

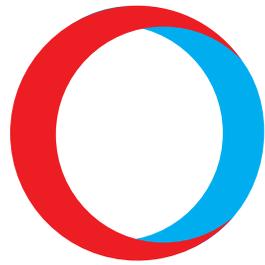
U.S. FORCES IRAQ DEPUTY COMMANDING
GENERAL AND THE COMMANDER OF THE
NATO TRAINING MISSION-IRAQ LT. GENERAL
MICHAEL D. BARBERO'S SPEECH AT
ORSAM ON 12 OCTOBER 2010

IRAK'TAKİ ABD ASKERİ KUVVETLERİ KOMUTAN
YARDIMCISI VE IRAK NATO EĞİTİM MİSYONU
KOMUTANI KORGENERAL MICHAEL D. BARBERO'NUN
12 EKİM 2010'DA ORSAM'DA YAPTIĞI KONUŞMA

محاضرة الجنرال ميشال دي باربيرو مساعد قائد القوات
المسلحة الامريكية وقائد هيئة التدريب لحلف الناتو في العراق
التي القاها بتاريخ ١٢ تشرين الاول/ اكتوبر ٢٠١٠ في "أورسام"

ORTADOĞU STRATEJİK ARAŞTIRMALAR MERKEZİ
CENTER FOR MIDDLE EASTERN STRATEGIC STUDIES
مركز الشرق الاوسط للدراسات الاستراتيجية





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Outlook on the Middle Eastern World

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“Good afternoon ladies and gentlemen, and special thanks to Mr. Kanbolat, General Kuloglu, and the staff at ORSAM for inviting me to speak to you today and for organizing this event. As Commander of the NATO Training Mission in Iraq, I appreciate the opportunity to say a few words about our experience on the ground in Iraq and to talk about the lessons we are learning through our experience and what it means for the future of the NATO-Iraq relationship and some thoughts on Turkey’s unique role in developing that relationship.

This is a critical moment for Iraq. The Iraqi Security Forces have assumed primary responsibility for internal security and the security of the country’s borders. The ability of Iraq to take over this responsibility is a testament, in part, to the efforts of the NATO training mission, which has played an important role in officer professionalization, federal police

training, and NCO development. It is also a critical time for NATO in Iraq, which is looking towards the end of 2011 and beyond to shape the future of the NATO-Iraq partnership and the appropriate role for NTM-I in that relationship.

While the future NATO-Iraq relationship is still being defined, it is clear that it will be based on the close and deepening relationship that began six years ago when NTM-I first opened its doors in Baghdad. The goal of NTM-I, then as now, was to help Iraq develop a democratically led and enduring security sector that addresses the needs of the Iraqi people.

The first training and assistance offered by NATO consisted of direct, one-on-one assistance and mentoring to ISF senior leaders in leadership and command and control under the NATO Training Implementation Mission (NTIM). From the beginning, NTIM

kept its focus on specialized training and professionalization, in order to build the capabilities of Iraq's security forces to provide security and protect the population. NTM-I transitioned to NTM-I in December of 2004, and the mission expanded in October 2007 to cover a critical training requirement, with the Italian Carabinieri offering specialized training to the Iraqi Federal Police, filling a critical gap in capacity building for internal security.

Since NTM-I's inception, 23 NATO member countries and one partner country have contributed directly to the training effort by providing personnel, financial contributions, or equipment donations. Today, the in-country NTM-I footprint is a relatively small tactical force of 177 personnel representing 13 member nations and one PfP partner country at four separate locations in Iraq. To date, this engagement has trained over 12,000 Iraqi security forces, provided more than 115 million euros worth of military equipment, and made important contributions to doctrine development and professional development of officers and NCOs alike.

As these programs continue, NTM-I is working with our Iraqi and NATO partners to find new areas of cooperation. Building on the success of the Carabinieri program, Iraq has asked for assistance with training for its oil police, to help them develop a cadre of professionals to protect critical economic infrastructure. NATO is responding, and this month we will commence a new Carabinieri-led training program to professionalize the Iraqi Oil Police.

In addition, Iraq and U.S. advisors are working together to rejuvenate

a training program for Iraq's border guards. This program is significant in that it is being taught in part by Iraqi Federal Police trainers who are recent graduates of the Carabinieri program. Also, one of our NTM-I member countries is keenly interested in serving as lead nation in providing trainers to this border guard training program.

Moreover, NTM-I continues to attract interest from Alliance members who want to contribute to this vital mission. France will send a team to Baghdad in November to explore possible areas for cooperation, and we hope to raise the French flag at NTM-I in the coming months.

Another example of NTM-I's contributions has been the growth in effectiveness of the National Security Operations Centers. These operations centers, which were established with assistance from NTM-I advisors, were fully tested during the March, 2010 elections, and proved capable of maintaining command and control as the voting process went smoothly and was mostly untouched by significant violence. This year, NTM-I and Iraq have determined that these operations centers are mission capable and self-sustaining, and this program is closing down. This successful transition is yet another indication of Iraq's progress and NTM-I's contributions. These successes are indicative of the continuing improvements to internal security in Iraq, which paved the way for the handing over of responsibility for internal security to Iraqi forces in September, 2010. Iraq's police, army, and specialized units are now capable of providing security and responding to crises, a major step forward for this fledgling democracy.

Of course, no one is satisfied with the security situation yet – not us, not our Iraqi partners. But levels of violence are at their lowest point in seven years, and while there continue to be security incidents, they are not a threat to the viability of the Iraqi state or to ongoing political processes. This is real progress, and sets the conditions for the enduring partnership we are creating between NATO and Iraq.

Throughout our mission in Iraq, Turkey has played a leadership role. Turkey has been an NTM-I contributing nation continuously since 2005, and today is making important contributions to the mission, filling key positions in policy planning and in our training cadre.

In addition to this, Turkey has gone even farther to show its leadership and to open its doors, and NATO's doors, to closer cooperation with Iraq. This year, Turkey sponsored some 300 places for Iraqi security professionals to attend specialized training courses at its Center of Excellence-Defense Against Terrorism and its PfP Training Center. I had the opportunity to visit the centers earlier today, and they really are impressive facilities with high-quality teams running the operations. At the centers, Iraqi officers were able to train in a number of counter-terrorism courses, border control training courses, and to develop specialized skills in more technical areas like air traffic control.

Out-of-country courses like these are important not just because of the course content, but also because they provide an unparalleled opportunity to expose Iraqi security professionals to NATO best practices and to allow Iraqi officers to network with NATO

counterparts and develop enduring partnerships on a personal and professional level.

Turkey's leadership in this area effectively doubled the number of out-of-country training opportunities NATO was able to offer Iraq through NTM-I in 2010. Turkey has taken the lead again and offered new places for specialized training for Iraqi officers in 2011, and I hope this can become another important component of the NATO-Iraq relationship moving forward.

With the leadership we've seen from Turkey and others in NTM-I, and with the continued support of the Alliance and our PfP partners, I am confident we can continue to achieve great things, and I think the NATO-Iraq relationship has a very bright future. The coming year will be an important one for this mission and for the Alliance in Iraq. Two important decisions will have to be made: first, what the strategic relationship between NATO and Iraq will be under the Structured Cooperation Framework, and second, what the future of the NTM-I mission will be and how it will support the strategic relationship.

Regarding the former, NATO is working now on identifying a slate of activities under the SCF to offer to Iraq, and NATO and Iraq should be able to agree on a program of activities early in 2011. Regarding the latter, NTM-I's mission will continue if Iraq invites NTM-I to remain past 2011. I think this will happen, because Iraq's senior leadership has been outspoken in its support for an enduring partnership.

Of course, in order to have a bright future, we have to get there first.

And that is another reason why 2011 is such an important year both for NTM-I and for Iraq. For NTM-I, there remains an important slate of ongoing training programs, and some new opportunities, that must be completed. In order to execute our mission in this critical year, the NATO Trust Fund for Iraq must be resupplied. The price tag for strategic success in Iraq is surprisingly small – less than 5 million euros will fully fund training needs for 2011. We know there are many demands on NATO's attention and on its purse strings – the Summit, ISAF, counter-proliferation issues to name a few – but I hope the member states will not lose sight of the progress achieved to date and the strategic opportunity Iraq presents to the Alliance.

Here again, Turkey leads, and I want to make special mention of the fact that Turkey was the first Alliance member to make a new contribution to the NATO Trust Fund for Iraq. I hope that as soon as the NATO Summit is successfully concluded, other Alliance members will follow Turkey's lead and contribute to the Fund.

For Iraq, of course, a government must be formed, and I am confident Iraq will get this done. Once a new government is in place, I am optimistic for Iraq's long-term future and its continuing relationship with NATO. A politically stable Iraq can be a positive force for regional stability and prosperity. Even now, Iraq is working hard to rebuild its relationships with its neighbors. The Iraqi and Kuwaiti navies are engaging in confidence building measures, for example, and Jordan and Iraq are exploring areas for greater security cooperation.

But perhaps no other neighbor has been as much of a force for positive change in Iraq as Turkey has been. Turkey and Iraq are building partnerships in security, trade and investment. The investments and partnerships that the Turkish private sector has established in Iraq are not to be discounted. Security stabilization, moving forward hand-in-hand with trade and investment growth, can be powerful engines for change and development, and I think we have seen this in areas where Turkish businesses have been active. With hard work and a little luck, I think that example can be expanded throughout Iraq.

In closing, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is my firm belief that a professional and capable security force will continue to underpin Iraq's growing stability. NATO, with NTM-I in the lead, is helping Iraq now to shape that future. With the continued support of the Alliance, Iraq with NATO's support can continue to achieve great things.

Thank you very much for your time, ladies and gentlemen. I will pause here, and I am happy to take any questions you might have.”

QUESTIONS

Armağan Kuloğlu:

Thank you General Barbero, I think that many people will ask some questions to you about this issue. I would like to open the questions and answers period and I want to ask the first question. You talk about the Iraqi security forces, their training and contributions of NATO members to that training. But you don't talk about the Northern Iraq security forces. Who is

training them? What is the position of the Northern Iraq security forces? What is the relationship between the Northern Iraq and central Iraqi government's security forces and what is the main issue for commanding of the whole Iraq security forces?

General Barbero:

As far as the Northern Iraq security forces and their relationship with the central government in Baghdad are concerned, I have seen more progress in building that relationship in the last years than I have in the previous six years. Let me talk about it on several levels. First at the tactical level, in the area of combined security operations we have a combined security mechanism agreed to by the government of Iraq and the leaders in Northern Iraq. And in this combined security area we have command and control centers which are jointly manned by the forces from Northern Iraq, Iraqi army and police forces and the United States forces. On the ground we have checkpoints jointly manned by all these forces. And the level of tension has dropped significantly on the ground and the level of trust and confidence has been raised. At a different level we have general agreement that the way ahead for the northern security forces is to integrate them into Iraqi security forces. The number of forces training at the Iraqi army and the Iraqi police training centers under Iraqi control taught by Iraqi army and police. There is a plan ahead to develop Northern Iraq to reserve divisions of the Iraqi army, and also to develop a reserve division within the Iraqi federal police. At the ministerial level, there are ministerial operations centers in the northern Iraq and Baghdad. They are talking to each other and exchanging

reports. So, on the ground cooperation is positive and growing and at the ministerial level it is the same and I see that these forces are moving towards integration under the umbrella of the Iraqi Security Forces.

Question:

We know that there is still no government in Iraq. And the census has not been done yet. Both the distribution of wealth in the country and distribution of territories depend on the census. Do you believe that the census will take place? And if it does what will happen afterwards? It is a problem that it has not been held but it may also be a bigger problem if it is held. So what would you say about that?

General Barbero:

I would say that the formation of the new government and the conduct of the census are Iraqi issues and they are in Iraqi decision and they are following the Iraqi processes. As far as the government is concerned, I have the confidence, they will form an inclusive government that includes all the different parts and people of Iraq. And so these are Iraqi decisions. For me to predict the timing of the census, I could not do that as a soldier. But I would comment that during the period since the elections in March to today, I can comment on the performance of the Iraqi security forces. I can report to you that the performance of the Iraqi security forces in this period that they have been apolitical, neutral, professional and they have stayed on the job. I heard more than several times from not only Iraqi leaders but also the Iraqi soldiers and policemen that their responsibility is

to the constitution not to a certain party or faction. So I think the performance of the Iraqi security forces in this period is a very positive indicator of progress and future.

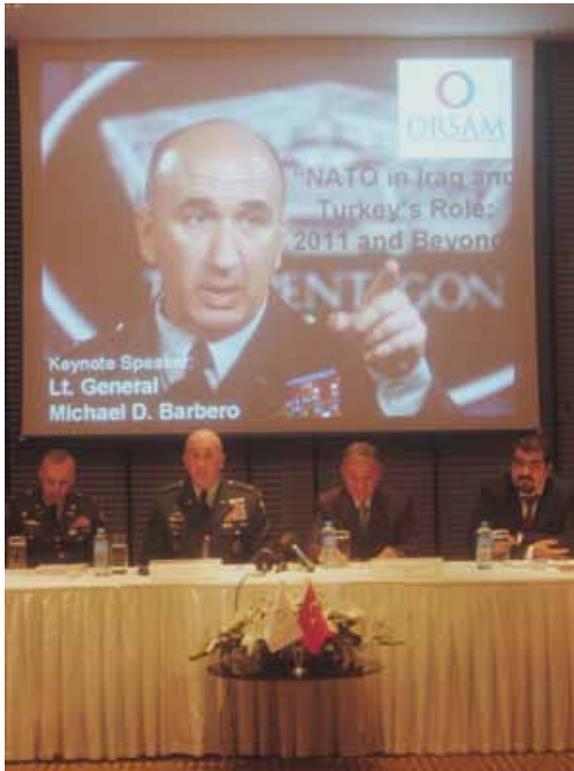
Question:

Bahadır Koç from the 21st Century Turkey Institute. General, obviously internal security and border security are among the most important issues. I also want to ask you about uncontrolled areas in Iraq, which terrorist organizations like PKK exploit or use. Of course this is a political issue but it is also about technical capacity. When do you think the Iraqi forces will be able to control the entire country? My other question is related to the air-space control and security after the American forces leave, do you think they will be able to operate in that space? Can you also tell us about the civil-military relations in Iraq? Is it also a part of your training program? Lastly, can you tell about the recent arms purchases from the Western and other countries? Thank you.

General Barbero:

As far as the arms purchases are concerned, as you know we started developing the Iraqi security forces. They did not exist. Then in 2004, they were a thrown together force that we were hoping to get them participating in security and in worst cases they did not. Even as late as 2006 and 2007 when we were in combat operations, we made sure they would stay on the ground and fight. Today, I can tell you they are staying on the ground and they are fighting for the right reasons in order to be able to defend the sovereignty of Iraq they must be equipped. And there is a very active program to

provide them with enough equipment to provide for the internal security of Iraq and to defend Iraq's sovereignty and its borders. We are involved in not only providing some of this equipment but also training in the use of these equipment and the leadership skills that go with it. I would say that the NATO training mission is representative of the state of Iraqi security forces. We are not engaged in training basic soldiers, basic policemen. We are engaged in professionalizing the force and providing specialized skills. That's why the training opportunities provided by Turkey are so valuable. At the Center of Excellence for Defence Against Terrorism, the PfP program provides us with very specialized skills for maturing military needs. As far as the civil-military relations are concerned, these are not part of our training. There are themes that run through all of our training both on the US side, which I'm responsible for and the NATO side. They are fundamentally changing Iraqi security forces. We have the police forces that are trained in the rule of law. It is in our training program, more importantly it is in the Iraqi training programs. The concept of democratic policing that the police force exists to protect the population, not to control and intimidate the population. We are seeing transition to a evidence based judiciary, not a judiciary based on confessions, but a judicial process that is based on evidence. In accordance, the out of country training that takes place in Turkey and in other NATO schools are also important. These are some of the fundamental changes in accordance with the themes that run through the course of our training. You are starting to see these are taking root and grow within the Iraqi security forces. We are still in progress, but



I am optimistic when I see this. On air sovereignty and Iraq's capability for providing security to its airspace in the future. Air sovereignty has three components. The first component is the ability to see with a set of radars. By December 2011, Iraq will have that capability. The second component is the ability to warn the command and control network and operations centers. Iraq will have that capability. The third capability is the ability to respond, which usually requires multi-role fighters. Iraq will not have that capability by 2011. So the Iraqi security forces, by December 2011, will be tremendously capable, but there will be some gaps in their capabilities. On the first question you asked, when will Iraq be capable of operating in all areas of Iraq nation-wide. I wish I could give you a date. I am not in the operations, I am a trainer for both the NATO side and the US side. But it is something that Iraq knows they have to. They are building the capabilities

of their security force everyday to be able to do that.

Question:

Thank you very much sir. My name is Kerim and I'm the ministerial councillor in the Iranian embassy. With regard to what you said about the sensitive role that Turkey is playing in Iraq in the framework of NATO forces, as far as I know according to the government of Turkey and the statistics provided, as from 1986 up to now, more than forty two thousand people have been killed by the PKK. This is not one of you biggest problems. At the same time Turkey is trying to help the Iraqi government, as much as possible.

The problem that this authority in the Northern part of Iraq which somehow with regard to the kind of relationship that the northern part with the PKK, do not you see somehow a paradox? On the one hand the government of Turkey is trying to help the Iraqi government and people who are living in the northern part of Iraq, and at the same time the group that have good relations with the PKK. One can derive that Turkey is helping a group or a faction which somehow having a good relationship with one of its worst enemies. How could you elaborate on this?

General Barbero:

First of all I deny agreeing with you previous premature questions which underlines your question. But as far as PKK, of course, our country has suffered from terrorism also, first we Express our condolences to the families those who experiences loses both civilian and military of Turkey for of these attacks. PKK is a terrorist or-

ganization but since 2007 , I think the cooperation between American forces and Turkish government and Turkish security forces has increased, but we have no role in operations or any kind of prosecution against PKK. So I disagree with your premise about Turkey and whatever all he said to support PKK.

Question:

I would like to ask you two questions. First one is that he also pointed out Northern Iraq separated Forces and the other Iraq in every issue, so do you think that in the coming future I mean very near future, there will be an Iraqi National Security Forces, not North, not center, not the other; this is my first question. The second one is just about economic. Unless you have created the wealth of the country, I don't think that you can settle the democracy. So, and what we know that unless they can sustain control in Iraq, there will be no company, no estate. So coming on again to the Northern Iraq and other Iraq, there is always debate between them, for example, concerning the gas field, especially which is now very active in these days. What do you think that how do you settle that on the military side, but more importantly how do you settle economic on this country? Thank you general.

General Barbero:

First of all, on the economic side in the oil field that is going to be reconciled. I don't have answer for that. It is not a part of my portfolio. Believe me I have enough challenges and my job listed pretty long as it is. I think as I said earlier, the cooperation on your question about a truly National

Security Force. We are moving in that direction. The cooperation as I said on the ground and combined security areas is very positive. There have been instances of terrorist attacks on one of the check points where soldiers from one faction gave his life to protect his US and other comrade. So trusted confidence has been built among the leaders of the different forces on the ground is also growing. As I said it has been the most positive I have seen in 7 years and there is a general agreement and road map which we are moving towards to integrate the forces of Northern Iraq into the Iraqi Security Forces. As reserved divisions of Iraqi Army and reserved division of Federal Police and that is moving progress on that and you can see I am optimistic on this progress and confident and truly National Force can be achieved.

I think I can have one more question.

Question:

thank you very much for your explanation General. I have two questions. One is how Turkey is contributing for these missions. You said that in new year there will be some further contribution, I would like to elaborate further especially in Iraqi military missions. My second question is how we see the changes of a cross border operation from Turkey to Iraq, and how will it affect the security on this gap of Iraq that we discussing now.

General Barbero:

Well, thank you. Turkey contributes to the security of Iraq in several ways. Primarily, through the NATO mission which I am privileged to command. As I said last year NATO sponsored about 300 Iraqi to NATO centers and

schools. This year it has grown 600 that growth of 300 has taken place here in Turkey. Turkey has stepped forward and is leading alliance and they support out of country training for Iraqi leaders and that is remarkable. Its funding mission in Iraq we receive a base fund from Brussels in funding the mission in Iraq, we And they also a near cross one which help us certain activities, and again Turkey has been the first country that stepped forward to make contribution to that fund which is important to continue operations to the end of December 2011. Right now, the NATO transmission in Iraq is scheduled to the end in December 2011. However, the governor of Iraq and the leaders of alliance recognize that this is an opportunity and we are having discussions to extend the NATO transition. Beyond December 2011, and certainly Turkey and Turkey's contribution will be a key factor for the positive perception that NATO enjoys in Iraq.

To your question, I cannot speak directly about the effects of operations of cross border, but what is important for Iraq make progress. Stable and secure Iraq can be freshen democracy in the region, and become a reliable partner to Turkey and other responsible neighbors. So that is our goal is help to build Iraqi Security Forces, they can protect the population and government.

I can have one more question.

Question:

I am Celaledin Yavuz from Turksam. General, thank you for your presentation. I have two questions. One of them is that will you also train to Iraqi

Navy. If your answer is yes, how many people are engaged this training. Second, you see from Turkey a catastrophe position in Iraq but at the end of 2011 you will leave Iraq. Do you believe that Iraqi Security Forces just stay on their place, because we see also Iraqi Forces not enough strong on the security terms. What is your opinion sir?

General Barbero:

First on Iraqi Navy, NATO, we are not involved in training Iraqi Navy, but US had. We have small team in Baghdad work with the head of Navy in Ministry Defense. We have a combination about 100 US Navy and US Marines and Whales Navies and Whales Marines from United Kingdom. As you know what is our assessment, by the end of December 2011 Iraqi Navy would fully capable of defending the critical infractors. So Iraqi Navy will be fully capable of performing their missions after December 2011. First of all let me just review how they are performing today. As you may know in June 2009, we devolve the responsibilities of security in the cities to the Iraqi Security Forces. They assume to lead and we pulled back. Since that time across Iraq, incidents and violence dropped %50 and %40 in Baghdad. So and recent polls in Iraqi people, am I confident? Yes, I am, and more importantly, Iraqi people are growing in their confidence in Iraqi Security Forces. Recent polls on Iraq is set reflected that %8 of those hold at confidence in Iraqi Army to provide for the security of Iraq. And %73 at confidence in Iraqi Police Forces to provide for internal security in Iraq. These numbers keep going up especially for the police forces. They are improving every day. That is why the

engagement and support from Turkey are so critical now and in the future. It is finally you mentioned US Forces withdrawal and much has been made about our recent reduction in forces 50 000 took place before 1st September. Now it tells you that with the reduction in the numbers and withdrawal not mean disengagement. We are still engaged and support Iraq and we look forward to strategic relationship with Iraq. We are in the process on the US side transition from a largely military lead to a civilian lead through our embassy. This year we will transfer responsibility on the US side for police forces to our embassy

and organization there. These transitions are made possible because the security situations have improved to a certain level and the more importantly the development of Iraqi Security Forces and they demonstrated the ability to maintain security situation there. So, what won't change I believe after December 2011 is the commitment of the United States to a certain strategic relationship with Iraq, and this relationship between NATO and Iraq will not change after December 2011. And that is why Turkey's contributions and continued engagements are so critical. Thank you very much for the opportunity.

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