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### Quote – Unquote:

(photo credit: reway2007/flickr)

At NATO Headquarters in Brussels, we have just set up a new Division on Emerging Security Challenges that will become operational in August. It will deal with – amongst other things - terrorism, proliferation, cyber defence, and energy security. And it will support a much more focussed, regular and open debate among the Allies on these vital issues.



Speech by NATO Sec. Gen.I Anders Fogh Rasmussen, Bulgaria, 20 May

The missions in Afghanistan, Kosovo and elsewhere have consumed so much money and attention that NATO rarely holds military exercises rehearsing the defence of its borders. Centre for European Reform, report, May 2010

I've brought this up with American military commanders; why not switch to nationalized health care? Went over like a cup of cold spit

Dr. Simon Wessely, King's College London, quoted in New York Times 17 May (arguing that a national health service is one contributing factor as to why British troops who have fought in Iraq or Afghanistan suffer far lower rates of post-traumatic stress than Americans)

We no longer see Europe in zero-sum, Cold War terms Joseph Biden, Advancing Europe's Security, New York Times, 5 May

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# NATO Watch Editorial:

# Missile Defences: Untangling the tentacles of corporate influence

It has just been revealed that Scientists who drew up the key World Health Organisation guidelines advising governments to stockpile drugs in the event of a flu pandemic had previously been paid by drug companies which stood to profit. The new British coalition government has launched an inquiry into the cost to the taxpayer of this panicbuying of drugs. Perhaps they and other governments in NATO member states would also like to turn their attention to the panic-buying of missile defences - another issue bedevilled by a lack of openness around decision making and enveloped by the tentacles of 'big corporate' lobbying.

In 2006, the results of a four-year study of the missile threat to Europe and how to defend against it was completed on behalf of NATO by Science Applications International Corporation (SAIC) – a transatlantic consortium of defence manufacturers. Although the 10,000-page feasibility study funded by European and US

taxpayers remains classified, NATO officials declared that it found missile defence for Europe technically and financially feasible. And who 'won' the contract to build the system? SAIC: the same international consortium of industries that defined the threat also identified the most appropriate response.

Today, experts with a vested interest in both 'worst casing' the missile threat and in spinning evaluations of missile



defence capabilities continue to dictate policy. The latest proposal under consideration within NATO is to integrate the ALTBMD system with the socalled Phased Adaptive Approach (the latest reincarnation of US Ballistic Missile Defence for Europe). The NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen, his Expert Group and President Obama have already strongly backed the proposal, which is up for final approval at the NATO Summit in Lisbon in November. Without providing any supporting evidence (all NATO feasibility studies and assessments remain classified), the NATO Secretary General has claimed that it would cost Alliance members less than 200 million Euros over 10 years to set up this new system .

However, the US has already spent over \$100 billion dollars since the mid-1980s with only a limited working infrastructure to show for it. And according to insiders the ALTBMD system is three years behind schedule and barely a working prototype, while two independent US experts claim that the interceptors proposed for the Phased Adaptive Approach do not reliably and

consistently hit incoming warheads. Is it really rocket science to expect parliaments throughout NATO to investigate the true capabilities of ballistic missile defence systems in advance of their procurement? But as history has shown, big military (and pharmaceutical) programmes are rarely cancelled once governments and the contractors are on board.

(US patriot missile - photo credit: Douglas606 /flickr)

# News, Commentary and Reports:

#### Afghanistan:

(photo credit: Stitch/flickr)

#### News

Al-Qaeda is likely to replace No. 3 leader with ease, Craig Whitlock and Greg Miller, *Washington Post*, 2 June

Afghanistan head of al-Qaida 'killed in Pakistan drone strike' -Mustafa Abu al-Yazid, head of al-Qaida in Afghanistan, killed last month, Pakistan and US security officials believe, *The Guardian*, 1 June

Terror link alleged as Saudi millions flow into Afghanistan war zone, The Times, 31 May

Operators of Drones Are Faulted in Afghan Deaths, New York Times, 29 May. An unclassified summary of the NATO investigation is available here

Red Cross in Afghanistan gives Taliban first aid help, BBC News, 26 May

US troops in Afghanistan outnumber those in Iraq, BBC News, 24 May

British army's bomb disposal chief quits after speaking of Afghan pressures, The Guardian, 24 May

I'm very concerned that in the longer term some of my people who have done phenomenally difficult and dangerous work in Afghanistan may pay a deeper psychological price for the work that they've conducted.

Colonel Bob Seddon, Britain's top bomb disposal officer, cited in *The Guardian*, 24 May NATO agrees to split of Regional Command South, Afghanistan, NATO News, 21 May

Toll in Kabul Suicide Attack Included U.S. and Canadian Officers, *New York Times*, 20 May

Hamid Karzai's half-brother accused over theft of Defence Ministry land, *The Times*, 20 May

British Afghan mission to come under US control, Kim Sengupta, *The Independent*, 19 May

Taliban Suicide Strikes Fail at U.S. Air Base Near Afghan Capital, *New York Times*, 19 May

▲ China and India try to fill Afghan gap left by US withdrawal, Sarah Davison, *The National*, 18 May. This article argues that China and India are ramping up their military training efforts in Afghanistan ahead of the beginning of next year's anticipated US drawdown

Grim Milestone: 1,000 Americans Dead, New York Times, 18 May

Kabul suicide bomber kills 18 in attack on Nato convoy, *BBC News*, 18 May

NATO says night raid killed Afghan insurgents; residents say it killed civilians, *Washington Post*, 18 May

In Afghanistan's North, Ex-Warlord Offers Security, New York Times, 17 May

Afghans Protest Deadly Nighttime Raid: "If the Americans Do This Again, We Are Ready to Shed Our Blood Fighting Them", *Democracy Now*, 17 May

Afghanistan linked to global, regional security, says OSCE Chairperson, OSCE Press Release, 17 May

Afghan prosecutor issues arrest warrant for US army officer over police killing - Kabul prosecutor seeks 'outlaw militia' for killings, *The Guardian*, 16 May

British Diplomat Takes Key Afghan Role, New York Times, 15 May

Afghan protests over Nato raid in Nangarhar province, *BBC News*, 14 May

I appreciate the fact that many women in Afghanistan are concerned about what reintegration and reconciliation will mean for them. It is essential – I have said this in London, I have said this in the United States, I will say this again at the Kabul conference – it is essential that women's rights and women's opportunities are not sacrificed or trampled on in the reconciliation process

Hillary Rodham Clinton, US Secretary of State Remarks With Afghan Women Ministers Before Their Meeting, Washington, DC, 13 May



Even as American troops clear areas of militants, they find either no government to fill the vacuum, as in Marja, or entrenched power brokers, like President Karzai's brother in Kandahar, who monopolize NATO contracts and other development projects and are resented by large portions of the population. In still other places, government officials rarely show up at work and do little to help local people, and in most places the Afghan police are incapable of providing security.

Alissa Rubin, journalist, New York Times, 12 May

Afghan and NATO soldiers train together in Germany, NATO News, 14 May

Death by IED: the hidden killer stalking Nato's frontline troops, *The Times*, 13 May

Fungus hits Afghan opium poppies, BBC News, 13 May

Remarks With Afghan Women Ministers Before Their Meeting, Hillary Rodham Clinton, Secretary of State, Treaty Room, Washington, DC, 13 May

Remarks with Afghan President Hamid Karzai in a Moderated Conversation, Hillary Rodham Clinton, Secretary of State, U.S. Institute of Peace, Washington, DC, 13 May

Civilian casualties rising in Afghanistan, Reuters, 12 May

Distrust of Afghan Leaders Threatens U.S. War Strategy, New York Times, 12 May

Nato has only seven months to take Kandahar from the Taleban, *The Times*, 11 May

Afghan 'secret prison' confirmed, Hilary Andersson, BBC News, 11 May

Meeting between Hillary Rodham Clinton, US Secretary of State and

Afghan President Hamid Karzai, 11 May: U.S.-Afghanistan Bilateral Discussions, Ben Franklin Room, Washington, DC; Remarks With Afghanistan President Hamid Karzai Before Their Meeting, Treaty Room, Washington, DC; Remarks at Reception in Honor of Afghan President Hamid Karzai, Ben Franklin Room, Washington, DC

Defence chiefs plan more UK troops for Afghan danger zone, *The Guardian*, 10 May

Afghan warlords feed on US contracts, say critics, *Financial Times*, 10 May

Corruption, incompetence charges plague new Afghan police force, *McClatchy*, 10 May

Threat rising from homemade Afghan bombs: U.S. Army chief, *Reuters*, 6 May

GAO reports casts new doubt on Afghanistan policy, *McClatchy*, 5 May.

Captured Leader Offers Insight Into the Taliban, Eric Schmitt, New York Times, 5 May The International Day of the Midwife: 5 May

With multi-donor support and high-level commitment from the Ministry of Public Health, the number of midwives in Afghanistan has increased from 467 in 2002 to 2,200 in 2009. About 1,458 midwives have been trained in 12 provinces covering 141 districts since 2002, and infant mortality has dropped 22%

Tributes paid to midwives in Kabul, Pajhwok Afghan News, 3 May

Taliban leaders to be offered exile under Afghanistan peace plan - Karzai to discuss proposal that also offers reinsertion and jobs to former militants with Obama on US visit, *The Guardian*, 5 May

Spanish Prime Minister and Secretary General agree on way forward in Afghanistan, NATO News, 4 May. Press conference by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen and José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, Prime Minister of Spain, 4 May

(US Army Capt. Rebecca Dimurco speaks with Afghan children during an operation to transport patients in Uruzgan province, Afghanistan, 28 March 2010 – photo credit: US Army/flickr)

New NATO idea to avoid killing innocent Afghans, Associated Press, 4 May

Reformed Afghan suicide bomber joins police, AFP, 3 May

Afghanistan suicide bomber targets Nato base in Khost, BBC News, 3 May

U.S. to Send Trainers to Afghanistan as Stopgap, New York Times, 3 May



#### Afghans Die in Bombing, as Toll Rises for Civilians, New York Times, 2 May

#### Clinton has doubts on Afghan reconciliation, Associated Press, 2 May



The reflection of an Afghan Soldier with the 3-1/205 Afghan National Army appears in a puddle on a village road after a heavy rain fall, 5 February 2010, Southern Afghanistan – photo credit: Kenny Holston AfghanistanMatters/flickr. This photo is one of the winners in NATO's Joint Forces Command HQ Brunssum photo contest "Why Afghanistan Matters". See other contest winners here

#### **Commentary and Reports**

Armadillo: the Afghanistan war documentary that shocked Denmark -In Denmark, the press and public have been stunned by Armadillo, Janus Metz's documentary about a UK-Danish base in Afghanistan, and the actions of the soldiers based there, *The Guardian*, 3 June

Doubling Down in Afghanistan - Why We Refuse to Fold a Losing Hand, William J. Astore, *TomDispatch.com*, 3 June

Afghanistan and Central Asia conference promotes greater understanding, NATO News, 2 June. From 28 to 30 May, the conference "Understanding Afghanistan and Central Asia", held by the Berlin-based NGO the Institute for Cultural Diplomacy, brought a range of experts together to discuss how to promote democracy and stability in Afghanistan and Central Asia.

Security Sector Reform Monitor: Afghanistan No. 3, The Centre for International Governance Innovation, Canada, May 2010. This

report concludes that Afghanistan's SSR process continues to suffer from deficits in manpower, myopic training goals and rising expectations for performance of the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) that outstrip the pace of institutional reform.

24-28 April 2010 - Visit to Afghanistan by Members of the Assembly's Bureau, of the Standing Committee, and Committee officers, NATO PA Mission Report, May 2010

NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen video blog, "Aiming right at the heart of the Taliban", 26 May

Obama's Flailing Wars - A Study in BP-Style "Pragmatism", Tom Engelhardt, *TomDispatch.com*, 16 May Inside the Secret Interrogation Facility at Bagram, Marc Ambinder, *The Atlantic*, 14 May

A Force in Fragments: Reconstituting the Afghan National Army, International Crisis Group, 12 May. Although the Afghan

National Army could help stabilise the country, many challenges remain, including lack of leadership, low literacy, and poor logistics capabilities. This report assesses the corrosive effects of an arcane military bureaucracy, of ethnic factionalism and of corruption, and identifies measures to improve cohesion through legislative initiatives and the empowerment of government institutions.

★ Politics and Power in Kandahar, Carl Forsberg, Afghanistan Report 5, Institute for the Study of War, April 2010. This paper

if we were to walk away prematurely, the Taliban would be back. So would Al-Qaeda. Terrorism would spread through Central Asia and into Europe. Instability would spread to neighbouring Pakistan – nuclear armed Pakistan – and the wider region. And we would once again face attacks in our airports, in our metros and in our streets. That is a cost we simply cannot afford

Speech by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the Spring Session of the NATO Parliamentary Assemby in Riga, 1 June

documents the dynamics, personalities and relationships that drive political action in Kandahar and the role which Kabul plays in shaping dynamics in the province. It notes how the Karzai family has established its own major private security firms and private militias, as further discussed in this post: How About Those Other Private Military Contractors?, David Isenberg, *Huffington Post*, 12 May

Afghan Escalation Funding - More War, Fewer Jobs, Poor Excuses, David Swanson, *TomDispatch.com*, 11 May

Nawa One Year On, NATO Channel TV, 10 May. A former Taliban stronghold in Helmand Province seeing gradual improvements after military operations, grassroots governance and cash-for-work

Afghanistan appreciates its partnership with the U.S., Hamid Karzai, Washington Post, 9 May

Leaving poppy behind, NATO Channel TV, 6 May. Agriculture programmes aimed at giving Afghans in Helmand province alternatives to growing poppy are helping to increase farmers' income and improve their lives

▲ Afghanistan's Security Environment, US General Accounting Office (GAO), 5 May. This report finds that more than 21,000 "enemy-initiated attacks" were recorded in Afghanistan in 2009, a 75% increase over 2008, and attributed the Taliban's "resilience" to several factors, including ineffective governance, a porous border, and funding from the narcotics trade

Coverups in Afghanistan, Fouad Pervez, *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 29 April

## Cyber Security:

Experts discuss intensifying cyber defence cooperation, NATO News, 2 June. From 26 to 28 May, experts from NATO member



states and industry gathered at the 13th NATO Cyber Defence Workshop in Tallinn, Estonia, to look at ways of enhancing cooperation in cyber defence among Allied countries

NATO science programme trains secure cyber networks architects, NATO News, 19 May

photo credit: NATO

Baltic Cyber Shield to train technical skills for countering cyber attacks, News Release, Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence Tallinn, Estonia, 3 May

Cyberdefence and security policy - protecting sensitive systems and information from cyberattacks, Ilias Chantzos, *Europe's World*, Spring 2010

#### Defence Budgets & Procurement:

NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen video blog: "Deep defence cuts can hamper growth", 2 June

Stavridis: 2% is 2%, James Joyner, New Atlanticist Policy and Analysis Blog, 20 May

▶ Putting the Pentagon on a Diet - Will Bad Times and a Bad Economy Finally Discipline the Pentagon? Christopher Hellman, *TomDispatch.com*, 20 May

BAE wins £150m Typhoon repair contract, *Financial Times*, 13 May

European Defence Agency Outlines New Helicopter Initiatives, *DefenceIQ*, 10 May

National Armaments Directors focus on key capability requirements, NATO News, 6 May



(Money rules the world - photo credit: Lif.../flickr)

NATO Common Funds Burdensharing: Background and Current Issues, Carl Ek, Congressional Research Service, RL30150, 22 April

#### Gender:

Conference Report: Women in the Peace Process - UNSC Resolution 1325: 10 Years On, Francisco Penalva, *European Security Review* No.49 May 2010

#### Intelligence:

NATO Gets Better Intelligence - New Challenges Require New Answers to Satisfy Intelligence Needs for Headquarters and Deployed/Employed Forces, Friedrich W. Korkisch, *IAS Reader Strategy Paper* 1-2010, Institut für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik, Vienna, Updated April 2010

nd a topher Cyber attacks have become a new form of permanent, low-level warfare. Our NATO Headquarters, for example, suffers over 100 attacks per day

Speech by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen, Bucharest University. 7 Mav

#### Maritime Security and Piracy:

NATO warship makes dramatic rescue of 23 seaman in raging storm, NATO News, 21 May

#### Missile Defence:

**Sea-Based Missile Tests: Two Experts Respond**, George Lewis and Theodore Postol, Letter, *New York Times*, 28 May

Prospects for U.S.-Russia Missile Defense Cooperation, Frank A. Rose, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Verification, Compliance, and Implementation, Remarks at the 11th Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies (RUSI) Missile Defence Conference, London, United Kingdom, 27 May

Should Central European countries worry less about missile defence shields and more about their NATO commitments? Jiři Schneider, *Europe's World*, 27 May

This is not the first time a president has been misled by false reports from the Pentagon about the capabilities of missile defences

▲ Truth or consequences for missile defense, George Lewis and Theodore Postol, The Boston Globe, 28 May U.S. plans for Middle East missile shield take shape, *Reuters*, 27 May

Russia says U.S. missiles in Poland "don't help trust", *Reuters*, 26 May

U.S. Joins Poland for Exercises, Wall Street Journal, 25 May

US agrees to announce missile launches, Associated Press, 20 May

NATO, Russia to link tactical anti-missile systems, Associated Press, 19 May

Missile Defenders Blast Critics After Interceptor Attack,

Nathan Hodge, Wired Danger Room Blog, 18 May

Review Cites Flaws in U.S. Antimissile Program, New York Times, 17 May

A Flawed and Dangerous U.S. Missile Defense Plan, George Lewis and Theodore Postol, *Arms Control Today* May 2010. The authors argue that the Obama administration's missile defence policy rests on unsupported technical assumptions and could lead to a foreign policy disaster.

Iran over decade away from anti-U.S. missile: study, *Reuters*, 10 May (Iran's Ballistic Missile Capabilities: A net assessment, *IISS Strategic Dossier*, 10 May)

Biden: US committed to missile defense in Europe, Associated Press, 6 May

Evaluating the Latest Iranian ICBM Threat Assessment, ACA Issue Brief No.1 Volume 2, 6 May

Rogozin: NATO technologically unable to build its own missile defense, *Kiev Post*, 5 May

NATO Secretary General: territorial missile defence to cost under 200 million Euros, *NATO Watch News Brief*, 5 May

NATO missile official cites cooperation with Israel, Reuters, 5 May

U.S. Missile Defense and Regional Security, Frank A. Rose, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Verification, Compliance, and It is thus reasonable to conclude that a notional Iranian ICBM, based on No-dong and Scud technologies, is more than a decade away from development

Dr John Chipman, Director General and Chief Executive, The International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, Press Statement, 10 May

Implementation, Remarks At the First Annual Israel Multinational Ballistic Missile Defense Conference, Tel Aviv, Israel, 5 May

Missiles, missile defence, and space weapons, Jürgen Scheff ran, Ray Acheson, and Andrew Lichterman, Chapter 8 in 'Beyond arms control: challenges and choices for nuclear disarmament', Reaching Critical Will of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, March 2010

#### NATO Enlargement & Partnerships:

Delegation of Women from the Jordanian Armed Forces visit NATO, NATO News, 28 May

Visit to NATO by High-Level opinion leaders from Tunisia, NATO News, 26 May

NATO and Ukraine discussed defence reform, NATO News, 26 May

Armenian President and NATO Secretary General discuss operations and joint partnership, NATO News, 25 May; Press point with NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen and the President of Armenia, Serzh Sargsyan, 25 May

Secretary General, EU High Representative Ashton discuss Bosnia and Herzegovina and EU-NATO cooperation, NATO News, 25 May (See transcript of Press Briefing) (photo credit: NATO)

Almanac on Security Sector Governance in Ukraine 2010, Merle Maigre and Philipp Fluri (eds), Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), 2010 (especially see Chapter 5: Public Debate on NATO in Ukraine, Ilko Kutcheriv)

High-level consultations between NATO and Pakistan, NATO News, 21 May

Council reaffirms KFOR's commitment to Kosovo, NATO News, 21 May

NATO Spokesman statement on sinking of Republic of Korea's Cheonan, NATO News, 20 May

A 2020 Vision for the Black Sea Region – A Report by the Commission on the Black Sea, May 2010.

South Korean Foreign Minister addresses North Atlantic Council, NATO News, 11 May

Meeting of NATO and Partner Chiefs of Defence, NATO HQ, Belgium, 5-6 May:

- Chiefs of Defence discuss operations, transformation, resources, NATO International Military Staff News Release, 6 May
- Opening remarks of the 163rd MCCS by Admiral di Paola, Chairman of the NATO Military Committee, 5 May
- Ukraine and NATO sign "Air Situation Data Exchange" agreement, NATO International Military Staff News Release, 5 May

NATO-EU: Assets and Interoperability: Conference Conclusions, Paul Sturm, *European Security Review* No.49 May 2010. The full conference report is available here

# NATO Parliamentary Assembly:

It is not our decision whether the

rights of women are irreversible

Jack Segal, chief political advisor to the Commander of NATO Joint

Force Command Headquarters,

the NATO Parliamentary

Assembly, 1 June

speaking at the Spring Session of

in Afghan society

210 Spring Session, Riga, Latvia (28 May – 1 June)

Afghanistan 'moving in right direction', Secretary General tells NATO Parliamentarians, NATO News, 1 June

Draft Committee Reports (the final reports will be debated and approved at the Plenary Session in November in Warsaw):

- Civil Dimension of Security Committee, 'Governance Challenges in Afghanistan', Vitalino Canas (Portugal), Special Rapporteur
- Defence and Security Committee, 'Partnering with the Afghan National Security Forces', Frank Cook (UK), General Rapporteur

Press releases:

- Head of Latvian delegation to the NATO PA: "Security is the main national priority", 1 June
- NATO Parliamentary Assembly calls for "resources, resolve and patience" in Afghanistan, 1 June
- Afghanistan should be left to set own "red lines," NATO advisor says, 1 June
  - According to an expert, Central Asia is a 'powder keg', 31 May
  - Former Latvian president urges NATO Allies to "sing the same tune" on energy security, 31 May
  - Improving NATO cohesion A role for the new Strategic Concept? 31 May
  - Latvian Foreign Minister welcomes NATO Parliamentary Assembly, looks to new Strategic Concept, 30 May
  - Latvian parliamentarians at the NATO PA emphasise the importance of economic security, 29 May





- Greek military spending under the spotlight after economic crisis, 29 May
- Nuclear deterrents "will remain", 28 May
- NATO Parliamentary Assembly kicks off in Riga amid diverse security concerns, 28 May

NATO Parliamentarians Attend Opening Session of 2010 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Review Conference in New York, Press Release, 11 May

NATO PA Mediterranean and Middle East Group Meets with Palestinian and Israeli Officials, Press Release, 4 May

#### NATO Reform:

"Renewing the Transatlantic security community in the age of globalisation" Speech by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the Central Military Club, Sofia, Bulgaria, 20 May

#### NATO-Russia Relations:

In Secret Report, Russia Shifts Westward, Wall Street Journal, 12 May

MATO's Final Frontier - Why Russia Should Join the Atlantic Alliance, Charles A. Kupchan, Foreign Affairs, May/June 2010

#### Nuclear Weapons: (photo credit: hellothomas/flickr)

Tactical Nuclear Weapons in the 2010 NPT Final Document, Susi Snyder, NATO Watch Briefing No.10, 2 June

▲ Nuclear proliferation – about to mushroom? *NATO Review*, June 2010. As President Obama sets out his vision for a world free of nuclear weapons, NATO Review looks at how this would work, the potential pitfalls and where the biggest threats currently sit. Articles:

- Obama's nuclear dream: Yes, he can?
- 2010: year zero for nuclear zero?
- Nuclear chess: Iran's move next?
- The Non-Proliferation Treaty: the world's most important treaty?
- The dirty bomb: low cost, high risk
- The IAEA: the key global agency?
- How do nuclear changes look to NATO?

Time to Debate NATO's Nukes in Europe, Cindy Vestergaard, Danish Institute for International Studies, *DIIS Comment*, 25 May

It is well past time to end the deployment of US nuclear weapons on the territory of several NATO allies (Belgium, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and Turkey) including both weapons under sole US control and weapons subject to release to those allies for employment in time of war

Middle Powers Initiative report from the Atlanta Consultation III, "Fulfilling the NPT," held at the Carter Center in Atlanta, Georgia, USA January 2010 NATO Must Decide on Removing U.S. Tactical Nukes, Albright Says, *Global Security Newswire*, 21 May

'NATO Expert Group Report released—keeping the status quo on nuclear weapons', Laurens Hogebrink and Susi Snyder, IKV Pax Christi, NPT News in Review, No.14, 20 May

▲ U.S. Non-Strategic Weapons in Europe: A Fundamental NATO Debate, Raymond Knops (Netherlands), Rapporteur, NATO Parliamentary Assembly Committee Reports, Spring Session 2010, 048 DSCFC 10 E

NATO and Russia should release tactical nuclear arsenal figures, NATO Watch Comment, 13 May

'The state of the tactical nuclear weapons debate', Wilbert van der Zeijden and Susi Snyder, NPT News in Review No.8, 12 May

Does Anyone Need US Nukes in Europe? (Updated), Evelyn Leopold, *Huffington Post*, 11 May

'Prospects for a shift in NATO's nuclear posture in 2010', Emma Rosengren, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Sweden, *NPT News in Review* No.7, 11 May



In the end, if the arguments about the warprevention qualities of nuclear weapons are unpacked, the well-entrenched notion that a nuclear capability was useful in balancing Soviet conventional superiority during the Cold War is highly deceptive and counterproductive.

Adherence to this view automatically justifies the current nuclear policies of Russia and Pakistan. Claims by NATO that it does not represent a threat to Russia, and similar claims by India with regard to Pakistan, hardly change anything. So long as the habit of basing defense policy on the worst-case scenarios continues to dominate policy planning, these countries will continue to think of nuclear weapons as a balance against conventionally superior neighbors.

The fact that the United States and NATO have not rescinded their Cold War justification for reliance on nuclear weapons makes them an example to emulate and forces the United States and NATO to accept, even if tacitly, the logic of the Russian and the Pakistani positions.

Delegitimizing Nuclear Weapons: Examining the Validity of Nuclear Deterrence, Ken Berry, Patricia Lewis, Benoît Pélopidas, Nikolai Sokov and Ward Wilson, The James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies, May 2010

Moscow wants US to remove nukes from Europe – Rogozin, *Voice of Russia*, 4 May

NATO nuclear sharing: an anachronistic obstacle to nuclear disarmament and regional security, Martin Butcher and Nicola Butler, Chapter 2 in 'Beyond arms control: challenges and choices for nuclear disarmament', Reaching Critical Will of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, March 2010

#### Strategic Concept:

NATO 2020: A Renewal of Vows? Florian Pantazi, *Europe's World*, 24 May

The debate about Article 5 and its credibility. What is it all about? Pål Jonson, NATO Defense College, Rome, *Research Paper*, 24 May

Assessing "NATO 2020", Emiliano Alessandri, Brookings Institution, 24 May

NATO in the Present and Future: A Conversation with General John Craddock, *New Atlanticist Podcast*, 21 May. Atlantic Council senior fellow Sarwar Kashmeri discusses with General John Craddock, former Supreme Allied Commander Europe and Atlantic Council Board Director, NATO in the Horn of Africa, and European contributions to NATO operations and missile defence.

Reducing and Regulating Tactical (Non-strategic) Nuclear Weapons in Europe: Moving Forward? Johan Bergenäs, Miles A. Pomper, William Potter,

and Nikolai Sokov, The James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, April 2010

'The "other" nuclear weapons', Welmoed Verhagen and Susi Snyder, *NPT News in Review* No. 6, 10 May

The role of deterrence in future NATO strategy, Ian Anthony, SIPRI, 10 May

Outdated, unwanted, US nukes hang on in Europe, Charles Hanley, *Associated Press*, 9 May

'Strategies to end NATO's nuclear sharing', Malin Nilsson, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Sweden, *NPT News in Review* No. 5, 7 May

Process Over Politics: NATO's TNW Decision, Chris Jones, Center for Strategic and International Studies, 7 May

West Europeans target US nukes at treaty session, *Associated Press*, 6 May

#### ATO Chief's Remark Highlights Policy Rift, Oliver Meier.

Arms

Control

Today.

May 2010

Ten Principles for Strategic Concept 2010

Atlantic Council Strategic Advisors Group, Stratcon 2010: An Alliance for a Global Century, Julian Lindley-French and Yves Boyer, April 2010

1. Restate the Alliance's Political Mission.

2. Balance Solidarity, Strategy and Flexibility.

3. Promote Political Flexibility.

4. Reestablish the Link between

Strategy and Fighting Power.

5. Strike a Better Balance between Protection and Projection.

6. Recommit to Success in

Afghanistan.

7. Build Planning and Information Power.

8. Strengthen the Links among Command, Operations and Modernization.

9. Modernize the Link between Minimum Deterrence and Arms Control

10. Modernize Defense Education.

Madeleine Albright On Redefining NATO, NPR, 20 May

Defending Everything Is Defending Nothing, Ivan Eland, The Independent Institute, 19 May

NATO: Reboot or Delete? Atlantic Council Policy Blog, Sarwar Kashmeri, 18 May

Experts set out recommendations for future NATO strategy, NATO Watch Press Release, 18 May

NATO 'Experts Group' misses an opportunity for leadership on nuclear posture, Arms Control Association and BASIC, Press Release, 17 May

Albright, Van de Veer discuss NATO's future at Carnegie Europe, NATO News, 17 May



Presentation of the recommendations of the Group of Experts on NATO's New Strategic Concept, Brussels, Belgium, 17 May:

 Opening remarks by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the meeting of the North Atlantic Council with the Group of Experts on NATO's New Strategic Concept, NATO News, 17 May

 Remarks of Madeleine K. Albright at the meeting of the North Atlantic Council with the Group of Experts on NATO's New Strategic Concept, 17 May

- nato 2020:assured security; dynamic engagement: analysis and recommendations of the group of experts on a new strategic concept for nato, 17 May
- Letter by the Chair and Vice Chair of the Group of Experts, 17 May
- Joint press conference with NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen and Madeleine Albright, Chair of the Group of Experts, 17 May
- Questions and answers at the joint press conference with NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen and Madeleine Albright, Chair of the Group of Experts, 17 May
- NATO Sec. General Anders Fogh Rasmussen video blog, 'The report on NATO's future', 17 May

And the media reaction:

(NATO Secretary General, Anders Fogh Rasmussen and Madeleine Albright making their way to the press conference – photo credit: NATO)

- The Albright doctrine: NATO moves towards international security , AFP, 17 May
- Nato and EU advised to streamline defence spending, EU Observer, 17 May
- Nato warns states over defence cuts, Financial Times, 17 May
- NATO Urged to Look Beyond Borders, New York Times, 17 May
- Nato faces cyber attack threat, says study of defences, The Guardian, 17 May
- Four ways the West can rebuild a crumbling international order, Christian Science Monitor, 17 May
- NATO emphasizes defense spending despite crisis, Reuters, 17 May

Combining Realism with Vision - Options for NATO's new Strategic Concept, Riccardo Alcaro, Istituto Affari Internazionali, May 2010

MATO, new allies and reassurance, Ronald Asmus, Stefan Czmur, Chris Donnelly, Aivis Ronis, Tomas Valasek and Klaus Wittmann, Centre for European Reform, *Policy Brief*, May 2010; East Europe Feels Ignored by NATO, Report Says, *New York Times*, 16 May

NATO Secretary General discusses NATO's future in Romania, NATO News, 7 May.



'Meeting Future Challenges Together' - speech by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at Bucharest University, 7 May

NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen video blog 'Ambitious about the future', 5 May

Secretary General addresses NATO's new Strategic Concept, missile defence, southeastern Europe, NATO News, 5 May. Monthly press briefing by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen, 5 May

(Presentation of the recommendations of the Group of Experts on NATO's New Strategic Concept to the North Atlantic Council – photo credit: NATO)



#### Transatlantic Cooperation:

Do the US and UK share the same level of commitment to NATO? Remarks by Professor Christopher Coker, RUSI, May 2010

Goodbye to Europe as a high-ranking power, Richard Haass, *Financial Times*, 12 May

The Brussels Wall - Tearing Down the EU-NATO Barrier, William Drozdiak, *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2010

The new global security landscape - 10 Recommendations from the 2010 Security Jam, A Security & Defence Agenda Report, May 2010. Held over five days, the Security Jam proved itself a catalyst for creative thinking by experts, NGOs, national government decision makers and international institutions, industry representatives, soldiers, journalists, scholars and opinion leaders. Ten forums took stock of different security challenges and produced dozens of innovative ideas for improving security policies (see box). Reaction: NATO and Europeans Plot Path Ahead, New York Times, 5 May

Advancing Europe's Security, Joseph Biden, New York Times, 5 May

Biden heads to Europe warning of "pernicious" new threats, *AFP*, 5 May

#### Transparency and Accountability:

Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council launches Phase II of Building Integrity Initiative, NATO News, 28 May

Is Transparency the Best Disinfectant? Amitai Etzioni, *The Journal of Political Philosophy* May 2010

NATO videos awarded four international prizes, NATO News, 19 May. This three minute video showing how the financial crisis could impact on security issues from migrant workers to extremist political groups... was a gold medal winner.

New guide on access to information launched in Europe, NATO Watch News Brief, 13 May

#### 10 key recommendations synthesised from the 2010 Security Jam

1. NATO should develop a civilian wing to prepare, coordinate and cooperate with civilian actors at various stages of operations

2. The UN should secure agreement on UN Millennium Security Goals comparable to the Millennium Development Goals and based on the concept of human security

3. Expand both EU and NATO regional security through mutual assistance agreements on nonconventional threats with neighbouring states to build mutual trust

4. Create a European Intelligence Agency as an information broker for complex and hybrid threats

5. Improve the EU's internal public diplomacy and use new media to consult European experts and citizens on security threats and policies

6. Create a European Security Academy where EU civilian and military staff and other international actors can learn to work together in the field

7. Establish a combined EU-NATO Wisemen's group made up of independent personalities to evaluate capability planning and build public support for cross-border cooperation

8. Establish an EU scarce natural resources inventory with a mandate to protect them for future generations

9. Publish a joint EU-NATO quarterly publication where senior officials from both organisations can highlight new collaboration efforts between the two players

10. Establish an International Crisis Preparedness Fund to harness media spotlight on today's current crises by collecting 5% of all donations to prepare for future disasters

# **Upcoming Events:**

Defence Ministerial Meetings, Brussels, 10-11 June

UN Forum 2010, UNA-UK event, London, 12 June. UN Forum will be a large-scale civil society event with the theme 'An effective UN in a more secure and just world'. Featuring presentations, panel debates, films and workshops opportunities to act on peace, development & human rights.



NATO's European Dimension, International Conference organised by Security & Defence Agenda (SDA), Concert Noble, Brussels, 21 June

7th Pan-European Conference, Standing Group on International Relations (SGIR), European Foreign Policy in transition: New IR/EI approaches to EU foreign policy, Stockholm, Sweden, 9-11 September

Waterside Security Conference, The NATO Undersea Research Centre, Carrara, Italy, 3-5 November

NATO Watch Shadow Summit, Brussels, 15-16 November

NATO Summit, Lisbon, Portugal, 19-21 November

(photo credit: darkmatter/flickr)

#### **Book Reviews:**

A Little War that Shook the World: Georgia, Russia, and the Future of the West, Ronald Asmus, 272pp, Palgrave Macmillan, £20 – Reviewed by David Hearst, *The Guardian*, 8 May

# Security News from NATO Member States:

#### France

Taiwan wins damages over French defence sale, Financial Times, 4 May

#### Italy

Italian Armed Forces under Pressure, Valerio Briani, Istituto Affari Internazionali, DOCUMENTI IAI 10 - 09, May 2010. The Italian defence budget is on the decrease again: new cuts are expected in 2010 and will further exacerbate the already existing imbalances in the distribution of resources. How long will the armed forces be able to operate effectively?

#### Spain

Spain-Israel: Military, Homeland Security and Armament-Based Relations, Affairs and Trends, Alejandro Pozo Marín, Centre d'Estudis per a la Pau JM Delàs de Justícia i Pau, May 2010

Spanish Arms Exports 1998-2008, Tica Font & Francesc Benítez, Centre d'Estudis per a la Pau JM Delàs, *Report No.6*, March 2010.

#### Turkey

(Passageway around the Ceremonial Plaza Anıtkabir – photo credit: brewbooks/ flickr)

Analysis: Turkey's Iran standoff role irks allies, Associated Press, 25 May

The Iran nuclear deal and the new premier league of global powers - Brazil and Turkey are determined to pursue diplomacy and compromise – even if it means upsetting Washington, Simon Tisdall, *The Guardian*, 19 May

The Turkey-Brazil-Iran deal: Can Washington take 'yes' for an answer? Trita Parsi, Foreign Policy, 17 May

Iran-Turkey-Brazil Fuel Deal Has Potential if Iran Provides Follow-Up Steps, *Issue Brief* - Volume 1, Number 5, Arms Control Association, 17 May

Turkish PM calls for bilateral arms cuts on historic visit to Greece - Two-day talks aim for sea change in relations but Turkish air force jets stage provocation as trip begins, *The Guardian*, 15 May

Turkey's Pact With Russia Will Give It Nuclear Plant, New York Times, 12 May

Iran: Brazil and Turkey make new nuclear proposal, Associated Press, 11 May

Turkey's Geopolitical Assertiveness: Re-evaluating the balance of power in terms of political and economic leverage in Southeastern Europe, the Middle East, and the Caspian Region, Dimitris Rapidis, Global Political Trends Center, *Policy Brief*, 11 May

#### **United Kingdom**

Nuclear warhead total revealed, *Financial Times*, 27 May; Britain Discloses Size of Nuclear Stockpile: Who's Next? Hans Kristensen, *FAS Blog*, 27 May

Active Reviewing Britain's Security, Paul Rogers, International Security Monthly Briefing, Oxford Research Group, May 2010

Trident: Deadly – and very, very expensive - It is our last line of defence in the event of nuclear war. But Trident also costs billions. Will the coalition government dare to scrap it? *The Guardian*, 20 May

Defence thinktank identifies £11bn of Trident savings - Report says ending 'continuous-at-sea' deterrence would save billions without compromising Britain's security, *The Guardian*, 19 May [ A Progressive Nuclear Policy: Rethinking Continuous-at-Sea Deterrence, Nick Ritchie and Paul Ingram, *RUSI Journal*, Apr 2010, Vol. 155, No. 2]

Files reveal Britain's secret biological weapons trials in second world war, The Guardian, 16 May

UK troops in war zones 22% more likely to misuse alcohol than colleagues, The Guardian, 13 May

Why British foreign policy will not change, Chris Patten, Financial Times, 3 May



#### **United States**

▲ U.N. Report Highly Critical of U.S. Drone Attacks, New York Times, 2 June. The full Report of the UN Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions by Philip Alston is available here; see NATO Watch News Brief

The United States, in particular, has put forward a novel theory that there is a 'law of 9/11' that enables it to legally use force in the territory of other States as part of its inherent right to selfdefence on the basis that it is in an armed conflict with al-Qaeda. the Taliban and 'associated forces', although the latter group is fluid and undefined. This expansive and open-ended interpretation of the right to selfdefence goes a long way towards destroving the prohibition on the use of armed force contained in the UN Charter. If invoked by other States, in pursuit of those they deem to be terrorists and to have attacked them, it would cause chaos

Accompanying statement by UN Special Rapporteur Philip Alston, re his study on targeted killings, 2 June ▲ US National Security Strategy, The White House, May 2010; Remarks On the Obama Administration's NSS, Hillary Clinton, Secretary of State, The Brookings Institute, Washington, DC, 27 May; New U.S. Strategy Focuses on Managing Threats, New York Times, 27 May

U.S. Is Said to Expand Secret Military Acts in Mideast Region, New York Times, 24 May

Obama Offers Strategy Based in Diplomacy, New York Times, 22 May

Special Report: How the White House learned to love the drone , *Reuters*, 18 May

U.S. Troops Suffer More Stress Than Britons, Study Says, *New York Times*, 17 May

U.S. Is Still Using Private Spy Ring, Despite Doubts, New York Times, 15 May

Nuclear complex upgrades related to START treaty to cost \$180 billion, *New York Times*, 14 May

U.S. Decision to Approve Killing of Cleric Causes Unease, *New York Times*, 13 May

Pentagon rethinking value of major counterinsurgencies, *McClatchy*, 12 May

U.S. missiles kill at least 24 in Pakistan, Reuters, 11 May

#### A Raising the Stakes for a New Arms Race, Tom Burghardt,

*Pacific Free Press*, 9 May: The DoD is developing new, destabilizing weapons systems that will transform low- and high-earth orbit into another "battlespace".

'US drone' missile strike hits north-west Pakistan, BBC News, 9 May

CIA drones have broader list of targets - The agency since 2008 has been secretly allowed to kill unnamed suspects in Pakistan, *Los Angeles Times*, 6 May

CIA drones hit wider range of targets in Pakistan, Reuters, 5 May

Al Qaeda's Nuclear Plant, Charles Faddis, New York Times, 5 May

NPT: Obama reveals size of US nuclear weapons arsenal. Will Russia respond? *The Christian Science Monitor*, 4 May

Pentagon Declares Number of Weapons in Nuclear Arsenal, *Global* Security Newswire, 3 May

U.S. drone attacks in Pakistan get mixed response - The aircraft

target Al Qaeda and the Taliban and minimize civilian deaths, U.S. officials say. Many Pakistanis decry them as indiscriminate, *Los Angeles Times*, 2 May

CIA documents show US never believed Gary Powers was shot down, The Times, 1 May

#### IDEAS, FEEDBACK, SUGGESTIONS?

**Ideas, feedback, suggestions?** We want to hear from you. Please contact us at <u>NATO Watch</u> with any news and stories for the *Observatory*, as well as feedback or suggestions.

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Only two-fifths of annual federal outlays are actually considered discretionary spending, and of that a military budget that next year will total \$708bn takes half. Some arms must be put aside.

**US defence spending**, *Financial Times*, 11 Mav