

The **OMNIDEF ANALYSIS** is a monthly publication with analyses* about themes addressed in the previous month of **OMNIDEF** and identified as the most relevant for the National Defense context.

Highlights

GEOPOLITICS AND STRATEGIC SECTORS

- *40 YEARS OF TENSION IN THE STRAIT OF TAIWAN: THE TAIWAN RELATIONS ACT AND THE POSITION OF PRESIDENT TSAI*
- *INDIAN STRATEGY: COUNTERING THE LIMITS OF DETERRENCE*
- *ISRAEL'S ELECTION RESULTS SHOW BROAD CONSENSUS ON DEFENSE AND FOREIGN POLICY*

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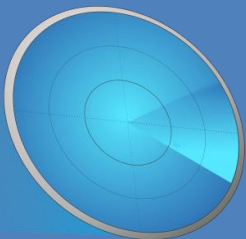
Israel faces new election as Netanyahu fails to form coalition

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GEOPOLITICS AND STRATEGIC SECTORS

ANALYSIS 1

40 years of tension in the Strait of Taiwan: the Taiwan Relations Act and the position of President Tsai

Author: *Wilson de Jesus Beserra de Almeida*

Tsai Ing-wen, democratically elected Taiwanese President, since May 20, 2016, is also, politician, legal scholar, and lawyer. The first woman to be elected to the office, Tsai is the seventh president of the Republic of China in Taiwan, under the 1947 Constitution and the second president from the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP); She is also the first president to be of both Hakka and aboriginal descent and the first to be popularly elected without having previously served as the Mayor of Taipei. President Tsai was the Democratic Progressive Party candidate in the 2012 and 2016 presidential elections.

The Republic of China was a full member of the United Nations and one of the five permanent members of its Security Council from 1945 to 1971, having been one of the founding members and the first country to sign the Charter of the United Nations in August 1945.

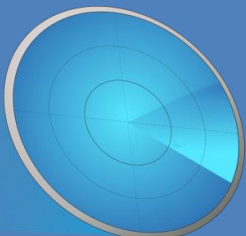
The World War II (Republic of China, Soviet Union, United Kingdom, France and United States) winners were founding members of the Organization who drafted the Charter of the United Nations in 1944, subsequently ratified on June 26, 1945 by representatives of fifty nations, including Brazil. In recognition of its long struggle against the Japanese invasion, China was given the right to be the first country to sign the document.

At the end of the Nixon administration, relations between the United States and China underwent major changes. Henry Kissinger was in charge of secretly visiting China and the first contacts of rapprochement. In 1979, the US invited China to form a union with Japan and Western Europe against the Soviet Union. As a result of this partnership, China supported US operations in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union and the United States revoked its defense agreement with the Republic of China (ROC) in Taiwan, among other actions.

The Chiang Ching-kuo ROC Government has mobilized his lobby in the United States to pressure Congress to ensure security for the island. As an argument, he used anti-communist sentiment in the US in the context of the Cold War; as well as evidence of the reduction of religious freedoms in Communist China. The Taiwan Relations Act came out in April 1979 and turned 40 in April 2019. President Tsai has mobilized Washington think tanks for a conference and a debate on Taiwan's position and the new actions of the People's Republic of China. In her speech, she has added the responsibility of the national leader to defend the interests of the 23 million people of Taiwan, with caution in making accusations about the role that mainland China has played in all forums where it operates.

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No excerpt in which she states, "But it's true that our democratic way of life is under unprecedented challenge. Using economic incentives, control over sources of information, and political subversion, China's objective is to divide our society, erode trust in public institutions, and make people question our traditional alliances."

She recalled the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA), and the commitments made by the United States to economic partnership and trade defense. About this, she said, "So I hope that the United States can make clear, at a very senior level, that it considers the security of Taiwan vital to the defense of democracy, both here and around the world."

In a very brief way, the essence of the presidential speech was relations between the United States and mainland China over the past 40 years have been disproportionate, growing much on the Chinese side vis-à-vis Taiwan. Relations between the United States, China, and Taiwan will not be sustainable for a long time, it is necessary, urgently, to carry out actions that guarantee peace, this was the main statement contained in President Tsai's words.

Although the United States has so far succeeded in averting an attack from China during these 40 years, the risks increase as China's economic and military power grows. The Chinese Communist Party, as President Tsai has said, increases political infiltration and subversion activities through the United Front and other campaigns of active measures to affect Taiwan's social and economic systems.

As a result of this analysis, one can see that the Taiwanese government feels strong pressure from Mainland China and calls on the US to comply with the TRA Taiwan Relations Act of 1979, where there is a commitment to mutual defense and economic support. Today there is a stalemate, because mainland China is pushing the Progressive Party government to advance negotiations that give Taiwan back to it. And the people of Taiwan, for the most part, prefer to stick to the conquered values of freedom, democracy and free trade. ■

News published by OMNIDEF

Asia Times – 10/08/2019

Dark clouds over Taiwan Strait

Taiwan's political atmosphere is growing more fervid as its general election draws nearer and there is growing momentum in Washington for judging that Beijing's bullying of Taiwan is escalating at intolerable rates.

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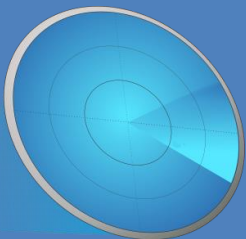
Extra – 23/08/2019

Travessia de navio militar dos EUA pelo Estreito de Taiwan pode elevar tensão com Pequim

Um navio da Marinha dos Estados Unidos atravessou o Estreito de Taiwan nesta sexta-feira, voltando a ativar um dos atritos crescentes no relacionamento dos EUA com a China. Os militares dos EUA aumentaram a frequência de suas movimentações de transporte pela rota marítima estratégica diante da oposição da China.

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GEOPOLITICS AND STRATEGIC SECTORS

ANALYSIS 2

Indian Strategy: Countering the Limits of Deterrence

Author: *Sai Felicia Krishna-Hensel*

Subsequent to the division of the sub-continent in 1947, India and Pakistan have been in a perpetual state of confrontation and conflict. A continual state of incursions and counter moves has characterized their relationship. The two neighbors have engaged in several major wars resulting in extensive casualties as well as numerous skirmishes across the border regions. This has led to efforts to develop their respective military capabilities through acquisition of sophisticated weaponry supported eventually by a nuclear dimension as well.

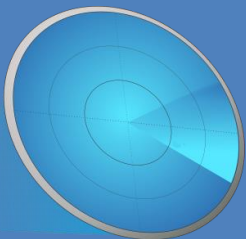
On the conventional level, the two sides are not evenly matched owing to India's approximately 3 million military personnel compared to fewer than 1 million for Pakistan and the further advantage of territorial size, which gives India more strategic options on the basing of military assets far inland and out of reach of its neighbor. Pakistan, on the other hand has had to concentrate its assets near its borders. India has often argued that Pakistan's strategy is to operate on the sub-conventional level, making it risky for India to utilize its conventional advantage during conflict, due to the threat of nuclear escalation from its smaller neighbor.

What remains unknown is whether this is a reliable assumption given Pakistan's penchant for investing nuclear response decisions in area commanders who may be less restrained in contemplating such a mode of action. It is precisely this concern that Pakistan relies on to urge restraint by Indian forces who are critically aware of the nuclear firewall on their options. This has guided India's strategic thinking over the years and it has engendered a historically cautious approach. This appears to be changing as India considers alternatives that might be riskier but more effective.

The strategic decision to continue to find effective use of conventional forces against sub-conventional attacks appears to be gaining some headway amongst strategic planners. The development of an approach relying on limited thrusts into adversary territory to achieve specific objectives known as "Cold Start" has increasingly gained support amongst India's military leadership. The strategy is based on the reasoning that the limited objectives can be achieved before substantive escalation can occur, and it relies on the weight of international intervention to facilitate a cease fire before nuclear weapons can be unleashed. The doctrine relies on swift mobilization and pre-emptive movement. This approach presupposes a permissible range of action, just below the nuclear threshold and relies on a rational actor response where the escalation would not be in the broader interest of the attacked. Inspiring this tactic is the assumption that extending the threshold of risk can be undertaken in the confidence that the ensuing retaliation will stop short of the nuclear option. It is clearly a calculated risk designed as a manipulative approach toward deterrence.

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Notwithstanding Pakistan's assertion that nuclear force is on the table, both countries continue to rely on conventional weapons and both sides are investing in the most contemporary technologies available to them. China is a leading supplier of arms to Pakistan including sophisticated JF- 17' fighter jets, attack submarines, and surveillance and armed drones. In some instances China has also agreed to share technology to facilitate local manufacture. Gradually, Chinese high tech weapons are replacing U.S. versions that Pakistan used to rely on.

India has also accelerated its defense acquisitions and increased its defense budget by around 8%. Its Long Term Integrated Perspective Plan (LTIPP) is designed to gauge requirements specific to army, navy and air force including, among others, self-propelled howitzers, AWACS, missile systems, flight control systems, UAVs, amphibious aircraft, air-launched weapons and submarines. India's defense manufacturing sector is relatively undeveloped making it one of the largest importers of conventional defense equipment in the world. Initial reliance on Russia has been overtaken by an increasing diversification of suppliers from the U.S., Israel, South Korea, France, Sweden, nations producing the specific military hardware and software that India is seeking to upgrade.

In addition, the current administration has been emphasizing the need for "make in India" to develop the local manufacturing sector, including defense so that reliance on external supply sources can be substantively reduced over time. Some progress has been made in this initiative but it remains a long term solution to India's defense needs. The elaboration of India's contemporary strategy is likely to continue in the forthcoming years as the returning administration reinforced by a clear public mandate moves forward with its recalibration of military policy. The recent election was an acknowledgement of the prioritization of security concerns over disappointment with the economic letdowns of the previous term. Further, there appears to be a recognition that the pace of self-reliance in defense manufacturing needs to be accelerated, while simultaneously strengthening relations with Western defense industries and suppliers. There is reason to believe that Pakistan has been sidelined for now as it struggles with a challenged economy and a diminished military capability. India's strategy is likely to further the goal of achieving decisive supremacy in the region. ■

News published by OMNIDEF

Al Jazeera – 05/08/2019

India revokes disputed Kashmir's special status with rush decree

The Indian government has rushed through a presidential decree to scrap a special status for India-administered Kashmir, the most far-reaching political move on the disputed region in nearly seven decades.

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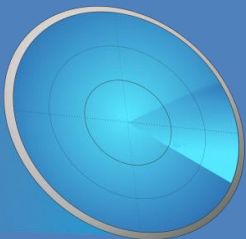
The Guardian – 14/08/2019

Kashmir: Imran Khan says Pakistan will 'teach India a lesson'

Pakistan's prime minister, Imran Khan, has threatened to "teach Delhi a lesson" and vowed to fight until the end against any Indian violations in disputed Kashmir.

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GEOPOLITICS AND STRATEGIC SECTORS

ANALYSIS 3

Israel's election results show broad consensus on defense and foreign policy

Author: *Efraim Inbar*

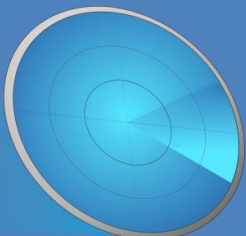
The recent Israeli election campaign was heated and nasty. Noteworthy, Benjamin Netanyahu's personality and legal problems, not his policies, were the focus of opposition attacks. In fact, one can discern a broad consensus in Israel for the outgoing government's diplomatic and defense policies. Both the Likud and Blue-White parties almost entirely ignored the broader Palestinian issue throughout the election campaign. And when they did reference the matter, the leaders of the Blue-White party assured the electorate that they were not "left wing," and were not contemplating any West Bank withdrawals. The Labor Party – still identified in the minds of many with the failed Oslo process – largely evaded the issue, too. Only Meretz, on the left-wing fringe of the Zionist spectrum, complained about the lack of focus on peace plans.

Nor did the anticipated launch in June of the US peace plan, "the deal of the century," generate any debate during the election campaign. Israelis ardly knew the outline of Trump's plan, but they all know the nature of the Palestinian response – a rejection out of hand, as has been the case with previous peace plans. Indeed, Israelis have no illusions about the Palestinian Authority. A large majority is in agreement with the policy practiced by Netanyahu and backed by the defense establishment: "conflict management." This approach seeks to limit the suffering on both sides of the current situation by employing "carrots and sticks" while avoiding dangerous diplomatic gambits. While Israelis are fed-up with attacks by Hamas from Gaza, only the far-right parties voiced criticism of government policy and advocated invasion of Gaza and the eradication of that terrorist organization. Yet, the tough position on Gaza of the New Right Party did not save it from political elimination. Nor did the leaders of Blue-White proffer policies on how to handle Hamas that were any different from Netanyahu's.

Much was made in the media about frustration in southern Israel, along the Gaza border, with Netanyahu's inaction toward Hamas, but his party won decisively in every town in these afflicted areas. The Israeli electorate favors the cautious approach adopted by Netanyahu's governments, which is to "mow the grass" in Gaza in limited fashion only when truly necessary. This approach sets limited political and military goals, reflecting the assumption that Israel finds itself in a protracted and intractable conflict. The use of force in such circumstances is not intended to attain impossible political goals, but rather to degrade enemy capabilities when necessary, in an attempt to temporarily deter the enemy and forge periods of quiet along Israel's borders.

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The Israeli public welcomed President Trump's recognition of Israeli sovereignty over the Golan Heights and the designation of Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps as a foreign terrorist organization. There is the broad consensus in Israel on the strategic importance of the Golan Heights, and on the imperative to keep it under Israeli sovereignty. Similarly, most Israelis agree with Netanyahu that Iran is a grave threat to Israel's national security, and they welcomed the American move to step up pressure on the Islamist regime in Tehran. More generally, Netanyahu's diplomatic prowess in developing strong ties with Russia, India, Brazil and eastern Mediterranean countries, and his good standing in parts of the Arab world, were clearly among his most effective electoral draws. National cohesion is a critical ingredient for Israel in successfully meeting the grave national security challenges ahead. Fortunately, the 2019 elections show that a broad consensus pertains to defense and diplomatic matters. ■

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The Times of Israel – 13/08/2019

Israel and Hamas both said taking steps to secure Gaza border after breaches

Authorities on both sides of the Israel-Gaza border launched efforts this week to prevent infiltration attempts into Israeli territory, following three such incidents by armed terrorists over the course of 10 days. The Hamas terror group, which rules the Strip, deployed additional troops to the frontier in a bid to prevent breaches of the border fence, understanding that these cross-border attacks risked provoking a harsh response by the Israeli military, according to the Palestinian Amad news outlet.

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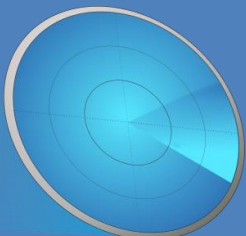
The Jerusalem Post – 19/08/2019

Hamas dismisses Netanyahu's threats as part of election campaign

Hamas spokesman Abdel Latif Knaum responded on Tuesday morning to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's threats, saying, "Netanyahu's threats to embark on a military campaign in the Gaza Strip are empty. They come as part of the election campaign and for internal propaganda needs." Knaum continued, "The blows he suffered from the resistance during his long tenure as prime minister, including the recurring wars in the Gaza Strip, made his soldiers prisoners, dead or wounded.

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