



Observatory

NATO News & Opinion Clips

Promoting a more transparent and accountable NATO

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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 **★★**

Contents:

NATO Watch Editorial: p2

- Why is NATO's top diplomat always a European?
- Britain's contribution to Smart Defence: Carrier-enabled power projection

Guest Article: Enter Timmermans - Will the Dutch finally get rid of nuclear weapons? p3

News, Commentary & Reports p5

Afghanistan-Pakistan

Arctic Security

Cyber Security

Defence Budgets, Procurement and Private Military Companies

Drones

Energy Security and Climate Change

Enlargement and Partnerships

Gender

Libya

Maritime Security & Piracy

Missile Defence

NATO Parliamentary Assembly, Prague

NATO-Russia Relations

Nuclear Weapons

Responsibility to Protect (R2P)

Scottish Independence and NATO Membership

Syria Crisis

Transatlantic Cooperation

Transparency and Accountability

Upcoming Events p14

Security News from NATO Member States p14

Canada; Czech Republic; France; Germany; Italy; Netherlands;
Poland; Spain; Turkey; UK; USA

IDEAS, FEEDBACK, SUGGESTIONS? p17

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NATO Watch Editorial:

Why is NATO's top diplomat always a European?

Last month we asked, [why is NATO's top general always an American?](#) In the interest of balance and to avoid charges of anti-Americanism it is worth posing the same question in relation to NATO's top diplomatic post of Secretary General, which as a matter of tradition is always filled by a European (see Table 1). The first Secretary General was appointed in April 1952 and since then twelve different European diplomats have served officially in the position and two others on a temporary basis.

The Secretary-General serves as the leader of the organisation's staff and as its chief spokesman. In addition to these official responsibilities, the Secretary General must maintain close relations with the head of state of each NATO country, and work both formally and informally with other diplomats to deal with issues facing the alliance.

The official and somewhat tautological answer to the question is that this arrangement is intended to balance the influence of the United States, which appoints the Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR), NATO's top general. And hence you have a perpetual merry-go-round of European civilian leadership and American military leadership of the alliance. Is it time to step off the carousel and ask whether this is still a good way to run a much-changed and enlarged 21st Century security organisation?

Just as the SACEUR 'selection process' seems archaic for an alliance framed by democratic values, it is little better for the post of Secretary General. On the positive side of the ledger, he—all 12 incumbents have been male with little sign of a Boadicea ever having been in the running or on the horizon—is at least selected by consensus among the NATO member states. However, there is no formal process for the selection; instead, diplomats from the NATO states informally discuss the matter until a candidate is selected.

Might this structure of US military leadership and European civilian leadership (Canadians, it would seem, need not apply for either post) also be a contributing factor in transatlantic divisions over threat assessments and capability requirements? Europeans instinctively these days reach for the diplomatic pen while Americans press for the sword. Would a US diplomat as Secretary General and a European SACEUR lead to a more balanced outlook within the alliance? Perhaps, although there are plenty of other structural and ideological roots to NATO's contemporary dividing lines, many of which have little to do with transatlantic (US-EU) divisions or the nationality of the military and political leadership. Nonetheless, a more open and transparent selection process for both of NATO's top jobs is surely long overdue.

Table 1: Secretaries General: 1952 to Date

Name	Nationality	Term Began	Term Ended	Length of Term
1. Hastings Ismay	UK	March 24, 1952	May 16, 1957	5 years
2. Paul-Henri Spaak	Belgium	May 16, 1957	April 21, 1961	4 years
3. Dirk Stikker	Netherlands	April 21, 1961	August 1, 1964	3 years
4. Manlio Brosilio	Italy	August 1, 1964	October 1, 1971	7 years
5. Joseph Luns	Netherlands	October 1, 1971	June 25, 1984	13 years
6. Peter Carington	UK	June 25, 1984	July 1, 1988	4 years
7. Manfred Wörner	Germany	July 1, 1988	August 13, 1994	6 years
8. Willy Claes	Belgium	October 17, 1994	October 20, 1995	1 year
9. Javier Solana	Spain	December 5, 1995	October 6, 1999	4 years
10. George Robertson	UK	October 14, 1999	December 17, 2003	4 years
11. Jaap de Hoop Scheffer	Netherlands	January 1, 2004	August 1, 2009	5 years
12. Anders Fogh Rasmussen	Denmark	August 1, 2009		

Britain's contribution to Smart Defence: Carrier-enabled power projection

[Philip Hammond, the UK defence secretary, has strongly backed suggestions](#) that Britain might yet operate both of its new aircraft carriers at the end of this decade. The New Labour Government took a decision to build the two new state-of-the-art carriers in 1998. But in the 2010 Strategic Defence and Security Review (SDSR), the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition Government decided that only one should be made operational and the other mothballed or sold off.

A U-turn earlier this year on the variant of the F35 Joint Strike Fighter for the carrier—the short take-off and vertical landing (STOVL) version is now on the MoD's shopping list—may lead to another U-turn in the 2015 strategic review with both carriers likely to become fully operational.

With the second of two unsuccessful counterinsurgency wars in its death throes—mainly out of dwindling public support—it is a good time to ask what type of military the UK should have in the future. Although the British Army carried the burden of the fighting in Afghanistan and Iraq the Coalition Government appears to be downplaying the chance of another major foreign land war (the number of regular soldiers is set to fall from 102,000 to 82,000 by 2020) with the focus switching to air and sea power.

(The UK's largest and most expensive crane, which cost £12.2m and took two years to build, will be used in the assembly of the Royal Navy's Queen Elizabeth Class aircraft carriers at Rosyth, Scotland – photo credit: UK MoD/flickr)



Despite yawning budget deficits this emphasis unfortunately continues the obsession of successive British governments of being the junior partner in the global projection of American power (even though the US already has a dozen carriers of its own and hardly needs two more flying the Royal ensign). The cost of that 'special relationship' in the two decades since the end of the Cold War, both in blood and treasure, has fallen to the common soldier and citizen. Economic and budgetary problems and the quagmires of Afghanistan and Iraq may have soured the British foreign policy elite on conducting expensive land wars, but the Royal Navy and Air Force, bit players in the two latest counterinsurgency conflicts, have successfully renewed pressure for global projection of carrier-based sea and air power.

Given that Britain is an island nation, it may be wise to give more emphasis to air and sea forces than to ground forces. But configuring those forces for offensive power projection is costly and unnecessary. The carriers are also vulnerable to high speed torpedoes and anti-ship ballistic missiles and would probably not last very long in any full-scale conflict. A smarter move would be to restore *defence* to the centre of UK and NATO defence policy.

A much leaner, defensively oriented UK military could better safeguard national and Alliance security during a time of economic and fiscal crisis. And if British politicians still need to fulfil the urge to park six acres of sovereign UK real estate off someone's shore, perhaps they could at least consider doing so as part of a pooling and sharing arrangement within NATO or (whisper it) the EU CSDP. Since the second ship – the Prince of Wales – only needs a crew, at an

additional running cost of £70m a year, why not make it the first NATO/EU integrated, multinational naval unit, suitably equipped (e.g. with helicopters rather than the F35) for crisis management, humanitarian, disaster relief and civilian protection (R2P) roles?

Guest Article:

Enter Timmermans - Will the Dutch finally get rid of nuclear weapons?

By Wilbert van der Zeijden

The new Dutch minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Frans Timmermans, has a long

track record of calling for an end to the deployment of US nuclear weapons on Dutch territory. As recent as April 2012, he made it clear that he and his Labour Party believe that the Netherlands should negotiate the ending of nuclear deployments with the US - without NATO consensus backing if necessary. Earlier attempts by the Dutch and German governments failed, apparently after huge pressure from NATO allies. Will Timmermans be the one to succeed?

Gradual Shift

Over the past few years, there has been a noticeable shift in Dutch political discourse about involvement in NATO nuclear sharing arrangements. Now, almost all parties advocate the ending of US deployments in Europe. Some stick to the aim of convincing NATO to do it. Others want to discuss the removal of the last 20 B61 gravity nuclear bombs deployed on Volkel Air Base bilaterally with the US.

Timmermans is one of them. He has grown bolder over the past few years advocating for the withdrawal of TNW from Europe, culminating in a statement in Parliament this April saying that:

As is commonly known, my party is in favor of giving up the nuclear task that the Netherlands still has in NATO. Therefore, there should be negotiations with the US about removing the nuclear weapons that possibly¹ are on Dutch territory. These weapons have lost any military significance. For a political role they don't have to be on Dutch territory. My party wants these weapons removed, if necessary in a bilateral context.

¹ He's using 'possibly', not because he doubts there are nuclear weapons on Dutch territory, but because the Dutch government maintains a policy of ambiguity – that silly game where everyone knows the weapons are there, but no one is allowed to state it as a fact.

In 2005, Timmermans advocated for the withdrawal of TNW and in 2010 a parliamentary motion called on the government to *"inform the US government that it is no longer attached to the protection of the European continent through the presence of US nuclear weapons in Europe and considers their withdrawal desirable."* This motion was supported by Timmermans and by almost all the other parliamentarians as well. The motion was later referred to by the then Minister of Foreign Affairs (Maxime Verhagen) as *"supporting existing policy"*.

In April and May 2012, Timmermans voted in favour of a series of motions that almost won a majority in parliament, calling for an end to investments in training and infrastructure for the Dutch nuclear tasks, an end to deployment, and an early decision not to buy new nuclear capable aircraft.

In the Netherlands there is no longer really an 'other side' in this debate. No one is calling for retaining TNW for any defence, deterrence or diplomatic purpose. No one doubts that the weapons *should* go. The only real debate is how actively the Netherlands should pursue the aim to be nuclear weapons free.

(The USAF provides 20 tactical B61 nuclear bombs for use by the Netherlands under the NATO nuclear weapons sharing agreement. These weapons are stored at Volkel Air Base and in time of war they may be delivered by Royal Netherlands Air Force F-16 warplanes – pictured; photo credit: RS Deakin/ flickr)



The bilateral scenario

Strictly speaking, the Netherlands doesn't need the green light from NATO for withdrawal. Regardless of what NATO staff say, the deployment of nuclear weapons of one country on the territory of another country is an agreement between the two countries involved. No one can force the US to keep deploying nuclear weapons in another country and no one can force the Netherlands to keep hosting US weapons. Negotiations on the relocation of the TNW back to the US are therefore – as Timmermans suggested in parliament – possible.

It has happened before. The most recent examples are Greece in 2001 and the UK around the same time. Both countries, together with the US, came to the conclusion that US nuclear deployments were no longer needed or desirable. The subsequent decision to repatriate them was done without any consultation with allies. NATO was just informed of the decision after the fact.

For the Dutch, the scenario could be like this: Timmermans calls the US Secretary of State and announces the Dutch decision to end the deployment of US nuclear weapons on Dutch territory within a reasonable timeframe. The two countries work out a realistic plan and together announce the decision in the next NATO Nuclear Planning Group (NPG) meeting. They invite the Allies to share their concerns about possible side-effects of the withdrawal decision and their ideas on how to mitigate these effects.

Perhaps a more appropriate way forward would be for the US and the Netherlands to start a round of discussions first with the other four states that currently host US nuclear weapons: Belgium, Germany, Italy and Turkey, to see if any or all of them would choose to follow the same path.

Applying pressure

Some say that this could never work because the Dutch would face severe pressure or even repercussions if they 'go it alone'. The failed attempt of Germany to remove the weapons from their soil over the past few years seems to confirm this.

The 2009 German government coalition agreement states that Germany *"will advocate a withdrawal of remaining nuclear weapons from Germany, both within NATO and vis-à-vis our American allies"*². The idea was pushed most by Liberal Democrat Guido Westerwelle, who said days after being sworn in as the new Minister of Foreign Affairs that he would personally *"[...] enter talks with our allies so that the last of the nuclear weapons still stationed in Germany, relics of the Cold War, can finally be removed. Germany must be free of nuclear weapons."*

As it turned out, Westerwelle's personal engagement on the subject was not enough. Nor was it enough that he managed to make it the official government policy of his country. The weapons are still there, in Buchel. Lack of support from Angela Merkel, combined with immediate pressure from NATO allies and a subtle campaign to depict Westerwelle as 'weak'³ killed the German appetite to push for B61 withdrawal. The disheartening result was seen after the DDPR signing in May 2012, when Westerwelle did his feeble best to sell the decision

² Meier, Oliver, 2009: *German Nuclear Stance Stirs Debate* <http://www.armscontrol.org/print/3984>

³ <http://www.europeanvoice.com/article/imported/unflappable-liberal/75562.aspx>

by NATO to change nothing as a 'remarkable' success.⁴

We will probably have to wait for Westerwelle's memoirs to find out exactly how the alliance managed to put so much pressure on him that he started to say things he clearly does not believe. For future attempts, whether it is by Timmermans now, a new German government next year or the Italian ministry of economics trying desperately to save money on useless defence expenditures, the German case tells us that – apparently – the appetite within NATO to force allies into accepting unwanted nuclear deployments is still large. The question is not *if* there will be pressure, the question is *how much, applied by whom* and *for how long* NATO can go on with these mafia-style disciplinary measures without irreversibly damaging internal cohesion and solidarity.

A reminder

For Timmermans specifically, it would be instructive to recall, when the pressure applied by friends is almost unbearable, why such a broad spectrum of the electorate, for so long, has wanted the B61 to go.⁵

First of all, the Netherlands does no longer regard Russia as a military threat. And it does not see any new useful purpose for the B61 deployments. They are useless militarily and need not be in the Netherlands to fulfil any perceived political role.

Second, keeping the bombs means keeping the nuclear mission for the Dutch airforce. And ultimately that means more investment in new aircraft, infrastructure, maintenance costs and training of pilots and ground personnel.

Third, the secrecy surrounding the nuclear deployments fits awkwardly with 21st century practices of governmental transparency and accountability. It irritates citizens that no open debate is allowed.

Fourth, the continued deployment of weapons of mass destruction on Dutch territory stands in the way of a mature and credible role for the Netherlands in international arms control and non-proliferation forums. One doesn't need to think too much to figure out what Iran says when the Netherlands shares its concerns about the Iranian nuclear programme.

Fifth, continued reliance on these weapons stands in the way of the modernisation of NATO as an organisation.

Overall, the pressures brought to bear to keep these weapons on Dutch territory could be enormous. It will be up to Mr. Timmermans to maintain his position and to engage with the US knowing full well that he has the majority of Dutch public opinion supporting his efforts.

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News, Commentary and Reports:

Afghanistan-Pakistan:

News

(photo credit:
Stitch/flickr)

**Taliban attack
Nato airbase in
Afghanistan,**
The Guardian, 2
December - five
Afghans killed
and foreign



soldiers wounded after suicide bombers and
gunmen target compound in Jalalabad

**Panetta: Post-2014 US military mission in
Afghanistan will include targeting al-Qaida,**
Washington Post, 29 November – Defence
Secretary Leon Panetta reiterated that the United
States would continue to launch counterterrorism
operations against al-Qaeda in Afghanistan after
the withdrawal of combat troops by the end of
2014. He also said that al-Qaeda is estimated to
have just 100 fighters in Afghanistan, but it still
poses a challenge to establishing security there

**Time Slipping, U.S. Ponders Afghan Role After
2014,** *New York Times*, 25 November

**Afghans Working With NATO-Led Forces Fear
For The Future,** *Radio Free Europe/ Radio
Liberty*, 22 November

**Day of Suicide Attacks Heightens Fears in
Pakistan,** *New York Times*, 21 November

**Afghanistan Opium Fields Still Growing Despite
Efforts,** *Wall Street Journal*, 20 November - the
UN Office on Drugs and Crime released a [survey](#)
showing that the land being used for opium
cultivation in Afghanistan increased by 18% this
year, despite over ten years of efforts by the
international community to push farmers to
embrace legal crops. At the same time, bad
weather conditions for growing have meant a
decrease in the potential output of opium

⁴ Deutsche Welle, 23 May 2012: *Disarmament means increasing security*, <http://www.dw.de/disarmament-means-increasing-security/a-15967956-1>

⁵The 2010 election exit poll showed that 87% of the population does not support the deployment of nuclear weapons on Dutch territory. See for analysis: <http://vredessite.nl/kernwapens/2011/ikv1103.html>

We cannot pretend there is any more to do in Afghanistan. The urgent priority is to get out. It is not worth wasting one more life in Afghanistan. All that we can achieve has now been achieved. All that we might have achieved if we had done things differently, has been lost

former UK Liberal Democrat leader Lord Ashdown, [Get troops out of Afghanistan now, says Paddy Ashdown](#), *The Guardian*, 16 November

[Afghan leaders warn of 'chaos' if NATO leaves](#), *Ottawa Citizen*, 19 November - Canadian army role over, MacKay asserts

[NATO report exposed danger of Afghan 'insider attacks'](#), *The Telegraph*, 17 November - a damning report exposing the causes of a surge in "insider attacks" was suppressed

[Pakistan to restore NATO's Afghan oil supply line after 12-month hiatus](#), *Long War Journal*, 15 November

[US-Afghanistan open talks on post-2014 military aid](#), *AFP*, 15 November

[Afghans look forward with optimism](#), *NATO News*, 14 November - a survey of more than 6,000 Afghanistan residents shows increasing security in the region has seen more Afghans look towards a positive future for their country.

[Taliban kill Afghans working for NATO](#), *AFP*, 14 November

[US army seeks death penalty over Afghan massacre](#), *The Guardian*, 14 November - Staff Sergeant Robert Bales is accused of killing 16 Afghan villagers, including nine children, in a predawn rampage

[Afghanistan halts Helmand police fuel supplies after major theft](#), *The Guardian*, 13 November - cut to fuel supply after theft estimated at £380m risks ability of police to operate in Taliban stronghold

[Scandal probe ensnares commander of U.S., NATO troops in Afghanistan](#), *Washington Post*, 13 November

[Afghan Warlord's Call to Arms Rattles Officials](#), *New York Times*, 12 November - one of the most powerful mujahedeen commanders in Afghanistan, Ismail Khan, is calling on his followers to reorganize and defend the country against the Taliban

Commentary and Reports

[In Afghanistan, It's Not All in the Numbers](#), Sarah Chayes *Carnegie Article*, 3 December

[Central Asian Perspectives on Afghanistan After the US Withdrawal](#), Stephen Blank, Elliott School of International Affairs, Central Asia Program, *Afghanistan Regional Forum No. 2*, November 2012

[Peacebuilding Efforts of Women from Afghanistan and Iraq: Lessons in Transition](#), United States Institute of Peace, November/December 2012

♦♦ [Afghanistan Order of Battle](#), Institute for the Study of War, November 2012 - this document describes the composition and placement of US and other Western combat forces in Afghanistan down to battalion level. It includes "white" special operations forces, described in general terms, but does not include "black" special operations units

[The NATO Training Mission – Afghanistan: A Perspective \(Part 2\)](#), Andrew Chisholm, Atlantic Council Canada, 21 November

[The NATO Training Mission – Afghanistan: A Perspective \(Part 1\)](#), Andrew Chisholm, Atlantic Council Canada, 18 November

[Afghans don't see Nato mission as an occupation, says Kite Runner author](#), *The Guardian*, 17 November - announcing UK stage play of bestselling book, Khaled Hosseini talks of his desire to forge ties between Afghanistan and west

[NATO in Afghanistan - Afghans optimistic about future](#), *NATOchannel.tv/ You Tube*, 14 November

[Juan Cole: Real Petraeus Failure Was Counterinsurgency in Iraq, Afghanistan](#), *Democracy Now*, 12 November

[Pakistan's Internal and External Challenges](#), Sohail Mahmood, *PakTribune*, 8 November

[Karzai's Statecraft Has NATO Worried – Analysis](#), Monish Gulati, *Eurasia Review*, 7 November

[Islamic Republic of Afghanistan: A Risk Assessment Report](#), Carlton University, October 2012

Arctic Security:

[NATO's developing interest in the Arctic](#), *NATO Watch Briefing Paper No.27*, 20 November

Cyber Security:

[Finding Pandora: Open Source Warfare](#), Enko Koceku, The Atlantic Council of Canada, 20 November

[Panetta's Wrong About a Cyber 'Pearl Harbor'](#), John Arquilla, *Foreign Policy*, 19 November -

Defence Budgets, Procurement and Private Military Companies:

[NATO country orders tactical radios](#), *UPI.com*, 30 November

NATO's former top general on transatlantic economic policy:

Sustainable growth comes from only one place — the private sector.

[NATO Needs Strength Of Robust European And U.S. Economies](#), Gen.

James L. Jones And Thomas J. Donohue, *Investor's Business Daily*, 8 November

[The Many PMC Faces of NATO](#), David Isenberg, *Huffington Post*, 26 November

[Defence spending remains essential to keep NATO fit for the future](#), NATO News, 12

November - investment in defence and security remains essential despite the economic crisis, NATO Secretary General told European and North American parliamentarians at the annual NATO Parliamentary Assembly in Prague

[Warlords, Inc.](#), David Isenberg, *Time.com*, 13 November - while it's only one among many factors bedevilling Afghanistan, its substantial private-security contracting industry warrants attention

[UK warns Europe on defence as US looks away](#), Richard Norton-Taylor, *The Guardian*, 5 November

Drones:

[Pentagon: A Human Will Always Decide When a Robot Kills You](#), Spencer Ackerman, *Wired*, 26 November - the Pentagon wants to make perfectly clear that every time one of its flying robots releases its lethal payload, it's the result of a decision made by an accountable human being in a lawful chain of command.

We are left with interpreting shadows cast on the wall. The terms that are being used by these officials are undefined, malleable and without definition. It is impossible to know whether they are talking about something lawful or unlawful.

Jameel Jaffer, American Civil Liberties Union's Center for Democracy, commenting on a New York Times report on Obama administration attempting to set out circumstances in which targeted assassination is justified, cited in [Obama 'drone-warfare rulebook' condemned by human rights groups](#), *The Guardian*, 25 November

[EU To Complete UAV Air Traffic Roadmap Soon](#), Julian Hale, *Defense News*, 26 November

[Election Spurred a Move to Codify U.S. Drone Policy](#), *New York Times*, 24 November

[Killer Robots: HRW and Nobel Laureate Jody Williams Urge Ban on Modern Warfare's Next Frontier](#), *Democracy Now*, 20 November

♠♠ [Leon Panetta Has a Few More Drone Wars Ready to Go](#), Spencer Ackerman, *Wired*, 20 November

[Drones are coming. So let's be ready for them](#), Chris Elliott, *The Times*, 20 November

[Losing Humanity: The Case against Killer Robots](#), Human Rights Watch, 19 November - this 50-page report outlines concerns about these fully autonomous weapons, which would inherently lack human qualities that provide legal and non-

legal checks on the killing of civilians. In addition, the obstacles to holding anyone accountable for harm caused by the weapons would weaken the law's power to deter future violations



[Dronestagram – the website exposing the US's secret drone war](#), *The Guardian (blog)*, 12 November - a new website

shows the sites hit in US drone attacks – adding to the pressure for greater transparency from Washington

[Iran Fired on Military Drone in First Such Attack, U.S. Says](#), *New York Times*, 8 November

Energy Security and Climate Change:

[Microgrids: A Smart Defense Based NATO Contribution to Energy Security](#), Michael Hallet, *The Journal of Energy Security*, 20 November

Enlargement and Partnerships:

[Who's next to join the NATO alliance?](#) *Deutsche Welle*, 23 November

Since the September 11 2001 attacks, the CIA has shifted from being an intelligence-gathering operation to a paramilitary organisation that kills terrorist suspects in Pakistan, the Middle East and Africa.

♠♠ [Rethink on drones](#), *Financial Times* editorial, 12 November

[Statement by the NATO Secretary General on 10th anniversary of Prague Summit](#), NATO News, 21 November - ten years ago, at the NATO Summit in Prague, seven nations (Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia) were invited to open accession talks with NATO. Together, these countries formed the single largest group ever to pass through NATO's open door. Today they are staunch NATO Allies

[Why NATO needs to play a global role](#), Giampaolo Di Paola, *Europe's World*, Autumn 2012

Armenia

[Armenia Boosting Relations With Both NATO And Russia](#), *EurasiaNet*, 19 November

[NATO Week: Armenia discusses closer partnership with Western alliance under Moscow's close watch](#), *ArmeniaNow.com*, 6 November

[Meeting With the NATO Delegation](#), National Assembly of the Republic of Armenia, 5 November

[Special Representative of NATO reaffirmed the full support of alliance to the efforts of the OSCE Minsk Group](#), *ArmenPress.am*, 5 November

Cyprus

[British bases in Cyprus to be handed to NATO under new peace plan, reports Afrika](#), *Famagusta Gazette*, 22 November

Finland

[Finland is among NATO's most active, committed and effective partners](#), *examiner.com*, 18 November

['Visiting a close partner'](#), NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen [video blog](#), 16 November

[NATO's Rasmussen in Finland: Russia Is No Threat](#), *Novinite.com*, 15 November

NATO and Finland: building security together in the 21st century, [speech](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen in Helsinki, Finland, 15 November

[NATO and Finland discuss further strengthening of partnership](#), NATO News, 15 November - NATO Secretary General on a visit to Helsinki – photo credit NATO



[Finland: a valued Nordic partner](#), NATO News, 15 November - Finland currently contributes to the NATO-led operations in Kosovo and Afghanistan, and has also indicated its willingness to participate in the post-2014 follow-on mission. Finland actively participates in NATO exercises and a number of projects aimed at developing military capabilities and training.

Georgia

[Georgian Dream Shows Its Dark Side](#), James Kirchick, *Foreign Policy*, 29 November - Georgia's president-elect is putting the country in strong danger of losing its hard won democracy

[Georgia passes test, NATO says](#), *UPI.com*, 21 November

[Allies discuss the priorities of the new Georgian government at NATO-Georgia Commission](#), NATO News, 20 November - allies discussed the priorities of the new Georgian government with the Georgian Minister of Defence, Irakli Alasania, and the State Minister for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration, Alex Petriashvili, at NATO-Georgia Commission meeting

[U.S. Asks New Georgian Government to Stop Arrests of Rivals](#), *New York Times*, 19 November

[Georgia detains Saakashvili-era officials before trial](#), *Reuters*, 17 November

[Cyberspying leads to arrest of 12 Georgian officials](#), *Times Of India*, 17 November

[Perception And Reality In Georgia's Military Arrests](#), Joshua Kucera, *EurasiaNet*, 16 November 16

[NATO Joint Press Point with Georgian Prime Minister](#), *NATOchannel.tv/ You Tube*, 14 November

[In Conversation with H.E. Mikheil Saakashvili, President of Georgia](#), Jessica Tuchman Mathews, Carnegie Europe, 14 November

[New Georgian PM pledges to cooperate with Saakashvili](#), *Reuters*, 14 November

[NATO Chief Meets PM Ivanishvili](#), *Civil Georgia*, 14 November

[NATO to keep a watchful eye on Georgia](#), *Georgia Online*, 13 November

[NATO chief says concerned over Georgia arrests](#), *Reuters*, 12 November

[Georgia PM visits Europe to dump "Russia stooge" tag](#), *Reuters*, 11 November

[NATO cancels visit because of detention of general](#), *Democracy & Freedom Watch*, 10 November

[NATO Military Committee session in Tbilisi postponed](#), *Interfax*, 9 November

Iraq

[High level NATO official visits Iraq](#), NATO News, 21 November - NATO's Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs James Appathurai travelled to Baghdad at the invitation of the Iraqi government. He met with Foreign Minister Hoshyar Zebari and with National Security Advisor Falih al-Fay

Serbia

♠♠ [Foes now friends: US stealth pilot and the Serb who shot him down](#), BBC News, 6 November

South Korea

[NATO seeks to improve partnership with S. Korea](#), Yonhap News, 15 November

Switzerland

"Switzerland and NATO : Partners in security", [Speech](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the Churchill Symposium in Zürich, Switzerland, 22 November

[NATO Secretary General stresses closer security cooperation in visit to Switzerland](#), NATO News, 22 November

NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen [video blog](#), Switzerland – a generous partner, 22 November

Ukraine

[X-Ray generator project builds capacity among young nuclear scientists in Ukraine](#), NATO News, 14 November - the NESTOR project, which is developing a revolutionary X-ray generator, has engaged a new generation of nuclear scientists in Ukraine. Launched in January 2003 and nearing completion, this is one of the longest-running projects under the NATO Science for Peace and Security (SPS) Programme

[NATO Parliamentary Assembly Calls On Ukrainian Authorities To Investigate Violations During Parliamentary Elections](#), Ukrainian News Agency, 13 November

Gender:

[NATO supports Afghan recruitment and retention of women in the security forces](#), Examiner.com, 1 December

[Women and Security: How NATO and the UN Advance Gender Equality](#), Georgi Ivanov, PolicyMic, 23 November

[NATO Assistant Secretary General Responds to Member Questions](#), atlantic-community.org, 15 November - Ambassador Grabar-Kitarović answered ten questions on NATO policy on women's rights, UN resolution 1325, Afghanistan, Arab spring, and the Balkans

Libya:

[Libya drone planes: protection or peeve?](#) Essam Mohamed, Magharebia, 26 November - though some see them as an unnecessary nuisance, many analysts admit that Libya drones play a crucial role in fending off security dangers

[New Book – Slouching Towards Sirte – Questions NATO and Canada's "Victory" in Libya](#), Ottawa Citizen, 24 November

[Libya: Failed Nato Mission Exposes U.S. Generals](#), Horace G. Campbell, AllAfrica.com, 15 November

[NATO's War on Libya and Africa](#), Review of Maximilian C. Forte's new book, Stephen Gowans, Center for Research on Globalization, 10 November

Maritime Security and Piracy:

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[MEADS Downs Target in Intercept Trial](#), Global Security Newswire, 30 November

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(Menwith Hill, UK – photo credit: CND/ flickr)

♠♠ [Obama, Congress should push NATO missile defense program off 'fiscal cliff'](#), Yousaf Butt, The Christian Science

[Monitor](#), 15 November -as the automatic defence spending cuts loom, President Obama and Congress should cancel the flawed, expensive NATO missile defence program. Ending the program would encourage greater international cooperation on security issues and free up Navy ships to address actual threats

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[Russia Expects Missile Shield 'Flexibility' from Reelected Obama](#), *RIA Novosti*, 8 November

[Defense Department Delays Contract for ICBM Interceptor](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 6 November



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The Parliament of the Czech Republic hosted the NATO PA's 58th Annual Session, bringing together some 350 parliamentarians from the 28 NATO member states as well as delegates from partner countries and observers to discuss common international security concerns and adopt reports prepared by the Assembly's committees

[NATO Chief Rasmussen Argues For Continued Investments In Defense](#), *Albany Tribune*, 13 November

[Czech Republic praised for its commitment to Smart Defence](#), *NATO News*, 12 November - NATO Secretary General praised the participation of the Czech Republic in multinational Smart Defence projects during talks in Prague with top officials including the Czech President and PM

Defence spending is declining across the Alliance. We need an economic recovery. And based on that, we need a defence recovery. We need to stop the decline. And then we need to reverse it.

[Keynote speech](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the NATO Parliamentary Assembly in Prague, 12 November

NATO PA, Prague

Press Releases

12 November 2012

[President Saakashvili Vows That Georgia Will Remain on NATO Path](#)

[Economic Crisis Must Not Undermine Trans-Atlantic Security Say NATO Law-Makers](#)

[Southeastern Europe States Recommit To Nato Membership](#)

[Nato Parliamentary Assembly Elects British MP Hugh Bayley as President](#)

11 November 2012

[Nato Must Monitor Central Asia, Reach Out To Pakistan as Afghan Mission Ends](#)

[Decision Time Approaching On Nuclear Programme, Allied Lawmakers Tell Iran](#)

[Nato Parliamentarians Warn Of Growing International Threat from Syrian Conflict](#)

[Nato Nations Must Restore Trust With Afghan Forces, Avoid Early Troop Withdrawals: Lawmakers](#)

10 November 2012

[Nato Lawmakers Urge Evolving Russia To Demonstrate Commitment to Democracy](#)

[Nato Lawmakers Urge Peaceful Cooperation In Arctic](#)

[Lawmakers Call For More Robust Nato Mandate, Use of Security Contractors in Fight Against Piracy](#)

[Nato Lawmakers: Security Threatened By European Defence Cuts](#)

9 November 2012

[Economic Crisis Must Not Become Security Crisis, NATO PA President Warns](#)

Policy Recommendations adopted at the Plenary sitting on 12 November 2012:

[The Democratic Transition In The Middle East And North Africa](#) - Ulla Schmidt (Germany)

[The Future Of Democracy In The Eastern Neighbourhood](#) - Lucio Malan (Italy)

[Afghanistan: Ensuring A Successful Transition](#) - Sven Mikser (Estonia)

[Arctic Economic Opportunities, Environmental Obligations And Security Stakes](#) - Jeppe KOFOED (Denmark)

[The Euro Crisis: Defence And Security Implications](#) - Petras AUSTREVICIUS (Lithuania)

[Nato Post-Chicago](#) - Assen Agov (Bulgaria)

[Developments In Syria: Security Implications For The Region And Beyond](#) - Raynell ANDREYCHUK (Canada)

[The Iranian Nuclear Programme](#) - David SCOTT (United States)

[Defence spending remains essential to keep NATO fit for the future](#), NATO News, 12 November - investment in defence and security remains essential despite the economic crisis, NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen told European and North American parliamentarians at the annual NATO Parliamentary Assembly in Prague

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[58th session of NATO Parliamentary Assembly to open in Prague](#), *Voice of Russia*, 9 November

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COMMITTEE ON THE CIVIL DIMENSION OF SECURITY

139 CDS 12 E Draft General Report. "Consolidating the Revolutions in North Africa"; General Rapporteur: Ulla SCHMIDT (Germany)

140 CDSDG 12 E Draft Report of the Sub-Committee on Democratic Governance. "The Forces of Change and Continuity in Russia: Domestic and International Implications"; Rapporteur : Lucio MALAN (Italy)

141 CDS 12 E Draft Special Report. "The Movement of People across the Mediterranean: New Trends and Challenges"; Special Rapporteur: Vitalino CANAS (Portugal)

DEFENCE AND SECURITY COMMITTEE

143 DSC 12 E Draft General Report. "Afghanistan: Towards 2014 and Beyond"; General Rapporteur : Sven MIKSER (Estonia)

144 DSCFC 12 E Draft Report of the Sub-Committee on Future Security and Defence Capabilities. "The Challenge of Piracy: International Response and NATO's Role"; Rapporteur : Raymond KNOPS (Netherlands)

145 DSCTC 12 E Draft Report of the Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Defence and Security Co operation. "Matching Capabilities to Ambitions: NATO towards 2020"; Rapporteur: Nicole AMELINE (France)

ECONOMICS AND SECURITY COMMITTEE

147 ESC 12 E Draft General Report. "The Sources and Implications of the Euro Crisis";

Acting General Rapporteur: Petras Austrevicius (Lithuania)

148 ESCTER 12 E Draft Report of the Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Economic Relations. "Arctic Economic Opportunities, Environmental Obligations and Security Stakes"; Rapporteur : Jeppe KOFOED (Denmark)

149 ESCEW 12 E Draft Report of the Sub-Committee on East-West Economic Co operation and Convergence. "The Arab Uprisings: Economic Dimensions and Challenges"; Rapporteur : Uwe Karl BECKMEYER (Germany)

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151 PC 12 E Draft General Report. "The Arab Spring: Implications for Euro-Atlantic Security"; General Rapporteur: Assen AGOV (Bulgaria)

152 PCNP 12 E Draft Report of the Sub-Committee on NATO Partnerships. Afghanistan and Southwest Asian Security"; Rapporteur : Daniel BACQUELAINE (Belgium)

153 PCTR 12 E Draft Report of the Sub-Committee on Transatlantic Relations. "Budget Constraints: A Challenge to Alliance Cohesion?"; Rapporteur : John Dyrby PAULSEN (Denmark)

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155 STC 12 E Draft General Report. "The Iranian Nuclear Programme: Gauging Iran's Intentions"; General Rapporteur: David SCOTT (United States)

156 STCEES 12 E Draft Report of the Sub-Committee on Energy and Environmental Security. "Nuclear Energy after Fukushima"; Rapporteur : Philippe VITEL (France)

157 STC 12 E Draft Special Report. "Unmanned Aerial Vehicles: Opportunities and Challenges for the Alliance"; Special Rapporteur: Pierre Claude NOLIN (Canada)

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contradicts key elements of the Deterrence and Defence Posture Review (DDPR)

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continuing domestic pressure in some states for more radical disarmament steps

Responsibility to Protect (R2P):

♦♦ [Enhancing Protection Capacity: Policy Guide to the Responsibility to Protect and the Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflicts](#), Hugh Breakey, Angus Francis, Vesselin Popovski, Charles Sampford, Michael G. Smith and Ramesh Thakur, United Nations University, Griffith, ANU, QUT, OP Jindal Global University and the Center for Asian Integrity, November 2012 - two distinct international protection principles aim to protect vulnerable peoples from mass violence: the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) and the Protection of Civilians (POC) in Armed Conflict. Yet in a theatre where a lack of coordination and shared understanding can cost lives, there remains much confusion and controversy regarding the normative, institutional and operational links between these two principles. This Summary Document clarifies the nature of the principles, their similarities and differences, and the common myths and misperceptions surrounding them

♦♦ [The Responsibility to Protect — From Evasive to Reluctant Action? The Role of Global Middle Powers](#), Institute for Security Studies, November 2012 – this report explores issues surrounding the R2P concept from the perspective of four middle-power countries — Germany, India, Brazil and South Africa (GIBSA). Researchers from leading think-tanks in the four GIBSA countries present a variety of viewpoints on R2P. While the GIBSA countries demonstrate widespread support for R2P, there is no single overriding position. Many of their official standings mirror the arguments on R2P in the global discourse

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♦♦ [The World's Next Genocide](#), Simon Adams, *New York Times*, 15 November

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[UK to step up support for Syrian opposition](#), *The Guardian*, 15 November - William Hague to brief MPs on plans to either recognise the new coalition or call for a lifting of the EU arms embargo

[France Grants Its Recognition to Syria Rebels](#), *New York Times*, 13 November

[NATO could arrest Assad in Syria: ex-ICC prosecutor](#), *AFP*, 10 November

[In One Day, 11,000 Flee Syria as War and Hardship Worsen](#), *New York Times*, 9 November

[Reactions to the Syrian National Initiative](#), Marina Ottaway and Omar Hossino, *Carnegie Article*, 5 November

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decisions—and, in particular, the arguments against forward presence—in the context of a decades-long tradition on the part of many political leaders, scholars, and others to mistakenly tie the forward-basing of US forces to more equal defence burden sharing across the entire North Atlantic alliance. In assessing whether and how forward presence still matters in terms of protecting US interests and achieving US objectives, Dr. Deni bridges the gap between academics and practitioners by grounding his analysis in political science theory while illuminating how forward-basing yields direct, tangible benefits in terms of military operational interoperability

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Transparency On U.S. Nuclear Forces Proceeds, [Secrecy News](#), from the FAS Project on Government Secrecy, Volume 2012, Issue No. 120, 3 December - the State Department [released](#) the latest instalment of data on US strategic nuclear forces as counted under the New START Treaty. "The latest data set shows that the U.S. reduction of deployed strategic nuclear forces over the past six months has been very modest: 6 delivery vehicles and 15 warheads," wrote Hans Kristensen of FAS in [an analysis](#) of the new release

♣♣ [Sucking Up to the Military Brass - Generals Who Run Amuck, Politicians Who Could Care Less, an "Embedded" Media... And Us](#), William J. Astore, *TomDispatch.com*, 29 November

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- [Printed matter 5-77 \(October 2012\) Séances plénières Jeudi 25 octobre 2012](#) (Dutch Senate) Questions posed by M. Bert Anciaux (pp. 12-13) (in Dutch and French)
- [Printed matter CRABV 53 COM 571 \(November 2012\) Compte Rendu Analytique](#) (Belgian Defense Committee) Minister of Defence Pieter De Crem answers questions by Dirk Van der Maelen and Luk Van Biesen (p. 3-4) (in Dutch and French)
- [Bommel, Harry van \(September 2012\) Nederland op nucleaire missie](#) (Weblog) (in Dutch)
- [Drucksache 17/11095 \(October 2012\) Schriftliche Fragen mit den in der Woche vom 15.. Oktober 2012 ingegangenen Antworten der Bundesregierung](#) (Deutscher Bundestag) Question posed by Agnes Brugger (No. 32 - 33) (in German)

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(photo credit: darkmatter/flickr)

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[Canada Purchases Additional Smallpox Vaccine](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 28 November

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[NATO membership more important than EU](#), *Prague Daily Monitor*, 27 November

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[France: fastest out of Afghanistan, quickest into Syria?](#) *NATO Watch News Brief*, 21 November

[Faster than NATO, France ends Afghan combat role](#), *Livingston Daily*, 20 November

[France Should Stay in NATO Command, Former Minister Says](#), *Bloomberg*, 14 November

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[Germany Reportedly Urging Turkey to Trim Back Patriot Interceptor Request](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 28 November

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[NATO moving Naples base to high-tech campus](#), *CBS News*, 26 November

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[Netherlands, U.S. Ink Agree to Work on Countering WMD, Cyber Threats](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 30 November

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[Mimicking Breivik in Poland](#), Ben West, *Stratfor*, 29 November

[US puts first full-time 'boots on ground' in Poland](#), *AFP*, 10 November

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The AKP discovers NATO, Semih İdiz, *Hurriyet Daily News*, 30 November

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US says no deal with NATO to supply missiles to Turkey, *The Hill*, 7 November



(patriot missile battery – photo credit: DJ Lein/ flickr)

Turkey says Nato discussed Patriot missiles for Syria, *The Independent*, 7 November

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Astute 'has a V8 engine with a Morris Minor gearbox'

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For Britain to now find itself on both sides of the barricades at once – backing the democratic revolution once it has happened, but selling arms to the autocracies that are fighting tooth and nail to stop it spreading – is a monumental and venal folly.

David Cameron's Gulf trip: our man in Manama, *The Guardian* editorial, 5 November on the UK prime minister's visit to the United Arab Emirates, Oman and Saudi Arabia to flog jets

unable to carry out all the tasks that ministers demand of them, the Chief of the Defence Staff has claimed

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America can handle its generals lowering their flags but not their trousers

[Leaders should be sacked for incompetence, not cheating](#), Simon Jenkins, *The Guardian*, 15 November

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[Cutting the U.S. nuclear arsenal can help cut the deficit](#), Walter Pincus, *Washington Post*, 13 November

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Across this country, there are nearly a million veterans who are sitting, waiting to find out if the VA will give them disability compensation for the wounds that they received in war.

Aaron Glantz, [Exposé: Veterans Administration Battles Backlog of Claims for Wounded Soldiers](#), *Democracy Now*, 12 November

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(revolving doors – photo credit: freshelectrons/ flickr)

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[Pentagon says Iranian jets fired at drone](#), *Financial Times*, 8 November

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(photo credit: cizauskas/ flickr)

the most expensive, most gargantuan election of our lifetimes has brought us an almost exact replica of the week before yesterday. The (same) president is already talking about the (same) bipartisanship to the same House of Representatives whose leader has just, post-election, reclaimed the (same) mandate as theirs

Tom Engelhardt, [TomDispatch.com](#), 11 November



IDEAS, FEEDBACK, SUGGESTIONS?

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