

Promoting a more transparent and accountable NATO

No.29 - January/February 2012

Welcome to NATO Watch's monthly *Observatory:* the only online publication dedicated entirely to news and independent commentary on NATO policy-making and operational activities. The clips are drawn from a wide range of subscriptions, feeds and alerts covering a substantial part of the major English language newspapers and other periodicals worldwide. If you are short on time – go straight to the recommended reading, marked

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## NATO Watch

conducts independent monitoring and analysis of NATO and aims to increase transparency, stimulate parliamentary engagement and broaden public awareness and participation in a progressive reform agenda within NATO. **NATO Watch website** www.natowatch.org

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## NATO Watch Editorial:

## What is the purpose of the NATO Secretary General's annual report?

On 26 January, NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen launched the first ever 'Secretary General's Annual Report' at a press conference in the NATO HQ in Brussels.



Annual reports are one of the key mechanisms used by government agencies, private companies and civil society groups alike to impart knowledge about their organisation in an informative, structured and cost-effective manner. Of course, the target audience, content and format often differs according to the type of entity under the spotlight, although the best annual reports usually provide detailed information about actual performance and forecasts of future needs and expectations.

While the primary purpose of annual reporting ought to be accountability—to shareholders, parliaments and other stakeholders, including the general public—in their contemporary guise they are often little more than marketing or public relations devices, contrived to illustrate wonderful achievements while remaining strangely silent on negative features. That is the essence of a voluntary reporting system: you get to choose the story to tell about yourself. Enron, for example, emphasised respect and integrity in its annual reports, but when the company collapsed in 2001 it became evident that it had engaged in corporate fraud on a massive scale, misleading its investors and employees about its financial status.

How then does the Secretary General's report stack up? Is it mainly PR gloss or a useful contribution to greater accountability? The first thing to note is that there is no explanation given as to the purpose of the 20-page report. Who is it for? The fact that it was released during the Secretary General's monthly press briefing suggests a strong media focus. It is also in keeping with Rasmussen's view of his own office as an independent agency for promoting NATO's strategic vision and building a consensus in favour of new roles. In that sense, this upbeat (some would say rose-tinted) overview of NATO's principal achievements and challenges in 2011,

as well as his view of the new year and NATO's place and prospects within it, is also directed at sceptics within member countries, partner countries and other doubting Thomas' among international organizations and interested parties.

It is not the most content rich and informative annual report on the block and there are no surprises within it. But it is well-written and deserves to be read more widely than it probably will be. Its main benefit is in summarising and piecing together individual disclosures and themes which otherwise might remain fragmented and dissonant. And assuming that this will now be a regular exercise another potential benefit will be in ensuring that the Secretary General and his team of advisers stand back at least once every year to review progress against stated objectives.

In terms of content, the report arguably takes on its rosiest hue when discussing NATO operations in Afghanistan. A mild degree of cynicism is needed, for example, when reading that "greater stability has enabled progress on all fronts" and that "in 2011, overall enemy-initiated attacks decreased and the insurgency was weakened". There remains an enormous mountain to climb to meet the withdrawal deadline in 2014 and leave behind a stable country not under the thumb of the Taliban. And with President Sarkozy announcing a break from previous plans and an accelerated exit for France, the fourth-largest contributor of troops in Afghanistan, the transition process has become even more uncertain.



(MPs in Marzak, January 27 - photo credit: david\_axe/ flickr)

The annual report confidently asserts, however, that NATO and Afghanistan can build security forces capable of keeping the country whole and protected from a Taliban resurgence. But with the Karzai government, weak and rife with corruption, and Afghan forces requiring much more funding than the country itself can afford, it remains to be seen whether the international community has the cash and political stomach to pay the salaries of the more than 300,000 Afghan policemen and soldiers after 2014. Moreover, claims that NATO forces have the Taliban on the run echo similar

wishful thinking late in the Vietnam War. But just like the Viet Cong, the Taliban now perceives itself as winning, and appears confident that the inflated Afghan army will fall apart after 2014 just as the South Vietnamese did after the Americans left.

In addition to glowing summaries of NATO operations, the report also advances three themes that the Secretary General has been promoting throughout the year—emerging security challenges, NATO modernization and the growing partnership arrangements—and these are examined against the backdrop of the global financial crisis. Catch phrases from the Secretary General's recent speeches, such as "smart defence", are liberally sprinkled throughout in attempt to build a unifying message.

Three omissions from these discussions are striking. The first is the absence of any mention of the defence and deterrence posture review (DDPR), which was initiated at the Lisbon Summit. This exclusion suggests that the DDPR may well be running into the sand and may not be successfully concluded on time for the upcoming Chicago Summit. The second is the very cursory mention of relations with the EU, which still do not reflect the reality of two institutions that share 21 common members, similar values and largely overlapping security strategies and operations. Third, despite the Secretary General's clear modernizing zeal, the one key blind spot (as NATO Watch never tires of stressing), is the absence of any proposals in the area of public disclosure reform.

Annual reports are part of a larger accountability framework. As such, they co-exist with and are complementary to other sources of information through pro-active public release, the internet and other open sources, including (in the case of government entities) responses to freedom of information requests. Yet despite improving certain aspects of its public diplomacy outreach, taking to social media like a duck to water, for example, NATO remains the only major

intergovernmental body not to have even a basic information disclosure policy. An annual report, however edifying, does little to fill this crucial accountability vacuum, even if it does help increase

understanding of the 'NATO brand' among some stakeholders.

What would a NATO annual report look like

that truly serves stakeholders' interests? It would be great to get a debate going around why NATO should have annual reports, as well as about what else should be in them. At NATO Watch we applaud the Secretary General for grasping the nettle and publishing this first ever annual report, but we would like to see him work much harder in forecast performance and performance. This requires NATO having a set of appropriate measures and robust systems to collect the results, followed by independent (as well as in-house) analysis, interpretation, and evaluation of the information. It also requires greater public access to information.

The Secretary General's annual report is not an end in itself, but should be the starting point for reporting NATO's performance story.

## Read their lips: no NATO intervention in Iran

"Read my lips: no new taxes" is a well-known phrase spoken by then US presidential candidate George H. W. Bush at the 1988 Republican National Convention. It is widely believed to have helped Bush win the presidential election later that year. Once he became president, however, Bush raised taxes as a way to reduce the national budget deficit.

I was reminded of this infamous sound-bite when two of NATO's top officials went on record recently to say that NATO has no plans to intervene in Iran.

In a Euronews interview on 24 January, NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen stressed that "NATO has no intention whatsoever to intervene" in Iran, adding that "we support the international, political and diplomatic efforts to find a solution". When pressed on NATO's reaction if Iran were to carry through on its threat to block the Strait of Hormuz, through which a fifth of global oil supplies pass, he said "It's a hypothetical question, and once again let me

stress we have no intention whatsoever to intervene. But course we urge the Iranian leadership to live up to its international obligations, stop the enrichment programme and also allow free navigation in the Strait of Hormuz".



(The amphibious assault ship USS Bataan transits the Strait of Hormuz, 29 October – photo credit: US Navy/ flickr) Similarly, Admiral James Stavridis, NATO's Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, told a panel discussion in Berlin on the same day that the Alliance "is not as an organisation focused on potential engagement in Iran at all".

Does that sound like an unequivocal commitment to steer well clear of any military engagement with Iran? It does to me. But wait a moment. The previous day, the US ambassador to NATO, Ivo Daalder, appeared to leave the door ajar for NATO intervention when he said that international navies will keep the Strait of Hormuz open in the face of Iranian threats to close it. "I have not looked at the exact military contingency plannings that there are and how long that would take," Daalder told the BBC. "But of this I am certain: the international waterways that go through the Strait of Hormuz are to be sailed by international navies including ours, the British and the French and any

other navy that needs to go through the Gulf; and second, we will make sure that that happens under every circumstance".

And to reinforce the point, three of those 'international navies'—US, British and French warships—were at that very moment sailing as a group through the strait "to underline the unwavering international commitment to maintaining rights of passage under international law", according to a UK Ministry of Defence statement.

So, not so clear cut after all? And if force is used to try and keep the passageway open, would these international navies "do what needs to be done" as a NATO mission or as a coalition of the willing? Watch this space.

## **News, Commentary and Reports:**

## Afghanistan-Pakistan:

(photo credit: Stitch/ flickr)

#### News

Doubts raised about future of Afghan army funding, *CTV.ca*, 29 January Can NATO force weather France's faster exit? *Associated Press*, 29 January

France, Karzai want faster NATO Afghanistan exit, Associated Press, 28 January

Emboldened Taliban Try to Sell Softer Image, Wall Street Journal, 28 January

NATO hails 2011 successes in Afghanistan, AFP, 24 January

Pentagon rejects Pakistan army claim on NATO blunder, AFP, 23 January

Pakistani report rejects U.S. account of fatal NATO airstrike, Washington Post, 23 January

Afghan Military Official Says Attacks On NATO Soldiers 'Isolated' Cases, Radio Free Europe/ Radio Liberty, 23 January

France suspends all Afghanistan training operations over troop killings, *The Guardian*, 20 January - Nicolas Sarkozy also threatens to pull the French army out of Afghanistan early after an Afghan soldier shot dead four soldiers



APNewsBreak: Pakistan's closure of supply routes costs US 6 times more for new route, Washington Post, 20 January - Pentagon figures show it is costing about \$104 million per month to send the supplies through a longer northern route. That is \$87 million more per month than when the cargo moved through Pakistan

10 NATO troops killed in Afghanistan in 24 hours, Atlanta Journal Constitution, 20 January

Afghanistan's Soldiers Step Up Killings of Allied Forces, New York Times, 20 January

(Afghan Local Police trainees, at Patrol Base Marzak, January 21 – photo credit: david\_axe/ flickr)



US report on Afghan rampage raises questions about NATO's exit, *The Christian Science Monitor*, 18 January - last April, an Afghan officer in a highly secure facility killed eight US troops. Overall, Afghan national security forces are the key to America's exit strategy in the war

NATO: Taliban chief has lost control of insurgents, Associated Press, 18 January

NATO chief sets out ANA challenges, *British Forces News*, 16 January – in a speech to defence think-tank the Royal United Services Institute, NATO's senior civilian representative in Afghanistan said the insurgency is on the back foot and failing to disrupt the rule of law

Costs in doubt as NATO moves toward smaller Afghan force, Reuters, 16 January

Intelligence report: Taliban still hope to rule Afghanistan, Kansas City Star, 11 January - a top-secret US National Intelligence Estimate on Afghanistan given to President Obama last month reportedly concluded that the Taliban have not given up on their goals of taking control of Afghanistan by force, and that corruption, poor governance, and Taliban safe havens in Pakistan continue to undercut any gains made by international forces on the ground

U.S. intelligence report on Afghanistan sees stalemate, *LA Times*, 11 January - the sobering judgments in a classified National Intelligence Estimate appear at odds with recent optimistic statements about the war by Pentagon officials

Training Kicks Off for NATO Mentors in Afghanistan, A merican Forces Press Service, 10 January

8 NATO Service Members Killed in Afghan Attacks, New York Times, 6 January

Despite Possible 'Reset,' Pakistan Keeps Afghan Border Closed To NATO, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, 6 January

(Vigil at the Brandenburg Gate on the 26 January to mark the resolution in the Bundestag on the extension of the Bundeswehr in Afghanistan – photo credit: jppnw Deutschland/ flickr)

Pakistani Lawmakers Tie NATO Pathway to Atomic Trade Agreement, *Global Security Newswire*, 5 January

NATO starting to make plans to pull \$30B worth of gear when troops leave Afghanistan, *Washington Post*, 3 January

NATO reports 'incredible' Afghan drugs seizures, *AFP*, 2 January

French defense minister backs efforts to open peace talks with Taliban, *Washington Post*, 1 January



Canadian role at Afghan-Pakistan border under fire, Lee Berthiaume, *The Vancouver Sun*, 31 December - little real progress has been made in resolving disputes since talks began in 2007, study suggests

U.S. Report Faults NATO Delays On Pakistan Strike, New York Times, 27 December

Afghanistan to Disband Irregular Police Force Set Up Under NATO, New York Times, 26 December

Pakistan Army rejects US report on NATO air strike, Indian Express, 23 December

U.S. Report Faults Two Sides in Deadly Pakistan Strike, New York Times, 22 December

U.S. Erred in Deadly Attack, Wall Street Journal, 22 December - New Report on Pakistan Airstrike That Killed 24 Acknowledges U.S. Culpability

Pakistan border incident investigation concluded, SHAPE News Release, 22 December

NATO defiant on Afghan night raids, Associated Press, 19 December

Secret U.S., Taliban talks reach turning point, Reuters, 19 December

U.S. Military Wants Troops in Afghanistan Beyond 2014, National Journal, 18 December

NATO admits Afghan local police abuses, AFP, 16 December

American Military Report Finds Abuses by Afghan Local Police Forces, New York Times, 15 December

NATO Tries to Engage Islamabad, Wall Street Journal, 8 December

Nato commander in Afghanistan pushes for year pause in troop drawdown, *Daily Telegraph*, 7 December - the senior NATO commander in Afghanistan is pushing for a year-long pause in the drawdown of American troops from the country, risking a confrontation with the White House

NATO committed to Afghanistan throughout transition and beyond, NATO News, 5 December – "We confirm NATO's commitment to its Enduring Partnership with Afghanistan throughout transition and beyond, as part of the wider International Community's effort" Ambassador Bisogniero, NATO's Deputy Secretary General, said at the International Conference on Afghanistan

Afghanistan conference promises support after troop withdrawal, *The Guardian*, 5 December - International conference in Bonn promises continued support for Afghanistan after NATO combat troops leave in 2014

## **Commentary and Reports**

NATO in Afghanistan - Jalalabad determined to transition, NATOchannel.tv/ You Tube, 27 January

Opinion: NATO's lost cause in Afghanistan, Osama Al Sharif, Arab News, 26 January

Afghanistan: Coffins for U.S. & Nato; Huge Contracts for China, Barry Lando, *Huffington Post*, 23 January

Afghanistan Casualties: Military Forces and Civilians, Susan G. Chesser, Congressional Research Service, 18 January

The Fog of Peace – The Delusion of Taliban Talks, Thomas
H. Johnson and M. Chris Mason, *Foreign Policy*, 18 January
Afghan solutions for Afghan women, Lael A. Mohib, *Foreign Policy*, 13 January

NATO in Afghanistan - The year ahead, interview with Simon Gass, You Tube, 12 January – interview with NATO's Senior Civilian Representative to Afghanistan

THIRTY YEARS OF CONFLICT. DRIVERS OF ANTI-GOVERNMENT MOBILISATION IN AFGHANISTAN, 1978-2011

Among Strict May Navierful System Among 2012

Thirty Years of Conflict: Drivers of Anti-Government Mobilisation in Afghanistan, 1978-2011, Antonio Giustozzi, Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit, January 2012 - this paper traces the structural factors driving anti-government mobilisation in Afghanistan in each successive phase of the country's thirty years of conflicts. Drawing on extensive literature from both international and Afghan sources, it analyses the social and political factors behind the ideological war of the 1980s, the factional conflict of the 1990s, and the current insurgency. In doing so, it explores how such an extended period of warfare has fundamentally reshaped Afghan society, spurring changes which have in their turn altered why the conflict is fought. The study also devotes specific focus to examining the Taliban as an example of a political organisation enabling and driving conflict. Starting with the origins of the Taliban insurgency, it goes on to explore what is known about their ability to mobilise communities and the kind of non-military, tacit support it receives from

them. It also looks at the role played by different groups of individuals such as mullahs, madrassa students and young people, and the economic and funding dimensions of the movement.

'Collective Identities, Institutions, Security and State Building in Afghanistan', Anna Larson, in *The Impact of Gender Quotas*, Oxford University Press, January 2012

Assessing Freedom of Movement for Counterinsurgency Campaigns, Ben Connable, Jason Campbell, Bryce Loidolt and Gail Fisher, prepared by the RAND Corporation for US Forces-Afghanistan, January 2012

Afghanistan Opium Survey 2011, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, December 2011 (released January 2012)

Security Sector Governance in Pakistan: Progress, But Many Challenges Persist, C. Christine Fair, SSR Issue Paper, Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI), January 2012

Gambling on Reconciliation to Save a Transition: Perils and Possibilities in Afghanistan, Ashley J. Tellis, Carnegie Policy Outlook, December 2011 - although NATO's efforts to train Afghan national forces have made remarkable progress in recent years, it is unlikely that the indigenous military, police, and militia will be capable of independently securing the country against the wide range of terrorist and insurgent groups that will still be present in the region in 2014

if WMDs were the big lie of the Iraq War, the safe haven myth is the big lie of the Afghan war

Michael Hastings, contributing editor at Rolling Stone magazine, "The Operators": Michael Hastings on the Inside Story of America's War in Afghanistan,

Democracy Now, 18 January

Afghans must take ownership of security in 2012, John Nagl, *RUSI.org*, December 2011 - with President Obama's decision to reduce troop numbers throughout 2012 in Afghanistan, there will be an urgent emphasis to support Afghan forces fully take charge of their national security

NATO in Afghanistan - Afghan Special Forces, natochannel.tv/ You Tube, 19 December

Afghan Army General optimistic about the future, NATO News, 17 December - from 14 to 16 December 2011, a delegation of high ranking Afghan Military Officers, led by General Sher Mohammed Karimi (Chief of General Staff of Afghanistan) visited NATO HQ and SHAPE. General Karimi was accompanied by four commanders from the Afghan National Army Training and Education commands. This visit took place under the auspices of the NATO - Afghanistan Enduring Partnership

Afghanistan's Future: Foreign and Local Solutions for a Fought-Over Country, Alain Hanssen, *Egmont Security Policy Brief* No.31, December 2011

NATO in Afghanistan - Afghanistan's mineral wealth, natochannel.tv/ You Tube, 12 December

Does the US military want Afghanistan to get even nastier? Jon Boone, *The Guardian*, 8 December - in Afghanistan, insurgents are growing ever more sadistic in their attacks, as the suicide bombing of pilgrims in Kabul showed. But could the US war machine actually want to provoke the Taliban?

◆ Of NATO attacks and conspiracy theories, Moeed Pirzada, Pakistan Daily Times, 8 December

From bad to worse, Anand Gopal, Foreign Policy, 6 December

NATO in Afghanistan - Reconfirming the commitment at International Afghanistan Conference in Bonn, natochannel.tv/ You Tube, 6 December

ISAF: Beyond Afghanistan? Jason Naselli, *Atlantic-community.org*, 6 December - could the structures of ISAF be transformed into a peacebuilding force for missions in other conflict zones after Afghanistan? Proponents say it could harness the operational ties forged over the past 10 years into an effective solution for peacekeeping and global governance problems, but detractors say it is unfeasible and unwise

We Are on the Right Path, Ambassador Philip Murphy, atlantic-community.org, 5 December - Afghanistan is headed in the right direction: violence is down, the Afghan Army is growing in capacity, and the signs of community development are already visible. This has been made possible by the international commitment, and the ISAF soldiers and ordinary Afghans working to rebuild the country deserve our continuing support

Rethinking Pakistan (Again), Kara Kingma, atlantic-community.org, 2 December - the recent NATO attack reiterates the need to assess the alliance between the United States and Pakistan. Pakistan's cooperation does not guarantee success in Afghanistan; rather, the US partnership with the Pakistani military alienates Pakistan's citizens and prevents needed domestic reforms

NATO welcomes Afghan senior military officers, NATO News, 2 December - the process of transition to Afghan lead is on track. This is a unique opportunity for us to master our own destiny," said Maj. Gen. Asadullah Akramyar, Deputy Assistant Minister for Policy and Strategy of the Afghan Ministry of Foreign Affairs when he visited NATO Headquarters in Brussels (photo credit: NATO)

12 Ways NATO Helped Build a Better Afghanistan, Shafiq Hamdam, *atlantic-community.org*, 1 December - as an Afghan citizen I am grateful to NATO for the huge

improvements in security, economic development, governance, democracy and human rights in the last ten years. Do you think the investment was worth the human and financial costs? Is the world safer compared to 2001? Here are twelve reasons why my answer is "Yes!" What is your answer?

# Arab protests (and the implications for NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue and Istanbul Cooperation Initiative):

Nato not even thinking of Syria operation: Top general, Straits Times, 20 January

Making Repression Our Business - The Pentagon's Secret Training Missions in the Middle East, Nick Turse, *TomDispatch.com*, 13 December

Nato keen to deepen relations with GCC members, *gulfnews.com*, 9 December - a NATO senior official has reiterated the alliance's keenness to reinforce its cooperation and relations with individual members of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), through the Istanbul Cooperation Inititiave (ICI).

Nato keen to reinforce cooperation with Arab states, *gulfnews.com*, 8 December - NATO foreign ministers agree to reinforce their contacts and cooperation with Arab countries in North Africa and the Middle East

Situation in Arab countries high on NATO's meeting agenda, *gulfnews.com*, 7 December - NATO officials think Libya is likely to request to join the Mediterranean Dialogue

Kuwait, Nato mull plans to set up centre in Kuwait City, gulfnews.com, 6 December



## Climate Change:

Climate, disease and food - a lot still to do, Bjorn Lomborg, *NATO Review*, January 2012 – the author highlights that getting things right now, in areas such as HIV and malnutrition, could be just as important as getting things right for the future in climate change (photo credit: NATO Review)

## Counter-Terrorism:

NATO LibGuide on 'Science and Technology to Combat Terrorism', NATO Library, 26 January

Rendition on Record, report by Access Info Europe and Reprieve, 19 December - just days after new details emerged of a secret CIA prison in Romania used to torture terrorism suspects, a report by two international human rights organisations shows that many European countries are suppressing evidence of their role in the US' notorious rendition programme



◆ This isn't the COIN you're looking for, Maj. Michael Few, Foreign Policy, 19 December

COIN is dead, long live the COIN, Ryan Evans, Foreign Policy, 16 December

## Cyber Security:



e-Power to rise up the security agenda, Joseph Nye, *NATO Review*, January 2012 - outlines how the cyberworld has created changes in power: e-Power. And it is a world where everyone is seemingly equal - but some are more equal than others. Here he outlines how this could develop in 2012 (photo credit: NATO Review)

Crime, computers and security in 2012, Mikko Hypponen, NATO Review, January 2012
- Is the internet really a force for good? Not always, not necessarily and not without significant safeguards, argues the author

Cyber War: Reality or Hype? Conn Hallinan, Foreign Policy in Focus, 11 January

NATO and UK intelligence emails 'hacked', British Forces News/ You Tube, 9 January

Hackers expose defence and intelligence officials in US and UK, *The Guardian*, 8 January - security breach by 'hacktivists' reveals email addresses of 221 British military staff and 242 NATO officials

NATO increases cyber security, New Europe, 27 December

NATO - Exercising together against cyber attacks, natochannel.tv/ You Tube, 20 December

Firms Bid on NATO Cyberwar, Wall Street Journal, 19 December – 'Technically Ambitious' Upgrade in Security Likely to Lead to More-Lucrative Work

NATO's Jamie Shea: Cybercrime drains one trillion dollars from global economy every year, *ACTmedia*, 7 December

Cybersecurity and Cyberwarfare - Preliminary Assessment of National Doctrine and Organization, Center for Strategic and International Studies, *UNIDIR Resources*, 2011

## Defence Budgets, Procurement and Private Military Companies:

NATO allies grapple with shrinking defense budgets, Washington Post, 30 January

Army chief lays out Army cuts in Europe, Associated Press, 28 January

Army chief lays out force cuts in Europe, sees minimal impact on NATO allies, Washington Post, 27 January

NATO's Rasmussen: cuts herald defence sharing, Euronews, 24 January

NATO to sign delayed AGS deal by May, Flight Global, 20 January

NATO's Baltic Allies: punching above their weight, Speech by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen in Talinn, Estonia, 19 January

Could EU funds be used to boost defence spending in 2012? Defence Dateline Group, *DefenceIQ.com*, 12 January

Official: Strategic Guidance Recognizes U.S. NATO Commitments, US Department of Defense Press Release, 9 January

Globecomm Receives Contract Extension from NATO Valued at \$8.8 Million for GPS-Based Force Tracking System, *Market Watch (press release)*, 20 December

Germany's Siemens hires former NATO commander, *Expatica Germany*, 19 December - German engineering giant Siemens, eyeing more US government contracts, said it has hired General Stanley McChrystal, the American former commander of NATO troops in Afghanistan

Bye-Bye Europe, Kevin Baron, *National Journal*, 17 December - with NATO surviving on the cheap, Europeans have an elaborate scheme to share defence burdens. Can this really work?

Marking International Anti-Corruption Day, NATO News, 9 December - the UN General Assembly designated International Anti-Corruption Day aims to raise awareness of corruption and its impact on society, and to mobilize governments to tackle this threat to economic development, democracy and stability. NATO is playing its part to reduce the risk of corruption in the defence establishments of Allies and partners through the Building Integrity Initiative

General Abrial's Answers: Part 1 - Smart Defense, Atlantic-Community.org, 6 December - General Stéphane Abrial responds to questions (including one on transparency by NATO Watch) and policy recommendations. In this first of two instalments, the general tackles questions on the ideas, implementation, and transparency of "Smart Defence"

Weimar Triangle: How the defence cooperation would play out, *DefencelQ.com*, 2 December - the so-called "Weimar Triangle" defence cooperation group of France, Germany and Poland has been making waves in 2011

#### **Drones:**

U.S. Drones Patrolling Its Skies Provoke Outrage in Iraq, New York Times, 29 January - a month after the last American troops left Iraq, the State Department is operating a small fleet of surveillance drones here to help protect the US Embassy and consulates, as well as American personnel. Some senior Iraqi officials expressed outrage at the program, saying the unarmed aircraft are an affront to Iraqi sovereignty

How Pakistan helps the U.S. drone campaign, Chris Albritton, *Reuters*, 22 January



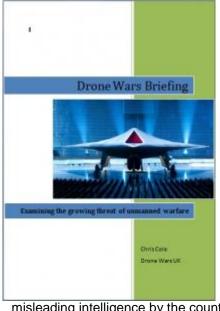
(US Air Force airmen from the 46th Expeditionary Reconnaissance Squadron perform function checks after launching an MQ-1B Predator – photo credit: james\_gordon\_los\_angeles/ flickr)

Do Drones Undermine Democracy? Peter Singer, New York Times, 21 January

France offers IAI UAV for NATO program – report, Globes (Israel), 19 January - "Defense News" says problems adapting the Heron UAV to French standards are holding up a deal between Dassault and Israel Aerospace Industries (IAI)

The Crash and Burn Future of Robot Warfare - What 70 Downed Drones Tell Us About the New American Way of War, Nick Turse, *TomDispatch.com*, 15 January

Armed UAV Operations 10 Years On, Stratfor, 12 January



The Drone Wars Briefing, Chris Cole, Drone Wars UK, January 2012 - this briefing explores some of the key issues arising from the growing use of armed unmanned drones in a detailed, yet, accessible way. Examining current UK and US military drone operations, as well as looking at future developments and legal issues, this fully-referenced briefing will be of use to both those new to the issue as well as those with a long-term interest. 2012 will be a significant year for the development of drones in the UK

Suspected U.S. drone kills four militants in Pakistan, *Vancouver Sun*, 11 January

Civilian contractors playing key roles in U.S. drone operations, *Los Angeles Times*, 29 December - relying on contractors has brought companies that operate for profit into some of America's most sensitive military and intelligence operations. And using civilians makes some in the military uneasy.

U.S. Doubts Intelligence That Led to Yemen Strike, Wall Street Journal, 29 December - top US military leaders who oversaw missile strikes last year against al Qaeda targets in Yemen suspect they were fed

misleading intelligence by the country's government and were duped into killing a local political leader whose relationship with the president's family had soured

Under Obama, an emerging global apparatus for drone killing, Greg Miller, Washington Post, 28 December

Secrecy defines Obama's drone war, Karen DeYoung, *Washington Post*, 20 December - reports that the US State Department has led a push for the Obama administration to publicize some information about its legal justifications and targeting procedures for drone strikes, especially those operated by the CIA in Pakistan; the author writes that tensions reached their peak in March, after a strike in the country's tribal areas is believed to have killed more than 20 civilians, prompting ambassador to Pakistan Cameron Munter to reportedly complain to Washington that the program had spiralled "out of control"

The Drone That Fell From the Sky - What a Busted Robot Airplane Tells Us About the American Empire in 2012 and Beyond, Nick Turse, *TomDispatch.com*, 20 December

U.S. Pursues Sale of Armed Drones, *Wall Street Journal*, 15 December - the Obama administration has been quietly pushing to sell armed drones to key allies, but it has run into resistance from US lawmakers concerned about the proliferation of technology and know-how. The Pentagon wants more NATO members to have such pilotless aircraft to ease the burden on the US in Afghanistan and in future conflicts like the alliance's air campaign in Libya this year

Satellite images reveal secret Nevada UAV site, Flight Global, 7 December

## **Energy Security:**

Danger Waters - The Three Top Hot Spots of Potential Conflict in the Geo-Energy Era, Michael T. Klare, *TomDispatch.com*, 10 January

## **Enlargement and Partnerships:**

Azerbaijan-NATO ties deserve 'positive assessment', *News.Az*, 30 January – interview with Azerbaijan's permanent representative to NATO, Khazar Ibrahim

Role of NATO's partnerships discussed at annual symposium, NATO News, 20 January - some 200 representatives of over 60 nations – including 25 Allies and partners from as far afield as Afghanistan, Japan and Saudi Arabia – attended the 15th annual symposium on NATO's partnerships at the NATO School in Oberammergau, Germany, from 17 to 19 January

2012: welcome to the gridlocked world, Daniel Korski, *NATO Review*, January 2012 – the author argues that, as during the Cold War, the Alliance's greatest challenges in 2012 will come not from the risk of attack but from the extent and consequences of shifts in the nature of global power

Australian Foreign Minister addresses the North Atlantic Council, NATO News, 20 January - the Australian Foreign Minister Kevin Rudd visited NATO HQ, met with Deputy Secretary General Ambassador Claudio Bisogniero and addressed the North Atlantic Council for an exchange of views on the new strategic environment. He also discussed with Allies how to further deepen Australia's partnership with the Alliance

Brendan Nelson first NATO ambassador, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 January - Former Liberal leader Brendan Nelson will be Australia's first ambassador to NATO

Diefidali Nelsoli wiii be Adstralia 3 ilist ambassador to NATO

Georgia and NATO integration, Giorgi Baramidze, *Democracy* and *Freedom Watch*, 13 January

Macedonian PM: Road to NATO, EU turned into real ordeal, *EM Portal*, 12 January

Azerbaijan Steps Up Cooperation With NATO, Radio Free Europe/ Radio Liberty, 11 January

Interview: Presidential frontrunner won't push Finland into NATO, Reuters, 9 January - Finland's leading presidential candidate Sauli Niinisto said he will not push for the country to join NATO if he is elected, despite his party's enthusiasm for membership of the military alliance

Ensuring that Macedonia joins NATO this year would be a sign that President Obama genuinely understands America's primary role in creating and maintaining a democratic global order

NATO Summit Needs U.S. Leadership, Sally McNamara, Fox News, 9 January

NATO forces to attend drill in Israel, Ynet News, 1 January - NATOs search and rescue units, emergency services to take part for first time in Home Front Command drill simulating massive earthquake

NATO - the Voldemort of Finnish politics, Marko Junkkari, Helsingin Sanomat, 21 December

Georgia to Become Biggest Non-NATO Contributor to ISAF, messenger.ge, 21 December

Bosnia: Military Property Haggling Delays NATO Membership, Eurasia Review, 17 December

ICJ Ruling Exposes NATO Duplicity, Greece Unintentionally Hints at Real Root Cause of "Name Dispute", The United Macedonian Diaspora, PR Newswire (Press Release), 14 December

NATO, Georgia, Russia: A Tragic Triangle, Messenger.ge, 13 December

Is NATO Changing Its Policy On Georgia? EurasiaNet, 12 December

Macedonian marathon, *The Sofia Echo*, 9 December – predictably, Skopje and Athens do not share an interpretation of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) ruling in the case lodged by Macedonia against Greece after the former Yugoslav republic's bid to join NATO was blocked because of the "name dispute"

U.S. Senate Move To Push NATO Membership For Georgia Fails, EurasiaNet, 5 December

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#### NATO Review – December 2011

Mladic, Srebrenica and justice



With the trial of Ratko Mladic for genocide taking place in the Hague, NATO Review looks at the events in Srebrenica in July 1995, talks to survivors and asks whether Mladic's arrest finally means the region can look forward, not backwards.

NATO's relations with Bosnia and Herzegovina - part I: Building peace (Dec 2010)

"Building peace" tells of NATO's gradual engagement in support of United Nations' efforts to end the Bosnian War (1992-1995) and the deployment of its first peacekeeping force in December 1995. NATO's mission continued for nine years until responsibility for security was handed over to the European Union in December 2004.





NATO's relations with Bosnia and Herzegovina - Part II: Reforming the military (Dec 2010)

"Reforming the military" shows how NATO's support for essential defence reforms in Bosnia and Herzegovina has helped downsize the armed forces and turn them into a single military force under state-level control. Progress made allowed the country to join NATO's Partnership for Peace in 2006.

NATO's relations with Bosnia and Herzegovina - part III: The road to integration (Dec 2010)

"The road to integration" highlights the country's deepening partnership with NATO and provides an insight into the challenges ahead on the road to the country's possible membership of the Alliance.



## Gender:

NATO hosts conference to review success of UNSCR 1325, NATO News, 1 December - NATO is looking at the progress and reaffirming its commitment in promoting the role of women in peace and security. "At NATO we aim to continue raising awareness of policies on gender relations, and to introduce UNSCR 1325 into all of our structures, operations and programmes," said NATO's Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy Ambassador Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović, speaking at a conference at NATO HQ in Brussels

(President Obama Has Ended the War in Iraq - October 21, 2011 - photo credit: US embassy New Zealand/ flickr)



## Iraq:

NATO closes up training mission in Iraq, *Reuters*, 17 December

NATO to stop training Iraq army when U.S. troops leave, *Reuters*, 12 December

NATO Secretary General announces completion of the NATO Training Mission in Iraq (NTM-I), NATO News, 12 December – "the North Atlantic Council has decided to undertake the permanent withdrawal of the NATO Training Mission-Iraq personnel from Iraq by 31 December 2011, when the

current mandate of the mission expires. Agreement on the extension of this successful programme did not prove possible despite robust negotiations conducted over several weeks. NATO remains fully committed to our partnership and political relationship with Iraq, through our existing Structured Cooperation Framework"

#### Iran:

NATO not mulling intervention in Iran, Syria: top commander, *The Daily Star (Lebanon)*, 24 January Strait of Hormuz Will Stay Open, U.S. NATO Ambassador Says, *Bloomberg*, 23 January

Nato urges Iran to keep Strait of Hormuz open, *Daily Telegraph*, 18 January - Secretary-General of NATO calls on Iran to ensure the security of energy supplies through the Strait of Hormuz as Turkey offers to host a new round of talks between Iran and the EU

The day after Iran goes nuclear: Implications for NATO, Jean-Loup Samaan, NATO Defence College, Rome, Research Paper No.71, January 2012 - as tensions rise in the Persian Gulf, this paper analyses the implications of a nuclear-armed Iran for the alliance. It argues that the biggest challenge both for the region and NATO the day after Iran goes nuclear is not the potential for nuclear warfare per se but the risk of increasing sub-conventional confrontations and of "nuclear hedging" among NATO partners in the region. It concludes that this would represent a major test for NATO: it challenges the raison d'être of its partnerships and raises the need for key decisions on the future of NATO nuclear and missile defence systems

## Kosovo:

NATO - KFOR tests freedom of movement in northern Kosovo, natochannel.tv/ You Tube, 11 December

## Libya:

Human Rights Groups Charge NATO With War Crimes In Libya, *Just International*, 25 January NATO and Libya - Meeting of the Militaries, *NATOchannel.tv/ You Tube*, 23 January

Unsecured Libyan Weapons: Regional Impact and Possible Threats, NATO Civil-Military Fusion Centre, January 2012

Nato accused of war crimes in Libya, *The Independent*, 19 January - new report criticises Western forces for bombing civilian targets in Sirte during conflict; Report of the Independent Civil Society Fact-Finding Mission to Libya, Arab Organization for Human Rights (AOHR), the Palestinian Centre for Human Rights (PCHR) and the International Legal Assistance Consortium (ILAC), January 2012

South African President Jacob Zuma criticizes UN over NATO bombing in Libya, Washington Post, 12 January

Bitterness over Libya taints UN council's Syria debate, *Ahram Online*, 8 January - the UN Security Council returns to the battle over Syria's deadly crackdown on protests -- but opponents of UN action, led by Russia, keep trying to switch the debate to Libya

UN diplomat wants Libya NATO investigation, Associated Press, 4 January

NATO and Libya: It's Time To Retire a Fading Alliance, Doug Bandow, Forbes, 2 January

Egypt may support Russia's probe into NATO attacks in Libya – Egyptian Foreign Minister, *RIA Novosti*, 28 December

U.S. says it finds 5,000 missiles in post-Gadhafi Libya, *Haaretz Daily News*, 24 December - US State Department Deputy Spokesman Mark Toner refuses to confirm rumors that the US seeks to buy back weapons that may have been looted from open stockpiles, according to an *AFP* report

NATO Forced to Admit Air Strikes Killed Dozens of Libyan Civilians, Contradicting Initial Denials, *Democracy Now*, 22 December

U.S. ambassador: Russian call for Libya probe 'cheap stunt', *CNN*, 22 December

Russia and US clash over NATO bombing probe, Associated Press, 22 December

Russia urges NATO to probe Libyan deaths, Associated Press, 19 December

NATO urged to investigate Libyan deaths, *Montreal Gazette*, 17 December - up to 50 civilians died in strikes, group says

(I'll be back. Obama in Africa – photo credit: osipovva/ flickr)

♣ In Strikes on Libya by NATO, an Unspoken Civilian Toll, New York Times, 17 December; Errant NATO Airstrikes in Libya: 13 Cases, New York Times, 16 December - an on-the-ground examination by The New York Times of sites across Libya that were the targets of NATO airstrikes found evidence that the air campaign was not as flawless as NATO has described. The Times found credible accounts of dozens of civilians killed in several distinct attacks, of an attack on rebels and an ambulance that NATO explicitly denied, and of structures that seem to have been hit by mistake

NATO urged to probe civilians killed in Libya war, Reuters, 16 December

Holding Libya Together: Security Challenges after Qadhafi, *Middle East/North Africa Report N°115*, International Crisis Group, 14 December

U.N. chief defends NATO from critics of Libya war, Reuters Africa, 14 December

NATO Praises Success in Libya, Says It would Provide Assistance when Tripoli Asks for It, *The Tripoli Post*, 11 December

Nato denies reports it is charging Libya for operations, *gulfnews.com*, 7 December

## Maritime Security and Piracy:

NATO and China Cooperate to Fight Piracy, NATO News, 19 January - a recent meeting at sea off the coast of Somalia took place between Rear Admiral (LH) Sinan Azmi Tosun, the Commander of NATO's Counter Piracy Mission, Operation Ocean Shield, and his Chinese counterpart, Rear Admiral LI Shihong (photo credit: NATO)

Life on the ocean waves with Somali pirates - and it's pretty grim, Nick Hopkins, *The Guardian (blog)*, 17 January - NATO's mission has shone a light on the appalling conditions the crews endure - with some pirates as young as 13

Treasure Mapped: Using Satellite Imagery to Track the Developmental Effects of Somali Piracy, Anja Shortland, Chatham House *Africa Programme Paper*: AFP PP 2012/01, January 2012

NATO warship renders assistance to stricken dhow, NATO News, 16 January - the Italian warship ITS Grecale, part of the NATO's Counter Piracy Task Force Operation Ocean Shield, was tasked by NATO Task Force Commander to render assistance to the Iranian flagged dhow, Tahriri, which had reported an engine failure and was dead in the water. The dhow, with 5 Iranian and 9 Pakistani crew members, had recently



been released from suspected Somali pirates by another NATO Task Force unit, the Danish navy vessel HDMS Absalon, on 7 January

Another Threat to Freight Vessels Neutralised as Pirates Captured in NATO Attack, *Handy Shipping Guide*, 14 January - Thirteen an Unlucky Number as Hijackers Seized

NATO Task Force Neutralises Two Pirate Mother Ships, Afloat, 9 January

NATO Task Force neutralises two pirate mother ships, NATO News, 8 January - in two separate operations Units of NATO'S Counter Piracy Task Force 508 successfully identified and neutralised two ocean going dhows that had been pirated and were being used as mother ships from which Somali pirates were intending to launch attacks on merchant shipping in the sea lanes off Somalia and the southern Arabian coasts

NATO warship disrupts pirate attack group in Gulf of Aden, NATO News, 7 December - USS Carney, part of NATO's counter piracy task force Operation Ocean Shield, worked with other NATO forces and coalition partners to disrupt pirate activity in the Gulf of Aden

## Missile Defence:

U.S., NATO Have Some 1,000 Interceptor Missiles - Rogozin, *RIA Novosti*, 20 January

NATO Stands Up Long-Range Radar Unit in Turkey, Global Security Newswire, 17 January

Part of NATO missile defense system goes live in Turkey, CNN, 16 January

NATO radar in Turkey to start operating next week, PanARMENIAN.Net, 24 December

Lavrov and Rogozin Rap NATO Missile Shield, *Moscow Times*, 9 December

NATO, Russia say still no agreement on missiles, *Associated Press*, 8 December

The US/NATO ABM Defense Shield in the Black Sea Region, ISN Insights, 8 December

NATO, Russia square off over missile defense, CNN, 8 December

Top NATO official criticizes Russian threats to deploy missiles over US defense plan, Washington Post, 7 December

NATO shield spawning arms race - Russia military chief, Russia Today, 7 December

NATO to Tell Russia Work on Missile Shield Will Continue, Global Security Newswire, 6 December

NATO orders TMD software upgrade, UPI.com, 6 December

NATO's Military Committee visits Allied Air Command Headquarters at Ramstein, NATO News, 5 December - NATO's Military Committee (MC) paid its first official visit to Allied Air Command Ramstein to receive an operational level update and discuss the Alliance's military progress on Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD)

# NATO Foreign Ministers Meeting – Brussels, 7-8 December:

Chicago ready to welcome NATO summit in 2012, NATO News, 8 December - NATO is gearing up for next year's meeting of heads of state and government in Chicago on 20-21 May. In the margins of the meeting of foreign ministers in Brussels, NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen and US Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton unveiled the official Summit logo. The design highlights the Chicago skyline (photo credit: NATO)

Opening remarks and press conference by NATO Secretary

General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the meeting of NATO Minister of Foreign Affairs with non-NATO ISAF contributing nations, 8 December

Russia has also said it needs legal guarantees that NATO missile defenses are not a threat. In fact, when NATO and Russia signed the NATO-Russia Founding Act in 1997, we agreed that we will refrain from the threat or use of force against each other. So the guarantee has been there for over a decade

NATO and Russia Can Defend Together, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, *New York Times*, 5 December



Final Statement - Meeting of the North Atlantic Council at the level of Foreign Ministers held at NATO Headquarters, Brussels, NATO Press Release, 7 December

NATO Foreign Ministers discuss NATO operations and cooperation with Russia, NATO News, 7 December

NATO Foreign Ministers discuss partnerships, NATO News, 7 December - at a dinner meeting NATO Ministers of Foreign Affairs discussed how to further engage with countries the Middle East and North Africa following the Arab Spring, as well as with partners in the Euro-Atlantic area

Opening remarks and press point by NATO Secretary General - North Atlantic Council meeting of NATO Ministers of Foreign Affairs, *You Tube*, 7 December

Doorstep statement by NATO Secretary General before the Foreign Affairs Ministers Meetings, 7 December Nato allies meet amid tensions with Russia, Pak, *The Statesman*, 7 December

NATO Foreign Ministers to discuss operations, partnerships and Chicago summit, NATO News, 6 December

## NATO Military Committee Meeting – Brussels, 18-19 January:

NATO's Military Committee - General Bartels takes the lead, NATOchannel.tv/ You Tube, 25 January

NATO talks in Brussels make headway, British Forces News/ You Tube, 19 January

Press conference by General Knud Bartels, Chairman of the NATO Military Committee following the Meeting of NATO and Partner Chiefs of Defence, NATO News, 19 January

NATO and Partner Chiefs of Defence conclude two days of meetings at NATO, NATO Press Release, 19 January

Opening remarks by the Chairman of the Military Committee, General Knud Bartels, at the 166th Military Committee in Chiefs of Staff Session, 18 January



166th NATO Chiefs of Defence meeting, Brussels, 18-19 January – the first meeting of NATO's Military Committee (MC) in Chiefs of Defence Staff (CHODs) session under the chairmanship of Gen. Knud Bartels (CMC) will include top level military representatives of 67 countries to discuss in various formats the evolution of NATO and NATO led operations, the implementation of the new NATO Command Structure and its military consequences (photo credit: NATO)

## NATO Parliamentary Assembly:

NATO's Parliamentarians – Part III, The Atlantic Council of Canada, 8 December -Glenn Thibeault is the NDP Member of Parliament for Sudbury. He serves as Critic for Consumer Protection and Amateur Sport. In October he attended his first session of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly in Bucharest, Romania

## NATO-Russia Relations:

US senator questions NATO arms sales to Russia, AFP, 25 January - Senator Richard Lugar requested a report by April 20 by the Congressional Research Service to "examine the implications of several reported sales of military technology and equipment" by European NATO allies to Russia

NATO Says Russian Missile Plan on Baltic Sea Is 'Waste of Money', Bloomberg, 19 January

NATO-Russia Council Meeting Approves Work Plan For 2012, RTT News, 19 January

NATO, Russia approve military cooperation plan for 2012, Russia Today, 19 January

NATO Military Officers honoured by Russian Chief of Defence, NATO News, 18 January

Russian Chief of Defence visits NATO's Operational Command, NATO News, 17 January - General Nikolai Makarov, the Russian Chief of General Staff, visited Allied Command Operations at the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) in Mons, Belgium. He met the Supreme Allied Commander Europe, received operational briefings and toured SHAPE facilities, including the bunker housing the command of NATO forces in Europe

CSTO emerging as an alternative to NATO, Dadan Upadhyay, Russia and India Report, 10 January

Forewarned is forearmed: Russia to set up new radar in Siberia, Russia Today, 8 January

NATO fears resurgent Germany, Russia - Rogozin, Russia Today, 26 December

Russia's NATO envoy Rogozin given government post to fight corruption in military industries, *Washington Post*, 23 December

Russia's NATO envoy Rogozin says his Facebook account hacked, RIA Novosti, 20 December

An Agenda for NATO-Russia Cooperation on Nonproliferation, Pierre Goldschmidt, Carnegie Proliferation Analysis, 14 December



Statement by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen following the NATO-Russia Council at Foreign Ministers level, NATO News, 8 December (photo credit: NATO)

Opening remarks by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the NATO-Russia Council meeting in Foreign Ministers session, 8 December

NATO Chronicles - NATO-Russian Federation: Suicide Bomber Alert, *You Tube*, 7 December

NATO and Russia Military discuss Communication approaches, NATO News, 30 November - in the framework of an exchange program between NATO and the Russian

Federation Ministry of Defence, Dr. Stefanie Babst, Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy and Brig. Gen. Massimo Panizzi, Strategic Communications and Public Affairs Advisor to the NATO Military Committee, were invited to Moscow to participate in discussions with military Public Affairs Officers of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation

## **Nuclear Weapons:**

Interview With Maria Tabek of Ria Novosti, Rose Gottemoeller, Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Arms Control, Verification and Compliance, Washington, DC, 23 December

A "New START" for arms control, Rose Gottemoeller, Assistant Secretary for Arms Control, Verification and Compliance, US Department of State, *The Hill*, 22 December

New START anniversary and old nuclear baggage, Chris Lindborg, BASIC, 19 December

Small Nuclear Forces: Five Perspectives, Edited by Malcolm Chalmers, Andrew Somerville and Andrea Berger, *RUSI Whitehall Report 3-11*, December 2011 - in an era of smaller weapons stockpiles, what are the policy drivers for medium-sized nuclear-weapon states - and how might they determine future disarmament?

Like Wedding Rings or Euros? Nuclear Weapons in Europe, George Perkovich, *Carnegie Policy Outlook*, 14 December

Prospects for Arms Control in Europe, Michael Brzoska, Anne Finger, Oliver Meier, Götz Neuneck and Wolfgang Zellner, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Berlin, November 2011 – this study explores the complex linkages between conventional and nuclear disarmament as well as plans for missile defences. Military disparities between NATO and Russia impede arms control progress. The study highlights four approaches to conventional and nuclear arms control in Europe. Firstly, confidence-building and transparency should be improved, for instance in the field of tactical nuclear weapons. Secondly, opportunities to cooperate, especially on missile defences, should be identified and implemented. Thirdly, quantitative increases and qualitative improvements of military capabilities, for instance in the field of strategic conventional systems, need to be avoided through agreements and self-restraint. Finally, weapon systems that have lost their military or political usefulness should be eliminated

## Reform:

The Secretary General's Annual Report 2011, 26 January - Anders Fogh Rasmussen launched the first ever 'Annual Report', which gives a brief overview of NATO's principal achievements and challenges in 2011. This assessment of Alliance activities focuses on four areas: NATO operations, emerging security challenges, the modernization of NATO – its structures and capabilities - as well as NATO's growing partnerships. These areas are examined against the backdrop of the financial crisis and are preceded by a foreword from the Secretary General

NATO achieves important milestone in reform of its Agencies, NATO News, 23 January - two recent high-level appointments mark an important milestone in the reform of NATO's Agencies. A phased approach to

reducing the number of Agencies and streamlining their management was launched by Allied defence ministers in June 2010, aimed at establishing a new structure by July 2012

Needed Reform - The Case of NATO, ISN, 11 January

**★◆ Toward a new Euro-Atlantic security framework**, Hall Gardner, EU Institute for Security Studies, 9 January 2012



A Changing NATO for a Changing World, John Adams, *The Atlantic*, 21 December - NATO can expect success if its goals and efforts reflect NATO nations' common purpose, as they did during the Cold War, and failure if they do not

New NATO LibGuide on 'NATO Transformation - NATO Capabilities', NATO Library, 19 December

General Abrial's Answers: Part 2 - NATO Transformation, Atlantic-

Community.org, 13 December - NATO's Supreme Allied Commander Transformation General Stéphane Abrial responds to questions and policy recommendations on maritime strategy and global governance, cultural obstacles to integration, and the role of strategic communications in NATO operations

NATO and Emerging Security Challenges: Beyond the Deterrence Paradigm, Michael Rühle, *American Foreign Policy Interests*, Volume 33, Issue 6, 2011, pages 278-282 - new security challenges, ranging from cyberattacks to failing states, cannot be deterred by the threat of military retaliation, nor will military operations be the appropriate response in most cases. Instead, the emphasis must be on prevention and enhancing resilience. If the NATO wants to play a meaningful role in addressing such challenges, it will have to develop a clearer understanding of the nature of these challenges, build closer ties with other nations and institutions, and seek partnerships with the private sector. Above all, allies will have to use NATO as a forum for discussing emerging security challenges and their implications

The Spillover Effect in NATO: A Note, Bernard E. Brown, *American Foreign Policy Interests*, Volume 33, Issue 6, 2011, pages 283-285 - NATO is not merely a military alliance. It is a treaty *organization* that has been able to assume new functions since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Its consultative structures have had a "spillover effect" in the larger political sphere, enabling it to combine hard and soft power. Similar spillover effect may be observed between special agencies and central institutions in the EU and the UN. Sovereign states continue to play key roles in all international and regional organizations

## Responsibility to Protect (R2P):

Strategic Dialogue: Libya after Gaddafi, Michael Berube and David Gibbs, Foreign Policy in Focus, 17 January; Libya for Libyans, Michael Berube, Foreign Policy in Focus, 12 January; Libya and the New Warmongering, David Gibbs, Foreign Policy in Focus, 12 January

Russia Says Western States Planning No-Fly Zone in Syria to Protect Rebels, *Bloomberg*, 12 January

Libya and the Future of the Responsibility to Protect, Roger Nokes, The Interdependent, 8 December

End of the Argument, Gareth Evans, Foreign Policy, December 2011 - How we won the debate over stopping genocide

## Transatlantic Cooperation:

Analyst: NATO reaction will be mixed bag, *Stars and Stripes*, 13 January

Pentagon: Commitment to NATO, Europe is 'Unshakeable', US Department of Defense Press Release, 13 January

NATO's Future: The Implications for European Security, Sarwar A. Kashmeri, *Fair Observer*, 20 December



(Brussels - photo credit: infomatique/ flickr)

## **Upcoming Events:**

Climate and Energy Security – a Strategic National Security Issue, The German Marshall Fund of the United States, Warsaw Office, Poland, 31 January

Towards a New Transatlantic Bargain, Carnegie Europe, Brussels, 1 February - How can NATO leaders strengthen the transatlantic consensus on future tasks and challenges? How can a fair distribution of costs and benefits among all NATO members be achieved? Can the Alliance maintain its efficiency and ability to

act despite severe budgetary constraints? Ambassador Robert E. Hunter, Ambassador Kurt D. Volker, and Dr. Karl-Heinz Kamp will discuss how to strike a more balanced transatlantic relationship

NATO Defence ministers' meetings, Brussels, 2-3 February 2012

ASIS 11th European Security Conference & Exhibition, London, 15-17 April 2012 - Adrian Kendry, Head of Defence and Security Economics, at NATO HQ will be the opening keynote speaker

#### NATO Chicago Summit: 20-21 May 2012



- Protesters urged to occupy Chicago during G8 and Nato summits, The Guardian, 26 January - activist group Adbusters calls on demonstrators to invoke spirit of Chicago Seven to pull off 'biggest multinational occupation'
  - NATO Official Previews Chicago Summit, ABC News, 23 January
- Outlawing dissent: Rahm Emanuel's new regime, Bernard Harcourt, *The Guardian (blog)*, 19 January on the pretext of policing upcoming G8 and NATO summits, Chicago's mayor has awarded himself draconian new powers
- City: Local taxpayers won't pay \$40-\$65 million NATO, G-8 tab, Chicago Sun-Times, 12 January
- Chicago NATO, G8 Protesters Request Demonstration Permits, May Sue City Over New Rules, Huffington Post, 3 January
- 2011 and the way to Chicago, NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen video blog, 3
   January
- In advance of NATO/G-8, Emanuel to increase fines for resisting arrest, Chicago Sun-Times, 14
   December
- NATO, G8 meetings to be hosted in McCormick Place, Chicago Sun-Times (blog), 8 December
- NATO, G8 Chicago meeting planning ramps up, Chicago Sun-Times (blog), 8 December the Chicago G8 NATO host committee's new web site is <a href="http://www.chicagog8nato.org/">http://www.chicagog8nato.org/</a>

NATO Parliamentary Assembly Spring Session, Tallin, 25-28 May 2012

## **Security News from NATO Member States:**

(photo credit: darkmatter/flickr)

## **Belgium**

Belgian Defence Policy: The Fight Goes On, Sven Biscop, Egmont Security Policy Brief No.32, December 2011 – the Coalition Agreement of the Di Rupo government comes when the international context can help overcome the dilemmas of Belgian defence policy: transformation vs. budget cuts, collective security vs. pacifism, and European vocation vs. stagnation in European defence



## **Bulgaria**

NATO Secretary General Thanks President Plevneliev for Bulgaria's Contribution, Novinite.com, 26 January

#### Czech Republic

Flags at EU, NATO buildings flown at half-mast on Havel's death, *Czech Happenings*, 19 December Moscow cannot give conditions to NATO - Czech Foreign Minister, *Czech Happenings*, 7 December

#### Denmark

Iraqi Torture Scandal Touches Highest Levels of NATO, Jeffrey Kaye, Truthout, 5 January

Fogh in Iraq controversy, b.dk.com, 28 December, NATO Secretary General promised to make any torture allegations public - but didn't

"Confession" indicates soldiers abetted torture, Copenhagen Post, 23 December

#### **Estonia**

Minister: NATO Must Keep High Profile, ERR News, 20 January - Foreign Minister Urmas Paet stressed in meetings with NATO secretary general, Andres Fogh Rasmussen, that there is a need for the airspace policing mission above the Baltics to continue for the long term

NATO Secretary General praises Estonia's commitment to Smart Defence, NATO News, 19 January - NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen visited Estonia on 19-20 January 2012 and met with President



Toomas Hendrik Ilves, Prime Minister Andrus Ansip and Minister of Foreign Affairs Urmas Paet. The Secretary General also visited the Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence in Tallinn and met with Minister of Defence Mart Laar (photo credit: NATO)

#### **France**

NATO urges French commitment to Afghanistan, AFP, 26 January

NATO allies at daggers drawn over genocide bill, Monsters and Critics.com, 23 January - relations between France and Turkey were headed for the rocks after the French Senate adopted a bill that makes it a crime to deny that Ottoman Turks carried out a genocide against Armenians over a century ago

French tolerance dwindles over Afghan 'insider threat', France 24, 21 January - NATO officials have tended to downplay "insider threat" - or cases of Afghan soldiers attacking their coalition partners. But that could change with French President Nicolas Sarkozy's harsh response to Friday's killing of four French troops

Afghan soldier kills 2 French NATO troops, CBS News, 29 December

### Germany

Germany Resumes NATO Air Policing of the Baltic States, Estonian World Review, 4 January

#### Latvia

NATO Secretary General praises Latvia as a committed NATO Ally, NATO News, 20 January - NATO Secretary General visited Riga and met with President Andris Bērziņš, Prime Minister Valdis Dombrovskis, Minister of Foreign Affairs Edgars Rinkēvičs and Minister of Defence Artis Pabriks

## Lithuania

NATO Secretary General Visit to Vilnius Lithuania, *You Tube*, 19 January Lithuania concludes participation in NATO Training Mission-Iraq, *defpro news*, 22 December

## **Netherlands**

Dutch Party Challenges Turkey's NATO Membership, Asbarez Armenian News, 28 December

#### **Norway**

Norway spy chief Kristiansen quits in secrecy gaffe, *BBC News*, 19 January - Norway's head of intelligence Janne Kristiansen has handed in her resignation because she said too much during a parliamentary hearing

#### Poland

NATO can't keep subsidising Afghan army-Poland, Chicago Tribune, 12 January

NATO files on the Martial Law handed over to Poland. New Europe, 18 December

NATO - no threat of 1981 Soviet intervention in Poland, *thenews.pl*, 13 December - documents declassified by NATO reveal that it did not believe there was a threat of Soviet military intervention in Poland in

December 1981

#### Romania

NATO Secretary General and the Romanian President discuss the Chicago summit, NATO News, 30 January - NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen met with Romania's President, Mr. Traian Basescu, and had a follow up discussion on the preparations for the Alliance's upcoming summit in Chicago (photo credit: NATO)

Inside Romania's secret CIA prison, Associated Press, 8 December

#### Slovakia

NATO in Afghanistan - The Slovak bomb squad, natochannel.tv/ You Tube, 17 January



## **Spain**

A Happy New Year for the Spanish Military? Defence Dateline Group, DefenceIQ.com, 10 January

## **Turkey**

Obviously when you have a country that is being ruled by, what many would perceive to be Islamic terrorists, when you start seeing that type of activity against their own citizens, then yes -- not only is it time for us to have a conversation about whether or not they belong to be in NATO, but it's time for the United States, when we look at their foreign aid, to go to zero with it

Texas Gov. Rick Perry, when asked if Turkey should remain within the NATO alliance, during the Republican presidential debate, Truth Squad: NATO ally ruled by 'Islamic terrorists?', CNN, 17 January

Press Point NATO SG Turkish MFA, You Tube, 19 January - Press Point by NATO SG and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey at the end of their meeting in NATO HQ in Brussels

NATO head objects US Republican Perry's remarks on Turkey, World Bulletin, 19 January - I strongly object these remarks, said Rasmussen during a joint press conference with Davutoglu in Brussels on Wednesday

Turkey Reacts to Rick Perry's Terrorist Accusation, *ABC News*, 17 January

Ex-head of NATO's 2nd largest army accused of 'forming and directing a terrorist group', msnbc.com, 6 January - retired Turkish general is highest-ranking officer to face trial in the so-called Ergenekon case

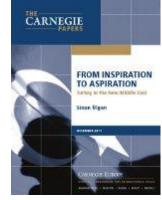
Turkey to compensate air strike victims, *The Guardian*, 3 January families of 35 civilians killed in strike meant for Kurdish rebels will receive payments within days, says deputy prime minister

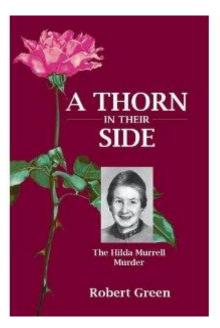
OSCE media freedom representative asks for justification of mass arrests of journalists in Turkey, OSCE Press Release, 20 December

OSCE media freedom representative calls for urgent measures to improve media freedom situation in Turkey, OSCE Press Release,

15 December

From Inspiration to Aspiration: Turkey in the New Middle East, Sinan Ülgen, Carnegie Paper, December 2011 - with democratic change struggling to take root in the Arab world even after the fall of several autocratic regimes, the question naturally arises whether Turkey can serve as a model for those who hope to usher the region through the difficult transition to a more democratic order. This paper argues that there is no straight-line path to operationalizing the Turkish model in the Arab context. There are nonetheless several reasons to take the idea seriously and the Turkish model can have significant impact in the Arab world if it is presented in a nuanced, careful way—sector by sector and issue by issue rather than in any wholesale fashion. Turkey's experience can be brought to bear on a number of significant policy areas covering political reform, economic reform, and institution building. In all these areas, Turkey has a valuable role to play in supporting, sustaining, and consolidating democracy and state-building in the Arab world





## **United Kingdom**

Book Review: A Thorn in Their Side – The Hilda Murrell Murder, Robert Green(Paperback 2011) – reviewed by Nigel Chamberlain, NATO Watch, January 2012 - the extraordinary story of a 27-year pursuit of the truth about how and why former Royal Navy Commander Robert Green's aunt Hilda Murrell, a noted English rose grower turned anti-nuclear campaigner, was found brutally murdered outside her home town of Shrewsbury, Shropshire. As the current British government presses to replace nuclear power plants and weapons, this deeply disturbing saga about a distinguished British woman and law-abiding patriot and her devoted, tenacious nephew is powerfully topical

MPs call armed forces cuts 'grotesque', Financial Times, 25 January - forcing troops into redundancy while civilian staff avoid such action is "grotesque", according to the Commons defence committee

BAE looks abroad to save UK shipyards, *Financial Times*, 16 January

Plans see MoD lose arms buying role, Financial Times, 23 December

MoD 'stripped billions from core budget but failed to deliver right equipment', *The Guardian*, 8 December – the military has spent more than £1bn on an armoured vehicle programme in the last 13 years but been unable to deliver any of the original equipment because of failures in the procurement process

British troops could leave Afghanistan early, *The Guardian*, 8 December - sharp acceleration of draw-down – in defiance of NATO commanders – one of three options considered by PM

Defence secretary to warn armed forces of more pain in coming years, *The Guardian*, 8 December - Philip Hammond's first major speech will tell military of plans to eliminate 'black hole' in defence budget

the single biggest strategic risk facing the UK today is economic rather than military

General Sir David Richards, Chief of the Defence Staff, UK Ministry of Defence, Annual Chief of the Defence Staff Lecture 2011, RUSI, Whitehall, London, 14 December

#### **United States**

How NYTimes.com Readers Cut the Defense Budget, *New York Times*, 26 January - Defense Secretary Leon E. Panetta has outlined a strategy guiding hundreds of billions of dollars in Pentagon budget cuts. Here's how more than 12,000 readers chose to solve an interactive puzzle with the same goals

Pentagon to shrink US ground troops by 100,000 as part of \$487bn cuts, *The Guardian*, 26 January - Defence secretary Leon Panetta unveils strategy to shift military focus from wars in Iraq and Afghanistan

Weapons 'R' Us - Making Warbirds Instead of Thunderbirds, William J. Astore, *TomDispatch.com*, 24 January

Blood on Whose Hands? Bradley Manning, Washington, and the Blood of Civilians, Chase Madar, *TomDispatch.com*, 19 January

Op-ed: Counter Insurgency and the Constitution, Steven Givler, DefencelQ.com, 18 January

To Understand the New Obama Security Strategy, Think 9/11, Sarwar Kashmeri, *Huffington Post*, 17 January

The Obama Defense Plan: Roadmap for Continuing Global Hegemony, William Hartung, Americas Program, 16 January

Obama's Mission Accomplished Moment? And a Military-First Policy on a Destabilizing Planet, Tom Engelhardt, *TomDispatch.com*, 12 January

◆◆ Obama's New Military Strategy Doesn't Add Up, Miriam Pemberton, Foreign Policy in Focus, 9 January

Drones, Asia and Cyber War: Pentagon Shifts Priorities in New Review; Budget Still Exceeds Bush Era, *Democracy Now*, 9 January

Statement by the NATO Secretary General on US Defence Review, NATO Press Release, 5 January Panetta to Offer Strategy for Cutting Military Budget, *New York Times*, 2 January

After shock and awe, the taking of Baghdad, the mission-accomplished moment, and the capture, trial, and execution of Saddam Hussein, after Abu Ghraib and the bloodletting of the civil war, after the surge and the Sunni Awakening movement, after the purple fingers and the reconstruction funds gone awry, after all the killing and the dying, the U.S. military slipped into the night without a word

Tom Engelhardt, Debacle! How Two Wars in the Greater Middle East Revealed the Weakness of the Global Superpower, TomDispatch.com, 3 January The Return of Waterboarding? Robert Pallitto, Foreign Policy in Focus, 28 December

U.S. Withdrawal from Iraq: "In Terms of Destroying Iraq, It's 'Mission Accomplished'" and The Costs of War: Tens of Thousands Dead, Billions Spent, and a Country Torn Apart, *Democracy Now*, 16 December

Repurposing Military Bases, Chris Bystedt, Foreign Policy in Focus, 15 December

IPhones Guide Artillery as Pentagon Plans App Store, Bloomberg, 15 December - using \$30,000 of his own money, a US Army officer has built an iPhone application that uses GPS technology and the phone's camera to help map coordinates and guide artillery fire. Nearly 8,000 American, Canadian, and Australian soldiers have downloaded the app, and the US DoD is trying to create a an "app store" to securely download a whole network of programs designed to help soldiers fight

Congress Authorizes Military Action In Cyberspace, *Secrecy News*, Volume 2011, Issue No. 115, 14 December - Congress has given the US military a green light to conduct offensive military activities in cyberspace

Charter Of Open Source Org Is Classified, CIA Says, *Secrecy News*, Volume 2011, Issue No. 114, 12 December - Open Source Works, which is the CIA's in-house open source analysis component, is devoted to intelligence analysis of unclassified, open source information. However, the directive that established Open Source Works is classified, as is the charter of the organization

Fighting 1% Wars - Why Our Wars of Choice May Prove Fatal, William J. Astore, *TomDispatch.com*, 8 December

Has the War with Iran Already Begun? *National Journal*, 6 December - the evidence of an extensive Western covert program against Tehran, and Iranian retaliation, is now too obvious to ignore

Playing With Fire - Obama's Risky Oil Threat to China, Michael T. Klare, TomDispatch.com, 6 December

Congressional Lawmaking: A Perspective On Secrecy and Transparency, Walter J. Oleszek, Congressional Research Service, 30 November



(Climate Change Consequences, Chicago, July 2010 – photo credit: americaspower/ flickr. An issue high on the agenda for the G8/NATO Summit in Chicago May 2012 – it would seem not)

## IDEAS, FEEDBACK, SUGGESTIONS?

**Ideas, feedback, suggestions?** We want to hear from you. Please contact us at <u>NATO Watch</u> with any news and stories for the *Observatory*, as well as feedback or suggestions.

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