STOPWATCH 3 : Tackling terrorism
A bibliography of documents from the NATO library

ARTICLES

Trachtenberg, David J.

Finding the Forest Among the Trees : The Bush Administration's National Security Policy Successes.
COMPARATIVE STRATEGY, vol. 23, no. 1, January - March 2004, p. 1-8.

Lost in the shadow of attention devoted to the difficulties of securing the peace in Iraq are the Bush Administration's national security policy accomplishments, including winning the war itself. The Administration has scored major successes in the global war on terror; revitalized the NATO alliance; created new 'coalitions of the willing' to tackle common security problems; challenged attempts to eviscerate US freedom of action through international quasi-judicial means; solidified positive relationships with former Cold War adversaries; developed a new strategic relationship with Russia; negotiated a landmark arms control treaty with Moscow; reinvigorated our deterrence strategy; withdrew from the ABM Treaty; and decided to deploy missile defenses to protect all Americans. These actions represent a forest full of successes. Unfortunately, critics of the Administration's policies cannot see the forest for the trees.

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Myers, Richard B.

Transforming for the War on Terrorism
MILITARY TECHNOLOGY, vol. 28, no. 10, 2004, p. 8-15.

The United States Armed Forces share a major challenge with all NATO forces : transforming a wide array of processes, organisations, and equipment to better meet the challenges of the 21st century.

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Rhodes, Edward

The Good, the Bad, and the Righteous : Understanding the Bush Vision of a New NATO Partnership
MILLENNIUM, vol. 33, no. 1, 2004, p. 123-143.

This article analyzes the Bush administration's vision of NATO and its future development. Examining the statements of president Bush and other high-ranking US officials, the article explores the ways in which the administration's understanding of NATO is embedded in its vision of world politics as an epochal struggle between good and evil. While evil has assumed a variety of faces in the past, in today's world it is manifested as tyranny and terrorism. The restoration of humanity's birthright of freedom requires the faith and moral courage to eradicate, rather than accommodate or compromise with, this evil. For the Bush administration, this conception of an ongoing war between the righteous and the poor of spirit logically implies the need for widened membership in NATO, a new partnership with Russia, an expansion of the theater of struggle from Europe to the world, and a transformation of the alliance's military capabilities.

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Khamraev, Farkhad

NATO-SCO : Struggle Against Terrorism and/or for Domination in Central Asia.
CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS, no. 2, 2004, p. 66-70.

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Zwack, Peter B.

A NATO-Russia Contingency Command.
PARAMETERS, vol. 34, no. 1, Spring 2004, p. 89-103.

The author advocates the establishment of a combined NATO and Russian military force to meet the challenges of the post-9/11 world. He cites the continuing threat of transnational terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction to call for a NATO-Russian force based on the 'NATO-Russia Contingency Command' first suggested in 1996. The author analyzes and refutes each of the many arguments against the establishment of such a force and determines that now is the time for NATO and Russia to take the next major military step in their maturing relationship : the establishment of a NATO-Russia Contingency Command based in Russia.

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NATO's Military Concept for Defence Against Terrorism.
NATO'S NATIONS AND PARTNERS FOR PEACE, vol. 49, no. 1, 2004, p. 18-21.

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Hoop Scheffer, Jaap de

Atlanticism for the 21st Century
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, vol. 5, no. 3, Fall 2004, p. 3-6.

NATO's Secretary-General contends that the worst is over after the transatlantic feuds that broke out with the Iraq war. The naysayers always exaggerated in any case. Momentum returned with the Istanbul summit last June. The US and Europe remain each other's No. 2 strategic partners. And terrorism requires cooperation between the two as never before.

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Garden, Timothy

Tempting Target.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 60, no. 5, May 2004, p. 13-14.

Despite all the arguments across the Atlantic and between 'new and old' Europe, NATO seems to be the international community's favourite answer to every problem. Not only troubleshooting the Balkans, Afghanistan, Iraq and perhaps even Israel-Palestine eventually, the organisation is now being invited by Greece to help with security for the Olympic games. The world is desperate to feel safe again, and perhaps it is inevitable that the only working military alliance should find itself in such demand in this uncertain times. The question is, how much can it realistically do, and how much is it reasonable to expect ?

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Belkin, Alexander A.

US-Russian Relations and the Global Counter-Terrorist Campaign.
JOURNAL OF SLAVIC MILITARY STUDIES, vol. 17, no. 1, March 2004, p. 13-28.

With the election of George W. Bush in 2000, the Kremlin had its reservations about the newly elected US president and his administration. For a time, mutual criticism between the two countries seemed to be the rule of the day. Among other things, the US pulled out of the 1972 ABM treaty unilaterally, and Russia prosecuted its war against the Chechen separatists. Then came 9/11, and the two countries found solid ground for mutually advantageous cooperation - the global war on terrorism. But with NATO/Yugoslavia still clearly in the rear-view mirror, and the war against Iraq still ahead, the course of future relations remained unclear. The author examines US-Russian relations as they evolved before and after the war in Iraq and offers conclusions and lessons learned for both sides.

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Rahman, Fazal-ur

Pakistan and the War on Terrorism
MILITARY TECHNOLOGY, vol. 28, no. 9, 2004, p. 47-53.

Following the events of 9/11, Pakistan joined the US-led international coalition against terrorism. Pakistan's contribution allowed the coalition to achieve significant success in the war on terrorism, and has been acknowledged across the world. The US leadership described President Musharraf as a 'courageous leader', and granted Pakistan the status of a 'key ally'. In mid-June 2004, this was then upgraded to the coveted status of a 'major non-NATO ally'. Though the pressure on Pakistan to 'do more' has remained constant, in its support for anti-terrorism cooperation Pakistan has tried to remain mindful about domestic and regional repercussions.

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Bennett, Christopher

Combating Terrorism.
NATO'S NATIONS AND PARTNERS FOR PEACE, vol. 48, no. 2, 2003, p. 19-20.

The Alliance has refined its contribution to the war on terrorism. The author compares the current debate on NATO with that of a decade earlier.

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Oppenheimer, Andy

CBRN Weapons : The Growing Threat.
NATO'S NATIONS AND PARTNERS FOR PEACE, vol. 48, no. 3, 2003, p. 14-23.

The US and its NATO allies are having to adapt to a changed international security environment, with the greatest threat no longer coming from the possibility of nuclear war between two superpowers, as during the Cold War, but from proliferating regimes and transnational terrorist cells that could strike without warning using chemical, biological, radiological, or nuclear (CBRN) weapons. In the past, proliferation and terrorism were viewed as entirely separate issues. Before and since the September 11 attacks evidence has mounted that terrorist groups and terrorist-sponsoring nations are developing or acquiring CBRN capabilities. This article focuses on North Korea, Iran and Syria, and the CBRN threat from terrorists.

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Toje, Asle

The First Casualty in the War Against Terror : The Fall of NATO and Europe's Reluctant Coming of Age.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 12, no. 2, Summer 2003, p. 63-76.

In 2003, hardly a keynote speech goes by without Western leaders stressing that the transatlantic bond is as important as ever. This is perhaps true - a timelier question is whether the same can be said for the perception of common values and common threats that used to define this partnership and its sole institutional link : NATO. This essay explores five security policy conundrums that point towards a revised burden-sharing and power-sharing in the transatlantic strategic partnership : the UK's ambiguous role in the European Security and Defence Policy; the blocking of the formal bond between NATO and the EU; the implications of a change in US policy towards Europe; NATO's improbable move into soft security and, finally, NATO's invocation of Article 5 in the wake of the September 11 attacks on New York and Washington.

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Robertson, George

The Role of the Military in Combating Terrorism.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 49, no. 2, 2003, p. 35-39.

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Myjer, Eric P. J.
White, Nigel D.

The Twin Towers Attack : An Unlimited Right to Self-Defence ?
JOURNAL OF CONFLICT & SECURITY LAW, vol. 7, no. 1, April 2002, p. 5-17.

This article considers the limited role of international organizations (the UN and NATO) in Operation Enduring Freedom against Afghanistan. Both organizations have played a peripheral role, legitimating but not regulating the use of force by the United States. This seems to be part of a continuing process of attempting to widen customary rights while eroding the effective powers of organizations. The consequences for collective security and the international legal order are immense.

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Lugar, Richard G.

Redefining NATO's Mission : Preventing WMD Terrorism.
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 25, no. 3, Summer 2002, p. 7-14.

The US senator advocates that, at the November summit in Prague, NATO should define a new mission for itself to address the foremost security challenge of our time : combating the 'vertex of evil' between weapons of mass destruction and terrorism.

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Shea, Jamie

NATO and Terrorism.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 147, no. 2, April 2002, p. 32-40.

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Valasek, Tomas

The Fight Against Terrorism : Where's NATO ?
WORLD POLICY JOURNAL, vol. 18, no. 4, Winter 2001 - 2002, p. 19-25.

BOOKS

Fighting Terrorism : Financial and Economic Aspects
Rome : NATO Defense College
(NDC Occasional Paper ; 3)

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Tardy, Thierry, ed.

Peace Operations after 11 September 2001
London : Frank Cass
(Cass Series on Peacekeeping ; 14)

'This book explores the possible consequences of the events of 11 September 2001, and of the 'fight against terrorism', on the way peace operations are perceived and conducted, and on the way that states, international organizations such as the UN, NATO or the EU and non-state actors consider these operations. The link between the events of 11 September 2001 and peace operations is not obvious, and is in any case controversial. As a demonstration of the evolution of the international system, with the growing role of non-state actors, the 11 September attacks illustrate - as peace operations do in a different context - the widening of the security agenda, the persistence of instability and the need to deal with it one way or another, but through a wide range of means, in both a preventive and a curative way. As an attack on the United States, the 11 September events will have a major impact on US foreign and defence policies, on the US perceptions of the virtues of international institutions, of multilateral efforts to manage crises that do not constitute direct threats to their national interest, and therefore on US views of peace operations. Similarly, as the expression of a threat to states that may become targets of other attacks, the 11 September events have had consequences on security policies, on the hierarchy of priorities, and on the resources to be allocated to different activities, among which is peace operations. Such consequences should also be observed at the level of the UN, NATO or the EU, which are major players in peace operations, and which will have to adapt to the new environment. This book shows that these different elements mean that the 'international' environment of peace operations is likely to be modified, while the 'local' environment has remained largely unchanged.'

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Kaplan, Lawrence S.

NATO Divided, NATO United : The Evolution of an Alliance
Westport, CT : Praeger

'This history of NATO concentrates on the differences within the alliance, particularly between the US and its European partners. NATO's war against terrorism began on September 11, 2001. Invoking Article 5 was a fitting response to the assault on the United States, but the spirit did not last long. Within a few weeks, old fissures within the alliance re-emerged, threatening once again to dissolve an entity that had survived over half a century. In the first two generations of NATO's existence, the Cold War with the Soviet Union had been the major purpose of its existence. But since the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and of the Russian Empire itself, NATO has struggled to seek new raisons d'etre, and has succeeded to some degree in finding them in crisis management in Europe and in areas beyond the boundaries of the alliance. The absence of a traditional enemy to serve as a centripetal force, along with the recognition of the US as the lone superpower, has placed a focus on internal troubles of the alliance that had been obscured in the past by the presence of a common enemy. Too little attention has been paid to such West-West conflicts which arguably have been more frequent and more bitter, if not more dangerous, than the struggle with the Soviet Union. Differences among the allies began with the formation of the alliance itself. Some were resolved, others persisted. Many of them related to 'out of area' issues in which the Soviet Union was not involved or only peripherally concerned. How the alliance managed the unequal relationship in the past may offer insights into the common ground the alliance partners can identify in the 21st century.'

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Moens, Alexander, 1959- , ed.
Cohen, Lenard J., ed.
Sens, Allen Gregory, ed.

NATO and European Security : Alliance Politics from the End of the Cold War to the Age of Terrorism
Westport, CT : Praeger
(Humanistic Perspectives on International Relations)

'From the end of the Cold War to the terrorist attacks on the United States in September 2001, the NATO Alliance has changed profoundly. This book explores the multifaceted consequences of NATO's adjustment to new international and domestic political and security realities. Internal Alliance politics and matters of relative power within the membership have strongly influenced recent NATO developments. Several major issues challenging the Alliance are examined, including how the impact of efforts to develop an enhanced common European security and defence policy have affected NATO; whether missile defence is driving the United States and its European allies closer or further apart; how the experience of NATO in the Balkans and elsewhere brought alliance members together or made NATO cohesion more difficult to maintain; and in what way the changing role of NATO has influenced American and Canadian participation in the Alliance.'

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Lansford, Tom

All for One: Terrorism, NATO and the United States
Aldershot, UK : Ashgate

'This detailed examination of the role of the Transatlantic Alliance in support of the America-led military and intelligence operations against the Taliban and the Al-Qaida network since the terrorist attacks on the United States provides the first in-depth analysis of NATO's historic first invocation of Article V of the Washington Treaty. Including a substantial overview of NATO's place in the broad security framework of the Western Atlantic powers and both the shared history and ideals that form its common basis, the book specifically analyzes the political machinations behind the decision to invoke Article V and the impact of political differences among the Alliance partners. The book also looks at efforts to prevent future incidents by expanding the security framework of the Alliance. An essential reference source for military and foreign policy academics, courses and practitioners, this text offers the reader an unprecedented insight into NATO's response to this most significant event.'