

Conflict Update # 210

October 13th, 2022

Back issues at www.accgroupco.com

Conflict Assessment

Russian losses – 63,800 (+420) soldiers killed, 2,511 (+6) enemy tanks, 5,167 (+11) armored combat vehicles, 1,556 (+17) artillery systems, 357 (+2) MLRS systems, 183 (+1) air defense systems, 268 (+0) warplanes, 240 (+5) helicopters, 1,182 (+53) UAVs of the operational-tactical level, 316 (+1) cruise missiles, 15 (+0) warships/cutters, 3,935 (+8) trucks and tankers, 4 Iskander Missile Launchers (+0), 76 fuel bowsers (+0) and 136 (+0) units of specialized equipment.

Key Takeaways

Stunning casualty update: An estimated 90,000 Russian soldiers have been categorized as "irrecoverable losses," which means they are either dead, disabled, or missing—according to the Latvia-based independent Russian news website Meduza, which claims to have sourced that figure from a contact in Russia's FSB. If true, that would be about half of all the soldiers Russia has sent to Ukraine, according to U.S. historian Aaron Astor.

This excludes the number of soldiers injured but not "irrecoverable" as mentioned above.

Once Russian "Main Street" hears this, matters will change dramatically and rapidly.

And this number is set to increase in the immediate tense as Russian untrained, ill-prepared and under-armed recruits arrive at the front lines.

Russian troops in Donetsk ordered to stop fighting amid desertion - Russian army leaders recently ordered their troops in the Ukrainian region of Donetsk to temporarily stop fighting amid low morale and desertion, according to Alexander Štupun, the Ukrainian spokesperson of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

"In some areas of combat, including in the Donetsk region, enemy units began to receive orders from higher leadership to temporarily suspend offensive actions," Štupun said in a military operational update posted on Facebook late Wednesday night. "The main reason is the extremely low morale and psychological state of replenishment, numerous facts of desertion from the number of mobilized and non-compliance of combat orders."

"I think the halt in fighting in Donetsk mostly confirms what everyone already knew: that Russia's mobilization is not going smoothly and will not make a meaningful difference on the battlefield for at least the next several months," Kyle Haynes, Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at Purdue University, told Newsweek on Thursday.

Haynes also said that Ukraine's ability to quickly move forces and supplies along the frontlines gives the Eastern European country the advantage of deciding when and where it would launch future combat operations.

"Russia's decision to halt its sputtering offensive in Donetsk suggests it is finally acknowledging this fact," he added.

Big Guns: Ukrainian long-range artillery targets Russian command posts, ammo depots - Ukraine's 2S7 Pion self-propelled artillery pieces are engaging with Russian forces in the Donetsk region. Because of their long range - 37.5 kilometers -- they are used to attack enemy artillery, command posts, ammunition depots, electronic warfare stations, and other important targets. The 2S7 Pion packs the biggest punch in the Ukrainian artillery arsenal with 203-millimeter shells.

Russian soldiers resigning en masse as Putin's war falters—Report - Russian soldiers are resigning en masse, eight months into the war that President Vladimir Putin launched against Ukraine, according to the governor of Luhansk Oblast, Serhiy Haidai.

Haidai said on his Telegram channel that many Russian soldiers fighting in Ukraine are writing letters of resignation and prematurely terminating their contracts.

"Half of the 200 military personnel serving in the 3rd Guards Special Operations Brigade have submitted letters of resignation or prematurely terminated their contracts after taking part in the war against Ukraine," he wrote.

Ukraine's Operational Command South reported in a Facebook post last month that soldiers with the 127th Regiment of the 1st Army Corps rioted and refused to further participate in the war over a lack of vital supplies such as water.

According to the command, the soldiers lacked support, while personnel in advanced positions didn't have water.

The servicemen were reportedly removed from their unit as punishment.

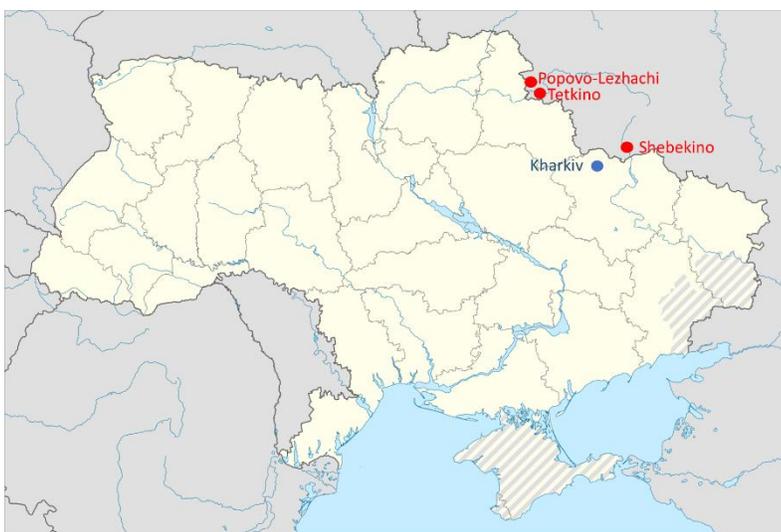
Two settlements and transformer substation shelled in Russia's Kursk region; border checkpoint shelled in Russia's Belgorod region - Border settlement Tetkino, village Popovo-Lezhachi, as well as a transformer substation have been shelled in the Kursk region of Russia, local governor Roman Starovoyt says.

"A substation located in Popovo-Lezhachi was severely damaged, one of the transformers caught fire following having been hit by a shell. Both settlements were left without electricity," he said, adding that repair crews were already on sites.

According to Starovoyt, 15 "arrivals" from the Ukrainian side were registered in total.

At the same time, governor of the Belgorod region Vyacheslav Gladkov wrote in a Telegram post that Ukraine's Armed Forces had shelled a border checkpoint located in the town of Shebekino.

According to him, there were no victims or injured. "The [closest to the border] checkpoint is now significantly damaged. It has almost ceased to exist," he added.



Russia is running out of weapons in Ukraine - Putin's Ukraine war keeps getting worse for Russia: Though it is unproven whether German-born theoretical physicist Albert Einstein predicted that a "Fourth World War" would be fought with sticks and stones – following a nuclear Third World War – it does appear that Russia could already be headed in that direction. It likely won't come to stones, but the Kremlin is reportedly running out of weapons.

It wasn't supposed to unfold like this – the Kremlin expected a swift victory.

However, mere days after Moscow launched its unprovoked and unwarranted invasion of Ukraine some Russian soldiers expressed shock that they weren't greeted with flowers on the streets for "liberating" the country. Instead, they were met with fierce resistance. Even as the threat of war loomed, it looked as if the people of Ukraine would be forced to employ "Molotov cocktail" gasoline bombs, while antiquated firearms were taken out of storage and pressed into service.

Then came the aid from the west, and Ukraine's fortunes quickly changed. Russia is now the country that is struggling to hold the ground it took in the early stages of the war, and it is the Kremlin that is running desperately low on military equipment.

"We know – and Russian commanders on the ground know – that their supplies and munitions are running out," said Sir Jeremy Fleming, director of the UK's Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ), in an address at a security think tank on Tuesday.

Russia is now facing the reality that it has essentially depleted its heavy ordnance reserves, while its troops are also exhausted troops from the nearly eight months of fighting. Both issues have allowed Ukraine to "turn the tide" in the conflict, added Fleming.

"Russia's forces are exhausted," said Fleming. "The use of prisoners to reinforce, and now the mobilisation of tens of thousands of inexperienced conscripts, speaks of a desperate situation."

As a result, ordinary Russians can now see that the invasion was badly misjudged, and that the cost to the nation – in people and equipment – can only be described as "staggering."

Follow the plan – Russia losing such a high number of casualties and failing to disclose this number to the nation at large, whilst common knowledge within the Kremlin and FSB is, in my opinion, indicative of where they are headed.

These are catastrophic fatalities by any measure and when factoring in equipment losses, lack of sufficient replenishment capability, a crippled re-supply network after losing bridges and supply routes to precision HIMARS fire and coupled with a disappearing capacity and ability to manufacture or source replacement or upgraded munitions and battle vehicles, they are in serious trouble.

We have written in numerous and previous Updates about Russia running out of these necessary replenishment requirements sometime around October/November.

Now they see huge reversals looming in Kherson and Donetsk, to be followed by Ukrainian assaults against Zaporizhzhia and Luhansk, heading to Crimea – and absolutely incapable of countering these advances.

This is not a good situation.

This is desperation straits in the extreme for Russia and particularly for Putin and his High Command. There are already loud rumblings within the Kremlin and Russian Press regarding a lack of Russian advance or success. And now Crimea under attack!

Once Russian "Main Street" hears the gauge of fatalities and defeat, not understand them, but merely hear about them, these rumblings will turn to personal threat – never forget the fall of Tzar Nicholas II in 1917. History is repeating itself, as it so often does.

They have to do something and do it fast.

Realizing this, Putin and the Kremlin have resorted to

- Bombing civilian centers as a message that this is what they are embarking upon – as a response to ongoing Ukrainian battle successes, with Russian forces proving incapable of winning in the field.
- Illegally annexing four oblasts as a pretense for claiming Ukraine is "invading" Russian territory, self-justifying the use of mobilization and nuclear "First Use, " citing "Military Necessity" as justification for it to use military force (read nuclear) in its state of armed conflict.

- According to the UN Charter, states are allowed to act with military force for self-defense purposes. However, self-defense is different from reprisal (which is categorized under self-help). Reprisals are offensive actions states may take in response to themselves coming under a form of **unlawful** attack. These are intended to deter future breaches of the laws of war and attacks by the enemy. Reprisals—in their most basic form—are breaches of the laws of war. However, there are extreme cases in which they are deemed legal and justifiable. This is where I think they will go – defining Ukrainian attacks on these occupied oblasts as “unlawful” attacks against Russia. Watch their rhetoric after the Crimean bridge attack – calling it “terrorism.” Because “terrorism” was used by the US as its grounds of justification for the use of force post-9/11.
- Leading to threatening a nuclear response to a losing situation on the ground.
- Flooding the fronts with untrained novice soldiers to try and buy time ahead of the arrival of winter and a Kremlin messaging to the Russian people underscoring the above and seeking public understanding of where they are headed.
- Russia at large was very happy in 2014 with their occupation of Crimea. The Russian people were jubilant and public support for Putin as leader soared.
- Now there is an attack on Kerch Bridge – Crimea - touted by Putin and the Duma as being the future of Russian development and stature. Despite reports of a missile or Ukrainian Special Ops force strike, this does move the needle in favor of a “False Flag” attack, hoping to create outrage and understanding in and among the Russian people.
- Defaulting to the only pattern of war they know – obliteration – irrespective of casualties and damages – a true “scorched earth” policy of attrition and attack. They did this in Aleppo and Grozny, literally wiping these cities off the face of the earth.
- As commander-in-chief of these attacks “General Armageddon” - Sergei Surovikin – has been appointed overall Russian commander to commence similar tactics against Ukrainian civilian centers and infrastructure.
- The first attack were preceded by indiscriminate rocket fire at civilian targets, followed by precision rocket fire at critical infrastructural targets. A typical scorched earth tactic.
- Missile attacks from afar continue, the only way Russia can attack without losing manpower in the field.

Cowardly.

These will continue because that is all they know and all they are capable of.

The West is flooding Ukraine with necessary anti-rocket weaponry to ward this threat off, playing out the diminishing Russian stockpile of precision weaponry, in order to force them to the table, but sans the upper hand.

That brings to the fore the nuclear threat. The reaction to an “unlawful” Ukrainian invasion, as mentioned above.

Putin and Russia have shown zero sign of capitulation or negotiation – without a (Russian) public acknowledgement or announcement of success, whatever that may transpire to be, their “off ramp.”

They have nowhere else to go, hence, realizing this, the increase in public statement from US sources, including President Biden, about the consequences of any nuclear device, irrespective of how “small and tactical” it may be.

By the numbers – Judging by the numbers, fighting changed over the past 24 hours with more Russians killed and 5 helicopters downed, not too many tanks but a number of UAVs and 1 cruise missile.

This seems to indicate assaults on Russian defensive positions with little open field tank movement.

Russian forces suffered the highest losses in Kramatorsk and Kryvyi Rih, both in the northeast and close to Lyman.

Ukrainian officials insist advisors from Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps are on the ground in occupied Ukraine training Russian troops in the use of Shahed-136 drones. "These UAVs are slow and fly at low altitudes making lone aircraft easy to target using conventional air defenses," the British military said Wednesday, and noted that because of its small payload, "It is unlikely to be satisfactorily fulfilling the deep strike function which Russia probably aspired to use it for." As for the advisors, they're believed to be working in Dzankoi in Crimea and Zaliznyi Port and Hladytsi in Kherson Oblast, the Institute for the Study of War wrote Wednesday evening in its latest update.

Peace talks

Peskov says Russia remains 'open for talks' with Ukraine, 'Interested Nations' - Kremlin spokesman Dmitry Peskov says Moscow remains "open for talks" with Kyiv on Russia's ongoing unprovoked invasion of Ukraine, stressing that the "goals of the special military operation" in Ukraine's east "remain unchanged."

In an interview with Izvestia published on October 13, Peskov said the "special military operation continues in order for us to reach our goals because we were unable to reach them through political and diplomatic means."

Peskov said Moscow has "repeated many times that we are open for talks to reach our goals" and said its "goal-setting remains unchanged."

Peskov added that Moscow was also open to talks with other countries on the basis of mutual respect.

Following major setbacks on the battlefield last month as Ukrainian forces launched successful counteroffensives to liberate territories occupied by Russian troops, Putin has said several times that Moscow "is ready" for talks with Ukraine.

Ukrainian President Zelenskiy has rejected the talks, saying Ukraine will speak to the "next" Russian president, implying that talks can proceed only after Putin leaves his post.

Comment – The "Other Shoe?" – 4 Oblasts.

Biden just provided Putin with the off-ramp needed to avoid nuclear war - President Joe Biden may have provided Russian President Vladimir Putin with an off-ramp to end the war in Ukraine and avoid escalation that could lead to nuclear conflict—but it's not clear if Putin will take it.

Biden suggested in an interview with CNN's Jake Tapper on Tuesday that Putin "could just flat leave, and still probably hold his position together in Russia," as questions have arisen about whether the Kremlin resident can stay in power without winning some kind of victory.

Biden said Putin might be able to tell the Russian people "that this something that he thought made sense, but now he's accomplished what he wanted to do, and it's time to bring Russians home."

Ukraine, Russia return 20 soldiers each in second prisoner swap this week - Moscow and Kyiv have exchanged 20 soldiers, the two sides said on October 13 in the second prisoner swap to take place this week.

"Another exchange of prisoners, another moment of joy," Andriy Yermak, the head of the Ukrainian president's office, said on Telegram. "We have managed to free 20 people."

Fourteen are soldiers of Ukraine's army and four are members of the territorial defense, Yermak said. The other two are members of the national guard and navy, he added.

Some of them had been detained in Olenivka prison in the Donetsk region. Others had been held in occupied areas of the Zaporizhzhya and Kherson regions, he added.

After Kremlin's annexation gambit, few compromises remain to end Russia's war on Ukraine - Before an assemblage of Russia's ruling elites late last month, Putin attempted to redefine Moscow's flagging war against Ukraine by claiming to annex four more Ukrainian regions, adding that the status of those areas as Russian would never be negotiable and that Moscow would defend the newly grabbed territory by all necessary means – which many observers took as a threat to use nuclear weapons.

Ukrainian President Zelenskyy responded immediately by saying there could be no political talks with Russia until Putin was out and by pressing for Ukraine's accelerated admission into NATO.

With the attempted land grab, Putin created a new narrative in which the war was no longer a Russian intervention inside Ukraine against Ukrainian troops but a defensive war on Russian territory against a hostile NATO.

The Kremlin's attempt to annex the Ukrainian territories was another example of Putin's government "creating an alternative reality," says historian Nathaniel Knight, who teaches Russian and East European history at Seton Hall University in the U.S. state of New Jersey.

"But real life is destroying these fantasies," Knight told RFE/RL's Russian Service in a Russian-language interview.

Putin's move and his veiled nuclear saber-rattling have ramped up the standoff between Russia and the West, with analysts such as David Kramer, a former State Department official who is now a fellow at the Washington-based McCain Institute, urging that Western leaders not "be paralyzed."

"The only correct reaction to these threats is expanding military aid to Ukraine to help win the war and prepare for any turn of events," he told RFE/RL. "Any weakening of support for Ukraine would be a mistake, we are not seeing this."

It is widely believed that Putin expected Russian forces would unseat the Ukrainian government within days of the invasion on February 24, but their advance toward Kyiv was repulsed, and many analysts believe there is little or no chance that a second attempt could succeed.

"Either Putin wins and forces Ukraine and the West to accept the annexations or -- and this seems most likely the way things are going now -- he suffers a crushing defeat."

Although Kyiv and the West rejected Moscow's annexation gambit as an outrageous violation of international law unworthy of serious consideration, the move had an effect that could prove momentous, analysts say: It shut off most, if not all, possible compromise off-ramps from the conflict for both Putin and the West, leaving room only for more dramatic outcomes.

For Russia, "the only possible winning scenario that could boost Putin's power and popularity would be a military blitzkrieg," says Yury Yarym-Agayev, a human rights activist and head of the U.S.-based Center for the Study of Totalitarian Ideology. "If Russia managed in the course of a few days and without major losses to eliminate the Kyiv government, that would be a step toward strengthening Putin's power and popularity inside Russia.... But I think a victory for Russia is practically impossible."

Trouble At Home

In addition to attempting a land grab in Ukraine, Putin recently launched a military mobilization drive that has proved highly unpopular and, Kramer says, has shown him how weak Russian support for the war may actually be.

Knight says that decisive setbacks in the war against Ukraine could lead to a weakening of central power in Russia, potentially resulting in "chaos."

"The collapse of Russian statehood is a terrifying possibility," he says, noting that Putin has spent years trying to make himself seem like the sole guarantor of stability in the country and cutting off alternative development paths.

Yarym-Agayev, however, argues the situation in Russia is becoming increasingly “revolutionary,” but not necessarily violent.

Many people, he says, predicted civil war and mass violence when the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, but those predictions went largely unrealized.

“I foresee a revolutionary change,” he says, “not the replacement of Putin by [hardline insider Yevgeny] Prigozhin or [Kremlin-installed Chechen strongman Ramzan] Kadyrov. No, they will all run away.... This will be a revolutionary change. But the word ‘revolutionary’ doesn’t mean violence or an armed uprising. It means changes in state structures and in the policies of the people who come to power.”

Comment – The “Red Revolution” following the “Orange Revolution” in Ukraine, “Rose Revolution” in Georgia, and the “Tulip Revolution” in Kyrgyzstan?

Putin

Ukraine war: why the world can’t afford to let Putin get away with his land grab – lessons from history

Much of the international community has condemned Russia’s annexation of four provinces of Ukraine as illegal. Biden accused Putin of a “fraudulent attempt” to claim Ukrainian territory and said the move was “trampling on the United Nations charter and showing its contempt for peaceful nations everywhere.” The UK’s human rights ambassador, Rita French, denounced Russia’s move in the UN’s human rights council as “an unprovoked and illegal land grab of sovereign Ukrainian territory.”

Russia’s foreign minister, Sergei Lavrov, described the west’s condemnation of its actions as a “temper tantrum,” adding that “any sovereign, self-respecting state that realizes the responsibility it has to its own people would do the same.” But the US ambassador to the UN, Linda Thomas-Greenfield, said the annexations – if allowed to stand – would “open a Pandora’s box that we cannot close.” To get an idea of the stakes involved, it’s worth looking at the historical record.

Russia’s annexation of these territories is very unusual, at least since 1945. Almost never has a state conquered by force and then annexed a large-populated territory like that in Ukraine. And the few times it has happened, the international community has almost always come together in not recognizing the situation.

When Indonesia invaded and occupied East Timor in 1974 it was condemned, and Indonesia’s claimed sovereignty was not recognised for decades. Eventually a democratic, UN-sponsored referendum produced the new independent state of Timor-L’este in 2002.

Territories occupied by Israel in 1967 and the northern part of Cyprus occupied by Turkey in 1974 have remained unrecognized for decades. Russia’s annexation of Crimea in 2014 is another notoriously unrecognized example of an illegal landgrab.

The direct material effect of non-recognition is close to nothing – especially compared to imposing economic sanctions on Russia or providing Ukraine with weapons and equipment. But what non-recognition can do is reassure everyone that the international community values a world without aggressive war.

So what if Russia is allowed to keep these territories – perhaps as part of a peace negotiation? Putin has stated that peace talks can now start but that the annexed areas are not on the table. If Russia gains rights over these territories (as well as in Crimea) because it conquered them in battle, and these rights are accepted by the international community, then the relatively solid expectation that illegal warfare conquest doesn’t pay is likely to evaporate.

How do we know this?

In 1935, Italy under the leadership of Benito Mussolini invaded Ethiopia. The League of Nations – and the US – condemned the invasion, declared support for the territorial integrity of Ethiopia and coordinated economic sanctions on Italy. But foreign ministers of Great Britain and France reached a secret agreement with Mussolini to end the war.

This involved Ethiopia ceding most of its territory to Italy and handing Mussolini economic control over the rest of the country. Instead of defending Ethiopia against aggression, the UK and France tried to trade its sovereignty for an end to the war.

When this agreement became public knowledge, people around the world failed to appreciate this plan as a prudent acceptance of political realities. Instead, they thought that Italy, an aggressor state, was being rewarded for victories on the field of battle, a betrayal of the principle of opposing aggression.

The reaction was so negative that the UK and French governments abandoned the proposals and Hoare and Laval resigned in disgrace. Nevertheless, a month later, the US dropped its arms embargo against Italy and the League of Nations voted to end sanctions. Even though the US, the Soviet Union and a few other states refused to recognize Italy's empire in East Africa, it was enough that the consensus was broken.

Some states, including Honduras, Nicaragua, Chile, Venezuela, Spain and Hungary left the League of Nations completely in response. A group of smaller European states, including Denmark, Sweden, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Belgium said that they would no longer participate in the League's collective security.

Remaining states, such as the UK and France, decided to try a newfangled policy of appeasement as a way to deal with aggressive states. The theory was that if you gave into states with demands, such as Germany under Hitler, they would then leave everyone alone and be responsible members of international society. What the failure of collective security in the Ethiopian crisis did was to remove collective security from the menu of options considered serious tools to deal with Italy and Germany.

Non-recognition is essential

The lesson from these historical precursors is that upholding the principle that conquest does not pay is potentially sustainable indefinitely. The division of Cyprus into the Republic of Cyprus in the south and the unrecognized Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is coming up to its 50th anniversary in November 2023. The north is still unable to trade with the EU because of the legal barriers created by non-recognition.

Non-recognition is essential for maintaining the existing consensus that success in battle should not confer rights on the victor. Without non-recognition, the will to protect the current relatively peaceful global order might evaporate like it did in the 1930s.

If Putin is allowed to keep the territories he has occupied by force of arms, a similar situation might develop as aggressors are encouraged and smaller countries feel the need to rearm themselves. We have already seen Finland and Sweden sign accession deals with Nato, which will immediately involve Nato bases moving closer to Russian territory.

Success in the field will send a message that might is right. This would not bode well for a peaceful and secure future. (the conversation).

Putin is prepared to reject the renewal of an agreement on grain exports from Black Sea ports unless its demands are addressed, Russia's UN ambassador in Geneva has told Reuters.

Comment – Promulgate this position to 3rd World leaders in order that they see firsthand that Russia is the stumbling block to them receiving vital supplies of food. Table it in the UN General Assembly and put a motion to the vote – then the world can see the food challenge for what it is and the culprit for who they are.

When the “special operation” became a “war” - Or more accurately – “When the cat was let out of the bag”

For many Russians, especially in the capital, the war had been something abstract for months: discussed on state TV, but with little effect on their daily lives. It was a “special military operation,” in Putin’s phrase, and not a “war.” That changed with mobilization. Now, young men — and even not-so-young men — were receiving draft notices all over the country. Now, Russians were searching online for news from Ukraine. Or they were searching for a way out.

“Even in Moscow, they are now drafting people,” Evgeny said. “I know the ‘motherland’ is not in danger, as [the government] said. The motherland has nothing to do with the president saving his own ass.”

Vitaly and Masha are another young couple who have just arrived from Moscow, suitcases packed to the brim.

“We’re going to Cyprus after this,” said Vitaly. “We were already worried about what’s happening in Russia and decided to leave — we bought our ticket on the 15th.” The mobilization announcement came six days later. Vitaly is 31 years old, has completed his compulsory military service and would have been a candidate for a tour in Ukraine.

“Now, we see that this was definitely the right decision,” he said.

Inside Russia, a profound change

Many of the new arrivals in Armenia say that the mood in Russia toward the war — and the government that ordered it — is changing rapidly.

Nobody I know supports the war,” one arriving Russian said. “Not one person. When [Putin] announced mobilization, everything changed. Everyone realized that now, the war is coming to them. All the discussions on [the social media app] Telegram, around the dinner table, every family and every single person was in shock. Suddenly we’re being drafted like it’s World War II, and for what?”

The exodus of many liberally minded anti-war individuals and moderates from Russia leaves behind those who support ever more brutal military action against Ukraine. And their influence is growing: On Monday, Putin ordered dozens of missile strikes against civilian targets across Ukraine, the kind of move long demanded by those opposing him from the right. The reaction was jubilation from the militant hard-liners whose support for the war has been a critical bastion for Putin.

If Putin uses nukes in Ukraine, the U.S. must respond with military force – Leon Panetta - In the 21st century, it is still madness to believe there can be an acceptable use of nuclear weapons. During the Cold War, it was clear that the consequence of a nuclear attack would be mutual annihilation. That has not changed.

Putin, increasingly cornered and isolated, continues to threaten the use of so-called battlefield nuclear weapons to gain a military advantage on the ground in Ukraine. Some intelligence analysts now believe that the probability of the use of tactical nuclear weapons in Ukraine has risen from 1-5 percent at the start of the war to 20-25 percent today.

As secretary of defense, I heard the arguments that the use of such weapons could be limited and targeted in a way that would not result in nuclear war. The problem with that kind of rationale is retaliation knows no limits. Any attack will demand a firm response. And any firm response will risk the danger of escalation. It is precisely because the use of any nuclear weapon is so unthinkable that Putin cannot be allowed to continue his threats without understanding the full consequences to him and his regime. He says he is “not bluffing.” We cannot afford to “bluff” either.

While the United States and our NATO allies should continue to warn publicly of “catastrophic” consequences of Putin’s reckless nuclear saber rattling, we should be brutally clear to Putin in private: If he makes a reckless decision to use nuclear weapons in Ukraine, the U.S. will respond with direct military force against Russian troops waging the war in Ukraine, ensuring Putin’s defeat there. We must be prepared to use U.S. military assets, including combat aircraft and cruise missile strikes, to ensure that Putin cannot threaten Ukraine with nuclear weapons. While the administration will need to be vague about what particular forces it will deploy, it should communicate that it could include the full range of conventional capabilities we have in our arsenal, which Putin knows would devastate his military. In the Indo-Pacific, President Biden has made clear that U.S. forces will be used to defend Taiwan from an attack from China. The same pledge should apply to Ukraine if Putin makes the decision to use nuclear weapons.

Putin is now fighting a war on two fronts — in Ukraine and in Russia itself. A well-planned Ukrainian offensive has Russian forces in retreat, and a besieged Putin is struggling to mobilize new recruits amid growing dissent in Russia. This combination is undermining the facade of invincibility in Moscow. Sham elections in Russia-controlled areas of Ukraine will not change the reality of what is happening.

The tide of war has turned, and Putin’s war is failing. He is not just facing setbacks on the battlefield and at home but from those he was relying on for support abroad. President Xi Jinping of China has made clear that he has serious “questions and concerns” about the conduct of the war. Prime Minister Narendra Modi of India was even more direct when he recently told Putin that “it is no time for war.”

Hawkish voices in Moscow are loudly criticizing the conduct of the war, and nationalists on Russian television are trying to suggest tactfully that Putin has been badly advised. Meanwhile, other brave local politicians in both Moscow and St. Petersburg have called for Putin to step down.

Predictions about war and Putin’s fate are always risky. But the lessons of history cannot be ignored: Nations cannot afford to appease or be intimidated by bullies. The only message tyrants understand is force. The United States, NATO and Ukraine have made clear that they remain unified in opposition to Putin’s aggression. That unity and support is critical to success.

Ukraine’s ability to control the battlefield rests on having both adequate material and manpower. In hardware, it now has an ever-increasing edge. America and our NATO allies have sent both artillery and rockets with enough range and accuracy to shift the terms of engagement. Ukraine now has the capacity to see and reliably hit enemy ammunition depots, command centers and logistics nodes far behind the front lines. Russia’s supposed air superiority has been suppressed by mobile air defenses.

Ukraine’s manpower advantage is growing as well. Putin’s original force of 200,000 was never big enough to sustain the invasion or occupy Ukraine. Russia has suffered heavy losses — by one estimate 90,000 of its soldiers have been killed or wounded. Grieving families in Russia have made it that much more difficult for Putin to mobilize additional recruits. He is reaping the whirlwind of his lies and deceptions.

This is both a dangerous and pivotal moment in Ukraine — dangerous because Putin could well resort to nuclear weapons, but pivotal because success in Ukraine can send a strong message to all democracies that brave fighters and nations can stand up to bullies around the world. This is one of those special moments in history: The U.S. and our allies have a chance to show the importance of global leadership in the 21st century.

Containment

The Brits are sending "hundreds" of air defense missiles to Kyiv's military, "including AMRAAM rockets capable of shooting down cruise missiles," the Defense Ministry announced Thursday. "The rockets will help to protect

Ukraine's critical national infrastructure, with the announcement coming days after Russian missiles struck civilian targets in cities across Ukraine," officials said in a statement.

Also coming inbound from London: "Hundreds of additional aerial drones to support Ukraine's information gathering and logistics capabilities, and a further 18 howitzer artillery guns, in addition to the 64 already delivered," the British military said Thursday.

EU Air-defense - A group of NATO members, and Finland, which is in the process of joining the alliance, have signed a letter of intent to procure air-defense systems as part of a project to improve Europe's security in the skies.

Canada is donating \$47 million in drones, artillery, satellite services, and winter clothing to Ukraine, Defense Minister Anita Anand announced Wednesday from the sidelines of a NATO meeting in Brussels. Ottawa is also sending 40 combat engineers to train Ukrainian troops inside Poland.

France says it's sending radar and air defense systems to Kyiv, specifically to protect against "drone and missile attacks," President Emmanuel Macron said Wednesday—though he was not precise about what systems would be involved.

The Netherlands to supply Ukraine with €15m worth of missiles for air defence - The Netherlands will supply Ukraine with €15 million worth of missiles for air defence systems, the Dutch Defence Ministry reports.

Russia's attacks against Ukraine reinforce the Dutch government's belief that those can only be answered with unwavering support for Ukraine and its people, says Kajsa Ollongren, the Defence Minister. "The Netherlands, like our partners, will not be intimidated by Russia and will continue to support Ukraine," she added.

Ollongren's Canadian counterpart Anita Anand announced a new \$47m military aid package for Ukraine including 15 million worth of winter clothing and equipment, 15 million worth of cameras for UAVs, 15 million worth of artillery rounds and 2 million worth of communications technology.

The view from Berlin: "Vladimir Putin and his enablers have made one thing very clear: this war is not only about Ukraine," but it's "part of a larger crusade, a crusade against liberal democracy," German Chancellor Olaf Scholz said during an ongoing speech earlier today in the capital city.

Top American general says US and allies need to help Ukraine build a comprehensive missile defense system - The US and its allies need to help Ukraine build a comprehensive air and missile defense system by combining the different systems the allies operate to help Kyiv defend its airspace against Russian attacks, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Mark Milley said Wednesday after a gathering of military leaders and defense ministers in Brussels.

"What needs to be done here by all the various countries that were at the conference today is chip in and help them rebuild and sustain an integrated air and missile defense system," Milley said at a press conference after the meeting.

Ukrainian leaders have re-emphasized their urgent need for air defense systems from Western nations after a series of Russian missile attacks targeted civilians and civilian infrastructure across the country over the weekend.

Ministers and Chiefs of Defense from 50 countries participated in the sixth meeting of the Ukraine Defense Contact Group hosted by US Secretary of Defense Lloyd Austin, the sixth meeting of the group since April. Ukrainian Minister of Defense Oleksii Reznikov and Major General Eduard Moskaliov, Ukraine's joint forces commander, attended the meeting and briefed the ministers on the "latest battlefield dynamics" in Ukraine, Austin said in the press conference.

Milley emphasized the US cannot protect Ukraine's skies from incoming missile and air attacks on its own. In order to protect the skies above the country, the US and its allies should contribute air defense systems they have and then help Ukraine use the systems together to create a defense, Milley said.

EU strikes political deal on Ukraine military training mission - After months of delay, EU ambassadors struck a political agreement yesterday on a military assistance mission to train 15,000 Ukrainian armed forces personnel in several member states.

The political accord is set to be signed off by EU foreign ministers when they meet for their regular session next Monday in Luxembourg.

The EU Military Assistance Mission (EUMAM) "would have to train large numbers of UAF (Ukrainian armed forces) personnel in a variety of military functions" outside of Ukraine, according to a proposal previewed to EURACTIV.

The EU's chief diplomat Josep Borrell announced the idea for an EU military assistance mission in August, but it has been in the works since before Russia's invasion of Ukraine, albeit with a different purpose.

Up to 15,000 Ukrainian armed forces personnel could be "initially" trained by winter, and the number could increase significantly later, EU diplomats familiar with the matter said.

Several member states have, for the past months, been training Ukrainian forces individually, mainly enabling them to operate weapons they have delivered to the war-torn country.

Impacts

Photos show long backup of cargo trucks after Crimea bridge explosion - The explosion of the Kerch bridge linking Crimea to mainland Russia caused a significant backup in cargo trucks waiting to be transported across the strait, newly released satellite photos show.

Driving the news: In the aftermath of the explosion, Russian authorities rushed to reestablish supply lines to Crimea. A day after the explosion they said all freight trains were running according to schedule.

"The situation is manageable — it's unpleasant, but not fatal," Crimea's Kremlin-installed leader Sergei Aksyonov told reporters over the weekend, per Reuters.

Yet in a new video posted to Telegram on Wednesday, Aksyonov admitted that the current wait time for a cargo truck awaiting a ferry is three to four days.



The big picture: New satellite images from Maxar Technologies taken on Wednesday show large backups of cargo trucks at the Kerch ferry terminal.

Other photos show several hundred cargo trucks parked at an abandoned airport nearby, also waiting to be ferried to Russia.

Is Nuclear First Use Ever Permissible?

During a conventional war against another sovereign nation, is it ever permissible for a country to employ nuclear weapons against the other and not violate the laws of war or its foundational principles? Russia's various recent statements, and America and NATO's willingness to respond to them (even if they are Kremlin political theater) indicate that asking such questions has more salience than many in the world wish to admit.

This article will attempt to summarize those who believe a nation can never employ nuclear weapons against its enemy because such employment will always violate the laws and its principles. After providing important background information on key terms and events embedded in the question, I will identify and explain the various argumentative camps, before concluding with the many themes, biases, and assumptions those camps take.

The Laws of War: Sources & Guiding Principles

The laws of war describe the totality of international laws and norms defining how nations may properly conduct themselves during war. The laws apply to both international and domestic theaters. Their primary goal is to reduce the overall suffering all parties involved in the war must endure. This is done to limit the inherently destructive nature of war, thereby hastening its end and expediting the restoration of peace. This article will use the terms war, armed hostilities, and armed conflict to mean the same event. For the sake of space, the laws of war and international humanitarian law are treated as synonymous.

The laws of war originate from two main sources. The first is international agreements, conventions, charters, or rulings from international judicial bodies that dictate practices deemed acceptable when conducting war. The most famous examples include the Geneva and Hague Conventions, their successive protocols, and rulings by the International Court of Justice (ICJ), especially the 1993 and 1995 decisions specifically related to nuclear weapons and employment. Regarding the Geneva Conventions, nearly every nation on earth has signed and ratified aspects in the form of international treaties.

However, this does not mean that nations that fail to ratify or agree with all agreements or principles are not liable for their violations. This is the result of the second source of the laws of war: customary law. Customary laws are the established war-fighting norms held by most nation-states. These are normally found in the official manuals of a nation's defense agency or ministry. If state practice is sufficiently widespread enough, the rules of customary international law bind all states—even states that do not necessarily participate in that practice.

The foundation for the laws of war is the interdependent guiding principles. In the absence of court rulings, agreements, or customary law, these provide military and civilian leaders participating in the conflict with an ethical framework that explicitly states what is and is not proper behavior. While there remains some variation, the Department of Defense summarizes them as *Military Necessity, Humanity, and Honor*.

Military Necessity is the justification for a state to use military force in a state of armed conflict. However, states and their militaries are not given unlimited powers to use force. The force employed must be done to defeat the enemy as quickly, efficiently, and humanely as possible. These constraints on force are necessary to prevent rash, unreasonable, or excessive actions that delay the ability to restore peace.

Humanity is composed of three sub-principles: Distinction, Proportionality, and Unnecessary Suffering. Distinction demands unarmed citizens must be spared personal property damage as much as the exigencies of war will permit. Warring states must therefore not intentionally target civilians and must calculate the extent to which military operations may cause damage to noncombatants. Thus, nations should primarily target and engage with enemy troops in the field of battle, as far away from civilians as possible.

Proportionality means that militaries should consider how much force is necessary to accomplish the ultimate military objective: restoring peace. If to restore the peace civilians become collateral damage, then the harm done to non-combatants (deaths, injuries, damage to civilian objects, or a combination thereof) may not be excessive when compared with the direct and concrete military advantage anticipated. *Unnecessary Suffering* is directly related to *Proportionality*, but it has also been expanded to include the physical environment surrounding the battlefield and the nations where the battles are being fought. Lastly, *Honor* necessitates that militaries must treat each other with dignity.

Self-Defense and Reprisals

According to the UN Charter, states are allowed to act with military force for self-defense purposes. However, self-defense is different from reprisal (which is categorized under self-help). Reprisals are offensive actions states may take in response to themselves coming under a form of unlawful attack. These are intended to deter future breaches of the laws of war and attacks by the enemy. Reprisals—in their most basic form—are breaches of the laws of war. However, there are extreme cases in which they are deemed legal and justifiable.

Self-defense differs from reprisal due to timing. Reprisals are present actions taken in response to a past event. Self-defense actions require a threat to be imminent. The capacity to know which threats are imminent and which creates three forms of self-defense-based actions under the laws of war. Anticipatory self-defense maneuvers are when a force wishing to harm a party is instant, overwhelming, leaves no choice of means, and no moment of deliberation, and when the very survival of the state is at stake. This is justified under the laws of war as legal actions.

The latter two, *Preemptive* and *Preventive*, remain debatable. Interpretation of events as imminent lacks definite proof of their threat level. If one is to follow the morally safest path when following the laws of war, states should avoid preemptive and preventive actions until greater knowledge of the intent of the enemy is understood to cross the threshold into anticipatory action.

Nuclear Weapon Employment vs Nuclear Weapon Use

Nuclear employment indicates a country intentionally launches and detonates a nuclear weapon during a war. The nuclear weapon could be used to either attack an enemy position or merely to display resolve. Nuclear use equates to utilizing nuclear weapons for deterrence-based purposes. John Gower, former UK Minister of Defence, provided the example that “the UK has used and is using nuclear weapons every day for 60 years in deterrence” but has never employed nuclear weapons. The only examples of nuclear weapon employment remain the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The Bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (H&N)

Nuclear employment only occurred at Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. Low-end estimates state that 110,000 people perished during the bombing runs, while higher-end calculations raise the number to 210,000. Those not obliterated were horrendously burned, showing black blood spots on their skin, losing hair, suffering heavy fever, diarrhea, and dying a few days later. Radiation fallout would cause many survivors to develop cancer (predominantly leukemia) years later.

Arguments Against Nuclear Employment

The Interdependent Principles Arguments (IPA)

At the heart of nearly all arguments against the employment of nuclear weapons rest the interdependency of each of the principles. Due to the ICJ’s inability to determine if nuclear employment is ever permissible under the laws of war, and in the absence of a treaty outright banning nuclear employment in conflict, the principles discussed earlier (combined with customary law) must fill the supposed “legal gap.” Opponents of nuclear employment believe the

principles and customary law in effect make nuclear employment illegal. This section will primarily focus on IPA-centric logic.

The IPA views a violation of one of the principles as a tripwire: once one is broken the entire legality of the military operation is removed. The same can be applied to nuclear employment and the guiding principles of war. Supporters of the argument believe that there is no realistic chance that a nuclear weapon used in war will not violate at least one principle. The extensive, indiscriminate damage and lingering health effects witnessed at and after H&N would violate Humanity. Even “dial-a-yield” and other more sophisticated nuclear weapons fail to lessen the brutal damage caused by the bomb. The radioactive fallout and blast radius also damage the environment in a way that conventional forces could not. Conventional forces could also accomplish the mission of nuclear weapons with less of a risk of forestalling peace.

Because the principles are tripwires, merely proving one is broken means a state employing a nuclear weapon is violating the laws of war. Non-battlefield-oriented employment would also violate these principles. Merely launching and detonating a device as a show of force would also violate these principles due to the resulting risk of fallout.

Nuclear

Admission of Ukraine to NATO can lead to third world war, Russia warns - The admission of Ukraine to NATO could result in a third world war, the deputy secretary of the Security Council of the Russian Federation, Alexander Venediktov, told the state TASS news agency in an interview today.

“Kyiv is well aware that such a step would mean a guaranteed escalation to a WWII,” TASS cited Venediktov as saying.

“That’s what they are counting on – to create informational noise and draw attention to themselves once again.”

Venediktov also repeated a Russian position that the West, by helping Ukraine, indicated that “they are a direct party to the conflict.”

Ukrainian President Zelenskyy announced a fast-track membership bid of NATO at the end of September, after Putin held a ceremony in Moscow to proclaim the four partially occupied regions as annexed Russian land.

In a joint statement, the presidents of Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Montenegro and North Macedonia said they “firmly stand behind” a NATO decision made at the 2008 Bucharest summit on Ukraine’s membership prospects to the alliance.

Putin is serious about using nukes, Russian opposition fears - Russian opposition leader Nikolay Rybakov has cautioned that the West should not underestimate Putin's threats about using nuclear weapons on Ukraine.

The comments by Rybakov has cautioned that the West should not underestimate Vladimir Putin's threats about using nuclear weapons amid his war on Ukraine.

The comments by Nikolay Rybakov, who heads the social-liberal party Yabloko, come as U.S. intelligence officials warned that Putin's dwindling options in the war are pushing the Russian president closer to justifying nuclear escalation., who heads the social-liberal party Yabloko, come as U.S. intelligence officials warned that Putin's dwindling options in the war are pushing the Russian president closer to justifying nuclear escalation.

Rybakov told Newsweek from Moscow: "I would warn that Western politicians who underestimate Putin's resolve are making a mistake."

"I think the West should realize that if Vladimir Putin has said that he would like to 'use all available means,' then he means he will absolutely use any means to reach his goals," he said.

"If he sees that some or other actions and strikes represent a threat for the very existence of Russia, he has explained to all of us that if there is a world without Russia, such a world is not needed—there won't be such a world."

GeoPolitical

China looks to maintain Philippines supply chain gains as Marcos Jnr pivots back to US - China's move to establish "demonstration parks" for trade and innovation in the Philippines is part of an effort to shore up supply chains amid US decoupling threats and moves by President Marcos Jnr to restore ties with Washington, analysts say.

A suicidal plan for the reintegration of Kosovo into Serbia - A group of opposition parties and intellectuals published a declaration calling for the reintegration of Kosovo into Serbia, arguing that full reintegration is the only acceptable solution for the Serbian people. Orhan Dragaš calls this initiative "a gift to the Kremlin."

The idea of the reintegration of Kosovo into Serbia's constitutional order, published recently by a group of politicians and intellectuals, skips an important and risky step towards its realization. What the realization of their plan would look like, citizens can watch live the case of Ukraine and Russia's efforts to "reintegrate" some of its areas.

Just like the authors of the concept of the reintegration of Kosovo, Putin's Russia also believed that Crimea, Donetsk, Luhansk, and now two more Ukrainian regions are actually part of "historical Russia" and that they should be returned to the homeland. For this purpose, Russia was ready to start an aggressive war, for which it found reason and justification precisely in its right to Ukrainian territories. It also includes population, religious sites and natural resources, as Vuk Jeremić, Boško Obradović, Milan Jovanović, Matija Bečković, and other co-signatories wrote in their Kosovo proclamation.

Unlike their Russian counterparts, Serbian re-integrators did not anticipate military force as a way to realise their plan. Perhaps they overlooked this "detail" but did not include it in the signed text. However, this small difference between Russian and Serbian concepts of reintegration is not essential – both plans are actually warlike.

European Commission recommends granting Bosnia candidate status - The European Commission has recommended candidacy status for Bosnia-Herzegovina but attached a long list of conditions designed to bolster democracy in the Balkan country.

EU Enlargement Commissioner Oliver Varhelyi on October 12 told a European Parliament committee that the commission "recommends that candidate status be granted" to Bosnia by the member states pending eight conditions.

"We are doing this for the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. But it also comes with great expectations. It is up to the elite to make it a reality," Varhelyi said.

Ursula von der Leyen, president of the EU's executive arm, said a "wind of change is once again blowing through Europe" and the EU must "capture this momentum."

She reiterated the commission's position that the Western Balkans belong in the EU, which has noted that Russia and China are vying for clout in the region.

Russian mobilization and annexation

Russia is reportedly mobilizing people from homeless shelters and hostels, according to the independent news website Mediazona. "The police come here without anyone asking. They see a queue of people waiting for food—and then they grab them by the scruff of the neck, against their will," one person who reportedly runs an Orthodox Christian organization called Salvation Hangar told Mediazona.

'Everything has collapsed': Russia's draft tanks small businesses - In his brand new co-working space in Chelyabinsk, a city in central Russia, entrepreneur Maxim Novikov is counting the empty seats.

The space is usually overflowing with designers, programmers and young Russians working on their start-ups.

But since Putin announced a mobilisation the 33-year-old has lost much of his clientele.

"Many have stopped coming," he told AFP by phone.

Instead, they are filling the depleted ranks of Russia's army, or they are among the tens of thousands of others who have fled south for neighboring Kazakhstan.

The Kremlin's mobilisation has brought uncertainty and chaos to businesses already hard-hit by sanctions and still recovering from the fallout of the pandemic.

He is far from the only business owner in Russia who is growing more nervous over the workforce vacuum.

"It means projects are being put on hold and private companies will be afraid to invest," said Natalia Zubarevich, an economist at Moscow State University.

Russia's economy has already been battered this year by unprecedented Western sanctions in response to Putin's decision to send troops to Ukraine on February 24.

But Zubarevich said mobilisation was an "additional aggravating factor."

Three-quarters of the 193-member UN General Assembly voted to condemn Russia's "attempted illegal annexation" of four partially occupied regions in Ukraine and urged countries not to recognize the move.

Voting Started		12-Oct-22		16:13:05	
Item 5 - Draft resolution A/ES-11/L.5 Territorial integrity of Ukraine: defending the principles of the Charter of the United Nations					
 AFGHANISTAN	 CAMEROON	 FINLAND	 KUWAIT	 NEPAL	 SAUDI ARABIA
 ALBANIA	 CANADA	 FRANCE	 KYRGYZSTAN	 NETHERLANDS	 SENEGAL
 ALGERIA	 CENTRAL AFR REP....	 GABON	 LAO PDR	 NEW ZEALAND	 SERBIA
 ANDORRA	 CHAD	 GAMBIA	 LATVIA	 NICARAGUA	 SEYCHELLES
 ANGOLA	 CHILE	 GEORGIA	 LEBANON	 NIGER	 SIERRA LEONE
 ANTIGUA-BARBUDA	 CHINA	 GERMANY	 LESOTHO	 NIGERIA	 SINGAPORE
 ARGENTINA	 COLOMBIA	 GHANA	 LIBERIA	 NORTH MACEDONIA	 SLOVAKIA
 ARMENIA	 COMOROS	 GREECE	 LIBYA	 NORWAY	 SLOVENIA
 AUSTRALIA	 CONGO	 GRENADA	 LIECHTENSTEIN	 OMAN	 SOLOMON ISLANDS
 AUSTRIA	 COSTA RICA	 GUATEMALA	 LITHUANIA	 PAKISTAN	 SOMALIA
 AZERBAIJAN	 COTE D'IVOIRE	 GUINEA	 LUXEMBOURG	 PALAU	 SOUTH AFRICA
 BAHAMAS	 CROATIA	 GUINEA-BISSAU	 MADAGASCAR	 PANAMA	 SOUTH SUDAN
 BAHRAIN	 CUBA	 GUYANA	 MALAWI	 PAPUA NEW GUINEA	 SPAIN
 BANGLADESH	 CYPRUS	 HAITI	 MALAYSIA	 PARAGUAY	 SRI LANKA
 BARBADOS	 CZECHIA	 HONDURAS	 MALDIVES	 PERU	 SUDAN
 BELARUS	 DEM PR OF KOREA	 HUNGARY	 MALI	 PHILIPPINES	 SURINAME
 BELGIUM	 DEM REP OF THE C...	 ICELAND	 MALTA	 POLAND	 SWEDEN
 BELIZE	 DENMARK	 INDIA	 MARSHALL ISLANDS	 PORTUGAL	 SWITZERLAND
 BENIN	 DJIBOUTI	 INDONESIA	 MAURITANIA	 QATAR	 SYRIAN ARAB REP...
 BHUTAN	 DOMINICA	 IRAN (ISLAMIC REP...	 MAURITIUS	 REP OF KOREA	 TAJIKISTAN
 BOLIVIA	 DOMINICAN REP...	 IRAQ	 MEXICO	 REP OF MOLDOVA	 THAILAND
 BOSNIA-HERZEGOVI...	 ECUADOR	 IRELAND	 MICRONESIA (FS)	 ROMANIA	 TIMOR-LESTE
 BOTSWANA	 EGYPT	 ISRAEL	 MONACO	 RUSSIAN FED...	 TOGO
 BRAZIL	 EL SALVADOR	 ITALY	 MONGOLIA	 RWANDA	 TONGA
 BRUNEI DARUSSAL...	 EQUATORIAL GUINEA	 JAMAICA	 MONTENEGRO	 SAINT KITTS-NEVIS	 TRINIDAD-TOBAGO
 BULGARIA	 ERITREA	 JORDAN	 MOROCCO	 SAINT LUCIA	 TUNISIA
 BURKINA FASO	 ESTONIA	 KAZAKHSTAN	 MOZAMBIQUE	 SAINT VINCENT-GR...	 TURKMENISTAN
 BURUNDI	 ESWATINI	 KENYA	 MYANMAR	 SAMOA	 TUVALU
 CABO VERDE	 ETHIOPIA	 KIRIBATI	 NAMIBIA	 SAN MARINO	 TÜRKIYE
 CAMBODIA	 FIJI		 NAURU	 SAO TOME-PRINCIPE	 UGANDA
 IN FAVOUR: 143	 AGAINST: 5			 ABSTENTION: 35	