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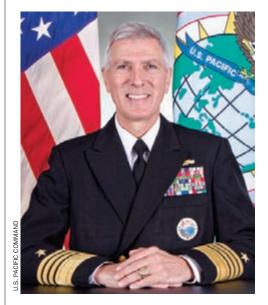
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#### **ABOUT THE COVER:**

The illustration asks how will Asia-Pacific nations in the future responsibly balance competition for resources such as food, water, energy and minerals? This issue highlights emerging solutions to manage rival interests.



Dear Readers,

elcome to the latest edition of Asia Pacific

Defense FORUM, which focuses on balancing competing interests. The Asia Pacific has a long list of priorities from meeting population demands to resolving rival territorial claims that it must address to build stability and prosperity. Balancing those priorities is

inherently complicated and complex as nations strive to allocate resources and build relationships.

In this region in particular, capitalizing on natural resources is a primary concern, which makes responsible resource management imperative. Singapore has shown the value of building a proactive water management program by using public information campaigns coupled with a graded pricing and tax system to conserve water. Meanwhile, Mongolia seeks to avoid the economic and environmental missteps that other mineral-rich nations have faced. The budding democracy aims to manage its mineral resources, maintain economic independence from China and ensure prosperity for many years to come.

Balancing relationships between countries is another priority for the region's stability. Consider China's relationship with North Korea and South Korea. While some nations are reluctant to rely too heavily on China, North Korea has ramped up ties with its northern neighbor in hopes of economic gain. Similarly, South Korea seeks to improve its relationship with China, while dialogue between the North and South remains at a stalemate. Time will tell whether this relationship triangle opens other doors for productive dialogue on the Korean peninsula.

In *FORUM*, we strive to cover issues that matter to our readers. As nations vie for political, economic and social relevance in the region, militaries and law enforcement agencies must consider the various motivations and forces at play. I hope this issue provokes conversations about how to balance competing interests through cooperation, and we look forward to your feedback.

Please contact us at contact-apdf@apdforum.com with your thoughts.

All the best,

SAMUEL J. LOCKLEAR, III Admiral, USN Commander, U.S. Pacific Command

#### APD FORUM

#### Balancing Competing Interests

Volume 38, Issue 2, 2013

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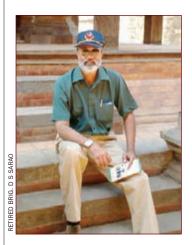


ROHIT GANDHI is an award-winning television journalist, correspondent and documentary filmmaker. He won an Emmy Award in 2010 for his film *The Afghan Warrior* and won the Edward R. Murrow Award for his documentary on child brides. Based in New Delhi, he has traveled extensively across Afghanistan and Pakistan for more than a decade.



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Featured on Page 24



RETIRED BRIG. D S SARAO is a law graduate who retired from the Indian Army after more than three decades of military service. A helicopter pilot, he has flown and served in all terrains. He closely follows Indo-Chinese relations. For *FORUM*, he shares his insights on territorial disputes in the South China Sea.

Featured on Page 58

JIRI KOMINEK is an independent journalist based in the Czech Republic. He covers economic, defense and security matters in Central and Eastern Europe, Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States and Asia for a number of publications, including IHS Jane's, Business New Europe, The Jamestown Foundation and CNBC Business. He has covered topics ranging from Russia's efforts to reforge itself as a strategic global player to China's modernization of its military capability. Featured on Page 46

# Join the Discussion

We want to hear from YOU!

Asia Pacific Defense FORUM caters to military and security personnel in the Asia-Pacific region. A product of U.S. Pacific Command, the quarterly magazine provides high-quality, in-depth content on topics that impact security efforts across the region — from counterterrorism to international cooperation and natural disasters.

FORUM provokes thoughtful discussions and encourages a healthy exchange of ideas. Submit articles, pictures, topics for discussion or other comments to us ONLINE or at:

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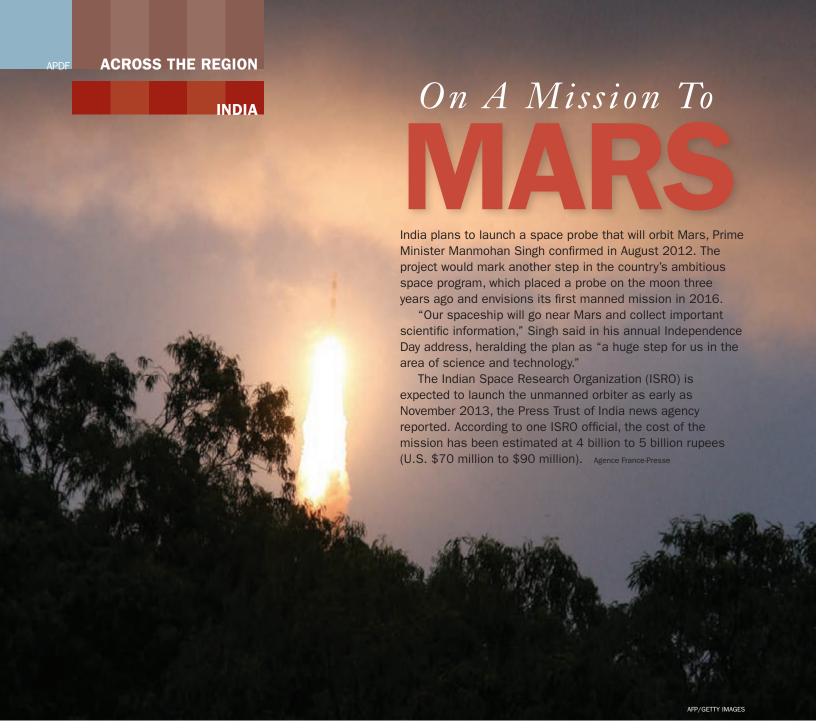
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#### AUSTRALIA



# **Bionic Vision**

Australian scientists said they successfully implanted the world's first bionic eye prototype in August 2012. They described it as a major breakthrough for the visually impaired.

Bionic Vision Australia, a government-funded science consortium, said it surgically installed an early prototype robotic eye in a woman with hereditary sight loss. The tiny device, attached to Dianne Ashworth's retina, contains 24 electrodes that send electrical impulses to stimulate her eye's nerve cells.

Scientists expect patients with the device to recognize faces and read large print. Agence France-Presse



The United States' top trade official sees "explosive" growth opportunities in Southeast Asia, as the nation pushed on with a drive to deepen ties with the dynamic region.

"We do think that there is explosive room for growth in the trade and investment relationship," U.S. trade representative Ron Kirk told economic ministers of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in Siem Reap, Cambodia, in August 2012. The 10-member ASEAN bloc is the United States' fourth-largest trading partner. Trade between the two topped U.S. \$198 billion in 2011, up from U.S. \$186 billion in 2010, according to ASEAN data.

ASEAN Secretary-General Surin Pitsuwan told U.S. industry representatives at a business forum that ASEAN was "the growth center of the world."

"You will do well here," he told delegates. "Here is the market. Here is the opportunity."  $_{\tt Agence\ France-Presse}$ 

#### **NEPAL**

## DRONES combat poachers

Conservationists in Nepal will send drone aircraft into the skies in the battle to save the Himalayan nation's endangered tigers and rhinos from poachers. World Wildlife Fund (WWF) Nepal said it had successfully tested two unmanned "conservation drones" in August 2012 in Chitwan National Park, in Nepal's southern plains, the home of a number of the world's rarest animals.

The remote-controlled aircraft would monitor the animals and poachers via cameras and GPS to capture images and video, the organization said. The aircraft, with a 2-meter wing span and a range of 25 kilometers, can fly in the air for 45 minutes at an altitude of up to 200 meters.

"This technology will be instrumental in monitoring Nepal's flagship species and curbing illegal wildlife trade," said Anil Manandhar, WWF's representative in Kathmandu. Agence France-Presse







## WORLD TRAVELER

A 106-year-old Japanese man has become the oldest person to travel around the world using public transport. Saburo Shochi has been recognized by Guinness World Records for his feat, which saw him travel through North America, Europe and Africa, *The Mainichi* daily newspaper reported in August 2012.

With dozens of his supporters hailing his return at

Fukuoka airport in southwest Japan, the centenarian said with a big smile: "I will live more."

Shochi, a professor emeritus at Fukuoka University of Education, started traveling frequently at the age of 99, giving lectures on child education and health in foreign countries, according to *The Mainichi*.

Agence France-Presse



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE/INDONESIAN MINISTRY OF FORESTRY

## **Rare Rhinos Spotted**

Seven Sumatran rhinos have been captured on hidden cameras in an Indonesian national park where the critically endangered species was feared extinct, a conservationist said in August 2012. The Sumatran rhino had not been sighted in the Mount Leuser National Park on the northern tip of Sumatra for 26 years, said the project's team leader, Tarmizi, of the Leuser International Foundation.

"This discovery can allay doubts over the rhino's presence in the park," Tarmizi said, adding he hoped the discovery would encourage more efforts to conserve the species. Agence France-Presse

# AUSTRALIAN

STORY AND PHOTOS BY NEW SOUTH WALES POLICE FORCE

n December 23, 1982, two bombs exploded at the Israeli Consulate in Sydney and a Jewish social club in Bondi, Australia. Although a suspect was initially arrested, charges were eventually withdrawn, and no one was ever brought to justice. More than 30 years later, the New South Wales Police Force and Australian Federal Police have reopened the investigations, saying they believe someone knows something and will talk.

"We believe there are still people in the community who know those responsible for these bombings," New South Wales Police's Counter Terrorism & Special Tactics Command Assistant Commissioner Peter Dein said in August 2012. "It was luck more than anything else that no one was killed in these bombings, and while it is almost 30 years ago, we know there are people out there living with the knowledge or guilt of these crimes."

About 2 p.m. December 23, 1982, a bomb detonated at the Israeli Consulate General in Sydney, injuring two people and significantly damaging the building. About 6:45 p.m., a second bomb hidden in a vehicle misfired outside the Hakoah Club in Bondi. Although that device failed to detonate properly, it blew up the vehicle and damaged surrounding vehicles.

Dein said the first terrorism cold case investigation began as research being undertaken by the Counter Terrorism & Special Tactics Command Strategy Unit. "This review, and a range of inquiries here and overseas, were able to establish that there were sufficient grounds to warrant a formal reinvestigation into the bombings," he said.

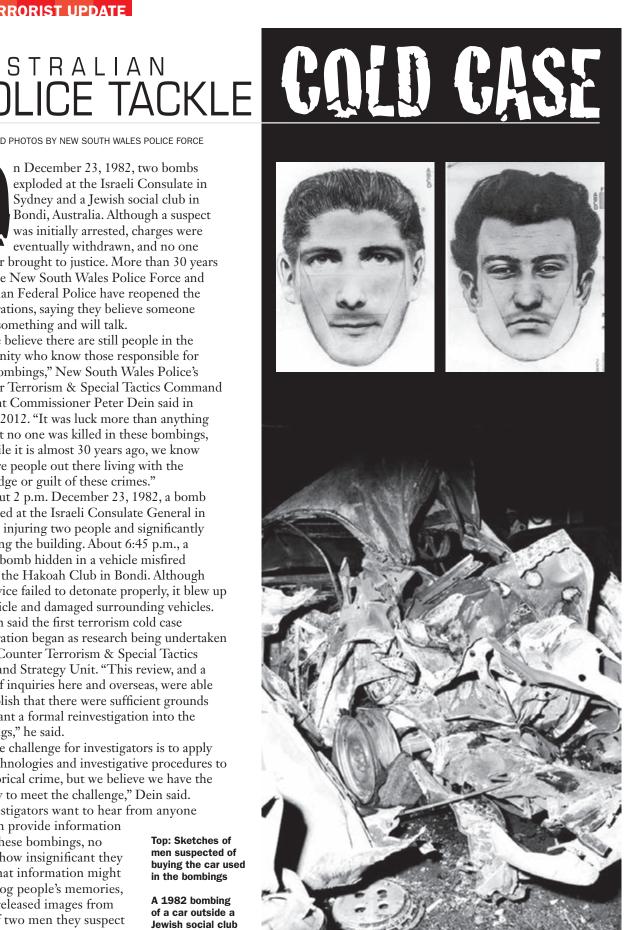
"The challenge for investigators is to apply new technologies and investigative procedures to an historical crime, but we believe we have the capacity to meet the challenge," Dein said.

Investigators want to hear from anyone

who can provide information about these bombings, no matter how insignificant they think that information might be. To jog people's memories, police released images from 1982 of two men they suspect were involved.

Top: Sketches of men suspected of buying the car used in the bombings

A 1982 bombing of a car outside a Jewish social club in Bondi. Australia. remains unsolved.



# Rich in RESOURCES

FORUM STAFF

A Mongolian herder races for shelter during a rainstorm in Karakorum in July 2012. The Mongolian government is striving to ensure nomadic herding can coexist with the country's mining industry.

Mongolia takes a responsible approach to managing its mineral wealth

ongolia sits on a gold mine — several, in fact. And copper mines. And coal mines. Not to mention large deposits of uranium, tin and tungsten.

Wedged between communist China and authoritarian Russia, this young democracy is dealing with growing pains that are the envy of resource-hungry nations the world over.

Since its transition from communism to a free market economy in 1990, Mongolia has seen an influx of foreign investors salivating over its natural resources. The country's mining sector drove its economy to 17 percent growth in 2011, and the International Monetary Fund expects double-digit increases to continue through 2014.

Mongolia's biggest suitor by far, though, is its booming neighbor to the south. With deep pockets and geographic proximity on its side, China is taking in more than 90 percent of Mongolia's exports. "Put together Mongolian supply and Chinese demand, and Mongolia will be rich beyond the wildest dreams of a population, many of whom, a generation ago, saw themselves as nomadic herders," *The Economist* magazine reported in January 2012.

mine worker watches over the ore processing facility at the Oyu Tolgoi gold and copper mine in the Gobi Desert. The country's economy has been dominated by its

natural resources.

A Mongolian

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

#### Wary of overdependence

It may seem like the perfect match, but Mongolia is not interested in a marriage of convenience.

"The problem that Mongolia and many other countries face is overdependence on exporting resources to a manufacturing giant like China," said Mohan Malik, an expert in Asian geopolitics at the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies (APCSS). Weaving the two economies together too tightly could result in disaster for Mongolia if China's economy takes a major hit.



Thus, there has been much discussion in Mongolia about how to manage its resources, maintain economic independence from China and ensure prosperity for many years to come. Parliamentary elections in mid-2012 hinged on how the country would handle its mineral wealth, with some lawmakers calling for more government control and transparency.

"We need a policy to stop all the [mining] licenses ending up in Chinese hands," Tsolmon, a former deputy foreign minister, told *The Christian Science Monitor* in July 2012 as parliament passed a law requiring special approval for deals with foreign stateowned companies. "Otherwise we could wake up one morning and most of our land would be controlled by the Chinese. That would not be good."

#### Fear of "Minegolia"

Just as Mongolia resists the temptation to rely too heavily on a single foreign investor, it is also trying not to put all its hopes in the mining industry. "Many lawmakers are wary about turning Mongolia into 'Minegolia' — a choking, resource-dependent black spot tearing itself apart to deliver raw materials to China," Reuters reported in April 2012.

The president has announced intentions to use mining proceeds to boost other industries, with the goal of turning "our one-color economy into a rainbow economy," President Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj told *The Christian Science Monitor* in July 2012.

Traditionally, the country's main industries have been herding and agriculture, with tourism gaining in popularity since Mongolia transitioned into a democracy. However, all these industries depend heavily on the preservation of the environment, a common casualty in mining operations.

Mongolia is aware of the environmental threats and is working to protect its landscape. In 2009, for example, the country enacted laws to halt mining near rivers, protected waterways and forest areas, as well as to enforce environmental rehabilitation requirements for mining companies. It has also required studies on the social and environmental impacts of mining ventures, and it continues to wrestle with "ninja" miners, renegade individuals who dig up resources outside the regulated mining areas.



## Prospering in CHINA'S ECONOMIC ORBIT

FORUM STAFE

Trains filled with coal, iron ore, electronics, car parts and even the workers who make them crisscross China's vast landscape every day. Hauling their loads to provinces and across borders, these fast-moving locomotives represent the ever-running economic engine that the communist nation works tirelessly to fuel.

Throughout Asia, Europe, Africa and even South America, countries have come to rely on the steady hum of this engine — to buy their natural resources, manufacture their goods and power their own growth. "China has this structural power because you have a big market that's like a magnet that pulls everything in," explained Alex Vuving, a professor at the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies (APCSS).

However, for some countries with a wealth of natural resources, the reliance on China has led to imbalances that ultimately leave them in a poorer state, experts warn.

One challenge faced by countries that have mining deals with China is the tendency for the Chinese to bring in their own workers and materials rather than enlisting local people and relying on local markets. "That is the Chinese practice of investment," Vuving told *FORUM*. "Anywhere they go, in Africa, even as far away as South America, they bring their own people, they bring their own equipment, they bring everything."

This practice prevents local economies from experiencing the trickle-down benefits — employment growth, increased spending, etc. — that could come with major mining deals. And although investment laws in many countries dictate the benefits communities should see, enforcement of those laws can be difficult, Vuving stressed.

The same is true for minimizing the environmental impacts of the sale of natural resources. Mining, drilling and logging can wreak havoc on a landscape, changing the course of agriculture and development far into the future. China has started to pay attention to the environmental effects of resource harvesting within its borders; however, other countries must do the same, experts warn.

Developing countries want Chinese investment, "so it is up to those countries to make sure that international best practices in terms of environmental protection, those measures are put in place," says Mohan Malik, an expert in Asian geopolitics at APCSS. "At the end of the day, it's all about monitoring and showing those rules are being implemented."

Curbing corruption is also essential to ensuring that countries benefit from their partnerships with China and any other major investors. The country as a whole will never realize the potential of its partnerships if

a select few individuals are pocketing the proceeds in exchange for bending labor and environmental rules, experts say.

Looking to the future, many nations are hoping to ride on the coattails of China's boom. However, these countries must empower themselves in their dealings with the Asian giant, experts say. "The thing is, you have to have more control of it, so that you can pay more attention on the environment issues, pay more attention on the labor issues," Vuving said. "So in order to do it, you have to have good governance."



A miner unloads coal from a train in eastern China's Anhui province.

FP/GETTY IMAGES



## THE NEXUS

## of Economics and Security

China's posturing as an economic powerhouse gives it sway in the security realm as well, experts say. "China is using its economic leverage with other countries to force them to support China's position on major issues," explains Mohan Malik of the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, citing the South China Sea dispute as an example. "More and more countries are going to come under pressure to support China."

A 40-meter-tall statue of Genghis Khan, the founder of Mongolia, draws tourists to Tsonjin Boldog, just east of the nation's capital. The tourism industry holds potential in Mongolia, experts say, but only if the natural landscape is protected.

EPA

D. Gantumur, chairman of the country's Sustainable Tourism Development Center, stresses the importance of efforts to maintain the "soul" of Mongolia's traditional landscape, where nomadic herders invite paying tourists into their traditional felt tents, or "gers," to experience life as it was for thousands of years. "We need to think about ways to preserve Mongolian traditions while at the same time developing mining," Gantumur said in a video produced by the World Bank in 2012. "Such values are connected with the idea of a pristine environment. If we don't resolve this issue now, many aspects of our culture will disappear."

#### Sharing in the wealth

Another issue facing Mongolia — and many other developing countries with an abundance of natural resources — is ensuring that mining wealth trickles down through the population. Whether that comes in the form of monetary subsidies, jobs or infrastructure development remains to be seen.

Observers remain hopeful, though, as Mongolia continues to experiment and evolve. The country has tried distributing monthly handouts to citizens, but that plan was deemed ineffective and scrapped. Lawmakers are now striving to increase transparency, eliminate corruption and ensure the country gets the most out of its vast resources.

Meanwhile, Mongolia's citizens are watching, said Alex Vuving, an expert in Asian security at APCSS. Accustomed to the populist powers of a democracy, the people are willing to take the helm if lawmakers mismanage national treasures. "You have a quick change of government if you don't meet the demands from the population," Vuving told *FORUM*.

This pressure of public accountability, along with an emphasis on good governance and strong and independent institutions, puts Mongolia on the path to responsible resource management. After years of relying on other countries to help it reach its potential, this nation of 3 million is poised to take its seat at the head of the negotiating table. "When we made our first mining legislation in 1997, we were desperate to attract investment," lawmaker Sanjaasuren Oyun told Bloomberg News in July 2011. "But no more. We can be more demanding."

# DIFFERENT SAME MISSION

AFRICA DEFENSE FORUM

Peacekeepers and nongovernmental organizations have separate and distinct operational traits but must learn to cooperate for the good of civilians

n its five-year existence, the African Union/ United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur, Sudan, long known by the acronym UNAMID, has become the world's largest peacekeeping operation. The U.N. estimated more than 21,000 uniformed personnel, including military and police, were serving in the region as of August 2012.

Several military and police units from across the Asia Pacific contribute to such a large mission, among them: Bangladesh, China, Indonesia, Malaysia, Mongolia, Nepal, South Korea and Thailand.

"At a basic level, there are probably more people alive in Darfur today because of UNAMID's presence than there would have been otherwise," said Paul D. Williams, associate professor at George Washington University, who wrote a 2010 paper titled "Lessons Learned from Peace Operations in Africa."

UNAMID represents a first-of-its-kind, multiagency peacekeeping operation in one of the world's most dangerous places. UNAMID took over from and incorporated the African Union, which had provided an all-African multinational peacekeeping force since 2004. UNAMID peacekeepers entered Darfur at the beginning of 2008 to form the largest peacekeeping mission on Earth. The operation's unique arrangement and the challenges of Darfur mean it can provide valuable lessons for future missions.

### COMMUNICATION AND COORDINATION

The conflict in Darfur hasn't only caught the attention of military and police

agencies worldwide but also that of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that may operate differently but have similar goals to create and maintain peace in the region. Such competition — even when fighting for a common good — could create conflict without the proper lines of communication and coordination.

Soldiers and humanitarian aid workers cannot avoid crossing paths in situations where people need aid. The same precarious conditions that call for peacekeepers also attract local, national and international NGOs. The mandates, skill sets and organizational structures of these groups differ from those of militaries. Those differences can breed tension on both sides.

THE MILITARY, THE POLICE FORCES AND THE CIVILIAN COMPONENT OF A MISSION CAN AND SHOULD ALL CONTRIBUTE TO FULFILLING THE PROTECTION OBJECTIVES OF A MISSION. NEVERTHELESS, THEY HAVE VERY DIFFERENT ROLES.

— Marie Jeanne Eby, global affairs advisor/ directorate of operations for the International Committee of the Red Cross



NGOs operate around the world. They provide food, build schools, dig wells and sometimes even seek to spread religious teachings. They specialize in a range of issues pertaining to youth, women, health care, food aid

and more.

A Thai peacekeeper patrols Muhkjar in western Darfur, Sudan, in March 2011.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

# DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NGOS AND MILITARY UNITS

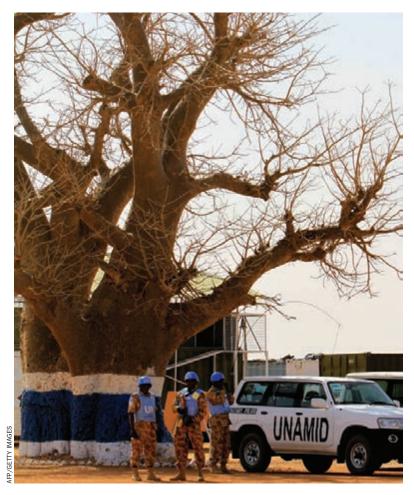
Lynn Lawry's *Guide* to *Nongovernmental Organizations for the Military* and other sources list some distinctions between NGOs and militaries that can inform both groups and lead to better cooperation and understanding.

#### NGOs:

- Are generally capable organizations, though some may have limited communication and logistical capacities.
- Are more likely to take a longterm view of a crisis area. NGOs often are in areas before and after peacekeeping forces.
- Typically have decentralized command structures that empower lower-level workers.
- Prefer to remain as independent as possible to avoid breeding suspicion among the people they are trying to help.
- Can work effectively and efficiently during crises, often with an advantage in specific sectors or regions.

#### **Militaries:**

- Can provide useful logistical and communication services for NGO workers
- Can provide safe zones and stability in dangerous regions because of their ability to use force.
- Typically seek short-term engagement and work to make an impact quickly.
- Have a strict centralized, hierarchical chain of command.
- Are like NGOs expected to assist displaced people to the best of their ability during emergencies.
- Can help ease suffering and provide stability, which are goals of both groups, even if troops operate under a different management culture.



Peacekeepers from the African Union/United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur, Sudan, patrol in the South Darfur capital of Nyala in February 2011.

"NGOs and military units share geography and space," according to the Guide to Nongovernmental Organizations for the Military, edited and co-written by Lynn Lawry, a health and human rights expert. "Each serves in settings that are victim to major disequilibrium of the political, social, or economic status quo (sometimes all three). ... Such conditions are difficult to work in, and NGOs and militaries have adapted with different management structures, culture, and protocol."

Therefore, Soldiers and NGOs must continually work to understand each other's management systems and cultures. When this happens, successful cooperation can occur.

#### NEPAL AND BANGLADESH Do their part

For their part in the UNAMID, Nepal Army Special Forces trained for six months.

Nepalese Army officials said the UNAMID mission's true significance lies in the fact that it is deployed to an area where international good will is difficult to translate into international assistance, mainly due to various regional and local political factors.

"Nepal can be very proud of one thing — that it's one of the most disciplined and professional armies, adaptable to adverse conditions and changing circumstances," according to Nepal Army Chief of Army Staff Gen. Gaurav S.J.B. Rana. "Having



A UNAMID Formed Police Unit member from Indonesia commemorates World Environment Day by planting a tree at the UNAMID headquarters in El Fasher, the capital city of North Darfur.

Right: U.N. peacekeepers from Nepal look out a window during the investigation of an explosion between the villages of Meis al-Jabal and Houla in south Lebanon in October 2009.

its own national character, it is able to interact with people from any religious, ethnic or cultural community in the world. This is something everyone appreciates, but it's especially useful for those tasked with peacekeeping missions."

Nepal has participated in U.N. peacekeeping operations for more than 50 years, contributing to 37 missions during that time. The U.S. Department of Defense, through the U.S. Embassy in Kathmandu and the U.S. State Department's Global Peace Operations Initiative, also provided light armored High Mobility Multipurpose Wheeled Vehicles to assist the Nepal Army's



Darfur mission.

Similarly, Bangladesh has a strong history of peacekeeping contributions. Along the wartorn Côte d'Ivoire, locals refer to Bangladeshi peacekeepers as "munami," which means "my friend," according to Khabarsouthasia.com.

"The people, irrespective of sex and age, ran after our vehicles as we roamed around the demilitarized zone. They called us munami and sought food, medicine and other assistance," Bangladeshi squadron leader Sadrul Ahmed Khan told the online magazine Khabar in May 2012 while narrating his experience of serving as a military police officer in 2007. "Our members helped them to the extent it was possible."

While Pakistan stood as the largest contributor to U.N.



LINAMID

UNAMID peacekeeper 1st Lt. Sigit Jatmiko of Indonesia's Formed Police Unit talks with children in Abu Shouk camp for internally displaced persons in North Darfur during a morning patrol.

peacekeeping operations, according to data provided as of September 2012, Bangladesh remained a top supporter.

"Of course, the peacekeeping operation has made the Army more professional," Lt. Gen. Mahbubur Rahman, a former Bangladeshi Army chief, told Khabar. "Since its birth, there were attempts to make the Army involved in coups and anarchy. Mixing with armies of different countries and working under the U.N. system, the members of the armed forces are no longer interested in coups and counter-coups. The peacekeeping operation helps both Bangladesh and its Army."

#### **MUTUAL APPREHENSION**

Modern conflicts tend to be long and difficult to resolve, Ghanaian scholar Francis Kofi Abiew wrote in his 2003 paper, "From Civil Strife to Civic Society: NGO-Military Cooperation in Peace Operations."

"The conventional wisdom is that while military means may be employed in attempting to control violent conflict and to create a secure environment necessary for rebuilding divided societies, these measures have to be supported, supplemented, and closely coordinated with civilian instruments, if peace missions are to achieve the goal of restoration of peace and stability," Abiew wrote. "The intense field experience of the past few years has tended to reveal the fact that effectiveness of contemporary peace operations will depend on the collaboration of military and civilian actors."

Achieving that cooperation is tricky. NGOs often fear that they will forfeit neutrality if they are perceived to be too cozy with armed forces. That can complicate their ability to fulfill their humanitarian mission. It can even be dangerous.

"In operational terms, NGOs are apprehensive that the use of the military to protect relief supplies and personnel might have the opposite effect: the turning of humanitarian facilities and staff into perceived enemies, and therefore, targets,"

Abiew said. "Overall, NGOs' insistence on impartiality, neutrality, and independence has served as a stumbling block to any long-term planning with the military."

Conversely, military forces are apprehensive about certain NGO methods. Many NGOs seek to enmesh themselves tightly with the local population and hire locals for construction projects and service delivery. The military generally prefers to rely on its own manpower or trusted contractors to do such work because it knows them to be efficient and safe.

"The military's approach is focused on short-term, non-participatory, and decisive action," Volker Franke wrote in a 2006 edition of the *International Journal of Peace Studies*. "[They are] primarily informed by security rather than by the long-term development considerations that shape the operational activities of many civilian activities."

"Routine and informal meetings between the NGO community, U.N. agencies, and the military can cut through a lot of stress, tension, and misunderstanding," Lawry's guide suggests. However, it's important to note that NGOs are not part of the United Nations, although the U.N. does have an array of humanitarian aid workers in the field through organizations such as UNICEF, the World Food Program and the U.N. High Commission for Refugees.

#### TRAINING IS KEY

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) holds a unique position among humanitarian organizations. It functions like an NGO in many ways, but it is much more than that. The ICRC is mandated through the Geneva Conventions to impartially "protect the lives and dignity of victims of armed conflict and other situations of violence and to provide them with assistance."

It also offers specific instruction to peacekeeping and military forces. This training is essential so that the needs and rights of noncombatants are not lost in the midst of military peacekeeping operations.

"A risk inherent in integrated missions is the blurring of roles and responsibilities; this can have a negative impact on not only the different components of a peacekeeping mission but on the entire humanitarian sector," Marie Jeanne Eby, global affairs advisor/directorate of operations for the ICRC, told Africa Defense Forum (ADF). "The military, the police forces and the civilian component of a mission can and should all contribute to fulfilling the protection objectives of a mission. Nevertheless, they have very different roles."

The frequency and depth with which the ICRC communicates with peacekeepers depends on the mission. For example, operations authorized by the U.N. Security Council to use force will receive a different focus than observer missions.

Albert Schoneveld, ICRC's regional delegate to the Armed

and Security Forces in Pretoria, South Africa, told *ADF* that ICRC is the only organization training peacekeepers in how to properly interact with NGOs and humanitarian organizations. The ICRC's unique role and connection to the Geneva Conventions is explained, and the ICRC makes clear it is "always ready to meet with peacekeepers."

#### **MUTUAL BENEFITS**

Culture is an area that can lead to tension between NGOs and military forces. Troops operate in a rigid, top-down command structure. When the two groups interact, that approach can foster ill will among humanitarian workers accustomed to a more flexible grass-roots management system. Overcoming these culture clashes is essential to effective cooperation.

Because of the differences in management structure, it is best to designate a military liaison for the NGO community, according to the *Guide to Nongovernmental Organizations for the Military*. Larger NGOs such as CARE often will enlist their own liaisons — such as retired military officers — to make communication easier.

NGOs must rely on military officials for certain things, such as logistical help, communications, intelligence and protection, according to the guide. The military can turn to NGOs for understanding conditions in a certain area, managing population movements and other general humanitarian activities. "When NGO and military personnel communicate closely and attempt to understand how the other works and what the other's needs are, operations can run extremely well." □

This story contains information from the Nepalese Army and research by APD FORUM staff.

# A HUMANITARIAN CODE OF CONDUCT

AFRICA DEFENSE FORUM

Effective cooperation starts with understanding. Peacekeepers and national military forces need to understand the values driving the actions of legitimate nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) around the world.

In 1994, eight of the world's largest disaster response agencies developed and accepted a Code of Conduct for the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement and NGOs in Disaster Relief. The voluntary code lays out 10 principles that all humanitarian organizations should follow in disaster response work, and it describes the relationships that agencies should seek with donor governments, host governments and the U.N. system. It is hoped that all humanitarian organizations will publicly commit to the code and abide by its principles.

#### The code's 10 points are:

- · The humanitarian imperative comes first.
- Aid is given regardless of the race, creed or nationality of the recipients and without adverse distinction of any kind.
   Aid priorities are calculated on the basis of need alone.
- Aid will not be used to further a particular political or religious standpoint.
- We shall endeavor not to act as instruments of government foreign policy.
- · We shall respect culture and custom.
- We shall attempt to build disaster response on local capacities.
- Ways shall be found to involve program beneficiaries in the management of relief aid.
- Relief aid must strive to reduce future vulnerabilities to disaster as well as meeting basic needs.
- We hold ourselves accountable to both those we seek to assist and those from whom we accept resources.
- In our information, publicity and advertising activities, we shall recognize disaster victims as dignified human beings, not hopeless objects.

# MANAGING PRIORITIES

IN THE

# Asia Pacific

FORUM STAFF

With more than half of the world's population and some of its largest economies, the Asia-Pacific region commands the attention of world leaders. Stability in the region is essential for stability in the world. Hot-button issues dominating headlines include the South China Sea, North Korea's missile program and the region's military buildup with China, India, Japan South Korean and Taiwan nearly doubling spending between 2000 and 2011 to a combined U.S. \$224 billion. Military leaders are also focused on less traditional security concerns. With the ever-changing security landscape, militaries must juggle priorities to ensure stability. This graphic examines the region's military might and explores underlying factors that could affect future stability.

#### **MILITARY MIGHT**

#### TOP 10 COUNTRIES BY MILITARY SPENDING

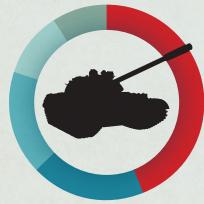
China, Japan and India increased spending by 13.4 percent, 3.6 percent and 3.5 percent, respectively, between 2000 and 2011.

Country	Expenditure in Billions (US)	Percentage of GDP
1. United States	\$711	4.7%
2. China	\$143	2.0%
3. Russia	\$71.9	3.9%
4. United Kingdom	\$62.7	2.6%
5. France	\$62.5	2.3%
6. Japan	\$59.3	1.0%
7. Saudi Arabia	\$48.2	8.7%
8. India	\$46.8	2.5%
9. Germany	\$46.7	1.3%
10. Brazil	\$35.4	1.5%

Source: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute 2012

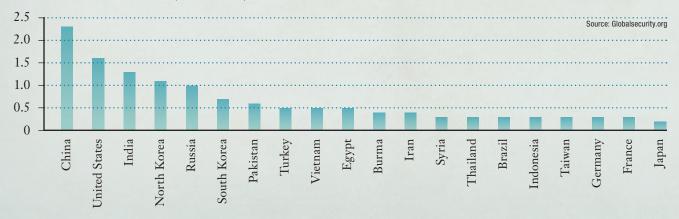
#### ➤ MAJOR ARMS IMPORTERS, BY REGION (2007-2011)





Source: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

#### ➤ ACTIVE-DUTY TROOPS (MILLIONS)

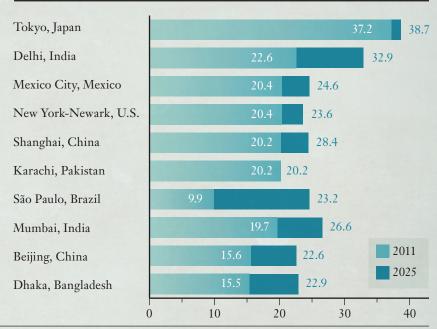


#### **FACTORS IN STABILITY**

#### **POPULATION GROWTH**

As more and more people flock to large urban areas in search of economic opportunities, major cities across the Asia Pacific can expect a strain on infrastructure and resources. Experts contend this type of population surge could be a blessing or a curse, depending on how governments react. If there are jobs and other opportunities for prosperity awaiting the newcomers, the region could flourish. On the other hand, if a growing number of people are faced with high unemployment and poor living conditions, the uptick in people could lead to instability and cause security concerns.

#### World's Biggest Cities, Today and Tomorrow (by millions of people)

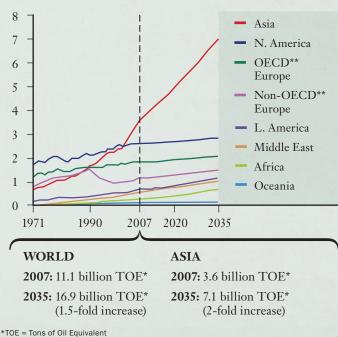


Source: Asian Development Bank

#### ► COMPETITION FOR NATURAL RESOURCES

The race to capitalize on natural resources is well on its way in the Asia Pacific. Nations vie with each other and face internal competition for limited access to valuable resources such as water, oil, coal and timber. The growing demand for energy makes the resource race all the more important. Contention over the management of such resources can lead to security concerns as nations strive to balance the needs of all stakeholders.

#### Primary Energy Demand by Region (billions of TOE\*)



\*\*OECD = Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

Source: The Institute of Energy Economics, Japan

#### **ECONOMIC OUTLOOK**

Asia Pacific nations generate 29.7 percent of the world's GDP, and experts forecast that share to grow in the coming years. A country's economic outlook can influence its relationships with neighbors and provide insight into potential security challenges such as the smuggling of illicit goods and laborers.

#### Gross Domestic Product

	% World Share	% Growth 2013
ASIA PACIFIC	29.7	3.8
Advanced Asia	11	1.3
Japan	8	-0.2
Australia	2	2.6
New Zealand	4	2.4
Newly Industrialized	4	2.7
Korea	2	2.7
Taiwan	1	2.0
Hong Kong	<1	3.0
Singapore	<1	4.3
Developing Asia	12	4.9
China	10	3.0
India	2	9.6
ASEAN-5	3	4.3
Indonesia	1	5.1
Thailand	<1	3.3
Malaysia	<1	2.4
Philippines	<1	4.5
Vietnam	<1	6.2
Other Developing Asia	<1	8.2
Emerging Asia	<1	4.6

Sources: International Monetary Fund and World Bank





# The Changing

# THREAT LANDSCAPE

in East Asia

STORY BY **ROHAN GUNARATNA**PHOTOS BY AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Developments in the Middle East, Africa and South Asia are impacting the security of Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia, the most profound of which is the pending withdrawal of Western forces in Afghanistan. The presence of the U.S.-led coalition in Afghanistan brought stability to East Asia, the fastest growing economic region in the world. During the same period, the Asia-Pacific region, which hosts about 60 percent of the world's billion Muslims, successfully managed threats from violent and radical groups that emerged or migrated there as well.

Before the coalition intervened in October 2001, the Afghanistan-Pakistan region had been the epicenter of ideology, financing and training for East Asian insurgents, terrorists and extremists. Insurgents from China, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand had traveled to the region to fight against the Soviets in the previous decades, during which a few hundred East Asians received guidance from diverse threat groups, including al-Ittihad al-Islami, al-Qaida and the Taliban.

Today, a few dozen Afghan veterans form the nucleus of two dozen groups that continue to threaten the East Asian region.

After South Asia, the East Asian landscape is most influenced by the Middle East and Africa. Although not to the extent of South Asia, events in the Middle East (Syria, Iran and Yemen) and Africa (Somalia, Sudan and Nigeria) affect the security of East Asia. Together with a large Yemeni diaspora, the region hosts a few hundred thousand Middle Easterners (Arabs and Iranians) and Africans. Most of them come for education, work, trade or leisure travel.

Traditionally, trade and family ties linked Southeast Asia to the Middle East. The vast Yemeni diaspora living in the subregion, most notably in Indonesia, ensured continuity of close relations between Southeast Asia and the Middle East.

#### SECURITY CONCERNS

With the withdrawal of Western forces from Afghanistan in 2014, many East Asian governments are concerned with whether the Taliban and al-Qaida will return

to Afghanistan. East Asia, of course, is divided into Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia, one of the world's fastest growing subregions. The security of both subregions will be affected.

Historically, the bulk of the Southeast and Northeast Asian terrorists trained in Afghanistan. With U.S. withdrawal, the sanctuary in Afghanistan will be recreated and will allow Southeast Asian extremists to relink with Al-Qaida, the Taliban, Lashkar-e-Tayyiba (LeT) and other sponsors. The groups that benefited from Pakistani and Afghan training are Jemaah Islamiya (JI), Darul Islam, Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia, Jemmah Salafiya, Arakan Rohingya National Organization, Rohingya Solidarity Organization, Moro National Liberation Front, Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) and East Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM). JI successor Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid (JAT), MILF breakaway groups, ASG, ETIM and individuals will start to retrain with the Taliban. ETIM is only group in Northeast Asia that works with the Taliban, al-Qaida and their associates.

Today, Nuristan and Kunar in Afghanistan and North Waziristan in Pakistan have become possible safe havens for threat groups from Afghanistan and Pakistan, as well as from neighboring countries. If they succeed as safe havens, the threat is likely to spread. South Asia will certainly be the most affected.

The Afghan Taliban led by Mullah Omar and its associated groups work with two dozen groups globally, including with Southeast Asian groups. Unless security measures are put in place in the lead-up to withdrawal, the threat will likely spill over to neighboring regions as well.

Al-Qaida has suffered significantly from Pakistani military, intelligence and law enforcement operations and U.S. special operations and drone strikes. The terrorist group has suffered massive degradation, with its rank-and-file membership falling from as many as 3,000 to fewer





than 300. The deaths of Osama bin Laden in Abbottabad, Pakistan, in May 2011 and other important al-Qaida leaders have weakened al-Qaida.

Nonetheless, capable leaders have replaced them. Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri, who has traveled extensively in East Asia, currently leads al-Qaida. The group is still a force multiplier. While drawing sustenance from its close linkages with the Afghan Taliban, al-Qaida influences both its associated groups and support bases. Despite the loss of leaders and members, al-Qaida remains the ideological and operational vanguard guiding the global fight. If the Taliban and its associated groups were to return to Afghanistan, al-Qaida's associates in East Asia would be inspired and instigated to conduct acts of terrorism.

Almost all of the leaders and deputy leaders of Muslim threat groups in Indonesia are of Arab origin. This includes Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, the founder and leader of Jemmah Anshorut Tauhid, and Abdullah Sungkar, the founder and leader of JI, the region's most important threat groups. These Southeast Asian jihadists of Arab heritage exploited their links with the Arab world, including their command of Arabic, to fund radicalization and violent projects in Southeast Asia. Visiting Arabs

served as ideologues, trainers and financiers.

Similarly, funds for terrorism raised in the Middle East have had a profound effect on the security of Southeast Asia. The JI attack on the J.W. Marriott and Ritz Carlton hotels in Jakarta in 2009 was funded with money raised in the Middle East. A dozen financiers in Saudi Arabia have funded attacks in Southeast Asia during the past decade.

#### THE ORIGINS OF THREAT

Beyond the role of providing a virulent ideology, Middle Eastern and South Asian terrorist and extremist groups financed and trained East Asians. Starting in 1988, East Asia was penetrated by Middle Eastern ideologues, instructors and combat tacticians. Bin Laden's brother-in-law, Mohammed Jamal Khalifa, was the first director of the Saudi charity the International Islamic Relief Organization in the Philippines from 1988 to 1994.

While Middle Eastern radical ideologues provided the inspiration and instigation, the financiers provided the resources to build the infrastructure and train, test and carry out attacks in East Asia and beyond. Pakistani-Kuwaiti national Ramzi Ahmed Yousef, the bomber of the first World Trade Center attack in February 1993, trained the Abu Sayyaf Group.

For Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, who masterminded the September 11, 2001, attack, the Philippines was the testing ground for Operation Bojinka in 1995, the prototype for the 2001 attacks. If the operation had succeeded, East Asians would have been early victims of the worst act of aviation terrorism.

Middle Eastern terrorists traveled to support Camp Hudaibiyah when JI established its first training camp in the Philippines in 1994. Hudaibiyah trained the second generation of terrorists.

Traditionally, East Asian Muslims tend to look toward the Middle East as the seat of wisdom and understanding. There are no ideologues of stature in Southeast Asia to issue fatwas or religious rulings permitting the killing of "infidels" and "apostates." Abu Muhammad al-Maqdisi, Abu Musab al-Suri, Abu Qadata al-Filistini and Abu Hamza al-Masri, notorious Middle Eastern clerics, issued the decrees permitting attacks that caused mass fatalities and casualties. Southeast Asian threat groups harnessed their writings and lectures to generate support.

In 1998, conflict between Christians and Muslims broke out in Indonesia. The violence started over a domestic dispute in Ambon, Maluku, and later spread to other parts of Indonesia, notably Tentena, Palu, Poso and elsewhere in Sulawesi. When the conflict broke out, Indonesian jihadists looked for a cleric to pronounce that it was acceptable in Islam to kill Christians. No Indonesian cleric of stature was willing to issue such a statement. Eventually, it was Yemeni cleric Sheikh Mukbil who issued a fatwa at the behest of the Indonesian jihadists.

The fatwa to kill Westerners in Southeast Asia was derived from bin Laden's declaration of war against the Jews and the Crusaders in 1996 and later renewed in 1998. Although bin Laden was not a cleric, he went to a relatively obscure *ulema*, or Muslim scholar trained in Islam and Islamic law, in Pakistan to endorse his declaration. Since then, both bin Laden and his successor, Zawahiri, have issued pronouncements to carry out attacks against the United States and its allies globally.

#### **DEVELOPING MOVEMENTS**

The rise of radical Islamist movements in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya has inspired several East Asian threat groups. They believe that popular uprisings can compel their governments to overreact, thus paving the way for them to harness greater support. Instead of abandoning violence, East Asian groups advance their interests by using both mass-based politics and violence in parallel.

Although the outcome of the Arab Spring is yet to be seen, its impact on East Asia in the short-term is apparent. The fall of several Middle Eastern regimes has given hope that Asian Islamists, too, can mobilize public opinion against their secular governments. The developments in the Middle East have given a new lease on life for East Asian radicals and terrorists.

In a closely interconnected world, an unstable Middle East and Africa will affect the security of the Asia Pacific. The very same





way the instability in Libya spread to the Sahel, the fall of Syria will lead to a huge flow of weapons to the Levant and beyond. President Bashar al-Assad's regime is today attacked not only by Western-backed secular pro-democracy activists but also by Syrians who fought against the U.S.-led coalition in Iraq. Very much like in Libya, al-Qaida itself has issued statements calling for the dismantling of the Syrian regime. The regime holds not only conventional weapons but large stocks of chemical and biological weapons. The collapse of the regime in Syria is likely to mirror the developments in Libya, where an associated group of al-Qaida has emerged to be influential.

In the same way that the fall of Egypt's Hosni Mubarak and Libya's Moammar Gadhafi empowered radicals and terrorists both in the Maghreb and in the Sahel, the fall of Assad will be a huge victory for Syrian Islamists and jihadists. Furthermore, such a situation is likely to change the balance of power in Iraq and Yemen. In Iraq, the secularists, Islamists and jihadists, including al-Qaida, compete for power. In Yemen, President Ali Abdullah Saleh has been replaced, and al-Qaida in the Arabian Peninsula has expanded its influence. The monarchies in Jordan and Saudi Arabia are under threat. The current level of relative stability is likely to deteriorate in the coming one to two years. In such an environment, ideological extremism will flourish and destabilize parts of the Middle East, and terrorists and extremists will gain a deeper influence. As such, improving the stability and security of the Middle East is crucial.

The impact of the Arab Spring on Libya's neighborhood, the Sahel, has been even more pronounced. Within hours of the Gadhafi regime falling, the Tuaregs emptied the government armories. The flow of weapons from Libya empowered neighboring Tuaregs in Mali, prompted a military coup in Mali, and saw Mali jihadists capture northern Mali.

The instability created in the aftermath of the Arab Spring has been exploited by terrorist groups in the Sahara region, who started operations in the Sahel, thus making an important part of Africa a safe haven for terrorists. Today, they are linking up with al-Shabab in Somalia and Boko Haram in Nigeria. With its strategy of challenging secular regimes, al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb is working with these groups. African Muslims are predominantly Sufi, but Africa's Salafi Jihadi footprint has begun to grow. With China and India emerging as the biggest investors in Africa during the past decade, there will be greater contact between Africa and Southeast Asia in the coming years.

#### **FUTURE STABILITY**

In the foreseeable future, existing and emerging insurgency and terrorist campaigns driven by radical and violent ideologies pose the most serious and real threats to governments and societies, including to those in East Asia. As the rise of the Asia Pacific is dependent on peace, stability and security, its vanguard, East Asia, must manage the range of its traditional and nontraditional national security threats. This includes not only insurgency and terrorism but also missile and fissile proliferation, maritime piracy and organized crime.  $\Box$ 



## MALAYSIA TAKES A CREATIVE APPROACH TO SAVING MONEY WHILE BOOSTING SECURITY

FORUM STAFF

here's an old economics lesson about a nation striving to balance production of guns and production of butter. The fictional nation has limited resources, so spending more on guns means spending less on butter and vice versa.

Simple as it may be, this lesson pertains to a more complicated situation in which many nations around the world are currently finding themselves. With the global economic downturn, countries are tightening their budgets and struggling to set funding priorities. Balancing the need for national security and other governmental functions with the need to save money has become paramount. Many militaries are being asked to add to their capabilities while subtracting from their budgets.

In Malaysia, an innovative national strategy provides a fresh approach to addressing economic challenges by encouraging cooperation and creativity among government agencies. The National Blue Ocean Strategy (NBOS), launched in 2010, is based on a 2005 economics book by W. Chan Kim and Renee Mauborgne. NBOS aims to reduce crime, fight corruption, boost student outcomes, raise living standards, and improve rural infrastructure and urban public transport.

The armed forces play a leading role in NBOS by pairing with the police, prisons department, and even the ministries of rural development and home affairs on projects that save the government money and enhance the country's economic outlook. "The Malaysian Army's involvement in the NBOS signifies new directions and frontiers in the ever-expanding public expectations, be it in conflict or nation-building situations," Maj. Gen. Dato Razali Haji Ahmad explained at the Pacific Armies Management Seminar (PAMS) in Canberra, Australia, in July 2012. "In addition to its main task of defending the nation's sovereignty, it also contributes directly to the economic well-being and quality of life of the people of Malaysia."

Not only does this effort enhance cost saving, it also strengthens further the Malaysian Army's relevancy and existence that contributes toward nation building and enhancement of internal security.

Maj. Gen. Dato Razali Haji Ahmad on the armed forces' participation in the National Blue Ocean Strategy



#### Sharing responsibilities and expertise

As part of the country's crime reduction strategy, the military has partnered with the police to share training facilities and boost the number of recruits trained. By sharing training grounds, the two forces will save the government 639 million ringgit (about U.S. \$204 million) over five years, ASP Nekmat Mohd Yunos, deputy commandant of the police training center in Pusasda, told Bernama Media in July 2011. The partnership with the military is also expected to grow the police ranks by 150,000 recruits by 2015, Bernama reported.

This cooperative strategy extends beyond training, though. The armed forces have joined the police in patrols and, in some cases, temporarily taken over police duties to allow constables to concentrate on crime fighting in problem areas. "The crime index has dropped tremendously" as a result, Maj. Gen. Razali told *FORUM*, citing a 35 percent decline in street crime in the first year of the initiative.

Rounding out the comprehensive partnership, many Army retirees finish out their careers by joining the police force. The retired Soldiers' experience, skills and attitude make them excellent crime fighters, Razali explained.

Overall, the strong relationship between the armed forces and police has led to a safer Malaysia, which the government hopes will enhance its reputation with businesses. "This is the main strategic aim of NBOS — to create a stable and secure environment in Malaysia so that we will attract foreign investors to come and lift our economic growth," Razali said.





THE ASSOCIATED PRESS



Above: A Soldier checks out a shotgun at a defense exhibition in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, in April 2012. In a global economic downturn, many militaries are faced with the challenge of reducing spending while increasing capabilities.

Left: Malaysian police officers search for illegal immigrants who set fire to a detention facility south of Kuala Lumpur. Joint efforts between the military and police have boosted law enforcement's capabilities in Malaysia, leading to a drop in crime.

#### Partnering on prisons

Police aren't the only force the military has paired with to meet the country's economic goals. The Army is also working with the prisons department to turn idle military land into rehabilitation camps for petty criminals. The land deals save the prisons department money, and the military no longer has to pay for the land's upkeep because the prisoners tend to it.

So far, rehabilitation centers have been established in five Army camps. In Maj. Gen. Razali's 3rd Combined Arms Division, the prisons department has built three centers — two housing 200 inmates each and a third housing 400 people. "The cost for a normal prison for 200 people is about 50 million ringgit [about U.S. \$16 million]. We did it for 6 million ringgit [about U.S. \$2 million]. So we have saved about 44 million ringgit [U.S. \$14 million] for the government."

The initiative is about more than saving money; it's about helping inmates turn their lives around. The rehab centers only house small-time criminals, keeping them away from more hard-core influences and allowing them to work, earn money and keep in touch with their families, Prime Minister Datuk Seri Najib Razak told Bernama in March 2011.

"We want to transform these inmates to be useful citizens, ones devoted to society," Razali stressed to *FORUM*.

#### Investing in the long term

Malaysia's armed forces express their own devotion to society by working under another NBOS initiative to improve basic infrastructure in poor rural areas. Through partnerships with the Ministry of Rural Development and the Ministry of Home Affairs, "the Malaysian Army carries out the tasks of building and repairing homes for the poor, building of roads, installation of street lights and connecting water pipes to remote areas," Razali said.

So far, the armed forces have helped build more than 750 houses across rural parts of Malaysia, saving the government about 40 million ringgit (U.S. \$13 million), Razali said. In addition, the military's efforts to construct roads and bridges have saved the government 997 million ringgit (about U.S. \$318 million).

Apart from the economic benefits of this partnership, the military has used the infrastructure projects to build relationships with the people in these communities, winning support and proving that the armed forces have much more to offer than combat capabilities.

"The Malaysian Army's contributions to the nation's transformation programs and NBOS are viewed as a move to shift away from its traditional role of war fighting," Razali told PAMS attendees. "Not only does this effort enhance cost saving, it also strengthens further the Malaysian Army's relevancy and existence that contributes toward nation building and enhancement of internal security."

Looking at the big picture, Razali sees the military's efforts to save the government money as something that will pay off in the long run. With the money saved, he explained to *FORUM*, "we can enhance and enable our armed forces' capability to make sure that there's a secure and safe environment for our government to do business."  $\square$ 

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# RIVALRIES



#### SCARCITY MUST BE MANAGED TO PRESERVE THE PEACE

FORUM STAFF

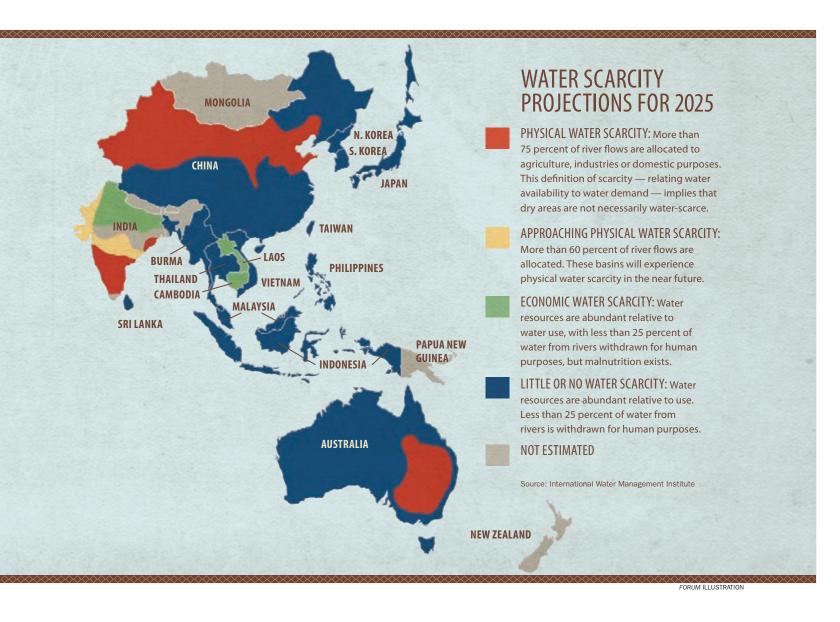
In the outskirts of New Delhi, water shortages in July 2012 forced 100,000 people in one neighborhood to rely on a single source that the government turned on only three times a day, according to widely trumpeted media accounts. In Gwadar, Pakistan, the port city's water reserve, the Ankara Kaur Dam, completely dried up. Navy tankers brought in water to relieve residents. Meanwhile, the worst drought of the century raged on for a third year in a row in Southwest China, impacting tens of millions of people.

Such water woes make predictions by the World Bank and other experts seem increasingly plausible that the next wars in Asia and elsewhere may well be over water — and erupt as early as 2020.

In coming decades, "the use of water as a weapon or to further terrorist objectives also will become more likely," according to a March 2012 report by the office of the U.S. Director of National Intelligence relayed by Reuters. The report pointed out that vulnerable water infrastructures make viable targets for terrorists, Reuters said. As it is, the Pakistan-based extremist group Lashkar-e-Tayyiba has repeatedly threatened to blow up dams in India, according to local media reports.

A villager carries pails of water collected from a well to his home in Yiliang in China's Yunnan province in February 2012. After three years of drought and low rainfall, hundreds of rivers and small reservoirs dried up in the province, leaving more than 3 million people short of drinking water.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES



"The notion of water as a comprehensive security concern is emerging as a high-priority issue right now. Its linkage with food, climate change and energy is becoming more established as a frame to address resource scarcity," asserted Virginia Watson, a professor at the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies (APCSS). "One of the major concerns developing economies are presently faced with is how to achieve economic growth given a rapidly dwindling supply of natural resources like water."

Competition over water resources continues to grow worldwide due to increasing populations, urbanization, irrigation and demand for new sources of power, including hydroelectricity. In Africa, nations squabble over rights to the Nile. In the Middle East, countries vie for control of the Tigris, Euphrates and Jordan rivers. By 2015, about 120 countries will be water stressed, according to a report on the world water crisis by the London-based Foreign Policy Centre.

To preserve the peace, countries must improve water management practices and cooperate on implementing water conservation projects and policies, experts say. Endeavors are under way to reverse unsustainable consumption and development, but the resource race is on.

"All countries want to make sure their populations are fed and have access to clean water. That's where the issue of public versus private goods comes in: Is water a national public good or a market asset?" APCSS's Watson said.

#### RESOURCE PRESSURES MOUNT

Nowhere are pressures on freshwater resources more palpable than in the Asia-Pacific region, according to the U.N. World Water Development Report issued in March 2012. "The ecological carrying capacity of the region is increasingly affected by the deteriorating water quality of water bodies," the report said. "Of all wastewater generated in the region, only 15 to 20 percent receives some level of treatment before [being] discharged into water resources; the remainder is discharged with its full load of pollution and toxic compounds."

Meanwhile, demand only grows. In South Asia, for example, availability of water has declined 70 percent on a per capita basis since 1950, according to the Asian

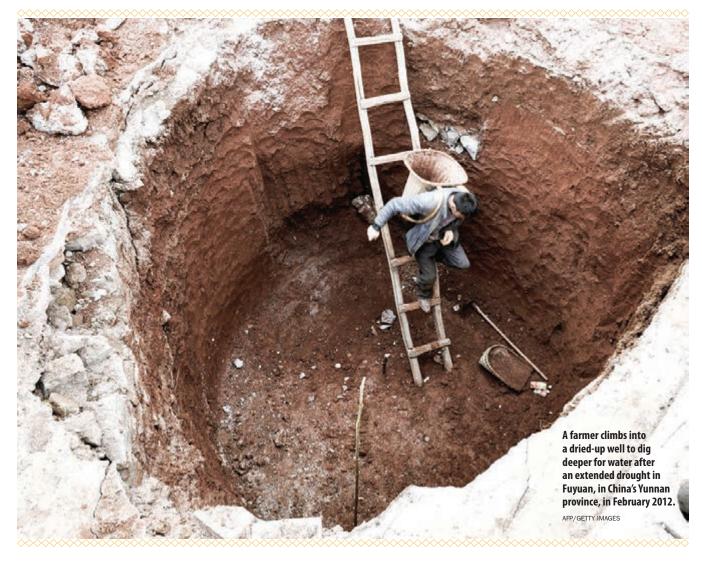
Development Bank. At the same time, South Asia's population is growing by about 25 million mouths a year, the World Bank reported.

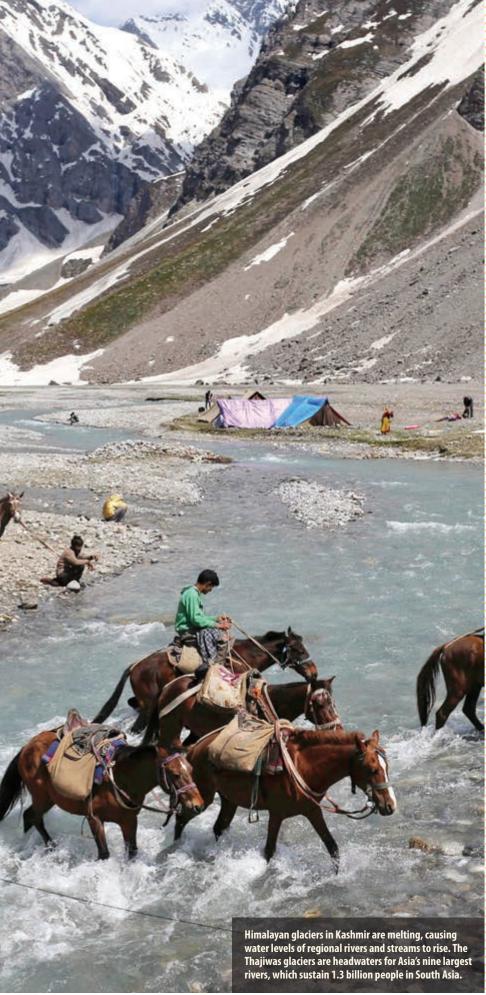
Although a war is yet to be fought anywhere over water, pending climate changes that are anticipated to alter rainfall patterns and glacial flows will likely only heighten competition in the Asia Pacific, which is also prone to flooding and natural disasters.

Geography also is a factor. Throughout South and Southeast Asia, rivers flow across many countries, adding to the tensions. For example, three river basins in South Asia, the Indus, Ganges and Brahmaputra, sustain an estimated 700 million people in Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Bhutan and Pakistan but know no borders. Moreover, the headwaters of the Indus and Brahmaputra begin in parts of the Tibetan Plateau, controlled by China.

In its quest for water resources, China is increasingly looking to build more dams on rivers that flow from China into neighboring countries, according to Brahma Chellaney, professor of strategic studies at the Center for Policy Research in New Delhi. Chellaney's book *Water: Asia's New Battleground* was released in 2011. China already is embroiled in water disputes with Pakistan, Burma, North Korea and India over its plans to build a series of upstream dams on the Brahmaputra, Chellaney said. Additional dams planned by China and Laos on the Mekong River, which flows from China's Yunnan province through Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and Vietnam, are also controversial.

Further confounding the issue, water usage is closely tied to food production. As countries develop, demand not only for contemporary conveniences such as dishwashers and washing machines increases but also demand for food and especially high-quality protein, which requires more water. In fact, agriculture accounts for 70 percent of freshwater use worldwide, experts estimate. Improving food distribution practices will also help water management: Up to 30 percent of food resources globally are lost or wasted, according to a 2011 report by the U.N.'s Food and Agriculture Organization, which means as much as 20 percent of





fresh water may be wasted producing unused food.

## **POOR PRACTICES**

At least for now, the water shortages may have less to do with cross-border tensions than with inefficient and outdated water management practices, some experts argue. Mismanagement causes unfair distribution and unnecessary losses during transport. For example, many irrigation systems waste significant amounts of water through aging distribution systems, especially in India and Pakistan. Delhi wastes more than half of its water through leaks in its pipes, some experts estimate. "Delhi has, in fact, more per capita water than cities like Bonn and Amsterdam," Himanshu Thakkar, coordinator with the New Delhi-based South Asia Network on Dams, Rivers and People, told India Real Time, a blog published by The Wall Street *Fournal*, in June 2012.

"All these countries are badly managing their water resources, yet they are experts in blaming other countries outside," Sundeep Waslekar, president of Strategic Foresight Group, a Mumbai-based think tank, told AlertNet, a Thomson Reuters Foundation news site, in July 2012. "It would be more constructive if they looked at what they are doing at home, than across their borders."

For the most part, adequate bilateral treaties and water-sharing agreements are already in place in many regions. However, intra- and interstate political clashes as well as deep-seated mistrust have often hampered their implementation.

## LONG-TERM APPROACHES

To help overcome such obstacles, policymakers on water infrastructure in the Asia Pacific are gradually shifting their focus from short-term benefits to long-term plans that incorporate ecological efficiency in economic growth, according to the March 2012 U.N. report. Leading solutions include urban river rehabilitation, modular water treatment design, integrated stormwater management, decentralized wastewater treatment, and water reuse



and recycling, the U.N. report found.

For example, researchers lauded Singapore's conservation program that uses public information campaigns coupled with a graded pricing and tax system to conserve water. "Singapore's policy is a blanket policy of 'all consumers must pay,' " explained APCSS's Watson. "There's a lot of misuse that follows if water is subsidized or free — then people just take it for granted."

Citizens pay extra for usage that exceeds a baseline quantity of consumption. The government collects penalties from water wasters and charges fees to cover the costs of treating used water and running the public sanitation system.

"There is no magic bullet to deal with this complex problem. What is often needed is a flexible approach that suits each municipality," the report's lead author, Richard Connor, of the U.N.'s World Water Assessment Programme, told *The Straits Times* newspaper in March 2012. "But Singapore's approach should definitely be considered by other countries facing similar challenges." Singapore has cut per capita consumption by more than 10 liters a day since 2003 and hopes to continue to lower usage through its initiatives.

Rural areas face different challenges than urban

ones and are looking to more decentralized solutions, including modern irrigation systems, decentralized drinking water and sanitation services, water reuse and recycling, and rainwater harvesting. The report also called for a "wastewater revolution" to treat used water across the region.

Many experts believe that water issues could tip the scales as to whether cooperation or competition prevails in the Asia Pacific overall. For now, most experts are holding out hope cooperation can prevail. "Data has shown that there's been more cooperative behavior displayed than conflict behavior as far as transboundary river basins are concerned, and that's very promising. In arid areas of the world where you expect conflict to happen, competing stakeholders have actually been more cooperative," Watson said.

Haris Gazdar, a development economist in Pakistan who works for the Collective for Social Sciences, a Karachi-based independent think tank, remains optimistic that conservation can prevent future conflicts over water resources. "In theory, there is no reason why more water cannot be made available. [But] conservation and management require not only investment but changes in social and political organization and technology," he told AlertNet in August 2012. □



PYONGYANG AND SEOUL FOCUS THEIR ATTENTIONS ON CHINESE RELATIONSHIPS TO MAINTAIN STABILITY ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA

Could North Korea's increasing dependence on China for economic gain create stability for the Korean peninsula as a whole? Zhang Xinsen, Beijing's ambassador to Seoul, hopes it does. Zhang also remains optimistic that close relations between China and North Korea play a positive role for reconciliation between Seoul and Pyongyang.



Chinese and South Korean national flags flutter on a Tiananmen Square lamppost in Beijing in January 2012. South Korea and China have agreed to strengthen bilateral communication by activating a telephone hotline between their foreign ministers and other high-level diplomatic channels, so as to boost diplomatic cooperation.

The economic cooperation between North Korea and China not only helps develop North Korea's economy but also helps with peace and stability on the Korean peninsula," Zhang said, according to *The Korean Times* newspaper. "It is China's longstanding stance that dialogue and negotiation are the only and right way to resolve relevant issues on the Korean peninsula and achieve lasting peace."

Yet, at times, the relationship between North and South Korea resembles feuding conjoined twins — with the heads at Pyongyang and Seoul historically refusing to see eye to eye. Emerging economic reports show that North Korean leader Kim Jong Un prefers to keep his focus turned north toward China rather than develop business relationships with South Korea. So far, the perception of stability has contributed to South Korea seeing its Standard & Poor's rating upgraded from an A to an A-plus.

Some experts on Korea say that's not necessarily a bad thing. Reducing instability in the North, even if it means continued silence between Pyongyang and Seoul in the interim, could one day open doors for reunification. Many see China's relationships

with the North and the South as the keys to opening that door and pivotal to keeping peace on the peninsula.

#### **Economic Ties with the North**

During his first speech in April 2012, Kim pledged to ensure North Koreans would "never have to tighten their belts again," a statement seen by many as the young leader merely alluding to the country's financial distresses. Since then, reports have continued trickling out about Kim's attempts to give the economy in North Korea, also known as the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, a much needed jolt.

"Developing the economy and improving livelihoods, so that the Korean people lead happy and civilized lives, is the goal the Korean Workers' Party is struggling toward," China's Xinhua news agency quoted Kim telling a top official with the Chinese Communist Party's International Department in August 2012, according to Reuters. "It is the unswerving will of the North Korean [ruling] party and government to continue [his father] Comrade Kim Jong Il's teachings of constantly deepening the

A trader in Dandong, China, prepares goods in December 2011 to be trucked into nearby North Korea.



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

traditional friendship between North Korea and China across the generations."

An unidentified government official told North Korea's Korean Central News Agency that expecting reform "is nothing but a foolish and silly dream," The Associated Press (AP) reported. The same official said that North Korea "is effecting new innovations and creations in order to make its people enjoy modern and a highly civilized life and live in luxury and comfort," according to AP.

"Officially, they [North Korean leadership] can't make an open commitment to a reform," Andrei Lankov, a professor at Kookmin University in Seoul and expert on North Korea, told Radio Free Asia. "In the North Korean view, the country is run by the greatest geniuses who ever lived. To admit that reforms are necessary would be to acknowledge the mistakes of the past. But they can argue that no system is perfect and that improvements can always be made."

Though his leadership varies from that of his father and grandfather, there are nuances about Kim Jong Un that confuse some analysts. His hairstyle and fashion mimic his legendary grandfather's, but the younger Kim has put forward a modern ruler's

persona. He visits citizens' homes. He pats young soldiers on the back. He has even appeared with his wife on television and been photographed on amusement park rides.

"Kim Jong Un's father, Kim Jong II, never allowed any of his wives to be seen at public events. His grandfather's wife was present only at diplomatic receptions. So this is something very new," Lankov told Radio Free Asia. "For the North Koreans, it's a sign that Kim Jong Un is not God."

There also remains the possibility that North Korea is only telling China what China wants to hear. Rhetoric or not, China hasn't stopped propping up its neighbor.

In early September 2012, China finalized a deal with Pyongyang by buying the rights to a North Korean port. The deal gives China access to the Sea of Japan, known to Koreans as the

Dr. Stephen Kim, an expert on Korea and professor at the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, said North Korea could potentially guarantee a better future by reaching a deal with China that required South Korean farmers and fishermen beat red plastic sticks reading "No to Korea-China FTA!" as they attend a July 2012 rally in Seoul to voice disapproval for a free trade agreement between the two countries.



East Sea.

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

# Is North Korea experimenting with change?

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Deep in the North Korean countryside, in remote villages that outsiders seldom reach, farmers are now said to be given nearly one-third of their harvests to sell at market prices. Collective farms are reportedly being reorganized into something closer to family farms. State propagandists are expounding the glories of change under the country's new young leader.

In the rigidly planned economy of this Stalinist state, could this be the first flicker of reform?

A string of long-doubtful observers has become increasingly convinced that economic change is afoot, akin to China's first flirtations with market reforms 30 years ago.

They also warn, however, that exactly what is happening remains a mystery.

No outsiders are known to have been to the villages, in Ryanggang province, since the new policies reportedly went into effect. No outsiders have seen the details of the June 28 government order — "On the Establishing of a New Economic Management System in Our Own Style" — that supposedly launched the program. Other reported reforms, from shifts in investment laws to new industrial profit-sharing regulations, are even more opaque.

Still, there are undeniable signs that the world's most closed-off society may be toying with change, from a carefully scripted campaign to soften the image of the country's young leader, Kim Jong Un, to the apparent purging of a hard-line general and a series of often-cryptic official statements hinting that Pyongyang is serious about liberalizing its economy.

"My gut sense is that something is changing," said Marcus Noland of the Washington, D.C.-based Peterson Institute for International Economics and a leading scholar on the North Korean economy. Kim "is trying to do something new."

This undated picture released by North Korea's official Korean Central News Agency via the Korea News Service (KNS) in July 2012 shows North Korean leader Kim Jong Un enjoying a ride at the Rungna People's Pleasure Ground in Pyongyang. "Whether that succeeds or not is a completely different issue," he added.

Like many other analysts, Noland remains pessimistic. The economic reforms appear to be very limited, he noted, and could quickly be abandoned if Kim changes his mind or faces opposition from his core supporters.

If the latest reform reports are true, they would almost certainly be driven in part by China. Beijing has long pressed Pyongyang to enact reforms similar to its own first steps toward a market economy.

For years, "the Chinese have been touting their system and their accomplishments, and the North Koreans have been politely nodding their heads and effectively doing nothing," said Evans Revere, a former U.S. diplomat with extensive contacts in the Koreas and China.

With Pyongyang facing a series of major challenges — dire economic straits, international isolation and a transition to the third generation of Kim family rule — however, Beijing officials now believe North Korea is serious about change, he said.

What is not clear, Revere added, is whether Kim Jong Un truly intends to follow through with significant changes.



KNS/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

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A truck loaded with cargo passes the last Chinese checkpoint as it crosses the Sino-Korean friendship bridge delivering goods from Dandong, in northeast China's Liaoning province, across the Yalu River to the North Korean border town of Sinuiju.

Pyongyang to give up its nuclear program in return for economic aid.

"This would mean that North Korea's economy would get much better, which means you would have a more stable, more viable regime in the long run," Dr. Kim told *FORUM*. "You would continue to have a communist government in the North, and a North Korea that would follow and adopt the Chinese model. They would reform, carry out political and economic reform, and open up to the outside world, to foreign investment and trade. This is what China wants, and they still believe that it's possible."

China's influence over North Korea can also be seen with regard to the six-party talks, an ongoing dialogue aimed at peaceful resolutions to security concerns that have taken place since 2003 between North Korea, South Korea, China, Japan, Russia and the United States.

As China's new leadership takes office, analysts expect Beijing will "continue to pressure Pyongyang to refrain from provocative behavior, promote closer economic cooperation and try to persuade it toward economic reforms," *The Korea Herald/*Asia News Network reported in November 2012.

"The Chinese are currently seeking to promote economic reform in North Korea, to strengthen China's ties with North Korea and potentially increase Chinese leverage and influence, and ensure that North Korea remains stable," Bonnie Glaser, freeman chair in China studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C., told

The Korea Herald/Asia News Network. "These are enduring interests."

The North's actions show that it is anything but a puppet of China. Take for example North Korea's successful satellite launch in December 2012, a move that caused concern throughout the international

community as China works to promote peace on the Korean peninsula.

## **Diplomatic Bonds with the South**

As South Korea celebrates 20 years of established, diplomatic relationships with China, Seoul has sought to improve upon that significant foundation of bilateral cooperation. Advocates for reunification see a South Korea-China relationship as just as vital to moving forward as the North Korea-China relationship.

"Cooperation with China is essential if we ever hope to achieve peace and stability in Northeast Asia and reunification of the Korean Peninsula," claimed an editorial in *The Hankyoreh*, a South Korean newspaper. "We need China for our economic well-being also."

South Korean presidential candidates have campaigned on softening their stance toward the North if elected, vowing to hold talks with Kim Jong Un on economic projects to improve inter-Korean relations.

"One of the important diplomatic challenges for a new South Korean government in 2013 is to enhance its strategic relationship with China in a challenging regional and global political environment," Park Jin-ho, a legislative aide to Rep. Hwang Jin-ha of the ruling Saenuri Party and a nonresident fellow of the Korea Defense & Security Forum in Seoul, wrote in an opinion for *The Korean Times* newspaper in September 2012. "Considering the difficulties South Korea has been experiencing in building political trust with North Korea, an indirect approach to North Korea through China would be the best available alternative."

# STABILITY IN SHIPPING LANES



China doesn't intend to disrupt trade routes in the South China Sea, experts say



he free flow of goods and raw materials is vital to international trade, especially at a time when the global economy is experiencing the worst downturn since the Great Depression.

The South China Sea is a key nodal point through which a substantial portion of commercial shipping passes. Each day, thousands of oil tankers, bulk carriers, container ships and other cargo vessels of various displacements ply the waters from port to port to accept or offload cargo.

For this reason, international efforts must ensure commercial shipping lanes in the region operate unhindered, experts say.

Apart from maritime piracy, which continues to threaten commercial shipping on a near daily basis, sea lanes could also be affected by territorial disputes between regional actors if left to escalate to open conflict.

China's ongoing squabbles with neighbors concerning islands in the region illustrate the point. In July 2012, China established the prefecture-level city of Sansha on one of the Paracel Islands as part of Hainan province to administer several island groups and undersea atolls in the South China Sea — a step that the region continues to widely contest. Beijing's move infuriated Vietnam and the Philippines.

Most analysts and regional experts, however, contend that Beijing has no intention of disrupting commercial shipping in the region, despite its increased territorial assertion.

With respect to the Paracel Islands, the Philippine government had many chances to ratify the archipelago territory treaty but failed to do so due to internal politics, said Singapore-based Karsten von Hoesslin, senior analyst with Risk Intelligence.

Although not seeking to deliberately disrupt shipping lanes, China's rush to assert itself in the South China Sea and secure much-sought-after undersea oil and natural gas deposits in the region for its own exploitation could lead to the outbreak of military hostilities.

"China claims almost 80 percent of all the waters and land features in the South China Sea and opposes any oil and natural gas exploration and development in a maritime area that China claims as part of its sovereign territory," said Rommel C. Banlaoi, chairman of the board and executive director of the Philippine Institute for Peace, Violence and Terrorism Research.

Banlaoi said China would use any means to prevent outside players from what it perceives as violating its sovereign rights to exploit all resources in its territory.

China has set an ambitious agenda for modernizing and expanding the role of the People's Liberation Army navy, which is already the best







1. Filipino protestors stage a rally outside the Chinese Embassy in Makati City in May 2012, demanding that China pull out of the contested Scarborough Reef in the South China Sea. GETTY IMAGES 2. A Chinese patrol boat sits docked at a pier on an island in the disputed Paracel chain in July 2012. APPYGETTY IMAGES 3. Fishermen lounge on their boat at a village in China's Hainan province. REUTERS 4. Fishermen row a boat near a dock at a fishing village in China's Hainan province, next to the South China Sea, in June 2012. REUTERS 5. This July 2012 aerial view shows the city of Sansha on an island in the disputed Paracel chain, which China now considers part of Hainan province. APPYGETTY IMAGES





equipped navy in Southeast Asia. Beijing plans to continue to develop advanced submarines and amphibious forces as well as the Kuznetsov-class aircraft carrier program, which, once complete, will be able to project force and be used to convince regional state actors of the futility of military confrontations. For now, the service is still in its infancy, experts say.

China, however, responded antagonistically in September 2012 to Japan's decision to purchase three uninhabited islands in the East China Sea that are claimed by both countries. Japan has administered the islands since 1972, when control was returned to the Japanese. China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs implemented a legal framework that puts the islands under its territorial purview. The shift means China would be legally justified in using force to remove foreign vessels from these contested waters, *Foreign Policy* reported in September 2012.

"This move is a departure from China's previous policy of seeking joint exploitation of resources with Japan through negotiation, and also differs from China's approach to the South China Sea, where it has maintained calculated ambiguity with regard to its claims by not fully clarifying how much of the area China actually claims as its own," Stephanie Kleine-Ahlbrandt explains in a September 2012 issue of *Foreign Policy*.

China has based some of its claims on the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, according to an April 2012 analysis on the South China Sea by International Crisis Group. However, the government cannot easily retreat from historical claims. "Beijing has deliberately imbued the South China Sea disputes with nationalist sentiment by perpetually highlighting China's historical claims. This policy has led to a growing domestic demand for assertive action. While

Beijing has been able to rein in nationalist sentiment over the South China Sea when it adopts a specific policy, this heated environment still limits its policy options and its ability to manage the issue," the International Crisis Group analysis contends.

The role of international organizations such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) will be crucial in preventing armed conflict from erupting between any states in the region and thus disrupting commercial shipping, regional analysts agree.

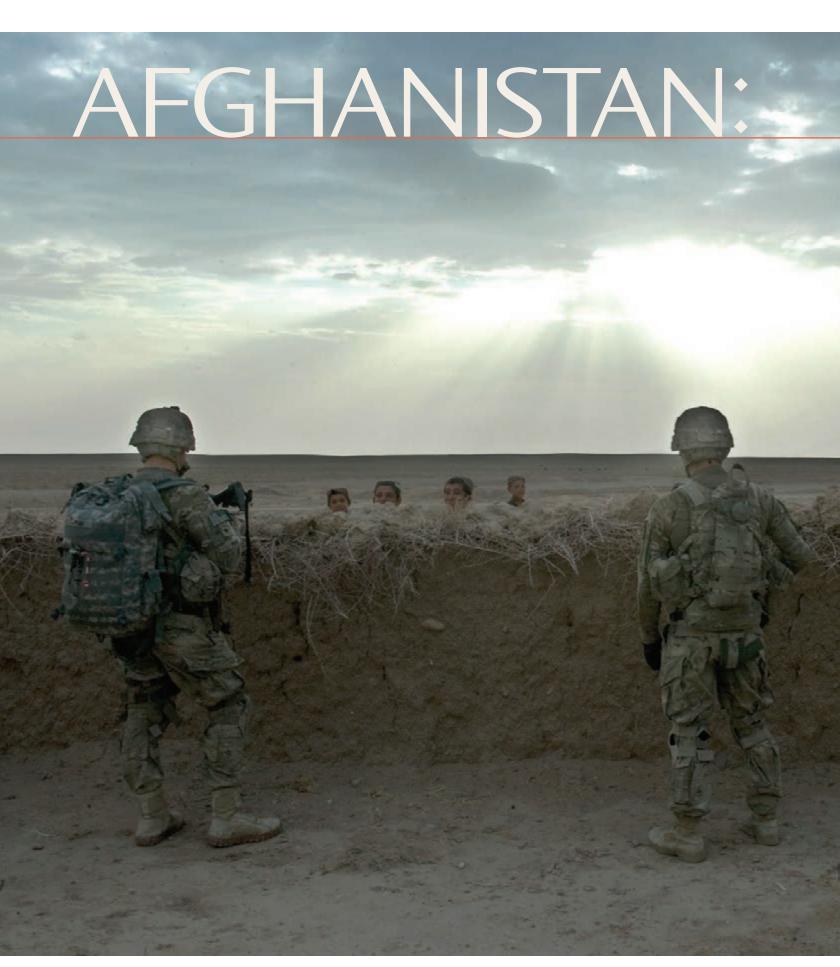
The 10-member ASEAN can exercise its influence via diplomacy and persuade member states that have voiced open disputes with China, such as the Philippines and Vietnam, to resolve such conflicts at the negotiating table.

"The role of ASEAN as a regional mediator should not be dismissed, as the organization has legitimate diplomatic maturity and therefore should not be marginalized in the regional security architecture," said Nazery Khalid, a research fellow at the Maritime Research Institute of Malaysia.

"ASEAN member states ... have no interest in seeing an armed conflict that would ultimately affect them individually and collectively in the long run," Khalid added.

Khalid said that beyond ASEAN, other Asian actors such as Japan and South Korea also have an interest in preventing armed conflict in the greater Eastern Pacific region as it would, among other things, disrupt commercial shipping routes on which their respective economies greatly rely.

With respect to China, Khalid diminished the expansionist threat posed by Beijing in the South China Sea region. "When small creatures see a gorilla move a finger, they automatically interpret this as a sign of aggression when, in reality, the gorilla may only be scratching its ear," Khalid said. □





ROHIT GANDHI

Many pinpoint 2014 as the year the United States-led United Nations coalition will exit Afghanistan. That goal seems increasingly unachievable given the nature of an unfinished war. The panorama continues to change daily as do the resource requirements to respond.

To begin with, the U.S. designation of Afghanistan as its newest major non-NATO ally is ushering in a wave of transformation. The move alone may not only tie both the Afghans and the Americans for a long time to come but may also protect the interests of both for the future. Meanwhile, assorted interest groups wait restlessly in the flanks to assume the leadership.

Current military, financial and political conditions factor into how the final landscape of Afghanistan will be shaped.





Afghan refugee trucks from Pakistan arrive at a U.N. center in Kabul, where returning refugees were given U.S. \$100 to start new lives in Afghanistan. Even though these were Afghan refugees, many had been born in Pakistan, and it was their first time inside Afghanistan. MANDY CLARK

## **MILITARY FACTORS**

The American troop presence in Afghanistan, after undergoing a surge, stood at just more than 68,000 in September 2012. In 2013, the count has begun to gradually decrease, but the final number remains anybody's guess. Many say it could be as high as 50,000; others say a realistic figure is 25,000 to 35,000 troops.

So why are U.S. Soldiers required to be on Afghan soil when there are more than 350,000 Afghan security forces, according to U.S. White House figures?

Of these troops, only 122,000 are Afghan National Army (ANA) and trained by the international coalition. The training has been short, and these are young and inexperienced Soldiers. All of the old militias were not taken into the military after an experiment to induct them into the regular forces failed. They had difficulty understanding the command structure of the Army. When it came to an operation in their areas, they were far too entrenched in the local politics.

So with an Afghan Army of 122,000, it will be impossible to protect the country from an internal or external threat. Both risks are quite pronounced (see sidebars on pages 53 and 54).

The goal of any military is ideally to protect its international borders. In the case of Afghanistan, however, military operations are primarily aimed at fighting the threat from within.

Americans strive for a scenario in which they will not have to put their boots on the ground. Instead, they plan to provide a strong intelligence network to give the Afghans credible technical intelligence to counter any attack on their nation's sovereignty.

The strategy is part of the U.S. goal to prevent another 9/11 on its soil. It is also part of its commitment to keep the Pakistanis from using the functional depth of Afghanistan to redevelop a territory of strategic terrorism again. The United States will also leave an adequate counterterrorism outfit capable of acting upon intelligence if the Afghans request help handling the threat.



An Afghan father and son collect firewood in Badakhshan, the northern province of Afghanistan. Malnutrition is a leading cause of death for children and infants in this region. MANDY CLARK

The U.S.-Afghan strategic partnership has been signed, but the exact size and form of the counterterrorism force is still uncertain. Whatever the case, it will be large enough to handle any major threat that can damage Afghan sovereignty. The determination will be based on what is palatable to the Afghans and what kind of resources the United States is willing to commit.

There is enough pressure from Pakistan, Iran and the Middle East being exerted to reduce the American presence. The final tally of Soldiers will be what makes sense for the Americans.

#### **ECONOMIC PROSPECTS**

Financial opportunities loom quite large in Afghanistan. Although Afghanistan is currently in a tough spot financially with a gross domestic product (GDP) of roughly U.S. \$20 billion, the country can achieve its potential by intelligently developing its resources.

Afghan mineral resource wealth, estimated at

# **INTERNAL THREATS**

TALIBAN (QUETTA ORDER): The group led by the one-eyed Mullah Omar, the head of Afghanistan before the 2001 war, has the highest internal and external support. Pakistani security forces are believed to have sustained it all these years as their bargaining chip for a role in Afghanistan after the American exit.

HAQQANI NETWORK: This group led by Jalaludin and Sarajudin Haqqani is a remnant of America's foray into Afghanistan during the Russian occupation. Haqqani, once a White House guest, is presently supported, many say, by Pakistan's security forces. This is one of the right-wing groups that aims to inflict as many casualties on American forces as it can. It is ideologically in sync with al-Qaida and unlikely to join any democratic solution.

HIZB-I-ISLAMI GULBUDDIN (HIG): This faction primarily represents the aspirations of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar himself. He allegedly got rich on American money; some estimate he received U.S. \$600 million of American aid through Pakistan in the 1980s and has been largely dependent on Pakistan and operates out of Pakistan. He has become Afghanistan's prime minister on two occasions and is likely to try to come to power again. He faces opposition from former rivals, including arch enemies such as the late Commander Ahmad Shah Massoud of the Northern Alliance. Gulbuddin continues to maintain his militia and launch strikes to make his presence felt.

HOMEGROWN CRIMINALS: Thugs and gangsters have emerged in tens of thousands because there was no employment available in Afghanistan.

Anybody who had a gun and no employment took to kidnapping for ransom and started collecting a local tax to feed himself and his cronies. High net-worth individuals, foreigners, and powerless locals and travelers became a source of income. This modus operandi has been the custom for time immemorial in the Khyber. It is a way of life for many.

CORRUPTION: This has been a major issue for Afghanistan. With the money that has been pumped in, Afghanistan could have been reconstructed many times over. Corrupt Afghan politicians and bureaucrats pocketed most of the U.S. \$300 billion in American aid. Many have bought themselves luxury private villas in Dubai, United Arab Emirates, a tax haven. Little has been achieved for the \$300 billion that has been spent in Afghanistan. Roads are in shambles, even in Kabul.

# **EXTERNAL THREATS**

PAKISTAN: One of the countries that has been most affected by the years of fighting is Pakistan. It has been heavily involved in the anti-Russian operation and, in the process, has turned into a hub of militancy and consequently terrorism. Many Afghans have created homes for themselves in Pakistan and now live between Afghanistan and Pakistan. This has led to many issues between the Afghans and the Pakistanis. Pakistan also used Afghanistan as its strategic depth in the 1990s and has gotten used to treating Afghanistan as its backyard. But that attitude has led to Pakistan becoming a threat to Afghan sovereignty.

AL-QAIDA: The primarily Saudi- and Arabfunded al-Qaida has been the largest threat to the world. These people, however, don't enjoy the protection of their governments. With sheer access to oil funds, these individuals finance large terrorism operations. Though their supremacy has been damaged with the killing of Osama bin Laden, they continue to be the brain center of the terrorism exhibited. Their capability has been diminished by a squeeze on the transfer of money, but they will continue to threaten the existence of any democratic structure. They have a large following because they have funded groups for more than 20 years.

**TEHRIK-I-TALIBAN PAKISTAN: This group** primarily was born out of the turn of events of 2001 when the Pakistani government turned its guns on the Taliban, which it once supported. The Taliban then escaped into the Federally **Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan and** created this network. Besides fighting what they see as the hegemony of Christians and Jews, they contend that they were born to create an internal check on the Pakistani government and to take Pakistan on a path of a more puritanical form of Islam. They operate on the border of Afghanistan and, hence, become conduits to any operation that takes place between Afghanistan and Pakistan and needs their support. This sustains them financially, gives them access to weapons and secures their existence in the larger al-Qaida operations. They have been accused of being responsible for the 2010 Times Square attempted car-bombing in New York City.









- 1. Afghan National Police perform a drill during a graduation ceremony at a police training center in Laghman province on September 10, 2012. NATO countries plan to pull out the bulk of their combat forces by the end of 2014 after a gradual hand-over to the Afghan Army and police. AFP/GETTY IMAGES
- 2. A young Afghan boy from Bamiyan waits outside a medical clinic set up by USAID. MANDY CLARK
- 3. An 11-year-old Afghan boy works as a fruit vendor in Bamiyan. His father is too sickly to run the stall. Economic stability is needed for Afghanistan to flourish. MANDY CLARK

U.S. \$1 trillion, could change the economic outlook. A detailed U.S. Pentagon study helped determine the capacity of the mineral wealth. Afghanistan could become the world hub for providing lithium, mainly for use in computers, experts contend. As an Afghan minister described it, "This could become the backbone of the Afghan economy."

Running the mining operations could prove problematic, however, for Afghanistan. The country lacks experience in managing contracts, and such an enterprise is ripe for corruption. For a start, the Taliban and various warlords would like to take over the mining resources and reap the profits for themselves. Even if the resources remain under government control, other countries and companies could easily exploit Afghanistan because the Afghans themselves are inexperienced in developing mineral resource enterprises. In addition, distributing profits fairly to the populace presents a daunting challenge.

The Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) pipeline could also become an important source of energy and income for the Afghans. The pipeline will run 735 kilometers in Afghan territory and provide a secure income of U.S. \$400 million a year. It will produce 14 million standard cubic meters of gas per day, making Afghanistan less reliant on the Russians for energy.

More energy also means the pipeline will help raise the GDP. An estimated 12,000 Afghan security personnel will be deployed to safeguard the line.

#### **POLITICAL REALITIES**

The politics of presence is the order of the day in Afghanistan. The one who sits in Kabul and demonstrates a capability to deal with the international community will hold the power — and

the money. Money goes a long way in Afghanistan. I remember standing on the front lines between the Taliban and Northern Alliance forces one morning, when I saw tanks rolling from the Taliban side toward the Northern Alliance side. In a matter of 20 minutes, the tanks crossed over from the front lines and then turned their turrets back at the Taliban.

The day before, the Northern Alliance commanders had handed hundreds of thousands of dollars over to the Taliban commanders and persuaded them to no longer fight with the Taliban. Losing their armored division was the end of the game for the Taliban. In the days that followed, the Northern Alliance rolled in and captured the remaining ranks.

It was the money that played the role then, and even today it plays an extremely important role in Afghanistan. There isn't much in terms of revenue generation besides agriculture. What had once vanished from Afghanistan is now back: growing poppies for opium products. It had vanished because the Taliban physically burned down the fields and franchises. Now with the Taliban out of power and the Americans not wanting to be involved in the nitty-gritty, poppy farming sustains the feudal lords.

However, Afghanistan has come a long way from where it once was. It has serious political parties and contenders: There's Abdullah Abdullah, a medical doctor and a longtime diplomat for the Afghan freedom struggle from the Taliban, and there's Ramazan Bashardost, a straight-up honest Hazara but with no tribal affiliations.

There are still warlords such as Ahmed Rashid Dostum, Amin Fahim and Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, who will continue to have a say in how the government will look in the future.

# THE TALIBAN WOULD LIKE TO SEE A COMPLETE EXIT OF THE AMERICANS. THIS IS NOT A POSSIBILITY IF A PEACEFUL AFGHANISTAN IS THE GOAL.





Above: Afghan
National Army
Soldiers participate
in construction
and weapons
maintenance
procedures with
U.S. Soldiers at
Camp Hero in
Kandahar province on
September 10, 2012.

Left: Vendors from Tajikistan and Afghanistan sell their wares at a weekly market set up along the border. Economic stability is needed for Afghanistan to flourish. Americans have dealt with all these groups and are keeping most of them in line. Yet the military-political combines such as the Taliban and Hekmatyar will remain a huge problem.

A recent report said the splinter groups of the Taliban are willing to let the Americans stay as long as President Hamid Karzai is out. Previously, the Taliban said Americans must leave totally for them to declare a cease-fire. The truth is that speaking with a splinter group makes no sense because the Taliban are not a singular, cohesive group. The one-eyed Mullah Omar has the largest following, but there are others who have broken away from that group.

The Taliban and the Americans have started talking but with few results. The Taliban want release of their key officials from Guantanamo Bay. The Americans don't want this to be a starting point of talks. Sooner or later, both sides will need to be practical as to what they want to achieve and can achieve.

The Americans want the Taliban to come to the table and to get into electoral politics. The Taliban would like to see a complete exit of the Americans. This is not a possibility if a peaceful Afghanistan is the goal. A complete exit of the Americans will leave too many players to fight for control of this void. Pulling Afghanistan out of the ensuing turmoil will become even more difficult than remedying present-day challenges.

#### TO EXIT OR NOT TO EXIT

All the posturing going on in Afghanistan is likely to continue as the various interest groups attempt to grab power. The ongoing attacks on U.S. troops are only designed to send a strong message to the Americans to pack up and leave. These assaults, however, are short-lived, and all of the groups will realize that they will not be able to scare the international coalition with a few deadly attacks.

An exit from Afghanistan could mean leaving a large, uncontrolled space from where the next round of terrorists with the ability to cause even larger damage than 2001 would again rear their heads, and this time it won't be just two towers.

The exit is not really a choice for any of the players. The success is going to depend on who is willing to go that extra mile to achieve peace and who can sustain the momentum.



RETIRED BRIG. D S SARAO/INDIAN ARMY

Above: Indian Sailors stand on the deck of a submarine during a fleet review near Mumbai in December 2011.

Right: Kalayaan Mayor Eugenio Bito-onon points to a map showing the island of Kalayaan, which means "Freedom" in the Filipino language. Kalayaan was created in 1978 mainly to assert the Philippines' claim to the disputed territory in the Spratlys, a chain of islets in the South China Sea.

he significance of Chinese claims in and around the South China Sea, which China treats as its backwaters, has not gone unnoticed by the international community, especially during the past decade. The Philippines, Taiwan and Vietnam stake claims to some of the islands as well as to the economic resources contained within the South China Sea. To compound the issue, China also has claims in waters contested by Indonesia, Malaysia and Brunei.

Freedom of navigation through the South China Sea is essential to international trade between Northeast Asia and the rest of the world. Almost 41,000 ships pass through the waterway annually, accounting for about 39 percent of Japan's total trade and 27 percent of China's. The majority of oil imports for China, Japan and South Korea pass through the South China Sea as well, as do nearly two-thirds of liquefied natural gas shipments.

In addition, the Ministry of Geological Resources and Mining of the People's Republic of China estimates that the South China Sea may contain 17.7 billion tons of crude oil (more than Kuwait's store of 13 billion tons), making the stakes extremely high for all those involved.

#### **Looking toward the Indian Ocean**

China has already expressed apprehensions about the Indo-Vietnamese deal for oil exploration in certain specified blocks in the South China Sea. The Chinese Foreign Ministry issued a statement saying, "As for oil and gas exploration activities, our consistent position is that we are opposed to any country engaging in oil and gas exploration and development activities in waters within China's jurisdiction. We hope the foreign countries do not get involved in South China Sea." On the other hand, India's concerns about Chinese personnel working on road and hydroelectric infrastructure projects in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, another disputed region, have been given short shrift by the Chinese.

The assertiveness of the Chinese and their long-term objective to be a dominant



power in this hemisphere should also be viewed along with their forays to the Indian Ocean. So far, Beijing does not have a military base in the region, and its military presence is restricted to naval deployments in the Gulf of Aden to fight Somali pirates and visits by Chinese "men o' war" to friendly

ports in the Indian Ocean region.

Though cooperation between China and the islands of the Indian Ocean is still limited to low-profile military-to-military exchanges, it is steadily getting broader and more structured. It is unlikely that Sri Lanka would allow the Chinese navy to use Hambantota Port (being developed with Chinese help) against India, for even the Chinese realize that a Chinese naval base at the southern tip of India would result in a replay of the Cuban missile crisis with India, China and Sri Lanka as the dramatis personnae this time.

Nonetheless, Chinese presence in Hambantota still adds to the concerns of the Indian Navy. With the aim of increasing its footprint in the Indian Ocean, China has already helped Pakistan with a similar project in Gwadar on the Makran coast in Balochistan. It has fast-tracked its string of pearls strategy in surrounding India with its presence in South Asian states including Burma, Bangladesh, Seychelles and Mauritius, where it is building roads, developing ports and providing infrastructure, soft loans and engineering help. There are also reports of Maldives and Seychelles offering berthing and refueling facilities to the Chinese.

#### India's role

If India is to play a leading role in the Indian Ocean region, this is an area where India needs to assert its dominance as an emerging power, show the rest of the world that its strategic and national interests are not negotiable, and prove that India is quite capable of providing a counterbalance to China. It is important for India to mobilize the support of the United States and other members of the international community on this issue. Strategically, as a quid pro quo, India has done well to assert that the South China Sea is international waters and that its naval ships have a right to transit the sea, for it adds another dimension to Chinese vulnerabilities and their claims in this dispute.

Significantly, 85 percent of China's oil imports and

60 percent of its exports are via the Gulf of Aden through the Indian Ocean. It is here that India enjoys a tremendous strategic advantage over China. With its "unsinkable aircraft carriers" available along the peninsula at Cochin, Vizag, Vishakapatnam and Goa, and an extended reach provided by the Andamans Command and the Lakshadweep islands, India is poised to dominate the Indian Ocean region if it plays its cards correctly.

In addition, India needs to build a long-term strategic relationship with the East African countries including the Comoros, Mauritius, Seychelles, Mozambique and Madagascar. India already has a high-tech monitoring station



# Understanding the South China Sea Dispute

The more than 3,000 islands, islets and reefs of the South China Sea are grouped into three archipelagos: the Spratly Islands, the Paracels and the Pratas Islands (as well as the Macclesfield Bank and Scarborough Reef). The islands are uninhabited with no freshwater supplies, and many of them are partially submerged at high tide.

Ownership of the islands — which are rich in natural resources, including a productive fishery, and possible oil and gas reserves — has been in dispute since the early 20th century. The archipelago is approximately equidistant from the coastlines of Vietnam and China.

China has assumed a markedly more aggressive stance in the South China Sea. especially the Paracel Islands and the waters around them, which were the scene of a major clash between then-South Vietnam and China in 1974. China, in fact, claims it has "indisputable sovereignty" over most of the South China Sea.

The jurisdictional right for coastal states over seabed resources is governed by the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. UNCLOS recognizes the right to exploit living and nonliving resources of an island or archipelago by permitting the establishment of a 12-mile territorial sea around the island and a 200-mile, exclusive economic zone.

Although there are six claimants (China, Taiwan, Vietnam, Philippines, Malaysia and Brunei) with overlapping claims in the South China Sea, internationally the dispute is often seen as China against the rest.

A member of the **Sea Cadet Corps** of the Indian Navv participates in a rehearsal for Navy Day celebrations in front of The **Gateway of India** in Mumbai.



in Madagascar and a limited naval presence in the Seychelles and Maldives, primarily for surveillance of exclusive economic zones and anti-piracy patrols.

Given that even the most powerful carrier groups and naval flotillas are vulnerable to precision missile strikes, and with the Indian mainland jutting into the Indian Ocean expanse, in a hot war scenario India can achieve domination of the area extending from the Horn of Africa to the Australian seaboard without putting its air and naval assets in jeopardy.

#### **Building relationships**

To further negate the Chinese strategy in the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean region, India needs to have a closer militaryto-military relationship with the United States, Australia, Japan, Singapore, Philippines and other littoral states in the Pacific and Indian oceans. The Malabar series of naval exercises involving the United States, India, Japan, Australia and Singapore demonstrate to the Chinese navy and the Chinese hierarchy that a kind of united front does exist and freedom of navigation on the high seas will continue as per international convention.

The increase in U.S.-India military cooperation, including joint exercises between the two air forces and the armies, has been closely monitored by the Chinese. The Chinese are also maintaining a close watch over India-Vietnamese relations.

Also drawing attention is Washington's "rebalanced" security architecture in the Asia-Pacific region, which envisions major changes in deployment and proposes that at least 60 percent of U.S. naval assets

would be deployed in the Asia Pacific by 2020.

Taking into account the large amount of hardware that India has procured from the United States and the fact the U.S. is eager to collaborate with India in top-end defense technology, it is no surprise that the Chinese are treading these waters cautiously. It is unlikely that a military standoff either in the South China Sea, Taiwan or closer to home is on their minds, at least at this point in time.



Police stand guard as protesters shout anti-China slogans and hold placards during a rally near the Chinese embassy in downtown Hanoi, Vietnam, in July 2012, amid heightened territorial tensions over the South China Sea.



AFP/GETTY IMAGES

# Ushers Loved Ones to Heaven

REUTERS

undreds of young boys, their faces smeared with mascara and painted as cows, trotted barefoot along the streets of Nepal's capital in August 2012 during the Gai Jatra festival, or the procession of cows. The annual event, usually held in August or September, is one of the Himalayan nation's most popular festivals. Families who have lost a relative during the past year lead a cow in the procession, or dress a boy as the animal, to ensure their lost loved one has a place in heaven.

"We believe in this, and it is our culture," said Pritan Bariya, a 28-year-old graphic designer who lost his sister in June 2012. "It will lead my sister to the doors of heaven."

In Hinduism, the cow is considered sacred. Many Nepalese use cow urine and dung for religious purposes, and the slaughter of cows is banned here. Legend holds that people waded through the mythical Baitarni River holding the tail of a cow to reach heaven.

- During the 17th century, Nepal's ruler, King Pratap Malla, is said to have invited people to march in costumes and perform stunts and plays in front of his palace to make his grief-stricken wife smile after the death of their son. The queen eventually smiled and accepted the loss of her son. Many people believe the parade has continued ever since.
- Boys in the procession wear elaborate cow
- headdresses, white loin cloths and loose saffron vests.

  If families have lost a female member, the boys dress as girls in brocaded crimson blouses and saris. Relatives and

friends offer milk, beaten rice, fruits and sweets in leafy trays to the participants.

"It is fun to be dressed like this and receive lots of sweets and fruits," said Dilip Dangol, 10, who had a marigold garland dangling from his neck.

The festival also offers an opportunity to ridicule public officials by depicting corruption and inefficiency in government offices through satire and comics. During the 2012 festival, two men wrestled in a satire about Nepalese politicians who have struggled for years to produce a constitution after the monarchy was abolished in 2008.



# **DNA** discovery

A colossal international effort has yielded the first comprehensive look at how our DNA works, an encyclopedia of information that will rewrite the textbooks and offer new insights into the biology of disease. For a start, it may help explain why some people are more prone to common ailments such as high blood pressure and heart disease.

The findings, reported in September 2012 by more than 440 scientists at 32 labs worldwide, reveal extraordinarily complex networks that tell human genes what to do and when, with millions of on-off switches. "It's this incredible choreography going on, of a modest number of genes and an immense number of ... switches that are choreographing how those genes are used," said Dr. Eric Green, director of the U.S. National Human Genome Research Institute, which organized the project.

The work also shows that at least 80 percent of the human genetic code, or genome, is active. Previously, researchers had estimated that only 5 to 10 percent of the genome was active and widely accepted the notion that the majority of human DNA was "junk." The Associated Press



# **TAX** ON TRAVELERS

steep increase in customs duties took effect in Cuba in September 2012. Authorities say the measure is necessary to impose order in airports, which at times can look more like cargo terminals for baggage. Experts say the measure targets so-called mules, who make frequent trips back and forth to places such as Ecuador, Panama and Miami. They carry huge bags overstuffed with merchandise destined for resale or to supply the island's growing ranks of private entrepreneurs.

However, some fear the tax could hurt Cuban families that rely on goods imported five suitcases at a time, as well as the many islanders who are able to visit relatives abroad by agreeing to bring back heavy loads for others who pay the airfare.

Travelers are allowed to bring in 30 kilograms of miscellaneous goods without being charged. Everything after that now gets taxed at U.S. \$10 per kilogram. Islanders get a once-a-year pass to pay excess baggage fees in the local peso, worth 24 to the U.S. dollar. The Associated Press

# EU VOWS TO BOOST DEFENSE CAPABILITIES

European Union leaders pledged in December 2012 to plug the gaps in Europe's military capabilities and strengthen its arms industry. The leaders also pledged at a Brussels summit to try to boost the EU's role in tackling international crises now that the U.S. military focus is shifting to Asia, creating demand for a bigger EU security presence in Africa and the Mediterranean. "Current financial constraints highlight the urgent necessity to strengthen European cooperation in order to develop military capabilities and fill the critical gaps, including those identified in recent operations," they said in the conclusions of the summit. Reuters





# Floods uncover ARTIFACTS

Pieces of pottery, iron tools and jewelry dating back thousands of years have been discovered in Dakar after torrential rains flooded some suburbs, university researchers said in September 2012.

Moustapha Sall, a lecturer and researcher at Dakar's Cheikh Anta Diop University, said he found the items during a visit to the suburb of Ouest Foire after the August rains. "While visiting the flooded zone, I stumbled upon ... pieces of pottery, perforated shells reused as jewelry, iron scoria and small stones including blades, which could have been used to cut or carve," Sall said.

The university will analyze the objects to date them, Sall said. Another researcher at the university, Alioune Deme, said the objects could date to 7,000 B.C. Agence France-Presse





# Teaming up to fight **DRUG TRAFFICKERS**

A team of 200 U.S. Marines began patrolling Guatemala's western coast in August 2012 in an unprecedented operation to beat drug traffickers in the Central America region, a U.S. military spokesman said. The Marines were deployed as part of Operation Martillo, a broader effort started in January 2011 to stop drug trafficking along the Central American coast. Focused exclusively on drug dealers in airplanes or boats, the U.S.-led operation involves troops or law enforcement agents from Belize, Britain, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, France, Guatemala, Honduras, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Panama and Spain.

"This is the first Marine deployment that directly supports countering transnational crime in this area, and it's certainly the largest footprint we've had in that area in quite some time," Marine Staff Sgt. Earnest Barnes said at the U.S. Southern Command in Miami. The Associated Press

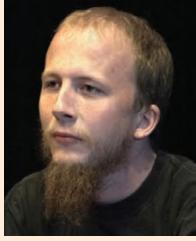
#### SWEDEN & CAMBODIA

# **COPYRIGHT VIOLATOR ARRESTED**

A co-founder of popular filesharing website The Pirate Bay was arrested in Cambodia at the request of Sweden, where he faces a one-year prison term for violating copyright laws, authorities said in September 2012.

Cambodian authorities arrested Gottfrid Svartholm Warg at a home he had rented in the capital, Phnom Penh, said national police spokesman Kirth Chantharith. Cambodia has no extradition treaty with Sweden but has requested details of Svartholm Warg's crime to process his handover, he said.

Svartholm Warg and the site's three other founders were convicted in 2009 by a Swedish court of assisting copyright infringement by helping millions of the site's users illegally download music, movies and computer games. The Associated Press





# Wash That Phone Before Dialing

Cellphones carry 10 times more bacteria than most toilet seats, so it shouldn't be surprising that a man in Uganda reportedly contracted Ebola after stealing one. He stole the phone from a quarantined ward of a hospital, near the site of an Ebola outbreak, reports said.

Regardless of your proximity to an Ebola outbreak, your cellphone is still probably pretty grimy, said Charles Gerba, a microbiologist at the University of Arizona in the United States. "They've got quite a bit on them," Gerba said. "When's the last time you cleaned your cellphone?"

Other common hot spots of unseen disease include remote controls, office phones, shopping carts and the first-floor buttons in elevators, he said.

To limit the spread of diseases, try not to share cellphones, or wipe them down with an antibacterial wipe if you do. LiveScience.com

# A Driving Force in Cyber Security

A team of top hackers working for Intel Corp.'s security division toil away in a garage searching for electronic bugs that could make automobiles vulnerable to lethal computer viruses. Intel's McAfee unit, best known for software that fights personal computer viruses, and several competitors are looking to protect the dozens of tiny computers and electronic communications systems that are built into every modern car.

It's scary business. Security experts say automakers have so far failed to adequately protect these systems, leaving them vulnerable to hackers looking to steal cars, eavesdrop on conversations or even harm passengers by causing vehicles to crash.

McAfee executive Bruce Snell said automakers are fairly concerned about potential cyber attacks because of the frightening repercussions. "If your laptop crashes, you'll have a bad day, but if your car crashes, that could be life threatening," he said. "I don't think people need to panic now. But the future is really scary." Reuters



FORD MOTOR CO.



AFP/GETTY IMAGES

# A ROAMING-FREE ZONE

Indonesia wants to bring comprehensive and integrated mobile phone service to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) region by making the area roaming free by 2014, the Antara news agency reported in August 2012.

The idea would make cellphone conversations between citizens of ASEAN member states more affordable, Communication and Information Minister Tifatul Sembiring said. Member states include Brunei, Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam. In addition, such a zone could help Indonesians living in border areas who have spotty service, Antara reported.

FORUM staff



t looks like a dustbin lid strapped to a cluster of fishing rods. Its computer is so puny, it could not even start up an iPhone. If an extra terrestrial wants to listen to the message it brings, he'll need a gramophone to play it.

However, in the history of space exploration, there is not a probe that can touch the glittering career of Voyager 1 — mankind's first messenger to the cosmos. Thirty-five years after it launched, the valiant explorer is on the brink of leaving the solar system and heading into the deep chill of interstellar space.

More than 18 billion kilometers from home, Voyager is still yielding terrific science as it battles through the last fringes of the Milky Way. "It is providing us with extraordinary data, with precious information" about the structure of the solar system, said Rosine Lallement of the Paris Observatory.

Voyager was launched September 5, 1977, a few weeks after its sister scout, Voyager 2, and the pair toured all of the giant planets — Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus and Neptune. Afterward, their missions were reconfigured to fly to the edge of the solar system and then beyond, into the unknown.

Speeding at more than 17 kilometers per second, at a distance from which the sun appears to be the size of a dot, the probes bear messages for any passing extraterrestrial. They are "the two most distant active representatives of humanity and its desire to explore," says NASA.

They carry printed messages from former leaders U.S. President Jimmy Carter and U.N. chief Kurt Waldheim. There is also a 30-centimeter, gold-plated copper record on board along with a cartridge and a needle with which to play it. The record holds 115 images of life on Earth, recorded in analog form, and a variety of sounds and snatches of music, including singing pygmy girls, Mozart and Bach, Javanese gamelan and Chuck Berry playing Johnny B. Goode.

There are also spoken greetings from Earthlings in 55 languages, beginning with Akkadian — a

language spoken in Mesopotamia about 6,000 years ago — and ending with the Chinese dialect of Wu, also including Hittite, Latin and Welsh in between.

In 2004, Voyager 1 crossed a point known as the "termination shock," where the solar wind — the particles blasted out by the sun — start to collide with particles that come from beyond the solar system. This is the start of a turbulent zone called the heliosheath, which cedes to the last region of all, the heliopause, where the solar wind eventually ceases and interstellar space begins.

Voyager 1 is now in a transition zone, Robert Decker of Johns Hopkins University in the U.S. explained in a study published in *Nature* in September 2012. "The spacecraft may be making short excursions across the heliopause into the interstellar medium and back again due to, say, small fluctuations in the position of the heliopause," Decker explained. Other scientists agree that the fringes of the solar system could be somewhat elastic, varying according to energy output from the sun.

When will Voyager 1 cross the great boundary? "It's hard to imagine that it's going to be too much longer, but I can't tell you if it's days, months or years," Ed Stone, in charge of a Voyager instrument that measures cosmic rays, said at a September 2012 conference in the U.S.

What a milestone it will be. "Crossing into interstellar space — that will be a historic moment when the first object launched from Earth finally leaves the bubble," Stone said.

Voyager 2 is 14.8 billion kilometers from the sun, heading through the heliosheath in a different direction, according to NASA.

In the absence of solar energy in deep space, the two Voyagers are powered by long-life nuclear batteries. In 2025, the batteries will die and their voices will be stilled forever. The two probes will carry on their mission until then, to whatever strange fate awaits them. Agence France-Presse

## — Thailand sets a —

# WORLD RECORD

ome 641 Thai massage professionals set a Guinness World Record for Thai massage August 30, 2012, at an indoor sport arena on the outskirts of Bangkok. The 641 participants broke a previous record set in 2010 by 236 masseuses in Australia during an event to promote the country's spa industry.

Agence France-Presse



# SPECIES discovered in Philippines

Scientists and birdwatchers have discovered 10 new owl species in the Philippines. They used advanced recording equipment to distinguish between owls' hoots, a conservation official said. Eight of the new species were previously considered subspecies, but two are totally new, said Lisa Paguntalan, field director of Philippines Biodiversity Conservation Program.

Paguntalan warned that many of these new species may be endangered because they were found only in small isolated islands or in tiny pockets of forests. Agence France-Presse

# Sri Lankan airline swaps paper manuals for **Pads**

Sri Lanka's national carrier announced it had jettisoned pilots' bulky paper manuals weighing 84 kilograms in favor of iPads that weigh just 660 grams.

"SriLankan [Airlines] has taken the lead in Asia to revolutionize the flight deck ... becoming Asia's first airline to fly with iPad EFBs [electronic flight bags]," Chairman Nishantha Wickremasinghe said.

Sri Lankan air safety regulators granted permission for the switch to lightweight technology.

Agence France-Presse







U.S. fast-food giant McDonald's, famed for its Big Mac beef burgers, will open its first vegetarian-only restaurant in India in 2013. The world's second-biggest restaurant chain by number of locations — after Subway — tailors its menus to local tastes. In India, that means no beef to avoid offending Hindus and no pork to cater to Muslim preferences.

The first vegetarian outlet will open its doors near the Golden Temple in the Sikh holy city of Amritsar in northern India. Religious authorities forbid consumption of meat at the shrine. Agence France-Presse



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