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Guest-Editor

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Dear Colleagues and Friends,

The military is an important, yet often shrouded attribute of state sovereignty. Although it is widely acknowledged that military institutions perform a key role in the functioning of the state, very few authors incorporate military-related variables into their analysis of national and international security dynamics. This is partly due to the fact that information pertaining to military issues are often unavailable to the public. Estimates are often employed not only in assessing the military capabilities of states, but also in identifying the impact of the military on the international behavior of states. Military capability, in turn, is measured in a number of ways, including possession of military infrastructure, military production, scientific base, number of military personnel, potential to implement effective military reform, and incentive to participate in regional and international alignments.

This issue of the *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly* features articles by leading military and security experts. The contributors examine the challenges and outcomes of national military reforms, military and security cooperation, and the prospective repercussions of domestic and foreign security policies. All of the articles in this issue dealing with the Eurasian countries touch upon the importance of international and transnational organizations, such as: NATO, the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). Aside from the implications these organizations create for regional security dynamics, present or prospective membership of states in such organizations also directly impact on domestic military institutions. Kakha Jibladze shows how the aftermath of the Rose Revolution and the coming of Mikheil Saakashvili's pro-Western government moved Georgia closer to joining NATO. Georgia's ambition to join NATO has been driving the country towards substantive reforms to achieve Western standards of professionalism and political control of its military sector.

Similar to Georgia, Kazakhstan has been taking important steps towards enhancing cooperation with NATO. Roger N. McDermott examines Kazakhstan's successful collaboration with NATO and its emergence as a regional military leader in Central Asia. According to McDermott, both NATO and Kazakhstan will benefit from closer cooperation. Both Georgia and Kazakhstan surfaced as regional leaders after their participation in peacemaking and peacekeeping operations in Kosovo, Afghanistan, and Iraq. As such, by expanding the participation

of their military in international operations, Georgia and Kazakhstan are also augmenting their ties with the West, beyond the NATO framework.

An interesting dynamic is developing between Eurasian states seeking to increase ties with NATO, the CSTO and the SCO. Besides building ties with NATO, Kazakhstan is an active member of the CSTO. Today, Kazakhstan is the most successful Central Asian state with the ability to balance engagement with NATO, the CSTO and the SCO. CSTO member-states, for instance, have been speaking out in favor of Kazakhstan's OSCE bid for the 2009 chairmanship of the organization. In contrast, Kyrgyzstan's prospective chairmanship of the SCO in 2007 will likely affect the government in Bishkek's stance towards the U.S. military presence in the region. As such, one can expect Kyrgyzstan to favor cooperation with the SCO's main powers – China and Russia.

Uzbekistan deserves special attention, as its international security cooperation has been changing swiftly in the last decade. Both the February 1999 Tashkent bombings and the Andijan events on May 12-13, 2005 were breaking points in Uzbek President Islam Karimov's policy choices. The growing domestic insurgency in the late 1990s propelled Karimov to increase defense expenditures and pursue a more unilateralist security policy in the Central Asian region. As Rustam Burnashev and Irina Chernykh illustrate, following the Andijan events in May 2005, Karimov increased engagement with both China and Russia through Uzbekistan's CSTO membership, and looked upon SCO as a security provider. Peter K. Forster points out reasons for Uzbekistan's protracted military reform by observing informal relations between national security structures. The Andijan events are also central in Forster's analysis of the inter-elite struggle in Uzbekistan.

All authors in this issue acknowledge the expanding role of the SCO, of which China is a founding member, in the Eurasian security architecture. China's growing economic power and concern with national unity are reflected in its military sector and national security strategy. Although China's defense expenditures in real terms are still significantly lower than those of most developed countries, its current defense strategy is rapidly transforming from one which is oriented merely at sustaining domestic security into that of a global leader in military procurement. Jagannath P. Panda's analysis of China's 2006 White Paper reveals significant shifts in China's domestic and foreign security policy. Meanwhile, taking a step back into the past, Hsiao-ting Lin discusses how the military played an important role in the Chinese Nationalists' opportunistic and strategic movement into the northwestern territories of China during the pre-Communist era.

Although economic and military cooperation between states may be interrelated, observers often interpret such cooperation as being driven primarily by political considerations. Fariz Ismailzade shows how

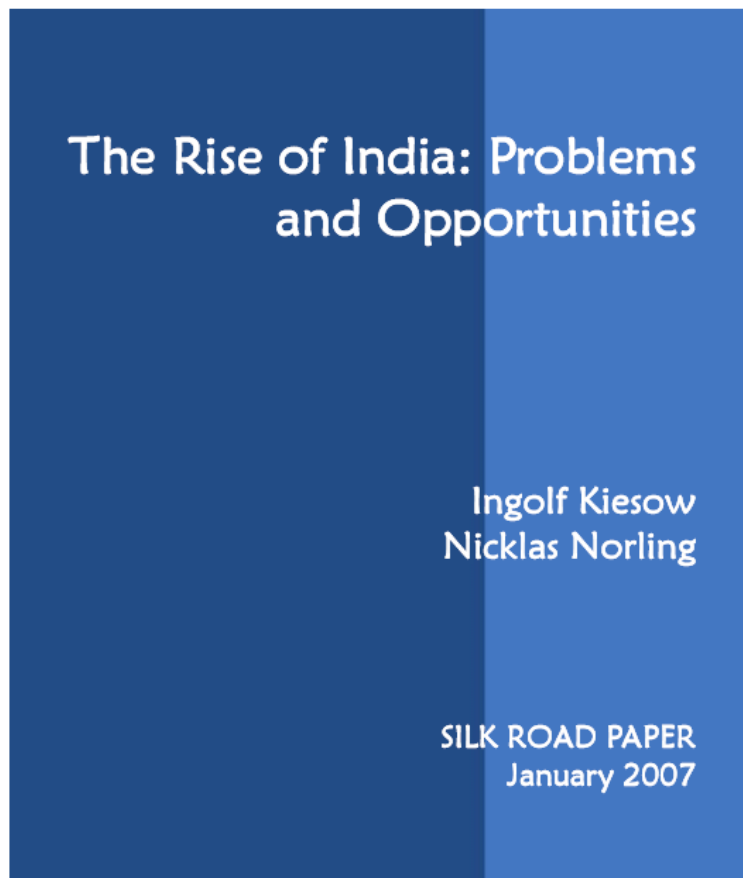
Azerbaijan's increasing economic cooperation with China may potentially lead both countries towards closer cooperation in security related issues. Azerbaijani-Chinese cooperation has immense potential, especially in energy and transport despite the fact that Azerbaijan is not a member of the SCO. Their intensifying cooperation will undoubtedly have broader geopolitical security implications, particularly if China formally supports Azerbaijan's cause in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.


In the wake of Russian presidential and parliamentary elections, and taking into account Russia's growing economic influence in the European countries, its national military reform stands out as one of the Kremlin's central directives. Irina Isakova presents her expert views on problems and prospects related to the recent military reforms in the Russian Federation. Detailing the Russian perspective, Alexander I. Nikitin outlines potential areas for the CSTO's collaboration with the European Union and NATO. Nikitin presents a fresh perspective on how Eurasian security and military relations may develop in the coming years. According to his analysis, the goals and functions of the CSTO, the European Union and NATO largely overlap, especially in areas of "soft security," such as drug trafficking, organized crime and environmental problems. However, membership in these organizations, as well as in GUAM and the Black Sea Basin organization, also have broader political implications.

Readers will find that the current issue covers military and strategic issues in China and Eurasia from local, regional, and international perspectives. The China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly's editorial team would like to thank the authors who contributed to this issue for their excellent analysis. I am convinced that this issue will be of great interest to a wide range of readers.

Erica Marat
Guest Editor, China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly
February 2007

New Silk Road Paper



 *Central Asia- Caucasus Institute*
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The Rise of India: Problems and Opportunities

by Ingolf Kiesow and Nicklas Norling

This 135-page Silk Road Paper analyzes the emergence of India as a great power and the background of its great power ambitions. It also discusses at length impediments to India's great power status as well as its relations with the United States. The paper is available from the offices of the Joint Center cited on the inside cover of this issue, or freely downloadable in PDF format from www.silkroadstudies.org.

Kazakhstan's Partnership with NATO: Strengths, Limits and Prognosis

Roger N. McDermott*

This paper explores recent developments in relations between Kazakhstan and NATO. Changes in the nature and level of the partnership are examined, and it will be shown that Kazakhstani diplomats have utilized opportunities from problems between Uzbekistan and the West in order to obtain preferential arrangements with the Alliance. Kazakhstan has emerged as the key partner for NATO within Central Asia, based partly on its stable political and economic climate, the continued weaknesses of the other indigenous militaries, and the developing Western energy interests in the Caspian.

Kazakhstan joined NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP) program in 1995. This provided Kazakhstan with invaluable experience and contacts with the military establishments of NATO members. Kazakhstan's cooperation with the Alliance could be portrayed for internal domestic political purposes as promoting security in the region, and arguably by narrowing the focus of relations with NATO these elements have been more successful. NATO on the other hand, utilized the PfP program with Kazakhstan as a unique venue for fostering greater integration of Central Asian states with western political and military institutions.¹

At the defense ministers' sessions of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC), in December 2001, Kazakhstan's former Defense Minister, Mukhtar Altynbayev, stated, "Kazakhstan considers participation in EAPC and PfP program as one of priorities of cooperation aimed to integration into global security structures. Kazakhstan took political decision about joining the Planning and Review Process Program (PARP) which will allow us to increase the level of relations with NATO." In June 2002, Kazakhstan took the step of becoming the first Central Asian country to join PARP.

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¹ Richard Giragosian and Roger N. McDermott, "US Military Engagement in Central Asia: "Great Game" or "Great Gain?," *Central Asia and the Caucasus* (January 2004), p.3.

Indeed, the principal stimuli to enhanced cooperation with the West in general terms, and the Alliance in specific areas, stemmed from the radically altered security environment in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, in New York and Washington, D.C. (hereafter 9/11). The subsequent deployment of U.S. and coalition military forces into Central Asia, notably in Uzbekistan and the Kyrgyz Republic, fostered a suitable political atmosphere in which Kazakhstan was able to promote the deepening of its relations with NATO without incurring the displeasure of Russia and China. Another key factor was Kazakhstan's interest in supporting peace operations within Iraq in 2003. In this sense, Kazakhstan was emerging as a strong supporter of the international coalition against terrorism. In July 2003, NATO Secretary-General, Lord Robertson, visited Kazakhstan. Robertson particularly thanked President Nursultan Nazarbayev and Kazakhstan's parliament for deciding to offer troops in support of post-war reconstruction in Iraq. This development signaled Astana's commitment to its future cooperation with NATO, contributing to the stabilization forces within Iraq, despite the international controversy that surrounded the U.S. decision to prosecute the war. However, this is only a small part of the growing evidence that Astana has pursued a more pro-Western approach in its foreign policy and military affairs.²

On December 2, 2003 at the defense ministers sessions of the EAPC, Altynbayev proposed the creation of PfP structures within Kazakhstan. "These structures, taking into account the unique geopolitical location of Kazakhstan, internal stability in the country, consent among ethnic groups and religions, will inevitably move forward our possibilities in the struggle against terrorism."³ Kazakhstan was evidently interested in what it could get from furthering its exiting levels of cooperation with NATO, though undecided in many ways as to the precise nature or goals involved.

On October 4, 2006 Kasymzhomart Tokayev, Kazakhstan's then Foreign Minister met in Brussels with NATO Secretary-General, Jaap de Hoop Schaeffer, in order to examine ways of advancing Kazakhstan's PfP cooperation. Tokayev participated in the NATO Council in the 26+1 format. Schaeffer understandably praised Kazakhstan's contribution to regional and global peace, while the talks themselves assessed the future potential for joint efforts in the reconstruction of Afghanistan, as well as countering terrorism, extremism, and the drug trade. Interestingly, this mirrored the stated agenda of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), though Schaeffer in no way presented deeper cooperation with

² Roger N. McDermott, "The Kazakh Military Looks West", *Central Asia - Caucasus Analyst*, July 16 2003.

³ Mukhtar Altynbayev, "Partnership role in the Defense reform: from Prague to Istanbul", speech at the Defense Ministers sessions of the EAPC, Brussels, December 2 2003.

the Alliance as an alternative to Kazakhstan pursuing security cooperation within the SCO or the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO).

Tokayev was specific: Kazakhstan and NATO must cooperate on the practical aspects of implementing the Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP) agreed to in January 2006. IPAP serves as another mechanism for the Allies to support and advise interested partners. Partner states initiate the IPAP enabling them to prioritize, harmonize, and organize all aspects of NATO-partner relationships via the Euro Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) and PfP. It provides an opportunity for the partner state, in this case Kazakhstan, to address its own particular circumstances and interests. The plans are developed on a bi-annual basis and "NATO will provide its focused, country-specific assistance and advice on reform objectives that interested partners might wish to pursue in consultation with the Alliance." IPAP is a NATO initiative to address concerns amongst partners that the PfP program is often too narrowly focused to meet their needs.⁴ Tokayev mentioned NATO's assistance with the full-scale reform of the armed forces, strengthening Kazakhstan's peace-support potential, and broadening interaction between NATO and the Central Asian countries within the PfP program.⁵

In fact, Kazakhstan's interest in cooperation with Western countries has grown dramatically since 9/11, as confirmed by the number of military diplomatic missions to Kazakhstan, which has tripled during this period. "There are 25 foreign military diplomatic missions in Kazakhstan, which is three times more than the figure in 2001," Alтынбайев boasted in January 2006. According to Alтынбайев, this provided "convincing evidence that our armed forces' image and reputation and an interest in Kazakhstan's experience in reforming the army are growing beyond the borders of our country."⁶ Yet even in making such assertions, Alтынбайев always balanced his pro-Western statements with reminders that Kazakhstan is committed to its obligations within the CSTO and the SCO. The porous nature of the vast Kazakhstan-Russia border leaves Russia open to smuggling syndicates operating from China transiting through the border. Such obvious Russian security interests complicate NATO's relations with Kazakhstan; it must be conducted under Moscow's watchful eye.⁷

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ "NATO to Help Strengthen Kazakhstan's Military," *Interfax-Kazakhstan*, October 5 2006.

⁶ "Foreign Military Missions Triple in Kazakhstan Since 2001," *Interfax-Kazakhstan*, January 27 2006.

⁷ "Drug Syndicates Penetrate Russia-Kazakhstan Border," *RIA-Novosti*, December 8 2005.

Russia

On October 3, 2006, Russian President, Vladimir Putin, completing a state visit to Kazakhstan, defined the priority areas for developing bilateral relations, namely in the fuel and energy sector, agricultural industry, and space exploration. Putin wants to see these joint ventures not only bring financial benefits to each side but also increase the competitiveness of Russian and Kazakh companies in foreign markets. This is central to Putin's plans to promote integration, including reforming the Commonwealth of Independent States and the development of cooperation within the Eurasian Economic Community and the Single Economic Space. "Russia and Kazakhstan are 'locomotives' for many integration processes in the post-Soviet space," Putin said.⁸ While the Kremlin may be applying political and economic pressure on Georgia in order to dissuade Tbilisi from risking NATO membership, Moscow sees the bilateral relationship with Kazakhstan as so strong that the risks of Astana going "too far" are minimal. Practical security-enhancing packages are now more forthcoming from Russia, and Nazarbayev will take into account how much he could lose by provoking Moscow.

Army General, Vladimir Pronichev, the First Deputy Director of the Russian Federal Security Service (FSB) and head of the FSB's Border Guard Service, announced on October 4, 2006 that 4.4 billion rubles (approximately US\$160 million) would be allocated toward developing the infrastructure of the Russian-Kazakh border in 2007. "Plans to develop inter-district departments and district departments are currently being implemented on the Kazakh stretch of the border. Twenty facilities are being built. Our basic approach to the construction of border infrastructure is to build service housing at the same time as administrative buildings, so that border guards can perform their duties without any worries," Pronichev said.⁹ NATO and leading members of the Alliance are already engaged in providing border security assistance to Kazakhstan, yet such arrangements with Moscow, while welcome from the point of view that they improve the security of the border areas, could complicate efforts aimed at professionalizing and rooting out internal corruption within Kazakhstan's border service. There is a sense that Moscow seeks to ensure the continued dependence of Kazakh security structures on Russia by providing such assistance.¹⁰

Energy and economic cooperation will continue to underpin the bilateral security relations between Russia and Kazakhstan for many

⁸ "Russia and Kazakhstan Integrating CIS Space—Putin," *Interfax-Kazakhstan*, October 3 2006.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ "FSB offers Help for Kazakhstan's Border Troops," *Interfax-Russia*, October 4 2006.

years. Energy has also become the hallmark of Russian diplomacy within the CIS, and Russia's presidency of the G8 signals a neighbor with which Nazarbayev must do business. The mutual interests of Russia's Vneshekonombank and Kazakhstan's Development Bank further underscore the importance of cooperation.

Putin's belief that Russia and Kazakhstan are "locomotives" for integration processes within the former Soviet space will set strict limits on how far Astana can cooperate with NATO.

Diplomacy in Brussels

The senior echelons of Kazakhstan's diplomatic machine are reaffirming the government's intention to closely cooperate with NATO following President Nursultan Nazarbayev's re-election on December 4, 2005. Foreign Minister Tokayev discussed such cooperation during a meeting with Schaeffer in Brussels, on December 7, 2005. "Having given a high assessment of the level of partnership achieved between the country and NATO, Schaeffer expressed his readiness to give Kazakhstan all-round assistance in deepening dialogue with NATO and its member states in issues relating to global and regional security and reforming the armed forces," according to the Kazakhstan's Foreign Ministry.¹¹ Schaeffer, for his part, assessed positively the recent trend towards closer partnership ties with NATO. Kazakhstan has shown a willingness to deepen its partnership in the military sphere, as well as in areas of civil emergencies and scientific cooperation. Schaeffer particularly identified the steps taken by the Kazakh government to pave the way for greater practical cooperation with NATO, based on its legislative amendments in September that allow more security cooperation with the Alliance. He praised the use of the NATO +1 format for helping to guide and deepen the nature of Kazakhstan's partnership and the work towards developing a transit agreement with NATO to assist in stabilizing Afghanistan. Tokayev exploited the worsening state of relations generally between the Alliance and Uzbekistan in the aftermath of the Andijan revolt in May 2005; Kazakhstan capitalized on this turn of events, without necessarily making concessions.

During a visit to Kazakhstan in early October, 2005 Ambassador Robert Simmons, Special Representative of the NATO Secretary-General for the Caucasus and Central Asia, denied any need or existing plans for NATO bases in Kazakhstan or elsewhere in the Caspian region. "Currently there are no sites or bases of NATO in Kazakhstan, and I do

¹¹ "Tokayev Holds Meeting With NATO Officials," *Interfax-Kazakhstan*, December 8 2005.

not see any need to change this situation,” Simmons confirmed in an interview in Almaty on October 4, 2005.¹²

Simmons proposed that NATO's Pfp PARP project could include setting up a team in 2007 to react to disasters, including those that resulted from the use of weapons of mass destruction or major terrorist incidents. The Kazakhstani team would take part in international rescue operations and serve in international rescue forces. Shalbay Kulmakhanov, Minister of Emergency Situations, appeared to support these initiatives and presented a united front among Kazakhstan's officials that seems to herald a new chapter in cooperation with the Alliance.¹³

Simmons believes that Kazakhstan can now access courses, which would result in clear benefits to the Kazakhstani armed forces, positively encouraging the Ministry of Defense (MoD) in Almaty to engage in these avenues of cooperation.¹⁴

Other initiatives within the NATO planning staffs have signaled the growing nature of relations with Kazakhstan. NATO has appointed Tugay Tuncer as its special representative on communication and cooperation with Central Asian countries. “We have just appointed him. He will be based in Kazakhstan and will be traveling a lot between Almaty and Astana. He will work not only with the Kazakh government but also with the other governments in the region,” Simmons told a news conference in Almaty on October 4, 2005.¹⁵

NATO planners had long pondered the question of the exact location of an officer within the region, seeking to avoid the impression of favoring any one state, even briefly toying with the idea of an itinerant liaison rather than a single-location option. “Literally all the Central Asian states, except for Uzbekistan, agreed to work with him and welcomed him in their capitals.” It ends a period of speculation, but comes at a time when it may well be interpreted as a sign that Washington and Brussels are happier in promoting multilateral security cooperation with Central Asia through Kazakhstan.¹⁶

Breakthrough: NATO's “Anchor in Central Asia”

In January 2006, Kazakhstani defense officials met with NATO officials in order to conclude an individual partnership action plan (IPAP),

¹² “NATO Representative Says No Bases Planned for Kazakhstan,” *Interfax-Kazakhstan*, October 4 2005.

¹³ “NATO Ambassador Simmons Seeks Practical Programme for Kazakhstan,” *Khabar Television*, October 5 2005.

¹⁴ “NATO Appraises Kazakhstan Partnership Highly,” *Kazinform*, October 6 2005.

¹⁵ “NATO Representative Says No Bases Planned for Kazakhstan,” *Interfax-Kazakhstan*, October 4 2005.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

forming the basis of all future cooperation between NATO and Kazakhstan. "A meeting of the military-political leading committee in the NATO-Kazakhstan format discussed and prepared for final approval the individual partnership action plan, a document that harmonizes all aspects of practical interaction and dialogue between Kazakhstan and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization," according to an official Kazakhstani MoD press release.¹⁷

The IPAP signed with NATO marks genuine progress in relations between Kazakhstan and NATO. Yet, with the complexity of Central Asian politics and Kazakhstan's ties to Russia and the regional multilateral security bodies, there are clear limits on how far it can pursue military and security links with NATO. These are appreciated in western capitals, but there are often unrealistic expectations on how far Astana may be willing to deepen its partnership with NATO.

The Kazakhstani delegation visited Brussels from January 9-12, 2006. Lieutenant-General Bulat Sembinov, Deputy Defense Minister, who attended a session of the NATO-Kazakhstan military-political committee at the NATO Headquarters in Brussels on January 10, led the delegation. Sembinov met Alessandro Minuto Rizzo, NATO Deputy Secretary General, Robert Simmons, and other high-ranking NATO officials. During these meetings, NATO officials were keen to praise Kazakhstan for the leading role it is now playing in developing security within Central Asia, a comment that could be interpreted both as disapproval of Uzbekistan and marking the opening of an effort to solidify Kazakhstan as the linchpin in the Alliance's Central Asian policy.¹⁸

The IPAP itself—heralded as unique in Western relations with Central Asia—seeks practical ways of strengthening regional and international security, deepening the processes of transformation of the Kazakhstani armed forces, raising operational compatibility, and improving cooperation in science, emergency civil planning, environmental protection and counter-terrorism.

The Partnership Goal Report and the draft 2006 Partnership Goal package formed the basis for the discussions. Much attention was focused on the Kazakhstan Peacekeeping Battalion (KAZBAT), which is part of the Airmobile Forces. Kazakhstan continues to aim at making KAZBAT interoperable and deployable for participation in NATO-led PfP operations by the end of 2006. In addition, work is progressing to train and equip one brigade of the Airmobile Forces to enable it to participate in international operations. It is intended that the brigade will be ready by 2010 and will likely be used to sustain one battalion on operations. The brigade would be available for NATO, and also for other operations, such

¹⁷ "Kazakhstan-NATO Cooperation Document Drafted," *Interfax-Russia*, January 13 2006.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

as those of the UN. One of the main problems in this process is military language training. An attempt to resolve this problem was the creation, in 2005, of the Military Institute for Foreign Languages in Almaty, with branches in four other cities in Kazakhstan. The Institute conducts five-year education programs for its cadets, preparing specialists in military information and analysis, as well as language training for the armed forces personnel. There are plans to open the Institute for students from other countries by 2008. Kazakhstan also plans to establish a regional PfP training center at the Institute by around 2010. This project has been included in the IPAP. It is also part of the Kazakhstan - U.S. five-year cooperation plan (2003-08).¹⁹

Significantly, in the view of NATO representatives, “Kazakhstan has the best IPAP among the Alliance's partner countries. Kazakhstan, Sweden and Finland are our strongest partners. Kazakhstan is the most important country for NATO in Central Asia,” according to a NATO official.²⁰ “Kazakhstan did not have enough defense budgets to ensure planning. We can help Kazakhstan with analyses and planning in the defense sphere. The IPAP provides for the development of the long-term planning process in Kazakhstan's defense sector so that the country can take part in combat activities with NATO forces,” the Alliance's representative said.

Ensuring the future involvement of Kazakhstan's armed forces in NATO operations means that the Kazakhstani armed forces must develop their military English language capabilities. “Kazakhstan has made quite good progress on this. There is a military institute of foreign languages at the Defense Ministry in Almaty,” according to a source in NATO. Kazakhstan has also allocated the Kazakh peacekeeping battalion (KAZBAT) to take part in future NATO operations. The work will be deepened until the setting up of a Kazakh peacekeeping brigade (KAZBRIG) by 2010.

It is unclear, however, at what point in the future and under what circumstances Kazakhstani servicemen may participate in NATO operations. “Currently Kazakhstan is ready to take part using an infantry company. They [servicemen] already speak English. Before tackling the issue of Kazakhstan's involvement in NATO operations it is necessary to study issues relating to the airlifting of servicemen from the country and providing rear support to KAZBAT,” explained a NATO official.²¹

¹⁹ This five-year plan framework has been the subject of recent negotiations between Kazakhstani and U.S. defense officials. By February 2007, it was becoming clear that talks are making progress on the content of a new five-year plan for the period 2008-13. Author interviews with Kazakhstani Defense Officials, Almaty, February 2007.

²⁰ “Kazakhstan-NATO Cooperation Document Drafted,” *Interfax-Russia*, January 13 2006.

²¹ *Ibid.*

The IPAP provides for the strengthening of cooperation between both sides in combating terrorism, exchanging information on legislative initiatives, supporting a policy of good neighborliness and cooperation with other international organizations. NATO intends to provide assistance in expanding public control over the country's armed forces, particularly the parliament's control over the defense sphere, to promote civil-military reform. The IPAP also covers issues relating to Kazakhstan's political reform. It provides for cooperation in fighting corruption; promoting human rights issues; supporting democracy; ensuring the supremacy of law; developing scientific research and a number of other spheres. NATO's assessment of Kazakhstan's political reforms within the IPAP is rather limited, though it is hoped this may evolve over time.²²

General Sembinov has done much to foster the strengthening of Kazakhstan's relations with the Alliance, yet he has become arguably less pro-active in the pursuit of military reform than he was in 2004. These developments at NATO HQ must therefore be regarded with caution; before further funding is released to support Kazakhstani military reform, more information is needed by its Western donors on the progress and use of those officers sent for military education and training. In this sense, the picture that emerges may differ from the ease of expedient agreements on paper. Kazakhstan needs to open its military manning system to allow greater alumni tracking by its international security assistance providers. All too often Kazakhstani officers return to the country only to be regarded with suspicion by colleagues, or simply undervalued.

Unfortunately, for an Alliance with limited experience with Central Asian governments, limited and restricted contact with the indigenous militaries, and an acute awareness of Russia's sensitivity toward its traditional sphere of influence, such moves need to be supported by concrete measures. Military reform in Kazakhstan has often taken a course that oddly mirrors Astana's relations with the West, China and Russia, including its ongoing involvement in the regional multilateral bodies (CSTO and SCO). Sembinov, once committed to reform and the pursuit of closer ties with the West as potential partners in this process, has become embroiled within Kazakhstani politics and recognized the extreme shifts in regional relations with the West following the expulsion of U.S. forces from Uzbekistan. Moreover, following the Kazakhstani presidential elections, senior officers in Kazakhstan have privately questioned the reality of Sembinov's commitment to military reform; the safe option is re-alignment with the Russian arms industry

²² "NATO Upbeat on Expanding Ties With Kazakhstan," *Interfax-Kazakhstan*, April 3 2006.

and confirmation of Kazakhstan's growing energy and political ties with Russia.

There is little doubt regarding the significant role played by Altynbayev in building stronger ties with NATO and seeking ways to foster a closer relationship with the Alliance. In many ways, this was always limited to certain priorities set by Altynbayev and his military background strongly influenced the type of assistance he wanted from the West. He was often rather vague on specifics, and downplayed the need to properly coordinate the MoD staffs in developing their cooperation plans and goals with NATO.

Altynbayev has also sought to dispel concerns in the West that the army could be deployed internally against opponents of the regime. "The army will never go against the people but against the bandit formations. Those who want to break the constitutional order of our state. This will never happen: the army will put a barrier to this," he intimated. Kazakhstan in his view will be different; the constitutional order under threat will not justify the use of armed force.²³ Indeed, Altynbayev denied rumors that the army had been placed on standby on the day of the presidential election. Altynbayev committed himself to Western cooperation and took a considerable risk for this. In so doing, he was intent on proving that his country will transform itself into a reliable Western security partner in the region.²⁴

Much of the work of ironing out the finer details, as well as encouraging the various factions within the Kazakhstani MoD to pursue genuine partnership goals with the Alliance was placed on General Sembinov, the Deputy Defense Minister tasked with overseeing cooperation with the West.²⁵ Here Sembinov's role must not be underestimated; his Soviet background in the Navy, particularly in the Caspian fleet, supplied a ready made interest in promoting an aspect of Western cooperation very close to the economic interests of the regime and the country's future: Caspian security.

In terms of personalities, Sembinov has played a very important role in the area of Kazakhstan's military cooperation with the West, seeing his involvement in the planning of the Kazakhstan-U.S. five-year military cooperation plan, and its linkage to an agreement with Turkey through which this was elevated to a trilateral agreement. One central theme in this cooperation strategy is the support given by the U.S. and Turkey in developing Kazakhstan's military infrastructure on the Caspian coast, aimed at enhancing the security of its energy interests.

²³ "Army Will Not Abuse Power," *Kazakh-Channel* 31, December 8 2005.

²⁴ "Kazakhstan Committed to Stronger Ties With NATO—Altynbayev," *Interfax-Kazakhstan*, April 25 2005.

²⁵ Author Interviews With Western and Kazakhstani Defense Officials, July 2004/October 2006.

Sembinov's task has however, proven arduous. Competing and volatile factions within the MoD have been difficult to handle, control and manage; he has been constantly aware of the continued presence of 'old Soviets' or simply those utterly opposed to developing stronger security ties with the West. Having emerged from a trying period, where Kazakhstan has balanced these forces within its MoD and built a strong basis for future NATO cooperation, perhaps there needs to be concerted effort to avoid these relations being subject to the whims of personalities or the tendency of some officials to drag their feet, or say one thing to Western counterparts, while telling a different story to the Russian MoD. One way this could be achieved structurally, would be to form a department within the MoD specifically tasked with cooperation and partnership with NATO; but this would also require careful and skilful use of manpower. Officers with experience in Western military education and training could be adequately utilized in such a key department. However, for such ventures to succeed, strong and ongoing political support from the leadership of the regime itself is necessary.

Future NATO-Kazakhstan Relations

The main theme advanced in this paper has been that the relationship between Kazakhstan and NATO has deepened considerably as a result of 9/11, Kazakhstan's role in Peace Support Operations (PSO) in Iraq and Nazarbayev's capitalization on the rupture in NATO's relations with neighboring Uzbekistan after the events in Andijan in May 2005. NATO officials were careful to avoid any possible hint that it favored one nation in the region, and maintained a balance in its relations with Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan not wishing to stimulate regional rivalry. Unofficially, NATO has now recognized that *de facto*, its relations with Kazakhstan have far eclipsed those with Uzbekistan, regarding the former as more stable and reliable. Uzbekistan's diplomatic efforts to restore military and security assistance ties with the West have failed to date, recently not being able to persuade the EU to lift sanctions imposed on Tashkent. Warmer relations in the future between Uzbekistan and NATO will do little to catch up with the advances currently being made by Kazakhstan. The latter has seized an opportunity to become NATO's anchor in Central Asia, showing no signs of abating.

Russia and China will provide constant pressure on Kazakhstan not to go "too far" in the evolving relationship with NATO, but neither will object too much over improvements in key Kazakhstani formations tasked with counter-terrorism and building greater security in the Caspian. The U.S. has led the way in bilateral security assistance to Kazakhstan, placing this on a longer-term footing under its first five-year plan. This is currently being negotiated for renewal and will likely see a

new plan emerge that provides continuity in American aid to Kazakhstan' armed forces through the period ending in 2013. Other NATO member states have also developed strong military assistance ties with Kazakhstan, notably Turkey and the United Kingdom. Some of the aims in these cooperation agreements converge and where that synergy is clearest is in helping Kazakhstan to provide rapid response counter-terrorist capabilities, increase the level and eventual interoperability of its PSO forces, while more broadly supporting the reform of the armed forces through training and education initiatives that will raise standards of professionalism within other elements of the military. NATO will do its best in this relationship if it concentrates on developing the niche capabilities of the Kazakhstani armed forces that clearly interest the Alliance planning staffs. PSO, achieving NATO interoperability in key formations, have more achievable potential than the generally reform centric approach.

The Alliance is now gauging for itself the geopolitical restrictions on this relationship, since Kazakhstan remains sensitive to the views of both Russia and China. Its IPAP agreement and goals set for the Kazakhstani armed forces provide a framework upon which the detail of future cooperation and assistance will be constructed. NATO is uniquely placed to help Kazakhstan achieve certain military reform tasks, not least by offering to facilitate these processes by drawing on a wealth of experience of nations in transition since the end of the Cold War.

Kazakhstan needs to define the goals of cooperation with NATO, specifying what it wants from a deeper relationship with the Alliance. This will demand political support from the leadership of the regime in order to overcome the institutional inertia that has slowed down genuine and systemic military reform. Achieving NATO interoperability in some formations will demand a serious and prolonged commitment to overcoming existing problems within the newly formed Military Languages Institute. NATO planners know this will need to be in place, but fail to grasp the potential for the Kazakhstani MoD to either underestimate the task of running this institute properly, or its capacity for simple mismanagement. Kazakhstan must also learn the lessons of why Uzbekistan often gained more from its formerly warmer relationship with NATO, utilizing its liaison staff at NATO HQ to the fullest extent. Kazakhstani officials must now become more proactive, not only in understanding how NATO functions, but in maximizing its diplomatic channels. NATO officials often face Kazakhstani intelligence staff rather than come face-to-face on a regular basis with knowledgeable military officials that can speak with authority and facilitate progress.

Finally, providing Kazakhstan with a real counter-terrorist punch and a genuinely independent means of achieving long-term security and

stability in the Caspian will mean concentrating on two huge tasks, for which a stronger partnership may allow open and free discussion:

- Promoting the systemic reform of Kazakhstan's security structures, especially the intelligence services which are molded and exist in the image of the old KGB. Kazakhstan needs a modernized information system and an intelligence service that is tasked with the analysis of real threats to the state, where intelligence officers can work free from politically skewed mandates.
- Promoting regional security cooperation, which has made progress but still remains weak.

The appointment of Kazakhstan's first civilian Defense Minister, Daniyal Akhmetov, (former Prime Minister) on January 10, 2007 could presage more systemic military reform, or simply prove to be another paper reform that means little in reality other than the political dividend of carrying out an exercise that displays forward, reformist thinking.²⁶ However, if the recent history of Kazakhstan's relations with Western security assistance partners and the Alliance is to be understood properly, Akhmetov may well play a critical role in the follow up work to what Altynbayev has achieved as Defense Minister. Much work remains on both sides, involving difficult challenges, but the possible security dividends are enormous: supporting NATO's publicly declared long-term security interests in the Caucasus and Central Asia and possibly contributing to forming an "arc of stability" extending from the Euro-Atlantic to Central Asia and the Middle East. In any case, despite the problems and difficulties ahead, Kazakhstan appears politically prepared to engage in international PSO's under the umbrella of NATO or the UN, confirming that its commitment to such operations goes beyond the high publicity of yielding support for Operation Enduring Freedom. Planning staffs in NATO and within Central Asia must now take into account that Kazakhstan has emerged as NATO's key partner in the region, constructing detailed plans to capitalize on this relationship—without upsetting Russia or China. This may entail future multilateral cooperation between the Alliance, the CSTO and the SCO, as well as using Kazakhstan to attract more interest in promoting regional security reform and cooperation. Although the CSTO has made overtures towards developing a multilateral security dialogue with NATO, the Alliance has preferred instead to conduct its diplomacy directly with each Central Asian state. As these relationships evolve, multilateral

²⁶ "Kazakh President Explain Rationale For Appointing Civilian as Defense Minister," Khabar TV, January 10 2007.

mechanisms must be utilized to the fullest in order to defuse any sense of these bodies competing or clashing in the region. Since Kazakhstan remains a full and active participant within the CSTO, its deepening partnership with NATO may arouse less criticism if the Alliance can form a multilateral dialogue with the CSTO.

The Modernization Drive of the PLA and the New Defense White Paper

Jagannath P. Panda*

On December 29, 2006 the Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China (PRC) released a White Paper entitled "China's National Defense 2006." The preface of the White Paper reads: "China's national defense and military modernization, conducted on the basis of steady economic development, is the requirement of keeping up with new trends in the global revolution and development in military affairs, and of maintaining China's national security and development."² The White Paper further states in the second section, entitled "National Defense Policy," that "China pursues a three-step development strategy in modernizing its national defense and armed forces, in accordance with the state's overall plan to realize modernization."³ The Chinese government has always argued that its military modernization is intended to defend its national security, and to deter the "Taiwan independence" forces from splitting the country.⁴ Lieutenant-General Zhang Qinsheng, Deputy Chief of General Staff of the People's Liberation Army (PLA), maintains that, "the modernization of the Chinese armed forces aims to achieve the ability to defend national sovereignty, security and reunification of the country."⁵ However, looking at its recent modernization efforts, particularly its current defense budget and expenditures, another much larger question apart from Taiwan remains: what are the main motives and goals behind the modernization plans of the PLA? This paper deals with this fundamental

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¹ The full text of the White Paper titled "China's National Defense in 2006" is available at the Official Website of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, <<http://english.gov.cn/>>.

² Refer to the preface of the White Paper.

³ See part II of the White Paper, at:

<www.china.org.cn/english/features/book/194485.htm> (March 1 2007).

⁴ Chapter II of the "National Defense Policy," China 2004 White Paper on National Defense, at <<http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/china/doctrine/natdef2004.html#3>> (February 19 2007).

⁵ Sun Shangwu, "PLA not involved in arms race," *China Daily*, February 2 2007.

issue and tries to examine how the Chinese authorities argue and defend their defense modernization plan. Particular emphasis is given to the recently adopted 2006 defense White Paper.

The overall message from this White Paper is that the country must possess a military power commensurate with its fast-growing economic strength and be able to defend the territorial integrity of China, particularly regarding the “Taiwan issue.” In defending the modernization drive, the Paper states that China aims to lay “a solid foundation” by 2010, make “major progress” by 2020, and be “capable of winning informationized wars.” To achieve this, China seeks to both increase self-reliance and import sophisticated weaponry. Yet, the PLA maintains that self-sufficiency is the main strategy to achieve modern capability and this will serve as its overall guiding principle.⁶ This is seen in China’s continued heavy investments in the PLA, particularly in its strategic arsenal and power-projection capabilities. 2006 seems to be continuation of such a strategy.

Modernization Strategy and the 2006 *White Paper*

The main focus of the current strategy is to systematically upgrade and modernize outdated weapons and systems and try to increase the standard of the PLA to be on par with two major powers, namely, the U.S. and Russia. As stated in the White Paper, the intention is to “...deepen the adjustment and reform (...) as well as policies and systems (...) boost innovation in its military organizational structure and military management, and improve efficiency in its military modernization drive.”⁷ These slow but calculated and systematized transformations in the PLA from a large ground force to a multifaceted military capable of projecting its power beyond its national border and coastline raise concern about China’s future strategic ambitions.⁸ The real worries come from the comprehensiveness of the military transformation including virtually all aspects of the military establishment from weapons systems and operational doctrine to institution building and personnel training. This trend has been pushed systematically for three decades by political and defense officials.

According to the new White Paper, the PLA’s main task is to enhance the performance of the armed forces “with informationization as the major measuring criterion.” It reads: “the PLA, taking *mechanization* as the foundation and *informationization* as the driving force, promotes the

⁶ Bang Quan Zheng, “A Rising China: Catalysts for Chinese Military Modernization,” in ed. Sujian Guo, *China’s Peaceful Rise in the 21st Century* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing House, 2006), p.195.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Carin Zissis, “Modernizing People’s Liberation Army of China”, Background, Council on Foreign Relations <www.cfr.org>, December 5 2006.

composite development of *informationization* and *mechanization* to achieve overall capacity improvement in the fields of firepower, assault, mobility, protection and information” (italics added).

As noted above, the approach of China’s modernization strategy is based on the PLA’s simultaneous transformation through both mechanization and informationization. This doctrinal change indicates the PLA’s recognition of the “Revolution in Military Affairs” (RMA) and the use of this as a guiding principle in its military modernization.⁹ It is quite obvious that the main thrust of this new strategy is to emphasize improved training in order to help prepare for the modern, high-intensity, and information-dependant conflicts of the future.

As its military modernization program continues into 2007, Chinese military strategy seems to be focused mainly on the problematic issue of Taiwan. As a result, China’s attention is geared towards developing its naval capabilities, as it views a potential Taiwanese declaration of independence, with possible U.S. support, as the most immediate danger to Chinese sovereignty. Thus, China maintains most of its missiles in preparation for a confrontation with Taiwan.

Intentions Beyond Taiwan: Possible 2007 Attempts

Many recent statements and writings from Chinese military strategists suggest that China is considering the expansion of its military capabilities beyond the Taiwan issue. For example, General Wen Zongren, the former Political Commissar of the elite PLA Academy of Military Science, stated in March 2005 that solving the Taiwan issue is of “far reaching significance to breaking international forces blockade against China’s maritime security...only when we break this blockhead shall we able to talk about China’s rise.”¹⁰ Another expert, Yang Yi, also recently noted that: “[Although] China adopts a military strategy defensive in nature, that doesn’t mean the country cannot develop its military capability by taking a more proactive approach.”¹¹ Even if it is not entirely clear what this “proactive approach” refers to, it seems that China has adopted a doctrine where both a reactive and proactive military build-up is emphasized. Addressing a PLA delegation, Jiang Zemin was reported to have said that, “we should have a strong sense of crisis, because we cannot concentrate on economic development without a consolidated national defense and a powerful army (...).”¹² These

⁹ You Ji, “China’s Emerging National Defense Strategy,” *China Brief* 4, 23 (November 24, 2004).

¹⁰ Quoted statement from “Military Power of the People’s Republic of China 2006,” Annual Report to Congress, Office of the Secretary of Defense, 2006, pp.10-11.

¹¹ Excerpts from Yang Yi’s article in the People’s Daily overseas edition published as “Chinese Army Symbol of Peace and Justice,” *Beijing Review* 4 (January 25 2007).

¹² “Jiang Zemin Speaks on PLA Modernization at NPC,” *Xinhua*, March 9 2000.

statements suggest an ambitious PLA modernization program in which it has been engaged for many years.

According to the 2006 U.S. Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) report, China is, in the near future, likely to continue to make large investments in high-end, asymmetric military capabilities, emphasizing electronic and cyber-warfare; counter-space operations; ballistic and cruise missiles; advanced integrated air defense systems; next-generation torpedoes; advanced submarines; strategic nuclear strike technologies from modern, sophisticated land- and sea-based systems; and theater unmanned aerial vehicles.¹³ It is expected that 2007 will bear witness to many developments, especially in joint operations; naval missile technologies and space technologies. An overview of China's expected modernization plans for 2007 include the following:¹⁴

- Joint Operations: The PLA is improving its joint operations capabilities by developing an integrated C4ISR network, a new command structure, and a joint logistics system;
- Air Operations: The PLA Air Force (PLAAF) is transforming from a defensive force to one with modern, offensive strike capabilities;
- Navy Sealift Capacity: The LPD (Landing Platform Dock) which is to be inaugurated in 2007-08 would provide a quantum jump to the PLA Navy's existing sealift and organic airlift capacities;
- Conventional Missile Operations: The PLA plans to improve quantitatively and qualitatively the capabilities of its conventionally armed Short Range Ballistic Missiles (SRBMs);
- C4ISR: The PLA plans to prepare a survivable, robust, reliable and sophisticated Command, Control, Communications, Computers, Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance (C4ISR) system to harness battle space information;
- Counter Space Developments: China is expected to continue the involvement of its satellite tracking and identification networks;
- Nuclear Forces: China's strategic nuclear forces will likely comprise a combination of enhanced silo-based CSS-4 ICBMs; CSS-3 ICBMs; CSS-5 MRBMs; solid-fueled, DF-31A ICBMs (IOC 2007); and sea-based JL-1 and JL-2s SLBMs (IOC 2007-2020);
- Advanced Space Plan: China is working on a new version of its long-range rocket, which is expected to be ready by 2008;

¹³ "Military Power of the People's Republic of China 2006," Annual Report to Congress, Office of the Secretary of Defense, 2006, p.7.

¹⁴ Data collected from various sources: <<http://usinfo.state.gov/>>, <www.sinodefence.com>, <<http://www.thebulletin.org/>>, Military Power of the People's Republic of China 2006, Annual Report to Congress, Office of the Secretary of Defense, U.S..

- **Rockets and Satellites:** China is engaged in setting up an 80-hectare centre for developing rockets and satellites in South-West Shanghai.

Considering this comprehensive plan, it is clear that China is trying to narrow the gap between itself and other major powers with superior military capabilities. Another component of the White Paper proposes an increase in bilateral ties and joint-military operations with other countries. As stated in the White Paper, “China has established military ties with over 150 countries and military attaché offices in 107 countries (...) in the past two years, senior PLA delegations have visited more than 60 countries.” At the same time, the White Paper also focuses on the internal dimension of joint operational training “to improve the integrated joint operational capabilities of services and arms.”¹⁵

Defense Budget and Arms Purchase

To narrow the military gap, particularly between itself and the U.S., the Chinese government has continuously increased its annual defense spending. According to the new White Paper, between 1990 and 2005 the average annual expenditure on defense registered a 15.36 percent growth, which translates into nearly a 10 percent real annual average growth rate. As specified in the Chinese government budget report, China proposed a 12.6 percent increase in the defense budget for 2005.¹⁶ The main priority has been to focus on economic modernization and growth, which will generate the resource-base needed for investments in the defense sector. According to the 2006 White Paper: “China's defense expenditure in 2004 and 2005 was RMB220.001 billion [around US\$27.5 billion] and RMB247.496 billion [around US\$30 billion], respectively, with growth rates of 15.31 percent and 12.50 percent...Its defense budget for 2006 is RMB283.829 billion [around US\$35 billion].”¹⁷ Defending this budget, the White Paper highlights that China's defense expenditure “mainly comprises expenses for personnel, training and maintenance, and equipments,”¹⁸ all of which are important elements in sustaining a capable army fit for the challenges of the 21st century (refer to Graph-I).¹⁹

Graph 1: Composition of China's Defense Expenditure in 2005, RMB billion

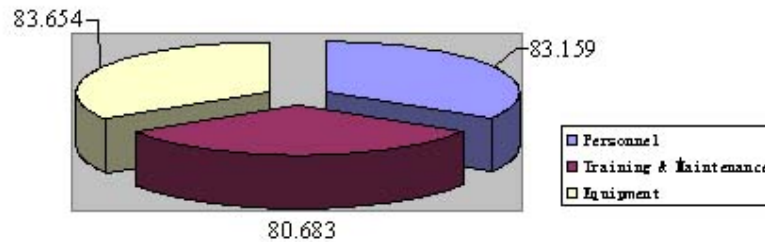
¹⁵ Refer to the White Paper's section on military training of the part IV “The People's Liberation Army.”

¹⁶ “China Proposes 12.6% defense budget increase,” *Xinhua*, March 5 2005.

¹⁷ Refer to the “IX- Defense Expenditure” part of the 2006 Chinese Defense White Paper.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ “PLA devoted in full swing to military training,” *Xinhua*, August 1 2006.



Source: Chapter IX. Defense Expenditure, China's National Defense 2006²⁰

From a global perspective, China's defense spending is quite debatable in comparison to other major powers. *China Daily* reports that in 2005, China's defense expenditure equaled roughly 6 percent of that of the U.S., 53 percent of that of the United Kingdom, and 68 percent of that of Japan.²¹ If one looks at the 2006 increase in China's defense budget, it shows a trend that has persisted since the 1990s, that the growth of the Chinese defense budget exceeds that of economic growth. The 2005 report drafted by the Ministry of Finance also points out that defense expenditures will total around RMB245 billion (around US\$30 billion), 13 percent more than 2004.²² Jiang Enzhu, an NPC deputy, is of the opinion that "there is still a fairly small amount compared with (the military spending) of other major countries in the world, in terms of its proportion to total financial expenditures and gross national product."²³ However, the actual level of Chinese defense spending is greatly debated among world experts and estimations vary depending on the source. The major reason for the lack of a more accurate estimate of the Chinese defense budget is the purchasing power parity disparities between China and other western countries, especially the U.S. The lack of specificity from Chinese officials also contributes to the ambiguity and the difficulty in making meaningful international comparisons.

Although official Chinese reports suggest that modernization is the main reason for the increase in China's military budget, it should also be noted that some defense modernization spending occurs outside the PLA budget. For example, imported weapons systems which are financed by the State Council, are not accounted for in the PLA budget.²⁴

Political leaders have a great interest in purchasing weapons from other great powers, and it is expected that 2007 may see an increase in

²⁰ Available at <<http://www.china.org.cn/english/features/book/194470.htm>> (February 17 2007).

²¹ "Defense Spending at US\$35B for 2006," *China Daily*, December 29 2006.

²² "China proposes 12.6 % defense budget increase," *Xinhua*, March 5 2005.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Refer to the Military Section, "China's Defense Budget," at <www.GlobalSecurity.org> (January 30 2007).

purchases from Russia. Joint military training programs are also likely to figure into this calculation, especially under the auspices of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization.²⁵ Moreover, various Russian news agencies have reported that China intends to purchase Su-33 Naval Flanker ship-borne fighters from Russia.²⁶ At a recent air-show involving China and Russia at *Zhuhai* near Hong Kong, the head of the Russian delegation expressed that “[...] each party has the right to purchase what it needs to protect its national interests, and the Chinese side intends to buy Su-33 aircraft [...] Russia is ready to supply all armaments and hardware its enterprises are developing [...] if the Chinese side expresses such a wish.”²⁷

Although Chinese officials have repeatedly denied plans to purchase or build an aircraft-carrier with Russia, the former Soviet carrier *Varyag*, which was sold to China in the late 1990s, is considered by Chinese military experts to be a suitable model for China when designing its own aircraft carrier. China’s modernization program also extends to nuclear deterrence. With respect to this, China is qualitatively and quantitatively improving its long-range nuclear missile force. It is expected that by 2010, China’s strategic nuclear forces will likely comprise a combination of enhanced silo-based CSS-4 ICBM, CSS-3 ICBM, and CSS-5 MRBM ballistic missiles; solid-fueled and intercontinental-range ballistic missiles DF-31 and the extended-range DF-31A, as well as sea-based missiles JL-1 and JL-2s SLBM.²⁸

The beginning of 2007 saw the successful test of China’s first anti-satellite (ASAT) weapons test, highlighting China’s impressive achievement in space technology. On the naval front, many efforts are being undertaken by experts to modernize it. At a PLA Navy meeting, on December 27, 2006 Chinese President Hu Jintao said that “the navy force should be strengthened and modernized” and the navy should be prepared “at any time for military struggle.”²⁹ The latest White Paper also emphasizes the importance of developing a powerful navy.

Conclusions

It will only be at the end of this decade, if not later, that China’s military modernization program will be able to produce a modern force capable of facing hi-tech challenges. As a result, the current modernization of the PLA encompasses the transformation of virtually all aspects of the

²⁵ Sun Shangwu, “PLA not involved in arms race,” *China Daily*, February 2 2007.

²⁶ “China Intends to Buy Russia’s Su-33 Fighters,” *Ria Novosti*, November 1 2006.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ “Military Power of the People’s Republic of China 2006,” Annual Report to Congress, p.27.

²⁹ “China Pursues Stronger Navy and seeks to Calm Fears of Arms Race,” *Power and Interest News Report*, January 8 2007.

military establishment, including weapons systems, operational doctrine, institution building, and personnel reforms. The speed and intensity of this ongoing modernization process is evidenced by the large quantity of electronics, computers, and advanced communications technologies made available by advances in China's economic development.³⁰ This transformation which is taking place in the PLA is systematically part of its "four modernizations" program, initiated by Deng Xiaoping long ago.

At present, the Chinese army is the world's largest military force, with almost 2.3 million soldiers in service.³¹ The Chinese leaders claim that due to an insufficient input over the past decades, its disparity with the developed military powers is widening. As such, the focus is on the "input in national defense and army building on the basis of increased national economic strength and has pressed ahead the military revolution with Chinese characteristics."³² There is a consensus among defense and security officials that much remains to be done and that the next challenge will be to build a Chinese army of an "advanced world standard" including equipment, personnel, and training as emphasized in the 2006 White Paper.

³⁰ Dennis J. Blasko, *The Chinese Army Today: Tradition and Transformation for the 21st Century* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), p.13.

³¹ Refer to the 2006 White Paper (Section IV: The People's Liberation Army)

³² "Chinese Army Symbol of Peace and Justice," *Beijing Review* 4 (January 25 2007)

China's Relations with Azerbaijan

Fariz Ismailzade *

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, world powers rushed to increase their economic and political influence in the Soviet successor states. The South Caucasus, with its rich natural resources and geo-strategic location in the heart of Eurasia, has become a hotbed for post-Cold War competition between Russia, the U.S., Iran, and Turkey. While in the early 1990s China was not a significant regional player in the South Caucasus when compared to Russia and the U.S., the rapidly growing Chinese economy has inevitably turned the Asian neighbor into a significant emerging player worth noting in this region.

Emergence of Relations between Azerbaijan and China

Critics of the former Soviet First Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's rushed economic reforms in the 1980s point to China as a successful model of reforms, where a significant degree of economic liberalization took place amid a stable political environment, controlled by one party. In the early 1990s, the former President of Azerbaijan, Heydar Aliyev, having come out of the Soviet Politburo and being one of Gorbachev's critics, was eager to see how the Chinese economic model worked in practice. Aliyev even considered replicating the Chinese experience in post-Soviet Azerbaijan.

In 1994, Aliyev paid an official visit to China. He met with the political leadership of the country as well as a number of leaders from business, non-governmental and academic circles. Besides establishing diplomatic and economic ties, Aliyev's key agenda for the visit was to see how China's one-party political system could be combined with a rapidly diversifying market economy. As such, the interest in China's particular model of political economy was the primary factor driving Aliyev's engagement.

Indeed, President Aliyev's visit opened a new chapter in Azerbaijani-Chinese relations. Trade between the two countries started flourishing and Chinese companies began to show interest in the Azerbaijani market.

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More importantly, China, being one of the five permanent members in the UN Security Council, recognized Azerbaijan's territorial integrity. The threats of separatism, violent terrorism and ethnic tensions facing both countries also widened horizons for mutually-beneficial collaboration. Thus, China was the first East Asian country to recognize Azerbaijan's territorial integrity and to open an embassy in Baku in 1992.

China's position on the conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia over Nagorno-Karabakh was also clear. Beijing did not want to involve or assist any side; it maintained political neutrality and recognized the official policy of the UN. This implied that China followed the international community's recognition of Azerbaijan's territorial integrity with Nagorno-Karabakh being under Azerbaijan's jurisdiction. Prior to Aliyev's 1994 visit, China already backed the UN Security Council's resolution demanding the unconditional withdrawal of Armenian military formations from the occupied Azerbaijani territories. Indeed, China's support of Azerbaijan's territorial integrity was of great importance for the newly independent country.

The Rocket Scandal

For the greater part of the 1990s, bilateral relations between China and Azerbaijan were friendly and cooperative, even if no presidential-level visits were made following President Aliyev's initial visit. China, although a rising power, remained a distant country for Azerbaijan. It was no coincidence that President Aliyev sent one of his political opponents, Tamerlan Garayev, to be ambassador to China. This tactic of distancing political opponents implied that China was still considered a remote and politically unimportant country.

However, in 1999 the Azerbaijani political leadership and general public were shocked by the news that China had sold eight Chinese Typhoon multiple rocket systems to Armenia. This significantly angered Azerbaijan's political establishment, which had until then recognized the official Beijing-line of non-interference in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. This instance was the first time China was directly involved in providing military support in the conflict. The Azerbaijani State Advisor on Foreign Policy, Vafa Guluzade, claimed that the sale was agreed upon in October 1998, when Russian Defense Minister Igor Sergeev visited Beijing, taking his Armenian counterpart Vazgen Sargsian with him.¹ Local analysts reported that the trade deal was brokered by Moscow to diversify the military support for Armenia, its top ally in the Caucasus. Azerbaijani officials asked Beijing to annul the deal and have the weapons returned.

¹ "Azerbaijan Accuses China of Selling Rockets to Armenia," *RFE/RL Newswire*, May 19 1999.

Officials in Beijing, having realized the potential negative consequences of the scandal, rushed to apologize – quickly blaming private Chinese companies for the mistake. In the words of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “this was [an] occasional and regrettable incident.”² The Chinese government promised not to repeat the same mistake in the future. Indeed, the entire scandal once again showed that China was not interested in becoming involved in the conflict. Furthermore, economic and energy cooperation with Azerbaijan seemed much more attractive to the Chinese leadership than its ties with Armenia.

Energy Becomes Top Priority

Although trade for non-oil goods has been rising between the two countries, especially in the area of textiles and household goods, the growing Chinese economy increasingly brought pressure on Beijing to diversify sources of energy imports and to seek new oil markets. Azerbaijan and Central Asia, with their convenient geographic location and proximity to China, were the obvious choices. On several occasions, high-level Chinese officials traveled to Baku to seek ways to expand the participation of Chinese companies in Caspian oil projects. The impression was that compared to the early 1990s, China became more actively involved in Azerbaijan and Central Asia – desiring to catch up with Western oil companies.

The Azerbaijani government, having already signed agreements with Western oil companies such as BP, Exxon, Chevron, and Statoil for the development of lucrative offshore oil fields in the Caspian Sea, could only offer old, onshore fields to Chinese companies for re-development. Even this was sufficient for China. Several Chinese oil companies were given permits by the Azerbaijan State Oil Company (SOCAR) to work in the country. For example, China's Shengi oil company received a permit in June 2004 to operate the Garachukhur oil field.

On March 17, 2005 President Ilham Aliyev paid his first visit to China in an effort to enhance bilateral relations, especially in the non-oil sectors. For the Azerbaijani side it was crucial to diversify the economy and develop non-oil areas such as textiles, machinery, and agriculture. The Chinese experience in these fields proved invaluable.

During his visit, President Aliyev signed 13 inter-governmental agreements with the Chinese government – a significant amount, considering Russia has only seven inter-governmental agreements with China. These signed agreements covered taxation, trade, economics,

² Armenian Assembly of America, June 11 1999; also cited in Fariz Ismailzade, “Azerbaijan and China Move to Increase Security and Economic Cooperation,” *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, March 22 2005.

customs, culture, arts, sports, tourism, TV, radio and information telecommunications. Both sides pledged to avoid double taxation and to increase bilateral trade.

Furthermore, during Aliyev's March 2005 visit to Beijing, a business forum was organized bringing together corporate leaders from both countries. China has since provided close to US\$2 million in unconditional assistance to Baku. Following the visit, a flight-connection between Baku and Urumchi³ was inaugurated in 2005, with service expanding from twice a week to four times a week in 2007 – another sign of the growing business links between Azerbaijan and China.⁴

The Kars-Akhalkalaki-Baku Railway

In 2004, the trade turnover between China and Azerbaijan was roughly US\$200 million, increasing to US\$368 million in 2006. This amount still places China among the non-major trading partners for Azerbaijan. However, the idea to build the Kars-Akhalkalaki-Baku railway, connecting Asian and European railway systems has become a source of hope for an expansion of trade between the two countries. A transcontinental railway would also increase the Chinese presence in the South Caucasus region.

The Chinese political leadership expressed full support for the railway project during President Aliyev's visit to Beijing in March 2005. The Chinese also stated that the construction of the railroad would enhance the East-West transportation corridor along the ancient "Silk Road" route and develop opportunities for increased trade.

Since, the Azerbaijani government has pushed its neighbors politically and economically to build the railway. In February 2007, the leaders of Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey convened in Tbilisi to sign an agreement. Azerbaijan is providing US\$200 million in financial assistance to Georgia, at an annual interest rate of only 1 percent, to finish the railway and to connect the Turkish and Georgian rail systems. After the completion of the railway, it is expected that the transportation of goods from Europe to China will be twice as cheap and transport time will be reduced significantly. Overall, the trade turnover through this new railway-corridor is expected to reach nearly 20 million tons per year.⁵

³ Urumchi is the provincial capital of China's far-western Xinjiang region (ed. note).

⁴ "Posol KNR v Azerbaidzhan: 'My vsegda podderzhivali Azerbaidzhan i vystupaem za vypolnenie vseh sootvetstvuyuschih rezolutsii Soveta Bezopasnosti OON'" [PRC Ambassador in Azerbaijan: 'We always supported Azerbaijan and advocate fulfillment of all respective resolutions of the UN's Security Council'], Day.az, February 21 2007.

⁵ According to Turkish Minister of Transportation, Binali Yildirim, "China joined Baku-Tbilisi-Akhalkalaki Railway Project – Turkish Transport Minister," *Trend News Agency*, August 28 2006.

This project was the first one in which China's presence and initiative in the South Caucasus preceded engagement by the West. Due to the influence of the Armenian lobby, which opposes the railway project and considers it yet another tool to isolate Armenia from regional trade and communication projects, the U.S. Congress passed a bill to prohibit U.S. government funding for it.⁶ News of the bill was badly received in Azerbaijan, where the public once again became aware of the biased attitudes of American politicians against Baku. In contrast to the U.S., China has frequently been depicted in the local news as a country with much interest in the project. In August 2006, Azerbaijan's ambassador to China, Yashar Aliyev, informed the local media about the possibility of China's role in financing the project.

Future Trends

Political relations between China and Azerbaijan are expected to grow on a bilateral level rather than within the framework of any regional organization, such as the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, as Azerbaijan has expressed its disinterest in membership due to the dominant role of Russia in this organization. As for China, it has not expressed any interest in joining the GUAM or the Black Sea Economic Cooperation organization, where Azerbaijan feels more comfortable.

With the construction of the new railroad, both bilateral trade and political relations between Azerbaijan and China are likely to grow significantly, and China's presence in the Caucasus region will solidify. This, in turn, could lead to extensive cooperation between Azerbaijan and China in the military sphere, as Azerbaijan's increasing oil revenues allows its leadership to invest in developing its national military capacity. Azerbaijan's military budget has increased from US\$150 million in 2003 to nearly US\$1 billion in 2007. This rapid increase is indicative of the determination of the Azerbaijani leadership to regain the Nagorno-Karabakh territories at any cost, be it through diplomatic negotiations or resumed military activities.

However, it remains unclear whether the Chinese leadership will continue to remain a neutral observer in the Nagorno-Karabakh process, or whether the Chinese will shift their strategy towards a more active form of cooperation with one of the sides. Azerbaijan, with its active energy and transportation links to China and with its growing military budget seems the obvious choice for such a partnership. During Aliyev's last visit to Beijing in March 2005, no special agreement on military cooperation was signed. To date, there are no known military links

⁶ Rovshan Ismayilov, "Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey: Building a Transportation Triumvirate?" *Eurasia Insight*, February 2 2007.

between Azerbaijan and China, but one cannot overlook the possibility of close future military cooperation.

Common political, economic, and military interests may also spill over into cooperation in technology, telecommunications and know-how between China and Azerbaijan, considering the latter's emergence as an IT-hub in the Caspian region. Armenia, on the other hand, will have to catch up to the growing Chinese-Azerbaijani partnership. Otherwise, China's neutral position on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict will not remain so for very long.

Post-Soviet Military-Political Integration: The Collective Security Treaty Organization and its Relations with the EU and NATO

*Alexander I. Nikitin**

The Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) was formed in 2002-2003, and is based on an agreement signed in 1992. It encompasses seven post-Soviet countries including: Russia, Belarus, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. The CSTO is currently the primary framework for the politico-military integration of the Newly Independent States (NIS).

The CSTO has, in recent years, consolidated its role as an organization, and by passing the “Plan for the Construction of the CSTO’s Military Coalition Forces through 2010,” crossed a primary threshold – entering a new phase in its development. The main task of the first phase was to establish military ties at the state-to-state level and formulate a structure for political cooperation. The goal of the second phase is to integrate the military forces of the participating countries on a macro level. The details of this integration are specified in the “Plan for CSTO Military Coalition Building through 2010,” and in the “Concept for Developing a Unified Military System.”

Military Alliance or Collective Security Organization?

From its inception, the CSTO has stressed that its primary function is to manage “new threats and challenges” in the sphere of “soft security,” such as drug trafficking and illegal cross-border migration. This has fostered a very positive image for the organization, drawing comparisons to the OSCE and the EU rather than to NATO. However, with the transition to a joint air defense, three integrated army formations,

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horizontally integrated military systems, and collective peacekeeping forces, the CSTO's integration is also heading in the direction of a traditional military-bloc. This will not go unnoticed by other international organizations and forces engaged in the region. Currently, the CSTO is debating whether it should continue positioning itself as a regional collective security organization that is oriented towards managing new threats and challenges in the area of "soft security," or whether it should acquire the traits of a traditional military alliance in the form of a collective defense organization.

If the CSTO pursues a collective security role, it must: emphasize the development of political structures, work with conflicts on the territories of its members, perform pre-conflict monitoring, develop an arsenal of warning measures and sanctions, organize a negotiation process, and enforce post-conflict settlements. The passing of the CSTO's "Agreement on Peacekeeping Actions and the State of Collective Peacekeeping Forces" leads in this direction.

To continue on this course, the CSTO must widen its mandate to include every aspect of security for each member state. For example, in Central Asia this means working on sensitive issues related to: water resources, water supply, redistribution of electricity, and overcoming dire electricity shortages, all of which are considered to be national security issues in the region.

If the CSTO is to become an organization which specializes in "soft security," then its international ties and partnerships should not be geared towards organizations like the OSCE or NATO, but rather towards organizations like: the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Islamic Development Bank, and the European Union. All of these organizations already have large development assistance programs in Central Asia and the Caucasus.

Lessons from Contemporary Global Experience in Military Integration

The CSTO's development as a collective political security organization is strengthened by incorporating components of a military alliance. However, the creation of military coalition forces and integrated military systems will present some difficulties with regards to keeping in compliance with the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE). The CFE, which was originally created to manage relations between Warsaw Pact countries and NATO, was adjusted in the 1990s to act as a go-between for national forces. The introduction of military systems in which forces are used jointly by various governments and relocated to different countries and "flanks" ("south" or "east") requires a

preliminary analysis to examine how the integrated systems of the CSTO will affect the future adaptation of the CFE; and vice versa, how the CFE will potentially limit the development of the CSTO.

Prior to embarking upon the development of a CSTO integrated military system and coalition force, it is worth examining two previous models. The first is the European Rapid Reaction Force (RRF), assembled by the EU over the last two years, and the second is the Helsinki Force Catalogue, also developed by the EU. The EU's country catalogue claimed that there were almost 100,000 troops, 500 planes, and over 100 combat vessels available to conduct joint missions. This is a "reserve fund," a mini-catalogue of forces that have been declared to the CFE, and is only composed of forces that can be reconstituted for joint missions. During the implementation of the EU's decision to create a joint force, a major problem encountered was that countries would commit forces and equipment that were incompatible and not mobile enough to be transferred to the location of the joint mission.

When studying the development of the CSTO, it is important to consider the experience of the "Berlin-Plus" agreements, which regulates relations between the EU and NATO. Many of these agreements are secret, but some are open to the public, and clearly illustrate the tendencies and mechanisms by which military integration has occurred within the EU and NATO – shedding light on how these two organizations interact with one another. In particular, the "Berlin-Plus" agreements formulate criteria with respect to military forces and equipment which must remain under national control, and those which may be used for coalition missions.

The following principles and positions could be used from these previous agreements to form the framework for cooperation between the CSTO and NATO:

- Concluding a framework agreement about common threats and principles ensuring collective security;
- Developing joint procedures for cooperation between command structures and military divisions during planning, and staging joint operations (achieving initial operative compatibility);
- Agreeing to and developing the format of permanent political consultations;
- Implementing regular consultations concerning progress in achieving compatibility and means to improve joint operations;
- Concluding an agreement on sharing classified information about previous operations and guaranteeing the confidentiality of this information;

- Maintaining mutual access to strategic planning for each organization's individual operations;
- Concluding an agreement for mutual observation of training exercises;
- Coordinating actions on cross-border issues, particularly in Afghanistan.

It would be useful for the CSTO to carry out a study of how NATO and EU countries achieved and improved military interoperability, particularly with new EU member states. Such a study could be conducted by the Geneva Center for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), specifically, through its new offices in Brussels.¹

The Potential Role of the CSTO in Conflict Management

If CSTO operations are compared to UN or EU peacekeeping missions, then the CSTO's conflict management role in the NIS region is fairly passive. In attempting to maintain its leadership in the sphere of "soft security," the CSTO did not publicly react to the mini-revolution in Kyrgyzstan, the Andijan incident, or the friction between Uzbekistan and its neighbors.²

The "Agreement on Peacekeeping Operations" and the "Regulations on CSTO Collective Peacekeeping Forces," only make sense if the CSTO actively pursues a mediating role to end conflicts, at the very least, on the territory of its member states. It could also follow NATO's example by offering its peacekeeping forces to UN missions. It is important to note that NATO has already accepted UN mandates to coordinate several peacekeeping missions in Europe and Asia, including in Afghanistan and Iraq. Similarly, the EU has decided to deploy its recently created RRF to the Congo region, Macedonia, Bosnia, and Kosovo. The CSTO could negotiate with the UN, under Chapter VI of the UN Charter, towards a mandate for post-conflict management on the Tajik-Afghan border, based on the same model as NATO's UN mandate for post-conflict management in Afghanistan. Acting in at least one conflict region (within the CSTO's zone of responsibility) on a UN mandate would sharply raise the CSTO's international legitimacy, popularity, and visibility.

Currently, relations between the CSTO and NATO, with each organization being responsible for territories on different sides of the Tajik-Afghan border, are uncoordinated. The CSTO is promoting a

¹ Russia and other CSTO member states are among the official founders of the DCAF.

² It did however pass resolutions on more minor and less "relevant" issues, for instance on coordinating the efforts of CSTO member states in the reconstruction of post-conflict Afghanistan, where NATO is the coordinator of such reconstruction on behalf of the UN.

project to develop an anti-drug trafficking belt around Afghanistan. It conducts an annual anti-drug operation called “Channel,” and even successfully induced Iran to participate. At the same time, NATO’s German contingent in the northern territories of Afghanistan constantly announces that it has intercepted drug traffickers and that it is addressing the drug problem, even though it is not mandated to do so.

The Russia-NATO resolution on “Shared Principles of Joint Peacekeeping Operations” has been in the drafting process for more than two years, and both sides have steadfastly avoided setting down any concrete guidelines for how Russia and NATO ought to coordinate their peacekeeping efforts. Were it to happen, this coordination would more than likely occur in the CSTO’s zone of responsibility and the surrounding regions in Central Asia, Afghanistan, and the Caucasus. It follows that the resolution on joint actions in conflict zones by Russia and NATO must be synchronized with the “Agreement on Peacekeeping Operations” and the “Regulations on CSTO Collective Peacekeeping Forces.”

Prospects for the CSTO to Enter into Dialogue with the OSCE and the EU

The CSTO has particularly good ties with the OSCE – there is probably no other security organization with which the CSTO shares a similar level of cooperation. This cooperation is highlighted by, among other things, the General Secretary of the CSTO’s meeting with the General Secretary of the OSCE, the General Secretary of the CSTO’s participation at the OSCE Forum, and the CSTO’s passing of the “Treaty on Conventional Arms and Armed Forces in Europe.” It is important to understand, however, that the positive nature of these relations runs counter to the trends in Russian foreign policy since 1999. This is particularly true over the last two years, in which Russia has been very critical of the OSCE – demanding that it undergoes reforms. Of Europe’s “big three” security organizations, NATO, the EU, and the OSCE, the CSTO is developing a dialogue with the weakest of them.

The CSTO needs to develop a dialogue with the EU. The similarity in security concepts between the two organizations is very high, particularly with respect to the emphasis that is placed on dealing with “new threats.” There are already a number of international forums which have been attended by EU foreign policy and military officials as well as representatives from the CSTO Secretariat. Pressure to begin distancing itself from the politico-military organizations of the NIS has not yet entered EU politics in the same way as was the case with NATO in relation to the CSTO. Russia and the EU are developing the concept of the “four common spaces,” and one of these is security. It might be a

good time for the CSTO to approach the EU with a proposal to develop a common EU-CSTO security space.

The EU has already stepped in as an intermediary in the Moldova-Transnistria dispute, as well as in a number of conflicts in the Caucasus. The EU has an observer mission in the Transnistria region near the Ukrainian-Moldavian border, in addition to two civilian missions in Georgia tasked with promoting law-enforcement reform. Moreover, the EU continues to pursue a Stability Pact in the southern Caucasus, while also proposing a Stability Pact for Central Asia based on the same model as the Stability Pact in the Balkans. This means that in the near future, the CSTO will be collaborating with the EU on issues ranging from security, peacekeeping, and conflict management. It is better for the CSTO to be proactive than to be a passive partner.

If the CSTO decides to develop its ties with the OSCE, then it would be useful to develop a close cooperation with the Conflict Prevention Center in Vienna, an institute running a unique conflict database which analyzes, amongst others, conflicts within the NIS region.

It might also be the time for the CSTO to collaborate with the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). The OIC has taken on a more visible role in countries such as: Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Azerbaijan, and Turkey. Moreover, the OIC played a very positive part in Tajikistan's 1997 peace settlement. Owing to Russian President Vladimir Putin's initiative, Russia received observer status at the OIC in 2004.

Prospects for Collaboration Between the CSTO and NATO

Presently, the NATO Secretariat and its directors view the CSTO as a potential partner on issues of security and the fight against challenges and threats. However, NATO has not yet made the political decision to engage with the CSTO in this way, preferring to deal bilaterally with each member state. At the same time, the possible advantages stemming from cooperation between the two organizations remain sizeable.

First, the two organizations are reasonably comparable since they both share the goals and issues of politico-military alliances, and are both recognized by the UN as international regional security organizations. The institutional core of both organizations consists of agreements on collective security and assistance in the event of foreign aggression. The most important components of both organizations are their structures, which are geared towards combating new threats – the most significant of which are international and regional conflicts. In addition, there is a great degree of overlap in the way these two international organizations are run, particularly in the formats used for meetings of heads-of-state, foreign ministers, and defense ministers.

Second, the organizations and their member states have to confront the same threats, including: international terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), and the problem of “unstable governments.”

Third, they are not political or ideological loggerheads. While there are obvious disagreements about the specifics of democracy and human rights, these divergences do not represent the sorts of insurmountable ideological differences that existed between NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Fourth, there are already a number of declarations and resolutions by both organizations about the possibility of cooperation. This is especially characteristic of the CSTO, which passed a number of special resolutions regarding collaboration with NATO at its summit in Astana, in the summer 2005. There are also a number of declarations from NATO’s leadership, acknowledging the positive role of the CSTO.

Fifth, both organizations have developed strategies for conflict management and have created special rapid reaction forces. Furthermore, individual CSTO and NATO member states have already carried out joint training exercises and peacekeeping operations.

Finally, while the geographical proximity of the CSTO and NATO may foster collaboration, it may also develop into rivalry. In addition to other integrational factors such as the issue of common threats, compatible values, the readiness to cooperate, the converging geographical proximity in the two organizations’ area of operations has led to the recognition of the inevitability of cooperation. As such, even though NATO’s eastward expansion and new mandate of “global responsibility” may create greater tensions between the CSTO and NATO, it may also result in greater cooperation. In the case of Central Asia, particularly regarding the stability of Afghanistan, territorial convergence has already led to bilateral cooperation between CSTO and NATO member states.

Taking these factors into account, the CSTO and NATO could develop the following framework to accommodate closer collaboration:

- Mutual political recognition, which in turn would foster political collaboration. This has already been partly realized, owing to the fact that neither organization perceives the other as a foe;
- Provide assistance to internationally recognized governments which are currently (or soon to be) unable to carry out all of their necessary functions on their own. The problem of “unstable governments” is especially relevant in Afghanistan, where bilateral cooperation between individual CSTO and NATO member states is already in effect and has great potential to continue into the long term;

- Act as an intermediary in border disputes and offer joint assistance in providing border security;
- Cooperate on managing regional conflicts, both politically as intermediaries and militarily in operations aiming to separate the conflicting parties;
- Prepare for joint peacekeeping operations. NATO and the CSTO have the tools to see this through. Peacekeeping operations could become a major function of joint efforts, matching the importance of the Collective Rapid Reaction Forces (CRRF) in the Central Asian regional security framework. The joint peacekeeping operations would also succeed in reformulating the CSTO's peacekeeping potential, particularly since peacekeeping is already one of the central tasks of the NATO Response Force (NRF);
- Attaining operational compatibility between the CSTO and NATO forces. Convergence on the standards for troop readiness, technical parameters of weapons, functional characteristics of armed forces within the framework of their social and political systems, and underlying values. This aspect of cooperation will partly be realized within the framework of bilateral cooperation between NATO and individual CSTO member states. However, some of these elements can be transferred to the area of inter-organizational relations;
- Collaborating in the war on terrorism. Both organizations view terrorism as a significant security threat. International terrorism was one of the primary reasons for which NATO broadened its mandate from its traditional regional responsibility to include a "global responsibility." Supporting counter-terrorism operations in all parts of the world is one of the most important functions of the NRF.

Cooperation in the sphere of counter-terrorism could include sharing analytical and reconnaissance information. An important facet of this could be technical military coordination during crises. This effort could also include opening countries for the transit of various military and nonmilitary cargos. All of these points have been achieved in one way or another through bilateral ties between NATO and CSTO member states.

- Collaborating in the fight against WMD proliferation, which is one of NATO's top priorities;
- Collaborating in the fight against organized crime, drug trafficking, illegal migration, arms trading, and human trafficking;
- Providing assistance in response to natural and manmade disasters. This could include joint rescue operations, providing financial,

technical, and informational support, and in forecasting future disasters and their consequences.

Prospects for the Future Development of the CSTO

In the aftermath of the unsuccessful Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) summit, held in Moscow in June 2006, several regional organizations moved to take-over some of the CIS's responsibilities. These include the Eurasian Economic Community (EurAsEC), which is responsible for economic integration; the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO); and the CSTO. Among the legacies of the CIS are more than 30 model laws regarding defense and security which were passed by the CIS Inter-parliamentary Assembly (IPA) over the past ten years. The sensible course of action would be to activate this legislation within the CSTO using parliamentarians from the defense and security commissions of the seven member states, eventually creating a permanent committee or subcommittee based on the IPA's Permanent Commission on Defense and Security. This inter-parliamentary committee could go through all of the CIS legislation on defense and security and pick the laws that would be most useful for passage in six of the member states.

The CSTO will inevitably have to create a single security zone as well as a common legal framework among the CSTO member states. In this regard, the consolidation of legislative bodies in the area of military affairs would most logically be based on the model laws that were passed by the IPA. Additionally, it should be noted that some of the more useful laws on military and technical cooperation will not come from the IPA but rather from the EurAsEC economic bloc. One should also keep in mind that the CSTO has already started to intervene in parliamentary and legislative processes, for example when it enacted declarations regarding the passage of the CFE.

The CSTO also passed the "Declaration on Proposed Policy towards the Nonproliferation of WMDs," where it proposed to cooperate with member states of the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI). However, it would also be useful to hold talks with the G-8's Global Partnership Initiative about its nonproliferation program. The program, which was introduced during the G-8 summit in Canada, is already halfway near completion with US\$20 billion in commitments – a significant portion of which has yet to be turned into concrete contracts. This is to say that Russia and the other CIS countries have not been able to absorb and employ the promised US\$20 billion fast enough. The CSTO could discuss and develop its own regional program to diminish threats related to WMD proliferation and connect it to the global program. This would

improve the CSTO's image as an organization that actively seeks to control new threats.

During a recent summit between the EU and the U.S., the two sides passed the "Declaration on Cooperation on Nonproliferation and Fighting Terrorism," as well as the "Joint EU-U.S. Program on the Nonproliferation of WMDs." It makes sense to compare the positions of the EU and the CSTO regarding nonproliferation and the fight against nuclear terrorism as outlined in these two documents.

The EU also passed a resolution on cooperation in the global fight against piracy and contraband. It might be possible to increase cooperation between the CSTO and the EU in "soft security" by identifying common concerns and approaches among these problems. There is also a €6 million (\$US7.8 million) joint assistance project underway between Ukraine and the EU to destroy anti-infantry mines. Taking into account the CSTO's role in solving the mine problem in Central Asia, the CSTO could propose that the EU set up an analogous EU-CSTO joint project in that region as well.

In conclusion, the CSTO is evolving into the primary structure through which the NIS might undergo politico-military integration. The CSTO is performing increasingly important functions for the collective security of the post-Soviet space. Such a trend will likely continue into the long term future.

Russia's Opposition to Georgia's Quest for NATO Membership

*Kakha Jibladze**

Over the past year, Tbilisi has made serious strides towards its long stated goal of joining NATO. However, Moscow has made it clear that Russia will not tolerate a NATO member state in its own “near abroad.” As Georgia has been moving closer towards NATO membership, its relationship with Russia has rapidly deteriorated. Although relations between the two estranged neighbors are slowly improving, analysts believe that as long as Tbilisi pursues NATO membership it will continue to face increasingly hostile attitudes from Moscow. The Kremlin's deep displeasure with Tbilisi over this issue also signifies Georgia's growing detachment from its Soviet past and Russian influence.

Russia's Opposition to Georgia's Overtures to NATO

Moscow opposes NATO's eastward expansion because it weakens Russia's already tenacious grip on its “near abroad.” According to statements by former Russian Defense Minister Sergei Ivanov, while Georgia has the “sovereign right” to join the North Atlantic alliance, Russia is doing everything in its power to “protect” its borders from the potential enemy that Georgia would become should it join. “We are actively developing two alpine brigades with the latest equipment. Both brigades will be stationed right by the border with Georgia...Therefore, Russian security will not suffer if Georgia joins NATO,” Ivanov told journalists on September 22, 2006.¹

The Russian reaction to NATO expansion as a security risk is a reflection of its Cold War reflexes. In fact, Russia has maintained an uneasy relationship with the military Alliance over the past two decades. NATO, on its part, has been pursuing a policy of remolding itself into an alliance that is built around shared ideals, not shared arsenals. However, Russians and most Georgians today continue to identify NATO

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¹ “Georgia's NATO Accession No Threat to Russia – Ivanov,” *RIA Novosti*, September 22 2006.

primarily as a military organization. In particular, Georgians think that Alliance membership will bring an end to Russian dominance in the country and a resolution of the Abkhaz and South Ossetian conflicts.

According to Levan Nikoleishvili, the newly appointed Georgian First Deputy Defense Minister, NATO membership is part and parcel of being associated with the “civilized world.” In an interview with the BBC, Nikoleishvili noted that while national security is still the main goal in the Georgia-NATO relationship, the Alliance would also foster development of strong democratic institutions.²

Georgian officials handling the issue of NATO membership complain that while Moscow obviously does not want them to proceed with their relationship with the Alliance, no alternative option is offered. The Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) format proved to have little benefits for Georgia; today the country is the only CIS member that is subject to the Russian visa regime. Moreover, following recent political showdowns between both governments, the Russian Foreign Ministry significantly reduced the number of visas granted to the Georgian citizens.

The biggest bone of contention between the two is Russia’s perceived role in the frozen conflicts in Abkhazia and South Ossetia. Tbilisi has long accused Moscow of antagonizing the conflicts, an accusation Moscow has thus far ignored. In addition to ignoring Georgia’s attempts to internationalize the peacekeeping process, Russia has issued Russian citizenship to thousands of ethnic Abkhaz and South Ossetians living in the conflict zones.

The Georgian government is seeking security from NATO in an effort to temper Russian influence in Abkhazia and South Ossetia. According to Tbilisi, the conflicts have been frozen for over a decade and could be easily resolved once Russian peacekeeping officers are removed from the conflict zone and when Moscow’s role as a mediator is reduced. While NATO has tried to distance itself from the conflicts and Brussels has stated that Georgia does not need to resolve the conflicts in order to be considered for membership, Tbilisi is nevertheless hoping that once it becomes part of the Alliance, it will be harder for Russia to influence the processes in Abkhazia and South Ossetia.

Tbilisi originally joined the CIS in an effort to resolve the conflicts in Abkhazia and South Ossetia. By proving its willingness to cooperate with Moscow, the Georgian government hoped that Russia would be more willing to help bring the conflicts to an end. Formally, the CIS’s Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) has an official status of a transnational security organization similar to NATO. While its stated purpose was to ensure the security of its members, Georgia, along with

² “Georgia’s Nato Bid Irks Russia,” *BBC News*, November 28 2006.

Uzbekistan³ and Azerbaijan, withdrew their memberships in 1999 because it was perceived that the organization was unable to realistically operationalize its stated objectives.

Georgia's Progress in NATO

Georgia's success in achieving NATO's Intensified Dialogue (ID) stage in September 2006 represented the highlight of President Mikhail Saakashvili's move towards the Alliance. However, days following that announcement Moscow imposed economic sanctions including a transportation blockade, suspension of diplomatic relations, and the aggressive deportation of ethnic Georgians from Russia. The formal explanation for the series of sanctions that Moscow imposed on Georgia was the arrest of four Russian military officers accused of espionage on September 27 and deported on October 2, 2006.

Despite NATO's repeated demands that Georgia make larger strides towards strengthening its democratic institutions such as the judicial system and improving on human rights issues, the Alliance has been quick to react to geopolitical developments. In spring 2006, Georgia had hoped to skip the ID stage and move right to the Membership Action Plan (MAP), which is an official step toward joining the Alliance. While the ID is a step forward for Georgia towards closer relations with NATO, there is no guarantee of subsequent membership. On the other hand the MAP stage would secure Georgia's eventual ascension to NATO as a full member.

Following an evaluation the NATO leadership called on the Georgian government to make greater strides in institution building, and noted that the planned parliamentary elections in October 2006 would be a litmus test on the country's progress towards democracy. However, there were noted irregularities in the elections process. Furthermore, President Saakashvili announced the date of elections one month earlier than it was expected, which meant that neither international observers nor opposition groups had time to prepare. Nonetheless, the ID was still granted.

To date, among all other countries currently under ID status, Georgia has one of the weakest track records in democracy building. Thus, while the ID is not the MAP, it is nonetheless a serious step towards ascension.

Russian-Georgian Tensions over Military Affairs

In May 2005, the Russian and Georgian governments reached a seemingly unprecedented breakthrough when the former agreed to

³ Uzbekistan rejoined the organization in summer 2005, following worsened relations with the U.S.

abandon its military bases. However, while Russia has followed through with the withdrawal, its importance in Abkhazia and South Ossetia has only grown stronger. Now with Georgia moving closer towards NATO membership, the Kremlin is threatening to pull its trump card and officially recognize the de facto territories.

Although the Duma has, in the past, repeatedly turned down requests to recognize either of the Abkhaz or South Ossetian separatist governments, it passed a resolution acknowledging the referendum for independence held in South Ossetia on November 12, 2006. In addition, the Duma called on the Russian government to heed the Abkhaz separatist government's request that Russia foster relations with the unrecognized territory. Part of the reason for such a call is the fact that thousands of Russian citizens live in Abkhazia and South Ossetia.

Over the past three years, the de facto governments in Abkhazia and South Ossetia have grown louder in their calls for national independence and Russia has been supporting them more openly. Although both the U.S. government and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) spoke out against the internationally unrecognized November 12, 2006 elections in the de facto territory of South Ossetia, the Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Grigory Karasin issued a statement publicly supporting the de facto leader Eduard Kokoiti on November 17. "[Karasin] wished him [Kokoity] success in his activities in the top-level position (...) Both sides have expressed the belief that the unanimous support of voters during the [presidential] elections and [independence] referendum will contribute to peace, stability and the economic rehabilitation in the Georgian-Ossetian conflict zone," Karasin stated.⁴ According to press reports, high-ranking Russian officials also attended the inauguration of the de facto leaders on November 25, 2006.

According to Russian President Vladimir Putin, the pending independence of Kosovo would lead to an international precedent for all unrecognized states seeking self-determination. While this strategy proves effective for Russia in its short-term interests, it might in the longer-term lead to domestic instability. For example, if Russia sets a precedent with Abkhazia and South Ossetia, there is nothing to stop Ingushetia, Chechnya, Dagestan or any of the other potential trouble spots within the Russian Federation from also declaring independent. Internationally, Moscow has little to fear aside from a few accusations in mass media outlets. Even if Russia receives Western criticism about its policies, these are generally not translated into any practical ramifications.

Russia's growing influence in the EU as a result of its oil and gas reserves averts Western criticism against its policies in the "near

⁴ "A Balancing Act," *Georgian Business Magazine*, December 6 2006.

abroad.” Both the EU and the U.S.’s passive responses to the Kremlin’s intimidation of Georgia proved that Moscow can get away with its hard line and confrontational politics. The recent G-8 summit in Moscow is a good example of such international dynamics when high ranking Georgian officials, including the president, spent weeks lobbying Western governments in an effort to garner support to condemn Russia’s heavy-handed treatment of Georgia at the 2006 G-8 summit. While the Georgian government assessed its own international campaign in a positive light, its efforts were in reality largely ignored by France, Great Britain, and the U.S. when Moscow’s support in the Israeli-Hezbollah war became essential for these states.

Following Georgia’s futile attempt to convince the G-8 to condemn Russia’s peacekeeping missions in Abkhazia and South Ossetia, diplomatic relations between both states significantly deteriorated. In addition, in July-August 2006, the Saakashvili government launched an effective offensive against a renegade former militia in the Kodori Gorge. This is a slice of mountain villages surrounded by the territory controlled by Sergei Bagapsh, the *de facto* leader of the Abkhaz separatist government. In response, Russia threatened to use military force to “maintain the peace” while Georgia insisted that it sent only policing forces and not armed troops.

A similar scenario was played out in October 2006 during the bi-annual discussion of the UN mission in Abkhazia. In order to secure Moscow’s support during the North Korea nuclear stand-off, Russian-Georgian relations gained less attention. In fact, the UN’s resolution on Abkhazia included harsh critiques against Georgia’s July 2006 operations in the Kodori Gorge.

Although Georgian high ranking officials have lobbied Western countries in order to drum up international support for its victimization by Russia, Georgia has nevertheless paid a high price for its open confrontation with Russia. In addition to the Russian embargo, which virtually closed the Russian market for Georgian exports, the country now pays the highest prices for gas among CIS members.

Georgia vs. Russian WTO Membership

Considering Georgia’s uneasy relations with Russia and its wish to join NATO, the country might well be overestimating its own strategic importance among its allies. According to some analysts, the battle for Russia’s admission to the World Trade Organization (WTO) is an example of Georgia pursuing a dangerous political path because of its own misconceptions about its own status. Although Georgia has publicly supported Russia’s application to the WTO, Tbilisi nonetheless demanded that Moscow fulfill its 2004 agreement to legalize all trade

coming through Abkhazia and South Ossetia in exchange for its vote of support.

While WTO membership proved to be the most effective and only lever for Georgia to use against Russia, the latter undeniably has greater geopolitical weight. If Georgia pursued its WTO demands for Russia, Moscow could quickly move to officially recognize Abkhazia and South Ossetia in retaliation. That would be a strong blow to Tbilisi. Moreover, the U.S. has already dropped its objections to Russia's ascension to the WTO, stating repeatedly that it is up to each country to determine its WTO criteria. Georgia's objection in this situation is close to being absurd since it clearly lacks the support of key allies on its usage of trade negotiation as leverage against Russia on the territorial disputes.

As noted in *The Economist* magazine: "America has dropped its objections to Russia's membership of the World Trade Organization—seemingly in return for support on Iran and North Korea."⁵ Today both the U.S. and the EU are interested in Russia's admission into the WTO as it could potentially strengthen eastern Ukraine's pro-Western stance as well. Kiev's struggle to firmly integrate with the West has faced growing obstacles from its large Russian minority; *The Economist* speculated that if Russia becomes part of the WTO, it will help the pro-Western factions within the Ukrainian government move back to their Orange Revolution policies.

This is not the first time Georgia's Western allies have worked contrary to its interests. In October 2006 Georgia lobbied for the UN Security Council to help lay the groundwork for introducing international troops in Abkhazia. However, after days of intense discussions, the U.S. agreed to a decidedly pro-Russian version of the resolution that would only provide CIS troops. This decision came after Moscow agreed to back Washington in its policy toward North Korea and Iran.

Another recent example of Georgia's disappointment with the West came on January 22, 2007 when the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly was scheduled to discuss the massive deportation of ethnic Georgians and the on-going economic sanctions against Georgia. After President Putin announced his decision to restore diplomatic ties with Tbilisi, the Assembly dropped the debate and promised to revisit it in the following months, thus leaving Moscow plenty of time to "show its good intentions."

Conclusions

While the Kremlin's decision to restore diplomatic ties is a step toward better relations, as long as the two countries continue to pursue radically

⁵ "Georgia blocks Russia's WTO entry," *The Economist*, November 23 2006.

different political orientations, it will be difficult to maintain any productive bilateralism. As Georgia continues to build up support for NATO membership in Europe, it faces serious obstacles from Russia. While Georgia itself has much to do in the way of institutional reform, without more direct support from the NATO members, it could be difficult to outmaneuver Moscow's continued influence over Georgia's two weakest areas – the conflicts in Abkhazia and South Ossetia.

New Silk Road Paper

Sino-Japanese Relations: Conflict Management and Resolution

Eric Teo Chu Cheow

SILK ROAD PAPER
December 2006



Central Asia- Caucasus Institute
Silk Road Studies Program

Sino-Japanese Relations: Conflict Management and Resolution

By Eric Teo Chu Cheow

This Silk Road Paper analyzes Sino-Japanese Relations from a conflict management perspective. The paper is available from the offices of the Joint Center cited on the inside cover of this issue, or freely downloadable in PDF format from www.silkroadstudies.org.

Civil-Military Relations and the 2007 Elections in Pakistan: Impact on the Regional Security Environment

Talat Masood^{1}*

Besides being located in the most disturbed region of the world, Pakistan is also faced with several internal threats. On its western border is Afghanistan which in the last thirty years has been devastated by a series of geo-political and strategic events. First it was the Soviet occupation that led to the launching of the “Jihad” fully supported by the U.S., Saudi Arabia, China and a large number of western countries. Then soon after the events of 9/11, the U.S. invaded Afghanistan in 2001. Afghanistan to date continues to be under foreign occupation and caught in an internecine fight among its various factions. The greatest threat to Pakistan from Afghanistan is its instability caused by the upsurge of Taliban forces in the South and South Western provinces bordering Pakistan, where they virtually control and administer the area. Current U.S. and NATO counter insurgency operations in Afghanistan have a spill over effect on Pakistan. Many Taliban and other militant groups cross over into Pakistan’s tribal belt (FATA), taking advantage of their historical, cultural, tribal and religious linkages despite the government’s efforts to prevent it. Pakistan has deployed nearly 80,000 troops on its western border and lost nearly 700 of its soldiers fighting this insurgency.

On the Southwestern of Pakistan is Iran, which is locked in a dangerous nuclear standoff with the U.S. and is the focus of new American deployments causing deep anxiety in the region. Islamabad enjoys close relations with the U.S. and considers its support vital for its own security and economic development. On the other hand, it has deep historical, cultural and religious ties with Iran. In the event of a U.S. attack on Iran, Pakistan will find itself in a very difficult situation.

Moreover, due to geographical proximity, pan-Islamic bonds and cultural ties, the fast deteriorating situation in Iraq and open ended Israeli-Palestinian conflict has strong reverberations on Pakistan. Unfortunately, when a superpower makes a mistake, the negative foot

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print is global and for adventures in the Gulf or the Middle East, Pakistan is one of those countries that are affected the most.

The security environment between India and Pakistan has improved significantly, considering how these two nuclear rivals had their armies eye-ball each other nearly four years ago. Many significant confidence building measures have been agreed, but progress on substantive issues of Kashmir and even much less complex ones as Siachen and Sir Creek remains disappointing, which makes the peace process somewhat tenuous.

The internal security situation in Pakistan is also fairly troublesome. Nationalist forces in Baluchistan are up in arms against the state and there is an ongoing low intensity insurgency. The impact of lawlessness and absence of state structures in South and Southwestern parts of Afghanistan is posing a serious challenge to the stability of the Pakistan's tribal belt and giving rise to the growing influence of the Taliban especially in North and South Waziristan. Pakistan is being continuously accused by U.S. and NATO forces for "not doing enough" whereas Islamabad maintains that the West scapegoats its failures and does not appreciate Pakistan's military and political limitations. This is creating friction and mistrust with the U.S. and Hamid Karzai's government in Afghanistan. Military action in the tribal belt has given rise to retaliatory acts of violence by militants in several parts of Pakistan.

General Elections in Pakistan

In this regional and domestic environment, the question arises as to what will be the possible impact and outcome of the 2007 general elections on the regional security environment.

As a matter of broad principle and empirical experience, free and fair elections have a salutary affect on turbulent societies, unifies a country to face external threats, and facilitates resolution of internal strife and insurgencies. Much would therefore depend on how the elections are conducted as there is a high level of distrust about the fairness of government's conduct. Political parties remain apprehensive about the impartiality of the present government and if elections are manipulated, it could have a destabilizing effect. Already voices are being raised against the government for pre-poll rigging. If this continues, tension between the political parties and military will worsen and the civil-military divide will sharpen.

Experience has shown that even when civilian governments are in place, the covert role of the military has led to an undermining of the elected governments and created economic hardships and political instability. There is also talk of elections being postponed on the pretext

of the fast deteriorating regional situation. It is not as yet clear if the government is seriously considering this as an option or using it merely as a ploy to confuse the already weak opposition.

Regrettably, there is insufficient realization among the major stakeholders, especially the military, that it has to start relinquishing its role in politics to allow normal democratic evolution in Pakistan. A country's stability is overwhelmingly determined by the type of political structure and political authority that it has. Due to the prolonged involvement of the armed forces, the political parties and institutions in Pakistan are weakened and demoralized. Equally damaging has been the impact on judiciary and civil society. Consequently, the military has become the most dominating and powerful institution overshadowing every other organ of the state and uses that as the rationale for perpetuating its hold on power. It thus becomes a circular self serving logic that the state would collapse if the army were to abandon power "to the emaciated, corrupt inefficient political parties". In fact, long term involvement of the military in civilian affairs will have an equally deleterious effect on its professional competence and institutional cohesion.

A crisis of political legitimacy faces the current government. President Musharraf's exclusion of the two main political leaders from the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and Pakistan Muslim League (PML) from the political process has further undermined his legitimacy and has been one of the major reasons for the vacuum being filled by religious parties. The future of Pakistan would be at stake if President Pervez Musharraf would not give space to civilian institutions and processes. There is no doubt that a significant number of people, especially businessmen and liberals find Musharraf acceptable and even preferable to the exiled leadership; yet they disapprove of the way he is perpetuating the hold of the military and his disrespect for institutions. President Musharraf's insistence of deciding for himself to remain President and army chief has led to a serious standoff as the opposition parties do not accept its legitimacy. For President Musharraf to acquire true legitimacy, he will have to relinquish his right to appoint the Chief of Army Staff. Doing so could also provide an opportunity for transiting to a stable democracy. If the military insists on retaining the status-quo and gives scant space to genuine political parties and their leaders, the political downward slide would continue.

Undoubtedly, there are other factors that have effected the democratic political situation in Pakistan such as the socioeconomic development, ethnic and sectarian tensions and relations with neighbors.

Governance has suffered from major structural weaknesses in Pakistan's democratic institutions and this in turn has promoted a culture of disrespect for the rule of law at the national, provincial and district

level. The authoritarian attitude of political leaders, lack of democratic culture within political parties, and the corrupt practices and disregard to developing and implementing issues that directly affect the lives of the people, have had a very negative effect on the development of democracy.

High minded objectives, recently spelled out in the “Charter of Democracy”, signed in 2006 between the two exiled leaders of the main political parties—PPP and Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) (PML-N), could be termed as a positive development. But the real question remains: are the political parties prepared to reconcile their differences, abandon their selfish feudal culture and genuinely work for a better future for the people of Pakistan?

In the final analysis, key to stabilizing Pakistan lies in developing political institutions that promote merit based society which shuns political polarization, religious bigotry, ethnic and sectarian factionalism and incorporates checks and balances. Functional democracy is also critical for economic development, growth of civil society, as well as regional harmony and stability.

Three Possible Scenarios

With several variables, it is difficult to project the outcome of the forthcoming elections in 2007 but for the purpose of analyses, three possible scenarios will be examined, followed by discussions on how the different outcomes would impact on the security environment. The three scenarios are: (1) a parliament with mainstream political parties in majority, (2) that the religious and centre right parties form a coalition, (3) a hung parliament.

A parliament with mainstream political parties in majority. Mainstream political parties are by and large in favor of the peace process with India. Relations with India are therefore likely to improve incrementally. They would uphold the existing agreements and take steps to further deepen and expand them in scope and continue to pursue the resolution of Kashmir and other issues. The Indian government should find it more comfortable working with PPP or PML dominated civilian government and this should also give greater legitimacy and durability to the relationship. However, from past experience it could also be said that they would be less sure of the validity of an agreement with any civilian government unless it is fully endorsed and backed by the military leadership.

Dealing with Iran would be relatively easier for a mainstream-led civilian government. The military regimes in Pakistan have always been suspect in the eyes of the Iran’s religious leadership for being too U.S. oriented. Pakistan’s initiative in holding a conference of foreign ministers

in March 2007, from seven Muslim countries, excluding Iran has created further doubts in the Iranian top leadership about Pakistan's intentions. Nonetheless, an attack on Iran would pose a serious challenge for any Pakistani government. There could be tough demands from the U.S. for the use of Pakistan's territory and in the event of a refusal, they could flout Pakistan's decision and violate air space or its territory. An attack on Iran would give rise to a steep increase in anti-U.S. and anti-Western feeling, which would be difficult for any government to contain.

If the PPP-led coalition assumes power they would continue to support the U.S. and Afghan government's efforts at curbing the influence of the Taliban in the tribal region and would probably use nationalist elements to counter Taliban politically.

For the Baluchis, a civilian political government dominated by mainstream political parties would be preferable as it would engage with nationalist elements and Baluchi leaders would feel more at ease dealing with political forces than military and intelligence agencies. Influence of religious parties in Baluchistan has grown ever since 1999, due to the political vacuum created by the policies of the present government. Nationalist and secular parties of Baluchistan had a rough deal and remained suppressed. With the advent of a civilian government, they will get an opportunity to reassert themselves. Incidence of violence and acts of sabotage are likely to subside over a period. Once Baluchis are engaged in the political process, calls for greater autonomy or independence could diminish if the incoming civilian government would allow Baluchis and Pashtuns manage their provincial and local affairs. By giving them sense of participation, Baluchis could be won over. Clearly, inter-provincial harmony and a stable Baluchistan is a key requisite for sustained development and social cohesion of Pakistan. The trilateral Iran-Pakistan-India gas pipeline could become a more feasible and attractive proposition if peace would return to Baluchistan. Similarly, misunderstandings about the development of the Gwadar port among the Baluchi nationalist elements would be relatively easier for a civilian government to handle. Moreover, the growing influence of Taliban and reactionary orthodox forces can be countered politically by mainstream and regional nationalist parties more effectively.

Allowing political parties to operate in the tribal belt could assist in countervailing the influence of Taliban and other militant elements. Victory of mainstream political parties in the provinces of Baluchistan and NWFP would be helpful in reversing the growing trend of radicalism and Talibanization.

Tribal areas have remained neglected for decades and Afghan Jihad and events after 9/11 have decimated the administrative, social and economic structure of that area. Involving tribal areas in the political and

economic process and integrating it with the rest of the country will pose the greatest challenge for any future government.

The U.S. will in all likelihood continue to work closely with Pakistan's civilian government in its fight against Taliban and other militant groups. Pressure from U.S. and other Western countries will remain on Islamabad as long as Afghanistan and the tribal belt remain unstable. The Pentagon will maintain good relations with Pakistan's military as Washington cannot abandon interests in Pakistan due to its critical geo-strategic position in the region. Washington also acknowledges Pakistan's role within the Islamic world and hopefully this should enhance with the formation of a civilian democratic government.

The religious and centre right parties form a coalition. Religious and rightist parties are more rigid with respect to the Kashmir issue. It is, however, possible that they may suitably adjust their policy of supporting the insurgency once in power. India would remain distrustful and the peace process would receive a set back. A politico-religious grouping favoring "Jihad" in Kashmir could invite a serious response not only from India but from most of the European countries and the U.S..

Religious right would also be sympathetic and supportive of the Taliban. This can create serious misgivings in the West especially in the U.S.. Pakistan will come under extreme pressure both at the regional and global level. India will step up its activity in Afghanistan and U.S. interference in the tribal belt would intensify. They would be emboldened to take direct action on the pretext of sanctuaries and violate Pakistan's territorial space more frequently and with less sensitivity.

The West would also become concerned about Pakistan's nuclear capability, if religious parties assume power. Although the military will continue to be the custodian of nuclear assets and to a large extent, of its policy, the U.S. would still remain very uneasy. Safety and security of nuclear assets will be the source of anxiety for them.

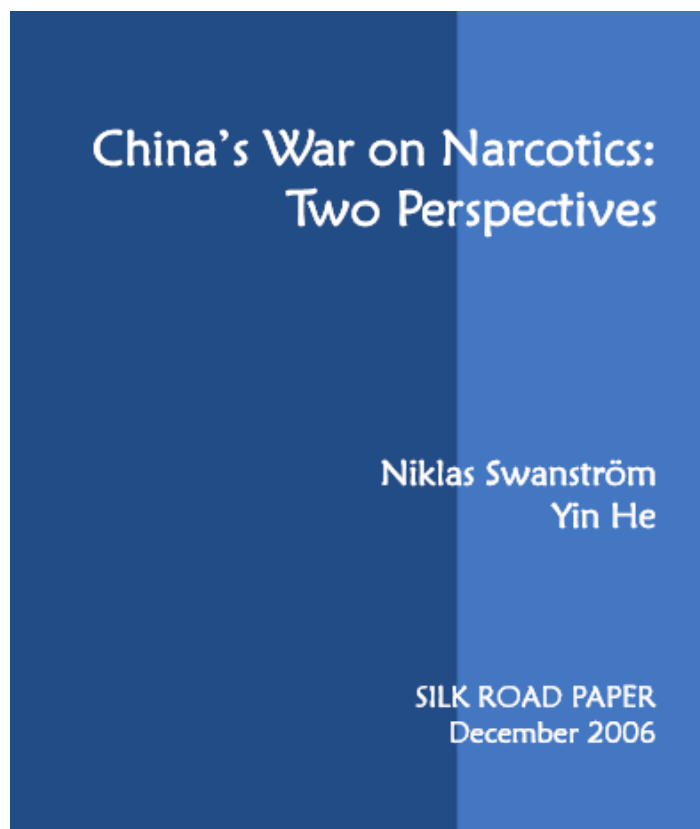
The Chinese have always maintained very good relations with both civilian and military governments of Pakistan and have followed a policy of non-interference in domestic politics. The strategic and economic content of the relationship has expanded in scope and depth during both these periods. They are likely to pursue the same path, notwithstanding, that they would be uneasy if a religious dominated group came into power.


Hung parliament. Much would depend on the nature of the coalition, but a government with a weak political base and divergent interests is likely to be more amenable in its foreign and defense policy to the military viewpoint. Present policies would probably continue but the

peace process with India could slow down and U.S. pressure to “do more” on the war on terror would be intensified.

In view of the past and present history of dominance of the military in national affairs, it is not clear as to what would be the attitude of the military towards political parties after the elections. Will they accept the supremacy of the civil government and follow faithfully the foreign and defense policy formulated by them? Of course, all democratic governments seek professional advice from the military leaders, but are eventually dictated by their own judgment. Going by the past and taking an objective assessment of reality it can be safely assumed that the next civilian government, irrespective of its political inclinations, will rely heavily on the advice of the military. However, two distinct advantages will accrue as a consequence of having a civilian government. Policies pursued in respect of Afghanistan, India and the Middle East will have broader public support and acceptance, even if in substance these are not very different from the present and based on input from the armed forces. Prospects of a more peaceful domestic environment will also be brighter, which should have a salutary impact on the regional security environment.

New Silk Road Paper



 *Central Asia- Caucasus Institute*
Silk Road Studies Program

China's War on Narcotics: Two Perspectives

By Niklas Swanström and Yin He

This 52-page Silk Road Paper analyzes China's growing narcotics problem and presents two perspectives on this. Particular attention is given to the responses from the Chinese government and China's role as a consumer, producer, and transit state. The paper is available from the offices of the Joint Center cited on the inside cover of this issue, or freely downloadable in PDF format from www.silkroadstudies.org.

International Factors Stopping Security Sector Reform: The Uzbek Case

Peter K. Forster*

Creating civil society, according to Robert Dahl, requires participatory government that allows for the expression of responsible opposing views. Implied within this simplistic definition is a security sector that is depoliticized and under democratic control. Failure to achieve this prerequisite means progress towards civil society is in jeopardy. In most of the post-Soviet space, reform of security sector remains an enigma that is highly susceptible to shifts in geopolitics. Recent events in Uzbekistan are indicative of the mercurial nature of security sector reform in non-democratic societies.

In 2003, I wrote an article cautioning the U.S. to be wary of a relationship that was too invested in Uzbekistan's Islam Karimov government. Like the Shah of Iran's regime in the 1970s', the Karimov regime had become increasingly separated from Uzbek society. The corresponding reliance on the use of force to control created a symbiotic relationship between the regime and the security forces as each saw the other as critical to maintaining its power.¹ Most fundamentally, the Ministry of Interior (MoI) and *Sluzhba Natsionalnor Bezopasnosti* (National Security Service (SNB)), maintaining their KGB legacy, are law enforcement organizations that are used as a political entity to protect the regime, not society.² However, the American relationship with MoD has been different. Enhanced interaction between the Uzbek and U.S. militaries after 9/11 offered a ray of hope for reform. According to anonymous Pentagon sources at the time, then Defense Minister Kadyr Gulyamov "got it."³ The Defense Minister promoted professionalization and individual initiative among the Army's NCO

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¹ Peter K. Forster, "The Terrorist Threat and Security Sector Reform in Central Asia: The Uzbek Case," *Facing the Terrorist Challenge – Central Asia's Role in Regional and International Cooperation*, National Defense Academy Vienna and the Geneva Center for the Democratic Control of the Armed Forces, Geneva, April 2005, p. 253.

² International Crisis Group Asia, *Central Asia: The Politics of Police Reform* International Crisis Group Asia Report No. 42, December 10 2002, p.2.

³ Author interview with anonymous Department of Defense officials, December 18 2006.

and officer corps. With American encouragement, he had positioned the Minister of Defense (MoD) as the manager for national security relationships including control of the “purse strings.” And while integrating the MoD, SNB, and the MoI under a joint staff, he made progress in separating military training from other more recalcitrant parts of the security apparatus. Gulyamov envisioned the MoD as a leader in social reform.⁴ However, the state’s authoritarian legacy made it difficult to institutionalize reforms. Furthermore, reforms remain highly susceptible to fluctuating domestic and geopolitical circumstances that convince the elites to consistently revert to the familiar status quo. Unfortunately, Gulyamov’s reforms and ultimately the Defense Minister himself succumbed to this convergence of events that stymied reform and increased the regime’s reliance on its security sector.

Security Sector Individual and Corporate Interests

Understanding the security sector’s structure is important to recognizing its dynamics. The Uzbek security system is primarily comprised of the MoD, the MoI, and the SNB. Additional agencies such as the border guards and customs are theoretically independent but in practice remain under the command of the SNB. For example, the head of the border guards typically will be the fourth or fifth ranking officer in the SNB and will return to the SNB after completing his duty.⁵ Drawing upon its Soviet legacy, each ministry commands armed units that allow the creation independent fiefdoms. While these circumstances create competition among power ministries, a hierarchy remains. The SNB’s intelligence gathering on elites and financial resources makes it a guiding force.⁶ Uzbekistan’s military is the most capable in Central Asia and thus provides its minister with influence. Notwithstanding, the officer corps is closely tied to the regime. Thus, even at the height of his influence, Minister Gulyamov was not a successor but was assumed to be a behind scenes power broker who would influence succession.⁷ The MoI is different story. Until his removal in December 2005, the MoI was headed by Zohirjon Almatov. As a member of Karimov’s Samarqand clan, he was considered to be on the short list of possible successor and elevated the prestige of the MoI. Moreover, unlike the MoD, MoI loyalty is to be closely tied to its leadership perhaps at the expense of other ruling elites. Organizationally, the MoI tends to reflect the characteristics of its leadership.⁸

⁴ Forster, “The Terrorist Threat”, p.256.

⁵ Author interview with anonymous Department of Defense officials, October 2004.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

The decision by MoI forces to fire on the crowd in Andijan in May 2005 to an extent altered the dynamic among Uzbekistan's security sector. In the aftermath of Andijan, Karimov decided to re-organize the security sector. Perhaps provoked partially by increased international pressure, it is more likely that the decision was prompted by concerns around regime and personal security. Karimov took the opportunity to reduce inter-service rivalry and ensure closer ties between the regime and the security forces by increasing the security sector's individual and corporate benefits and consolidating power across the security sector. All MoI forces, except for a special assignment battalion, were re-assigned to the MoD and the SNB.⁹ The previously untouchable Almatov, who faced neither the press nor other government officials in response to accusations of use of terror and human rights abuses, was removed allegedly due to health problem. He was replaced as Minister by Bahodir Matlubov, a former SNB officer. In 2006, Gulyamov also was replaced by a confidant of Karimov, Ruslan Mirzayev. Throughout these changes, the one consistent was Colonel General Rustam Inoyatov who remained the head of the SNB. Karimov's re-structuring enhanced personal loyalty within the security sector. It also represented a consolidation of power in his hands by removing potentially divisive figures who either had become too powerful or whose reforms potentially threatened to increase the independence of the officer corps. Third, it strengthened the role of the SNB as the premier security unit. Finally, a distribution of commodity revenues to the security personnel served the sector's individual interests, thus tying it more closely to the regime.¹⁰

The second change was Karimov's move away from the U.S.. While Andijan undeniably accelerated the rupturing of relations between Karimov and the U.S., the actual erosion started prior to and probably would have continued to deteriorate in the absence of Andijan. The erosion was a result of Karimov's concern for security and a growing fatigue in Washington over the lack of substantive reforms in Tashkent. Facing increasing illegitimacy at home, Karimov primary concern is his regime's security. As Washington and Tashkent diverged over establishing civil society in Uzbekistan, Karimov decided rapprochement with Russia, in particular, and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), more generally, better served his interests. Both Moscow and Beijing, the main protagonist of the SCO, focus on security and economic factors and are prepared to ignore principles such as the protection of human rights and progress towards democratization. Furthermore, Russia remains the primary provider of spare parts for Uzbek military equipment and training destination for Uzbek officers. Third and not unimportantly, members of the security sector elite,

⁹ *Central Asia News*, June 6 2005.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

particularly the MoI, favored closer ties with Russia.¹¹ Therefore, pursuing closer Russian ties allowed Karimov to serve the security sector's corporate interests.

American Fatigue Influencing the Security Sector

The second part of the collapse in relations with the U.S. resulted from American disillusionment and fatigue. "Fatigue" thrives on the failure to achieve primary objectives combined with other global concerns that deflect attention. Recent events indicate that it has ushered in the third phase of U.S. policy towards Central Asia since the demise of the Soviet Union. Since the Status of Force Agreement in 2001 and the Strategic Partnership of 2002, it has become increasingly apparent that Tashkent had little interest in making real progress towards implementing reforms in human rights, expanding democratization programs, or improving transparency.¹² Moreover, the current Bush Administration's policy shift to a more ideological perspective that espouses building democracy has increased the pressure on the Administration to hold Uzbekistan accountable for its dismal human rights record. Ultimately, the human rights issue trumped the more realist goals of security and economic interests. When the State Department was unable to certify Uzbekistan's progress towards societal reform, American assistance declined. There has been no Foreign Military Financing or International Military Education Training assistance since 2004 and Freedom Support Act funding declined by nearly 50 percent between 2005 and 2006.¹³ Another indicator of declining interest was the collapse of joint exercises. In 2006, only three of 30 planned exercises were actually executed and only 10 events were planned for 2007.¹⁴

The emergence of a reformed Georgian military demonstrates the value of continued interaction as a component of reform. In Uzbekistan, Gulyamov's reforms were of a "leavening" nature and sought to raise the bar on performance overtime.¹⁵ As the U.S. began to experience fatigue that eroded the connection between American trainers and their Uzbek counterparts, military to military interactions collapsed, and a

¹¹ John C.K. Daly, Kurt Meppen, Vladimir Socor, and S. Frederick Starr, *Anatomy of a Crisis: U.S.-Uzbekistan Relations 2001 - 2005*, (Washington, D.C.: The Jamestown Foundation, US Institute of Peace, and Central Asia-Caucasus Institute & Silk Road Studies Program, 2006), p. 31.

¹² Seth G. Jones, Olga Olikier, Peter Chalk, Christina C. Fair, Rollie Lal, and James Dobbins, *Securing Tyrants or Fostering Reform? US Internal Security Assistance to Repressive and Transitioning Regimes* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND 2006), p. 50.

¹³ Author interview with anonymous Department of Defense officials, January 5, 2007.

¹⁴ Author interview with anonymous Department of Defense officials December 18, 2006.

¹⁵ Daly, Meppen, Socor, and Starr, *Anatomy of a Crisis*; Author interview with anonymous Department of Defense officials, October 2004.

conservative military culture re-emerged stifling Gulyamov's reforms. "Leavening" also must be combined with exercises, training, and an overall change in military and ultimately security sector culture to be effective. It requires continued unit-level engagement and cross-unit professional development opportunities that expose an increasing number of individuals to transformational concepts such as, for example, respect for human rights or individual innovation. This "leavening" process promotes change led by those individuals who embrace the new concepts and apply them in pursuing their current and future occupations. It also has limited impact beyond the original trainees unless maintained over a significant period of time.¹⁶ Although laudable for their goal, it would be erroneous to put too much emphasis on the potential success of Gulyamov's efforts. The reforms were restricted to military and thus did not impact the SNB and MoI, who are responsible for domestic suppression. Third, to be successful real reform needs to change the officer corps' individual benefits. Corruption opportunities, ranging from payments to place conscripts into more desirable units, to income from smuggling drugs, to arms to business ties with the appropriate elite or organized crime, present barriers to sustainable reform. Fourth, the cultural conditioning of authoritarianism makes Uzbekistan resistant to change. There is no elite independent of the government. All media is government controlled. There is constant suppression of dissent that results in political apathy and offers only Islamic extremism as a dissenting point of view. All of these factors impact the security sector, as well as society in general, and further inhibit reform.

Conclusions

So, do opportunities or options exist? Some have advocated identifying areas of mutual cooperation such anti-proliferation, counter-terrorism or anti-drug enforcement and use these areas to start a dialog.¹⁷ This approach has some viability in that it seeks to reform the conservative MoI and SNB and success here would result in fundamental change. Notwithstanding, due to the previously cited realities surrounding culture, elite ties, and benefits, success will be difficult to achieve. Renewed military to military interaction also might have a modicum of success in spite of Karimov's apparent lack of support for reforms in the armed forces. Cooperation in areas of mutual interest might re-ignite some re-evaluations.¹⁸ Washington tried the NGO route to reform and has been shut out. But ultimately, the U.S. must find appropriate common ground for engagement with Uzbekistan. Renewed incremental

¹⁶ Author interview with anonymous Department of Defense officials, October 2004.

¹⁷ Daly, Meppen, Socor, and Starr, *Anatomy of a Crisis*, p. 60.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

engagement with the security sector appears to be the most viable course. A regional approach focusing on strengthening ties with the new regime in Turkmenistan and Nazarbayev's government in Kazakhstan may serve the purpose of keeping the U.S. involved while pursuing a more low level relationship with Uzbekistan. Still, a regional approach does not permit Washington much influence in Uzbekistan proper. Failure to engage there will leave it on the outside looking in when Karimov leaves the scene and further reduce its ability to influence events in Central Asia.

Changes in Uzbekistan's Military Policy after the Andijan Events

*Rustam Burnashev and Irina Chernykh**

Starting in 2003, the Central Asian states' understanding of regional and national security underwent significant changes. Besides identifying religious radical organizations as the most pressing security threats, the Central Asian presidents became more cautious about secular opposition forces as well. Kyrgyzstan's March 24, 2005 Tulip Revolution had shown that popular protests organized by local civil society groups could potentially result in governmental collapse. More than any other Central Asian leader, the Uzbek president, Islam Karimov was keen on condemning Kyrgyzstan's political changes, especially after the massive upheaval in Andijan on May 12-13, 2005. Although Tashkent's official interpretation of the Andijan events blamed members of the banned Akramiya, a terrorist organization as defined in Uzbekistan, the Uzbek security structures underwent substantial changes that were aimed at preventing any possible repetitions of mass protests – be they organized by religious or secular groups. These changes were mostly linked to cadre reshuffling in the national security structures and hinted at Karimov's rival relations with the former Minister of Defense Zakirjon Almatov and head of the National Security Service Rustam Innoyatov.

Summary of Events in Andijan on May 12-13, 2005

On the night of May 12 to 13, 2005 a group of armed men attacked an inspection service of the Andijan oblast's internal affairs administration. Later that night the Ministry of Defense's 34th brigade was attacked as well. The assailants seized about 300 units of armaments, bullets and hand grenades. In the course of the attack, four policemen and two military servicemen were killed, 13 people were injured and one serviceman was taken hostage. This was followed by a storm assault of the Andijan prison with roughly 700 inmates, 500 of whom were released. In the early morning of May 13, the oblast's administration building was captured. The number of hostages by that time had reached 38 people.

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Local residents gathered in front of the administration building creating a chaotic crowd. People demanded the government and president's resignation and compelled the president to personally solve the situation. On the morning of May 13, Karimov arrived in Andijan. The square near the Andijan administration building had been surrounded by armed forces. On behalf of the president, then-Defense Minister Almatov and Head of Andijan oblast Saidullo Begaliyev were holding negotiations with the captors of the Andijan administration building and people who gathered at the square. Several exchanges of fire between the building capturers and security forces took place in the course of negotiations.

The captors' main demand was the release of people who were imprisoned for being accused of membership with Akramiya. Later that evening, when, according to the Uzbek government, negotiations had reached a stalemate, it was decided to forcefully storm the building. In response, people inside the building tried to escape the city. This led to numerous civilian deaths.¹ According to unofficial data, about 12,500 military servicemen were deployed during the Andijan events. Among them were the 17th air-assault brigade and a battalion of specialized operations from the Eastern military district; a brigade of rapid reaction forces and a separate battalion of Special Forces "Bars" of the Ministry of Interior's internal troops; and four separate units of Special Forces of the National Security Service.

There are several interpretations of the Andijan event. The official version presented by Karimov the following day on May 14 stated that a group of armed criminals (bandits), representing one of the strains of the banned Hizb-ut-Tahrir party, operated in Andijan. The president defined people who gathered at the Andijan square as relatives of the criminals who, according to him, deliberately sought to build a human shield. Thus, people who were involved in the Andijan events were officially defined by Tashkent as Islamists connected with international terrorist organizations. By pointing to a direct link between Islamist movements and associating them with international terrorism, Karimov tried to alleviate mounting international criticism to his forceful suppression of the Andijan riots.

According to Karimov, those who organized the skirmish were trying to implement the "Kyrgyz" scenario of power usurpation which he defined as coup d'état. Since Kyrgyzstan's pre-March 24 mass protests had erupted in places distant from the capital Bishkek, Karimov blamed mass gatherings in Andijan as an attempt to "create a chaos as it was in Osh and Jalalabad [in February-March 2005], where the state virtually did not do anything."²

¹ *Srednyaya Aziya: Andizhanskii scenario* [Central Asia: The Andijan Scenario] (Moscow: Evropa, 2005).

² *Ibid.*, p. 30.

The alternative interpretation that is mainly voiced by Uzbek opposition leaders postulates that although violent, the riots were instigated by people with secular and not religious interests. The Uzbek government, according to this interpretation, reacted to the events with excessive aggression in an attempt to avoid a “colored revolution.”³ Through his aggressive suppression of the demonstrations on May 13, Karimov sought to show that he will not give up his powers without fighting, thus confirming that he excludes any possibility of a revolution in Uzbekistan.

Yet another interpretation that is mainly espoused by Central Asian scholars points at an inter-clan struggle for state power. When analyzing clan identities in Uzbekistan, most authors indicate several distinct groups that compete to advance their positions in the government.⁴ These major groups include the Samarqand clan that embraces the Samarqand, Bakhara, Dzhizak and Navoi oblasts; the Tashkent clan including the capital's suburbs; the Ferghana clan that embraces the Ferghana, Andijan and Namanghan oblasts; and the Khorezm clan that includes the Khorezm oblasts and southern Karakalpakistan. Before the Andijan events, clan divisions and the composition of force institutions noticeably overlapped. The Ministry of Interior was predominantly occupied by the Samarqand group and headed by Almatov. The National Security Service was chaired by Rustam Innoyatov and included mostly the Tashkent group. Karimov himself is a representative of the Samarqand clan.

As some Central Asian observers contend, the confrontation between the ruling elites was primarily driven by rumors that Karimov will be bound to leave the political arena in the coming years due to his health problems. According to this point of view, the Andijan events could have been provoked by ruling elites as opposed to being a grassroots movement.⁵ Almatov and Innoyatov were particularly interested in conspiring against Karimov and carrying out a coup d'état.⁶ Both politicians were allegedly reacting to Karimov's radical cadre reshufflings in 2004, early 2005, and potentially in mid-2005.

³ For instance, Nigora Khidoyatova, “Dlya nas Rossiya – eto chernaya dyra” [For Us Russia – Is a Black Hole] in *Srednyaya Aziya* (fn.1), p. 107-113.

⁴ Anrey Grozin, “Nasledniki Tamerlana: Klanovaya sistema Uzbekistana” [Tamerlane's Successors: Uzbekistan's Clan System], Kub.kz, February 8 2006.

⁵ Atay Mekenov, “Andijan v traure. Revolucii v Uzbekistane ne budet. No budet novyi prezident” [Andijan is in mourning. No Revolution will take place in Uzbekistan. But there will be a new president], *Analitika.org*, May 19 2005.

⁶ A. Ulunyan, *Tsentrziya 2000/2005: Upushchennyi shans?* [Central Asia 2000/2005: A lost chance?] (Moscow: Russian Academy of Science, 2006), p. 213-218.

Post-Andijan Changes in Uzbekistan's Security Structures

By referring to the Andijan events as part of a broader fight against international terrorism, Karimov also had to sustain an image that the domestic situation remained stable. Unlike the late 1990s when Uzbekistan adopted new doctrinal documents in the security sphere following increasing instability in the country, no such changes were visible in the mid 2000s or after the Andijan events. Uzbekistan's military-political domain continued to function on the basis of documents adopted in the late 1990s and early 2000s. These documents include the National Security Concept endorsed in 1997, the Defense Doctrine of 2000,⁷ and a law "On Defense" in 2001.

According to Uzbekistan's Constitution and the law "On Defense," the president is the Commander-in-Chief of the National Armed Forces.⁸ The president is responsible for protecting the national sovereignty, security and territorial integrity of Uzbekistan. The president's powers in the security sector include announcing a state of emergency across the entire national territory or in sub regions in cases of external threat, mass skirmishes, large catastrophes or natural disasters and epidemics. The president can also announce a state of war in cases of external aggression on Uzbekistan or in line with international agreements on defense against aggression. The president appoints and dismisses the higher commander of the National Armed Forces, and he forms and heads the National Security Council. Starting in 2000, the president's administration includes a state adviser for the coordination of law enforcement agencies.

The Ministerial Cabinet heads the activity of the national administration in the defense sector and takes decisions in the recruitment and dismissal of servicemen reserves, organizes mobilization and demobilization, and supplies the Armed Forces with armaments and weapons. The Ministerial Cabinet also controls exports and imports of armaments and military facilities, strategic equipment, production and dual use technologies. In 2000 the functions of the Ministry of Defense and the Joint Headquarters were separated during a reformation of the National Armed Forces.

The Ministry of Defense controls the implementation of the nation policy in the defense sphere and military construction. It is responsible for widening international military cooperation, and organizing the recruitment and training of the Armed Forces personnel. The Ministry also controls military subunits and is responsible for providing them with military equipment and technical-material means. The Joint

⁷ The National Security Concept and Defense Doctrine of Uzbekistan are closed documents and were never published.

⁸ The Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan (Tashkent: Uzbekiston, 1992).

Headquarters of the Armed Forces represent a united command body that develops and implements decisions on armed defense of the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Uzbekistan. The Joint Headquarters fulfill strategic planning and implement combat deployment of forces. The administration of everyday activities of the Armed Forces is carried out by heads of ministries and state committees that are responsible for all military units.

Uzbekistan's military structures include divisions of the Ministry of Defense, combat units from the Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Emergencies, National Security Service, and the Customs Service. Starting in the early 2000s there were only slight changes in the amount of military personnel and servicemen in Uzbekistan's military structures. The Ministry of Defense includes ground troops, air assault, air borne, and Special Forces of the National Guard. Starting from 2001 the entire amount of military personnel under the ministry's control comprised 50,000 people.⁹ This includes 40,000 ground troops comprised of one armored, 10 motorized, one mountain, one air assault, one air borne, and four artillery brigades. Motorized brigades are located around Bukhara, Samarqand, Termez, Nukus, and Andijan. The air assault brigade is stationed in Ferghana city.

Although in the aftermath of the Andijan events the structure of Uzbekistan's Armed Forces remained the same, there were substantial changes in its functioning. The most visible change occurred during the Andijan upheaval, when the Ministry of Defense's divisions undertook police functions. This pointed to the fact that police forces were equipped and armed more substantially than the regular police. Furthermore, the Ministry of Interior's troops were abolished and its divisions and units that pertained to fighting terrorism and extremism were either put under the control of the Ministry of Defense or the National Security Service. Such a transformation of the security structures reflected an internal fight between the Minister of Interior Almatov and the Head of the National Security Service Innoyatov. According to the version that emphasizes the inter-clan rivalry as the main driving force behind the Andijan events, Innoyatov, a representative of the Tashkent group, clearly prevailed in this competition.

The Andijan events revealed that Karimov's regime is losing the support of some political elites. Therefore, shortly after the events the president ordered serious changes in the administration of power structures. The most striking restructuring included the dismissal of the Defense Minister Kadyr Gulyamov, Minister of Interior Zakirzhon Almatov, Head of the Joint Headquarters of the Armed Forces Ismail Ergashev, and Commander of the Eastern military district Kosimali

⁹ *The Military Balance 2006-2007* (London: Routledge, 2006).

Akhmedov. Although these dismissals did not change the formal system of administration in the security and military structures, they reflected serious shifts in power relations among regional elites representing their clans. Formally, the president, parliament, and the government carry out the general administration over the defense, armed forces, and other military formations. However, as a result of cadre reshufflings, the decision making process in the security sector became more centralized. Karimov felt increasing pressure from competing powerful clans that used the Andijan events in their attempts to strip the president of his powers.

Regional Cooperation

Among other domains of Uzbekistan's national security, the country's international relations experienced a major shift in the post-Andijan context. Uzbekistan's relations with the U.S. and the EU significantly deteriorated after Karimov rejected the international community's demand to conduct external investigations of the Andijan events. In the summer of 2005, Uzbekistan demanded that U.S. remove its K2 base from Karshi-Khanabad within 180 days.¹⁰ Uzbekistan took such a bold anti-U.S. move following the July 5, 2005 Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) summit in Astana.

Moreover, Uzbekistan rejoined the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) in June 2006. In 1999, when Uzbekistan withdrew from the Russian-led Collective Security Treaty (CST), Tashkent explained its decision by claiming that it did not wish to belong to a political military bloc, which the CST allegedly represented. However, after the Andijan events, both Uzbekistan and Russia found a common ground in despising "colored revolutions" and Western attempts to democratize the post-Soviet space.

Following the Andijan events, Tashkent also officially intensified cooperation with the SCO. Cooperation with the SCO allowed Uzbekistan to reactivate its regional politics and revoke any previous accusations of being a rather passive regional player. Joining both the CSTO and enhancing cooperation with the SCO allowed Uzbekistan to avoid falling under the influence of a single regional super-power. At the same time, Uzbekistan's cooperation with the SCO turned the organization into a symbolic counter-weight to U.S. influence in the Central Asian region. Despite Uzbekistan's worsened relations with the U.S. it continues its cooperation with NATO's "Partnership for Peace" program. Currently, divisions of 163 personnel from the German Armed Forces are stationed in the southern town of Termez in Uzbekistan to

¹⁰ Stephen Blank, "The Shanghai Cooperation Organization: Cracks behind the Façade," *Eurasia Insight*, June 21 2006; SCO's declaration, July 5 2005.

support Germany's participation in the UN International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan.

Conclusions

Since the mid 1990s Uzbekistan has been constructing its armed forces to secure not only national stability and protect its sovereignty, but also as a mechanism for securing regional leadership status. Fighting new international security threats such as political and religious extremism and terrorism became the primary goals for the Uzbek Armed Forces in the late 1990s. However, during the Andijan upheaval the Uzbek government carried out oppressive politics and actions rather than maintaining strictly defensive policies. The Andijan events entailed cadre reshuffling in the security structures and heated confrontation between various powerful regional clans. The existing balance between clans was disturbed especially with the dismissal of Almatov and Gulyamov, both from the Tashkent clan. Along with domestic changes, Uzbekistan's international cooperation preferences shifted towards the CSTO and the SCO – organizations which Karimov's regime had previously kept at arm's length.

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The Russian Defense Reform

Irina Isakova*

After years of neglect, the urgent necessity to reform the Russian defense sector turned into the Kremlin's central policy. The re-establishing of defense and security capabilities became an integral part of Moscow's foreign policy assertiveness and its independence from international actors. At the same time, since the defense reform influences 30-40 percent of voters, the reform has also become an important part of domestic policy in the wake of forthcoming parliamentary elections in 2007 and presidential elections in 2008.

On January 20, 2007 the annual conference of the Academy of Military Sciences in Moscow debated the parameters of a military doctrine to be adopted in the coming months and set goals for the armed forces development. At the conference, the Chief of Staff of the Russian Armed Forces Army General Yury Baluyevsky informed that the defense reform was "going to continue indefinitely."¹ The February 2007 departure of Sergei Ivanov as Minister of Defense and his appointment as First Vice Premier, responsible for the defense and civilian industries, added intrigue into the developments around the Russian Federation's security structures. The conference, as well as cadre reshuffling revealed the important characteristics of the current phase of the defense reform in Russia. Its defense system is currently undergoing substantial changes and there is an important link between the military reform and the development of the military industrial sector. In addition, the enhancement of the civilian control of military structures is part of the reform.

The Russian Government's Capability to Implement Defense Reform

Since 2003, the Russian military overcame a structural crisis and entered a stage of systemic development. The defense spending increased almost

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¹ <www.oborona.ru>, January 24 2007.

four fold since 2001 from 214 billion Roubles (US\$8 billion) to 821 billion Roubles (US\$32 billion) in 2007, and constitutes up to 2.6 to 2.8 percent of the country's GDP. The funds allocated to cover new procurement programs have been steadily increasing annually in order to replace old military equipment. In 2002, 80 billion Roubles (US\$3 billion), or less than 20 percent of the state military budget, were transferred to research and development (R&D), procurement programs. In 2007, 300 billion Roubles (US\$11 billion), or 40-44 percent of the state military budget will be used on the R&D, procurement and maintenance of the existing systems. The new type of weapons systems that will be used by the Russian Ministry of Defense (MoD) and security forces until 2020 have completed the stages of R&D and are already included in the balance assessments sheets. The long-term strategy of procurement is reflected in the new State Armaments Program for 2007-2015, adopted in December 2006.² As a result of these changes, Russia's armed forces will in 2007 receive almost double the amount of modern weapon systems as part of their equipment kit. Although officially Moscow does not intend to enter into an international arms race, it is nevertheless making an effort to overcome a substantial gap in tactical-technical characteristics of its armed forces. This gap emerged as result of funding deficits in the armed forces starting from the early 1990s until 2003-2004. The rearmament program primarily focuses on nuclear deterrence capabilities and general-purpose forces.

Substantial changes were introduced to the structural elements of the military over the last six years as a part of military reform. Among them, the MoD and the General Staff were reorganized and a new pattern of Command and Control arrangement was formed.³ The number of

² The new program determines new parameters, where 60 percent of the 5 trillion Roubles fund allocated till 2015, is to be spent on procurement of modern weapons systems and equipment, 20 percent is planned to be used for the maintenance and servicing and 20 percent on R&D; refer to: Sergei Ivanov, "Segodnia vooruzhennye sily nahodiztsia v svoei nailuchshei forme za vsiu postsovetskyiu istoriyu" [Today the Armed Forces are in the best form in whole post Soviet history], speech delivered at the State Duma hearings on February 7 2007, <www.mod.ru>.

³ The Russian military are undergoing radical changes in command and control procedures and structures. Present innovations in the Far Eastern Military District could be considered as a provisional phase testing the best mechanism of transferring defense command and control C&C from the military district structures to regional commands and strategic directions (areas) in 2010-15. The decision to change from the military district structure to the management of the joint service regional groupings depends on the results of the experiment, which is taking place in the Far East. If the results are positive the similar C&C arrangement is to be introduced in the western and southern strategic directions; refer to: Sergei Ivanov, "Segodnia vooruzhennye sily nahodiztsia v svoei nailuchshei forme za vsiu postsovetskyiu istoriyu"; "Minoborony Rossii neobhodimo 320 tysiach kvartir dlia formirovaniya fonda sluzhebного zhiliya" [MoD of Russia needs 320,000 apartments to form a housing fund for servicemen], *Interfax AVN*, January 18 2007.

servicemen in the armed forces was reduced⁴ and a new mobilization system shifting the emphasis from compulsory to contract conscription was introduced.⁵ In addition, counter-terrorist measures were initiated as part of a broader national security strategy.

Personnel Policy and the Support Network

The Russian MoD is determined to increase the number of contract-based conscripts by 2008-2010. The ministry is aiming to recruiting one third of new conscripts based on the compulsory system and two thirds on voluntary contracts. This decision is guided primarily by the deteriorating level of professionalism among conscripts and a general demographic shortage in the reservist pool. In order to increase professionalism among the armed forces, the MoD is gradually establishing comprehensive military education programs, better training facilities and indirect social benefits, especially to low housing mortgage for military personnel. These policies are aimed at attracting new recruits to serve in the military and at increasing the period of military service up to 20 years. In 2005-2007, the MoD considered tackling the following set of problems:

- The MoD introduced stricter rules to deal with those who refused to comply with the terms of contract-based military service. These rules are presently debated in the Russian parliament for the amendment of federal laws regulating terms of conscription;
- To promote contract-based military service, the MoD supported the creation of military centers at civilian universities and colleges;
- A new clause in the contract for those receiving military education was introduced specifying that if a serviceman decides to leave the armed forces and work in the civilian sector after graduation from a military college or institute, he or she must reimburse the full cost of his or her military education;
- As an indirect financial incentive to boost the prestige of contract-based military service, as well as to increase the number of serving officers, the MoD introduced a program of housing mortgage benefits. The benefits are given to those who joined the service in

⁴ There were 1,340,000 active servicemen in the Russian Federation's MoD in 2001. Presently there are 1,134,000 servicemen. The MoD is targeting a to trim the forces further to 1 million servicemen in the armed forces by 2011-15.

⁵ The drive to transfer the majority of services to contracts also affected the Ministry of Interior, Border Guards, and Special Forces.

or after 2005 and who plan to serve in the military for at least 20 years;⁶

- The army's contracted sergeants now have the status of intermediate personnel, ranking between soldiers and officers. They are responsible for training new conscripts. These changes were driven by the need to curb widespread hazing in military institutions, as well as to combat other types of crimes among military personnel. The contract-based soldiers' advanced status will also increase the level of professionalism in the military. Thus, these measures were not just a reaction to the public condemnation of incidents of hazing, but became a practical necessity for the defense reform implementation.

Simultaneously, measures were taken to enhance the current drafting system. The MoD primarily sought to upgrade the physical readiness of those to be called to join the armed forces. In 2005-2006, several new policies were tested in order to improve regular enrolment process. First of all, nine conditions for the military service deferral were stripped from the existing list. In parallel, in 2007 the MoD reduced the duration of military service from 24 months to 18 months; in 2008 it will be further reduced to just 12 months.

Second, the MoD introduced more liberal requirements for the alternative military service, reducing it from 36 months to 18 months. However, along with this approach, professional occupation in the police and fire fighting department were excluded from the list of an alternative military service. In January 2007, 51 conscripts out of a total 123,000 conscripts chose the alternative military service.⁷

Third, the MoD proposed a series of programs to increase levels of physical fitness and education among conscripts. This includes a system of rigorous medical screening of young men eligible for military service. Today, hospitals are required to send data on potential draftees' medical

⁶ In 2001, over 170,000 servicemen' families were in need of improving their housing conditions. From 2001, the Russian Federation's MoD received more than 140, 000 apartments. In comparison with 2001 the number of those waiting to receive permanent living accommodations was cut by a quarter. On January 1, 2007 the MoD had 223, 000 apartments registered on its budget as the official housing accommodation. It needs to receive an additional 320,000 housing facilities for official accommodation purposes as part of the housing program for 2007-2010. It means that the MoD has to add to its balance up to 40000 flats/ houses annually to meet the target goals of providing servicemen housing accommodation. The MoD increasingly hopes that in addition, over 30,000 new flat owners are to be added to the list of house owners through a savings and mortgage benefit system, refer to: Ivanov, "Segodnia vooruzhennye sily nahodiztsia v svoei nailuchshei forme za vsiu postsovetskyiu istoriyu."

⁷ "V voiska RF prizvany bolee 123 tysiach molodyh ludei; 51 vybral alternativnuiu sluzhbu" [123, 000 were conscripted to the RF Armed Forces; 51 chose the alternative service], *Itar Tass*, January 21 2007.

conditions to local military district commissariats throughout the year. Thus, the medical vetting of a draftee is to become much more difficult to deceive. However, this program raises concern of the NGOs and civil liberties organizations as it is feared that without the introduction of specific regulations to accompany the obligatory submission of the medical records, the rights of individual patients could be violated after the service period.

Finally, special military training and education courses are reinstated in secondary schools and sports clubs. The purpose is to enhance potential draftees' physical fitness, educational and level of professionalism. Special training programs are introduced in military commissariats for physical training of future conscripts. Today, the MoD is ready to provide pre-service training in 40 specialties needed in the military service. According to the available data, in 2007 the MoD is planning to transfer around 1.5-2.8 billion Roubles for pre-service training. With the introduction of a 12-month service, around 130,000-140,000 conscripts will need to enter pre-training centers. The MoD is also attempting to establish an additional link with defense industrial sites to widen employment opportunities among former conscripts.

The Defense Industry

The restructuring of Russia's military-defense industrial complex is considered an essential element of the defense reform. The creation of vertical integrated holdings in specialized sectors such as aviation, shipbuilding, IT, automobile and tank building, and radio electronics is central for restructuring the defense industry. These holding companies provide viable channels for private, including foreign, investments into the defense sector. Through mergers and acquisitions, about 40-45 integrated holding companies are expected to be created from the existing 579 state-owned enterprises and 428 shareholding firms within the next five to seven years. The reform primarily focuses on the economic sectors where state funding and business initiative could most effectively contribute to a rapid revival of the national industry and the defense industrial complex. Among the most recent examples of this trend are the deals with the United Aviation Corporation (UAC) and Electronic Systems Company (ESC). The UAC merged the majority of aviation firms and R&D bureaus. The production of the Russian Region Jet (RRJ) is its main civil project. The American Boeing Company is also actively involved in this project.

At the same time, cooperation between Russian and European companies in the production of RRJ has brought about increased European involvement in the UAC development. For instance, the Sukhoi project merged with the Alenia Aeronautica, affiliate of an Italian

company Finmeccanica that acquired up to 25 percent shares in Russian firms. Similar options are opening up to foreign companies in the creation of ESC, established on the basis of the *Oboronprom* (Defense Industry department), a branch structure of the *Rosoboronexport* (Russian Defense Export department). Dozens of other enterprises and holdings specializing in microelectronics, ultra high frequency, optic, photo and quantum electronics have already established ties with external investors. Thus, the defense reform implementation not only has political, defense or strategic aspects, but also presents wider economic opportunities for U.S. and European companies.

The increasing costs of the defense expenditures, especially in 2005-2006,⁸ propelled the Russian government and the presidential administration to introduce changes in procurement mechanisms, monitoring of defense orders implementation, and the division of functions and responsibilities between actors involved in the customer-producer chains. The following adjustments were made:

- In March 2006, the Military-Industrial Commission (MIC) was established as a permanently functioning institution within the Russian government. MIC's functions included centralizing and strengthening the operational management of the military industrial complex and acting as an institution for unified supply and equipment procurement for all power ministries, with the MoD having the leading role;
- The Federal Agency on Procurement of Weapons Systems, Military, and Specialized Equipment and Logistics will come into force by January 1, 2008.⁹ It will employ 1,100 staff with strictly

⁸ Several services began making analyses of spending effectiveness and accounting in the Ministry of Defense. The production costs of new weapons systems increased dramatically, for instance, the cost of Topol M during the production cycle increased three fold, far above all possible inflation rates. In addition, the monitoring authorities complained about MoD and General Staff officers moonlighting in the commercial sector. In violation of the legal regulations that define the military service, high-ranking officers of the RF MoD and GS were appointed to boards of directors of commercial organizations, such as UAC, company PVO Almaz-Antei, the producer of the S-300 surface-to-air missile system, etc. This was regarded as conflict of interests, refer to: Vladimir Ivanov, "Generalsky business front. Chinovniki Ministerstva Oborony prochno oseli v sovetah direktorov razlichnyh kompaniy" [Generals' business front. The Ministry of Defense officials are firmly installed in the boards of directors of different companies], *Nezavisimoye voennoye obozrenie*, February 2 2007; Viktor Litovkin, "Kommentariyi voennogo obozrevatelya" [Commentary by a military correspondent], *Ria Novosti*, February 17 2007.

⁹ Sergei Chemizov, "State investments in the defense industrial complex and military technical cooperation in Russia: problems and investments", presentation of the director of Rosoboronexport at the third annual investment congress "Moscow business dialogue", refer to: "Obiem rossiiskogo oruzheinogo exporta za poslednie piat let pochti udvoulsia"

civilian backgrounds. Thus, the Agency will introduce a civilian control of military procurement and MIC will become the main generator of innovative projects. The Agency's responsibilities will include placing state military and defense orders across all power institutions, preparing and signing contracts, funding, monitoring and accounting. However, the responsibility for the sustainability and development of defense systems in the operational manner is to be retained on the ministerial level;

- The February 14, 2007 appointment of Anatoly Serdyukov, former head of the Federal Tax Service, to replace Sergei Ivanov as a new Minister of Defense was explained by the necessity to improve the accounting and supervision of the MoD spending. The need to fight corruption in public, purchasing in the defense sector and the ineffectiveness of the MoD's own supervisory institution played a role in the choice of Ivanov's successor.

The Civil-Military Relations

The establishment of civilian control over the military is an essential part of the defense reform. Today, most efforts in increasing the participation of civilian experts in military oversight are done in the state domain. Although the president and parliament exercise primary control over military structures, new patterns of civil control are emerging in the Russian public administration.¹⁰ Among them is the Public Council created by the MoD in accordance with the presidential order No.842 of August 4, 2006. The order requested the establishment of public councils under the umbrella of federal ministries, services and agencies that fall under the presidential control and all federal services and agencies that are under the jurisdiction of those federal ministries. The Council has a consulting mechanism and report power abuses among federal institutions.

The Council has six commissions dealing with the public scrutiny of legal documents initiated by the MoD. For instance, a bill dealing with financial support of conscript soldiers with children will be debated in 2007. The Council's other functions include social and legal security of military servicemen and the MoD's civilian employees, as well as military pensioners; securing the conditions of the military service, discipline and law enforcement; public promotion of the military and

[The amount of Russian weapons' export almost doubled in the last five years], oborona.ru, November 1 2006.

¹⁰ Irina Isakova, "The evolution of civil-military relations in Russia," in ed. Andrew Cottey, Timothy Edmunds and Anthony Forster, *Democratic Control of the Military in Postcommunist Europe: Guarding the Guards* (UK/US: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 215-32; Irina Isakova, *Russian Defense Reform: Current Trends* (Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, November 2006), pp.52-7.

defense service, its prestige and patriotic education. In February 2007, the Ministry of Emergencies and the Civil Defense department followed the MoD example in establishing a similar council. However, the efficiency of such form of civil control is yet to be seen.

The current measures taken by the MoD in implementing the defense reform demonstrate the centrality of the defense reform in the Russian government's domestic and foreign policies. Although the present changes are transitional in nature, their results will lead to more systemic changes by the 2010s. These innovations also demonstrate the pattern of future developments within the Russian Federation's defense structures, as well as opportunities for international cooperation in the military and defense spheres.

Soviet Military Legacy and Regional Security Cooperation in Central Asia

*Erica Marat**

ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this article is to examine the significance of the Soviet military legacy in the Central Asian states' security relations formation after 1991. It argues that the military element of the Soviet legacy played a significant role in the way the Central Asian states proceeded with cooperative or hostile relations with each other. The asymmetric distribution of Soviet military infrastructures across states shaped their understanding of their potential capabilities compared to different neighbors. In the late 1990s and 2000s, regional security cooperation became complicated due to the nature of the Soviet military planning in the region that led to the emergence of militarily stronger and weaker states. The article has three parts: Part I tracks the initial Soviet legacy of military distribution, further arms transfers, enhancement, and deterioration of military units in each state in the last fifteen years; Part II examines reasons and implications of changes in security policies in the late 1990s; finally, Part III analyzes how policy shifts impact regional cooperative relations.

Keywords • Regional Security Cooperation • Central Asia • Military Institutions • Soviet Military-Industrial Complex

Since the February 1999 bombings in central Tashkent and the eruption of armed conflicts in Southern Kyrgyzstan in 1999-2000, the Central Asian governments have announced extensive reforms to their national military and security structures. The wish to reorganize the military institutions inherited from the Soviet period into more Western-style entities was explained by the necessity to meet newly emergent transnational security threats from armed opposition, organized crime, and religious extremist groups. The primary change under consideration is to convert the national armed forces into small, mobile and well-equipped professional institutions able to react effectively to the challenges of the present environment. These reforms were primarily aimed at enhancing the coordination of regional responses in times of local or trans-border conflicts. Although the Central Asian leaders' claims on the necessity to reform the military sector were similar in

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many ways, each state proceeded with the changes at a different pace. While Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan were more successful due to higher financial capabilities and relatively open political climates, their neighbors' reforms remained more declaratory rather than substantive. As this article maintains, the differences in outcomes of military reforms as well as state incentives to cooperate with them can be explained by analyzing the Soviet military and security planning in the region during the 1960s and 1980s.

Similar to other Soviet successor states, the end of the Cold War for the Central Asian states meant both the end of an integrated Soviet military with the strong centralized power and an encounter with rapidly changing world politics. With the breakup of the USSR and the accompanying loss of the Soviet Army, the former Soviet states lost one of the most important mechanisms of foreign policy. The Soviet military system was a highly coordinated body with its Central Command in Moscow. It consisted of 16 military districts, established in response to the Soviet Union's threat perception from external sources.¹ Each district was organized with the principle of arms dependence within its constituent states and between other districts.² The five states of the Central Asian region – Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan – represented the Soviet Union's Turkistan Theater of Military Operation (*teatr voennyh deistvii*, (TMO)), its main function being to control the Soviet Union's southern borders with China and impart a state of readiness for the 1979-1989 Afghan conflict. The Central Asian Military District (*voennyi okrug*, (MD)) was established in 1969 and became part of the Far Eastern and Turkistan TMO of the Soviet Union.³ Almaty, the former capital of Soviet Kazakhstan, and Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan, were the headquarters of the Turkistan TMO. A bulk of the military equipment and active units were transferred to the Central Asian region in the 1980s, during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Military institutions in the Central Asian region were vastly funded by the Central Command during Soviet times, but after the breakup of the Soviet Union, organizational starting points for the military differed drastically in each state. Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan inherited large military infrastructures, with a greater degree of independent military

¹ Roger Reese, ed., *The Soviet Military Experience* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).

² Francois Heisbourg, *The Military Balance 1989-1990* (London: The International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1990). The extended version of this work embraces a broader range of military data sources, including Military Balance annual reports (1985-2003), data of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) as well as information obtained from in-depth interviews with military specialists from the Central Asian states.

³ Other Soviet MDs included: Moscow, Leningrad, Belorussian, Kiev Special, and Ukrainian. Ibid., Reese *The Soviet Military Experience*.

production and available equipment. Kazakhstan received army corps centers, armor and motor rifle divisions, military educational complexes, brigade ordinance, an air-assault division and other military formations. Similarly, Uzbekistan gained control over an ample amount of armored vehicles and military aircraft. Three Rifle Divisions functioned under joint control in Turkmenistan. By contrast, in Tajikistan, almost all of the post-Soviet military equipment was placed under Russian jurisdiction and owned by the Russian 201st Motor Rifle Division, stationed in Tajikistan since 1943. Kyrgyzstan received several types of ammunition but lacked any significant military industry.

The main purpose of this article is to examine the significance of the Soviet military legacy in the Central Asian states' security relations formation after 1991. The article has three parts. Part I tracks the initial Soviet legacy of military distribution, further arms transfers, enhancement, and deterioration of military units in each state in the last fifteen years. Part II examines reasons and implications of changes in security policies in the late 1990s. Part III analyzes how policy shifts impact regional cooperative relations. The article argues that the military element of the Soviet legacy played a significant role in the way the Central Asian states proceeded with cooperative or hostile relations with each other. The asymmetric distribution of Soviet military infrastructures across states shaped their understanding of their potential capabilities compared to different neighbors. In the late 1990s and 2000s, regional security cooperation became complicated due to the nature of the Soviet military planning in the region that led to the emergence of militarily stronger and weaker states. The political and economic developments in the Central Asian states following the collapse of the Soviet Union suggest that the states should be identified as postcolonial entities rather than transition states.⁴ Some of the frequent characteristics of postcolonial security structures include military institutions that predate the states themselves; they were established long before the states attained independence.

Part I: Current Military Architectures: Nationalization of Militaries and Foreign Influence

The Soviet Army was a clear-cut case of a labor-intensive institution involving large parts of the population and administered through mandatory conscription. After the breakup of the Soviet Union, the Central Asian states inherited this tradition of labor-intensive armies with obligatory conscription and a myriad of difficulties in organizing adequate living and service facilities for the draftees. In the conditions of

⁴ Henry F. Carey and Rafal Raciborski, "Postcolonialism: A Valid Paradigm for the Former Sovietized States and Yugoslavia?" *East European Politics and Societies* 18, 2 (2004).

decreased central finance and high inflation rates during the early independence period, the army was among the state institutions that faced the most significant constraints in continuing proper functioning. The bulk of the defense expenditures in the early 1990s were directed at maintaining manpower as opposed to incorporating military procurement and changes in the army structure. Increased budgetary spending for military maintenance was sought at the expense of other sectors of public finance such as education and health care, which led the latter to become dependent on external financial assistance. The percentage of annual governmental spending directed at defense expenditures was often not disclosed to the public, especially in Uzbekistan where military expenditures were highest, not only in the region but also in the post-Soviet territory.

Two types of military units remained from the Soviet regime. The first were military assets accumulated during the Soviet period and obtained by Moscow, but placed under the jurisdiction of newly formed states in the early 1990s. Generally, these were small- and medium-sized physical commodities such as military ammunition, uniforms, landmines, aircrafts and helicopters. The second type of legacy represented military personnel dispatched from other parts of the Soviet Union and stationed at large military complexes and state borders, and military systems that had functioned under the combined efforts of several Soviet states and had passed either to joint bilateral or Russian command (Table 1).

Table 1. Control over Military in the Post-Soviet Period

	Joint control	Russian control
Kazakhstan	Navy: Caspian Sea Flotilla (Kazakhstan, Russia and Turkmenistan).	Strategic nuclear forces: ICBM: SS-18 Satan (RS-20), 104 at 2 sites; Bombers: 40 Tu-95H (ALCM-equipped), Baikonur Space Center, missile test ranges, Air defense: 2 regt: 35 MiG-21, 45 MiG-31; SAM: 85 SA-3, SA-5
Kyrgyzstan	Border troops	Air defense: 26 SA-2, SA-3
Tajikistan	Border troops	Army: 8,500, 1 MRD, Equipment: 200 MBT, 420 ACV, 200 arty/MRL/mors. Air defense: SAM: 10 SA-2/-3, 201 st Motor Rifle Division, "Okno" Space Center.
Turkmenistan	3 Motor Rifle Divisions, Navy: Caspian Sea Flotilla (Kazakhstan, Russia and Turkmenistan)	
Uzbekistan		Air defense: Fighter: 1 regt, 32 Su-27, SAM: 45 SA-2/-3/-5

Source: The Military Balance 1992-1993.

The processes of military reorganization by the newly formed governments were different as well. Whereas Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan began enlarging armies starting in the early 1990s, the Kyrgyz and Kazakh governments were downsizing their military personnel. The Kyrgyz government began to substantially revise its military capability only after fighting in a series of armed conflicts with the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) in the summers of 1999-2000. The 1992-1997 civil war in Tajikistan was followed by hefty smuggling of ammunition supplies and a weaponization of the local civilian population.

Attempts to establish regional institutions on security in the Central Asian region were undertaken in the beginning of 1990s. The increased activity of militant Islamic movements, growing rates of drug trafficking begetting criminal dealers, and ethnic separatism of minority groups were coalesced into a range of issues that the states had to confront during the independence period. But post-Soviet military cooperation developed at a different rate, involving only some states of the region. There were few joint military cooperation activities such as practical trainings in which all of the affected states participated.

On December 13, 1991 all five former Soviet republics of Central Asia met in Ashgabat, Turkmenistan to declare their wish to become equal co-founders of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Initially, all post-Soviet republics, except the Baltic States, entered the commonwealth. But within the next decade members started quitting the union. The post-Soviet states agreed to form Joint General Purpose Forces (JGPF), which inferred that control of Soviet armed forces would disperse beyond the borders of the new sovereign entities. Similar to other post-Soviet international agreements, the JGPF never materialized into concrete terms and membership remained only symbolic.

At the same time, these endeavors on the regional level were accompanied by domestic processes where national legislatures rapidly endorsed state command over military units and equipment that remained on their territories at the moment of dissolution of the Soviet Union. By 1993-1994 the Central Asian states adopted basic legislation that allowed them to continue forming their own armed forces *de jure* independently from Russia. Border troops along the Central Asian states' frontier with Afghanistan, China, and Iran as well as air forces continued to remain under the joint control of the national and Russian governments. This was a time when the status of arms control on the territories of post-Soviet states was ambiguous and when most of the sites were neither under Russian nor national control.

During the 1990s, the makeup of Central Asian conscript armies was similar to that of other post-Soviet states, in the sense that they were

overloaded with senior officers on the one hand, and unprofessional soldiers on the other who were in essence paying “poverty taxes” by joining the military. The public stature of the army had deteriorated and only conscripts from the poorest strata of society were drafted into the military, often those from rural areas and who were not able to afford a higher education. A drain of Russian military experts at the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s created a shortage of professional cadres. During the Soviet period, Russians occupied most of the key positions in the military. Thus, post-Soviet armies turned into institutions that required vigilant oversight because unprofessional cadres who lacked proper military training and experience quickly seized vacant positions. Only units where Soviet experts remained active continued functioning with comparative efficiency.⁵

Today, the armed forces in all five Central Asian states are under the predominant control of the Ministries of Defense and Ministries of Interior. Defense Ministers are usually experts with military backgrounds. There seemed to have been some attempts to civilianize control over the military by involving civilian experts in Security Councils. In the security documents of all the Central Asian states, it is affirmed that fostering civilian control of the armed forces is a national priority, but only Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan have accomplished some adequate results in this regard. The Kyrgyz parliament adopted a law “On civil-military relations” in December 2006, but it still requires substantial revisions and incentives for its implementation. Most of the time, Defense Ministers retain greater influence over approval, implementation, and control of national security policies while the role of the parliament in security policy varies from state to state. The parliaments’ participation in the security agenda is reduced to discussing basic problems of the military personnel, whereas issues pertaining to the defense budget remain beyond parliamentary control.

In 2000, Uzbekistan was the only post-Soviet state to approve a civilian expert for the position of Defense Minister. Appointing Adyr Guliamov, a former academician, signified the Uzbek government’s intention to improve civilian control over the country’s vast armed forces. However, the high degree of centralization in President Islam Karimov’s government and parliament which also lacks an opposition, casts doubts about whether this shift purports any structural differences in the implementation of the national security policy. Furthermore, there is a tendency to recruit regional leaders (*hokims*) from cadres with military ranks.⁶ In the Syrdarya oblast several acting policemen were

⁵ For example military colleges and schools.

⁶ “Uzbekistan segodnya: ‘militarizaciya’ kadrov, nalog na borody i chem zanimaetsia ombudsman S. Rashidova, “[Uzbekistan Today: ‘Militarization’ of Cadres, Tax on Beard and What Does Ombudsman S. Rashidova Do], *Ezgulik*, July 3 2004.

appointed as heads of village communities in 2000.⁷ Militarization of regional cadres allowed the government to obtain a firmer control of the population at a provincial level by curtailing the distance between the central command and regional police. The region's other highly authoritarian government, Turkmenistan, retained a civilian expert as Defense Minister until September 2003. Former Defense Minister, Redzhepbai Arazov, had a civilian background and was replaced by Major-General Agageldy Mamedgeldyjev who had been the head of the Turkmen border guard service. Like to Uzbekistan, this record of the supposed civilianization of the security structures should be regarded with skepticism.

At the beginning of 2004, in line with Tajik President Imomali Rakhmonov's decree, the Presidential Guard was transformed into a national military institution. In reality however, this change did not bring significant structural reorganization. The Defense Minister, General-Colonel Sherali Khairulloev has held his position for more than a decade. The Tajik parliament rarely obtain access to reports on military finance or administration from security ministries and the number of representatives in the opposition Islamic Renaissance Party (IRP) is insignificant. Annual military spending is determined without parliamentary consideration.

The Formation of Central Asian States' Military and Security Strategies

The security policies of the Central Asian states include two leading documents, the military doctrine and the security concept. The Central Asian states followed the logic of Russian development documents from the beginning of the independence period, although Russian military and security legislation encompasses a broader spectrum of security documents such as the naval doctrine and military reform plans.⁸ The important link between the development of security policies and many other legislative acts, shows Central Asian states' initial attempts to imitate processes in Russia. For instance, since gaining independence all the states endorsed at least two (three in Russia) contextually and conceptually different security policies.

During the independence period, the new national military doctrines were developed by military officials with Soviet academic and professional backgrounds. Often labeled as "Soviet-style thinkers," older senior officers regarded security policy-building after the collapse of the regime as a necessary step in maintaining stability in the context of the

⁷ Among them Police General Ravshan Haidarov, Lieutenant Shodi Sadiev, Mayor Kamolitdin Suleimanov and Colonel Ural Mamatkulov.

⁸ Marcel de Haas, "The Development of Russia's Security Policy, 1992-2002," in ed. Anne C. Aldis and Roger N. McDermott, *Russian Military Reform, 1992-2002* (London & Portland: Frank Class Publishers, 2003).

constant nuclear threat during the Cold War era.⁹ The conservatism of such “thinking” among this generation of Soviet military experts hindered flexible security policy and structural adaptation that would reflect the new political reality. As a result, in the early 1990s, security documents of the Central Asian governments reflected the same Soviet policy views on offensive and defensive activities that had existed when the region was still part of the larger union of states.

Kazakhstan. The Kazakh military, which contains the region’s strongest capacity, encompasses a large amount and great diversity of units. There are four military districts on the territory of Kazakhstan: “West” based in Aktobe, “East” in Semipalatinsk, “South” in Taraz, and “Astana” in Astana, the Kazakh capital. According to Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev, the primary goal of the Kazakh Ministry of Defense was to reorganize the National Armed Forces into three categories of structures and two types of troops.¹⁰ The country’s armed forces were restructured into Ground Forces, Air Defense Forces and Naval Forces, and separated into Missile and Artillery Arms divisions.

The current Armed Forces of Kazakhstan are managed through six layers of control agencies. The central executive agency is represented by the Executive Officers Committee within the Ministry of Defense that officially stands above the Supreme Command of the entire Kazakh Armed Forces. Both executive structures are followed by a four-leveled regional command. In peacetime, the Armed Forces of Kazakhstan consist of military control agencies, the Armed Forces, special troops, a logistics division, and military-educational and scientific complexes. In wartime, the Armed Forces mobilize the Internal Troops of the Ministry of Interior, Border Guard and other troops of the National Security Committee, Republic Guard, and agencies that control and administer civilian and territorial defense.¹¹

In the 2000s, Kazakhstan’s military districts were rearranged into regional commands, which would potentially be capable of enhancing operational-strategic problem solving at a district level. The complete national system of military education is being transformed into specialized vocational training schools, which would prepare cadres in fields according to specific categories of security structures. The Kazakh

⁹ William D. O'Malley, “Central Asian and South Caucasus as an Arena of Operations: Challenges and Constraints” in ed. Olga Oliker and Thomas S. Szayna, *Fault lines of Conflict in Central Asian and the South Caucasus. Implications for the US Army* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2003).

¹⁰ According to the information provided by the Kazakh Ministry of Defense, available at <<http://www.mod.kz>>.

¹¹ The Military Doctrine of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2000.

government annually sends several hundred students to military schools in Russia, the U.S., Europe and other CIS states.¹²

Since gaining independence, Kazakhstan has endorsed two military doctrines. The first doctrine was written over a period of two years and was adopted in April 1993. Since Kazakhstan was part of the Soviet nuclear complex, the principal position of the first doctrine was the country's post-Soviet security approach which viewed its geopolitical role as being an indispensable part of the bipolar struggle. At the same time, besides maintaining Soviet threat perceptions during the early independence period, the country also faced the task of forming an army that would function under national control. According to the 1993 doctrine, the Kazakh armed forces were undergoing restructuring, a process that was supposed to lead to the establishment of a fully professional army by 2000. These types of benchmarks meant high military expenditures and required professional expertise. The economic situation and low status of military science in the country at the beginning of 1990s made these doctrinal tasks impossible to achieve.

The first military doctrine did not provide any precise definitions of threats to the national security, nor did it describe the types of military actions in which the country could become politically or militarily involved. The doctrine also had to confront criticism from the civil society institutions. In 1994, Kazakhstan's Institute for Strategic Studies claimed the doctrine was "being based on outmoded Soviet percepts" that did not fit the reality of the present day. The institute's experts suggested that instead of focusing on military actions with another state, the national security structures should be constructed to fight smaller scale conflicts at the border, in particular with China. Although the Ministry of Defense took the institute's recommendations into account, it did not implement any substantial changes until 2000.

The current Kazakh military doctrine was adopted in 2000. Unlike the earlier version, the new document was developed in the context of the country's general economic recovery in the late 1990s. Kazakhstan's annual GDP grew by 9.6 percent in 2000, the country's external debt was repaid, and security structures were able to rely more heavily on domestic financing and move away from dependence on Russia. Military-science institutions were rejuvenated, and already in 2001 the Kazakh government issued a decree to create a Higher Naval School to protect oil platforms on the Caspian Sea.¹³ According to Kazakhstan's second military doctrine, which was based on the previous doctrine, the main goal and rationale for the formation of the national Armed Forces and other military structures in Kazakhstan lay in provisioning defensive

¹² Murat Laimulin, presentation at the seminar organized by the Geneva Center for Democratic Control of the Arm Forces, Geneva, November 2003.

¹³ Author's interview with a Kazakh military expert.

mechanisms against external aggression and military threats from other states.

One of the salient differences between the two doctrines lies in the fact that the current military doctrine provides a detailed definition of threats and response mechanisms in case national stability is challenged. It rigorously differentiates between various degrees of possible instabilities on local, regional and global levels. The doctrine recognizes new types of challenges emerging at the regional level which are able to potentially provoke domestic insurgencies against both the local civilian population as well as the ruling regime. The 2000 military doctrine categorizes three types of conflict intensiveness in which the state sees its potential involvement. The first type is described as a conflict on a global scale which involves the world's military and economic superpowers. The rationale for Kazakhstan's participation in resolution and prevention of such conflicts is explained by the threat of the use of nuclear weapons on a global scale. Although there is a reference about the small probability that this first type of conflict could erupt in the foreseeable future, Kazakhstan's deployment of peacekeeping troops to Iraq in 2004 falls under this general national security strategy. The second type of conflict is identified as interstate tensions between militarily and economically developing states and their possession and use of modern war technologies. However, both definitions of conflict are rather vague and depict Soviet perceptions of the causes of war.

The potential regional imbalance of military power is distinguished as another source of instability on an interstate level. The doctrine posits that in case any neighboring state is accumulating "excessive military capacity and capability" this will be regarded as a threat to the national security of Kazakhstan. The doctrine does not exclude the possibility of domestic armed conflicts. However, such conflicts are assumed to be inspired by external forces and directed against the government of Kazakhstan. Here, the Kazakh constitution serves as the legal basis for alleviation of domestic tensions and deployment of armed forces in case internal conflicts destabilize internal public order in the country. Arms transfers and access to armaments by illegal formations on the territory of Asian states is considered to be both Kazakhstan's external and internal problem. Dissemination of religious extremism is defined as an external problem fundamental to the national security of Kazakhstan, which, in case of a spillover into the country's territory, is expected to target primarily state institutions and state property.

The doctrine's third category of conflict is defined as a low-intensity conflict which can occur within the territory of one state or between various social groups at an interstate border. This category does not include intergovernmental disputes. Rather, terrorist attacks or any armed actions by illegal movements are regarded as conflicts of low

intensity. According to the doctrine, the national armed forces and other military formations of the country must be maintained in constant combat readiness for the localization of low intensity conflicts: "The goal of the Republic of Kazakhstan in case of a low intensity conflict is to prevent the tensions from escalating into greater security problems with minimal costs for the state."¹⁴ Conflicts at border areas are classified as being of low intensity and are handled by the Border Committee (*Prigranichnyi komitet*) of the National Security Committee (*Komitet nacional'noi bezopasnosti*) through collaboration with other divisions of the national Armed Forces. The doctrine mentions that as a document representing an integral part of the national security strategy, it is subject to changes and further refinement contingent on the regional and global security situation. It also states that the military doctrine adopts a firmly defensive character.

In sum, Kazakhstan's current military doctrine presumes that national security strategy is contingent on regional developments. The main difference of threat identification in Kazakhstan and other Central Asian republics lies in the fact that the former is oriented towards a broader scope of security developments, at the more globally driven processes of greater Asia. This means that in legal terms, Kazakhstan's participation in a broader security agenda in Asia is as equally plausible as in Central Asian regional security arrangements. Kazakhstan's economic development and, more importantly, military capability also enable the country to sustain multilateralism on various levels.

Kyrgyzstan. In 1997, then Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev made a proposal to substantially decrease the number of army personnel because according to him the country was not facing significant security threats that required a military response. The proposal suggested retaining only a National Guard for symbolic purposes.¹⁵ However, the clash between the Kyrgyz troops and IMU guerillas in Batken in 1999 and 2000 completely changed the perception of the army's role in national security. After the conflict the Kyrgyz government carried out significant modifications within the military.¹⁶

The first Kyrgyz military doctrine was endorsed in May 2002 and covered the period until 2010. For a decade after gaining independence, the activity of the Kyrgyz Ministry of Defense was coordinated by the National Security Strategy document. After the conflict in Batken in 1999, the Ministry of Defense and Security Council were criticized by the

¹⁴ The Military Doctrine of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2000.

¹⁵ Author's interview with a Kyrgyz parliamentarian, April 2001.

¹⁶ Igor Grebenshchikov, "Kyrgyz Army in Crisis: The Lessons Learned in Two Recent Military Campaigns have Failed to Usher Major Reforms of the Cash-Strapped Kyrgyz Army," *Institute for War and Peace Reporting*, March 14 2001.

local mass media and NGOs for having loose control over the national armed forces. The new military doctrine was adopted as a reaction to a general realization for the need of better military management in the future. After two years of drafting the doctrine, the Security Council endorsed a fairly ambitious document which aimed to fundamentally reform the army.

Kyrgyzstan's doctrine purports two primary reforms in the security structure and is designed to be implemented in several stages. The principal change is restructuring the army into small and mobile forces forming a capital-intensive, professionally trained, and well-equipped army. Another reform to be achieved within the next decade is converting the army into contract-based conscription. The Kyrgyz doctrine sees additional surplus available in the course of military, enhanced administration of military units, and better control of state budget spending. According to the doctrinal statements, the government should meet the anticipated increases in military spending over the coming years in addition to its intentions for enhancing the scientific and engineering foundation of the military industry (Ch. III of the doctrine). The government is also permitted to encourage private manufacturers to produce goods for the armed forces, and external financial support is to be sought from bilateral and multilateral cooperation. The Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) and NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP) program are the primary auspices of favored military collaboration. Armed conflicts at the national border are anticipated to involve parts of the indigenous civilian population and a readiness for interstate conflicts has been developed should border-clashes spiral out of control. Thus, the doctrine postulates that a conflict identified as local may escalate into a regional struggle between states.

Kyrgyzstan's main military formations include organizing a separate unit of Rapid Reaction Forces, Immediate Reaction Forces, and Border Guard Forces. According to the military doctrine, all of these forces are aimed at mobile reaction to conflicts at frontier zones and regional conflicts. Former National Guard Commander, Abdykul Chotbayev, claimed that the military doctrine's reforms were carried out successfully despite the fact that the Kyrgyz armed forces experienced a plethora of financial and logistical problems.¹⁷ However, no analogous assessment of the military reforms is reported by other sources. The local media largely criticized the reform for being unrealistic in light of a deteriorating economy.

The doctrine identifies two types of conflicts: "just" and "unjust."¹⁸ The difference between the two types is based on the general legal norms

¹⁷ "Kyrgyzstan: Commander Profiles National Guard on 11th Anniversary", *Obshestvennyi Reiting*, September 25 2003.

¹⁸ The Military Doctrine of the Kyrgyz Republic, 2002.

established in UN statutes, according to which armed aggression by one state against another is classified as an “unjust” conflict while a “just” conflict is an act of armed defense. Kyrgyz and Kazakh military doctrines categorize intensities of conflicts in the same manner: localized, regional, and international.

A vast portion of the national armed forces are directed towards external instabilities that are capable of provoking internal tensions. There are two Motor Rifle Divisions in Kyrgyzstan. Both were established in 1998 in mountainous regions. Similarly to Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan is bound to seek external sources of military finance or use off-budget expenditures. Besides support from the international community, Kyrgyzstan relies on exports from several armament and military-equipment manufacturers that remained in the country after the Soviet Army’s dissolution.¹⁹ At the start of the U.S.-led “Enduring Freedom” military operation in Afghanistan, the Kyrgyz government agreed to provide Coalition troops with an airbase at the “Manas” National Airport. The number of foreign troops varied through time but the main contingent consisted of U.S. and NATO troops.

Tajikistan. Tajikistan’s army is in relative terms larger than the armies of its regional neighbors when measured as a percentage of the local population. This is due to a significant increase in conscription to the Popular Front during the civil war between government troops and the United Tajik Opposition (UTO) forces in 1992-1997. Data compiled by international organizations indicates that in the first few years after the end of the civil war, state military expenditures comprised about 4 percent of the annual GDP. However, some local experts estimate that during the post-war integration processes the government was spending up to one third of total state revenues on military maintenance.²⁰

The formation of the Tajik army since independence can be divided into several phases. Between 1993-94 the Ministry of Defense stepped up its registration of newly emergent armed formations. At that time possession of armaments symbolized an exclusive status, and accessibility to small arms carbines represented an authority over and ability to control the civilian population in public places on behalf of the government. It reflected the state’s inability to control illegal possession of armament on its territory. The first specialized battalions were created among former civilians, who were armed during the beginning of the Tajik war. This was the primary attempt to integrate armed formations into governmental troops. At that point it was difficult to determine the precise quantity of active soldiers as there was a high degree of fluctuation of registered personnel. The fundamental legislative base was

¹⁹ SIPRI data, 2004.

²⁰ Author’s interview with Muzafar Olimov, Dushanbe, March 2004.

established and a number of “umbrella” laws “On armed forces,” “On universal service,” “On defense” and “On rights and guarantees of military personnel and members of their families” were adopted. In 1994 military training complexes were organized and registered personnel received training according to their general education level.

In 1994-1997, the registration process was completed and the Tajik government was able to take its first steps towards military planning as a result of the signing the Peace Agreement with the UTO. Three types of military structures were formed on the basis of existing personnel: land forces, air forces, and anti-raid forces. The troops were relocated to the country’s strategic locations. Simultaneously, the legal code concerning service requirements for higher ranking military officers continued to develop. In 1994, Emomali Rakhmonov was elected president and became the Commander-in-Chief of the national armed forces. Although new legislation was introduced during the period after 1998 until the present and post-war restructuring of the military continued, control over military forces became more centralized in the hands of the executive power.

In May 2006, Tajikistan was the last Central Asian state to adopt a military doctrine. Compared to its neighboring states, the Tajik government experienced a different set of problems during post-Soviet military reconfiguration. As the Peace Accord was reached, the country faced problems of creating a legal basis for military planning and control, a practice surmounted by Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan several years earlier. The first reason for a deferred endorsement of a military doctrine was the fact that at the time of independence, the Tajik state did not retain its own national army. The bulk of the post-Soviet military formations became part of the 201st Motor Rifle Division stationed in the country and administered by Russia. In contrast to neighboring states that received the remains of the Soviet Turkistan Military District, the first Tajik forces were formed with guerilla bands from the Kuliyaab and Leninabad (renamed Sogd in 2000) regions.²¹ Unlike Sogd, the northern part of the country with a traditionally dominant political elite, Kuliyaab is a southern region that remained under-represented during the Soviet era. Tajikistan’s opposition movements originated from the southwestern and eastern parts of the country. Although the opposition movements were unified on the basis of regional identities, the civil war erupted as an ideological struggle for state order between old communist elites and the new moderate Islamic leaders.²²

²¹ Author’s interview with a Tajik military expert.

²² Shirin Akiner and Catherine Barnes, “The Tajik Civil War: Causes and Dynamics.” *Accord*, March 10 2001.

Second, the civil war left the country with oversized military structures rich in war experience and subject to both government and opposition control. Most of the soldiers came from a civilian population that lacked completed university or school degrees. At the time the peace agreement was reached, many demobilized soldiers encountered difficulties finding alternative employment due to insufficient training and high rates of unemployment in the country. In the late 1990s, the Tajik government confronted the dilemma of demobilizing military personnel by providing them with civilian employment and integrating opposition troops into the national army.

After the end of the civil war, some former war commanders were barred from the political process and continued their association with underground networks of Islamic radicals.²³ In the late 1990s, security structures were under partial or full control of the opposition party in Karategin, Gorno-Badakhshan, and Pamir regions. The exact number of armed formations in the state's poorly administered districts is hard to identify. Reports on the intensification of Islamic rebel activity in the southern part of the country became more frequent in the late 1990s. In the Batken conflict of 1999-2000, the Tajik government was accused of being unable to control criminal group activities on its territory.

Today, the Tajik Ministry of Defense controls a majority of the country's armed forces and is thus the most influential security structure under presidential control. Other "force ministries" include the Ministry of Interior, the Border Guard Committee, the Ministry of Security, and ministerial units. In addition, the Ministry of Emergencies was established in 1999. Formally, this ministry has the capacity to influence state security politics, however, integration of opposition and government troops resulted in the centralization of control over the military by the president.²⁴

The process of adopting a military doctrine in Tajikistan was also slow due to failures by military and political experts in identifying the ideal type and size of the military in order to sustain national security. In the government's official statements, the size of the Tajik military ranges between 20,000-22,000 troops. However, according to the Tajik Deputy Defense Minister, who has a civilian background, the actual number of Tajik troops in the late 1990s reached 100,000 people, including mobile troops and police.²⁵ For a population of seven million, with about 600,000 labor migrants residing abroad, this number was significant. Centralized control, an oversized military, and high reliance on external resources

²³ Author's interview with a Tajik military expert.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Authors interview with the Tajik Deputy Defense Minister, Dushanbe, March 2004. The respondent did not want to disclose his name.

complicated the formation of medium and long-term security strategies for the maintenance of internal stability with the help of the military.

Turkmenistan. Given that available firsthand information on Turkmenistan's domestic and foreign policies is limited, the current section covers this case only briefly. Very few legislative acts are accessible through public venues.²⁶ Turkmenistan's military legislation stands out from other Central Asian states' experience of post-Soviet military reconstruction. The first difference lies in Turkmenistan's neglect to follow the wave of military reformation in the late 1990s. Such behavior can be accounted for the Turkmen government's conviction that the increased activity of armed opposition underscored by the other four Central Asian states was irrelevant to its own security concerns and domestic stability. However, a series of laws adopted in 2003 "On Civil Defense" and "On Turkmenistan's Fight against Terrorism" account for similar types of threats to the national security.²⁷ Activity of militant groups seems to be an important consideration for the security of the current regime, as appropriate legislation defining what constitutes terrorism is being developed.

The second glaring difference in Turkmenistan's legislation on the national military lays in an entrenched conviction about the importance of protecting the internal security order from challenges originating within the state as opposed to possible threats imported from abroad. The decree "On Turkmenistan's Fight against Terrorism" provides a detailed explanation of the legal basis for fighting terrorist formations on the territory of Turkmenistan, the order of functional coordination between various state agencies, and the rights and duties of the civilian population in fighting terrorism.

The decree "On Civil Defense" meticulously lists possible origins of societal instability: natural (earthquakes, river floating, etc.) and technological disasters constitute the core of the challenges to civilian security. However, although sources of armed conflict are not specified, the same decree lists functions of the national armed forces in times of war. Like the decree on "On Civil Defense," it does not mention any possibility of conflicts on the border, or spillovers of external problems from neighboring states. At the same time, the definition of terrorism and the identification of challenges as a result of armed groupings

²⁶ For example, Justin Burke's translation of the report on Turkmenistan's military doctrine from "Neytralnyy Turkmenistan", *Eurasia Insight*, February 1, 2002; or an article "K shestoi godovschine neitraliteta Turkmenistana" [To Sixth Anniversary of Turkmenistan's Neutrality], *Inform & Form Agency*, available at <<http://info-f.uz/turk4.html>> .

²⁷ Both decrees are available at <<http://www.turkmenistan.gov.tm/>>.

drastically differ from those acknowledged in the military documents of neighboring states.

Unlike the other four states of Central Asia, Turkmenistan's identification of a terrorist threat is primarily defined through the security of state institutions and state representatives, and most notably the president: "‘terrorist act’ – is a direct crime of a terrorist nature in the form of blow up, arson... infringement of the Turkmen President's life, other state or public employee...with the status of interim protection and immunity" (Ch. 1.4). In effect, the state legislature affirms that terrorist organizations might target the political regime. Another dissimilarity of Turkmen security politics from other states in the region rests on a vague identification of cooperative foreign interests. The country has a recognized neutrality status which has been a reason for Turkmenistan's refusal to join regional economic, political or security cooperation arrangements. Article 32 of the "On Civil Defense" decree maintains only general stances on international security cooperation interests, it does not specify any particular state, group of states or international organizations.

Although Turkmenistan was reluctant to develop relations with its neighbors, the country was the first to join the PfP program, which offered an opportunity to train local cadres under the aegis of the organization's international staff. National military structures were reorganized into three branches: the army, air force, and border guards; the intention to establish the fourth branch of naval forces in the Caspian Sea was announced in the beginning 1990s. This was also a period when the status of the three Motorized Rifle Divisions (MRD) that were located on Turkmen territory remained unclear.²⁸ Like most post-Soviet states, the new government had the ability to claim control over the division; however, the available military infrastructure and personnel required intensive financing. Russia continued to support the base and retained partial control over the MRDs. The Russian-Turkmen Treaty on Joint Measures signed in July 1992 stipulated that Russia would provide logistical and financial support to the post-Soviet military for a period of five to ten years. It was agreed by both sides that Turkmenistan would gradually bear the full costs of supporting the available military. In 2005, the Turkmen-Russian joint command and Russia's intensive financing of the military, including some arms transfers, coincided with Turkmen cooperation on natural gas transfers between the two countries.

About 108,000 troops and 300 military units of the Soviet Army resided on the territory of Turkmenistan in the beginning of 1990s. By mid 1992, nearly half of the military officials and soldiers, mostly Russians from other Soviet states, left the country. The border guards in

²⁸ MRDs are based in Ashgabat, Gushgy and Gyzyrlybat.

Turkmenistan comprise about 5,000 personnel and the air forces around 2,000 men. The Border Guard Command was established in 1992 in place of the Central Asian Border Troops District of the Committee for State Security. Most of the border guard contingent is placed along the Afghan frontier, which totals 1,750 kilometers and is vulnerable to drug trafficking. The internal forces of Turkmenistan consist of approximately 25,000 personnel. However, the real amount is most likely higher. Despite the fact that Turkmen armed forces are smaller in number compared to other states in the region, annual military expenditures are among the highest. It is assumed that the bulk of the expenditures are spent on the maintenance of law-enforcement agencies as opposed to buildup of military capacity. Further, according to the International Crisis Group's reports, under the reign of former Turkmen President Saparmurat Niyazov, army conscripts were placed in almost all public institutions across Turkmenistan.²⁹

Uzbekistan. Similar to its neighboring states, Uzbekistan's military-industrial complex suffered from the disintegration of the Soviet Army. The Soviet military industry was designed with the principle of interdependence and the Uzbek military industrial enterprises constituted a part of the larger military-industrial complex of the Soviet Union. In most cases, post-Soviet military industries were not able to renew their production capacities because of the inability to rebuild interstate ties which once existed during the Soviet period. The Soviet interstate connection of military industry, as mentioned earlier, was established according to the Soviet interests of the center. States that tried to restore Soviet industrial ties suffered from inconstancy of partnership, since oftentimes new links were formed with other states or local industries totally collapsed. Uzbekistan's post-Soviet military-industrial ties with Russia to cooperation on military aviation transport production failed to be efficient. But Uzbekistan was still able to use left-behind Soviet equipment for preparing army cadres.

The internal structure of the Uzbek military stayed unchanged throughout the period of 1992-1998 and the command and exercise of the armed forces remained nearly identical to the Soviet period. Most of the military renovations during that time were brought by external stimuli. NATO exercises "Cooperative Nugget" (1995), "Cooperative Osprey" (1996), and "Balance Ultra" and increased contact with Western states brought the possibility to train the local troops.³⁰ In the course of military reform in the 1990s, the army was reconfigured into four military

²⁹ *Repression and Regression in Turkmenistan: A New International Strategy* (Osh and Brussels: International Crisis Group, 2004).

³⁰ Farkhad Tolipov and Roger N. McDermott, "Uzbekistan and the US: Partners Against Terrorism," *The Review of International Affairs* 2, 4 (2003).

districts: Southwest with command center in Karshi, Eastern in Ferghana, Central in Dzhizak and Northwestern in Nukus. The operational command is located in Tashkent. Each district consists of a Motor Rifle Division and assault brigades safeguarded by several hundred troops. The military educational complex in Uzbekistan includes Tashkent Higher All-Arms Command School, Chichir Higher Tank Command-Engineering School, Samarqand Higher Auto-Artillery School and Djizak Higher Air military college. In 1995, an Armed Forces Academy was established to train officers for all military structures.

Uzbekistan's first military doctrine was endorsed in 1995 and represented a rather symbolic document with little relevance to the practice of national military organization. The fundamental principle of the 1995 doctrine included a non-proliferation policy of nuclear weapons to prevent interstate wars. It agreed on "comprehensive prohibition of nuclear tests," and the "universal destruction of chemical, bacteriological, and other weapons of mass destruction."³¹ It also pledged non-interference in another state's domestic affairs and active integration into the regional and international security structures. Thus, the doctrine purported general norms and principles of international law but did not provide detailed descriptions of the roles and duties of individual actors or agencies. It merely gave legal grounds for the country to join international non-proliferation regimes.³² Although the doctrine was designed to prepare national armed forces for defense against criminal militant groups and international terrorism, it did not specify which organization should fall under such definitions. The doctrine was criticized by local and foreign experts, and its merits in military organization were tested by religious insurgents in the late 1990s.³³

In 2000, the National Security Council of Uzbekistan approved a new military doctrine, which established an array of systematic changes in the military construction. Although similar to the doctrine adopted in 1995, the 2000 doctrine emphasized a defensive character and focused more on security at the regional and domestic levels rather than anticipating instabilities emerging outside of Central Asia. The tactics of national military construction and buildup of defensive capacity purported in the doctrine were based primarily on possible armed conflicts in the Central Asian region initiated by terrorist groups.³⁴

³¹ The Military Doctrine of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 1995.

³² Kholisa Sodikova "Uzbekistan's National Security Policy and Nonproliferation," *The Nonproliferation Review* (Winter, 1999).

³³ Odil Ruzaliev, "Uzbekistan's Military Doctrine is Tested by Insurgents," *Uzland.uz*, 2000.

³⁴ "Vooruyhennze sily Respubliki Uzbekistan - garant stabil'nosti v strane i regione" [The Armed Forces of the Republic of Uzbekistan - Guarantee of Stability in the Country and Region], at *Uzbekistan.uz*, 2005

The doctrine classified possible conflicts into both small and middle range and paid attention to security developments on a regional level, particularly in the Ferghana Valley and Tajikistan. The defense capacity of the country was oriented at suppression of tensions predominantly at the regional level and not domestically. The domestic sources of instability were not specified in the doctrine whereas past and future terrorist insurgencies were framed as a problem of regional concern. At the same time, the doctrine associated instabilities occurring on the territory of Uzbekistan with the security of the entire region. In other words, there was a fuzzy distinction made between regional and domestic levels of security.

Under these principles the defensive nature of the Uzbek military doctrine reduced the number of troops by about 15,000 from the amount maintained since the collapse of the Soviet Union. However, it also aimed at sustaining, first, a state of high readiness for the armed forces and, second, the largest number of troops in the region. Today, the Uzbek army represents Central Asia's numerically largest military with 53,000 soldiers.³⁵ This number does not include the Ministry of Interior's paramilitary forces or the Border Guard. Furthermore, the new doctrine exacerbates military sector financial expenditures despite reduction of troops and reduced length of mandatory service duration.

PART II: Analysis of Policy Shift in the Late 1990s

Since the late 1980s, all armed conflicts in the Central Asian states occurred either within the borders of a single state between political opposition movements or along national borders. Both forms of tension were directed against the ruling governments of Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan or Uzbekistan. Unprecedented violent outbreaks and disappointing responses from the national military structures were followed with rising criticism of the governments' incompetent security policies and poor coordination of security structures in times of conflict. This section examines common features of military reforms undertaken in all Central Asian states by looking at factors that led to the endorsement of new doctrines in the late 1990s such as unpredicted armed conflicts and responses to them. It also traces the motives for changing the new policies (conceptually and institutionally). Furthermore, it touches upon the impact of military reform on economic development, always with the view that the military is an indispensable element of the state-building processes. Military reforms were inevitable for the Central Asian states, but they also required vast financial investment.

³⁵ Rustam Temirov, "Uzbekistan's Army Going Professional," *Eurasia Insight*, May 14 2004.

The atmosphere in the late 1990s of accumulating tension between the pro-governmental forces and growing opposition necessitated a revamping of existing security strategies and also provoked intra-governmental debates on what these revamped strategies must include. Towards the end of the first decade of independence, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and, partly, Kyrgyzstan endorsed new security policies that substantially differed from earlier documents. Thus, in the fourteen-years following the collapse of the Soviet centralized coordination of the military, the Central Asian states experienced two generations of military doctrines. Both generations reflected shifts in national security perceptions among the Central Asian states. Whereas military doctrines in the early 1990s were geared towards cooperation in conditions when regional security problems were insignificant, the second generation of doctrines made formation of interstate cooperative relations increasingly complicated with the increase of non-state insurgency.

The first military doctrines and other security documents adopted in the early years of independence portrayed insignificant changes in the Soviet identification of threats, military service or military construction, including arms transfers, type of defense systems and military training. The security goals in the beginning of 1990s were twofold: first, the early doctrines were an inertial continuation of the Soviet military conception and second, the newly independent states needed to provide the legal basis for military construction at the national level. States were concerned with placing the post-Soviet military under national jurisdictions and thus with nationalizing military legislation.³⁶ The common trend observed in the advancement of military legislation was the endorsement of relevant laws in the area of military defense, mobilization and mobilization training, the status of military personnel, state borders, border service and alternative military service. Consequently, a basis was formed for making decisions on military obligations and military service, introducing alternative military service, ensuring the social security of military personnel and members of their families, military mobilization, protection of state borders, imposing a state of emergency, and regulating powers and responsibilities of state security agencies. Many of these laws imitated the logic of Western and Russian legislation and were developed simultaneously across all states of the region. In many cases the new legislation was overloaded with “umbrella” laws, which stipulated generalized principles but lacked concrete descriptions of rights and responsibilities for individual actors or

³⁶ Rafal Domisiewicz and Yurii Nazarkin, "Participation of Civil Experts in Developing Conceptual Documents on Political and National Security Question" in ed. Rafal Domisiewicz and Yurii Nazarkin, *Civil Control of National Security Politics: CIS Experience* (Geneva: Democratic Control of Armed Forces, 2004).

groups of actors. Such laws were susceptible to speculations and dual interpretations by government officials.

The “first wave” of military doctrines also disregarded regional differences in military and economic capacities. They provided normative grounds for joining regional and international security arrangements. The early military doctrines aimed at establishing horizontal alignments between the states. They reflected the principle of “all parity” reminiscent to dispositions prevalent during the Soviet regime when each republic was meant to be an equal part of the greater country. This resulted in the emergence of a chain of “paper agreements” purporting the basic principles of regional integrity but lacking elaborated mechanisms for executing them. Most of the agreements encompassed fundamental principles of peaceful coexistence within the new international context, mutual recognition of national sovereignties, and new statuses of the Central Asian states.

Following a series of regional instabilities in the late 1990s, the Central Asian states began endorsing a “second wave” of security policies during the period between the late 1990s and the beginning of 2000s that substantially differed from the earlier documents of Central Asian leaders. A plethora of border disputes, increase of security challenges to the ruling regimes and, most importantly, unequal distribution of military assets throughout the region showed the inefficiency of the early national security strategies. The incentives to revisit security strategies for the most part had domestic origins and were a product of a more considerate approach about domestic capacity to preserve domestic stability. The conflicts in Batken and the mobilization of insurgent groups clearly impacted militarization processes in all the states across the region. The Batken conflict, for instance, showed how in cases of unexpected military intrusions, affected states are not able to coordinate armies neither on an interstate level nor domestically. The conflict also allowed the Uzbek government to launch unsanctioned military operations on neighboring territories that contradicted the basic principles of recognized sovereignties.³⁷ In such a situation, Kyrgyzstan’s weak military potential, poor coordination of force ministries and limited manpower to resist spontaneous outbreaks of terrorist groups became especially obvious.

Hence, security policies of the “second wave” reflected the unequal distribution of domestic and regional military and economic capacities. Instead of endorsing policies that recognized regional neighbors as partners with equal opportunities and similar security goals, the regime holders began counting tradeoffs between alignment and unilateralism. Policymaking became a more deliberate process, where joining regional

³⁷ This was Uzbekistan’s second unilateral campaign of a foreign territory. The Uzbek troops also intervened in the Tajik civil war.

or bilateral alignments was identified as a practice of establishing security relations with vertical, not horizontal, links based on states' military capacities. After the efficiency of the earlier doctrines was tested by regional conflicts, the new wave of security documents developed a regional hierarchy of cooperative relations based on the degrees of state militarization and exposure to security threats. In this situation the militarily stronger states, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, faced an option of rejecting regional alignment without fear of losing control over the domestic security situation. In fact, unilateralism in the late 1990s seemed to be a better choice than cooperation when possessing a strong military. Thus, the main difference between the two generations of security documents was a different government approach on using domestic resources against emergent security problems.

Conceptual Changes in the Doctrines

Revisions of military doctrines in the late 1990s and early 2000s implied redefinitions in the key concepts on the military sector's importance in the state's security and its potential development. Specifically, the revision considered what constituted security problems and what types of responses the military should take in order to prevent them. From the analysis of Central Asian military doctrines, two conclusions can be made about the identification of threats to state security. First, in the early doctrines and security documents, all states defined regional instabilities as lurking someplace beyond the national borders. The most critical threats to national security were regarded as exclusively external. All Central Asian states considered penetration of guerrilla groups through the national borders and dissemination of religious extremist groups as security issues with exogenous dependency, capable of disrupting domestic political and social order. Because of these perceptions, means for regulating activities of potential security problems were not sought within the state's domestic capacity.

By contrast, the revisited doctrines of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan purported different definitions of threats to national security and methods of military operations to fight them. Uzbekistan's 2000 military doctrine differs from its earlier version by taking a more regional approach in defining state security problems. The document presumes the possibility of deploying domestic military power on the territories of the neighboring states if security problems directly affect the national interests of Uzbekistan.

The second peculiarity of threat identification in the national strategies was a moving threshold in each state's definition of terrorism, similarly as to what effects must be accounted for constituting a security problem. The significance of religious movements in national security and the means for preventing their expansion was regarded differently in

each state as well. The Uzbek government stood out with the most rigorous politics towards religious movements which sometimes descended to abusing the basic rights of religious expression. Kazakhstan, at the other extreme, did not develop specific legislature against terrorist activities until 2005.

It should be noted that a more considerate approach and greater urgency for a detailed understanding of domestic capacity to deal with security problems gained significance only in the later periods of independence. In the early 1990s, regional and Soviet identities played a stronger role in states' choices of security policies. There was an almost non-existent variance in the way the new governments treated the importance of regional cooperation, placing united security in the forefront of national development. By 2005, states that had already adopted a second pool of military doctrines anticipated reaching certain policy results. Military structures were expected to gain better financing regardless of the source of investment and army prestige was implicitly projected to display the first signs of improvement. On the conceptual side, the security documents of the late 1990s were built with a defensive rationale for military organization. Similarly, on the structural side, each state identified available means for the maintenance of national security on the one hand, and the potential and necessity of cooperation with the neighbors on the other.

This shift falls under the general theory on postcolonial state development: similarly to political and economic spheres such as tax extraction and control of national borders, the state is not able to manage fully its military at the beginning of its postcolonial period. State military capability becomes a more important factor in security relation formation in later stages of state-building, when it is able to exercise more efficient control over its armed forces. As the borders of a postcolonial state become better regulated and the government's ability to extract taxes from the population increases, trends in military management, which include systematized military conscription, reconciliation of external ties for military imports and export play a more significant role.

Likewise, on a regional level, differences in military capabilities among states do not affect the establishment of security relations at a regional level in the beginning of postcolonial independence. However, in later stages of state-building, although a state acquires better control over domestic resources and establishes a coherent border regime, non-state actors forming political opposition to incumbent regimes also gain more credibility. In a 10-15 year span political movements, legally registered opposition forces, and criminal networks of nationalists and religious radicals grow in membership and develop stronger abilities to provoke violent reaction to governmental policies. Furthermore, non-state actors

that first originated in one state spill over to neighboring territories and transform into transnational forces challenging not only regime holders of a single state but several governments of one region.

This implies that a state, although being at later stages of development, has to respond to stronger challenges from within. Intensification of internal security problems, spillover of political opposition movements and a state's limited ability to cope with them necessitates cooperation. As internal threats become more evident and display concrete signs of a political challenge to regime holders, domestic insecurity controls cooperative relations. The intensity of domestic political threats surmounts the importance of a state's military capability.

Small and Mobile Forces with Modern Weapons

The new Kazakh, Kyrgyz, and Uzbek doctrines adopted in 2000-2002 contained similar sets of military reforms to be achieved in a five to ten year period. The logic of reforms in all Central Asian states seems to follow the same path (Table 2). With the partial exception of Turkmenistan, the main principle established in the new military doctrines was the formation of rapid reaction forces whose internal structures would be decentralized into small and mobile groups of professional soldiers equipped with modern weapons. The intention of restructuring the military into more fragmented corps implied that responsibilities had to shift to lower levels of serviceman.

Another central goal of reforms was to improve the public prestige of the army which was to be achieved by contract-based conscription of army personnel and enhanced living conditions, level of professional training and financial allowances. The reforms signified distancing from the now inefficient logic and structure of the Soviet army by adopting the military to the new domestic and regional reality. The armies were geared towards attracting physically fit young men interested in continuing military service. Although Tajikistan lagged behind its neighbors in developing new doctrines, it was determined to implement extensive reforms in the structure of the armed forces and thus entirely move away from the inherited Soviet form of military organization.

Table 2. Redefining concepts in military doctrines from early and late 1990s

"Old" concepts in the 1st wave in 1991-1999	"New" concepts in the 2nd wave in 1999-2005
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Large-scale conflicts • Challenge of nuclear weapons • Collective responses to threats • Interstate conflicts • Labor-intensive armies, compulsory conscription 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Small, mobile forces • Contemporary weapons • Professional armies • Contract-based conscription • Local conflicts • Stronger/militarized borders • Terrorism • Drug trafficking

The speed of security policy endorsement and the announcement of military reforms were dependent on the economic situation in the country. States with better economic developments were generally more successful in reforming, while Kyrgyzstan and even more so, Tajikistan, lagged behind their regional neighbors. With the endorsement of new doctrines, there were proponents and critics of military reforms on the domestic level. In Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, the new doctrines encountered intensive criticism about the feasibility of contract-based conscription within the established period of ten years. Lack of appropriate funds and public infrastructure to attract contract-based military professionals were the main problems commonly emphasized in the local media. All states wound up with higher military expenditures as a result of reforms since contract-based conscription required not only increased funding for serving personnel in terms of professional training, salary and pensions, but also proper living conditions for the personnel's family members in military districts.³⁸

Among the common problems widely emphasized by the opposition in both states on the potential of a contract-based army were poor living and training conditions in military camps that remained after the Soviet Army was disbanded and budgetary limits on funding substantial changes. The reforms needed to be implemented at the cost of other state-financed public sectors such as education and health. Thus, military reforms made security in Central Asian states a competing realm for investment. During the early 1990s, state funding for the military was commensurate with budgetary means and annual investments in security structures steadily decreased, so that in the late 1990s the new reforms required finding a compromise with other public institutions. Inevitably, in order to achieve the reform goals, additional funds had to be sought from external sources. In addition to domestic financial resources becoming competitive in these types of "gun and butter" calculations, foreign economic aid that pertained to areas other than military security such as poverty reduction, health or education sectors could also be incorporated to unleash funds for increased defense capacity.³⁹

Reforms set by the Tajik government were similar in content to those in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, but the country fell under a significantly stronger dependence on foreign assistance compared to its neighbors. The

³⁸ Yaroslav Razumov, "Sapogi vsmiatku, ili novyi princip komplektoaniya kazakhstanskoi armii" [Damaged Boots, or New Principle of Kazakhstan Army Formation], *Panorama*, July 26 2004.

³⁹ Robert L. West, "Determinants of Military Expenditure in Developing Countries: Review of Academic Research", in eds. Geoffrey Lamb and Valeriana Kallab, *Military Expenditures and Economic Development* (Washington, DC: The World Bank, 1992); Nicole Ball, *Security and Economy in the Third World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).

Tajik President Rakhmonov had to confront individual political leaders, his allied military officials and opposing former field commanders during the civil war. The “personality factor” of his supporters and opposition members in the post-war period worked against Rakhmonov on several occasions, including a near outbreak of a military coup in February 2004 by his former long-standing ally Lieutenant-General Mirzoyev.⁴⁰

Another example is Kazakhstan, where the changes set in the military doctrine, however intensive they appeared, were accomplished with recognized success. The Kazakh government officially declared large-scale reformation of the military on all levels in 2000. Ever since then, the country has accomplished successful results with minimal tradeoffs with other sectors of the economy, at times producing positive net effects by decreasing unemployment among the rural population. Maintaining a close partnership with NATO and regional organizations, Kazakhstan was able to adhere to the established goals more effectively than neighboring states. With the annual increase of military spending, there was little necessity to raise the percentage of annual GDP spending. To date, Kazakhstan is the only Central Asian state with any notable defense capacity which could further its ambition to pursue a foreign policy that balances between NATO, Russia, and China.

The post-Soviet defense industry in Kazakhstan allowed the Kazakh government to export about half of the armament production and to bring in an annual income of US\$10-15 million. In addition to restructuring ground troops into small and mobile forces as part of the anti-terrorist and drug trafficking strategies, the Kazakh Ministry of Defense announced its intention to form previously non-existent naval forces on the Caspian Sea by 2015.⁴¹ Enhanced conditions of the armed service boosted its public prestige. Already by 2003 there emerged a new group of highly trained elite officers who had gone through professional training schools and were equipped with modern weapons.⁴²

PART III: National Military Policies vs. Regional Agreements

The above discussed how the difference between the two generations of security policies entailed various degrees of interstate incentives to cooperate. In the early 1990s, justification of why security cooperation between the Central Asian states was necessary for increasing transnational stability was not difficult to formulate. The religion of

⁴⁰ Lidia Isamova and Zafar Abdullaev, "Tajikistan: Out with the Old Guard," *Institute for War and Peace Reporting*, February 3 2004.

⁴¹ Marat Yermukanov, "Kazakh Military on Reform Track," *Central Asia - Caucasus Analyst*, March 12 2003.

⁴² "Kazakh Officers to Serve as Sergeants for One Year before Getting Straps - Defense Minister," *Interfax-AVN*, May 6 2004; "Kazakhstan: Defense Minister Stresses Importance of Forming Professional Army," *Astana Kazakhstanskaya*, May 7 2003.

Sunni Muslims, Turkic language (except for Tajikistan), and pre- and Soviet history shared by the Central Asian societies created common identities linked to that particular regional entity. The period of 1990-1996 stands out as an institutionalization phase when various Central Asian interstate agencies were rapidly forming. The basic agreements adopted at this time were to give occasion to future regional economic and political integration, or, as stated by the newly-elected national presidents, "reintegration of the Soviet community."⁴³

However, this phase of prompt institutionalization was followed by a disappointing lull. After several years, it became apparent that the numerous aspects stated in these arrangements were not executed in practice. In fact, many of them hampered further development of interstate cooperation and provoked intergovernmental disputes.⁴⁴ What initially seemed to be an indication of closer ties between the states, turned into a force that caused them to drift apart. It became apparent that geographic proximity and interlaced borders constantly triggered spillovers of any nascent security threat while the varying degrees of state capabilities to respond to emergent challenges placed them in unequal positions in the regional agreements.

Hence, in the late 1990s culturally and historically bound states discovered themselves unable to cooperate effectively on common security problems. Existing cooperative activities on a regional level were characterized by a number of guarantees stated in the agreements adopted from the beginning of the 1990s. Signed treaties purported basic principles of non-intervention, exclusion of territorial pretensions and avoidance of resorting to military forces against another state, and agreed on the improbability of armed conflicts between the states.⁴⁵ Although the Central Asian states recognized each other's territorial integrity, sovereignty, and legitimacy, interstate agreements did not provide detailed mechanisms for dealing with growing regional threats. The arrangements were not products of intense bargaining on states' interests but represented only ground rules and norms of peaceful coexistence. The rights and duties of domestic actors, agencies or groups of actors were not clearly spelt out.⁴⁶ A deficiency of elaborated standards of behavior on an inter-agency level was especially evident among states' internal law-enforcement agencies such as border guards, police, and customs control.

⁴³ Erica Marat, "Strong and Weak Aspects of Civilian Control of Armed Forces in Kyrgyzstan" in ed. Domisiewicz and Nazarkin, *Civil Control of National Security Politics*.

⁴⁴ Martha B. Olcott, "Central Asia: Common Legacies and Conflict" in ed. Roy Allison and Lena Johnson, *Central Asian Security. The New International Context* (London & Washington, DC: Royal Institute of International Affairs, Brookings Institution Press, 2001).

⁴⁵ CIS, SCO and CSTO are the primary examples on inefficient multilateral agreements.

⁴⁶ Theoretical framework elaborated by Andrew Hurrell in ed. Rittberger et al *International Society and Regimes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 64-65.

Differences in security policy orientations prevented the states from developing joint deliberate decisions on managing security threats and harsh border regimes followed the distrustful relations between the states.

Among the first cooperative arrangements in 1992 and as a security endorsing agency within the CIS, the Collective Security Treaty (CST) was founded with Russian leadership and included 11 former Soviet states.⁴⁷ According to the treaty, Russia had the ability to station, supply and extract military equipment as well as reign over the domestic military domain among the CIS member states. The treaty of 1992 did not define any particular threats which could emerge in the post-Soviet era requiring interstate preventive activities, but was based on the possibility of international aggression from outside the CIS territory. Article 4 of the treaty maintained: "If one of the member-states is attacked from the side of another state or a group of states, this will be regarded as aggression against all other member-states of the present Treaty."⁴⁸ Hence, collective security was perceived only as measures against external sources of aggression and not stabilization of internal security concerns.

In the early 1990s, in a situation of unpredictability about further developments of a disintegrated Soviet military and other remainders of a vast communist state, the CIS provided a type of assurance for the future *raison d'être* for the national militaries. The principle of military and economic interdependence provided additional incentives for cooperation in the independence period. Notwithstanding the fact that the end of the Cold War eliminated some of the serious challenges of instability in the post-communist world, newly independent states continued to prioritize collective military dynamics in order to sustain regional order as opposed to domestic stability.

Contrary to expectations, a number of post-Soviet states began experiencing intrastate tensions between various social groups mobilized on the basis of ethnic, clan, and tribal identities that once remained dormant during the Soviet period due to the ability of centralized internal control to regulate these conflicts. However, new security mechanisms proved ineffective for handling these challenges. During the peak of the Tajik civil war between the Tajik government and the opposition in the early 1990s, the CST demonstrated limited efficiency in the context of an intrastate conflict. There were also several examples from the armed conflicts in the South Caucasus, which included military

⁴⁷ In alphabetical order: Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine.

⁴⁸ Tat'yana A. Shakleina, *Vneshnyaya politika i bezopasnost' sovremennoi Rossi, 1991-2002* [Foreign Politics and Security of Modern Russia, 1991-2002] (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2002), p. 312.

actions between CST members,⁴⁹ where principles of the treaty showed impracticability. In responding to the conflicts, the CST played a marginal role, whereas bilateral relations with Russia predetermined the reduction of these tensions. The ongoing war in Afghanistan led by the Taliban movement and regarded as an external problem by the community of states within the CST was one of the justifications for the continuation of the treaty's existence. The CST became more significant as Russia sought to increase its influence in the Central Asian region after the U.S. and NATO stationed their military bases in Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan in 2001. By then, the treaty had become an organization as the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO).

At the beginning of 1995, within the framework of the CIS, the five Central Asian states signed the Memorandum on Maintaining Peace and Stability and the Agreement on Creating Joint Air Defense Systems. However, on April 2, 1999 Uzbekistan, together with Azerbaijan and Georgia did not attend the CIS meeting and refused to sign the prolongation of the CST for another five years. By that time the efficiency of the CIS was extremely low and perceived as a fragile security guarantor for the Central Asian states. Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan identified the CIS as a Russian post-imperial instrument for the political control of the independent states. This further refusal to participate in the CIS symbolized these countries' wish to distance themselves from the influence of the regional superpower.

Another important trend in Central Asian regional security politics is that although the existing national military documents encourage interstate cooperation, most collective activities in the military and security sphere do not increase the states' ability to counter domestic and regional insurgency. Most of the regional military exercises are carried out under the aegis of the CSTO and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and involve heavy armaments, combat aircraft and helicopters. Often, Russian ground and air assault elite forces have demonstrated state of the art military technologies and operations. Scenarios staged at collective exercises include countering the activity of terrorist organizations, massive attacks, and armed conflicts. However, such military drills represent a rather inadequate response to the existing security threats in the region.⁵⁰ Cooperation on preventing drug trafficking, transnational organized crime and money laundering could potentially be of a greater value to Central Asian regional security.

⁴⁹ Conflicts erupted between Georgia and Abkhazia, Armenia and Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh. Russia was militarily involved in both conflicts.

⁵⁰ Aziz Soltobaev, "Collective Security Exercises in Central Asia: Wrong Medicine?", *Central Asia - Caucasus Analyst*, May 19 2004.

Conclusions

The interstate asymmetric military legacy from the Soviet period stirred alternative developments in the post-Soviet period, creating stronger and weaker states. The Tajik army numerically increased after the integration of opposition and state troops as the civil war ended. The Kyrgyz government tried to enhance the capacity of its national army after fighting in an unexpected conflict with an external insurgency in 1999-2000. The ability to re-launch production in the post-Soviet period denoted additional improvements for the Kazakh and Uzbek militaries compared to Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. The two stronger states also have larger populations out numbering the other states in active and reserve military personnel. These factors had an impact on national security policies, compelling states to adopt strategies conducive to or preventive of regional cooperation. Turkmenistan's former leader Niyazov preferred to protect his own regime by increasing the number of internal troops as opposed to building cooperative ties with neighboring states.

The developments in the region during the independence period and the importance of its colonial history became visible only in the course of a decade. This article argues that at the beginning of postcolonial independence, mushrooming interstate agreements on security should not be confused as evolving cooperation. The agreements were based on regional ideational traits in the absence of a strong realization of how problems with undefined state borders, growing security problems, and asymmetric distribution of material assets would eventually reveal the weaker and stronger actors. As a result of the Tashkent bombing in 1999 and two armed conflicts in south Kyrgyzstan that touched Uzbek and Tajik security interests, Central Asian states began revising their security policies with a more rationalized approach. With the new security policies that define states' security challenges and the national capability to balance against them more accurately, cooperation becomes more difficult to achieve. Interstate relations are sought by building new security policies that are commensurate with each actor's capability and exposure to security problems. In such circumstances stronger actors aim for vertical relations with weaker counterparts, often trespassing officially stated agreements and taking up unilateral actions to protect their own interests.

In the late 1990s, all Central Asian states, with the exception of Turkmenistan, declared that the new strategies of national military formation would be to transform their militaries into small, mobile, and professional units able to react rapidly to unexpected small and medium range conflicts. Intentions to reduce military personnel and increase military professionalism were demonstrated by Central Asian security councils despite various precipitating conditions. In Kyrgyzstan, before

the armed conflicts at the Kyrgyz-Tajik border, the issues of professional and technical enhancement of the military was placed on the agenda despite the government's earlier proposals to disband national troops and retain National Guard narrowly for symbolic use. In Tajikistan, although the post-civil war oversized military hinders the process for implementing fundamental military reforms, the ultimate goal that was determined by military officials resembles those of the neighboring Central Asian countries. Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan had the smallest resources to realize the sought after goals compared to Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. Moreover, in the case of the militarily stronger states (Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan) there is potential to gradually trim down external assistance for their domestic militaries, while economically weaker states must rely on a perpetual foreign financial influx to be able to undertake their vast reforms.

Finally, it is possible to observe a negative correlation between the increasing importance of national security and incentives for regional alignment based on common identity. Stronger feelings of regional unity because of common historical and cultural backgrounds in the early years of independence paved the way for security alliances. Yet regional instabilities and tendencies for ethno-nationalist politics also reverberated into the domestic security structures. Increasing the capability of national military forces was regarded as an indispensable attribute of each state's security, where national interests were privileged ahead of regional integration.

Nationalists, Muslim Warlords, and the “Great Northwestern Development” in Pre-Communist China

*Hsiao-ting Lin**

ABSTRACT

This article retraces China's pre-Communist era (1928-49) and seeks to reveal the previously unnoticed story of Chinese Nationalists' opportunistic and strategic advancement into the Muslim-ruled territories of China's far northwestern frontiers. It demonstrates how the originally weak, localized, and war-ridden Nationalist regime gradually infiltrated China's inland frontiers, where it usually claimed full sovereignty but where its administrative overtures remained ineffective. It also shows how the Nationalists took advantage of every possible opportunity to penetrate its previously fictitious authority into peripheral China in the name of state building and regime consolidation. As this article illustrates, this process of authority extension, along with the resultant presence of Nationalist authority in China's far northwestern borderlands in the 1940s, ironically paved an unintended way for the subsequent Chinese Communist take-over in the region.

Keywords • Nationalist (Kuomintang) Government • Xinjiang • Sino-Muslims • Ma Bufang • Sheng Shicai • grand northwestern development (Kaifa da Xibei)

In September 1999, the Chinese Government announced a grand project called the Great Western Development (*Xibu da kaifa*). The main purpose of this enterprise is to promote social stability and economic growth in China's western inland regions which have largely been left out of the nation's economic boom since 1978. With the strategy of “stability through development,” the Beijing authorities seek to safeguard national unity and consolidate border security by enhancing the regional economy, fostering business development and foreign investment, and developing infrastructure in China's far-flung western peripheries. The introduction of this ambitious program invited excitement and attracted feverish attention almost overnight. Whereas Communist officials seldom hesitate to emphasize the significance of this “westward-looking” advancement in the context of China's frontier territorial integrity, local inhabitants in the western regions generally expect the prospect of better job opportunities as a result of forthcoming investments. On the other

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hand, Western governments and the private sector were quick to embrace the program, which framed its objectives within an attractive discourse of modernization and reform. In scholarly circles, there is no lack of keen debate on whether the westward development project will be more rhetoric than reality.¹

The development of China's far western regions is by no means a new concept. When probing the issue of westward expansion in modern China's historical context, we discover that during the pre-1949 Nationalist period (1928-1949), the ruling Nationalist (Kuomintang; KMT) regime had already been endeavoring to undertake a series of "grand northwestern development" (*Kaifa da Xibei*) programs with the purpose of opening, colonizing and modernizing Nationalist China's northwestern outlying territories. These relatively overlooked attempts in the 1930s and 1940s, by no means less ambitious and enterprising than the present initiatives in content or scale, attracted huge anticipation and caused a nationwide sensation which was very similar to what is occurring in China today.

What motivated the Chinese Nationalists, whose political authority during the Nationalist era hardly extended beyond China proper, to launch their grandiose projects? How did the Nationalists deal with the Sino-Muslim warlords, who for most of the 1930s and 1940s effectively dominated the vast northwestern frontiers? What was the consequence of these northwestward-looking attempts? And, more significantly, in terms of a broader geo-historical perspective, what sort of impacts had been engendered by the Nationalist Government's northwestern development efforts upon a China that was dominated by its Communist rival after 1949?

This article re-traces the development path pre-Communist China, and seeks to reveal the story of Chinese Nationalists' opportunistic advancement into the Muslim-ruled territories of China's far northwest. It demonstrates how the weak and war-threatened Nationalist central regime gradually infiltrated China's inland frontiers where it usually claimed full sovereignty but where its administrative overtures were ineffective. It also shows how the Nationalists took advantage of every possible opportunity to penetrate its previously fictitious authority into peripheral China, in the name of state building and regime consolidation. As this article will illustrate, the presence of Nationalist authority in

¹ On China's Great Western Development since the late 1990s, see, for example: Yasuo Onishi ed., *China's Western Development Strategy: Issues and Prospects* (Tokyo: Institute of Developing Economies, 2001); Abigail Sines, "Civilizing the Middle Kingdom's wild west," *Central Asian Survey* 21, 1 (2002), pp. 5-18; Ding Lu & William A. W. Neilson eds., *China's West Region Development: Domestic Strategies and Global Implications* (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co., 2004).

China's far northwestern borderlands in the 1940s ironically paved an unintended way for the subsequent Communist take-over in the region.

The Search for a New Power Base

In September 1931, the Japanese commander in Korea ordered his troops across the border into south Manchuria and attacked the Chinese barracks in Mukden. The Chinese troops in Manchuria under Young Marshal Zhang Xueliang did not offer much resistance, and by the end of 1931 the whole region was completely under Japanese control. In the spring of 1932, a Tokyo-sponsored Manchukuo, with the ex-Qing emperor Puyi as its nominal leader, was established. This episode, called the Mukden incident, was immediately followed by another military clash between China and Japan in Shanghai. On January 28, 1932 under the pretext of protecting their perimeter, Japanese marines stationed in the Shanghai International Settlement suddenly exchanged fire with the Nationalist troops deployed nearby. The unexpected skirmish soon developed into a full-scale Japanese bombing and attack on Shanghai's Chinese defenders. Although an armistice was arranged in May of that year, the Nationalist government was forced to accept the drawing of a neutral zone around the greater Shanghai metropolis and the withdrawal of its troops from the area.²

The intense Japanese military expansion into Manchuria and other parts of coastal China soon prompted the higher echelons of the Nationalist administration to contemplate the security and survival of their precarious regime. After the Mukden and Shanghai incidents of the early 1930s, an increasing number of Chinese officials were coming to the conclusion that an all-out Japanese invasion of China seemed unavoidable in the long run. As a result, top Nationalist leaders felt the urgent need to search for a potential inland power base capable of undertaking enduring resistance against their enemy from the east. It is a noteworthy fact that in the early 1930s, it was the vast northwest, not the southwest where the Nationalists subsequently headquartered their wartime capital. Immediately following the Japanese attack on Shanghai, the Nationalists announced that China's national capital would be temporarily moved from Nanking, which was close to Shanghai, to Luoyang, in Henan Province. Although activities gradually returned to normal in Nanking after a ceasefire was reached in Shanghai, Xi'an, the capital city of Shaanxi Province, was officially made Nationalist China's

² Lloyd E. Eastman, Jerome Chen, Suzanne Pepper and Lyman van Slyke, *The Nationalist Era in China, 1927-1949* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 14, 120; Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York: Norton, 1990), pp. 388-396.

“Western national capital” (Xi Jing) to be used in the event of repeat coastal invasion of China.³

Apart from Nationalist government officials, grassroots Han Chinese as well as the mass media in China proper were also quick to realize the strategic need to develop the northwest in the face of possible Japanese military encroachment. This growing awareness was evident from the sudden blooming of societies, study groups and publications on China’s northwestern affairs after the Mukden incident. In 1932 alone, there were at least a dozen new societies related to northwestern affairs set up in Peking, Nanking and Shanghai, each devoting itself to research on China’s far western frontier lands. These groups published their own journals and periodicals, endeavoring to systematically introduce China’s far northwestern regions to intellectuals and commoners in China proper. Some of these well-organized societies, such as the Study Group of Northwestern Affairs (Xibei Wenti Yanjiuhui) in Shanghai, were able to attract not only scholars and students, but also some high-ranking KMT officials, such as Dai Chuanxian, then President of the Examination Yuan, and Zhang Ji, an influential member of the KMT Central Committee. Gradually, the Study Group of Northwestern Affairs (Xibei Wenti Yanjiuhui) in Shanghai became an influential advisory board to the Nationalist regime vis-à-vis its northwestern dealings.⁴

After the catastrophic episodes in Mukden and Shanghai in the early 1930s, Chinese public opinion allowed no delay in urging the central government to take concrete measures to bring the northwest frontiers closer into Nanking’s administrative orbit. Nor did it forget to alert the people in China proper to the importance of opening the Northwest for the sake of national survival. Taking the influential *Da Gong Bao* (The Impartial Daily) of Tianjin as an example, on April 26, 1932 its editorial pointed out that developing the northwest was “the only way out” for the war-threatened Nationalist China. This assertion, as the editorial continued, was based on the fact that China proper could no longer be securely protected due to the fall of Manchuria to the Japanese. The *Da Gong Bao* meanwhile argued that the northwest was a better choice for the Nationalists because southwest China was plagued by ceaseless

³ “Important resolutions approved in the 4th KMT Central Committee”, March 1932, in Second Historical Archives of China ed., *Zhonghua Minguoshi Dang’an Ziliao Huibian* (Collection of Republican historical materials from the archives) (hereafter, ZMDZH) (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1994), 5: 1, Politics (2), p. 365.

⁴ Shen Sherong, “Jiu-yi-ba Shibian Hou kaifa Xibei sichao di xingqi” (The rise of the trend of thought on developing the Northwest after the Mukden incident), *Ningxia Daxue Xuebao* (Journal of University of Ningxia) 4, (1995), pp. 9-15. Other important societies on China’s northwestern affairs of this period included the Northwest Association (Xibei Xieshe) and Society for the Northwest Public Studies (Xibei Gongxueshe) in Beijing, the Developing the Northwest Association (Kaifa Xibei Xiehui) in Nanking, and the Northwest Public Forum Association (Xibei Gonglunshe) in Shanghai.

warfare among local warlords, who gave little more than superficial allegiance to the central authorities in Nanking.⁵

In response to high expectations from the public concerning much-needed northwestern development, in late 1932 the Nationalist center promulgated a series of proposals aimed at promoting regional infrastructure development in the areas of: economy, industry, forestry, irrigation, husbandry, and mining in China's western peripheries. According to this new scheme, a Reclamation Committee was soon to be set up with ministerial status under direct control of the Executive Yuan and would take charge of related affairs. Despite its financial constraints, the Nationalist regime declared that a large sum of the national expenditure would be allocated to this new governmental organ in support of its ends.⁶ The proposal was widely appreciated and welcomed, as expected, and was momentarily interpreted as a clear display of Nanking's resolution to take concrete actions towards the transformation of China's northwest into a solid new power base to be used against the Japanese.

However, the mass media in China proper may have inadvertently ignored the fact that Nationalist influence in the northwestern region was as weak as in southwest China. Since the late nineteenth century, the northwestern provinces of Gansu, Ningxia and Qinghai had been administered by the local Tungan Muslim family named Ma. This Ma family achieved dominance in Chinese Central Asia, starting what was, in effect, a small dynasty of its own. From the beginning of the republican era until the end of the 1920s, the brothers Ma Qi and Ma Lin ruled the Gansu Corridor and Qinghai, followed in the 1930s by Ma Qi's sons, Ma Bufang and Ma Buqing. Another branch of the Ma family rose to power in Ningxia and southern Gansu: Ma Hongbin built his own power base in southern Gansu in the 1920s, and in the early 1930s he became Governor of Gansu Province. His cousin, Ma Hongkui, took power in Ningxia, and in 1931 became Governor of that province, where he ruled for the following decade and a half.⁷

West of the Ma-dominated territories, was the Chinese Central Asian province of Xinjiang. A vast, remote, and sparsely populated region, Xinjiang did not become an official province of Qing China until 1884,

⁵ Editorial entitled "On the construction of the Northwest," *Da Gong Bao* (The Impartial Daily) (Tianjin), April 26 1932.

⁶ "Outlines of the scheme for the development of the northwest," Executive Yuan, dated December 19 1932, in ZMDZH, pp. 391-392.

⁷ On the history of the Ma family in northwest China, see Jonathan N. Lipman, *Familiar Strangers: A History of Muslims in Northwest China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), esp. chapters 4 and 5; A. Doak Barnett, *China's Far West: Four Decades of Change* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1993); Qinghai Provincial Government ed., *Qinghai San Ma* (The three Mas in Qinghai) (Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi chubanshe, 1988).

when prominent general, Zuo Zongtang pacified the Muslim rebellion and re-conquered Central Asia. It was ethnically and culturally distinct, with a large majority of various non-Han peoples, most of which were Muslims. Xinjiang's distance from the main centers of Chinese power and culture, together with its inherent obstacles to communication and transportation, made it extremely difficult for Chinese leaders to bind it to the rest of the country. Between 1912 and 1928, Xinjiang was under the administration of Yang Zengxin, an ex-Qing official who acknowledged the authority of the Peking republican government, but for all intents and purposes paid no attention to it. Yang was assassinated in 1928 by his political enemies in Xinjiang, and his unpopular successor, Jin Shuren, was more corrupt and less efficient than Yang. After 1928, the provincial government under Jin was even less concerned about obeying Chiang Kai-shek's new Nationalist regime in Nanking. In the spring of 1933, Jin was toppled by a Muslim *jihād* led by Ma Zhongying, a member of the same Ma family which dominated Chinese Central Asia.⁸

After Jin Shuren fled from Urumqi in 1933, the strongest militarist in the province, Sheng Shicai, seized power, and Nanking eventually confirmed him as the new leader of Xinjiang. Yet, Sheng also had little to do with Chiang Kai-shek and the KMT Nationalists. Before long, Sheng adopted a policy of close rapport with Soviet Russia which, in terms of economic importance and communications facilities, was closer than the heartland of China. The Soviets provided Sheng's provincial regime with various kinds of technical aid and, on more than one occasion, with military support against Sheng's Muslim rivals in Central Asia. Sheng Shicai ruled this vast territory from 1933 onwards. Like his predecessors, Sheng gave little more than nominal allegiance to Chiang Kai-shek's KMT central regime.⁹

Spatial Struggle and Political Compromise

Chiang Kai-shek and his associates in Nanking were fully aware that as long as the Ma Muslim warlords continued to maintain a free reign in China's northwestern sphere of influence,, there would be little chance for the KMT to effectively implement its newly proposed "great northwestern development" projects which aimed to gradually turn the region into a new Nationalist bastion of power. However, by the summer of 1933, for the first time since their rise to power in 1928, an opportunity

⁸ See Allen S. Whiting & Sheng Shih-ts'ai, *Sinkiang: Pawn or Pivot?* (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1958), pp. 3-20; Colin Mackerras, *China's Minorities: Integration and Modernization in the Twentieth Century* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1994), esp. chapter 4.

⁹ A thorough investigation of the history of Republican Xinjiang can be found in Andrew D. W. Forbes, *Warlords and Muslims in Chinese Central Asia: A Political History of Republican Sinkiang, 1911-1949* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

appeared for the power-limited Nationalists to extend their influence into the Ma-dominated territories. In order to weaken Nanking's credibility, in early 1933 Marshal Feng Yuxiang, one of Chiang Kai-shek's major rivals, organized a joint force in Suiyuan Province with the aim of fighting against the Japanese invasion.¹⁰ Due to Feng's attempts to build an alliance of politicians and militarists in northern China among those who opposed Chiang's leadership, Nanking regarded him as a threat to its political legitimacy, and therefore sought to quell his campaign at any cost. A division led by General Sun Dianying, then deployed on the strategic Beijing-Suiyuan railroad, and still claiming to be loyal to Nanking, became very critical of Chiang Kai-shek's group. If Sun was bribed into siding with Feng's northern faction, Nanking would be in a precarious position vis-à-vis its rebels. Viewing it as imperative to move Sun out of the trouble spot, Chiang hastily instructed Sun that he transfer his troops westward into northwest Qinghai with the excuse of "colonizing and reclaiming" that piece of wasteland. Sun, viewing this order as a gift from Chiang which allowed him to create an influential sphere of his own, accepted immediately.¹¹

The Nationalist Government's maneuver was two-pronged. On the one hand it sought to keep Sun Dianying away from Feng Yuxiang's group. On the other hand, under the pretext of the political slogan of "developing the Northwest," Nanking was manipulating Sun to undermine Ma authority, and develop influence in the region. Yet Nanking's calculated strategy was greeted with tremendous opposition from almost every Muslim warlord. Upon hearing of the likely arrival of Sun's troops which numbered around 60,000, Qinghai Governor Ma Lin rejected the idea, urging Nanking to withdraw the order. Ma Lin not only instigated local Tibetan and Mongolian groups to send strong protests to Nanking, he even went as far as to threaten his resignation from the post of Governor of Qinghai.¹² Ningxia Governor, Ma Hongkui, asserted that due to "serious crop failures and lack of food provisions in Ningxia," he would not allow Sun's troops to enter his provincial domain en route to their final destination in Qinghai. Ma Hongkui, like Ma Lin, also

¹⁰ "China (Military): Situation Report", received by the U. S. War Department, May 31 1933, in *United States Military Intelligence Report, China, 1911-1941* (Frederick, MD: University Publication of America, 1983), microfilm (hereafter, USMIR), reel 5.

¹¹ See Sun Dianying's dispatches to Lin Sen (Head of the Nationalist Government) and Premier Wang Jingwei, June 17 1933, in *Minguo Dang'an* (The Republican Archives) (Nanjing), 1994 (4), p. 27; "China (Military): Situation Report", U. S. War Department, received July 19 and August 10 1933, USMIR, reel 9.

¹² Ma Lin to Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei, June 30 1933; The Qinghai Provincial Government to the Nationalist Government, July 2 1933; Ma Lin to Lin Sen, July 5 1933 in *Minguo Dang'an*, pp. 28-29.

threatened to resign from his governorship if Chiang Kai-shek did not reverse his “unwise” decision.¹³

Faced with enormous pressures from the Muslims warlords, the power-weak yet opportunistic Nanking authorities decided to abandon their attempts to use Sun Dianying as a means to penetrate the Northwest. In November 1933, in the face of growing tumult in the northwestern rim, Chiang Kai-shek finally backed down. He officially ordered that Sun’s division, then moving slowly towards the Suiyuan-Ningxia border, halt and wait for further instructions from Nanking. Meanwhile, Sun’s soldiers, who were already trapped in an impasse and were plagued with imminent shortages of food provisions in the locale, had terribly low morale and were showing signs of mental instability.¹⁴ The dire situation eventually prompted Sun Dianying to act on his own. In early 1934, disregarding Chiang Kai-shek’s open instruction, Sun ordered his troops to advance westward across the Ningxia boundary, causing an immediate military clash between Sun’s troops and Ma Hongkui’s Muslim force, which was deployed on the provincial border. With the view of safeguarding their common interests in the Northwest, almost all of the important Ma family members began to send their own forces to Ningxia as reinforcement in the fight with Sun. At this juncture, as Chiang Kai-shek no longer saw a possibility to play the Sun card against the Mas, he opportunistically changed his attitude, urging the Mas to take any “necessary actions” in order to punish the “obstinate” Sun Dianying. In the final phase of the armed conflict, Nanking even assisted Ma Hongkui with some well-equipped munitions, including a reconnaissance plane, to facilitate his battle with Sun. In March, Sun’s force was defeated and eventually absorbed into the Shanxi provincial garrison.¹⁵

The Sun Dianying incident had caused considerable damage to the Nationalist regime’s reputation. The incident also prompted high officials in Nanking to realize that the Ma family held on tightly to its traditional authority in northwestern China, and it could not be easily crushed by means of military engagement. Accordingly, Chiang Kai-shek decided to dismiss the use of drastic methods and, from the Sun

¹³ See: Ma Hongkui to the Nationalist Government, September 21 1933, and Ningxia Provincial Government to the Executive Yuan, October 10 1933, in *Minguo Dang’an*, pp. 33, 35.

¹⁴ Sun Dianying to Wang Jingwei, October 11 1933, in *Minguo Dang’an*, p. 36.

¹⁵ See: Wang Jianping, “Xibei Si Ma Heji Sun Dianying di Huiyi” (A reminiscence of the joint attack on Sun Dianying by the four Mas of the Northwest), in ed., *Ningxia San Ma Government of Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region (The three Mas in Ningxia)* (Beijing: Zhongguo wenshizhe chubanshe, 1988), pp. 169-180; Shen Shorong and Guo Yingchun, “Sun Dianying Tunkun Qinghai Wenti zai Renshi” (Reconsidering the issue of Sun Dianying’s reclamation of Qinghai), in *Guyuan Shizhuan Xuebao (Journal of Guyuan Teachers College)* 5 (1998), pp. 18-22.

Dianying incident onwards, was determined to reinforce Nationalist influence in the region by peaceful penetration.¹⁶ On the other hand, Chiang's last-minute willingness to compromise with the Muslims in the Sun-Ma conflict resulted in the payment of unexpected dividends. After the dust settled in the northern steppe, the Ma Muslim warlords continued to give nominal allegiance to Nanking. Moreover, in return for Chiang's retreat from supporting Sun, the Mas, for the first time, openly declared their readiness to allow Nationalist high officials to enter their sphere of influence, with the latter doing so, based on the excuse of inspecting and investigating the implementation of the previously proposed "grand northwestern development" program.¹⁷

Set against this political background, from the spring of 1934 through the end of that year, a cluster of authoritative Nationalist personages were busy flying between Nanking and the northwest in order to conduct their "inspection tours." In April 1934, Dai Chuanxian, Chiang Kai-shek's most trusted frontier advisor, was the first Nationalist high-ranking official to reach Xining, the provincial capital of Qinghai.¹⁸ Dai was followed by T. V. Soong and Kong Xiangxi (H. H. Kung), Chiang's two brothers-in-law, who were then in charge of Nationalist China's economic and financial planning. Soong's trip, in particular, encompassed almost the entire Ma-ruled domains, including southern Gansu, Qinghai and Ningxia provinces, where he was warmly received, meeting with every influential regional leader. Shortly after Soong's tour in the northwest, Nanking publicly announced that a branch office of the National Economic Council would soon be established in Lanzhou to execute the related development projects in that region.¹⁹ There were also lively discussions in the national capital over the possibility of emigrating surplus Han Chinese from China proper to the northwest in order to cultivate and reclaim that region. In addition, the Nationalist Government pledged more financial subsidies to the Mas, contingent on

¹⁶ Yang Xiaoping, *Ma Bufang Jiazuo di Xingshuai* (The rise and fall of the Ma Bufang family) (Xining: Qinghai renmin chubanshe, 1986), pp. 107-121; *Qinghai San Ma*, pp. 200-201.

¹⁷ Gao Yi, *Jiang Jieshi yu Xibei Si Ma* (Chiang Kai-shek and the four Mas in the Northwest) (Beijing: Jingcha jiaoyu chubanshe, 1993), pp. 84-101; Hao Weimin ed., *Neimenggu Jindai shi* (A history of modern Inner Mongolia) (Hohhot: Neimenggu Daxue chubanshe, 1990), pp. 120-129.

¹⁸ *Zhongyang Ribao* (Central Daily) (Nanking), April 15 1934, p. 2; Dai Chuanxian's personal letter to Chiang Kai-shek, April 30 1934, in Chen Tianxi ed., *Dai Jitao Xiansheng Wencun Xubian* (The sequel of Mr. Dai Jitao's documents) (Taipei: Kuomintang Historical Committee, 1967), p. 176.

¹⁹ *Zhongyang Ribao*, May 2, May 9, May 15 and June 22 1934; *Shen Bao* (Courier Mail) (Shanghai), May 9 and 10, 1934.

their willingness to collaborate closely with the Nationalists in the development of the Northwest.²⁰

Eventually, in the fall of 1934, it was Chiang Kai-shek himself who decided to launch his own inspection tour deep into Muslim-controlled northwest China. Despite being preoccupied with his recently launched military encirclement against the Chinese Communists, Chiang spent nearly a month traveling between the borderlands of northwest and Inner Mongolia. During his stay in Shaanxi, Gansu and Ningxia provinces, Chiang publicly expressed his determination to turn the entire northwest into a strategic base for the survival of the Chinese nation. He appealed to his country fellowmen to “go westward,” hoping to make them aware of their past mistakes in neglecting the vast rich fertile land. Chiang, at the same time, took pains to convince the Muslim warlords that it would best serve their interests to cooperate with Nanking by allowing the entry of KMT-owned capital, technologies, and Nanking-appointed personnel into their satrapies.²¹

In hindsight, the Nanking officials’ successive high-profile visits to the northwest from 1934-35 failed to lead to the development of an alternate Nationalist power base there. Moreover, perhaps the Nationalist leaders’ experiences in the Muslim-ruled territories convinced them that northwestern China, given its rigorous weather conditions, harsh living environment and occasional famines, was actually not an ideal location for them to retreat to in the event of a full-scale Japanese invasion.²² Nevertheless, Nationalist journeys to the west, their increasingly frequent interactions with the local Muslim leaders, and the dispatches of government-sponsored survey parties to the frontiers had momentarily created a perception that the war-menaced Nationalist regime was indeed endeavoring to civilize China’s far northwestern borderland, hoping to eventually bring it under Nanking’s tighter control. The Nationalists’ “rhetorical” development of northwestern China thus brought about a certain degree of success in

²⁰ Mi Zhizhong, “Jushi Zhumu zhi Xibei” (A Northwest that catches world-wide attention), in Tuo Huang (Reclamation) (Nanking) 2, 3 (1934), pp. 3-10; Zhang Naiwen, *Yi-jiu-san-liu Nian* (The year 1936) (Shanghai: Lehua shuju, 1936), pp. 293-299.

²¹ “China (Military): Situation Report,” U. S. War Department, received September 26 1934, USMIR, reel 9; “Jiang Weiyuanzhan dui Ningxia Gejie Xunhuaci” (The Generalissimo’s admonitory talk to all circles in Ningxia), in *Kaifa Xibei* (Developing the Northwest) (Nanking), 2, 4 (1934), pp. 1-3; “Jiang Weiyuanzhan Xunxing Gesheng hou zhi Guangan” (Some thoughts of the Generalissimo after his inspection tour in the Northwestern provinces), *ibid.*, 2, 5 (1934), pp. 1-3.

²² Sheng Sherong, “Jiang Jieshi di Xibei Zhanlueguan” (Chiang Kai-shek’s strategic views on the Northwest), *Guyuan Shizhuan Xuebao* 1 (2003), pp. 53-58.

terms of the elevation of its national prestige, although its authority in that area remained illusory and fragile.²³

Breaking the Muslim Barriers

Interests in opening the northwest and transforming that region into Nationalist China's new strategic base continued to be widespread in China proper until late 1935, when Chiang Kai-shek began to divert his full attention to southwest China. The Chinese Communists' Long March, commencing in late 1934, provided Chiang Kai-shek with an unprecedented opportunity to insert his military forces and political influence into the provinces of southwest China. In order to pursue the retreating Communists, Chiang's well-equipped armies entered Hunan, Guizhou, Sichuan, and Yunnan provinces. The autonomous provincial militarists, feeling greatly endangered by the presence of the Communists, reluctantly accepted the Nationalist armies to help expel the unwelcome Reds. Chiang Kai-shek fully exploited the opportunity to initiate regime-consolidation and state-building programs in these areas. Once the Nationalist forces had entered a province, the Nanking-appointed agents would begin to impose "reforms" designed to break down that province's isolation.²⁴ In Sichuan, for example, the local garrison districts (*fangqu*), which served as the military and economic bases for several regional warlords, were abolished and soon replaced with a more centralized system of provincial administration. A massive road-construction project, aimed at integrating the province politically and militarily with the rest of the nation, was launched. Sichuan was also drawn into Nanking's economic and financial orbit as a result of the widespread use of Nationalist currency. As a result of the KMT's anti-Communist campaigns in 1935-36, the autonomy and political maneuverability of the provincial warlords in the Southwest had been sharply reduced, and the power and prestige of the KMT regime had been commensurately enhanced.²⁵

The successful penetration into southwest China led the Nationalists to choose Sichuan as their inland power base vis-à-vis the Japanese invasion. As the national capital was relocated from Nanking to

²³ On Chinese mass media's positive comments about the KMT's northwestern advancement movement, see, for instance: Da Gong Bao, the editorials for August 13 and 14 1936; Sheng Ran, "Xibei Jiaotong Jianshe zhi Wojian" (My opinions about the construction of communication facilities in the northwest), in *Bianjiang* (Frontier bi-weekly) (Nanking), 1 (1936), pp. 12-19.

²⁴ "China (Military): Situation report", U. S. War Department, received April 9 1935, USMIR, reel 9; Eastman et al., *The Nationalist Era in China*, pp. 32-36.

²⁵ On Nanking's effort to bring Sichuan into its closer administrative orbit, see Robert A Kapp, *Szechwan and Chinese Republic: Provincial Militarism and Central Power, 1911-1938* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), pp. 99-120.

Chongqing after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in mid-1937, China's national center of gravity was moved from coastal provinces to the southwest provinces. Nevertheless, the Muslim-dominated northwestern China remained strategically and militarily important to the war-beleaguered Nationalist regime. During the initial stages of the war, when Soviet Russia was one of very few nations in the world offering substantial assistance to Chiang Kai-shek, its military equipment and other necessary war materials had to be transported into Sichuan proper via Central Asia. Given their geopolitical importance in bridging Japanese-besieged southwest China and Soviet Central Asia, the northwestern provinces were crucial to the survival of China and the security of the Nationalist regime.²⁶

In addition, by around 1939-40, news concerning the successful drilling of oil fields in Yumen, a previously unknown oasis in the Gansu Corridor, as well as the discovery of other potential oil deposits in Qinghai and other parts of Gansu province, added further military, strategic, and morale importance to Nationalist China's northwestern borderlands. By the early 1940s, bringing the Ma family-ruled northwestern provinces of China into Nationalist control became one of the most urgent tasks for Chiang Kai-shek and his strategists in Chongqing. Top Nationalist political and security planners were secretly planning to enlarge existing pre-war underground units in the Northwestern border areas of Qinghai, Ordos and Alashan, and were considering setting up new stations in western Yunnan, northern Xinjiang, Xikang and Tibet proper. Chiang Kai-shek and his military planners were also calculating the feasibility of deploying more KMT troops on the Muslim-ruled Ningxia-Gansu border, as a first step towards controlling the entire northwest.²⁷ It became obvious that with regime survival as their primary concern, Chiang and his staff felt it necessary to take a more proactive approach in strengthening the Nationalists' previously nominal position in China's far western frontier areas.

²⁶ Owen Lattimore, "China's Turkistan-Siberian Supply Road," in *Pacific Affairs* 13, 4 (December 1940), pp. 393-412; Martin R. Norins, "The New Sinkiang-China's Link with the Middle East," *Pacific Affairs* 15, 4 (December 1942), pp. 457-470. On the Chinese-Soviet relations at the beginning of the Sino-Japanese war, see also: John W. Garver, *Chinese-Soviet Relations 1937-1945: The Diplomacy of Chinese Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

²⁷ See: The Kuomintang Party Archives (Taipei), Archives of the Supreme National Defense Council (hereafter, ASNDC), 003/103, "The Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission administrative schedule for the second stage of war", April 1939; Academia Historica (Taipei), President Chiang Kai-shek Archives, Choubi (Plans and Directives) (hereafter, CB), 08-0541, Chiang Kai-shek's instructions to Zhu Shaoliang (Commander of the 8th War Zone), January 23 1938; 08-1408, Chiang to Zhu, January 23 1939; 08-2298, Chiang's secret dispatch to He Guoguang (Director of the Generalissimo's Field Headquarters in Sichuan), January 20 1940.

In 1942, Chongqing successfully extended its full authority into the Gansu Corridor for the first time, by removing the local Muslim leader, Ma Buqing, from the region. Once again, this calculated strategy to infiltrate northwestern China was made possible through opportunism, if not luck. Ma Buqing and his valiant cavalry were caught between areas controlled by his brother, Ma Bufang, in Qinghai and his cousin, Ma Hongkui, in Ningxia. Earlier in 1941, Chiang Kai-shek became aware that Ma Bufang was on extremely bad terms with his brother, Ma Buqing, in the Gansu Corridor, whom Ma Bufang gradually perceived as a potential rival among his other Ma family members. Chiang therefore endeavored to persuade Ma Bufang into collaborating with Chongqing, and to help the Nationalists gain the control of the Gansu Corridor. In return, Chiang promised Ma Bufang that he would support his take over of Ma Buqing's force, ending this brother's military and political career in northwestern China.²⁸ Chiang Kai-shek also pledged to Ma Bufang that, upon completion of their business deal, more financial subsidies would be expected from Chongqing to Xining. Chiang meanwhile assured Ma Bufang that the KMT would soon begin to invest a considerable sum of money in his personal enterprises in Qinghai.²⁹ Obviously Ma Bufang was satisfied with Chiang's offer.

As a result, in the summer of 1942, Chiang Kai-shek instructed Ma Buqing to transfer his troops to the Tsaidam Marsh in northwestern Qinghai, with the intention of colonizing and guarding that wasteland.³⁰ This was similar to the task that Chiang had given to Sun Dianying nearly a decade earlier, although within a rather different political and strategic context. Shocked by this turn of events, the unprepared Muslim general immediately turned to his other Ma family members for aid. Predictably, he did not succeed. Unable to secure any support from his brother or cousins in Qinghai and Ningxia, the disheartened Ma Buqing could do nothing but comply. According to one report submitted to Chiang around this time, in the summer of 1942, Ma Buqing's 30,000 Muslim cavalymen moved from their Gansu Corridor garrison posts across the Qilienshan (Richtofen Mountains) to settle down in northwestern Qinghai. This move also marked the end of the legend of Ma Buqing, who, for 25 years, had been a crack horseman fighting and

²⁸ Jin Shaoxian, "Yishu Guomindang Yuanlao Wu Zhongxin" (A memorial narration of the KMT veteran Wu Zhongxin), in *Wenshi Ziliao Xuanji* (Selections of literary and historical materials), 118 (1989), pp. 118-119.

²⁹ Yang, Ma Bufang Jiazhu di Xingshuai, pp. 190-212; Public Record Office, War Office Records (WO), 208/268, Office of Military Attaché of the British Embassy in China to the British War Office, November 12 1942; FO 436/16518 F5103/254/10, Report from Teichman in Lanzhou to Sir Horace Seymour (British Ambassador to China), September 3 1943, enclosed in Seymour to Foreign Office, September 14 1943.

³⁰ CB, 09-1406, Chiang Kai-shek's instruction to Ma Buqing, July 19 1942.

guarding the Gansu, Qinghai and Ningxia deserts, grasslands and oases.³¹ Henceforth, Chiang Kai-shek's own Nationalist forces quickly moved into the strategically significant Gansu Corridor along the road to Xinjiang, garrisoning the long strip of land west of the Yellow River. These troops were subsequently found, as one foreign observation report later described, "in every district city as far west as the further outposts of Gansu Province in the sands of Central Asia."³²

The successful removal of Ma Buqing from the Gansu Corridor, together with the triumph of breaking up the Muslim bloc in the Northwest, led the confident Chiang Kai-shek to launch, in the summer of 1942, another grandiose inspection tour of the Gansu Corridor, as well as nearby warlord domains in Qinghai and Ningxia.³³ During his visits to these border regions, Chiang once again urged the usually obstinate Muslim warlords to ensure that they would fully cooperate with Chongqing, and fight against the Japanese. In particular, Chiang made sure to spare some time in Qinghai to address local Muslim tribesmen, and Mongolian and Tibetan nobility, who had only paid token tribute to Chinese suzerainty, and who might have been shifting their political allegiance from China to Japan as they saw fit.³⁴ When staying in Ningxia, Chiang Kai-shek also openly appealed to the local Muslim leadership for full cooperation with the KMT. He promised Governor Ma Hongkui that more financial resources could be expected from Chongqing. In exchange, Chiang stressed that the KMT should henceforth have greater authority in the military and political affairs of the region.³⁵

It was not surprising that the Mas of the northwest welcomed the military and financial resources from Chiang's central regime. Nevertheless, the burgeoning presence of Nationalist political and military influence in the Northwest would inevitably inflict increasing

³¹ WO 208/428, "Moslem soldiers in Tsaidam Basin: Guarding Flank of China's Northwest Road", extract from *China Newsweek* 8 (October 24 1942).

³² FO 436/16605 F6275/254/10, Report from Teichman in Tihwa (Urumqi), dated September 24 1943, enclosed in the British Embassy in China to Foreign Office, November 14 1943.

³³ WO 208/268, "China News", issued by the London Office of the Chinese Ministry of Information, dated September 22 1942.

³⁴ See: Chiang Kai-shek's speech to the non-Han elites in Xining, in Qin Xiaoyi ed., *Zongtong Jianggong Sixiang Yanlun Zongji* (General collections of President Chiang Kai-shek's thoughts and speeches) (Taipei: Kuomintang Historical Committee, 1984), 19, pp. 216-218; *Zhongyang Dangwu Gongbao* (Gazette of the KMT central party affairs) (Chongqing) 4, 19 (September 1942), pp. 23-24; *Zhongyang Zhoubao* (The KMT central weekly) (Chongqing) 5, 19 (December 1942).

³⁵ Chiang Kai-shek, "Ningxia Junshi Huibao Xunci" [A speech of admonition for the military briefing in Ningxia], dated September 2 1942, in Qin ed., *Zongtong Jianggong Sixiang Yanlun Zongji*, Vol. 19, pp. 219-228; FO 436/16373 F7411/1689/10, Seymour to Foreign Office, October 5 1942.

pressures upon these Muslim generals. Shortly after Chiang Kai-shek's inspection tour, a flurry of KMT government officials, military advisors, and political organizations began to emerge (with the intent to supervise local affairs) not only in a Gansu Corridor, now dominated by the Nationalists, but also in the Qinghai and Ningxia provinces. The well-known Yumen oil fields were now entirely administered by the Chongqing-appointed officials. A number of branch offices of the KMT party committee and Chiang Kai-shek's military field headquarters were even stationed in the remotest territories of the Alashan Banner, on the Sino-Outer Mongolian border.³⁶ Towards the end of 1942, the political pressure from Chongqing became so intense, that even the stubborn Muslim general, Ma Hongkui, was obliged to instruct all Muslim *ahongs* (religious instructors) in his Ningxia domain to incorporate patriotic Nationalist political ideology into their daily sermons. This was done with the mixed purpose of counteracting the Japanese and the Chinese Communists, who were then governing the nearby border region.³⁷

The Northwest as Wartime China's Promised Land

The unexpected Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, in December 1941, brought Nationalist China, the U.S., Soviet Russia, and Britain together as allies fighting against the Axis powers. High officials in Chongqing were theoretically no longer fighting alone. In early 1942 the supposedly invincible Soviet Red Army suffered disastrous defeats in Eastern Europe at the hands of the Germans, and Moscow was momentarily too incapacitated to take care of affairs in remote Central Asia. On the other hand, expecting that Hitler would eventually overpower Soviet Russia, and that the trouble-ridden Stalin was unlikely to provide any further aid to his autonomous provincial regime, Xinjiang ruler, Sheng Shicai, was determined to switch from his previous pro-Moscow policy to an anti-Communist stance. The shrewd Sheng was quick enough to find out that it would serve his best interests to patch up his relations with Chiang Kai-shek, who was now backed by the U.S. diplomatically, financially and militarily.³⁸

Due to a shifting political landscape in Chinese Central Asia, Chiang Kai-shek and his regime were once again given an extraordinary

³⁶ Qi Tao, "Gaishu Guomindang Zhengfu dui yuan Alashan qi di Tongzhi" (A general account of the KMT's rule over Alashan Banner), in *Alashan Meng Wenshi* (Literary and historical materials of Alashan League), 2 (1986), pp. 49-80.

³⁷ Wu Zhongli ed., *Ningxia Jindai Lishi Jinian* (The chronological history of modern Ningxia) (Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin chubanshe, 1987), pp. 286-291; Hu Pingsheng, *Minguo Shiqi di Ningxiasheng* (Ningxia Province in the Republican period) (Taipei: Xuesheng Shuju, 1988), pp. 153-185.

³⁸ Whiting and Sheng, *Sinkiang: Pawn or Pivot?* pp. 51-53; Harriet Moore, "Soviet Far Eastern Relations since 1941," *Pacific Affairs* 17, 3 (September 1944), pp. 294-310.

opportunity to extend their formerly non-existent authority into Xinjiang Province. Covert negotiations between Urumqi and Chongqing had been underway until the summer of 1942, when a secret understanding was reached between Sheng Shicai and Chiang Kai-shek. Shortly afterwards, Sheng made a formal declaration of allegiance to Chiang Kai-shek. In return for Sheng Shicai's willingness to cooperate with the Nationalists, Chiang Kai-shek pledged that he would forgive Sheng's "past misdeeds in Xinjiang," assuring Sheng that his position in Urumqi would remain intact.³⁹

Toward the end of 1942, at Sheng Shicai's insistence, Soviet military and technical personnel began to withdraw from Xinjiang, giving way to a strengthened Nationalist political, economic and financial presence in the province. The Nationalist troops, already deployed in the Gansu Corridor, began to cross the Gansu-Xinjiang provincial border and were eventually stationed at Hami, replacing the well-known Soviet "Eighth Regiment" infantry force. This victory was symbolic of Chongqing's preliminary success in asserting its authority over Xinjiang.⁴⁰ Chiang Kai-shek's pleasure regarding Xinjiang's return to the Nationalist fold was revealed in his diary. In December 21, 1942, Chiang wrote:

*"[T]he territory from Lanzhou in Gansu to Ili in Xinjiang, covering a distance of 3,000 kilometers, with an area twice as large as Manchuria, has now come under Central control. With Xinjiang under Central control, our rear areas have been consolidated."*⁴¹

By late 1943, when Sheng Shicai realized that Moscow's defeat was neither imminent nor even likely, he attempted once more to reverse his pro-KMT stance. This time, however, Sheng did not succeed. In the autumn of 1944, Chongqing announced the replacement of Sheng, whom Stalin no longer trusted, with one of Chiang Kai-shek's closest advisors.⁴² This move not only ended Sheng's autocracy in Xinjiang but also marked the re-establishment of direct central government control over China's far northwestern regions for the first time since 1911.

As its authority in the northwestern borderlands grew, the KMT regime felt it necessary, in 1942-43, to begin its overdue state-building and infrastructure development projects in Xinjiang in an effort to further consolidate its position there.⁴³ High authorities in Chongqing also

³⁹ CB, 09-1413, Chiang Kai-shek's secret instructions concerning Chongqing's negotiation with Sheng Shicai, July 1942.

⁴⁰ Forbes, *Warlords and Muslims in Chinese Central Asia*, pp. 157-162; Svat Soucek, *A History of Inner Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 271-272.

⁴¹ See Keiji Furuya, *Chiang Kai-shek: His Life and Times* (New York: St John's University, 1981), pp. 744-745.

⁴² Chen Huisheng and Chen Chao, *Minguo Xinjiang Shi* (A history of Republican Xinjiang) (Urumqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1999), pp. 376-382.

⁴³ ASNDC, 003/2352, Supreme National Defense Council to the Executive Yuan concerning developing the northwest, December 31 1942.

believed it was imperative to encourage capable youth and intellectuals in southwestern China to devote their energies in these “newly-acquired” northwestern borderlands. In the midst of World War II, these officials were busy traveling between Sichuan and the border provinces, where they endeavored to work out better ways to bring these frontier territories under tighter Nationalist administrative control.⁴⁴ Meanwhile, with the view to attract more Nationalist civil servants to the wartime “Going Westward” campaign, the higher echelons of the financially-stringent Nationalist regime worked hard to promulgate a series of new regulations aimed at handsomely subsidizing those who were willing to serve voluntarily in Xinjiang.⁴⁵

It is interesting how, during the war, the Nationalist regime attempted to depict the vast and sparsely populated Xinjiang as a “promised land” for a war-beleaguered China and its people. Faced with possible overpopulation in southwestern China, Nationalist policy designers thought it necessary to revive the old idea of resettling the surplus Han Chinese inhabitants in Sichuan proper to the vast border territories. In their official propaganda, as well as in government-sponsored publications, efforts were made to describe Xinjiang as a virgin land that could provide new settlers with space, natural resources and new hopes.⁴⁶ The Nationalists also sought to relate the “Going Westward” movement to patriotism, asserting that going northwestward to cultivate Xinjiang would be assisting the government in their strenuous effort to fight against the invading Japanese enemies. Leaders in Chongqing particularly urged both the youth and the intellectuals in Sichuan to contribute their knowledge and professional expertise to the efforts underway on the northwestern frontier.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Ze Ren, “Lun Bianjiang Gongzuo zhi Zhanwang” (On the prospect of frontier dealings), *Bianzheng Gonglun* (Frontier Affairs) (Chongqing) 3, 12 (December 1944), pp. 1-3; Jin Shaoxiang, “Guomindang Fandong Shili Jinru he Tongzhi Xinjiang” (The entry of KMT anti-revolutionary influence into Xinjiang and its governance in this province), in *Xinjiang Wenshi Ziliao Xuanji* (Selections of Xinjiang literary and historical materials), 2 (1979), pp. 18-73.

⁴⁵ ASNDC, 003/1763, “Guidelines for the youth and personnel affairs on the frontiers”, enclosed in the Military Affairs Commission to the Supreme National Defense Council, September 3 1941; 004/114, “Regulations concerning provisions of the staff working on the frontiers”, enclosed in the Military Affairs Commission to the Supreme National Defense Council, April 25 1944.

⁴⁶ See: “Guidelines for the KMT frontier affairs”, *Zhongyang Dangwu Gongbao* 4, 19 (September 1942), pp.23-24; Zhao Minqiu, *Yuejin zhong di Xibei* (The leaping Northwest) (Chongqing: The New Chinese Culture, 1940).

⁴⁷ Chiang Kai-shek, “Kaifa Xibei di Fangzhen” (Guiding principles for the development of the Northwest), in Qin ed., *Zongtong Jianggong Sixiang Yanlun Zongji* 19, pp. 169-181; Zhu Jiahua (Head of the KMT Organizational Department), “Frontier issues and frontier works”, *Zhongyang Zhoubao* 5, 19 (December 17, 1942), pp. 26-32.

Nationalist China's second "great northwestern development" wave reached its peak in 1942-44, as the result of the wartime Nationalist regime's opportunistic advancement into China's far western borderlands. Yet in the meantime, there was no shortage of criticism from both within China and abroad regarding this development project. British diplomats in wartime China, for example, deemed the Chinese attempt to industrialize and exploit natural resources in the northwest, together with their effort to advertise their northwest-forward programs, as yet another lever to solicit American financial and technical assistance – not merely for the purpose of defending against Japan, but for possible power struggles with the Chinese Communists and perhaps with Soviet Russia. As a result, to Whitehall, northwestern China could eventually turn out to be "another gold brick that the Chinese are trying to sell the Americans." Due to the poor technologies and financial resources, British officials both in London and Chongqing were generally convinced that there would be very little likelihood that the northwest would be well developed both during and after the war.⁴⁸

Despite these negative assessments, in retrospect it is fair to argue that the Nationalists had achieved at least partial success. In early 1943, Chongqing launched a large-scale land settlement project in the eastern part of Xinjiang. More than 20,000 Han Chinese, most of who were refugees, ex-soldiers and unemployed persons from Henan, Shanxi and Shaanxi Provinces, were moved to Hami and Turfan to take part in reclamation work.⁴⁹ A series of economic and colonization projects were also created, aimed at both relieving overpopulation in unoccupied southwestern China, and strengthening Nationalist administrative control in these frontier regions. One notable example at this was the demarcation of several military colonization zones in eastern Xinjiang, the Gansu Corridor, Ningxia and Qinghai to accommodate the new Han immigrants from China proper. These immigrants were given the tasks of road construction, irrigation, forestry and land reclamation. For the sake of supervising the refugees and colonization projects, officials were duly dispatched from Chongqing, and the result was a reinforcement of Nationalist influence in these border areas.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ WO 208/408, "China: Political and General Conditions in Kansu [Gansu] and Chinghai [Qinghai] Provinces", M.I.6. Political Report, dated June 28 1943.

⁴⁹ ASNDC, 003/2352, Supreme National Defense Council to the Executive Yuan concerning the removal of refugees from Henan, Shanxi and Shaanxi Provinces, December 31 1942; 003/2361, Executive Yuan to the Supreme National Defense Council, February 22 1943.

⁵⁰ ASNDC, 003/2359, Supreme National Defense Council to the Executive Yuan, December 30 1942; Report of the Executive Yuan concerning the execution of immigration and colonization projects in the border provinces, May 7 1943; T.V. Soong Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, Box 25, "Blueprint for the construction of the

The Nationalist regime also encouraged its party members, public servants and young intellectuals in southwestern China to serve in the border provinces. According to one statistical report, by mid-1943 there were at least 7,200 new KMT party cadres relocating to Xinjiang, where they were employed in the KMT's recently instituted organs there. In expectation of more people moving to serve in these border provinces, the Nationalist center promulgated new codes and regulations so as to facilitate this trend. Training courses were set up in Chongqing for public servants who were sent to work and live in Xinjiang.⁵¹ In addition, Nationalist ministerial officials were busy flying between Sichuan proper and outlying provinces to conduct their inspections that would surely help elevate the prestige of the Nationalist regime. Between 1942 and 1943, visits by top officials from Chongqing to the Northwest were so frequent that General Zhu Shaoliang, Commander of the Nationalist 8th War Zone, who was headquartered in Lanzhou and responsible for the security of these dignitaries, was obliged to complain to Chiang Kai-shek about his new and unexpected burden.⁵²

Epilogue

By the end of the Sino-Japanese war in the summer of 1945, most of the vast northwestern region of China was under the Nationalists' relatively effective control. The exception to this, was the northern half of Xinjiang, where the independent regime of the East Turkestan Republic was established.⁵³ The Gansu and Xinjiang provinces were both ruled by Chiang Kai-shek's closest and trusted officials. Although officially Qinghai and Ningxia continued to be governed by the Ma Muslim

Northwest for the fiscal year 1943", proposed by the Central Planning Bureau, November 1 1942.

⁵¹ Academia Historica, Archives of the Nationalist Government, 0128.12/3611.01-02, "Statutes concerning public servants in the frontier", May 18 1943. When addressing those who would be serving in Xinjiang, Chiang Kai-shek particularly emphasized that they should avoid clashes with Sheng Shicai's staff, and should pay full respect to local minority peoples. See: Chiang, "Dui Paifu Xinjiang Gongzuo Tongzhi zhi Zhishi" (Instructions to the party cadres dispatched to Xinjiang), in Qin ed., *Zongtong Jiangong Sixiang Yanlun Zongji* 19, p. 403.

⁵² ASNDC, 003/2439, KMT Central Executive Committee to Supreme National Defense Council, March 19 1943.

⁵³ Rebellion against Nationalist administration in northern Xinjiang began in fall of 1944, and by spring and summer of 1945 the East Turkestan Republic, with strong Soviet support, controlled territories north of Tianshan. Deals at Moscow in the summer of 1945 between Chiang Kai-shek and Stalin allowed for an uneasy compromise that put a coalition of KMT Nationalists and East Turkestan Republic elements led by Nationalist General Zhang Zhizhong in charge of Xinjiang provincial government. See: David Wang, *Clouds Over Tianshan: Essays on Social Disturbance in Xinjiang in the 1940s* (Copenhagen: NIAS, 1999), and Linda Benson, *The Ili Rebellion: The Moslem Challenge to Chinese Authority in Xinjiang, 1944-1949* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1990).

chairmen, Nationalist-directed institutions were omnipresent in these two provinces. The financial and economic strength of the Nationalist regime in northwest China grew to the extent that it was able to establish customs offices in various districts of both northern and southern Xinjiang. The Nationalists sought direct domination over revenues and commerce in the province, a policy that would have been completely unrealistic prior to the war. It was scheduled, according to KMT postwar policy planners, to set up a customs office at Urumqi, with branch stations at Shara Sume (Altai), Chuguchak, Kulja, Turfan and Kashgar. By so doing, the Nationalist regime would be able to gradually control trades and revenues between Xinjiang and Soviet Russia, Outer Mongolia (Mongolian People's Republic) and British India.⁵⁴

In hindsight, the war with Japan had provided the Chinese Nationalists with an unexpected opportunity to assert their authority in China's far, Muslim-dominated Central Asian borderlands, where KMT authority barely existed prior to the war. By late 1944, in the oasis city of Tashkurghan, on the Sino-Pamir border, all of the principal officials, including the magistrate, the police chief, the head of customs and the head of the postal office, were appointed directly from Chongqing.⁵⁵ By the summer of 1945, at least three Nationalist army divisions had been stationed at the remote Misgar Pass, overlooking Kashmir. The Nationalist presence grew to such an extent that shortly after the war, the exhausted British Indian authorities began to complain that the Nationalist-dominated provincial authorities in Urumqi were now in a position to monopolize trade between India and Xinjiang.⁵⁶

The consequence of the Nationalist regime's northwestward advancement was far-reaching. Suffice it to say that the Nationalists' political, military and financial influence, and the infrastructure they had gradually built up during the war, ironically paved the way for Communist control of the northwest. In Xinjiang in particular, Nationalist military personnel played a crucial role in smoothing the transition to Communism. In 1949, Nationalist generals Tao Zhiyue and Zhao Xiguang, who at this critical moment were still commanding more than 80,000 well-equipped Nationalist troops in Xinjiang, finally decided

⁵⁴ See: Oriental and India Office Collections (OIOC), British Library (London), L/P&S/2406, British Consulate at Urumqi to the British Embassy (Chongqing), January 13 1944; Mr. Ting Guitang (Deputy Inspector-General of Chinese Customs at Urumqi) to the British Consulate at Urumqi, February 12 1944.

⁵⁵ OIOC, L/P&S/12/2407, Travel reports by K. P. S. Menon (Indian Agent-General to China) to the Government of India, October 25, December 19 and 29 1944.

⁵⁶ OIOC, L/P&S/12/2407, Report of Mr. Etherington-Smith (British Consul-General at Kashgar), enclosed in the British Embassy in China to the Government of India, August 23, 1945; L/P&S/12/2405, British Consulate in Urumqi to the British Embassy in China, September 2 1945.

to join the Chinese Communists.⁵⁷ Without this shift in political allegiance made by the established Han Chinese, the Communist takeover in Chinese Central Asia would have been much more difficult, and in all likelihood, much more violent. How well the new Beijing-based government consolidated its power in northwestern China is still being debated.

Since the early 1930s, faced with the Japanese military encroachment from the east, the population in China proper had been enthusiastic about developing the northwest. The Nationalist regime also thought it imperative to transform the vast northwestern Chinese borderland into its new power base. After the outbreak of war with Japan, the Nationalists chose Sichuan in the southwest as their wartime base. Nevertheless, northwestern China continued to serve as the Nationalists' development priority. Throughout the Chinese Nationalists' two decade long reign in China, the idea of “northwestern advancement” was always a part of its political strategy, party agenda and official repertoire. Yet, undeniably, as this research has shown, the Chinese Nationalists' approach toward this end was largely opportunistic, mixed with the right timing, political compromises, and military maneuvering.

⁵⁷ Wang Fen, “Zouxiang Guangmin—Huiyi Zhao Xiguang Shuaibu Qiyi Qianhou” (Heading for the brightness—A remembrance of Zhao Xiguang's leading troops to revolt), in *Xinjiang Wenshi Ziliao Xuanji*, Vol. 3 (1998), pp. 109-115; Fang Yingkai, “Mianhuai Zhao Xiguang Jiangjun” (In memory of General Zhao Xiguang), in *Kashi Wenshi Ziliao* (Kashgar literary and historical materials), Vol. 5 (1990), pp. 61-74.

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Articles from Journals: Phil Williams, “Transnational Criminal Organizations and International Security,” *Survival* 36, 1 (1994): 96.

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Newspapers, News-agencies & Magazines: Toby Harnden, “Drug Trade ‘Reaches to Afghan Cabinet,’” *Daily Telegraph*, February 5 2006.

Electronic Sources: George Bush, “Principles of Ethical Conduct for Government Officers and Employees,” Executive Order 12674, April 12 1989, pt. 1, <www.usoge.gov/exorders/eo12674.html> (October 30 1997).

Subsequent references: a reference to a single source in the previous note should be replaced by ‘*Ibid.*’; in later notes by author’s surname, title and page number.

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