

NATO WATCH

Observatory

NATO News & Opinion Clips

"We won't deliver security from the barrel of a gun" says NATO Commander

Retiring Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACUR), Admiral James Stavridis was interviewed by [Voice of America's](#) Al Pessin at NATO Headquarters in Brussels on April 23, 2013. The interview is available on the VoA website but not on the NATO website.

As SACUR, Stavridis has undertaken numerous visits to Afghanistan to provide strategic guidance to ISAF commanders and troops

and to monitor progress in improving security. With all the challenges still facing Afghanistan, he has gone from having doubts to cautious optimism about the possibility of succeeding with the Afghan mission. He believes that the Afghan government and ANSF will be able to maintain security and prevent the country from again becoming a safe haven for terrorists after most foreign forces withdraw at the end of 2014.

Stavridis added that by the time NATO withdraws, the Taliban's ability to convince Afghans to help them will be severely reduced as their rallying call to 'fight the foreigners' will be removed. Their narrative will be broken after 2014 he says.

Nearing retirement after 37 years in the US Navy, Admiral Stavridis shares one lesson he has learned, partly from the Afghanistan war: "In the end, in this 21st century, we won't deliver security from the barrel of a gun". The admiral said security and freedom will be gained through international cooperation and a communications strategy to explain and promote democratic values, with only sparing use of the military to which he devoted his career. At NATO Watch, we couldn't agree more.



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

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NATO Watch

conducts independent monitoring and analysis of NATO and aims to increase transparency, stimulate parliamentary engagement and broaden public awareness and participation in a progressive reform agenda within NATO

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Editorial: NATO's non-specific relationship with Israel

Several times during his monthly press conference, [Secretary General Rasmussen studiously avoided questions about NATO's relationship with Israel](#) vis-a-vis that country's intervention in Syria. But who can journalists turn to on this pressing issue if the man at the top declines to engage in any meaningful way?

Regarding Israel's supposed incursion, Rasmussen's first line of defence was no more than a holding "we have expressed concerns about the risk of a spillover of this conflict". To whom, and in what sort of diplomatic terms one might reasonably ask?

When the questions came in with a little more scepticism: "It's hard to understand how NATO could have no idea whether Israel was responsible or not for the strikes on Syria" and a good deal more precision: "I wonder has anyone at NATO, or you personally perhaps been in touch with Israeli officials? Have they confirmed that they're responsible; denied it; or told you that it's none of your business?" all he could muster was: "We don't comment on intelligence reports as a matter of principle, obviously". What may be obvious to Rasmussen (looking from the inside) is not so obvious to us (looking from the outside).

This level of practised evasion from the head of a supposedly representative organisation is simply not good enough. The Secretary General spends a good deal of his copious air time extolling the virtues of democracy, the rule of law and open debate. Why is that rhetoric not applicable when it comes to questioning NATO's largely non-specific role with Israel?

[The European Jewish Press](#) used the 'E' word in reporting the Secretary General's sometimes fractious exchange with Members of the European Parliament earlier this week:

Evading questioning from MEPs including Spanish Christian Democrat Jose Ignacio Salafrañca Sanchez-Neyra on the likely impact of Israeli incursions into the Syrian crisis on its neighbouring countries such as Turkey, Rasmussen responded that no such activity has taken place in areas of relevance for our deployment of patriot missiles in Turkey.

This stock non-answer to a perfectly reasonable enquiry is becoming something of a Rasmussen trademark, to

the extent once has to ask: Why do journalists keep turning up to his press conferences, having their questions aired but not answered and effectively giving some legitimacy to what is no more than a public relations exercise?

Belgian Socialist MEP, Veronique De Keyser, apparently accused NATO of being "complicit in the bombings carried out by Israel on Damascus" and referred to the Alliance's March cooperation agreement with Israel, which she concluded marked the admission of Israel as "a de facto member of NATO". Demanding clarification from the Secretary General on the closed-door cooperation between NATO and its Israeli allies, she continued: "The idea was to strengthen the process of military plumbing between NATO and Israel for the purposes of any actions in the Middle East. That was just two months before the current operation and it's hard to believe that there's been no coordination".

Refuting any suggestion of collusion in the bombing, Rasmussen insisted that the agreement with Israel served as part of a wider cooperation between NATO and six other countries in North Africa and the Middle East [The Mediterranean Dialogue]. Now this is stretching credulity to the limit. Is



NATO Medical Officers in Israel, May 2012, for the annual COMEDS conference—Committee of the Medical Chief of Military Medical Services. Medical officers from all NATO countries attended the conference, headed by the IDF, to discuss issues of military medical care, humanitarian aid and operations in disaster-struck countries—photo credit: IDF/flickr)

sia? Of course, it is very hard to come to any judgment since the NATO-Israel agreement is not available for public scrutiny

Seumas Milne wrote in his [Guardian article](#) that Israel's "[string of aerial attacks](#)" on Syrian military installations near Damascus" were unprovoked and illegal and asks his readers to consider what the western reaction would have been if Syria had launched such an attack on Israel "to realise how little

these positions have to do with international legality, equity or rights of self-defence".

NATO did not reproduce in text format [President Peres's response](#) to the Secretary General's welcome to Brussels on 7 March. He did, however, thank the Secretary General for enabling Israel to participate in the grand struggle against terrorism. He added that Israel feels part of NATO, if not a member, and that NATO and Israel share the same values of peace and security and face the same threats. Although they jointly addressed the media after their meeting, journalists were informed that there would be no questions following the statements by the Secretary General and the President.

According to [Israel National News](#), the President briefed the NATO Secretary General on the strategic threats facing the Middle East, particularly from Iran and Hizbullah. Peres apparently told Rasmussen that Israel would be happy to share the knowledge it has gained and its technological abilities with NATO as "Israel has experience in contending with complex situations, and we must strengthen the cooperation so we can fight global terror together and assist NATO with the complex threats it faces including in Afghanistan".

In a recent interview for [Democracy Now](#), Robert Fisk asserted that "America's greatest ally and an associate of NATO is now fairly regularly bombing Syrian government forces. It is participating—we are participating—in the Syrian civil war". Referring to the problem of publishing unattributed statements, he said it a "parasitic, osmotic relationship between journalists and power, our ever-growing ability, our wish, to rely on these utterly bankrupt comments from various unnamed, anonymous intelligence sources".

While some might say this is going too far, there is no doubt that there are journalistic limitations of just how far you can go with your reporting and commentary if you want to remain 'inside the tent'. With people in official positions unwilling, or unable to be open and honest with those who are trying to inform the wider public, it is not really surprising that journalists have to turn to 'their insider' contacts for clarification. From our position 'outside the tent', NATO Watch simply asks that the Secretary General 'up his game', starting with being less evasive at press conferences.

Article: 'Shock and Awe': 10 years after

By Nigel Chamberlain and Ian Davis, NATO Watch

Was aspiring rock musician Tony Blair listening to I'd Love to Change the World by Ten Years After in the early 1970s? Well, ten years after the invasion of Iraq we are beginning to hear a little more about what made the man tick and it didn't quite follow the band's lyrics: "Stop the War. I'd love to change the world. But I don't know what to do. So I'll leave it up to you".

Writing in the Guardian, Richard Norton-Taylor said that "those who saw him most made clear Blair appeared to have had an appetite for military intervention". In his evidence to the Chilcot Inquiry—a British public inquiry into the nation's role in the Iraq War—the former Cabinet Secretary Lord Wilson recalled saying in March 2002, a year before the invasion, "there is a gleam in his eye that worries me". Air Chief Marshal Sir Brian Burridge, Commander of British forces in Iraq at the time of the invasion had little doubt: "Solidarity with the US was deeply embedded in his psyche."

As Blair's Shadow Defence Secretary from 1994 to 1997, David Clark explained how and why Labour's policy would be transformed to actively support nuclear deterrence and humanitarian intervention under the auspices of the United Nations. There was no doubting Blair's charismatic leadership qualities and desire to do politics differently as internal opposition to his increasingly messianic vision was marginalised. He became the embodiment of the movement to create a bi-partisan foreign and defence policy in the UK and with the US. In effect, Blair led the Labour Party back into the establishment's transatlantic fold.

So, ten years on from the start of the Second Gulf War, we really shouldn't be suffering 'Shock and Awe' from the revelations by senior military figures about the way Britain was led into war with Iraq. Today's crocodile tears that it was "absolutely irresponsible" and that "the lack of intelligence on the country was a national disgrace" do little to mitigate a war that went on to [cost](#) the lives of at least 189,000 people, including at least 123,000 civilians. Blair's team had already adopted the maxim that 'the end justifies the means' and he had personally committed himself, on behalf of the British Government, to support President Bush's invasion plans, regardless of concerns raised about the lack of post-invasion plan-

ning for Iraq.

US Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld and US Chief Administrator in Iraq Paul Bremer have also come in for a lot of flak for banning the Ba'ath Party and dismantling the Iraqi Army. But, as they always say on the other side of the pond, 'the buck stops here' and all available evidence seems to suggest that President Bush was more interested in having a shoot out with Saddam post-9/11 than concentrating effort and resources on anti-terrorism. A big mistake, by any standard. And one that caused the deepest post-Cold War schism within NATO to date, with several lasting consequences.



The specific NATO dimension surfaced as a result of US requests in December 2002 for the Alliance to provide indirect military assistance for an American-led intervention, take preventive measures in support of Turkey and commit to post-conflict peacekeeping. Early in 2003, however, France and Germany joined political forces to oppose what they correctly saw as an Anglo-American drumbeat for war.

In addition to opposing a second resolution within the UN Security Council (designed to authorise force), France and Germany (with the support of Belgium and Luxembourg) initially blocked activation of Article 4 of the Washington Treaty in relation to defensive measures proposed for Turkey (a neighbour of Iraq). The Secretary General at the time, George Robertson, referred to NATO as being in "disarray".

While NATO's defensive operation in Turkey was eventually deployed, a more direct NATO role in Iraq was limited by this dispute that split the Alliance from top to bottom. The Neo-Conservatives in the United States got the war that they desired, whilst the lack of post-invasion planning fulfilled the expectations of the naysayers. Lord Dannatt, a senior staff officer in the UK Ministry of Defence during the invasion, told the *Guardian* that: "Into the power vacuum created, al-Qaida and others moved and

sowed the seeds of the disastrous next few years". Burridge added: "If you allow vacuums to develop, experience elsewhere taught us that organised crime takes over. In Iraq, it was sectarianism".

Efforts by the US and British to provide a NATO stabilisation force to fill the vacuum were dashed again by Franco-German opposition at the June 2004 Istanbul Summit. Instead, the North Atlantic Council agreed only to a training mission for Iraqi personnel, which ran from July 2004 to December 2011.

Then Chief of the UK Defence Staff, Baron Boyce told the Chilcot Inquiry that he "could not get across to the US the fact that the coalition would not be seen as a liberation force and that flowers would be stuck at the end of rifles and that they would be welcomed and it would all be lovely". A little flowery, but you get the drift. He is bound to feel somewhat aggrieved given his questioning of the legality of the war until he received a last minute message from the Attorney General's office telling him that Blair's 'unequivocal' view was an attack on Iraq would be lawful.

[Interviewed by BBC Panorma recently](#), former Director French Intelligence Pierre Brochard, said that secret documents were disseminated around western agencies 'like a contagion' but they were only made public in the UK and the US, adding, by way of explanation with a wry smile, "presumably their immune system was weaker". While there is some evidence that the CIA and MI6 were sceptical of the sources (who were known as 'fabricators') any resistance from within seems to have been snuffed out in favour of providing a united front for the White House and Downing Street. Scepticism from the Ministry of Defence Intelligence Staff, in particular, seems to have led to them being sidelined by the drive to procure and assemble evidence to support the case for war against Iraq.

Clearly, there were 'fabricators' at work who were not disaffected Iraqis. The then Director of MI6 Sir Richard Dearlove said that military action was seen as inevitable as intelligence and facts were being "fixed around the policy". Brochard said that intelligence was used to justify a war of choice, to disguise it as a war of necessity. CIA station chief in Paris Bill Murray said there was a concerted effort to find intelligence which supported pre-conceived positions and desires.

[Continued on p4](#)

Book Review

NATO in Afghanistan— The Liberal Disconnect

By Sten Rynning

(Stanford University Press,
15 Sep 2012)

Reviewed by Nigel Chamberlain,
NATO Watch

Sten Rynning has produced a philosophical book with practical application. It isn't easy reading. Its complex and thought provoking – if you can stay with it, and I recommend that you try.

In his acknowledgements the author sets out the background to his thesis – “Allied statements manage power in relation to events, and for about a decade Afghanistan has been the event for the Alliance”. In his introduction, the author right away picks up on why NATO's Afghan mission has seemed confused to many as “the war is dynamic and defies easy control and conceptualization. The allies have tinkered with various mission headers, such as counterterrorism, stabilization, and security assistance; in the end settling on counterinsurgency”. He suggests that the “Atlantic Alliance must come to grips with wider geopolitical lessons of a campaign that has accelerated a global power shift and revealed a deficit in the Alliance's collective purpose”.

Sten is very good at showing readers both sides of the theoretical coin without necessarily drawing us into making a choice. In fact, one of the

strengths of this book is that he usually proffers a third, more challenging way forward. He does explain the tricky transatlantic balancing act – “between a Europe-centric NATO that the United States must remain involved in and a global centric NATO that Europeans must engage”.

He recognises that the Afghan campaign hasn't gone well for NATO, despite more recent improvements, due to a ‘deficit in political purpose’, which has been translated into “inadequate strategic thinking about ends, way and means”. He adds that NATO must collectively learn from this experience, confront the deficit and evolve.

The author acknowledges that NATO has reviewed its internal dynamics and decided to opt for a ‘global security management’ model which will need “multiple organisations to cooperate in the management of new threats”, located the organisation “at the heart of a wider liberal order” – the military wing of the United Nations perhaps. But he is none too comfortable with this model, saying that it is a retreat into liberal wishful thinking as he does not believe that the wider liberal community is ready to act, if only someone will organise it. And here comes the thesis – the liberal ideal has become disconnected from reality with NATO being one of the main culprits. Sten appeals for liberalism, and by implication NATO, to be rooted in geo-political reality.

But there is a warning. Any redefinition of NATO's role needs to avoid recre-

ating Russia as a regional threat or “to build a firewall around NATO territory”, presumably a reference to unfettered expansion (or enlargement) into eastern Europe and the militarisation of the recent newcomers. Returning to his ‘deficit in political purpose’ theme, Sten says that the adoption of a strategy built on organisational routine, while hoping that global governance would solve its problems, hasn't worked.

Back to the two sides of the coin explanation, the author outlines the ‘NATO-is-dying school’ and counterposes it with the ‘NATO-should-globalize school’ but then guides us towards a third, more viable option – NATO evolving into a more distinct regional, rather than global, network. Now this may seem more appealing to many, particularly set against the reality of economic reality, but it doesn't look as if NATO is headed in that direction to this reviewer.

Sten concludes that NATO's model as a “benevolent Alliance” bringing security assistance to an emerging democracy has failed in Afghanistan due to an unreceptive audience as much as to internal problems. He says that “NATO emerges from an Afghan war that went awry with a reinforced sense of benevolence and a diminished sense of alliance”. Despite his cutting analysis, he does reiterate his belief that the intervention improved with experience, despite the tough conditions it had to operate in. He has explained how adaptable NATO has been and believes it can adapt again, indeed must do to survive. Sten calls for NATO leaders to speak up for the Atlantic community and commit to engage more thoroughly with it in order to shape the future.



'Shock and Awe'...

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Head of the British Army at the time, General Sir Michael Jackson, commenting on the dossier presented to parliament, said it was based on intelligence that appeared to be gold which turned out to be fool's gold. This fool's gold was presented as theatre, nay farce, at the United Nations by Colin Powell and by Tony Blair in his impassioned plea for parliamentarians to stand behind him on the road to war. Lord Butler, the former Cabinet Secretary who later led a UK Review on Intelligence on WMD, told Panorama that: “There were ways in which people were misled or misled themselves at all stages”. Butler then accepted that the British public were

the most misled of all and that they had “every reason to think that”.

Reflecting on the documentation and information provided to justify taking the country to war, Dannatt says that he found what he read “pretty unconvincing” but added, “people had to trust the judgment and integrity of the then Prime Minister”. Closing ranks to tight formation all the 2013 commentators agree that Whitehall officials and defence chiefs were kept in the dark in 2003 until it was too late to object. Well, there was plenty of objecting going on at the time which must have been heard, including within NATO, but just not listened to. The US-British led intervention was a coalition of the willing outside of NATO, resourced mainly by the US with the preferences of the

majority of the NATO ‘allies’ entirely discounted in its preparation and execution.

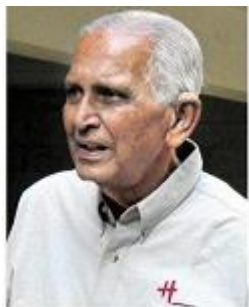
The majority of the UK protagonists seem to have been honoured by the Queen and prospered in other fields while Tony Blair soldiers on, unrepentant, and finds himself (aka Ten Years After) [Waiting for the Judgment Day](#) (publication of the Chilcot Report).

Footnote: Lord Wilson's recollection of 2002 may not be unrelated to the ‘Demon Eyes’ poster produced by M&C Saatchi for the Conservative General Election Campaign of 1997.

[shock and awe—on the steps of the US state capitol in Hartford CT; the first major demonstration against the impending Iraq invasion, March 2003—photo credit: nivek29/ flickr]

Obituary

In memory of Major General Eustace D'Souza



By Barbara Panvel, [Civilisation 3000](#)

NATO Watch Associate, Major General Eustace D'Souza, died recently in Bandra, Mumbai. After his service with the Maratha

Light Infantry, he became Secretary General of the World Wildlife Fund for India. He then served two terms as Consultant for South Asia to the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN).

Several readers will remember his memorable and well-received One World Trust lecture in the UK House of Commons in 2001. He spoke about his work promoting the creation of a structure for environmental protection within the three Indian armed services, so that today every unit has a specific environmental role to play. He regarded this as central to global security and part of the whole 'web of life'.

The writer remembers him as a

frequent email correspondent and a welcoming host and raconteur, frequently published in the regional press, with a range of subjects from analyses of US strategies and mindset to events in Kashmir which he continued to visit regularly after serving there on the Siachen Glacier (pictured). He cared deeply about the Chinese occupation of Tibet and, when taking part in periodic meetings with the Chinese military as a member of a government advisory group, never failed to take them to task about this.

He was also a public-spirited activist, involved with many groups in the city. Whenever a disaster was announced he would personally make the rounds and collect remarkable sums of money from people who knew that he would ensure they were properly used.

Knowing that the writer spent a quarter of the year in Mumbai (1993-2004) Eirwen Harbottle said a meeting with Eustace D'Souza should be arranged. Her late husband, Brigadier General Michael Har-



bottle, a former Chief of Staff of the UN Peacekeeping forces in Cyprus, wrote a number of books on international peacekeeping, including the Peacekeeper's Handbook,

which the UN and more than 70 countries have used as an instrumental manual for peacekeeping operations. He said that D'Souza's work inspired his own *What is Proper Soldiering?* by informing him of the work of the Indian armed forces in addressing some aspects of environmental security and protection. This prompted him to contact all the embassies or High Commissions in London for information which eventually went into the annex, indicating the wide range of activities going on within the armed forces around the world.

[The funeral service](#) of

Maj. General (Retd) Eustace D'souza PVSM was held on Sunday 31 March 2013 at 1600 HRS IST at St Peter's Church, Bandra West, Mumbai followed by burial at Mt. Carmel Church, Bandra.



Book review

A Nuclear Weapons-Free World? Britain, Trident and the Challenges Ahead

By Nick Ritchie

(Palgrave Macmillan 29 Oct 2012)

Reviewed by Nigel Chamberlain, NATO Watch

The author opens his account by drawing attention to the contradiction between the near universal acceptance, in theory, of the goal of a world free of nuclear weapons and the very practical efforts of successive UK Governments to acquire, update and justify the possession of nuclear weapons under the questionable doctrine of 'deterrence'.

This study unapologetically proceeds from the view:

- that a low-salience nuclear world could be stable in theory but that its time has passed, if it ever existed;
- that a permanently well-managed high-salience nuclear world is an extremely optimistic prognosis;
- that an unstable high-salience nuclear world would present extreme and unacceptable dangers; and therefore,
- a nuclear weapons-free world is the necessary and legitimate path to minimising long-term nuclear risk.

He goes on to quote Sir Michael Quinlan, former Permanent Undersecretary of State at the UK Ministry of Defence [often referred to as the 'High Priest of Deterrence' by his detractors] who noted in 2009 [shortly before his death on 26 February]: "It cannot be right to acquiesce uncritically, for the rest of human history, in a system that maintains peace be-

tween potential adversaries partly by the threat of colossal disaster". Well, that is exactly what Sir Michael did both as a civil servant and in retirement while one might suggest that his claim that "nuclear weapons have maintained the peace" is more a statement of belief than a statement of fact. But I digress.

Nick Ritchie tells us that the purpose of his study is "to place the UK's Trident replacement programme in context and explore the complexities of relinquishing nuclear weapons at a point when such a step is politically feasible". Well possibly, but this reviewer can't discern any concerted political momentum which will result in this objective, other than by default: for example, if an independent Scottish Government 'requires' HMG to 'remove' Trident from the River Clyde.

[Continued on p6](#)

News, Commentary and Reports:



(photo credit: [Stitch/flickr](#))

News

[8 Soldiers Die in Attacks in Afghanistan](#), *New York Times*, 4 May

[NATO keen to learn from the Soviet experience in Afghanistan](#), *Russia & India Report*, 1 May

[Afghan Leader Confirms Cash Deliveries by C.I.A.](#), *New York Times*, 29 April—President Karzai acknowledged

that the CIA has been dropping off bags of cash at his office for a decade, saying the money was used for "various purposes" and expressing gratitude to the United States for making the payments

[NATO's Afghan Drawdown Poses Logistics Challenges](#), *Aviation Week & Space Technology*, 29 April

[Withdrawing from Afghanistan](#), *The Economist*, 27 April—The big retrograde; logisticians face a practical and geopolitical mess, with relish

[NATO Commander: 'Cautious Optimism' Ahead of Afghanistan Withdrawal](#), *Voice of America*, 26 April

[Afghanistan sees 'troubling rise' in civilians killed](#), *Los Angeles Times*, 24 April—the UN special envoy to Afghanistan, Jan Kubis, told NATO foreign ministers that Afghanistan saw "a troubling rise" in civilian casualties in the first three months of this year, with that number up 30% over the same period last year. The top US commander in Afghanistan painted a very different picture, however, say-

"The biggest source of corruption in Afghanistan," one American official said, "was the United States." , *New York Times*, 29 April

Afghanistan-Pakistan:

ing, "80% of the enemy attacks are occurring in areas where less than 20% of the Afghan population lives" and that the insurgency is losing relevance for the Afghan people as domestic security forces take the lead on the fight

[Kerry Meets Top Afghan and Pakistani Officials](#), *New York Times*, 24 April

[NATO says 13 insurgents killed in eastern Afghanistan during joint operations](#), *Washington Post*, 24 April

[Afghan interpreters could be offered relocation to Britain](#), *The Guardian*, 21 April—decision could affect up to 1,100 who risked lives helping UK forces in Afghanistan

[Study Finds Sharp Rise in Attacks by Taliban](#), *New York Times*, 19 April

[After Airstrike, Afghan Points to C.I.A. and Secret Militias](#), *New York Times*, 18 April

[U.S. Forces In Afghanistan After 2014 To Be Determined By Afghan Army](#)

[Performance: Top General](#), *Huffington Post*, 16 April—Gen. Joseph Dunford testified before the Senate Armed Services Committee that the United States should wait until November, when the summer fighting season has ended, to make a decision on how many US troops should remain in Afghanistan after the NATO combat mission ends in December 2014

[Taliban Attack Highly Regarded Afghan Army Unit](#), *New York Times*, 12 April

[Tajik president fears instability after NATO Afghan pullout](#), *Chicago Tribune*, 11 April

[Dempsey Backs Keeping 8,000-12,000 NATO Troops in Afghanistan](#), *Bloomberg*, 11 April

[Air strike kills 11 children in Afghanistan](#), *The Telegraph*, 7 April—a NATO air strike killed 11 children and a woman during heavy fighting in a mountainous part of eastern Afghanistan, according to local officials

[With Swagger, Afghan Army Takes the Lead](#), *New York Times*, 7 April

[Afghanistan eyes Taliban peace ahead of Nato withdrawal](#), *BBC News*, 5 April

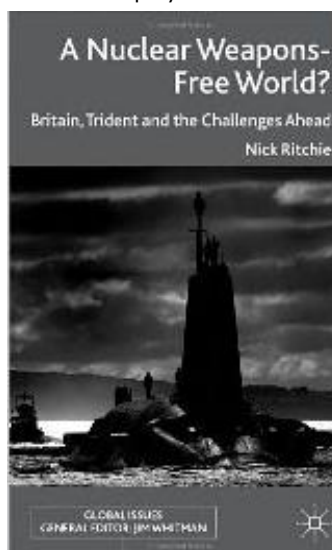
Book Review: A Nuclear Weapons-Free World?

Continued from p5

This book is a detailed history of the UK's nuclear weapons policy and programme from 1990, international efforts to kick-start the disarmament process and with a particular focus on the debate, or lack of it, drivers and costs behind the decision to replace Trident. It reviews the 'special relationship' with the US, in practice, how and why Trident is 'assigned' to NATO for 'collective security', the resistance to replacement and how a positive decision not to modernise Britain's nuclear capability would sit more comfortably with the nation's commitments to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT).

The author believes that the UK can lead the way with in the P5 (the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council who just happen to be the five 'declared' nuclear weapons states under the NPT) and become what William Walker terms "a disarmament threshold state". He concludes, rather optimistically I feel, that a political, economic and cultural space has been opened up which could 'encourage' the UK Government to rethink 'minimum deterrence' by "either relinquishing nuclear weapons after Trident [this one or its replacement?] or pursuing alternative nuclear postures".

This reviewer didn't read the book in its entirety, rather dipping in here and there for context and clarity. I suspect other readers will do the same. It is a dense tome, definitely aimed at the academic market (if rather expensive at nearly £60 a go) but it is certainly a book anyone working in the field would want to display on their library shelf.



Afghanistan-Pakistan..... continued

[Afghanistan courthouse attack kills dozens](#), *BBC News*, 3 April—the death toll from a Taliban attack on a court complex in the western province of Farah rose to at least 53 by the end of a fierce gunbattle between security forces and militants holding hostages, making it the deadliest attack in Afghanistan since a December 2011 suicide bombing at a Shi'a shrine in Kabul that killed some 70 people

[Deputy Commander ISAF briefs press on current situation in Afghanistan](#), *NATO News*, 27 March—Lieutenant General Nick Carter, Deputy Commander, ISAF, briefed the press via video teleconference on his assessment of the current situation in Afghanistan, progress with transition to Afghan security leadership and ISAF's evolving mission

[Russia seeks to underpin Afghan security after NATO pullout](#), *Reuters*, 27 March

[Villagers Take On Taliban in Their Heartland](#), *New York Times*, 20 March—villagers in the traditional Taliban heartland of Kandahar Province are bucking a trend of acquiescence and support to the insurgent group, linking up with Afghan police forces to oust Taliban leaders living in the area, and vowing to resist being overrun by the militants during this summer's fighting season

[Nato announces Afghanistan Wardak agreement](#), *BBC News*, 20 March

[NATO forces say agree to leave key Afghan province near Kabul](#), *Reuters*, 20 March

[UN blames rise in violence against Afghan women on culture](#), *Dawn.com*, 19 March—the UN Special Envoy to Afghanistan Jan Kubis attributed a rise last year in the violent deaths of women and girls to cultural norms, rather than the ongoing conflict. Over 300 women and girls were killed and some 560 injured in 2012, the "majority [of which] is linked to domestic violence, tradition, culture of the country," Kubis said

[NATO chief says Karzai accusation 'absolutely ridiculous'](#), *Reuters*, 18 March

[Secretary General sees significant shift in security in Helmand](#), *NATO News*, 18 March—Anders Fogh Rasmussen gave an update on NATO's Afghan mission and his recent visit to Helmand province during his monthly press conference at NATO HQ

[Nato troops in Afghanistan 'in a similar situation to failed Soviet invasion'](#), *The Telegraph*, 15 March—NATO troops in Afghanistan find themselves

in a similar situation to the failed Soviet invasion and are also waging a campaign which is "unwinnable in military terms", according to a provocative UK MoD analysis

[Will Nato leave tank graveyards in Afghanistan?](#) *BBC News*, 15 March

[Karzai speech 'put Nato forces at risk', commander warns](#), *BBC News*, 14 March

[Afghanistan helicopter crash kills five Nato troops](#), *The Guardian*, 12 March—victims are thought to have been US soldiers, with international force saying enemy activity is not suspected



[US troops killed in Afghan 'insider attack'](#), *BBC News*, 11 March - several US and Afghan commandos have been shot dead in a so-called insider attack, US and Afghan sources say

[ISAF chief: Karzai claim of U.S., Taliban collusion is 'categorically false'](#), *CNN*, 11 March

[Afghan actor Nazar Mohammad Manjonyar Helmandi killed in Nato air strike](#), *Times of India*, 11 March

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US Army Spc. Brandon Russell, with the Farah Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) security force, provides security outside the Farah justice centre building during a meeting with the Farah provincial chief justice, 4 May 2013—photo credit: US DoD/ flickr

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Commentary and Reports

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Click [here](#) for a copy of the Manual

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I would like to be clear that this team, this defend-the-nation team, is not a defensive team. This is an offensive team that the Defense Department would use to defend the nation if it were attacked in cyberspace

Gen. Keith Alexander, US National Security Agency and Cyber Command, speaking to the House Armed Services Committee

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into a campaign without borders, in which the White House, the CIA, and the Pentagon all play a part. The role of armed drones in this war is well known, but for years neither President Obama nor his advisers officially acknowledged their existence. An assassination campaign against suspected terrorists is not the same as one that occasionally rubs out unfriendly political leaders of nation-states, but it raises similar questions. Is a program of targeted killing, conducted without judicial oversight or public scrutiny, consistent with American interests and values?

[Drone Strikes Turn Allies Into Enemies, Yemeni Says](#), *New York Times*, 23 April—the US Senate Judiciary Committee heard testimony from six experts on the "Constitutional and Counterterrorism Implications" of the covert US drone programme. Many

A much-quoted line from the movie *Apocalypse Now* captured the insanity of the American air war in Vietnam. "I love the smell of napalm in the morning," says an Air commander played by Robert Duvall. "Smelled like... victory." Updated for drone warfare, this line might read: "I love the sound of drones in the morning. Sounds like... victory."

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knowledge the government's approval of the drone campaign. Musharraf caveated that he signed off on strikes "only on a few occasions, when a target was absolutely isolated and no chance of collateral damage," but the admission still diverges sharply from the statements of most past and present Pakistani officials, who have said they oppose the strikes as a violation of Pakistan's sovereignty

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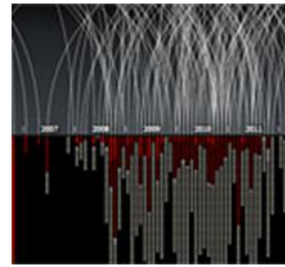
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[Drone war: every attack in Pakistan visualised](#), The Guardian, 25 March—using data from the [Bureau for Investigative Journalism](#)

California-based designers Pitch Interactive have visualised every known attack by the US and Coalition military since 2004: See [Link](#)

[Most Britons back assassination of terrorists in UK or abroad, poll finds](#), *The Guardian*, 26 March—YouGov poll for RUSI defence policy think-tank finds older people and men are more supportive of 'targeted killings'

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[U.S. to Shift Drone Command](#), *Wall Street Journal*, 20 March—the White House is looking to move its lethal drone program from the CIA to the Department of Defense, which would make the targeted killing campaign dependent on the consent of host countries and subject to international laws of war. But the current proposal leaves Pakistan, where the vast majority of US drone strikes have taken place, under the jurisdiction of the CIA. And the program could be transferred to the Pentagon's Joint Special Operations Command, a sector of the military that is just as (if not more) secretive than the CIA

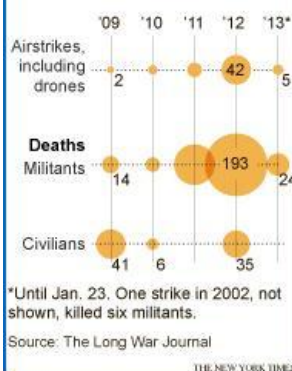
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U.S. Strikes in Yemen

The United States has been conducting a clandestine program to kill militants in Yemen. By one estimate, more than 400 people have been killed since 2009, including about 80 civilians.



of the panellists warned that the drone strikes are engendering deep anti-Americanism in the countries where they are taking place. Among those experts was Yemeni youth activist Farea al-Muslimi, who said a drone strike hit his native village of Wessab six days ago, sparking fear and anger in the residents. "What radicals had previously failed to achieve in my village, one drone strike accomplished in an instant: There is now an intense anger and growing hatred of America," al-Muslimi said

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[Ex-Pakistani President Musharraf admits secret deal with U.S. on](#)



Enlargement and Partnerships:

[Partners - who needs them?](#) NATO Review, May 2013—partnerships in alliances are not new. The simple refrain that 'my enemy's enemy is my friend' shows the logic of linking up with like-minded people, organisations or countries. And NATO has been taking advantage of partnerships since the 1990s. But now, with security challenges becoming increasingly diverse, NATO Review asks: is this the moment when partnerships have become more important than ever?

[The changing Arctic: how involved should NATO be?](#) A global challenge

requires a global approach. And the melting of the Arctic ice is certainly an issue whose effects will be



felt around the world. But how much is this a NATO issue? What role could – or should – the Alliance play? NATO Review interviews the Norwegian Foreign Minister, Espen Barth Eide, to see why he invited NATO to take a closer look at the issue

[Why partners matter: four foreign ministers explain](#)—What are partners? And why are they important? NATO Review asked four foreign



ministers past and present to explain why partners have a key role in security, where they can help and what the partners get out of their involvement.

[Ashton and Paloméros: why the EU and NATO need partners](#)—NATO Review asks two

of NATO and the EU's top officials how they see partnerships. And whether they could see a way to partnering with each other more



[Ireland: dealing with NATO and neutrality](#)—Ireland

has been a partner of NATO since the 1990s. So how has this sat with the country's famed neutral status?

And what benefit does it bring to either side? NATO Review interviews

Ireland's Defence Minister to find out

[Photostory: partners in action](#)—

Afghanistan is not the only operation where NATO has teamed up with partners. This photostory shows a few



examples of partners working side by side with NATO

[NATO's 'neutral' European partners: valuable](#)

[contributors or free riders?](#) Stanley Sloan takes a deliberately provocative view of whether all sides benefit equally from neutral countries partnering with NATO. Here he looks at the pros and cons of the arrangement for the countries and the Alliance



[Sweden: a](#)

[special NATO partner?](#) Sweden's forces haven't been involved in a combat mission for over 50 years. But they have stood ready to assist in many NATO operations since the



1990s. Ryan Hendrickson here makes the case for Sweden to be called a special partner to NATO

[Global Partnership? The Challenges of an Internationally Connected NATO and the 'Seven Contingent Strategy'](#), Aaron Willschick, Atlantic Council of Canada, 6 May

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[High-level Policy Makers from Egypt visit NATO to discuss NATO-Egypt Cooperation](#), *NATO News*, 13 March—a delegation of high-level policy makers from Egypt visited NATO HQ for discussions with NATO officials in the framework of the Mediterranean Dialogue

Enlargement and Partnerships.... continued

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[Georgia to integrate into EU, NATO](#), *UPI.com*, 8 March - the Georgian Parliament approved a resolution continuing its integration into the EU and NATO

Israel

[Turkey Blocks Meeting of NATO Group which Includes Israel](#), Arutz Sheva, 17 April—despite Israel's recent apology, Turkey has declined to agree to a meeting of NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue group, which includes Israel

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[Peres, NATO Secretary General Discuss Strategic Cooperation](#), Arutz Sheva, 8 March

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Japan

[Japan: NATO's longest-standing partner in the Asia-Pacific](#), NATO News, 19 April—building on initial contacts that were made in the early 1990s, NATO and Japan have developed po-

litical dialogue and practical cooperation in a wide range of areas of mutual interest over the past two decades. The breadth of this cooperation and the strategic vision underpinning it are captured in the joint political declaration that was signed during the recent visit of NATO's Secretary General to Tokyo

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[NATO Secretary General calls Japan 'natural partner'](#), NATO News, 15 April—Anders Fogh Rasmussen stressed the value of closer cooperation with Japan, closer links with the Asia-Pacific region and global partnerships in a speech delivered at the Japan National Press Club in Tokyo

[NATO and Japan sign Political Declaration for a stronger partnership](#), NATO News, 15 April—Rasmussen signed a Joint Political Declaration with the Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe which provides a framework for the further development of the relationship with Japan

[Official Text: Joint Political Declaration between Japan and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation](#), 13 April

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Kosovo

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Macedonia

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[System/Network Administrators from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia train in cyber defence](#), NATO News, 17 April

Mauritania

[Mauritanian officers visit NATO HQ](#), NATO News, 12 April—a group of officers from the Mauritanian military academy, visited NATO HQ for a series of briefings and discussions with officials from the Alliance's Interna-

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Moldova

[Destroying dangerous pesticides in Moldova](#), NATO News, 28 February - 20 years after independence, Moldova is still grappling with the effects of intensive agriculture production from the former Soviet period. In the 1970s, large quantities of fertilizers, pesticides and dangerous chemicals were used on Moldovan soil to maximise crop yields. Although now prohibited, over 3000 tonnes of these pesticides are still stored in 450 poorly equipped facilities. A NATO-sponsored project is helping to address this problem

Mongolia

[Launch of Two SPS Projects in Mongolia](#), NATO News, 13 March—the first two civilian cooperation projects between NATO and Mongolia within the framework of the Science for Peace and Security (SPS) Programme were launched in late February in Ulaanbaatar

Montenegro

[Prime Minister of Montenegro meets with the Secretary General and addresses the North Atlantic Council](#), NATO News, 26 March—the Prime Minister of Montenegro Milo Đukanović visited NATO HQ and met with Anders Fogh Rasmussen and also addressed the North Atlantic Council

Morocco

'NATO's approach to a rapidly changing Middle East and North Africa', NATO Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs and Security Policy, Ambassador Dirk Brengelmann, [key-note speech](#) at a Seminar on "Political and Security Changes in North Africa: implications for Peace and Cooperation in the Euro-Mediterranean and Transatlantic Regions" jointly organised by the NATO Parliamentary Assembly and the Parliament of the Kingdom of Morocco, 16 April

[Members of Parliament from Morocco visit NATO Headquarters](#), NATO News, 7 March

[Moroccan Minister Delegate for Foreign Affairs visits NATO](#), NATO News, 5 March - Morocco's Minister Delegate for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation visited NATO HQ and was welcomed by NATO Deputy Secretary General Ambassador Vershbow. "This is the first time a minister from Morocco has visited the Alliance bilaterally, and it bears witness to our continued commitment to strengthen our political consultation and our practical cooperation," said Ambassador Vershbow

Enlargement and Partnerships..... continued

Serbia

[NATO Secretary General welcomes Belgrade-Pristina Agreement on Normalisation](#), NATO Press Release, 19 April

[Serbia marks 14th anniversary of NATO bombing](#), b92, 24 March

[Serbian parliamentarians visit NATO Headquarters](#), NATO News, 19 March—in cooperation with the NATO PA, NATO's Public Diplomacy Division hosted a group of Serbian MPs. The visit was part of efforts to strengthen NATO's relations with Serbian key decision-makers and to broaden the public debate about Serbia's partnership with the Alliance.

South Korea

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[South Korea: NATO's Asian Pivot](#), Philip Cane, *atlantic-community.org*, 15 April—North Korea's threats and belligerent actions towards South Korea, a NATO partner and a valuable contributor to operations globally, should be a core concern to NATO as the country's security is entwined with that of the United States and the global economy. As North Korea continues to assert its military might, NATO members should consider providing relevant military aid to the region, including airborne intelligence

[First ever NATO Secretary General visit to Republic of Korea ends](#), NATO News, 13 April—Anders Fogh Rasmussen concluded a three-day trip to the Republic of Korea with a short visit to the Korean Demilitarized Zone

[First visit by a NATO Secretary General to Republic of Korea focuses on cooperation](#), NATO News, 12 April—the Alliance looks forward to stepping up its partnership with the Republic of

Korea, NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen said during a three-day visit to Seoul, the first ever by a NATO Secretary General

[NATO Chief In South Korea On Three-Day Visit](#), RTT News, 11 April

[Nato head to carry out 'long-planned' visit to South Korea](#), *Straits Times*, 9 April

Sweden

[Sweden, Russia, Nato, and Extraordinary Political Theatre?](#) Ritt Goldstein, *Counterpunch*, 26-28 April

Tajikistan

[Tajikistan's Rahmon Meets With EU, NATO Leaders In Brussels](#), *Radio Free Europe/ Radio Liberty*, 10 April

[President of Tajikistan visits NATO headquarters](#), NATO News, 10 April—the President of Tajikistan, Emomali Rahmon, visited NATO HQ and met NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen

UAE

[Rasmussen welcomes closer NATO-Gulf cooperation](#), *Kuwait News Agency*, 19 April

Ukraine

[World's largest demilitarization project boosts industry in Ukraine](#), NATO News, 8 April—the NATO-Partnership Trust Fund project for the destruction of conventional munitions, small arms, light weapons and landmines in Ukraine is making significant progress, but future funding remains a challenge. The project is helping address the potential threat posed by Ukraine's large stocks of old and obsolete weapons and ammunition accumulated since WWII. It has also boosted Ukrainian industry and created 110 jobs

Exercises:

[Scotland hosts major NATO war games](#), *NATO Watch Briefing* No. 35, 2 May

[Six NATO ships on stop-over in Belfast](#), *BBC News*, 26 April

[Department of National Defence: Canadian Armed Forces to Participate in Joint Multinational NATO Exercise](#), Atlantic Council of Canada, 25 April

[Collective defence war games in the Baltic region to involve 5,000 NATO soldiers](#), *Lithuanian Tribune*, 22 April

[Washington: NATO allies participate in Proud Manta](#), *avionics intelligence*, 4 March



HMS Westminister and HMS Diamond during Exercise Joint Warrior. Warships and aircraft from across the Royal Navy took part in a huge maritime exercise off the coast of Scotland. HMS Diamond is a Type 45 destroyer—photo credit: Royal Navy/ flickr.



42 Commando Royal Marines, launches an assault during Exercise Joint Warrior. Involving more than 40 warships, 40 fixed-wing aircraft and 30 helicopters from the UK, Netherlands, Canada, France, Denmark, Belgium, Norway, Poland, Sweden and Germany, over 12,000 personnel took part in the exercise. This Task Group was put to the test off the East and West coasts of Scotland during April—photo credit: Royal Navy/ flickr

Energy Security:

[SENT explores energy efficiency for the military in cold climates](#), NATO News, 18 March—NATO's Smart Energy Team (SENT) was launched at the end of 2012 to advance energy efficiency in the military. On its first field-trip, the team of experts from 8 nations visited an energy camp set up by Defence Research & Development Canada near Montréal

[Re-defining NATO's Role in Energy Security: Far more than just 'boots on the ground'](#), Simone Stawicki, Atlantic Council Canada, 15 March

[Europe's Energy Security: Options and Challenges to Natural Gas Supply Diversification](#), Michael Ratner, Paul Belkin, Jim Nichol and Steven Woehrel, Congressional Research Service, 15 March

Gender:

[Sexual Assaults in Military Raise Alarm in Washington](#), *New York Times*, 7 May

[Women's role in promoting good governance in the defence and security sector](#), NATO News, 15 March—experts on gender and building integrity met to discuss women's role in reducing the risk of corruption and promoting good practices in the defence and security sector

[Celebrating female leadership at NATO](#), NATO News, 12 March

[NATO and the International Women's Day - NATO supports struggle for gender equality](#), NATO News, 8 March - Mari Skåre, the NATO Secretary General's Special Representative for Women, Peace and Security, underlined NATO's continued support for the worldwide struggle for gender equality in a video statement to mark International Women's Day. "Achieving gender equality is our collective task. And NATO is doing its part," she said

[Involving women in preventing, managing and resolving conflicts](#), NATO News, 8 March - NATO and its operational partners in ISAF and KFOR are demonstrating a strong commitment to promoting the important role that women can play in preventing, managing and resolving conflicts

[International Women's Day with NATO's Mari Skaare](#), *atlantic-community.org*, 7 March—in celebration of International Women's Day, Mari Skaare, answers questions on NATO's implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the Alliance and its missions, specifically in Afghanistan. Ms. Skaare addresses the role of female soldiers, the presence of women in decision-making, and NATO's long-term commitment to gender issues in Afghanistan



[Women: paying the price of conflict?](#)

NATO Review, March 2013 - It is mainly men who wage war. And it is mainly women (and children) who suffer from it. These undeniable facts have led the international community to try to tackle some of the key issues leading to this situation: from fighting gender violence to promoting female role models. But, as this edition of NATO Review sets out, the case for more effort remains compelling

[Women on the frontline](#) - if you have ever doubted that women suffer most from conflict, this short video will show you some figures that may make you think again.



[Women in security: personal stories](#) -



we ask women how they got interested in security issues, whether they've been victims of stereotyping and what personal experiences have

struck them.

[Women's fight in pictures](#) - Women's fight for better treatment starts early. From lack of education, to gender violence through to being responsible for the next generation, this photostory sets out some of the



challenges the world's women face.



[View from the top](#) - Lena Olving is COO for defence and security company Saab. She has also been voted Sweden's

most powerful businesswoman. What advice does she have for women who want to make it in security?

[Women in security: climbing a very long ladder](#) - What's it like to be a

young woman rising up the ranks of the security world? We asked Ioanna Zyga, who has worked at both NATO and the European Parliament about her experiences - and whether she sees it as still a male-dominated world



Some 3,073 people were killed in the terrorist attacks on the United States on 9/11. Between that day and June 6, 2012, 6,488 US soldiers were killed in combat in Iraq and Afghanistan, bringing the death toll for America's war on terror at home and abroad to 9,561. During the same period, 11,766 women were murdered in the United States by their husbands or boyfriends, both military and civilian. The greater number of women killed here at home is a measure of the scope and the furious intensity of the war against women, a war that threatens to continue long after the misconceived war on terror is history.

♣♣ [Men Who Kick Down Doors—Tyrants at Home and Abroad](#), Ann Jones, *TomDispatch.com*, 21 March

Libya:

[Libyan Air Force working with Europe to rebuild capabilities](#), Richard de Silva, *DefenceIQ*, 18 April

[Benghazi celebrates second anniversary of NATO action; excited crowds prevent Sarkozy from attending event](#), *Libya Herald*, 20 March

[What did Sweden take from Operation Unified Protector?](#) Andrew Elwell, *DefenceIQ*, 14 March

"One must bear in mind that it was almost 50 years ago since Sweden last participated in a live operation with fighter aircraft [the Congo crisis during the 1960s]," said Lt Col Wilson.

Mali:

[Rebel Forces in Northern Mali: Documented Weapons, Ammunition and Related Materiel](#), Conflict Armament Research/ Small Arms Survey, April 2012

[The Jihadi from the Block](#), Peter Tinti, *Foreign Policy*, 19 March—in the war for the heart of northern Mali, the real fear isn't al Qaeda, it's the criminals and fundamentalists lurking just around the corner

Maritime Security:

[NATO forces interact with Chinese naval vessel during counter piracy operations](#), NATO News, 14 April—in the spirit of cooperation, a team of Italian Marines from NATO's Flagship, ITS San Marco, demonstrated a fast rope insertion used in counter piracy operations onto the deck of the CNS Harbin, Flagship of the Chinese Task Group in the Gulf of Aden

[NATO Indian Ocean Task Force involved in dramatic rescue of burning bulk carrier](#), NATO News, 30 March

[An Unlikely Alliance: Ukraine and NATO in the Battle Against Maritime Piracy](#), Aaron Willchick, Atlantic Council of Canada, 26 March

[NATO's Maritime Strategy and the Libya Crisis as Seen from the Sea](#), Research Paper 90, Brooke A. Smith-Windsor, NATO Defense College, March 2013 — within days of its public release, NATO's new [Alliance Maritime Strategy](#) (AMS) would be put to the test with the arrival of the Libyan crisis and the launch of Operation Unified Protector (OUP) to implement

UN Security Council Resolution 1973. At its peak, OUP would account for the deployment of no less than 21 naval assets (supply ships, frigates, destroyers, submarines, amphibious assault ships and aircraft carriers), enabling air strikes ashore, humanitarian assistance, safety of life at sea (search and rescue) and the surveillance of an area measuring approximately 61,000 nautical square miles. This paper offers an assessment of how the Strategy fared in its inaugural encounter with real-world events

Missile Defence:

[Russia Calls For More Antimissile Talks With U.S.](#), Global Security Newswire, 1 May

[Russia Not Satisfied by U.S. Antimissile Pullback](#), Global Security Newswire, 18 April

[Missile Defence: Confrontation and Cooperation](#), study edited by Alexei Arbatov and Vladimir Dvorkin (English version edited by Natalia Bubnova), Carnegie Moscow Centre, April 2013 (386 pages)—written by leading Russian and foreign MD experts. The authors address its historical evolution and military technical, strategic, political, and legal aspects

We regret that the United States waste their money on missile defence and compel us to do the same. The missile shield is nothing for us, it's a bluff. It poses no military threat.

Dmitry Rogozin, Russian Deputy Prime Minister, simultaneously maintaining criticism of US antimissile plans for Europe and asserting they pose no threat to his nation's strategic nuclear forces, [Global Security Newswire](#) 16 April

[Hagel Stands by MEADS Spending](#), Global Security Newswire, 12 April

[Russia Not Mollified by U.S. Antimissile Revamp: Lavrov](#), Global Security Newswire, 12 April

[Obama to Request \\$9B For Missile Defense](#), Global Security Newswire, 9 April

[NATO, Russia consider joint missile-defense system](#), Russia Beyond the Headlines, 8 April

[NATO Seeks Continuous Antimissile Coordination With Russia](#), Global Security Newswire, 2 April

[U.S. Missile Defense Revamp Opens Door for Russia Compromise: NATO](#), Global Security Newswire, 1 April

[NATO eyes missile shield progress with Russia after U.S. move](#), Reuters,

31 March

[U.S. Interceptor Plans Carry Cost Risks: GAO](#), Global Security Newswire, 29 March

[Russia, U.S. Plan High-Level Missile Defense Talks](#), Global Security Newswire, 26 March

[Missile Defence Pivots Away from Europe?](#) Avnish Patel, RUSI Analysis, 25 March

[U.S. Tries to Assure Poland After Another Shift on Ballistic Missile Defense](#), Global Security Newswire, 25 March

[Poland to Press Ahead With National Antimissile System](#), Global Security Newswire, 21 March

[Lockheed Sees Hope for Missile Elements to Survive in Other Programs](#), Global Security Newswire, 21 March

[Moscow to Discuss Changes in US Missile Defense Plans](#), RIA Novosti, 20 March

[GOP Applauds New Interceptors For Alaska, Accuses Obama of Secret Deal With Russia](#), Global Security Newswire, 20 March

[MEADS Funds in CR Must be Used to Terminate Program, Report Says](#), Global Security Newswire, 20 March

[U.S. Missile Interceptors Still Set for Romania](#), Global Security Newswire, 19 March

[NATO: US plans for missile defense won't leave Europe exposed](#), Stars and Stripes, 18 March

[U.S. Turnabout on ICBM Interceptor May Impact Nuke Talks With Russia](#), Global Security Newswire, 18 March

[Next-Gen U.S. Antimissile System Dropped for Domestic Reasons but Russia in the Mix: Ex-Envoy](#), Global Security Newswire, 18 March

[U.S. Cancels Part of Missile Defense That Russia Opposed](#), New York Times, 16 March

[Navy Aegis Ballistic Missile Defense \(BMD\) Program: Background and Issues for Congress](#), Ronald O'Rourke, Congressional Research Service, 14 March

[Army Eyes Cheaper Antimissile Upgrades](#), Global Security Newswire, 13 March

[Next Phases of European Missile Shield 'on Track': DOD](#), Global Security Newswire, 13 March



[First European theatre missile interceptor system achieves NATO interoperability](#), NATO Press Release, 12 March—on 6 March, the French/Italian SAMP/T surface-to-air missile system successfully engaged and destroyed a theatre ballistic missile target in a live-fire test at the French Firing Range in Biscarrosse and proved its ability to work with NATO's interim BMD command and control system (photo credit: NATO)

[U.S. Looking "Very Hard" at Future of Missile Interceptor: Pentagon](#), Global Security Newswire, 12 March

[Dempsey Invited to Russia for Antimissile Talks](#), Global Security Newswire, 7 March

[Prospects Questionable for Next-Gen ICBM Interceptor](#), Global Security Newswire, 1 March



NATO Foreign Ministers Meeting:

[NATO Foreign Ministers' Meeting \(23 April 2013\): The Secretary General had a lot to say but little of substance on what actually went on behind closed doors](#), NATO Watch Briefing Paper No.34, 24 April

[Kerry urges NATO to deter Syrian chemicals threat](#), Deutsche Welle, 23 April

[Kerry Tells NATO It Must Plan for Syrian Violence Spillover](#), Bloomberg News, 23 April

[Afghan talks: Nato urges Pakistan to fight militants](#), BBC News, 23 April

[Kerry: NATO Needs Plan for Chemical Weapons in Syria](#), Voice of America, 23 April

[NATO should consider how to respond to Syria chemical threat: Kerry](#), Reuters, 23 April

[NATO Tells Afghanistan to Meet its Commitments to Ensure Aid](#), Voice of America, 23 April

[Kerry urges NATO to plan for Syria chemical weapon threat, says allies should up aid to rebels](#), Washington Post, 23 April

[NATO must review responses to Syria, chemical weapons, John Kerry says](#), The Times of India, 23 April

[Syria main talking point at Kerry's first NATO meeting](#), AFP, 23 April

[NATO condemns N Korea threats](#), The Australian, 23 April

[NATO foreign ministers focus on world hotspots](#), Deutsche Welle, 23 April

[Statement by NATO Foreign Ministers on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea](#), NATO Press Release, 23 April

[NATO FM's to talk Syria](#), Hurriyet Daily News, 23 April

[Kerry attends first NATO foreign ministers meeting](#), The Seattle Times, 23 April

[Foreign ministerial opens with discussion on security hot spots](#), NATO News, 23 April

[NATO Secretary General - Opening remarks to North Atlantic Council](#), You Tube, 23 April

[Foreign Ministers will discuss full range of security issues](#), NATO News, 23 April

[Kerry to Discuss Countering Syrian Extremists With NATO Allies](#), Bloomberg News, 22 April

[NATO Secretary General Details Asia Trip, Foreign Ministers' Meeting](#), US Department of Defense, 19 April

[NATO Secretary General briefs the press on April Foreign Ministerial & Q&A](#), You Tube, 19 April

[Busy agenda for April NATO Foreign Ministerial](#), NATO News, 18 April

NATO-Russia Relations:

[Why NATO remembers Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan](#), Russia Beyond the Headlines, 4 May—Russian and Western experts make their guesses as to what lies behind NATO's keen interest in the Soviet experience in Afghanistan and what impact it may have on the Russia-NATO dialogue

[Russia, NATO boost cooperation against terrorism](#), Russia Beyond the Headlines, 25 April

[NATO drowning amid austerity and lack of purpose?](#) Russia Today, 24 April

[NATO-Russia Council expands Helicopter Maintenance Trust Fund Project for Afghanistan](#), NATO News, 23 April—building on the successful completion of the first phase of the Helicopter Maintenance Trust Fund Project, NRC foreign ministers agreed to expand the project into new areas. The project is helping the Afghan Air Force to develop the capabilities needed to operate and maintain its fleet of helicopters independently, including much-needed spare parts and technical training (photo credit: NATO)

[NATO to Expand Counter-Drugs](#)

[Training Project](#), RIA Novosti, 10 April

[Stavridis Presses for More NATO-Russia Dialogue](#), US Department of Defense News Release, 25 March

[Russia moving into the Mediterranean and perhaps into partnership with Cyprus?](#) NATO Watch News Brief, 22 March

[Prospects for a productive NATO-Russia Council meeting in April?](#) NATO Watch Briefing Paper No.31, 8 March

[Friend or Foe? The Peculiarity of NATO-Russia Relations](#), Aaron Will-schick, Atlantic Council of Canada, 7 March - in taking account of some recent events and interactions between the two sides, examines the peculiarity and unpredictability of the NATO-Russia relationship

[Grushko: "Russia-NATO Council focuses on important issues"](#), The Voice of Russia, 6 March

[NATO Information Office in Moscow marks 12th anniversary](#), NATO News, 28 February - a roundtable discussion on the prospects for NATO-Russia



partnership was organised by the NATO Information Office (NIO) in Moscow to mark the 12th anniversary of the NIO's inauguration in 2001. Representatives of the Russian foreign ministry, diplomats from the German and US Embassies, and a number of prominent Russian experts and journalists discussed common interests, new ideas and the need for political will

[NATO and Russian Federation in Counter Piracy Exercise At Sea](#), NATO News, 26 February - a boarding team comprising Italian marines from the NATO flagship ITS SAN MARCO, in charge of Operation Ocean Shield, and assault forces of the Russian Federation ship SEVEROMORSK trained together in counter-piracy activities as part of a bilateral exercise between NATO and Russia in the Gulf of Aden

Nuclear Weapons:

[The Primacy of Alliance: Deterrence and European Security](#), Lawrence Freedman, IFRI Security Studies Centre, *Proliferation Papers* No.46, March-April 2013—deterrence is still considered as a principle guiding NATO even though the actual policy statements lack target, direction and urgency. Questioning the credibility of deterrence in Europe and its future, this text recalls that it lies first and foremost with solidarity and political cohesion among members of the Alliance, and only secondly with the threat of nuclear retaliation

[Engaging Russia on Tactical Nuclear Weapons: Next steps on confidence building](#), Roundtable Report, BASIC, in cooperation with the Arms Control Association (ACA), the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH), and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), April 2013—report based on roundtable in Brussels on 15 April focused on potential ways forward for improving confidence between Russia and NATO

[Obama accused of nuclear U-turn as guided weapons plan emerges](#), *The Guardian*, 21 April—plan to spend \$10bn on updating nuclear bombs goes against 2010 pledge not to deploy new weapons, say critics

[\\$1 Billion for a Nuclear Bomb Tail](#), Hans Kristensen, *FAS Strategic Security Blog*, 12 April

[Next Steps in Nuclear Arms Control](#)

[with Russia: Issues for Congress](#), Amy F. Woolf, US Congressional Research Service, 10 April

[The Lost Logic of Deterrence—What the Strategy That Won the Cold War Can -- and Can't -- Do Now](#), Richard K. Betts, *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2013

[Conference report: Humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons](#), Reaching

Critical Will, March 2013 - conference report for the meeting hosted by the government of Norway on 4-5 March 2013 on the Humanitarian Impact of Nuclear Weapons. The report contains an analysis of the conference, highlights from government and other interventions, a brief overview of the Civil Society Forum hosted by the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) and lists some additional resources

[Nonstrategic Nuclear Weapons, Policy and Arms Control: Issues for the United States, NATO and Russia](#), Steven Pifer, Carnegie, Chapter in report, March 2013

[Nuclear weapons must be eradicated for all our sakes](#), Desmond Tutu, *The Guardian*, 4 March - no nation should own nuclear arms - not Iran, not North Korea, and not their critics who take the moral high ground

♣ [Deterrence Logic and NATO's Nuclear Posture](#), Damon V. Coletta, *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 7, No. 1, Spring 2013

[Picking The Low Hanging Fruit](#), Memo on NATO's tactical nuclear weapons and more European church and civil society support for the US policy towards a nuclear weapon free world, Laurens Hogebrink, Church and Society Commission of the Conference of European Churches, February 2013



Reform:

[NATO officials gather in Va. to develop ways to best address future challenges](#), *Washington Post*, 7 May

[NATO, Eucom Commander Outlines Challenges Ahead](#), US Defense Department, 22 April

[NATO's Lack Of Any Serious Purpose Means It Should Retire](#), Doug Bandow, *Forbes*, 22 April

[USAF commander confirmed for NATO/EUCOM command](#), *Air Force Link*, 22 April

[NATO announces nomination of General Philip M. Breedlove as Supreme Allied Commander Europe](#), NATO News, 28 March—the North Atlantic Council approved the nomination of General Philip M. Breedlove, USAF, to the post of Supreme Allied Commander Europe

[After 61 years, NATO headquarters in Heidelberg deactivates](#), *Stars and Stripes*, 14 March

General Philip M. Breedlove—photo credit: NATO

The Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) is one of NATO's two strategic commanders and is the head of Allied Command Operations (ACO). He is responsible to NATO's highest military authority, the Military Committee, for the conduct of



all NATO military operations.

SACEUR, traditionally a United States Flag or General officer, is dual-hatted as Commander of the US European Command. His NATO command is exercised from the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) at Casteau, near Mons, Belgium

Also see NATO Watch Comment:

[How about a European for SACEUR this time, you guys?](#) 21 February 2013

Responsibility to Protect (R2P):

[Toolkit on the Responsibility to Protect](#), The International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect (ICRtoP), March 2013—this educational toolkit aims to enhance widespread access to comprehensive teaching tools on the Responsibility to Protect (R2P). The document includes an overview of:

- Why the R2P is necessary and how it developed
- The range of non-coercive and coercive measures available to the international community to prevent and respond to R2P crimes
- Recent applications and misapplications of R2P
- Common misconceptions about R2P

- How R2P relates to other international agendas, including Women, Peace and Security, the Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict, Arms Trade and Diversion, and International Justice
- How civil society prevents and protects populations from genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing and how R2P can strengthen these ongoing efforts
- The roles of academics, media, governments, parliamentarians and regional and sub-regional organizations in advancing and implementing R2P

[Civil Society Workshop on The Responsibility to Protect & the Prevention of Mass Atrocities in the Middle](#)

[East and North Africa](#), 17-18 December 2012, Broumana, Lebanon, The International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect (ICRtoP) and Coalition member, the Permanent Peace Movement (PPM), March 2013

[Implementing The Responsibility To Protect: New Directions For International Peace And Security?](#) Eduarda Passarelli Hamann and Robert Mughahthe (eds), The Igarapé Institute, Brazil, March 2013

[Report of the Task Force: The EU and the Prevention of Mass Atrocities: An Assessment of Strengths and Weaknesses](#), 4 March 2013

[Does the lesson from Syria imply it is better to save no one?](#) Kyle Matthews, *The Globe and Mail*, 20 February

Scottish Independence and NATO:

[Independent Scotland wins backing over Nato and EU](#), *The Scotsman*, 1 May

[On a Fast Track To Membership? NATO and an Independent Scotland](#), Aaron Willschick, *Atlantic Council of Canada*, 25 April

[A nuclear weapons-free Scotland, inside NATO?](#) NATO Watch Comment, 19 April

[Why Nato would want Scotland inside the tent after Yes vote](#), Colin Fleming, *Herald Scotland*, 14 April

[NATO makes no membership guarantees for independent Scotland](#), *Russia Today*, 11 April

[Nato: independent Scotland would have to apply for membership](#), *Herald Scotland*, 10 April

[Scottish independence: Alex Salmond 'certain' on Nato membership](#), *BBC News*, 10 April

[Scottish independence: SNP open to US military bases](#), *The Scotsman*, 6 April

[SNP conference: Support for nuclear weapons ban](#), *Scotland on Sunday*, 24 March

Syria Crisis:

[Nato chief voices 'concern' at possible use of chemical weapons in Syria](#), *TheParliament.com*, 7 May

[Blurring the Borders: Syrian Spillover Risks for Turkey](#), ICG, *Europe Report* No. 225, 30 April—as the humanitarian crisis reaches catastrophic proportions, Syria needs to open its borders to external aid, while Turkey and its international partners need more long-term planning to meet growing refugee needs and avoid having instability spillover the porous border

[NATO missiles defend Turkey as debate rages over whether the West should intervene in Syria's civil war](#), *Ottawa Citizen*, 27 April

[Obama Chemical Weapons 'Red Line' for Syria Keeps Shifting: Former WMD Hunter](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 26 April

[US has a range of military options in Syria after revelation of regime use of chemical weapons](#), *Washington Post*, 25 April

[To Intervene or Not To Intervene?](#)

[NATO and the Syria Crisis](#), Aaron Willschick, *Atlantic Council of Canada*, 18 April

[Move to Widen Help for Syrian Rebels Gains Speed in West](#), *New York Times*, 10 April

[NATO says has no intention of intervening in Syria](#), *Reuters*, 26 March

[Enablers of the Syrian Conflict—How Targeting Third Parties Can Slow the Atrocities in Syria](#), Human Rights First, March 2013

[Arms Airlift to Syria Rebels Expands. With C.I.A. Aid](#), *New York Times*, 24 March

[Syria is already more violent than Iraq](#), David Kenner, *Foreign Policy*, 20 March

[Chemicals Would Be 'Game Changer' in Syria, Obama Says](#), *New York Times*, 20 March

[NATO nurturing Syria contingency plan - top US commander](#), *Russia Today*, 20 March

[Sides Trade Claims of Chemical Arms](#)

We should ... carefully and collectively consider how NATO is prepared to respond to protect its members from a Syrian threat, including any potential chemical weapons threat
John Kerry, US Secretary of State, cited in [Reuters](#) article, 23 April

[Strike in Syria](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 19 March

[NATO planning for possible Syria missions, official says](#), *CBS News*, 19 March

[NATO resists getting drawn into Syrian rebel arms debate](#), *Global Post*, 18 March

[U.S. Military has 'Options Prepared' for Mitigating Syrian Chemical Attack](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 6 March

[U.S. Offers Training and Other Aid to Syrian Rebels](#), *New York Times*, 27 February

[The Russia Gambit](#), Christopher S. Chivvis, and Edward P. Joseph, *Foreign Policy*, 26 February

[Arming Syrian Rebels might be Necessary](#), Cristian Gonzalez, *atlantic-community.org*, 26 February

Transatlantic Cooperation:

[Geopolitical Journey: Nostalgia for NATO](#), George Friedman, *Stratfor*, 7 May

[Nato chief: EU soft power is 'no power at all'](#), *EUObserver.com*, 6 May

[Secretary General calls on Europe to back up diplomacy with military power](#), NATO News, 6 May—addressing the European Parliament's Committee on Foreign Affairs and Subcommittee on Security and Defence, plus chairpersons of defence and foreign affairs committees of national parliaments, Anders Fogh Rasmussen called for the December European Council on security and defence to "showcase a Europe that is both able and willing to act," and to encourage the EU and NATO to do more together

[NATO, The Existential Question](#), Jean-Pierre Stroobants, *Le Monde*, 5 May—with major geopolitical changes and severe economic restraints, some wonder if the military alliance is destined for the dustbin of history

[NATO's Relevance Determined by Circumstance, Geography](#), Nick Ottens, *Atlantic Sentinel*, 3 May

NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen [video blog](#), 'Striking a new transatlantic deal', 2 May

[Hillary Clinton: NATO risks sliding into "military irrelevance"](#), *CNN (blog)*, 2 May

[NATO Chief Calls For New Transatlantic Deal](#), *RTT News*, 2 May

"Striking a new transatlantic deal", [acceptance speech](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the Atlantic Council of the United States' Distinguished leadership award, in Washington, DC, 1 May

[Secretary General receives prestigious US Atlantic Council award](#), NATO News, 1 May—Anders Fogh Rasmus-

sen received a Distinguished International Leadership Award from the Atlantic Council of the United States for his service both as NATO Secretary General and as Prime Minister of Denmark. At the dinner and awards ceremony, attended by around 800 international guests, the Secretary General called on Europe and North America "to do more with each other, not less; to come closer, not drift apart; to turn outwards, not inwards"

[Has NATO Outlived Its Usefulness?](#)

New York Times, 23 April—discussion:

- [Time for the United States to Leave](#), Andrew J. Bacevich, Boston University
- [Stop Focusing on Europe](#), Nancy Walbridge Collins, Columbia University
- [The E.U. Must Take on a Military Role](#), Dmitri Trenin, Carnegie Moscow Center
- [Austerity Must Not Impede Security](#), Camille Grand, Foundation for Strategic Research
- [The Alliance Remains Vital](#), Xenia Dormandy, Chatham House

[US, NATO must continue to work together, Breedlove says](#), *Stars and Stripes*, 11 April

[NATO's Black Hole](#), Stanley Sloan, *atlantic-community.org*, 10 April—

NATO is sliding into a black hole, the rate of its descent accelerated by US budget cuts and the Obama administration's pivot to Asia, as well as by the continuing free fall of defense efforts in Europe. If the Obama administration and its transatlantic allies should decide to keep NATO from descending further, they should develop a new initiative giving their alliance the mandate to increase cooperation on the non-military aspects of security

[How to Keep NATO Strong](#)—The transatlantic alliance cannot be taken for granted, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, *Foreign Policy*, 10 April

[Euro-Atlantic Nations Must Update Security Thinking, Statesmen Say](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 4 April

[The "End" of NATO? The Alliance and Its Role in the 21st Century](#), Aaron Willschick, Atlantic Council of Canada, 2 April

♦♦ [Building Mutual Security in the Euro-Atlantic Region](#), Des Browne, Wolfgang Ischinger, Igor Ivanov and Sam Nunn, Nuclear Threat Initiative, March 2013

[American Grand Strategy Has Evolved, When Will Europe's?](#) Erik Brattberg, *Europe's World*, 11 March

[Is Europe Ready for an American Disengagement?](#) Madariaga Report – 8 January 2013 - report of a debate between Jamie Shea (NATO) and Sven Biscop at the Madariaga Foundation



Transparency & Accountability:

[Strengthening transparency, accountability and integrity in defence and security](#), NATO News, 15 March—senior civilian and military leaders and experts met to develop a better understanding of the strategic impact of corruption and identify practical actions to strengthen transparency, accountability in the defence and security sector

[Intervention](#) by Supreme Allied Command Transformation General Palmeros, at the 2013 Building Integrity (BI) Conference, in Monterey, the United States, 26 February

And I think one of the problems is, as I say, this parasitic, osmotic relationship between journalists and power, our ever-growing ability, our wish, to—you know, to rely on these utterly bankrupt comments from various unnamed, anonymous intelligence sources. And I'm just looking at a copy of the Toronto Globe and Mail, February 1st, 2013. It's a story about al-Qaeda in Algeria. And what is the sourcing? "U.S. intelligence officials said," "a senior U.S. intelligence official said," "U.S. officials said," "the intelligence official said," "Algerian officials say," "national security sources considered," "European security sources said," "the U.S. official said," "the officials acknowledged." But, you know, we might as well name our newspapers "Officials Say." This is the cancer at the bottom of modern journalism, that we do not challenge power anymore. Why are Americans tolerating these garbage stories with no real sourcing except for very dodgy characters indeed, who won't give their names?

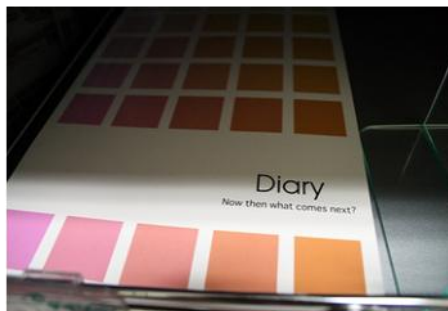
[Robert Fisk on Syria's Civil War, Chemical Weapons "Theater" & Obama's Backing of Israeli Strikes](#), *Democracy Now*, 7 May

Upcoming Events:

[Safeguarding defence technologies](#), SDA Roundtable, Brussels, 29 May

[RUSI Missile Defence Conference](#), London, 12-13 June

[Redrawing the Security Map](#), International Conference, Palais d'Egmont, Brussels, 27 June—SecDef is an annual high-level conference organised by the Security & Defence Agenda, the European Company for Strategic Intelligence and the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung. It gathers several hundred senior decision-makers from EU institutions, NATO, national governments, industry, civil society and the media



Security News from NATO Member States:

Bulgaria

[Bulgarian Prime Minister visits NATO headquarters](#), NATO News, 27 March—Bulgaria was commended for its contributions to Allied missions in Afghanistan and Kosovo during the Bulgarian PM's visit to NATO HQ

[Joint press point](#) with NATO Secretary General and the Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria, Marin Raykov, 27 March

Canada

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RAF Loading French Vehicle on C17 for Mali Mission—photo credit: UK MoD/ flicker



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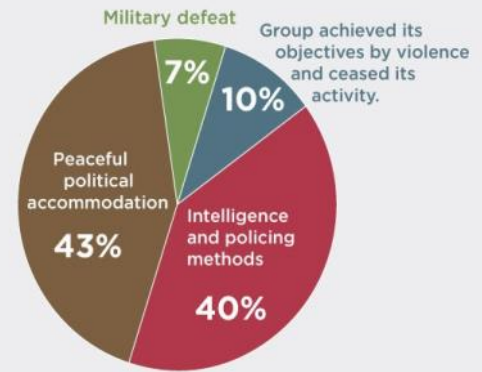
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Success of Various Methods Used Against Groups Using Terror Tactics in 268 Cases, 1968-2006

Source: Seth G. Jones and Martin C. Libicki,
*How Terrorist Groups End: Lessons for Counter-
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tion, 2008)



'The Costs of War' report found the total number of people who have died from the Iraq War, including soldiers, militants, police, contractors, journalists, humanitarian workers and Iraqi civilians, has reached at least 189,000 people, including at least 123,000 civilians. Financially, the report estimates a cost to US taxpayers of \$2.2 trillion, a figure that could one day approach \$4 trillion with the interest accrued on the borrowed money used to fund the war

End word: On Scotland

Wilbert van der Zeijden, *IKV Pax Christi*
Originally published in [NPT News in Re-
view](#) (Vol. 11, No. 6, 29 April 2013)

Next year, the people of Scotland will decide in a referendum whether or not Scotland will continue as an independent sovereign state or stay as a part of the United Kingdom. An independent Scotland will have consequences that are of direct relevance for the NPT. All UK nuclear weapons are on Scottish territory. Deployment of nuclear weapons in an independent Scotland could lead to the violation of Articles I and II of the NPT. Now is the time for states parties to stress in statements that such an act is unacceptable. Not to threaten the nascent Scottish nation, but to help build their case against the British deployments. And to prevent the UK government, perhaps aided by NATO states, from cooking up some subjective interpretation of the Treaty. Better to prevent an extra blow to the NPT regime than to try to fix it afterwards.

The Scottish people will get the chance to vote on the future of their country on 18 September 2014. Whether or not they vote YES remains to be seen. Only one third of citizens recently polled favour independence. Many are still on the fence. What is much clearer, and transcends the dependency debate, is the outright dislike by the Scottish of nuclear weapons in their country. A recent poll shows an 80% majority in favour of evicting Trident from Scotland. For this reason, the independence referendum is regarded by many as a great chance to get rid of

the nuclear weapons.

The NPT has a lot to offer for the Scottish demand. Article II states that "Each non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty undertakes not to receive the transfer from any state whatsoever of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or of control over such weapons or explosive devices directly, or indirectly." The Article leaves little room for interpretation. Scotland, as a non-nuclear weapon state, shall not have nuclear weapons on its territory.

NATO, however, has throughout the existence of the NPT, been deploying American nuclear weapons in European countries. Currently these weapons are in Belgium, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and Turkey. There is every chance that the UK will argue that the deployment of Trident in Scotland is no different. NATO has always defended its practice with two arguments. One, the bombs remain in custody of the US in "peace time" and as such are not transferred to a non-nuclear weapon state. The second argument has been that the deployments predate the NPT. Or, in other words, the NPT was signed taking into account an existing practice of forward deployment. This would not apply to the Scottish situation. In this case, a new situation would emerge. In this case, a state, already party to the NPT would decide to enter into an arrangement that involves the deployment of nuclear weapons in a non-nuclear weapon state territory, knowing full well that it is not in compliance with Article II.

In fact, a comparison with the break-up of the Soviet Union is more appropriate. In the 1990s, after the end of the Cold War, when the Soviet Union col-

lapsed and gave birth to a number of independent states, several of these new states had Soviet weapons on their territory. For all the right reasons, the international community expressed concern about the fact that this created problematic situations in relation to NPT requirements. Money and political capital was invested to achieve a situation in which Russia was recognised as the only post-Soviet nuclear weapon state. The other states dismantled their weapons or arranged relocation to Russia. The independence of Scotland will, for international treaties, be regarded as a split of the United Kingdom. Scotland will not have to renegotiate every treaty of which it is part now. Like Ukraine or Kazakhstan, Scotland will find itself in the peculiar position of having nuclear weapons on its territory, to which it could in theory have just as much ownership rights as the remainder of the UK. But it does not want to take over the UK's role as a nuclear weapon state and it does not want bombs on its territory.

At a seminar in the Scottish Parliament this April, Scottish International Development Minister Humza Yusef very eloquently laid out why and how an independent Scotland may achieve the status of being nuclear weapons free. He ended with a call on the international community to keep up the pressure. Clear statements by NPT states parties, groups of states, and by representatives of civil society will help the Scottish government in its case to demand rapid removal of the Trident missiles. But, he also hinted, pressure could safeguard against possible tendencies within the government to backtrack on its demands if the pressure gets higher.

State parties to the NPT, who believe that continued deployment of UK Trident missiles in an independent non-NWS Scotland would be a further blow to the Treaty, need to speak out now, in their country statements and joint statements. In addition, they could use it as an entry point for discussions with the UK, about the viability of its nuclear weapon arsenal. It is the UK after all that maintains that the Trident weapons have nowhere to go but Clyde Naval Base in Scotland. So if Scotland exercises its sovereign right and ends the deployments ... where does that leave Trident?