



INDEPENDENT&INDISPENSABLE
The Jamestown Foundation's mission is to inform and educate policymakers and the broader policy community about events and trends in those societies which are strategically or tactically important to the United States and which frequently restrict access to such information. Utilizing indigenous language information and primary sources, Jamestown's material is delivered without political bias, filter or agenda. It is often the only source of information which should be, but is not always, available through official or intelligence channels, especially in regard to Eurasia and terrorism.

Summer 2022

Former SACEUR Joins Jamestown Board



General Philip M. Breedlove (USAF, Ret.)

The Jamestown Foundation is proud to announce the addition of former Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) General Philip M. Breedlove to its Board of Directors. General Philip M. Breedlove (Ret.) is a highly decorated retired general of the U.S. Air Force where he reached the highest levels of military leadership as one of six geographic combatant commanders and the Supreme Allied Commander of NATO. During 39 years of service, General Breedlove served in a variety of demanding command and staff positions, leading large-scale, diverse, global operations across two theaters of combat and earning a reputation as an inspirational leader focused on his people, their families and mission success. As the Supreme Allied Commander Europe and the Commander of U.S. European Command, he answered directly to NATO's governing body, the North Atlantic Council, and to the President of the United States and Secretary of Defense.

U.S. Sen. Tom Cotton to Keynote Jamestown Conference on June 22



The Hon. Senator Tom Cotton (R-AR)

On June 22, 2022, The Jamestown Foundation will hold a conference on the *Implications of the Russia-Ukraine War for Taiwan* at the University Club in Washington D.C. Jamestown is honored to host some of the world's top experts on East Asia and Pacific affairs for the event, as well as keynote speaker the Honorable Senator Tom Cotton of Arkansas. Other featured speakers will include General David R. Stilwell (ret.), *Fmr. U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs*; Dr. Michael Vickers, *Fmr. Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence*; and Dr. Miles Yu, *Senior Fellow, The Hudson Institute*. The conference will take place from 9:00 A.M. to 1:30 P.M. and include two panel discussions. The first panel will discuss the lessons of the Ukraine conflict for Taiwan while the second panel examines the policy implications for the U.S. and its allies.





Although both sides have stated their desire to resolve the military stand-off and improve relations through ongoing bilateral dialogues, little progress has been achieved. The 13th round of border talks held in October were particularly tense. In addition to the land border law, China further unsettled India with the recent announcement by the Ministry of Civil Affairs on the standardization of the names of 15 places in the Northeast Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh, which China also claims and calls “Southern Tibet.”



Jamestown Hosts Polish Naval Cadets

The China-India Border Dispute: Assessing the Outlook for 2022

On Tuesday, March 1, the Jamestown Foundation held a webinar on “The China-India Border Dispute: Assessing the Outlook for 2022” featuring Jagannath P. Panda, Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses; Sudha Ramachandran, independent journalist; and Joel Wuthnow, National Defense University. A day before the opening ceremony of the 2022 Beijing Winter Olympics, India announced a last-minute diplomatic boycott. Unlike the other countries that also declared diplomatic boycotts, India’s decision occurred not in response to the People’s Republic of China’s (PRC) human rights violations, but to the selection of a former People’s Liberation Army (PLA) regimental commander who fought in the June 2020 Galwan Valley border clashes as an Olympic torchbearer.



On Friday, May 13, 2022, The Jamestown Foundation welcomed 23 students and several instructors from the Polish Naval Academy in Gdynia, Poland. While visiting Jamestown, the students participated in a roundtable discussion with Jamestown President Glen Howard and Jamestown Senior Fellow Janusz Bugajski, author of the forthcoming book *Failed State: A Guide to Russia’s Rapture*. President Howard and Mr. Bugajski spoke about the ongoing war in Ukraine from the Russian and Ukrainian perspective, including the naval, land, and air dimensions of the conflict. They offered their conclusions on the war, saying that it was entering a new “drawn out” stage that would likely see a slow grinding down of the Russian attack into a bloody inch-by-inch war in Donbas. This was the first meeting the Jamestown Foundation has had with the Polish Naval Academy, as each side expressed a keen interest to deepen Polish-US security dialogue.



The deadly Galwan Valley skirmishes resulted in the deaths of 20 Indian soldiers and an unverified number of Chinese casualties, making it the most violent incident along the border since the 1960s. Since June 2020, Beijing and New Delhi have simultaneously engaged in competition to shore up their respective strategic positions along the Line of Actual Control (LAC), and intensive diplomatic negotiations aimed at making progress on the boundary dispute. For example, China has accelerated its construction of transportation, electricity, energy, and broadband infrastructure along the border with India in Tibet. Earlier this year, the PRC passed new legislation empowering the PLA and People’s Armed Police (PAP) to use force to safeguard land border security, and resolutely respond to any act that violates China’s territorial sovereignty.

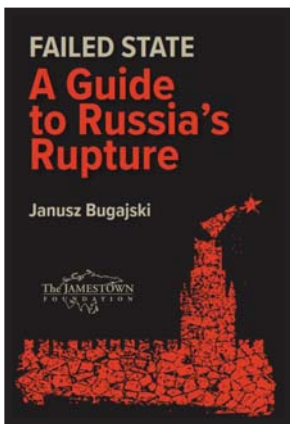


New Study on the Black Sea

The Jamestown Foundation is concluding its special research project, “Black Sea Battleground,” which identified and analyzed the key elements of a U.S. strategy for dealing with the cauldron of competition in the Black Sea region. The project consists of research papers, expert discussions and workshops. The most recent articles include: *Referee and Goalkeeper of the Turkish Straits: The Relevance and Strategic Implications of the Montreux Convention for Conflict in the Black Sea* by John C.K. Daly; *Neutrality With No Guarantees: The Evolution of Moldova’s Defense and Security Policies* by Dumitru Minzarari; and *Vulnerable Arteries: Severe Challenges to the Security of Ukraine’s Internal Waterways* by Andrii Ryzhenko.



Forthcoming Book - *Failed State: A Guide to Russia’s Rapture*



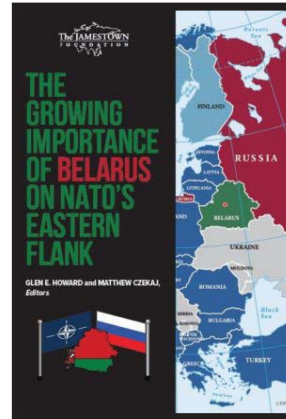
Jamestown is proud to announce the publication of a new book coming in summer 2022. The landmark study, *Failed State: A Guide to Russia’s Rapture*, by Senior Fellow Janusz Bugajski will examine the forthcoming disintegration of the Russian nation-state into smaller, regional polities and discuss the options in front of the United States for managing the rapture of Russia.

Attempts to transform the Russian Federation into a nation state, a civic state or a stable imperial state have failed. The current structure is based on brittle historical foundations, possesses no unified national identity, whether civic or ethnic, and exhibits persistent struggles between nationalists, imperialists, centralists, liberals and federalists. Russia’s full-scale military invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 and the imposition of stifling international economic

sanctions will intensify and accelerate a process of state rupture.



New Book - *The Growing Importance of Belarus on NATO’s Eastern Flank*



The Jamestown Foundation’s latest book, *The Growing Importance of Belarus on NATO’s Eastern Flank* was published in late 2021. Edited by Glen Howard and Matt Czekaj, the study examines the growing strategic importance of Belarus to the West, analyzes the Belarusian-Russian bilateral relationship, as well as evaluates the level

of Belarusian national identity and state sovereignty and their implications for the transatlantic alliance. This book is a series of papers and a final report drawing on insights from workshops and webinars on key Belarusian topics, involving top subject-matter experts from Europe, the United States and Belarus.



Baltic Sea Security: Regional and Sectoral Perspectives

Published in May 2021 and edited by Olevs Nikers and Otto Tabuns, *Baltic Sea Security: Regional and Sectoral Perspectives* offers a multifaceted discussion of the complex security issues affecting the Baltic region that have important implications for the cohesion of the wider Transatlantic alliance. The Baltic littoral countries have chosen to respond to similar security concerns using differing approaches, keeping the region’s strategic situation a challenging puzzle for the future.

Long-term strategic coordination among the Baltic partnering nations should be on the minds of all regional security and defense stakeholders. This book is intended to aid in that endeavor and to serve as a valuable resource for policymakers, professionals and scholars seeking to address the challenges facing the West in the Baltic Sea region.





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NEWS FROM JAMESTOWN

Jamestown Adds Two New Board Members

The Jamestown Foundation is proud to announce the addition of two new members to its Board of Directors: General David R. Stilwell and Amb. Louise Oliver.



David R. Stilwell joined the Jamestown Board of Directors in October 2021. Previously, he served as the Assistant Secretary of State for the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs (EAP) between 2019 and 2021. A seasoned leader in the foreign policy world, he was also the Asia Advisor to the Chairman of the

Joint Chiefs of Staff during his time in the Air Force. Stilwell was a member of the Air Force for 35 years and served multiple tours in Korea and Japan as a linguist, a fighter pilot, and a commander. He enlisted in 1980 and retired in 2015 with the rank of Brigadier General. During this period, he served as the Defense Attaché at the U.S. Embassy in Beijing from 2011 to 2013 and directed the China Strategic Focus Group at U.S. Indo-Pacific Command in Hawaii from 2017 to 2019. As the Assistant Secretary for EAP, Stilwell was a strong advocate for dealing with the People’s Republic of China from a position of strength.



Ambassador Louise V. Oliver joined the Jamestown Board of Directors in March 2022. She previously served as the U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) from February 2004 to January 2009. She is now a Distinguished Fellow at the Institute of

World Politics in Washington, D.C., a member of the

Washington Institute of Foreign Affairs, and a director of the Council of American Ambassadors. As the first U.S. Ambassador to UNESCO in twenty years, Ambassador Oliver was responsible for rebuilding the U.S. Mission as well as for the entire U.S. reengagement with UNESCO and its 192 member states. In order to advance U.S. programmatic and policy initiatives at UNESCO, she worked with numerous departments and agencies of the U.S. government including the Departments of State, Education, Energy, Commerce, Health and Human Services, and Interior.



New China Program Manager



Jamestown is pleased to announce the hiring of John S. Van Oudenaren as the newest China Program Manager. Prior to joining Jamestown, Mr. Van Oudenaren was Assistant Director for Political and Security Affairs at the National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR).

He has previously worked at the Center for the National Interest, the Asia Society Policy Institute and the U.S. National Defense University. He has published articles on the international politics and security dynamics of East Asia in Asian Affairs: An American Review, ChinaFile, The Diplomat, The National Interest, Parameters, and other publications.

Mr. Van Oudenaren holds a Master’s degree in Asian Studies from the George Washington University’s Elliott School of International Affairs and a Bachelor’s degree in History (minor in Chinese) from St. Mary’s College of Maryland. He has lived and worked in Mainland China for several years.