

Promoting a more transparent and accountable NATO

No.37 – November 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 Editorials:

Why is NATO's top general always an American?

(And why does this not raise eyebrows in European NATO or the media?)

Do you remember the furore in April over the [appointment of the head of the World Bank](#)? In the past, the US nominee for the presidency was automatically accepted by the bank's Board of Directors. But this time around, newly empowered emerging economies and poorer countries had the temerity to question this tacit post World War II agreement that saw the US always choose the World Bank head while Europe supplied the leader of the International Monetary Fund. The calls for a more open process based on merit were loud and clear, and although a Korean-American medical doctor, Jim Yong Kim, eventually secured the post, there is at least now a semblance of an international selection process.

Fast forward to this month in Brussels and the decision by the [North Atlantic Council \(NAC\)](#) to approve the new [Supreme Allied Commander Europe \(SACEUR\)](#). To spare you from having to follow the links in order to decode the acronyms, the NAC is NATO's equivalent of a board of directors, while SACEUR is NATO's single-most important military post. SACEUR was established in 1951 with General Dwight Eisenhower as its first incumbent. All sixteen subsequent holders of the office have been Americans (see Table 1) and simultaneously held the office of head of the US European Command. The latest SACEUR, General John Allen, currently the commander of the NATO-led ISAF mission in Afghanistan, continues this 'tradition' of being nominated by the US President, confirmed by the US Senate and approved by the NAC.

In a [statement](#), NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen said, "It is a great pleasure for me to announce today that Allies have approved the appointment of General John Allen, currently our commander in Afghanistan, as the new Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, following the nomination by President Obama *and of course* [emphasis added] pending confirmation by the United States Senate".

Am I the only person to think that parliamentarians in other member states might like to have a voice in this decision-making process or that NATO perhaps might wish to look beyond the Pentagon's octagonal walls for its Supreme Commander?

The retort from Washington would no doubt be that we lead you politically, we put our troops in harm's way more than anybody else and we foot the bill when you guys won't cough up your share.....why should it be any different? The picture is not quite as black and white as this, however. During the first five years of the war, in Afghanistan, for example, the vast majority of [coalition deaths](#) were American, but since 2006 a significant proportion have been among other nations, particularly the UK and Canada, which were allocated responsibility for the dangerous provinces of Helmand and Kandahar, respectively.

Table 1: SACEUR: 1951 to Date

Name	Branch	Term Began	Term Ended
1. General Dwight D. Eisenhower	US Army	April 2, 1951	May 30, 1952
2. General Matthew Ridgway	US Army	May 30, 1952	July 11, 1953
3. General Alfred Gruenther	US Army	July 11, 1953	November 20, 1956
4. General Lauris Norstad	US Air Force	November 20, 1956	January 1, 1963
5. General Lyman Lemnitzer	US Army	January 1, 1963	July 1, 1969
6. General Andrew Goodpaster	US Army	July 1, 1969	December 15, 1974
7. General Alexander M. Haig, Jr.	US Army	December 15, 1974	July 1, 1979
8. General Bernard W. Rogers	US Army	July 1, 1979	June 26, 1987
9. General John Galvin	US Army	June 26, 1987	June 23, 1992
10. General John Shalikashvili	US Army	June 23, 1992	October 22, 1993
11. General George Joulwan	US Army	October 22, 1993	July 11, 1997
12. General Wesley Clark	US Army	July 11, 1997	May 3, 2000
13. General Joseph Ralston	US Air Force	May 3, 2000	January 17, 2003
14. General James L. Jones	US Marine Corps	January 17, 2003	December 7, 2006
15. General Bantz J. Craddock	US Army	December 7, 2006	July 2, 2009
16. Admiral James G. Stavridis	US Navy	July 2, 2009	Spring 2013
17. General John Allen	US Marine Corps	Spring 2013	

There are also major differences between how Europe and the US see threats and how to respond to them, which are at the root of why the official US defence budget is nearly \$700bn—although Washington's [national security spend](#) is probably closer to \$1,200bn—whereas the combined military spending of all 26 European NATO members is just above \$220bn. The latter is still a very large sum of money and far more than either Russia or China spends on defence.

But it is a [misrepresentation of both the NATO budgeting process and the nature and scope of US defence spending](#), to suggest that Europe is

being protected at American taxpayers' expense. Large parts of the US military budget—which is now stabilising at levels significantly above cold war peaks (adjusted for inflation) and far above the cold war average, in real terms—have nothing whatsoever to do with NATO or European security. Within Europe, NATO is seen by most, if not all, of its member states as the cornerstone of their defence policies, whereas in the US it is but one of several regional building blocks for a global military presence. So while Americans do pick up a disproportionate share of the NATO tab, does this justify automatic and permanent US military leadership?

Clearly, the US is also hyper-sensitive to [placing its military forces under foreign command](#). Current US military doctrine is that, while its forces may be placed under foreign command, they are never placed under foreign operational control – although this been done previously by at least four US presidents.

The bottom line for 'realists' is that if the US didn't have the command, they would lose interest, and European elites would lose their main reason for supporting NATO, which is to keep close to the global superpower and retain a US military footprint in Europe as a deterrent to Russia. In which case, why all the pretence that the alliance is about shared democratic values, partnership building and consensus decision-making?

Secretary General offers industry maximum transparency in NATO Smart Defence planning but what about parliamentary and public scrutiny?

[Speaking by video teleconference](#) NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen addressed the [NATO Industry Day 2012](#) Conference in Riga, Latvia on 15 October. He said:

We are going through the worst financial crisis in living memory. Governments continue to face tough decisions to get their economies back in order. Across our Alliance today, defence budgets are under severe pressure. I have warned – and I will continue to warn -- against cuts that are too large and disproportionate. Without security there can be no prosperity.

He might have equally warned about cuts that are too small and inconsequential (as remains the case in [the largest NATO defence economy](#) – see above)

and that without prosperity there can be no security. Of course, he didn't because that narrative goes against the grain in Washington. Referring to the most recent [NATO Defence Ministerial](#), he said there was broad agreement to 'hold the line' on defence spending and to prioritise national expenditure alongside expenditure committed to NATO.

Mr Rasmussen argued that lessons learned from the ISAF mission can help build the foundation for strong, flexible and deployable NATO forces – “forces that are well equipped, well trained, and well connected. This is the goal we set ourselves with NATO Forces 2020”. Again, others have [drawn different lessons](#) from the eleven-year war in Afghanistan, which is increasingly seen as a strategic failure.

The Secretary General promoted 'Smart Defence' with “Allies working together to deliver capabilities that would be too expensive for any of them to deliver alone”. He added that: “So far, industry appears to have been rather sceptical of Smart Defence. There are worries that it will lead to fewer and smaller contracts”.

He told his audience that there is no alternative, other than having no contracts at all and called for more logistical and communications cooperation, as well as greater collaboration in equipment development and procurement. Smart Defence is as an opportunity for industry on both sides of the Atlantic, he said:

We want to make it easier for governments and industry to work together from the early stages of capability projects. And we want to give industry maximum transparency throughout our NATO Defence Planning Process.

According to the Secretary General, greater transparency will provide industry with the opportunity to come together to propose multinational solutions, instead of individual solutions. He also welcomes unsolicited proposals coming from industry outside the traditional contract process. Recognising that this could create concerns about industrial confidentiality, he proposed a 'code of conduct' to handle such proposals and added that participating nations would retain full control on their acquisition strategy.

(transparency;reichstag, berlin – photo credit: indie_shots/flickr)

Finally, Mr Rasmussen



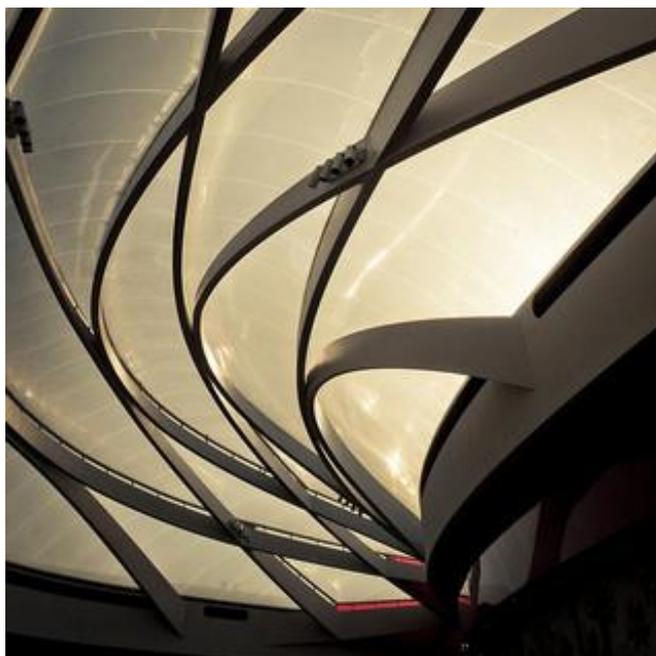
encouraged greater participation by small and medium-sized enterprises, in particular in NATO countries with a limited defence industrial capability and suggested that "NATO could help by offering certain incentives".

Some of those incentives, or business opportunities, were picked up by [Defense News](#) the following week: "The NATO Communications and Information (NCI) Agency has announced 2.1 billion euros (\$2.7 billion) of potential business opportunities in the area of C4ISR and communication capabilities to support NATO missions and operations". The [NATO Communications and Information Agency](#) webpage states: "In order to better provide these products and services to our customers and facilitate our interaction with our suppliers we have developed contractual arrangements with suppliers from all 28 NATO Nations".

NCI Agency General Manager, Koen Gijssbers, told *Defense News*: "We are also seeing interest from industry in NATO applications and capabilities that, in the spirit of the Secretary General's Smart Defence and Connected Forces initiatives, can be reused by nations for their national purposes".

NATO is expecting to take tenders early next year on contracts for ballistic missile defence, air defence radars for surveillance and identification, passive electronic support measure trackers for surveillance and identification, satellites, software, servers and specialised hardware for logistics functional services and assets for countering terrorist attacks and IEDs.

In the interests of "maximum transparency", will details of the agreed contracts be available on the NCI Agency webpage? And is there scope for prior scrutiny of such contracts by national parliamentary mechanisms before they are set in stone? Transparency and accountability ought to be a two-way street involving public and parliamentary oversight and not just limited to easing the path for contractors.



(an interlaced future – photo credit: Gilderic Photography/flickr)

Review: **Foreign and defence policy implications of the Final Report of the Future of Europe Group**

Summary

The eleven foreign ministers of Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Italy, Germany, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal and Spain published the [Final Report of the Future of Europe Group](#) in September 2012 as "a response to the ever accelerating process of globalization [which] pose an unprecedented dual challenge for Europe. ... We have to take action to restore confidence in our joint project". With regard to collective foreign and defence policy, they conclude that:

The EU also needs to fundamentally reinforce the Common Security and Defence Policy and shape relations with strategic partners more effectively. In the long term, we should seek more majority decisions in the CFSP sphere, joint representation in international organizations, where possible, and a European defence policy. For some members of the Group this could eventually involve a European army.

In Detail

The ministers believe that they have to enhance the coherence of the EU's external action and it has to act more united in international organizations; e.g. by delivering CFSP statements on behalf of the EU. They set out their objectives thus:

- *There is a need to strengthen the Common Security and Defence Policy. Our defence policy should have more ambitious goals which go beyond "pooling and sharing". The possibilities of the Lisbon Treaty, in particular the establishment of Permanent Structured Cooperation should be implemented.*
- *We have to make our relations with our strategic partners more effective. The High Representative has a leading role to play here; she should be supported by Member States.*
- *We must improve the setting of priorities in the sphere of external relations. We have to improve how the Foreign Affairs Council works. On the basis of a six-monthly agenda planning, we have to make our consultations more strategic and focused. We*

need more informal meetings in the Gymnich format and better interaction with the European Council; one meeting per year should focus on external relations policy with the participation of the Foreign Ministers. We should consider reviewing the European Security Strategy.

To make the EU into a real actor on the global scene they believe, in the long term, it should:

- *Introduce more majority decisions in the CFSP sphere or at least prevent one single member state from being able to obstruct initiatives (and in this framework also further develop the concept of constructive abstention);*
- *Seek, where possible, joint representation in international organizations; and*
- *Aim for a European Defence Policy with joint efforts regarding the defence industry (e.g. the creation of a single market for armament projects); for some members of the Group this could eventually involve a European army.*

Opponents and sceptics

In his [Telegraph blog](#), Nile Gardiner (a Washington-based foreign affairs analyst and political commentator) states that the final report of the Future of Europe Group should be a wake-up call to both London and Washington as it “offers a blueprint for a federal European superstate”. He believes that the foreign ministers’ support for the establishment of a ‘European Army’ is their most dangerous recommendation, “a concept that both Britain and the United States have strongly opposed in the past, and which threatens the future of the NATO alliance”.

US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright warned in 1998 against what she called “the three Ds: decoupling, duplication and discrimination”. Gardiner says that the report, if implemented would undermine the transatlantic alliance in all three areas and it is “an illusion to think that NATO and a European Army could co-exist in an effective fashion”. He called on the United States and Great Britain to firmly oppose it and refuse any cooperation with the development of an independent EU defence identity.

[Writing about the failed EADS-BAE merger talks,](#)

[PublicServiceEurope.com](#) editor Dean Carroll writes that the CFSP’s collective military doctrine is “not much more than a fudge whereby ministerial meetings are held and the end result is simply vague speculation about future collaboration. Certainly, a collective European army remains nothing more than notional”.



(live-fire training demonstration during the 4th Annual Conference of European Armies for Noncommissioned Officers – photo credit: heraldpost/ flickr)

So, with no corporate-led defence industrial ‘big bang’, what are the prospects for political-led European defence and security consolidation? Political calls for Europe to

He claims that pronouncements of increased military ‘pooling and sharing’ from the European Defence Agency “continue to ring hollow” and plans to build a ‘single operational headquarters’ for European defence are still in their infancy. The idea that the EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy will “lance the boil on EU defence, by advocating a downgrade of national sovereignty in favour of military collectivism, seems fanciful”. Carroll does conclude, however, that if large-scale private sector mergers do occur, “a whole new landscape may yet emerge”.

NATO Watch conclusion

In an earlier [NATO Watch comment](#) we asked whether the proposed merger between BAE Systems, the ‘UK’s defence champion’, and EADS, Europe’s biggest civil aerospace group, was the holy grail of smart defence or another non-flying circus. We now know the answer. The deal’s collapse was hardly a surprise, however, with two difficult companies and three governments involved.

Government officials in London, Paris and Berlin blamed each other for not backing the €36bn BAE-EADS tie-up. France, which controlled 15% of EADS directly, apparently disapproved of German demands for the business to be headquartered in Munich, while Germany was seemingly unhappy with France potentially ending up with a bigger shareholding than the 9% it was looking for. The UK, in turn, rejected the notion of German and French political representatives sitting on the BAE board, as would have been likely under the dual-listed structure envisaged by both companies.

The failure of the deal leaves BAE particularly vulnerable in an era of shrinking defence budgets. With no Plan B it is little surprise to see [the company return to its traditional export-led strategy in the Middle East](#), with a British Prime Minister once again acting as the company’s chief salesman. As usual, highly subsidised UK defence manufacturing jobs trump human rights and democracy concerns in key Gulf markets.

step up to the plate on defence – both in terms of deploying on operations and boosting capabilities – have been coming thick and fast in recent years, especially from an increasingly disgruntled Washington. Some genuine efforts are being made to pool resources and overcome duplication. Britain and France, for example, have for two years been pushing bilateral co-operation in procurement. NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen is promoting his ‘Smart Defence’ vision, aimed at getting European members to join forces to boost niche capabilities. Groups of European states, such as the Nordic countries and Visegrád Four, have made big strides in deepening military co-operation.

This Future of Europe Group report adds very little in the way of new thinking, however. Despite the eleven foreign ministers, representing a sizeable chunk of both EU and NATO members (with only Austria lying outside of the latter), the key noticeable absentee is Britain. It is hard not to conclude that the ministers’ call for more majority decision-making in European CFSP affairs to

“prevent one single member state from being able to obstruct initiatives” is anything other than a clear nod to the UK’s tendency to look towards America first. But while the long history of narrowly Anglo-Saxon attitudes in British commerce and politics remains a key stumbling block to greater European foreign and security consolidation, London is by no means the only culprit.

Intra-European and especially Franco-German relations are already difficult on the big issues, notably management of the Eurozone crisis, and differing national foreign, security and trade policy interests within Europe more generally remain considerable obstacles to change. This political and ideological heterogeneity has deep historical roots and many member states (whether wearing their EU or NATO hats) are often reluctant to yield sovereignty in this area. This suggests that European leaders do not want to reverse the continent’s decline as a global security player.

News, Commentary and Reports:

Afghanistan-Pakistan:

News

(photo credit: Stitch/flickr)

[Afghanistan 'will be unable to run military bases post Nato withdrawal'](#), *The Telegraph*, 1 November - Afghanistan will probably be unable to keep running military bases its international backers have spent billions building after NATO troops leave, a US Congressional report has said

[Afghan minister says warlords are rearming militias as NATO forces leave](#), *Long War Journal*, 1 November

[Afghanistan presidential vote date is announced](#), *BBC News*, 30 October - the Afghan Election Commission has said the country's next presidential election will be held on 5 April 2014

[2 NATO troops die in Afghan insider attack](#), *Washington Post*, 30 October

[Two Nato soldiers shot dead by man wearing Afghan police uniform](#), *The Guardian*, 30 October - attack in southern Afghanistan appears to be latest in series of insider attacks against NATO personnel

[Pakistani brothers reflect their country's contradictions](#), *Washington Post*, 29 October

[Afghan Army Seeks Better Equipment, But Lacks Basic Skills](#), *NPR*, 28 October

[Flying visit to Afghanistan reinforces NATO commitment but Russia remains unconvinced](#), *NATO Watch News Brief*, 26 October

[Suicide Bomb Rips Through Afghan Mosque, Kills at Least 40](#), *Wall Street Journal*, 26 October

[ISAF and Afghan authorities counter risk of insider attacks](#), *NATO News*, 25 October - steps being taken to reduce such attacks, include improved vetting and screening, counter-intelligence and cultural awareness training

[Afghan Police Officers Attack Colleagues](#), *New York Times*, 20 October

[North Atlantic Council and partner nations restate commitment to Afghanistan](#), *NATO Press Release*, 19 October - NATO Secretary General, the North Atlantic Council and several ISAF partner nations concluded a three-day visit to Afghanistan



[Afghan police academy tries to prepare struggling police force for when NATO troops withdraw](#), *Washington Post*, 19 October

[Afghanistan's president says NATO can speed up handover of security to Afghan forces](#), *Washington Post*, 18 October

[NATO and timeline in Afghanistan unchanged, Secretary General says in Kabul](#), NATO Press Release, 18 October

[Nato in Afghanistan expresses regret over civilian deaths](#), *BBC News*, 16 October - NATO forces in Afghanistan have expressed regret over the deaths of "three innocent Afghan civilians" during an operation against insurgents in the south of the country

[Afghanistan's safest province falling prey to Taliban](#), *Reuters*, 16 October

[Afghan Army's Turnover Threatens U.S. Strategy](#), *New York Times*, 15 October - the Afghan Army is so plagued with desertions and low re-enlistment rates that it has to replace a third of its entire force every year, officials say

[NATO Airstrike Kills Three Afghan Children](#), *Anti-War.com*, 15 October - NATO officials said they were targeting insurgents and would look into claims that children were killed

[Price Rises On NATO Drawdown From Afghanistan](#), Francis Tusa, *Aviation Week & Space Technology*, 15 October

[Nato troops tell of Taliban firefight inside Camp Bastion](#), *The Guardian*, 12 October - coalition forces admit they were caught by surprise when 15 insurgents attacked base and killed two US marines

[Afghan Members of Parliament reassured of NATO's long-term commitment in Afghanistan](#), NATO News, 11 October - six distinguished members of the Afghan Lower House visited NATO HQ and met with several high-level officials from NATO's International Staff

[Afghan 'fraud' puts Nato troops at risk, US report warns](#), *BBC News*, 11 October - a report said Afghan contractors paid to seal drainage channels - often used to hide explosives under roads - had failed to do so in more than 100 cases

[Nato 'twists truth on Afghan forces'](#), *The Times*, 10 October - NATO has repeatedly changed the way it assesses the capabilities of the Afghan army to exaggerate local forces' readiness to take control of the country in 2014, a Western think-tank has claimed

[NATO must have U.N. mandate for post-2014 Afghan mission - Russia](#), *Reuters*, 10 October

[UN extends NATO-led force in Afghanistan](#), *Associated Press*, 9 October

[Solo patrols showing potential, increasing confidence of ANA](#), ISAF News, 9 October

[Afghanistan 'sliding towards collapse'](#), *The Guardian*, 8 October - Afghan forces are far from ready to secure a country riddled with violence and corruption, Red Cross and thinktank warn

[Afghan war getting worse for civilians, ICRC says](#), *Reuters*, 8 October

[Afghan government could collapse after Nato pullout, report warns](#), *The Telegraph*, 8 October - the Afghan government could fall apart after NATO troops pull out in 2014, particularly if presidential elections that year are fraudulent, a report by the International Crisis Group said



[Karzai: No Doomsday After NATO Pullout](#), *military.com*, 5 October

[Moscow warns against premature NATO pullout from Afghanistan](#), *Russia Today*, 5 October

[Afghan president says 2014 election will be on time](#), *Reuters*, 4 October

(an operation to clear an area known for its strong Taliban presence in Zharay, Afghanistan, 15 October 2012 - photo credit: Joint Base Lewis McChord/ flickr)

Since 2001, donors are estimated to have devoted nearly \$30bn (£19bn) in development and humanitarian aid to Afghanistan....71% of its gross domestic product is funded by foreign aid. Military aid of \$243bn, however, dwarfs humanitarian and development programmes

Mark Tran, [Making Afghanistan a viable state is a flawed ambition, admit MPs](#), *The Guardian*, 25 October

[NATO to quit Afghanistan 'ready or not'](#), *The Australian*, 4 October – a former Australian Army chief says it appears NATO will pull out of Afghanistan even if local forces are not ready to take over responsibility for security, and warns this could damage the alliance's reputation as a reliable partner for nations in trouble

[Nato in Afghanistan](#), Oana Lungescu Spokesperson, NATO, letter, *The Guardian*, 2 October

[Afghanistan should be left 'to get on with things' – British ambassador](#), *The Guardian*, 2 October - Sir Richard Stagg suggests process of withdrawal could be accelerated, and says Taliban are ready to talk

Commentary and Reports

♦♦ [NATO 'on message' on Afghanistan – but what does the message mean?](#) Patrick Bury, *Left Foot Forward*, 29 October

[We're Winning in Afghanistan - Why hasn't the media noticed?](#) Stewart Upton, *Foreign Policy*, 24 October

[Forget the firefights - progress in Afghanistan can be measured in tomatoes](#), *The Guardian* (blog), 23 October - the British commander in Helmand says talking to grocers and butchers has convinced him that progress is real. But is it sustainable?

[Nato's plan is working in Afghanistan](#), Anders Fogh Rasmussen, *The Telegraph*, 22 October - violence is falling and normal life is on the rise in many areas. Now it's the Afghans' turn

[Afghan minister: Nato exit 'difficult and challenging'](#), *BBC News – Hardtalk*, 22 October

[Is Swat seeing a Taliban resurgence?](#) Daud Khattak, *Foreign Policy*, 19 October

[Afghanistan Police School Tries To Fix Struggling Force](#), Kathy Gannon, *Huffington Post*, 19 October

NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen [video blog](#) 'Taking stock of Afghan progress', 19 October

[Viewpoint: Strategy shift for smooth Afghan transition](#), Ahmed Rashid, *BBC News*, 14 October

[US / NATO Out Of Afghanistan Now!](#) Veterans for Peace, *The International News Magazine*, 12 October

[Afghanistan: The Long, Hard Road to the 2014 Transition](#), International Crisis Group, *Asia Report* N°2368, 8 October

[Afghanistan: beating a retreat](#), *The Guardian* editorial, 7 October - it comes as no surprise to learn that conditions on the ground are, on some counts, worsening



(Sangin, Afghanistan, 4 October 2012 – photo credit: ChuckHolton/flickr)

[In Afghanistan, cultural cluelessness can be deadly](#), Javid Ahmad, *The Washington Post*, 6 October

[NATO Must Refocus on Afghanistan](#), Luke Coffey, *Heritage Foundation*, 5 October

[On Afghan War 11th Anniversary, Vets Confront Mental Health Crisis, Soldier Suicides and Violence](#), *Democracy Now*, 5 October

[Trust Fall - What's behind the inside attacks on U.S. forces in Afghanistan?](#) The 2014 timeline for withdrawal, Felisa Dyrud and Davood Moradian, *Foreign Policy*, 2 October

[Q&A - NATO's secretary-general discusses Afghanistan, Libya](#), Los Angeles Times, 2 October - under Anders Fogh Rasmussen's watch, the coalition's most consuming campaign has been the Afghan war. He discusses the exit plan and the recent 'insider attacks.'

[As U.S. Death Toll in Afghanistan Passes 2,000 Mark, Phyllis Bennis on America's Longest War](#), *Democracy Now*, 2 October

[Towards 2014 and beyond: NATO, Afghanistan and the "Heart of Asia"](#), Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre, *NOREF Policy Brief*, August 2012

Arctic Security:

[Open Seas](#), James Holmes, *Foreign Policy*, 29 October - the Arctic is the Mediterranean of the 21st century

[Stavridis: Arctic Presents Opportunities, Risks, Challenges](#), US Department of Defense, *American Forces Press*, 26 October

[China and the Northern Rivalry](#), *International Herald Tribune*, 5 October - why might China need up to 500 personnel in its embassy in Reykjavik, the capital of Iceland, a country of 320,000 people?

[Russia forward deploys advanced MiG-31BM "Foxhound" interceptors to Arctic base on Novaya Zemlya Island](#), *Intelligence brief*, Open Briefing, 4 October

Arms Control:



New NATO LibGuide on 'Mine Clearance and Small Arms/Light Weapons (SALW) Destruction', October 2012

[NATO Pursues Unified Biothreat Alert Mechanism](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 2 October

Counter-Terrorism:

[The 21st Century Hybrid Threat: Part Terrorist, Part Insurgent, Part Criminal](#), Louis DeAnda, *DefenceIQ*, 9 October

Cyber Security:

[Cyber-protection of critical infrastructure](#), SDA Report, October 2012

[The New Reality of Cyber War](#), James Farwell and Rafal Rohozinski, *DefenceIQ*, 22 October

[Will the Apocalypse Arrive Online? How Fear of Cyber Attack Could Take Down Your Liberties and the Constitution](#), Karen J. Greenberg, *TomDispatch.com*, 21 October

[Russia Potential Aggressor for NATO – Newspaper](#), *The Journal of Turkish Weekly*, 18 October

[Panetta warns cyberspace in "pre-9/11 moment", reveals more aggressive stance](#), Defence IQ Press, *DefenceIQ.com*, 16 October



Defence Budgets, Procurement and Private Military Companies:

[NATO members need to step up, says UK defense minister](#), *The Christian Science Monitor*, 1 November - Philip Hammond said today that Europe needs to take greater responsibility for its own security and be ready to act abroad. But NATO will have to become more efficient first, he warned

[NATO Announces 2.1B Euros of Potential C4ISR Investments](#), *Defense News*, 26 October



[NATO Industry Day 2012](#), NATO News, 15 October - Allied Command Transformation (ACT) and Defence Investment Division co-hosted this event in Riga (Latvia) on 15-16 October

- [Opening Remarks](#) by NATO Assistant Secretary General for Defence Investment
- [Opening Remarks](#) by Latvian Minister of Defence
- [Opening Remarks](#) by Supreme Allied Commander Transformation
- [Keynote Address](#) by NATO Secretary General

- [Closing Remarks](#) by Supreme Allied Commander Transformation

[Europe risks giving up on defence](#), *Financial Times*, 14 October

[Firms, policymakers struggle as West's defence binge ends](#), *Reuters*, 13 October

[Abortive BAE Systems merger: EADS roll](#), *The Guardian* editorial, 11 October - the failure of the deal advertises the vulnerability of the UK's biggest manufacturer in an era of shrinking defence budgets

[BAE-EADS: Angela Merkel blamed for collapse of £28bn merger](#), *The Guardian*, 11 October - sources say German chancellor was key factor in decision to terminate talks between defence and aerospace giants

[Political backlash over BAE deal collapse](#), *Financial Times*, 10 October

[NATO closer to sharing the wealth via 'Smart Defense'](#), Kevin Baron, *The E-Ring (blog)*, 9 October

[Contractors in War Zones: Not Exactly "Contracting"](#), David Isenberg, *TimeUS.com*, 9 October

[Is the BAE/EADS merger a dead duck?](#) Robert Peston, *BBC News*, 8 October

[Investor opposition to BAE deal mounts](#), *Financial Times*, 8 October

[EADS 'will ditch' BAE deal over government demands](#), *The Independent*, 7 October - aerospace giant is ready to walk away from merger if France and Germany don't give ground

[BAE tops EADS in anti-corruption study](#), *Financial Times*, 4 October

[NATO supports Smart Defence in South-Eastern Europe](#), NATO News, 3 October - the NATO Communications and Information (NCI) Agency will support efforts to sustain the multinational South-Eastern Europe Brigade in carrying out a wide range of missions, including disaster management, and ensure full interoperability with NATO in operations. The support package was reviewed by sixteen defence ministers at the South- Eastern Europe Defence Ministerial (SEDM) in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Drones:

♣♣ [The Morality of Drone Attacks](#), *BBC Radio 4 'The Moral Maze'*, 31 October

[Health, conflict and armed unmanned aerial vehicles: The way forward or a step too far?](#) Royal Society of Medicine, London, 30 October – this meeting discussed the challenges presented by the increasing use of armed UAVs, and the rapid technological advances they represent, from a public health perspective. Also launched this report: [Drones: the physical and psychological implications of a global theatre of war](#), Medact, October 2012 – the recommendations include greater parliamentary and public scrutiny of the use of drones, their inclusion in arms limitation treaties, and a stop to further automation in their operations

[The Long Third War](#), Micah Zenko, *Foreign Policy*, 30 October - no matter who wins in November, America should get ready for 10 more years of drones

[UN to investigate civilian deaths from US drone strikes](#), *The Guardian*, 25 October -Special rapporteur on counter-terror operations condemns Barack Obama's failure to establish effective monitoring process

♣♣ [Joe Klein's sociopathic defense of drone killings of children](#), Glenn Greenwald, *The Guardian*, 23 October - reflecting the Obama legacy and US culture, the Time columnist says: "the bottom line is: 'whose 4-year-olds get killed?'"

[We need to know the truth about UK drones policy](#), Clive Stafford Smith, *The Guardian*, 23 October - now British drones are being controlled from home turf, the 'blurred lines' over who is responsible for drone attacks must end

[UK support for US drones in Pakistan may be war crime, court is told](#), *The Guardian*, 23 October - lawyers for Pakistani man whose father was killed by drone strike seek to have sharing of UK intelligence declared unlawful

[UK to double number of drones in Afghanistan](#), *The Guardian*, 22 October - RAF makes urgent purchase of five more Reaper drones, which will be the first to be controlled from a UK base

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[CIA seeks to expand drone fleet, officials say](#), *Washington Post*, 19 October - the CIA is reportedly seeking approval from the White House to expand its fleet of armed drones by ten, from its current size of 30-35 aircraft

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[Armed drones need global regulation](#), Ian Davis, NATO Watch, letter, *Financial Times*, 10 October





♠♠ [Striking questions on drone attacks](#), *Financial Times* editorial, 8 October

♠♠ [Living Under Drones](#), video, *War Costs/ You Tube*, September 2012 (photo credit: Brave New Foundation)

[US women may stage hunger strike in Pakistan in anti-drones protest](#), *The Guardian*, 3 October - Code Pink activists gathered in Islamabad ready to join march led by Imran Khan into tribal region bordering Afghanistan

Energy Security and Climate Change:

[North Atlantic Council Approves Accreditation of NATO Energy Security Centre in Lithuania](#), *defpro.news*, 15 October

[Food, Water and Energy](#), *NATO Review*, October 2012 - those who thought that climate change, energy insecurity and food shortages were the things of faraway lands have had cause to think again

[Water or WARter?](#) Water is the essence of life. But drinkable, fresh water is at a premium. Rising populations, poor water use and shortages in key areas are all major factors. This video gives a quick tour of the world showing why water is an issue for everyone



[Fuel for thought](#) - energy use is not a side issue for security. Power outages in many NATO states have shown how vulnerable we all are without sufficient energy. As the



demand for more energy resources increases, how can we make sure this does not lead to conflict?



[Nature's forces and the armed forces](#) - NATO Review looks at why getting the armed forces closer to the realities of energy and environmental problems is actually a good move. And why most people would benefit

[Energy and the environment: the good, the bad and the worrying](#) - we ask energy and environment expert, Jason

Blackstock, how he sees changes in the area, whether they are a cause for optimism and where he sees the potential flashpoints



[Feeding or fighting](#) - Geoff Hiscock looks at how enough food production and water usage for everyone is attainable. But how further conflict awaits if no progress is made



Enlargement and Partnerships:

[20 years of working with partners to bring progress and peace through science](#), NATO News, 24 October - the first formal meeting of the then NATO Science Committee with representatives of Central and Eastern European countries took place 20 years ago in October 1992. This marked the opening of NATO's science programme to partner countries, following the end of the Cold War

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[NATO Week to be held in Armenia November 1-8](#), *Public Radio of Armenia*, 31 October

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[James Appathurai: NATO wants to see improvement of relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan](#), *Trend.az*, 5 November

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[Clinton, Ashton: Bosnia Must Make Reforms to Join NATO](#), EU, *Voice of America*, 30 October

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["Georgia Ready to Integrate With NATO," LTC Reneé Underwood, *The Financial*, 5 November](#)

[PM to lead NATO integration commission, *Georgia Online*, 1 November](#)

[NATO: Georgia Will Be Rewarded For Successful Elections, *EurasiaNet*, 18 October](#)

[President's of Georgia Mikheil Saakashvili, Comments about NATO, *Abkhazia tv/ You Tube*, 12 October](#)

(Georgia – photo credit: International Crisis Group/ flickr)

[NATO Secretary General Invites Georgian President as Keynote Speaker, *The Journal of Turkish Weekly*, 12 October](#) - Rasmussen invited the Georgian president as a keynote speaker to the NATO PA session in Prague in November

[NATO Secretary General calls the new Georgian leadership, *NATO News*, 12 October](#) - the NATO Secretary General called President Mikheil Saakashvili and Mr. Bidzina Ivanishvili and congratulated both leaders, together with the Georgian people, for completing free, competitive and peaceful parliamentary elections



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[Georgian tycoon expects NATO entry after poll victory, *Reuters*, 9 October](#)

[Electoral Shock In Georgia: Time For Tbilisi To Abandon NATO Nightmare, Doug Bandow, *Forbes*, 8 October](#)

[Ivanishvili Meets NATO Liaison Officer, *Civil Georgia*, 5 October](#) - Georgian Dream leader, Bidzina Ivanishvili, met with NATO Liaison Officer in Tbilisi, William Lahue, and reiterated his coalition's commitment to NATO integration

[Ivanishvili On NATO, Russia And Georgia's Geopolitics, *EurasiaNet*, 3 October](#)

[Statement by the NATO Secretary General on Georgia's parliamentary elections, NATO Press Release, 3 October](#)

[Georgia Is Having a Democratic Counterrevolution, Thomas de Waal, *Bloomberg*, 2 October](#) - the Georgian opposition's victory will hopefully usher in a genuine two-party system

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[Israeli opinion leaders visit NATO HQ, *NATO News*, 22 October](#)

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[NATO Members Praise Montenegro's Third Annual National Report Within MAP, *defpro.news*, 31 October](#)

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[Statement by the Secretary General on Ukraine Parliamentary Elections, *NATO News*, 30 October](#)

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[Germany says EU Kosovo police force failing, hurting NATO](#), *Reuters*, 10 October



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[Report Update: Unsecured Libyan Weapons – Regional Impact and Possible Threats](#), NATO Civil-Military Fusion Centre, November 2012 – this report examines the increased availability of Libyan weapons in the past year to Libyan militias as well as other insurgent forces, terrorist and criminal entities

(street art by Nadir in Benghazi, 10 May 2012 – photo credit: BBC World Service/ flickr)

[U.S. and NATO left Libya prematurely after Gadhafi ouster, top Libyan diplomat says](#), *Tribune-Review*, 31 October

[Secret Report Criticizes NATO's Command in Libya](#), *Defense News*, 28 October

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[Naval force: EA waters now safer](#), *IPP media*, 2 November

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[Swiss Intel Sees Broad NATO Protection Against Iranian Missiles by 2018](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 31 October

[U.S. Intercepts Four of Five Missile Targets in Complex Test](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 25 October

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[NATO's missile defence system for Europe has stumbled over Poland](#), *The Voice of Russia*, 3 October



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Ministers took stock of progress in improving Allied defence capabilities and endorsed the first stage of planning for the post-2014 training and assistance mission in Afghanistan, in a two-day meeting in Brussels

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[NATO Ministers Review Commitments Ahead of Afghan Pullout](#), *The Journal of Turkish Weekly*, 9 October

[NATO Defence Ministers determined to improve capabilities, cooperation](#), NATO News, 9 October - allied nations are actively looking to improve their defence capabilities through smarter spending and improved cooperation, NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen said

I confess that back at CIA, I might have been less motivated to win the Cold War if I had known the result would be NATO conferences in which 28 defense ministers would be present, all entitled to speak

Former US defense secretary Robert Gates, cited in [Being Pentagon chief had its downsides: Gates](#), *AFP*, 29 October

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(photo credit: hellothomas/flickr)

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[Belgian peace groups file a complaint against exercises in nuclear warfare](#), *NATO Watch News Brief*, 9 October

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Nuclear elimination with or without missile defence? Tom Sauer, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Volume 25, Number 3, September 2012 (pp433-450) - the idea of nuclear elimination is becoming more popular. At the same time, missile defence is being built. This article aims to link the two phenomena: does Global Zero require effective missile defence, or will missile defence hamper the road towards nuclear elimination?

There's plenty of NATO security activity worth being concerned about: Afghanistan, Libya, the Syria-Turkey border, Iran, Russia, and more. But there is little interest in flying all the way there to wait outside the NATO headquarters chamber for probably one very brief availability with the secretary and several canned statements and uninformative readouts from press secretaries. There's even less interest in going through Peru to get to Belgium, not even for the moules-frites.

Kevin Baron, [South America, NATO, bore reporters](#), *Foreign Policy*, 5 October – on why the press pool sharing US Defence Secretary Panetta's flights to Peru, Uruguay, and Belgium consisted of only three wire reporters and one television pool crew.



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[Assisting States to Prevent Atrocities](#), *The Stanley Foundation, Policy Memo*, 25 October 2012

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[Picking the path of peace when we intervene overseas](#), Roméo A. Dallaire with Andrew Coleman, *National Post*, 25 September

[Building State Capacity to Prevent Atrocity Crimes: Implementing Pillars One and Two of the R2P Framework](#), David J. Simon, *Policy Analysis Brief*, The Stanley Foundation, September 2012 - in this paper, Dr. Simon elaborates on the idea of “state protection capacity” as identified in the R2P framework and outlines what exercising state responsibility implies for both domestic actors and international assistance in key areas of governance

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[Need for leaders to agree on N-deterrent](#), *Financial Times*, 24 October

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Stop the world, Scotland wants to get on. We want to be a force for good and support the international community. That's why I support NATO membership on Scotland's terms – just like Norway has achieved with its no-nuclear condition.

Winnie Ewing, SNP 'party matriarch' whose victory in the 1967 Hamilton by-election is seen as a milestone in Nationalist history, cited in [Winnie Ewing endorses SNP change of tack on NATO](#), *The Scotsman*, 19 October

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[SNP party conference: Get nuclear guarantee from Nato, leadership told](#), *The Scotsman*, 21 October

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Scottish independence: UK foreign policy 'may be put at short-term risk', *BBC News*, 18 October - an independent Scotland could pose a "short-term risk" for enemies to exploit perceived uncertainty in UK foreign policy, it has been warned

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(nuclear submarine HMS Vanguard arrives back at HM Naval Base Clyde, Faslane, Scotland following a patrol – photo credit: UK MoD/ flickr)



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New report backs SNP bid to stay within Nato, *Herald Scotland*, 17 October

Joining Nato: the SNP can safely hold fire on its anti-nuclear dream, Ian Davis, NATO Watch, *The Scottish Blog*, *The Guardian*, 16 October

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[The case for a no-fly zone in Syria](#), *CNN*, 17 October

(Syria's President Assad is depicted as a duck in graffiti in a village in the Jabal al-Zawiya area. The graffiti pokes fun at a leaked email exchange between Assad and his wife Asma in which she refers to him by his nickname "duck", 20 October 2012 – photo credit: Freedom House/ flickr)

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[Turkey's Challenge and the Syrian Negotiation](#), Reva Bhalla, *Stratfor*, 16 October

[NATO should stand \(near\) Turkey](#), Matt Gurney, *National Post*, 15 October



[NATO must offer Turkey military support in Syria crisis](#), Jorge Benitez, *The Christian Science Monitor*, 15 October - Turkey has twice turned to NATO for support in the face of attacks from Syria. But the transatlantic alliance has responded with words rather than deeds. To preserve its credibility in Turkey and the region, NATO should offer radar aircraft and/or rapid reaction forces, says the author

[Did NATO push Erdogan into a "Saakashvili"?](#) John Robles, *The Voice of Russia*, 15 October

[Sparking Strife? 'NATO, Turkey seek pretense for attack on Syria'](#), *Russia Today/ You Tube*, 12 October

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[NATO Edges Closer to War on Syria](#), Stephen Lendman, *The Castlegar Source*, 11 October

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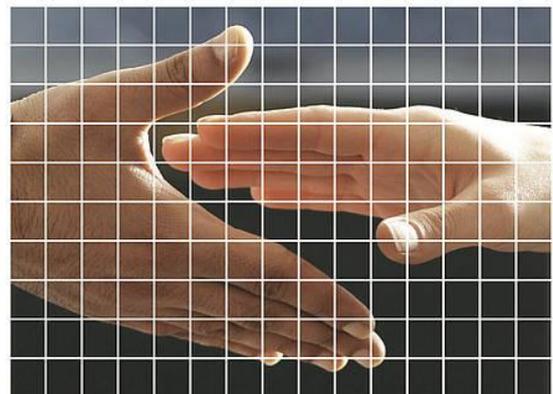
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Towards a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community From Vision to Reality

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[Empire building, NATO style: Welcome to the billion-dollar Temple of Madness](#), Richard Cottrell, *End the Lie* (blog), 2 October

[NATO and Social Media: New Challenges Demand Aggressive Strategies](#), Yasser Abumuailek, *atlantic-community.org*, 1 October - despite its re-conception after the fall of Communism to adapt to the new challenges of an ever-changing world, NATO is facing a new challenge it must master before it's too late: winning the hearts and minds on the social media front, the author argues

Upcoming Events:

[NATO Parliamentary Assembly](#), 58th Annual Session, Prague, Czech Republic, 9-12 November 2012 - the Parliament of the Czech Republic will host the NATO PA's 58th Annual Session in Prague, bringing together some 350 parliamentarians from the 28 NATO member countries as well as delegates from partner countries and observers to discuss common international security concerns and adopt the reports prepared by the Assembly's committees.

[Reshaping Economic Security in Southwest Asia and the Middle East](#), The 9th Worldwide Security Conference, EastWest Institute, 12 November, Brussels - will bring together some 300 high-level policy makers, business and investment executives and public opinion leaders from all over the world to brainstorm on the central theme of economic security and deliberate on practical breakthroughs

[Cyber Alliances: Strategic Partnerships in Cyber Space](#), RUSI Conference, London, 15 November

NATO Foreign Ministers Meeting, Brussels, 4-5 December 2012

Security News from NATO Member States:

(photo credit: darkmatter/flickr)

Belgium

[Belgian Diplomat Suspected Of Spying](#), Kristof Clerix, *Target Brussels*, 5 October

Canada

[Canadian spies' 'Camelot': Defence hoping to attract world-class talent with \\$880M intelligence complex](#), *The National Post*, 9 October

France

[France to send drones to Mali in fight against al-Qaida-backed insurgents](#), *The Guardian*, 22 October - move is reportedly part of 'unprecedented' intervention with US and EU states to tackle threat following coup in March

[France says Afghanistan troop pullout faster than expected](#), *AFP*, 20 October

Germany

[Nuclear Technology for Iran German Investigators Uncover Illegal Exports](#), *Der Spiegel*, 1 October

Hungary

[NATO Secretary General to Visit Hungary Next Summer](#), *defpro.news*, 11 October



Iceland

[Iceland hosts multinational bomb disposal exercise](#), NATO News, 2 October - the Icelandic Coast Guard held its annual multinational bomb disposal exercise in Keflavik from 24 September to 5 October 2012. The aim was to train experts in how to respond to real-life terrorist incidents involving improvised and military explosive devices (photo credit: NATO)

Italy

[Italian PM on surprise visit to Afghanistan](#), *AFP*, 4 November

Lithuania

[Commander NATO Allied Joint Force Command Brunssum to Pay a Visit to Lithuania](#), *defpro.news*, 17 October



Norway

[A Defence budget is actually increasing in the Nordics!](#) *DefenceIQ Press*, 17 October

[Norwegian Frigate to Lead NATO Maritime Group](#), *defpro.news*, 17 October

Poland

[No, Obama Did Not Abandon Poland](#), Stephen Flanagan, *Foreign Policy*, 31 October - how the administration has tightened relations with Warsaw

[Polish Defence Minister Announces Participation in NATO AGS System](#), *defpro.news*, 25 October

[Poland Planning Massive Investments in Missile Defense](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 23 October

Turkey

[Turkey to request Patriot deployment from NATO](#), *Hürriyet Daily News*, 2 November - Ankara plans to request NATO deploy a Patriot missile defence system in its territories in case of escalation of the scale of attacks against Turkey by the al-Assad regime. A senior Turkish diplomat says Turkey and NATO have been working on contingency plans

[Is NATO's approach to Turkey satisfying?](#) Tolga Tanis, *Hurriyet Daily News*, 29 October

[NATO dilemma: Turkey and Article 5](#), Riccardo Dugulin, *Asia Times Online*, 20 October

[NATO has plans to defend Turkey if need be – Rasmussen](#), *Reuters*, 9 October

[Assessing Turkey's Role in Somalia](#), International Crisis Group, *Africa Briefing N°928*, 8 October

[Press Freedom in Turkey: An Interim Assessment and Avenues for Action](#), Marc Pierini, Carnegie Europe, 5 October

[NATO's Treaty Obligations to Turkey: Theory and Practice](#), Michael Codner, *RUSI Analysis*, 5 October

[Turkey's NATO Trap for Obama](#), *Middle East Online*, 5 October

[Turkey must beware the Syrian quagmire](#), Mohammed Ayoob, *The Guardian*, 4 October - Ankara risks being drawn into a conflict from which, unlike Saudi Arabia and the US, it cannot escape

United Kingdom

[Call to deploy both new aircraft carriers](#), *Financial Times*, 1 November - Philip Hammond, defence secretary, has strongly backed suggestions that the UK should operate both of its new aircraft carriers at the end of this decade, arguing that there would be "relatively modest" additional costs

(HMS Illustrious during Exercise Cougar 12 in the Mediterranean Sea, 10 October 2012 – photo credit: UK MoD/ flickr)

♣♣ [Trident: the bloody union Jack](#), *The Guardian* editorial, 29 October - common sense demands not renewing Trident, as prime ministers admit after office, yet one government after another ends up doing it anyway

[MoD staff and thousands of military officers join arms firms](#), *The Guardian*, 15 October -Guardian research in the aftermath of the 'jobs for generals' scandal shows extent of links between MoD and private sector

[Probe into alleged lobbying by generals](#), *Financial Times*, 14 October - Retired generals and admirals could have their access to senior policy makers "shut down" amid claims that some abused their positions to lobby on behalf of arms manufacturers.

[UK sets out terms for BAE merger](#), *Financial Times*, 7 October

[Britain's influence and security are imperilled by defence cuts](#), Michael Graydon, Michael Rose, and Jeremy Blackham, *The Telegraph*, 4 October - the Government's defence budget cuts are risking the Special Relationship with America



[British soldiers are dying in Afghanistan to win the war of Whitehall](#), Simon Jenkins, *The Guardian*, 2 October - only one battle matters to the Ministry of Defence – the battle for resources. In this the Taliban is not an enemy, but an ally

United States

♠♠ [A Failed Formula for Worldwide War - How the Empire Changed Its Face, But Not Its Nature](#), Nick Turse, *TomDispatch.com*, 25 October

[Boeing's New Missile Set to Change Modern Warfare?](#) *DefenceIQ*, 25 October

[Shifting Mood May End Blank Check for U.S. Security Efforts](#), *New York Times*, 24 October

[US defence companies – cliff ahead](#), *Financial Times*, 24 October

[Plan for hunting terrorists signals U.S. intends to keep adding names to kill lists](#), Greg Miller, *Washington Post*, 24 October - first of a three-part series examining the development of US counterterrorism policies and targeted killings. This article covers the creation of a list of terrorists to be targeted, and how they may be killed or captured depending on where in the world they are spotted

[The Alliance from Hell - How the U.S. and Pakistan Became the Dysfunctional Nuclear Family of International Relations](#), Dilip Hiro, *TomDispatch.com*, 18 October

[The Week the World Stood Still: The Cuban Missile Crisis and Ownership of the World](#), Noam Chomsky, *TomDispatch.com*, 15 October

[Cuban missile crisis: how the US played Russian roulette with nuclear war](#), Noam Chomsky, *The Guardian*, 15 October

[Don't Ask and Don't Tell - Six Critical Foreign Policy Questions That Won't Be Raised in the Presidential Debates](#), Peter Van Buren, *TomDispatch.com*, 11 October

[Overwrought Empire - The Discrediting of U.S. Military Power](#), Tom Engelhardt, *TomDispatch.com*, 9 October

[America's nuclear tab nearing \\$660 billion, new report says](#), Kevin Barron, *The E-Ring (blog)*, 8 October

[Unused NATO Summit Funds To Go Toward City Parks](#), *CBS2 Chicago*, 6 October

(Undecided voter? photo credit: Mark Sinderson/ flickr)



What future for NATO under either a second-term Obama or new incumbent in the White House?

Follow our post US election analysis on the NATO Watch website:

www.natowatch.org

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