejjajiva's policy of walking into war, which served his own ambition," the statement read. "Now there is a new government lead by Yingluck, and trust is being built for good relations."

Seak Socheat, deputy commander of Cambodia's battlefield region 3, added yesterday that about 1,500 troops in Brigade No 5 had pulled back from the area between the Ta Moan and Ta Krabey temples, both scenes of fierce fighting in April.

It is the latest in a series of military pullbacks since Yingluck's election.

FMSO Commentary: In April 2011 exchanges of artillery and small arms fire killed 6 and wounded 19 soldiers along the Thai – Cambodia border. Decade-old disputes over small pockets of territory along the states' border have periodically flared up when fanned by nationalist rhetoric. With the completion of recent presidential elections in Thailand, a new dialog has ensued between the governments of Thailand and Cambodia.

This article is from The Phnom Penh Post, which is a daily English-language newspaper published in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. Founded in 1992, it is Cambodia's oldest English-language newspaper. It is also available in the Khmer language. End FMSO Commentary (Welch)

FMSO Commentary: In November 2010 the Kachin Independence Army (KIA) rejected a proposal from Burma's military government to become a "border guard force." This was an obvious attempt to bring the long-term separatist movement closer to integration with the Myanmar central government. The KIA was formed in 1961 to defend the Kachin ethnic homeland from then Burmese, now Myanmar government troops. Other ethnic armies also continue to wage war with the Myanmar military government. These struggles have sent thousands of refugees fleeing across the border into China.

China has sent senior military officials to discuss these continuing conflicts along the border. The trans-Burma Shwe dual pipeline is scheduled to open in 2013 and is of strategic concern to China.

This article is from *The Irrawaddy Publishing Group*. It was founded in 1993 by Burmese journalists living in exile. *The Irrawaddy* has produced radio, podcasts, documentaries and TV programs, aiming to reach audiences inside Burma. It has an English and Burmese language website. **End FMSO Commentary (Welch)**

Myanmar – China: Fresh Govt Attack on KIA at Hydropower Dam

Source: http://www.irrawaddy.org/article.php?art_id=21667

11 July 2011



Myanmar Map by Aaron Perez [CC-BY (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0>)] Data from ESRI and Kachin News (kachinnews.com/news/1935-non-stop-fighting-at-sang-gang.html)

Burmese government troops have launched a large-scale attack including mortar shells against the Kachin Independence Army (KIA) at the hydropower dam site in Momauk Township, Kachin State, Northern Burma.

The two-day assault started on Sunday and involved government forces and KIA Battalions 15 and 25, according to La Nan, joint-secretary of the KIA's political wing, the Kachin Independence Organization (KIO).

A number of 81mm mortars shells also landed in areas close to the KIA headquarters in Laiza, next to the Sino-Burmese border. Some mortar rounds actually landed on Chinese soil and were inspected by the authorities there, claimed La Nan.

The KIO has accused government troops of attacking the KIA from covered positions amongst civilian infrastructure at the Taping hydropower dam site including workshops and electricity poles. If KIA troops were to return fire, there is a strong possibility that these important Chinese-owned amenities will be damaged.

La Nan alleges that the Burmese government is attempting to cause problems between the KIA and Chinese businesses through these military tactics. KIA troops, however, refused to be drawn into protracted battle with the Burmese Army, he added.

KIA sources also reveal that the KIO leadership will conduct survey amongst Kachin civilians tomorrow to determine if they should seek a ceasefire with the government.

Serious fighting between the Burmese Army and KIA troops has forced more refugees to flee to the Sino-Burmese border since hostilities broke out on June 9.

Both small-scale clashes and heavy fighting have taken place every day across Kachin State despite the government and KIO leaders recently discussing possibilities for a ceasefire.

Meanwhile, local humanitarian groups and relief agencies have raised concerns regarding a rising need for emergency food, shelter and medical care, as well as schooling for children on the Sino-Burmese border.

More than 15,000 internally displaced persons and refugees are currently living in make-shift camps along the frontier, and relief groups are quickly running out of aid and essential supplies.

Thailand – Malaysia:

South Thailand Map By en>User:Adam Carr (Own work) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons



Running the Yala Gauntlet

Source: <http://www.bangkokpost.com/news/security/254986/running-the-yala-gauntlet-to-work> 5 September 2011

Around 8am every day, 56-year-old teacher Urai Kaewmeesi has to rush in her car to join a convoy guarded by soldiers travelling from Muang district to her school in Krong Pinang district.

Missing the convoy may mean losing her life.

On a recent day there were about 10 cars carrying nearly 20 teachers in the convoy with two soldiers' armoured vehicles in the front and back

About 20 soldiers from the 13th Yala military task force are responsible for escorting the teachers to two schools - Ban Talo Sumae School and Ban Krong Pinang School - in Krong Pinang district.

"This has been my routine for several years," Ms Urai said.

The Surat Thani native started working at Ban Talo Sumae School in Yala's Krong Pinang district almost nine years ago and soon realised that she and her colleagues might end up the target of insurgents.

The 15km route to Ms Urai's school is a risky commute for the teachers as well as the soldiers charged with guarding them. Insurgents have planted many bombs or set up ambushes on Route 410 (Yala-Betong), the same road they must take to get to work.

"I feel more secure than driving alone to school,"

Ms Urai said while travelling behind an armoured vehicle.

The two-lane road is desolate with thick bushes on both sides. Cars pass in the opposite direction only sporadically.

When the convoy arrived at a bridge, the leading armoured vehicle slowed and signalled for the rest of the convoy to stop.

As the distressed teachers looked on, about 10 fully armed soldiers were sent to scout the bridge and nearby areas.

"It has been too long since another car has passed from the opposite direction," a soldier told this reporter and Ms Urai.

"This may be an unusual sign."

After the soldiers returned 15 minutes later, the convoy resumed.

Ban Talo Sumae School, which has 27 teachers and 474 students, was burned down six years ago by insurgents.

Although Ms Urai says she has become somewhat accustomed to the insurgent violence in the three southernmost provinces - Narathiwat, Pattani and Yala - every time she and her colleagues hear that teachers have been injured or killed, their morale takes a hit.

***FMSO Commentary:** Along Thailand's southern border with Malaysia, ethnic Malay populations dominate in three of the southernmost Thai provinces. The ethnic Thai population tends to be Buddhist while the Malay is Muslim. For the past six years the death toll and level of violence has steadily increased in an expanding Malay Muslim insurgency. This conflict is built upon generations of discrimination and forced assimilation of the Malay Muslims by the Buddhist Thai state.*

Malaysia has long been believed to be used as sanctuary for insurgent support and leadership. The Thai government looks to the Malaysian government to assist in disrupting and ending the violent insurgency. Many economic, security, and political issues remain to be addressed.

*The following articles (Running the Yala Gauntlet, and 53 Killed in the Far South) are from The Bangkok Post and the Nation respectively. The Bangkok Post is an English-language daily newspaper published in Bangkok, Thailand. The Nation is a rival English-language daily in Bangkok. Both papers serve the Thai upper and upper-middle classes. **End FMSO Commentary (Welch)***

53 Killed in the Far South

Source: <http://www.nationmultimedia.com/2011/09/04/national/53-killed-in-the-far-South-in-August-30164462.html>

4 September 2011

Some 53 people were killed and 75 others wounded in the far South in August, the Deep South Watch monitor group reported yesterday.

Last month, August, saw a total of 90 violent incidents, including motorcycle bombs, an ambush at a military base and arson attacks, the centre said. The 53 dead included two police officers, three soldiers, eight defence volunteers, two teachers and

a politician.

Democrat Narathiwat MP Jeh-aming Tohtayong said unrest continued because of the transition of political power and the official transfer period, which usually saw an increase in violent attacks. He and three other MPs from the area were willing to cooperate with the new government to solve the area's problems, he said.

FMSO Commentary: In the past year, a plethora of information has been released regarding the increased globalization of the illicit trafficking market. These trends initially indicated significant cooperation stemming from cartels in Mexico to Central America, and further into the Andean Ridge of South America. As more and more information surfaces, it appears that these connections not only continue deeper into South America, but traverse the world's oceans, to include connections to criminal organizations in Spain, Italy, Japan, and Russia, to name a few.

As stated in the article, some of these early associations among the groups have been in place for over ten years now. Trying to avoid monitoring and even prosecution at times, members of these criminal enterprises easily pass from one country to the next through co-opted border, customs, and other security personnel. These organizations regularly met in Panama to conduct business meetings, and quite possibly in other countries in the region. On 23 December 2010 Panamanian Attorney General Giuseppe Bonissi resigned from his position, citing infiltration by drug-trafficking organizations into the Public Ministry as one of his principal motivating factors. He also stated that these same organizations have added fuel to mounting political pressures lobbying for his resignation. Lastly, he compared the situation in Panama regarding drug trafficking activity to the situation in Mexico and Colombia.

Given the struggling global economy and decreased U.S. aid to combat narco-trafficking, it comes as no surprise that insecurity in Mexico, as well as Central and South America, is on the rise. With the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime's estimate of the world's drug trade at US\$321 billion (based on a 2005 report) and the average police officer in Central and South America making less than US\$500/month, it is easy to see one

Global Narco-Trafficking Operations

31 August 2011

Source: "Carteles mexicanos en Panamá (Mexican Cartels in Panama)," Critica, 31 August 2011. http://www.critica.com.pa/hoy/sucesos-interna.php?edition_id=20110831&external_link=carteles_mexicanos_en_panama



Drug trafficking through Mexico into the United States. By D.E.A. [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons

Carteles mexicanos en Panamá (Mexican Cartels in Panama)

Two months ago, the National Police arrested in Panama a powerful member of the Sinaloa Cartel, nicknamed "El Coronel."

According to an investigative source, his arrest and further transfer were made as a result of a warning sent by Mexico's Office of the Attorney General of the Republic (PGR), requesting his extradition because of legal cases pending in that country.

The Sinaloa Cartel was the first Mexican Cartel to settle in this country, by first negotiating with members of Colombian Cartels in the early 21st century.

Currently, that same role of using Panama as a negotiation center has not stopped. The criminal organization has established a meeting and operation center for drug shipments and has allied itself with local tumbadores (drug traffickers who steal drugs from another drug trafficker) who engage in criminal activities in East Panama City, West Panama City, and Colon.

This organization has contact with other groups from Costa Rica, which work together with them to move their illicit shipments through Paso Canoas.

Investigations have revealed that the cartel is linked to buying off various security sectors along the Costa Rican-Panamanian border.

This group was behind a move to kill a Panamanian tumbador who was allegedly tied to the execution that occurred in 2008 at a restaurant on Via Porras, where one of the main operators of that cartel was shot dead.

Some churches in Panama are being used to launder money, and behind some of them are tumbadores. They operate in the districts like Curundu, El Chorrillo, Santa Ana, Juan Diaz, and Pedregal.

Another criminal organization that has a strong presence in Panama is the Los Zetas Cartel.

Continued: Mexican Cartels in Panama

In late 2010, Mexican authorities arrested Eduardo “El Profe” Ramirez Valencia in the state of Hidalgo. He was the main negotiator for drug shipments utilizing Panama as the first route stop, then the Dominican Republic, and finally the United States.

However, the presence of these groups goes further, since Colombian and Costa Rican authorities have found that this criminal organization is allied with FARC’s 57th Front, which is committing crimes despite the efforts of Panama’s National Border Service (SENAFRONT) in the Darien province (which borders Colombia).

According to investigations, there are also suspicions that some members of Los Zetas are training FARC members in military strategy, since most members of this group are former military members, either retired or dismissed for corruption in Mexico and Guatemala.

Similarly, the presence of the Gulf Cartel

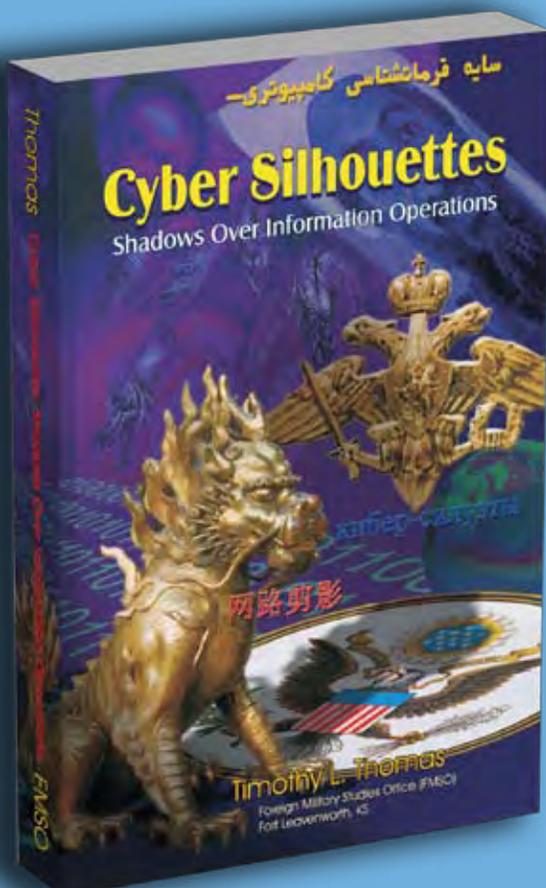
in Panama was strengthened with the involvement of local gangs, and as a result of that collaboration, this criminal group has ventured into the tumbre (the stealing of drugs from a drug trafficker) of drugs in Panama.

The Mexican organization uses gang members to collect extortions and carry out executions, such as what has occurred in recent months against local leaders and tumbadores in the interior of the country, specifically in western Panama.

Meanwhile, the La Familia Michoacana Cartel is also present. Reports have been received in David, Chiriqui, stating that they have allied themselves with gang members who traffic drugs in Chiriqui’s highlands, Puerto Armuelles, and Boquerón.

Given that there is a regional counternarcotics center in Panama, the various cartels buy and rent properties in Chiriqui (near the border with Costa Rica), Bocas del Toro, Veraguas, and the Azuero Peninsula.

*of the underlying problems. Increasing security personnel pay and decreasing regional gang activity/involvement are just two of the many issues that need to be addressed in order to turn the tides against these transnational criminal organizations with ostensibly endless economic means. **End FMSO Commentary (Scheidel)***



This book explores the impact of the Cyber Age on military thinking and operations worldwide. Four issues are examined: the contrast between the concept of “cyber operations” used by civilians, including criminals and terrorists, and the concept of “information operations” used by armed forces; the differences in information operations (IO) theory among the US, Russian, and Chinese militaries; the manner in which militaries use information operations in peace and in war; and the impact of cyber and information processes on the mind, the military machine, and their interface

– Tim Thomas
tim.l.thomas@us.army.mil

FMSO Commentary: On 25 August 2011 at around 1515 hours, a group of gunmen entered into the Casino Royale located on San Jerónimo Avenue in Monterrey, Nuevo Leon. Once inside, they opened fire indiscriminately on patrons, killing 52 individuals, with the majority identified as women. Following the initial spray of gunfire, fragmentation grenades were also tossed into the business, as well as the assailants setting it on fire and trapping the patrons inside. Authorities have identified and arrested a group of Los Zetas operators for their role in the incident. They also initiated an investigation regarding five municipal police officers who witnessed the entire massacre from an adjacent location, but did nothing in response. On 1 September 2011 Federal Police arrested one of the state police officers for his connection with the incident, who admitted to working for Los Zetas for an unspecified amount of time.

In a public address to the nation and wreath laying at the Casino Royale on 26 August 2011, President Felipe Calderon stated that the U.S. Government, gun dealers, and American drug consumers were partially responsible for the Monterrey casino massacre, as the assault rifles and billion-dollar drug profits made from the drug trafficking industry empower the criminal organizations that were responsible for this recent aggression and other similar acts. On 6 September 2011 a Mexican media outlet released information based on Wikileaks reports that former Monterrey and neighboring San Nicolas municipal mayors had received large sums of cash from casinos while they were in office. On 8 September 2011 Nuevo Leon Security Spokesman Jorge Domene released information that Casino Royale owner Raúl Rocha was forced to pay Los Zetas US\$140,000/month. With all the irregularities surrounding the incident, investigations into evolving new leads are underway. Only when the case is completely closed will we understand the true depth and breadth of the corruption and scandals surrounding the incident... or will we. **End FMSO Commentary (Scheidel)**

Deep-Seated Corruption

1 September 2011

Source: "Pagan a Larrazabal tras 'susto' a casino (Larrazabal Paid Following 'Scare' at Casino)," El Norte, 1 September 2011. www.elnorte.com/local/articulo/645/1288385/?gclidorigen=2



Photo of the Casino Royale following the massacre and subsequent wreath laying by President Calderon and other government officials. By Carlos t (Own work) [CC-BY-SA-3.0 (www.creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/)], via Wikimedia Commons

Pagan a Larrazabal tras 'susto' a casino (Larrazabal Paid Following 'Scare' at Casino),"

Video Shows Monterrey Mayor's Brother Collecting Alleged Extortion Money

Monterrey, Mexico (1 September 2011) -- Five days before Manuel Jonas Larrazabal, brother of Monterrey Mayor Fernando Larrazabal, had gone to collect money from a casino, as evidenced in yesterday's videos, that same betting house was "visited" by an armed group with a clear warning: "Toe the line!"

A new video, available at elnorte.com, shows how at least 30 individuals -- all with rifles -- burst one after the other in the casino on 25 May 2011 and in less than a minute and a half, destroyed the facilities.

During the attack, made shortly after 0200 hours, the criminals, most of them with their faces covered, subdued customers who at the time were in the various areas of the casino.

The images show the attackers walking around the second floor of the betting house, vandalizing it and knocking down chairs and slot machines in the presence of customers, who remained lying on the floor, frightened.

The criminals, including some minors, left after the attack.

During the middle of that same night, and within minutes, the attack was repeated in at least three other casinos, and although the incident was described as a robbery at that time, it might have actually been an action to intimidate owners of betting houses to extort them.

Shortly after these events, on 30 May 2011, Jonas Larrazabal was taped in one of the attacked casinos, receiving an amount of cash from an employee.

Although the mayor's brother denied yesterday that his money transactions with casinos

Continued: Larrazabal Paid Following ‘Scare’ at Casino

were due to extortion, he said that he was collecting the money from the sale of cheese from Oaxaca. The release of the videos sparked outrage among political leaders and citizens in the state and the country, including PAN (National Action Party) members, the party to which Fernando Larrazabal belongs.

The perception is unanimous: the collection of money documented in videos evidences corruption acts between casinos and the municipal authority.

Former PAN Governor Fernando Canales said that “we are not going to cover up or allow that any authority, of any political party, including ours, be part of organized crime, which has caused so much harm to our community.”

PAN State Leader Sandra Pamanes said at a news conference that the mayor should assist in the investigation, although she did not deem that his resignation was necessary at this time.

Nationwide, the PAN endorsed in a statement the continuation of Larrazabal as mayor, but distanced itself from his brother, making it clear that Jonas is not a PAN member.

Last night, the Interior Secretariat demanded in a statement that Nuevo Leon authorities clarify the facts documented in the videos, in which Jonas appears receiving money.

PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) Governor Rodrigo Medina announced an investigation and linked the videos of the PAN mayor’s brother with the attack on Casino Royale a week ago, in which 52 innocent people died.

“I believe that the images of Jonas show in the first instance collusion and corruption,” he said, “especially now when we have a tragic event in which 52 people were killed.”

He added that the investigation on the attack has two lines of action: one of them against the criminals and the other against authorities who may be involved due to negligence, omission, action, and corruption; and that is where Larrazabal’s case could be filed.

“It is an explanation that the municipality must provide,” he said.

“However, I think that the images are clear and we will have to investigate how that happened.”

In Mexico, Nuevo Leon’s eight PRI federal deputies requested that the Monterrey mayor be temporarily removed from office so that the PGR [Office of the Attorney General] could investigate the money his brother was receiving from casinos.

Deputy Benjamin Clariond said that “we demand that he request to be temporarily removed from office and face the consequences, for him to explain where his brother is, why he was receiving money, what they did with the money, and since when they were collecting it.”

This demand was echoed by Deputy Felipe Enriquez.

“It is urgent for the council to meet,” Enriquez said. “Here we have the names of all council members for them to approve Fernando Larrazabal’s temporary absence from office, so that he could be immediately investigated. This is urgent.”

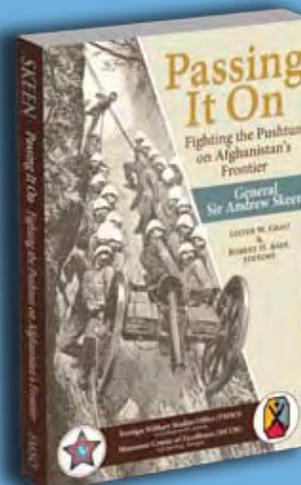
At the state level, PRI State Leader Alvaro Ibarra and Hector Gutierrez, the local PRI deputies’ coordinator, also demanded an investigation and requested that the mayor be removed from office.

Leaders of organizations such as Ccinlac (Nuevo Leon’s Council of Civic Institutions), Caintra (Association of Manufacturers), Coparmex (Employers’ Confederation of the Mexican Republic), and Canaco (National Chamber of Commerce) in Monterrey also warned that money transactions between the mayor’s brother and casinos are not in exchange for nothing and requested an investigation.

Miguel Treviño, the Ccinlac Director, said that “what we demand is an investigation...and what we would ask on behalf of that organization is that it goes to the very end, and if there is no good excuse, which we see really difficult, it would not only entail the mayor’s resignation, but even that those of the Attorney General’s Office and judges reach the end.”

The American infantry battalion is now a well-established actor in the Afghan theater. So why would the Foreign Military Studies Office and the Maneuver Center of Excellence resurrect a book from 1932 for the leaders of those units? Well, the book is about fighting Pushtun tribesmen in the remote regions of Afghanistan/Pakistan — an unchanged battlefield and an opposing force consistent in the difficulties it has caused for great armies over millennia. This book, originally published as a guide for British lieutenants and captains, demonstrates that improvements in technology — much of it available to both sides —

have had only a modest impact on infantry fighting in this rugged terrain. However, it also demonstrates that the key to enhancing basic infantry effectiveness is using the terrain effectively, maintaining force security and understanding the people.



— Lester W. Grau
les.grau@us.army.mil

China's First Manned Submersible Will Take the Country to New Depths

15 August 2011

Source: Nanfang Ribao Online “深海”蛟龙” — 探秘中国首个载人深潜器”蛟龙”号 (Deep Sea Dragon – First Manned Deep Submersible in China),” 15 Aug 2011. <http://www.nanfangdaily.com.cn>

“深海”蛟龙” — 探秘中国首个载人深潜器”蛟龙”号 (Deep Sea Dragon – First Manned Deep Submersible in China)

While the Jiaolong, according to China's scientists, is intended for benign purposes, its uses could extend well beyond its present purposes in time of escalated tensions

On 26 July 2011 Beijing time, under the sunny sky in the northeastern Pacific, the “Jiaolong (dragon)” suddenly surfaced. For the first time in history, a Chinese person stayed at a depth greater than 5,000 meters underwater. It is a historic moment. China's manned deep submersible managed to join the “global deep sea club” after the United States, France, Russia and Japan.

The “Jiaolong” is not simply a cutting edge technology. According to a commentary in the Wall Street Journal, “China plans to use a manned submersible to dive deep into the Pacific Ocean. This will allow China to surpass the United States in a competition to exploit potentially abundant mineral resource at the deepest part of the largest ocean in the world.” As a matter of fact, judging from the enthusiastic response from all over the world, a high tech “dragon” is giving the Chinese people living on the Loess Plateau an opportunity to examine China's deep sea strategy. A deep blue dream may kick off from here.

Expert reveals three major breakthroughs

Automatic cruising and hover positioning near the bottom, high speed underwater acoustic communication, and oil-filled silver-zinc battery capacity are known as the three major technological breakthroughs associated with the “Jiaolong.” These technologies are explained by Director Wang Xiaohui of the Underwater Robotics Research Center of Shenyang Institute of Automation of the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

The “Jiaolong” can stay steadily at a fixed place.

Just like driving a car, the driver always puts a foot on the accelerator. Fatigue is unavoidable. The pilot of the “Jiaolong” is a lucky person. It is equipped with an autopilot. Once the bearing is fixed, the pilot can be rest assured to carry out observation and scientific research.

According to Wang Xiaohui, the autopilot on the “Jiaolong” can operate in the following three modes. It is capable of cruising automatically by bearing. Once its bearing is set by the pilot, the “Jiaolong” can navigate by itself without any deviation. It is capable of cruising automatically at a fixed height. This function can allow the submersible to maintain a certain height relative to the bottom of the seafloor despite the fluctuation in the undersea terrain. This fixed height automatic cruise feature can allow the “Jiaolong” to navigate itself easily in a highly complex environment to avoid collision. It is capable of cruising automatically at a fixed depth. This

FMSO Commentary: Having long lagged behind in technology, China has been making strides in its maritime capabilities. One of China's more recent technological advancements has been in its underwater submersible, the “Jiaolong.”

According to China, the Jiaolong will be used to study, and possibly exploit, underwater natural resources such as oil and gas, and various critical minerals. According to a commentary in the Wall Street Journal, “China plans to use a manned submersible to dive deep into the Pacific Ocean. This will allow China to surpass the United States in a competition to exploit potentially abundant mineral resource at the deepest part of the largest ocean in the world.”

*While Chinese scientists say the Jiaolong is intended for benign purposes, its uses could extend well beyond its present purposes in time of escalated tensions. Last year the Jiaolong planted a Chinese flag at the bottom of the South China Sea. This fueled fear that China could potentially use the Jiaolong for commercial or military purposes in disputed waters. One such example of a military use could be to cut critical underwater communication lines. **End FMSO Commentary (Hurst)***

Continued: Deep Sea Dragon – First Manned Deep Submersible in China

feature can allow the “Jiaolong” to maintain a fixed distance from the surface of the ocean.

More amazingly, the “Jiaolong” can hover over a fixed position. Once an undersea target is discovered, unlike most foreign made submersibles, the “Jiaolong” does not need to operate while it is sitting on the seafloor. Instead, the pilot can “fix” it at a specific position. Moreover, it can be kept at a fixed distance from the target to facilitate the use of a mechanical arm to perform certain operations. Under the influence of both external and internal factors, undersea current will cause the “Jiaolong” to sway and movement of mechanical arm will cause the entire submersible to rock back and forth. It is truly amazing to be able to control the “Jiaolong” to “hover” precisely over a fixed spot. The availability of similar features has not been disclosed publicly for deep submersibles developed abroad.

Other Major achievements include:

Deep sea communication relies on “sound,” rather than “electromagnetism.”

The deep submersible has one of the largest battery capacities in the world.

It is comparable to going into space.

It is highly dexterous. The “Jiaolong” can move with six degrees of freedom underwater.

There are 8 underwater lights acting as its eyes to ensure crew members can see what is going on within 15 meters.

It is also equipped with an imaging sonar system and it has a maximum effective range of 200 meters. In addition, there are 7 collision avoidance sonar systems, a bathymetric side-scan sonar system for detecting various small targets associated with seafloor topology, and a Doppler shift ocean current meter.

According to a description provided by China Ocean Institute, it usually takes 12 hours for the “Jiaolong” to dive down to 7,000 meters and then comes back up to the surface. This includes half an hour each for deployment and recovery, as well as 2.5 hours each for going down and coming back up. This leaves 6 hours for it to operate on the seafloor. A dive usually starts in the morning and ends at sunset.

Under normal conditions, the “Jiaolong” can survive underwater for 12 hours. In an emergency, its life support system can last for nearly 3 days.

It is going to the South China Sea to acquire data related to methane hydrate (i.e., fire ice).

After successfully diving down to 5,000 meters in depth, the “Jiaolong” can cover 75% the ocean in the world. Xu Qinan also disclosed that the “Jiaolong” will pick an opportunity to test dive to a depth of 7,000 meters. Once it is successfully accomplished, then the “Jiaolong” can cover 99.99% of the ocean in the world. With the

exception of individual ocean trenches, nothing can stop the “Jiaolong.”

Abundant and unknown deep sea resources will be at our fingertips. Wang Pinxian is an academicien of the Chinese Academy of Science and a renowned marine geologist in China. He disclosed to the media earlier that the project he is spearheading, which is entitled “Study of the Evolutionary Process Deep in the South China Sea,” will be the first project to use the “Jiaolong” to explore methane hydrate (fire ice) on the bottom of the South China Sea.

In addition, the first scientific expedition to be undertaken by the “Jiaolong” next year may also focus on marine benthic organisms as well. The result brought back by the “Jiaolong” will help us gain an understanding on this mysterious biological world.

There is deep sea oil and gas exploitation as well. According to Wang Dongxiao, Deputy Director of the South China Sea Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, there are considerable oil and gas deposits on the bottom of the ocean 1,000 to 2,000 meters deep. They are distributed across a wide range of areas. However, existing deep sea exploration technology can only reach 200 meters. The “Jiaolong” can dive deep into the ocean. It is hopeful that new progress will be made.

There is an abundance of mineral resources on the seafloor. Wang Dongxiao reminded us that the “Jiaolong” went down to the seafloor in northeastern Pacific because it is the exclusive mining zone granted to China by the International Seabed Authority of the United Nations. The “Jiaolong” also obtained manganese nodule samples from the seabed.

Scientists will be the “largest customers” of the “Jiaolong” in the future. Wu Nengyou stressed that the “Jiaolong” is still relatively lacking in terms of its operational capability. In the future, emphasis must be focused on applications to truly help in the development of deep sea strategy for China.

“Don’t underestimate the mechanical arm of the “Jiaolong.” It not only can pick up a rock sample that weighs 200 kg, but also can be used to delicately grab biological organisms. It is also equipped with a great deal of instruments such as still and video cameras, a sonar system and a drilling rig. As Wu Nengyou looks into the future, he sees that scientists will be able to use deep sea as a natural laboratory. Test samples can be placed into a deep sea environment by using the “Jiaolong” to conduct scientific experiments. These test specimens can be retrieved after a certain period of time. Consequently, it is possible to simulate environmental conditions that are unable to be created inside a laboratory.

The birth of the “Jiaolong” signified that China is going to devote some effort in the deep sea field.

According to Wang Dongxiao’s analysis, “Our country is promoting its deep sea strategy in a step by step manner. The South China Sea serves the beachhead. It will then be extended to the Pacific and Indian Ocean.”

FMSO Commentary: *The year 2011 marks the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), which currently comprises China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. During the SCO summit meeting on June 15th in the Kazakh capital Astana, the SCO member countries not only signed a declaration condemning any unilateral build-up of missile defense (in response to the US-backed NATO missile defense plan), but also discussed the possibility of admitting Pakistan, India and Mongolia as member states of the regional security organization. With regard to the membership issue, Sergei Prikhodko, Russian President Dmitry Medvedev's chief foreign policy advisor, stated at the summit that no decisions to admit new states have been taken.*

On Sept. 5th in Beijing, three months after the summit, during an international conference also devoted to the 10th anniversary of the SCO, Sergey Razov, Russia's ambassador to China, asserted that the expansion of the SCO is inevitable. According to Razov, the open nature of the organization implies the possibility of expanding its membership, which could improve the efficiency of the organization.

*Nevertheless, Razov's opinion is not shared among all the SCO countries, particularly China. Sheng Shiliang, a Chinese expert working at the China Center for SCO Studies, pointed out that disagreements exist among the SCO states regarding the issue of admitting new countries into the organization. Even though officials in Iran, India and Pakistan have repeatedly stated their desire to join the SCO, it will probably take quite some time for the potential member countries to meet the criteria for membership of the organization. **End FMSO Commentary (Du)***

Expansion of the SCO?

5 September 2011

Source: “Расширение ШОС неизбежно, считает посол России в Китае (Expansion of the SCO is inevitable, says Russian Ambassador to China),” RIA Novosti (ria.ru), 5 September 2011 <http://www.ria.ru/world/20110905/430076948.html>



Map of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). Red: Member states. Orange: Observer status. Yellow: Attendants status. By Nikolay Kurbatov (SCO) [FAL], via Wikimedia Commons

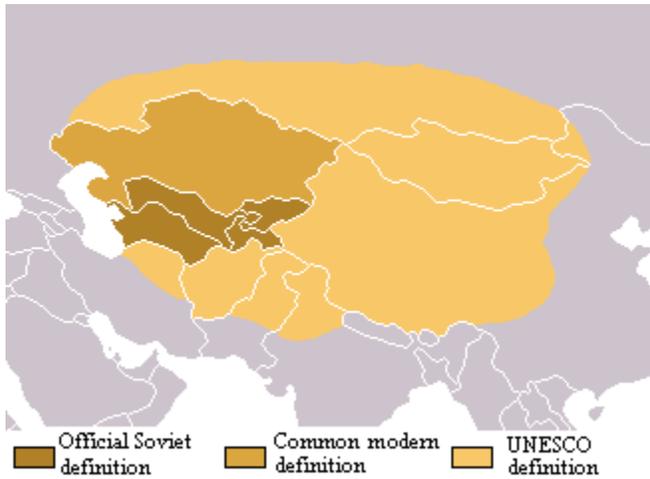
Расширение ШОС неизбежно, считает посол России в Китае (Expansion of the SCO is inevitable, says Russian Ambassador to China)

The expansion of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) is inevitable, and its result should be to improve the efficiency of the organization, said Sergey Razov, Russia's ambassador to China, on Monday during an international conference devoted to 10th anniversary of the SCO. “Given the open nature of the SCO, marked in its founding documents, which implies the possibility of expanding its membership, I think we can say that the expansion of the organization is inevitable and desirable,” said the ambassador. Razov addressed that “this requires a solid preliminary work, and we have to carefully coordinate the legal, administrative and financial conditions for the admission of new members.” The SCO comprises China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. Iran, India, Mongolia and Pakistan have observer status in the organization. Iran, India and Pakistan have repeatedly stated desire to join the SCO. At the same time, Sheng Shiliang, a board member of the China Center for SCO Studies, said that among the “members of the SCO there are differences on the issues of whether the extension of SCO is needed and which countries may be admitted.” “Today, Pakistan, Iran and India have in turn stated desire to join the SCO. However, Iran is under UN sanctions, and, of course, it does not meet the criteria (for membership). Between Pakistan and India, there were military clashes, and their relationship is still quite tense. This is not very consistent with the principles of the SCO,” said Sheng Shiliang.

The expert said that while no country entirely meets criteria for membership in the SCO, no new member state would be admitted. “This is a general understanding of all the SCO member states, rather than that of any particular country,” Sheng added.

Mines Along Central Asian Borders

29 August 2011



Source: “Жертвы минной войны: Когда будет поставлена точка?” (Victims of Mine Warfare: When will it come to an End?) Nargis Khamrabaeva, Asia-Plus, August 29, 2011 <http://news.tj/ru/news/zhertvy-minnoy-voyny-kogda-budet-postavlena-tochka>

Central Asia Borders. By user:Serglo [GFDL (www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html)], via Wikimedia Commons

Жертвы минной войны: Когда будет поставлена точка? (Victims of Mine Warfare: When will it come to an End?)

Exactly 11 years ago, August 29, 2000, there was a dark date in the history of Tajikistan. This day was the starting point of the victims of mine warfare on the Tajik-Uzbek border. At that time six Tajik civilians stepped on mines in the Khanabad Isfara district. Since that explosion mines have killed 74 citizens of Tajikistan. In an interview the director of the Tajik Mine Action Center Dzhonmakhmad Rajabov spoke on the current situation on the Tajik-Uzbek border.

(Asia Plus): In 2000, Uzbekistan unilaterally mined some sections of the border with Tajikistan, ostensibly in order to prevent the invasion of terrorists and drug traffickers from Tajikistan. However, it is known that during these years the victims of the mines have only been citizens of Tajikistan.

(Rajabov): Yes, in less than 11 years of anti-personnel mines laid along the Tajik-Uzbek border, 74 citizens have been killed and another 87 received various injuries. There were instances when citizens of Uzbekistan were affected, but I do not have statistical details.

(Asia Plus): According to international laws, particularly the Ottawa Convention, a country that has set mines must provide a neighboring country a map of the mined area. However, Uzbekistan has not yet ratified the Ottawa Convention or provided maps of mined areas. Have you addressed the Uzbek side with a request for a map of the mines?

(Rajabov): The Tajik Foreign Ministry has repeatedly called on Uzbekistan with a request to discuss this problem. Unfortunately, Tashkent has not responded to our initiative. Now, we are working on our own delineation of “contaminated” areas.

(Asia Plus): What is the total area of Tajikistan, which has yet to be cleared of mines and unexploded ordnance?

(Rajabov): A little more than 9 million square meters (3.47 square miles). This is the one area which is still subject to investigation and cleanup. These are the areas where during the (Tajik) Civil War battles took place and along the Tajik-Afghan border.

FMSO Commentary: Land mines can be an important component of border security, acting as a deterrent against illegal activity, and during conflicts as a defensive measure to slow down an advance or deny enemy forces certain areas. Mines have been used in numerous conflicts around the world, but in some cases governments and non-state actors have used them without demarcating or notifying other governments or civilians of their location.

The following interview discusses the land mines that remain on the Uzbek-Tajik border. Uzbekistan mined the border with Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan after two incursions across the region by the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) in 1999 and 2000. In both incidents the IMU crossed into Batken (a southern province in Kyrgyzstan), took hostages and clashed with government security forces. They were able to freely move into Kyrgyzstan from a support base in the Rasht Valley of Tajikistan. Frustrated by what it saw as a lack of effort from its two neighbors to deal with the IMU, Uzbekistan mined the borders. The threat from land mines for people who live near the border is a significant issue by itself, but it also demonstrates how violent incidents often push Central Asian governments to take unilateral action that has a lasting impact. **End FMSO Commentary (Stein)**

FMSO Commentary: The following articles about a fire at a military base and the health problems of Interior Ministry troops, both in southern Kazakhstan, are noteworthy not so much for the incidents but for the coverage of them. The newspaper Liter is government-backed in a country not often known for media freedom. Kazakhstan has been working to update and reform its military and security forces over the past several years. These articles could be a demonstration to Kazakhstan's citizens that the government is working on problems in the military, but it remains to be seen what effect this will actually have.

*Like other Central Asian militaries, Kazakhstan relies on conscripts to fill the ranks, which is not always met with public support. Those who can afford it often pay a bribe to avoid conscription; the military is still dealing with quality of life issues. The second article may blame the commander, but these soldiers were probably living in difficult conditions that would have made them ill regardless. As for the fire, it is nearly impossible that the court-martialed soldiers will be able to pay the fine. It will probably be later dealt with differently and out of public view. The title of the first article also carries an ambiguous meaning in Russian; the author is frustrated with the court martial sentence or the state of affairs in the military. Either way, it is a small bit of freedom in the press. **End FMSO Commentary (Stein)***

Media Freedom and Security in Kazakhstan

Дослужились (It's Come to This)

20 August 2011

Source: "Дослужились" (It's Come to This) Galina Urmanova, Liter, August 20, 2011 http://www.liter.kz/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=7077&Itemid=2

Due to the negligent service of these three soldiers, the military court of the Shymkent garrison, Zhambyl province, ordered them to pay almost one million U.S. dollars. The military of gave out the sentence in the case of this fire in unit No. 85395, the result of which four T-72A tanks burned. The incident happened on October 22 of last year.

The fire occurred after the soldiers spent time cleaning the exterior of the tank hull with rags soaked in diesel fuel. One of the soldiers threw a lit cigarette butt on the ground. The closest tank immediately caught fire. Munitions inside the tank exploded from the heat and the fire spread to the others. As a result four tanks were destroyed. Fortunately, there were no casualties. According to the prosecutor, the fire was the fault of the deputy commander of the tank battalion No. 85395, the company commander of the 1st Tank Battalion, and a driver; they are still serving in their units. According to the court, they will be required to pay about 137 million Tenge, or about one million dollars.

Есть жертвы (There Are Victims)

7 September 2011

Source: "Есть жертвы (There Are Victims)" Yuri Eliseev, Liter, September 7, 2011 http://www.liter.kz/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=7077&Itemid=2

In mid-August in a Ministry of Interior brigade there was a scandal – more than thirty soldiers were hospitalized due to an intestinal infection. Two weeks passed and the situation repeated itself, this time in a hospital 24 soldiers got sick. In a preliminary version soldiers were poisoned in the dining hall compound. Another version of the disease was that soldiers ate (unclean) fruits and vegetables during a patrol and the poor personal hygiene of the unit's members.

"We have 21 servicemen in moderate condition", the head of the Shymkent Infectious Diseases Hospital Khalil Zilfigar said. Eight are confirmed with the diagnosis of dysentery. In the military version, soldiers were eating wild apples on the site 'Karatau', and it is now clear how this could have happened, according to military prosecutor of the Shymkent garrison Eszhan Sybanbaev – Where were the commanders? An investigation is now under way, and a decision will be made in the future.

Training to Avert Disaster



3 August 2011

Source: Aleksandr Tikhonov, "Вместе против террора (Over Kamchatka and Alaska)," Krasnaya Zvezda Online, 3 August 2011. <http://www.redstar.ru>

A Russian SU-27 fighter flies alongside a simulated hijacked aircraft during the Exercise Vigilant Eagle, Aug. 8. [Public Domain], via www.difenseimagery.mil

Вместе против террора (Russia, US, and Canada in Vigilant Eagle-2011 Exercise)

The Russian Air Force and the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) will conduct the joint exercise Vigilant Eagle-2011 between 8 and 11 August 2011 with the goal of freeing an aircraft which has hypothetically been seized by terrorists. This is the second exercise of this type that has been carried out within the framework of implementing a joint initiative by NORAD and the Russian Federation Armed Forces in order to improve relations and strengthen cooperation. Conducting such an exercise has become possible thanks to an agreement on military cooperation between the Russian Federation and the United States. This agreement commissioned NORAD and the Russian Federation Air Force to conduct an airborne exercise with a duration of up to five days.

Personnel from the Russian, Canadian, and American Air Forces will take part in the Vigilant Eagle-2011 exercise. Moreover, the leadership staffs of the exercise will be located on Russian territory (in Khabarovsk and in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy) and in the United States (in Colorado Springs and in Anchorage). In order to fulfill the missions, long-range radar detection aircraft, refueling aircraft, and fighter aviation from both the Russian and American sides will be active over the course of the exercise.

The exercise will consist of two stages. The first stage envisages cooperative training between the Russian Federation Air Force and NORAD in a situation where terrorists supposedly seize an American Boeing-757 passenger aircraft, which is flying from Anchorage to Tokyo through Russian Federation airspace. During the second stage, terrorists are assumed to have seized a Russian Il-62 aircraft in the air on a flight from Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy to Anadyr.

Both aircraft supposedly seized by terrorists will not respond to calls from ATC and will change their initial flight route in an attempt to exit the airspace of their country. In this situation, the Russian Federation Air Force and NORAD scramble fighter aircraft or bring in planes already in the air and, with the help of A-50 (Russian Federation) and AWACS E-3B (United States) long-range radar detection aircraft, direct them toward identification and further tracking of the hijacked aircraft. In this connection a great deal of attention will be focused over the course of the exercise on joint tracking and the transfer of escort duties of the Il-62 and Boeing-757 under observation between airborne early warning aircraft from the participating countries.

Along with command elements, forces, and assets of the Russian Federation Air Force and NORAD, corresponding civilian agencies from Russia (the Federal Air Navigation Service) and the United States (the Federal Aviation Administration) will also be part of the exercise.

The Vigilant Eagle-2011 joint exercise is to be the next step in the course of the development of cooperation between the Russian Federation Air Force and NORAD with the goal of preventing the potential threats of airborne terrorism.

FMSO Commentary: On 1 September 1983, during one of the more brisk periods of the Cold War, Soviet fighter aircraft destroyed a Korean Airlines passenger aircraft that had drifted into Soviet airspace, killing more than 260 civilians. The tragic incident was indicative not only of the pernicious paranoia of the communist leadership, but also of the hostility and lack of trust and communication between the USSR and much of the West.

During the past decade some have written of a new Cold War between Russia and the West, but this is an exaggeration. While there remain a number of problem areas regarding Russia's security relationship with the West, mutual efforts continue to reduce these tensions, open communication channels, and develop common solutions to global problems. One particular area deals with counterterrorism operations.

*That terrorists would use civilian aircraft as weapons no longer boggles the imagination. Developing an effective defense against this threat, particularly on an international scale, will require considerable coordination and training. As the referenced article makes clear, military personnel from Russia, Canada, and the U.S. are now combining efforts to protect against this danger. Even if never required, such training can serve to dispel mistrust, prevent serious accidents, and help create a framework for a stronger security relationship. **End FMSO Commentary (Finch)***

FMSO Commentary: *One common misconception regarding conflict resolution (particularly counterterrorism operations) deals with decapitation. In a vertical, hierarchal organization, where the leadership does not represent the populace, removing the top leadership of an enemy or terrorist group would deprive the organization of its brains, willpower, and control. Highly accurate munitions have made such a strategy more feasible. This approach, however, is less effective when the enemy leadership represents the interests of the people. The decapitation option might work temporarily, but, as history has demonstrated, unless the larger societal issues which bred this violence are addressed, the terrorist dragon is likely to grow back with new heads.*

For the past decade or more Russian authorities have relied heavily upon lethal strikes to remove terrorist leaders in the North Caucasus. Each month the leaders of the various Russian security agencies announce greater successes in removing the leaders of these ‘terrorist bands.’ While they have achieved a modicum of stability in Chechnya, the price has been high, and the instability of this region has bled into other areas of the Northern Caucasus, to include the neighboring region of Dagestan.

*The Kremlin leaders’ rhetoric suggests that they understand that force alone will not solve the endemic problems in this region. Besides encouraging investment in the North Caucasus, there has been much discussion about cleaning up corruption, especially within law enforcement and the courts. Their words, however, still do not quite correspond with reality. As the excerpted article from a Dagestani news source makes clear, directed violence against the presumed terrorist leadership continues throughout the region. Removing these ‘dragon heads’ without addressing the larger causes of popular dissatisfaction will likely only aggravate the violence. **End FMSO Commentary (Finch)***

Does Decapitation Work?

22 July 2011



Source: Mairbek Agaev, “Ставка на ликвидацию (Counting on annihilation),” Chernovik Online, 22 July 2011. <http://chernovik.net/>

Map of Caucasus region states. Map by Kbh3rd [CC-BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons

Ставка на ликвидацию (Counting on Annihilation)

At the beginning of this week [in mid-July] Russian President Dmitriy Medvedev met at the Kremlin with Federal Security Service director Aleksandr Bortnikov. The crime situation in Dagestan - which Bortnikov described as the most complicated in the North Caucasus - was the main issue discussed.

Dmitriy Medvedev is exerting pressure on the law-enforcement agencies. For the past two years alone the security forces reported to him three times about the annihilation of the terrorist underground in the North Caucasus. However, this has never happened. The security forces seem to have tried their hardest to fight against terrorists. Probably, due to a lack of effective means the special services are ready today to get back to anti-terror measures which they once refused.

In general, the term “special operation” came into use of security forces 10 years ago and was firmly attached to the North Caucasus republics. And it was “killings in toilet” which provided the impetus. Special operations were raids carried out by small groups of special services on rebel bases with the aim to kill as many rebels as possible. Such operations were not intended for the detention of rebels. Three security agencies - Interior Ministry, Federal Security Service [FSS] and Main Intelligence Directorate - used to send small groups of their officers to volatile South. This led to the establishment of temporary departments of police and the FSS (VOVD [temporary department of internal affairs] and VO FSS [temporary department of the Federal Security Service]). They had up to 200 members, all being from the country’s central regions. They did not have any knowledge of the North Caucasus specifics. Following several failures of their agents, the temporary units took up a complete defensive position. Officers even stopped going out of their premises. The head offices in Moscow were even uncertain whether it was suitable to have VOVDs and VO FSS in the North Caucasus. But these departments became useful later on.

All is fair in war

By the early 2005, a more efficient (as special services believe) force - temporary specialized operations groups, VSOG, emerged. They were sort of “death squads”. The idea of annihilating rebels with the use of very small squads became dominant for the Interior Ministry. These groups had four members - driver and three officers, with each of them holding at least the rank of major. Initially six such groups were established: five in Chechnya and one in Ingushetia. Upon arriving at their location they were dependent on none of the local security agencies. They were commanded directly from Moscow. The temporary operations groups were literally

Continued: Counting on Annihilation

a death tool. Their task was annihilation. And temporary departments found application. They were providing VSOGs with transport, accommodation and ammunition. Those groups did not read the biographies of their future victims. Having annihilated a rebel, the group remained near the dead body only long enough to take one photo which was needed for reporting about work done. There was no paperwork, no tracks.

The Interior Ministry stopped sending VSOG groups [to the North Caucasus] in mid-2006. At that time, joint special groups comprising FSS and Internal troops officers became less active as well.

However, there are grounds to suppose that the “death squads” have re-emerged again, but this time in Dagestan.

Last month at least three similar-style killings happened in the republic. On June 19 leader of the Izberbash rebel group, Shamil Payzullayev, was shot dead by masked gunmen in front of several hundreds of people in Ulitsa Petra Pervogo [Street]. No emotions, no fuss. For a few seconds they examined the body (most likely to take his photo for the report), and left the scene.

Another incident. On June 24 local resident Magad Arslanaliyev was found dead with multiple gunshot wounds. According to law-enforcement agencies, Arslanaliyev, an active member of a local rebel group, was killed when he offered armed resistance. But, in fact, everything happened in quite another way. Magad was leaving the house of his friends in the village of Atlanaul when a black VAZ 2114 car stopped near him. Five people in civilian clothing (of them, three masked) got out of the car and tried to push him into the vehicle. The incident was witnessed by a local resident who works for the Buynakskiy district police department. He thought that they wanted to kidnap Arslanaliyev and intervened. Meanwhile, Arslanaliyev rushed to run away. But he could hardly reach the nearest fence when he received three bullets into his leg. He was thrown into the car and driven away, and then supposedly was shot dead two days later while offering resistance.

Regrettably, there is an ideal environment in our republic for new “death squads”. There are lists of unreliable persons in every city and district police department. And this is the work of district police officers and regular “informers.” Names are everything that VSOGs need. And then everything takes place under a well thought out plan. By the way, potential victims of the temporary operations groups can even not suspect that they are in the line of fire.

On June 9, two days after the murder of rector of the Theology Institute, Maksud Sadikov, the killer was almost “found” in Makhachkala. However, the planned operation was halted because relatives of Rustam Imrsadykov helped him out of his apartment where he was blocked. The same day security forces carried out searches and arrests on 19 locations in the Uzbekgorodok district. Most of the arrested did not even know that they were on the black lists.

A vicious circle

Meanwhile, the practice shows that no force has yet been enough to

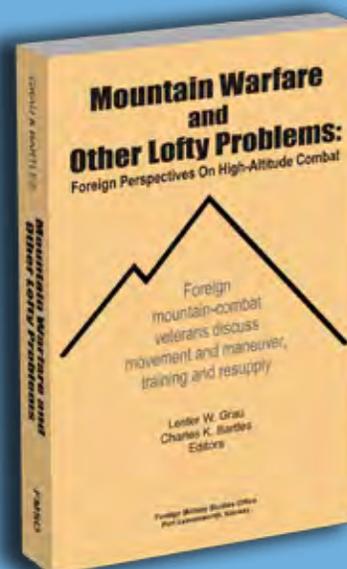
tackle terrorism in the North Caucasus.

It was considered that terrorism in Chechnya was wiped out. This opinion was created by Ramzan Kadyrov. After he got rid of “Vostok” and “Zapad” battalions, which were the only units not controlled by him, there are no forces in Chechnya which could go deep into the forests and fight rebels. This resulted in a slack and an imaginary victory over the terrorists. But a large-scale attack by the rebels on Kadyrov’s native village of Tsentoroy and an armed attack on the Chechen parliament proved that it was too early to speak about the defeat of the underground. Probably, this caused the recent imposition of a five-month counter-terrorism operation in three districts of Chechnya.

All this makes our special services’ aspiration to follow the disastrous experience of their European counterparts more surprising. The actions of small shoot-to-kill groups in the Caucasus, particularly in Dagestan, will lead to nothing but further escalation of the conflict.

One can hardly believe that the leadership of the country’s security forces completely rely upon small groups of commandos. The activity of the death squads in our cities and villages will aggravate the socio-political situation and provoke a sharp reaction from rebel groups. In this case a large-scale war in Dagestan will be close at hand

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. Training, equipment, weapons, tactics, and logistics all require significant adjustment for mountain combat. This book covers operations and tactics, artillery, and aviation support, reconnaissance, communications, training, and logistics. It demonstrates that the key to enhancing effectiveness is using the terrain effectively, preparing the soldiers properly, and understanding the environment.



This book is not United States Army doctrine. Rather, it is offered as an alternate view that could help our forces successfully adapt to a most-challenging environment and carry out their mission.

— Lester W. Grau
les.grau@us.army.mil

— Charles K. Bartles
charles.bartles@us.army.mil

FMSO Commentary: Russian military reform continues its uphill slog. Most Kremlin-controlled press reports remain cautiously optimistic. The Russian government continues to allocate huge sums to improve overall combat readiness. The most painful decisions on streamlining the formerly bloated military structure have been made, and with the requisite political will and investment their forces will be transformed into a 'new look' organization. Many critics, however, claim that not only has there been a lack of both solid planning and political will, but also that much of the investment has been stolen or embezzled. Officer incentive pay is one graphic example of how defense expenditures have sometimes been poorly appropriated.

Two years ago (2009), the Russian Ministry of Defense (MoD) established a program that would reward high-achieving officers with incentive pay. Like in other countries, top-performing officers would be granted additional pay for select skills and abilities (i.e., language fluency, flying aptitude, etc.). These bonuses were designed to help retain qualified officers and encourage others to improve their skill sets. What might have looked good on paper, unfortunately, did not always translate well into practice. Weak financial controls, a history of egalitarian practice among officers, and poor leadership all contributed to undermine this program. Instead of motivating officers to push their personal envelope, this incentive pay often led to resentment and deeper corruption. The story surrounding Russian air force pilot, Igor Sulim is a case in point.

Upset that he had to hand over to his squadron commander a certain percentage of his incentive pay each month, in May 2011 Lieutenant Sulim went public with his charges of extortion, hoping that the negative exposure would force corrective action. While his accusations initiated a flurry of righteous rhetoric about how the MoD and Air Force were not going to tolerate such behavior, this past month (August 2011) Sulim was deemed unfit for further military service and forced to resign.

As this recent interview with Sulim points out, the Russian Air Force has not only been deprived of a promising young pilot, but, more importantly, a painful message has been sent to those who dare to fight corrupt practices. The lesson would appear to be, better to keep your mouth shut and collude with the corrupt system than to fight for what is right. **End FMSO Commentary (Finch)**

Non-Incentive Pay

5 September 2011

Source: "Игоря Сулима списали с лётной работы" [Igor Sulim has been Removed from Flying Duties], <http://gorod48.ru/news/47524/>, accessed 12 September 2011.

Игоря Сулима списали с лётной работы (Lieutenant Forbidden to Fly for Health Reasons)

On 14 August, the pilot instructor at the Lipetsk airbase, Igor Sulim, who revealed information about extortion, that led to criminal cases against several officers, was sent to the 7th Central Military Clinical Aviation Hospital of the Air Force for a check-up.

Igor Sulim's Commander, Col. Tereshin questioned the mental health of the senior lieutenant and did not allow him to fly.

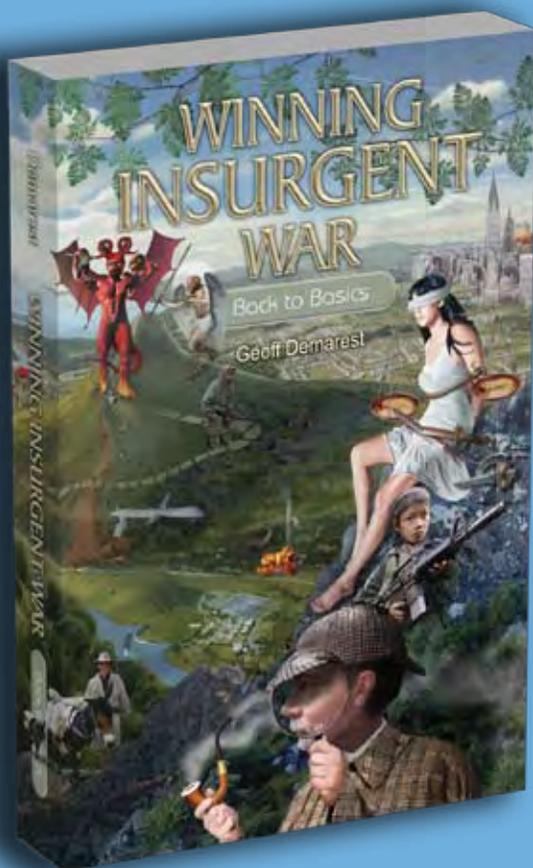
[Interview follows with gorod48news reporter]

- Igor, you were discharged from the hospital; how are things today?
- Unfortunately, the health check-up results were not the most promising. Although the neurological diagnosis was not confirmed, and I was declared completely healthy mentally, they "discovered" some scoliosis of my spine, which will not allow me to fly in the future. From flight operations, I have been removed, I think, finally.
- Do you see this as retribution for the "mess" that you brewed?
- Of course, and it would be foolish to deny. It's not a question of sick people, but of patients who have not been properly 'diagnosed.' The motives for sending me to the hospital are clear, and the results are what I expected. It happens very often. About repressive forms of medicine I will not mention, but this form of medical care is quite similar.
- Doctors can sometimes hide the "not serious" diagnosis (like scoliosis), if they are asked nicely ...
- Almost any problem can always be "solved", but to afford "negotiate" to offer some benefits for the concealment of the diagnosis, I could not, it would not be quite fair.
- Could "scoliosis" be the cause of your suspension from flying and even removal from the Air Force?
- In accordance with existing orders, it is. Unfortunately.
- Does this mean that you will have to say goodbye to the Air Force, to flying? Will you have to leave the military?
- Yes, flying military planes is now forbidden for me. I don't want to leave the military. I would like to find further service still connected to flying. But, I'll have to think about it.
- Could you consider a transition to civil aviation?
- This option is not excluded, but I do not know how my diagnosis might affect the issue.
- What are your next plans?
- What else? To pursue the case to the end, first of all. We must struggle with difficulties.

Continued: Lieutenant Forbidden to Fly for Health Reasons

The administrative capacity of those people whose interests we have touched are much greater than ours, but this should not be a reason to allow someone to push you around.

- You will not regret your career might end in such a fashion?
- There is some regret, but we are fighting for a just cause. It's really important. If you go along with the corruption, you become a slave. Yesterday, today and tomorrow, we are always confronted with the question: "What have I done?" I wish that many might say, "I was honest to myself." In life, we might only have one chance to do something courageous. I am glad that I serve with people who prefer honesty over mere commerce. It's a pity that not all have made the proper choice. It would be easier.
- Will you depart from Lipetsk?
- Everything will depend on the type of activity, what I'm going to do. I'll try to be here as long as possible, but life dictates its own rules. My spirits are not crushed, everything is still ahead.
- Will you follow the course of criminal proceedings?
- I won't just watch, but also plan to take a most active part. Writing me off from flight operations will in no way affect the fact that we are fighting. These are totally unrelated things. If someone thinks that by doing so you can make me drop everything and come to terms, they are very much mistaken.
- We realize you have no right to disclose the progress of the case, but in terms of what to say you can tell me - how things are going? Are the authorities not trying break up the case?
- Well, some opposition, of course, there is, but I think an investigation is being conducted objectively, and guilty people will be punished. I think it would be a good lesson for the scoundrels who scoff at people, stuffing their pockets with dirty money



Regarding the kind of conflict the book addresses, it is about a broader set of conflicts than 'insurgency.' The umbrella category might be 'irregular.' I defer to a section on 'Terms' in a 1960 US Army field manual titled Operations Against Irregular Forces. It states,

The term irregular, used in combinations such as irregular forces, irregular activities, and counter-irregular operations, is used in the broad sense to refer to all types of nonconventional forces and operations. It includes guerrilla, partisans, insurgent, subversive, resistance, terrorist, revolutionary, and similar personnel, organizations and methods.

As for whom the book was written, the title seeks its audience. The text touches on a broad range of subjects. My hope then, is that the book will find its best audience, and that some of the ideas in it will be contagious.

— Geoff Demarest
geoffrey.demarest@us.army.mil