



Observatory

NATO News & Opinion Clips

No.11 – July 2010

Welcome to NATO Watch's monthly *Observatory*. Our focus is on NATO policy-making and operational activities and the clips are drawn from a wide range of subscriptions, feeds and alerts covering a substantial part of the major English language newspapers and other periodicals worldwide. If you are short on time – go straight to the recommended reading, marked ♣♣

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NATO Watch Editorial:

Afghanistan: The Runaway War

The real issue in Afghanistan is not the [Runaway General](#) but how to stop a Runaway War. The current phase of the war is now in its ninth year, but in truth the war started in 1980 when the United States, along with Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, organised and sustained Afghan resistance to the Soviet invasion. McChrystal's indiscretions have inadvertently shed a little light not only on the rotten core of the Afghanistan effort, but also on the excessive influence of the military in US politics, more of which later.

Let me start with Afghanistan. Of the many dysfunctional relationships amongst those in charge of the political and military strategies in that blighted country—between President Karzai, local warlords, various little would-be viceroys and the fractured military command—one thing is abundantly clear: this is an American-led war. The sacked general was nominally the “US and NATO commander” in Afghanistan, but first and foremost he was a US general, appointed and dismissed by a US President with no prior consultation among coalition allies. Karzai's appeal to Obama to keep McChrystal (the best commander the war has had, according to the Afghan President) and the [supportive noises](#) coming out of NATO HQ in Brussels fell on stony ground. From day one, the real strategic decision-making has taken place in the White House and Pentagon. NATO and the other ‘international protectorate’ actors in Afghanistan (UNAMA, ISAF, EU, OSCE and a host of private sector and non-governmental acronyms) are largely acting as a *de facto* arm of American foreign policy.

Both Obama and NATO Secretary General Rasmussen are emphasising that the replacement of McChrystal with General Petraeus represents [a change of command and not strategy](#), and that “we must and will complete the job we have started”. And despite politicians across the Alliance trying to persuade voters that there is a point to the war and that hundreds of young soldiers and many thousands more civilians are not dying for nothing, support for the war continues to fade as the [violence and casualties](#), civilian and military, rise again. Over 100 NATO soldiers have died fighting the Taliban in June, the deadliest month in nine years of conflict. A recent [ABC News/Washington Post poll](#) found 53% of Americans believed the conflict was not worth fighting and among many Europeans scepticism runs even deeper.

Confusion about the mission plays a part in the growing public disaffection. While some say it is about making the streets of New York and London safe from terrorists others talk about the need to

promote good governance and win “hearts and minds”. Others talk about the need to improve the condition of women and education for young girls or call for a greater focus on the regional security threat of al-Qaeda and the instability in Pakistan. Some like [Henry Kissinger](#) draw on the spectre of a ‘jihadist Islam’ domino effect as an argument for staying the course, while UK Defence Secretary [Liam Fox](#) has said that it would be a betrayal of the sacrifices of Britain's fallen soldiers if it left “before the job is finished”. How long before that old lie, *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*, also makes a comeback?

A US Army Soldier patrols with Afghan soldiers to check on conditions in the village of Yawez in Wardak province, Feb 2010 – photo credit: US Army/flickr



While not altogether clear, President Obama's more limited goals (and these are the ones that matter) appear to be threefold. First, deny Al-Qaeda a base in Afghanistan, although since the group has now dispersed to Pakistan, Yemen, Somalia and other countries, this is a secondary strategic concern. Indeed, recent [estimates](#) suggest that there are “more than 300” Al-Qaeda leaders and fighters in Pakistan and “50 to 100” in Afghanistan – so less than 500 in the Af-Pak border region. Second, create an exit strategy from Afghanistan similar to the one in Iraq by creating the conditions for negotiating with the Taliban. Third, begin withdrawal in July 2011.

But the simple truth is that many of the requirements for a successful counter-insurgency in Afghanistan are simply not there. The first and guiding assumption is that using lethal force against an insurgency intermingled with a civilian population is often counterproductive. Thus, General McChrystal sought to further tighten rules guiding the use of US and NATO firepower to support troops on the ground. This shifted risks from Afghan civilians to NATO and allied (including Afghan) soldiers. But [the troops hate it](#) and discontent on the ground is growing, with complaints that the tactical-level fight is being lost in the chase for an elusive strategic victory. This is

not sustainable and pressure is growing for the rules of engagement to be relaxed again.

And as I have [argued previously](#), the numbers required to implement a counter-insurgency operation in Afghanistan don't add up. In a permissive environment in Bosnia-Herzegovina (a country a fraction the size of Afghanistan) NATO fielded 60,000 troops in the mid-1990s. General Petraeus' [counter-insurgency manual](#) recommends a minimum of 20 counter-insurgents per 1,000 residents. In Afghanistan, with a population of around 33 million, that would mean at least 660,000 troops trained in counterinsurgency doctrine – over five times the current number deployed by the US and ISAF.



Checkpoint construction in Robat, Afghanistan, March 2010 – photo credit: US Army/flickr

Second, handing over security responsibilities to an Afghan government and national army (beginning next summer) is also central to the strategy. But neither the premise nor the deadline is realistic, despite the optimism of Pentagon officials who say the Afghan National Army is on schedule to meet a goal of 134,000 troops this year, and the Afghan National Police is on track to reach its goal of 109,000 officers in the same period (of which only around [700 are women](#)). But Afghanistan's weak and ineffective government was never capable of meeting US expectations of reform and as [US auditors recently concluded](#), the allies have no effective way of monitoring how successfully Afghan forces operate on their own. Only 23% of Afghan soldiers and 12% of police can work unsupervised, the report says. The auditors also found widespread absenteeism, corruption and drug abuse among Afghan forces. This is hardly surprising since nearly 1,600 Afghan police officers have been killed in the last two years, and the force continues to struggle with a lack of training (the country's main police academy can handle fewer than 600 recruits at a time, or roughly 3,600 a year).

That is only the start of the recent bad news. Another [Congressional study](#) says that US taxpayers' money is funding a "shadowy network of warlords, strongmen, commanders, corrupt

Afghan officials, and perhaps others" to protect supply convoys. Not only is part of this \$2 billion contract ending up in the hands of the Taliban, paid as bribes to stop them from attacking the convoys, it is also sowing the seeds of further chaos and instability. The 70,000 largely unsupervised gunmen working for hundreds of unregistered private security firms and warlords in Afghanistan are undermining the 'legitimate' Afghan government that the international community is struggling to build: "Not only does the system run afoul of the Department's own rules and regulations mandated by Congress, it also appears to risk undermining the US strategy for achieving its goals in Afghanistan", the investigators said. Also undermining the strategy are [allegations](#) that officials in Karzai's government have been blocking corruption investigations of political allies and [capital flight](#) from Afghanistan of \$10 million a day.

And wealth is not the only thing heading for the exit. The list of Alliance political leaders readying early withdrawals from the NATO mission also grows longer by the day. Poland is the latest country to reveal a desired [2012 deadline for the exit of its 2,600 soldiers](#), the seventh largest national contingent in NATO. The Netherlands and Canada have already committed to an early exit from Afghanistan: the former are withdrawing in August and the latter plan to remove their combat troops by the middle of next year. The new British Prime Minister has indicated that he wants to see UK troops out by 2015 (although no one seems to have told his defence secretary). And while urging other countries not to follow suit, insisting that the plan to support President Karzai's government must be given time to work, President Obama set the tone by signalling his own intention to begin withdrawing US troops in 2011. None of this is consistent with a counter-insurgency doctrine that calls for a long-term and labour-intensive military deployment and military-centric nation-building at a cost of hundreds of billions of dollars.



Kandahar – photo credit: startledrabbit III/flickr

Parallels with Iraq ([hardly a success story](#)) are also misplaced. The Kabul government lacks the

political base, power or legitimacy of the government in Baghdad. And Afghan tribal groups are much less coherent and have weaker associations with state structures, compared to Iraqi Sunni tribes (who ended up fighting against their former Al-Qaeda allies, whereas Afghan tribal groups generally fight for their clans and ethnic groups and try to co-exist with the Taliban). In addition, the Taliban can exploit the ideology of religious resistance that the US and others fostered in the 1980s to defeat the Russians – except today it is NATO that is depicted as an infidel occupying force.

The bottom line is that the allies have neither the means nor the willpower to see the job through. So, contrary to what the US President and NATO Secretary General say, it is not personnel change but policy change that is needed in Afghanistan. It is time to change the course of the war and start winding it down. Means must be matched to ends. Given that the mere presence of foreign soldiers fighting a war in Afghanistan is probably the single most important factor in the resurgence of the Taliban, as Gilles Dorronso of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has argued, the best way to weaken, and perhaps divide, the armed opposition is to reduce military confrontations. Military resources (both Afghan and NATO) should be targeted on protecting strategic cities and transportation routes, while the number of foreign troops is progressively withdrawn over the next 24 months, perhaps to around 20,000 by the end of 2012.

Coupled with this military drawdown should be a renewed emphasis on three key objectives: a comprehensive peace process including all relevant internal actors and neighbours (the reality is that the Afghan insurgency, like others, will end with a messy political settlement); increased development, especially in non-Taliban controlled areas with a particular emphasis on women-centred projects; and a counter-terrorism strategy to combat Al-Qaeda that is both civilian-led and rooted firmly within international law (which means, for example, an end to the use of targeted assassinations with drones and limited use of special forces). NATO should be prepared to accept a situation like the one in Yemen, where a government supported by the West is incapable of controlling its territory. That is the best possible outcome in the short to medium term.



An impromptu shura, or town meeting, in the Tul district of Afghanistan, May 2007 – photo credit: US Army/flickr

Finally, turning to the reaction within the United States to the dismissal of McChrystal, most analysts applauded the decision of President Obama as a visible sign of the civilian leadership asserting control over the military. But in many respects this is a chimera masking more profound concerns about civil-military relations in the United States today. George Orwell once said of the goose step that it is "only possible in countries where the common people dare not laugh at the army". That the US President was unable to laugh off a magazine article by the architect of the strategy that prompted him to gamble on massive force build-up to change the direction of the Afghan war says much about the continuing impact of the post 9/11 legacy. In a nation that is 'perpetually at war' unquestioning patriotism is now the dominant orthodoxy; and a US President has to be seen to asserting his authority even if he is "uncomfortable and intimidated" by a roomful of military brass.

And the irony of a US Defence Secretary berating a 'demilitarised Europe' unwilling to fight its corner, while presiding over armed forces that wield growing political and social influence in an increasingly militarised society appears lost on the 'Fox News' generation. But defence spending approaching \$1,000bn a year is no laughing matter. (Particularly as the budget crisis is threatening the social fabric of many US communities). The historian and former Vietnam veteran, Andrew Bacevich, has written about how Americans have increasingly found themselves in thrall to military power and the idea of global military supremacy. And out-of-control generals are a symptom of what he calls the "normalisation of war". And so, it is almost certain that McChrystal will reappear, after a suitable period of grace, as a well-paid outside consultant to the Pentagon, a government intelligence agency or one the many defence contractors lining the Beltway around Washington.

In sum, whichever way you look at it, Afghanistan is an allegory for much that the US and NATO allies have got wrong since 9/11. It is clear that the strategy for the war is not working. And while existing calls among allies for troop withdrawals are largely 'conditions-based', those conditions are being diluted all the time. But who has the courage to apply the brakes to this runaway war?

Afghanistan (also see NATO Defence Ministers Meeting): (photo credit: [Stitch/flickr](#))

News

This Is War: How USAID workers are trained for work and danger in Afghanistan, *Washington Post*, 4 July

Petraeus says Afghan war at critical stage, *Financial Times*, 4 July

US to cut \$4bn in Afghan aid after corruption allegations - Claims that large amounts of money have been flown out of war-torn country but government has blocked investigations, *The Guardian*, 1 July

Taliban rule out negotiations with Nato, John Simpson, *BBC News*, 1 July

[Afghanistan strategy reaffirmed](#), NATO News, 1 July; [Press conference](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen and the incoming Commander of the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), General David Petraeus, 1 July

[Liam Fox insists army cannot leave Afghanistan until job done](#) - Early exit could bring civil war, says defence secretary, although his comments appear at odds with Cameron's 2015 vow. *The Guardian*, 30 June;

Speech delivered by UK Secretary of State for Defence at the Heritage Foundation, Washington DC, 30 June

NATO retools in a key mission: Building an Afghan police force,
Washington Post, 30 June

Grim Afghan toll as 100 foreign troops die in June, *AFP*, 29 June

Quest to Neutralize Afghan Militants Is Showing Glimpses of Success, NATO Says, *New York Times*, 28 June

With Command Shift in Afghanistan, Talk Turns to Withdrawal,
New York Times. 28 June

Former Insurgents Return to Society During Reintegration Shura
 , ISAF Press Release, 27 June

Pakistan's Plan on Afghan Peace Leaves U.S. Wary, *New York Times*, 27 June

Secret girls schools emerge in Afghanistan, *Financial Times*, 25 June

CIA hires Xe, formerly Blackwater, to guard facilities in Afghanistan, elsewhere, *Washington Post*, 24 June

Soldiers question Afghanistan doctrine, *Financial Times*, 24 June

Poland reveals 2012 deadline for Afghan exit, *Financial Times*, 24 June

Pakistan Is Said to Pursue a Foothold in Afghanistan, *New York Times*, 24 June

👉👉 [US general McChrystal sorry for Rolling Stone 'error', BBC News](#), 22 June. Read the Rolling Stone article, 'The Runaway General' [here](#); [McChrystal](#), Joe Klein, *Time*, 22 June; [General Faces Unease Among His Own Troops, Too](#), C. J. Chivers, *New York Times*, 22 June

The basic premise that you can work towards a national government that can replace the American security effort in a deadline of 12 months provides a mechanism for failure

Henry Kissinger, [Kissinger warns on Afghan exit](#), *Financial Times*, 29 June. Full interview transcript at www.ft.com/kissinger

Intelligence assessments paint bleak portrait in Afghanistan, Sara A. Carter, *San Francisco Examiner*, 22 June

[U.S. Said to Fund Afghan Warlords to Protect Convoys](#), *New York Times*, 21 June; The report, ‘Warlord, Inc.: Extortion and Corruption Along the U.S. Supply Chain in Afghanistan’, is available [here](#)

UK special envoy to Afghanistan who called for talks with Taliban quits - Sir Sherard Cowper-Coles on 'extended leave' after rocky relationship with Nato and US over tactics in conflict, *The Guardian*, 21 June



The U.S. military has deployed an Active Denial System -- also known as pain-ray system -- to Afghanistan, although no decision has yet been made on whether and how to use it; the weapon beams enemy soldiers -- or unruly crowds -- with intense beam which makes them feel as if they are being roasted alive

[U.S. deploying Active Denial System to Afghanistan](#), Homeland Security Newswire, 21 June

[U.S. eager to replicate Afghan villagers' successful revolt against Taliban](#), *Washington Post*, 21 June

[NATO Secretary General expresses condolences to the United Kingdom for 300th casualty](#), NATO News, 21 June; [Losing Afghanistan](#), Craig Murray, 21 June

[Afghan opiate use doubled in last 5 years, UN says](#), *Associated Press*, 21 June

[Afghan Civilians Said to Be Killed in an Airstrike](#), *New York Times*, 19 June

['Alarming' rise in Afghan violence, says UN](#), *BBC News*, 19 June; The UN's report is available [here](#)

[Eleven killed in 'US missile strike' in Pakistan](#), Violence in Afghanistan increased dramatically in the first four months of this year, the UN says, *BBC News*, 19 June

[Experts: U.S. has no long-term political strategy for Afghanistan](#), *McClatchy*, 16 June

[U.S. Bolsters Afghan Police to Secure Kandahar](#), *New York Times*, 15 June

[British troops may begin Afghan pullout next year](#) - Liam Fox hints at withdrawal as David Cameron vows to bring soldiers home as soon as Afghanistan is safe, *The Guardian*, 14 June

[Pakistani agents 'funding and training Afghan Taliban'](#), *BBC News*, 13 June: Pakistani intelligence gives funding, training and sanctuary to the Afghan Taliban on a scale much larger than previously thought, according to this report: [The Sun in the Sky: The Relationship Between Pakistan's ISI and Afghan Insurgents](#), Matt Waldman, Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University June 2010

[U.S. Identifies Vast Riches of Minerals in Afghanistan](#), *New York Times*, 13 June

[Karzai Is Said to Doubt West Can Defeat Taliban](#), *New York Times*, 11 June

[Nato commander probes Helmand lessons](#), *Financial Times*, 11 June

[Afghanistan wedding party hit by massive bomb](#) - Explosion kills 21 and injures 83 in village where US forces pioneered controversial militia programme, *The Guardian*, 10 June

[NATO opens new communication lines to Afghanistan](#), NATO News, 9 June. Following the conclusion of arrangements for the transit of ISAF non-lethal cargo by rail with the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Belarus and Kazakhstan, the first trial shipment of the NATO train departed Riga, Latvia, on 14 May and arrived in Afghanistan on 9 June

Before the operation, McChrystal pledged to deliver a 'government in a box' that would provide basic services to the population with the hope of winning its allegiance. The box has turned out to be largely empty.

['Still a long way to go' for U.S. operation in Marja, Afghanistan](#), Rajiv Chandrasekaran, *Washington Post*, 10 June

♠♠ [Officers' mess: military chiefs blamed for blundering into Helmand with 'eyes shut and fingers crossed'](#), *The Times*, 9 June

[Nato helicopter shot down in Helmand in Afghanistan](#), *BBC News*, 9 June

[Taliban torch 50 Nato supply trucks on outskirts of Islamabad](#) - At least seven killed in ambush near Pakistan capital on military supply convoy heading to Afghanistan, *The Guardian*, 9 June

[British troops 'unlikely' to go to Kandahar](#) - Defence minister Liam Fox reiterates UK commitment to Afghanistan but says soldiers to stay in Helmand, *The Guardian*, 8 June

After this length of time, there should be a consensus of what they are trying to achieve. Instead, we are treated to a cacophony of people trying to talk over each other. While Mr Cameron was saying in Kabul that Britain and the US needed to move "further and faster" in stabilising the country, visiting US generals in London and Brussels were saying the opposite: nearer and slower.

[Afghanistan: All in the mind](#) - US general fails to provide any clarity about the end result of nine years of continuous warfare, Editorial, *The Guardian*, 11 June

♣♣ [The National Consultative Peace Jirga Resolution](#), 8 June. During 2-4 June over 1,600 delegates from all regions and social groups in Afghanistan assembled in the first National Consultative Peace Jirga (Loya Jirga) to discuss the reconciliation process

♣♣ [Afghan peace talks - a way forward](#), NATO TV, 7 June

[Nato loses 10 troops in deadly Afghanistan day](#), BBC News, 7 June

Commentary and Reports

NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen [video blog](#), "Change of command, not of strategy", 1 July

♣♣ [Counterinsurgency Down for the Count in Afghanistan... But the War Machine Grinds On and On and On](#), Ann Jones, *TomDispatch.com*, 1 July

♣♣ [Afghan Options](#), Paul Rogers, Oxford Research Group, June 2010

♣♣ Office Of The Special Inspector General For Afghanistan Reconstruction, [Actions Needed to Improve the Reliability of Afghan Security Force Assessments](#), 29 June; [Damning report on state of Afghan security forces](#), *BBC News*, 29 June

[The 30-Year War in Afghanistan](#), George Friedman, *Stratfor Global Intelligence*, 29 June

♣♣ [Negotiating with the Taliban - Issues and Prospects](#), Antonio Giustozzi, *The Century Foundation*, June 2010. Provides a rare assessment of the structure, methods, and policies of the Taliban insurgency



Women members of a rural Poultry Association, Balkh province, northern Afghanistan – photo credit: DFID/flickr

[The Land Where Theories of Warfare Go to Die](#) - Obama, Petraeus, and the Cult of COIN in Afghanistan, Robert Dreyfuss, *TomDispatch.com*, 27 June

[ANA Partnering](#), NATOchannel.tv, 25 June – The US Marines in Marjah are patrolling daily alongside their Afghan counterparts. Their experience of the working relationship has been both positive and negative

[Afghan School Girls Chemical Attacks](#), ibconsultancy, *Current Events Report* 1, 25 June

[Remember Vietistan?](#) Saul Landau, *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 25 June

[Preliminary Observations on DOD's Progress and Challenges in Distributing Supplies and Equipment to Afghanistan](#), US Government Accountability Office, 25 June

[Change Course Now](#), Gilles Dorronsoro, *New York Times*, 24 June

[A Bad Week for Afghan Strategists](#), Michael Clarke, *RUSI Analysis*, 24 June

[Appraising Moshtarak](#) - The Campaign in Nad-e-Ali District, Helmand, Theo Farrell, *RUSI Briefing Note*, 24 June. Argues that British operations in Helmand Province are showing signs of significant progress, thanks partly to the success of the counter insurgency strategy and the leadership of General McChrystal

[America needs an Afghan strategy, not an alibi](#), Henry A. Kissinger, *Washington Post*, 24 June

[3 US Soldiers Speak Out on McChrystal's Firing, Petraeus as Replacement, and the Unending War in Afghanistan](#), *Democracy Now*, 24 June

[Statement by NATO Secretary General on Commander ISAF](#), NATO News, 23 June – also see [video message](#)



[Female Engagement](#), NATOchannel.tv, 23 June. Female Engagement Teams have been deployed across the south of the country to help win over the support of the female population

[Afghan peace process offers little hope for women](#) - Sacrificing women's rights to secure peace will leave us back where we were 10 years ago, Wazhma Frogh, *The Guardian*, 23 June

A protest outside the office of US Senator Amy Klobuchar in Minneapolis, Feb 2010 – photo credit: Fibonacci Blue/flickr

[Sir Sherard Cowper-Coles: a casualty of Afghan policy war](#) - The British special envoy's scepticism about the US-led surge meant he had to go. Being proved right will be cold comfort, Simon Tisdall, *The Guardian*, 21 June

[Hope in Helmand](#), Maj. Gen. Gordon Messenger RM, *Foreign Policy*, 18 June

We set up the NATO Training Mission about six months ago, building on the substantial US effort. And it is already delivering. The Afghan Army will reach this year's target of 134,000 members three months ahead of schedule. Many of those forces are partnered with ours, including in the hotspots of Helmand and Kandahar. And we are stepping up our training effort every day.

This success is what the Taliban don't want to see. They might think they can wait us out. But within a year or so, there will be over 300,000 Afghan soldiers and police trained and ready to defend their country. And they can't be waited out.

[Monthly press briefing](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen, 7 June

The system [of measuring operational effectiveness] deliberately exaggerated the combat capacity of Afghan troops, and it disguised the true level of attrition and desertion

Anthony Cordesman, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington DC – cited in [Afghan troops overrated, audit to show](#), *Financial Times*, 6 June.

[Helmand: anatomy of a disaster](#), Stephen Grey, *Foreign Policy*, 15 June

["I Love the US Republic, and I Hate the US Empire"](#): Johan Galtung on the War in Afghanistan and How to Get Out, *Democracy Now!* 15 June

[Will Obama's Afghan surge run into the sand?](#)

Pressure is growing on General McChrystal to produce results in Afghanistan that he may not have time to deliver, Simon Tisdall, *The Guardian*, 15 June

[NATO Needs the Mediterranean in Afghanistan](#), Donatella Scatamacchia, *Atlantic Community*, 14 June

[Media Roundtable](#) with Secretary of Defense Robert Gates from London, US Department of Defense, News Transcript, 10 June

[Information Operations in Afghanistan: Why They Are a Necessity](#), Philip Taylor, *DefenceIQ*, 8 June

[Violence Between Kuchi-Taliban and Hazara a New Cause for Concern](#), Timor Sharan, *Atlantic Community*, 3 June

Arms Control:

NATO sixth Annual Conference on Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) Arms Control, Disarmament and Non-Proliferation, Prague, 24-25 June:

- [Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty implementation focus of NATO conference](#), NATO News, 29 June;
- [Video address](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen;

[NATO can use Article Four to consult about arms sales](#), Vladimir Socor, *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, 11 June

The Second Review Conference for the [Open Skies Treaty](#) took place in Vienna on 7-9 June. The treaty, which entered into force in January 2002, allows its 34 State Parties to carry out unarmed observation flights over each other's territories. It aims to boost mutual understanding and confidence by promoting openness and transparency regarding military or other activities. State parties include all NATO member states, the Russian Federation and other European states. See [here](#) for further details

[Obama Seeks Changes to Aerial Surveillance Pact](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 14 June

[Closing Statement at the Open Skies Review](#)

[Conference](#), Rose Gottemoeller, Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Verification, Compliance, and Implementation, US Department of State, Vienna, 9 June

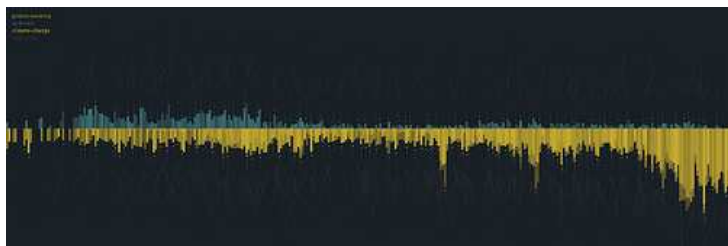
[Open Skies Treaty vital instrument for co-operation, U.S. Secretary of State Clinton tells review conference](#), OSCE Press Release, 7 June

[Treaty on Open Skies Review Conference](#), June 7-9, Vienna, Austria, Press Release, Office of the Spokesman, US Department of State, Washington, DC, 4 June



Climate Change and Environmental Security:

[NATO agrees to extend Environment and Security cooperation initiative](#), NATO News, 16 June - NATO and partner organisations have recently signed a MoU to extend the Environment and Security (ENVSEC) Initiative for three more years, until 31 December 2012. The initiative provides a framework for co-operation on environmental issues in Central Asia, the Caucasus, eastern Europe and southeastern Europe



This is a visualization of the frequency of the phrases 'acid rain', 'global warming' and 'climate change' in New York Times articles since 1981 – photo credit: blprnt_van/flickr

[Climate change, security, economic and environmental challenges: from Svalbard to Helsinki](#), NATO Parliamentary Assembly Press Release, 10 June

[NATO science workshop examines global climate change and local adaptation](#), NATO News, 9 June

Cyber Security:

[Cyberwarfare and its Impact on Interational Security](#), UNODA Occasional Paper No. 19, June 2010

[Experts discuss multinational approach to cyber conflict](#), NATO News, 20 June. Cyber security professionals from government, the military and academia attended the Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence (CCD COE) in Tallinn, Estonia, to discuss the growing connection between computer security and national security issues at the Conference on Cyber Conflict, from 15 to 18 June

[Who's in charge during a major cyber attack?](#) House Members Raise Questions; Dissatisfied with the Answers, Eric Chabrow, *GovInfoSecurity.com*, 16 June

[Multilateral Agreements to Constrain Cyberconflict](#), James A. Lewis, *Arms Control Today*, June 2010. Implicit rules of the road for cyber-conflict already exist; they should be expanded and made explicit. Although the precedents are not perfect, non-proliferation offers some useful models.

[The Alliance Ground Surveillance project] is designed to make soldiers from all NATO countries safer and more effective when they are deployed on operations. Denmark's withdrawal from the program sends the wrong signal to our forces and to other Allies.

Statement by the Secretary General on Danish withdrawal from AGS project, NATO News, 22 June

Defence Budgets & Procurement (also see NATO Defence Ministers Meeting):

[A Look at NATO's UAS Developments](#), Richard de Silva, *Defence IQ*, 28 June (Read the report, [The Joint Air Power Competence Centre Strategic Concept Of Employment For Unmanned Aircraft Systems In NATO](#), January 2010)

[Pentagon puts pressure on defence industry](#), *Financial Times*, 28 June

[Budget crunch opportunity for greater efficiency, says NATO Secretary General](#), NATO News, 21 June; "Security policy in an era of budgetary constraint", [speech](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen - Security and Defence Agenda, Brussels 21 June

[Financial and Economic Data Relating to NATO Defence - Defence Expenditures of NATO Countries \(1985-2009\)](#), NATO News, 10 June

[First Albanian company signs procurement agreement with NATO](#), NATO NC3 Agency News, 7 June

Intelligence:

(photo credit: Max_Knight/flickr)

[Not so secret: deal at the heart of UK-US intelligence](#); 1946 agreement tied allies into spying network, *The Guardian*, 25 June

[Allied code-breakers co-operate – but not always](#); For 64 years, Britain, the US and the Commonwealth countries have shared intelligence – with some differences and breakdowns in communication, *The Guardian*, 24 June



Kyrgyzstan Crisis:

[After Kyrgyz Unrest, a Question Lingers: Why?](#) Andrew Kramer, *New York Times*, 26 June

[Open Letter to the United Nations Security Council on the Situation in Kyrgyzstan](#), Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, 24 June

[Kyrgyzstan: Death, dictators and the Soviet legacy](#), Craig Murray, *Daily Telegraph*, 18 June

[Kyrgyzstan: A Test for Mutual Security](#), James Collins and Matthew Rojansky, *New York Times*, 15 June

Maritime Security and Piracy:

[NATO conference to address maritime operations in non-permissive environments](#), NATO News, 30 June

[Dutch submarine to help NATO combat piracy off Somali coast](#), NATO News, 28 June

[The Gaza Incident: NATO Naval Movements in Eastern Mediterranean](#), Carlo de Hennin, *NATO Watch Comment*, 15 June

[Sixth Plenary Meeting of the Contact Group on Piracy off the Coast of Somalia](#), Office of the Spokesman, US Department of State, Washington, DC, 11 June

[Contact Group on Piracy Off the Coast of Somalia Meets in New York](#), Office of the Spokesman, US Department of State, Washington, DC, 9 June

Missile Defence (also see NATO Defence Ministers Meeting):

[U.S.-Poland Bilateral Missile Defense Signing and Joint Press Availability](#) With Polish Foreign Minister Sikorski, Hillary Rodham Clinton Secretary of State, City Hall Krakow, Poland, 3 July; [U.S., Poland sign new missile defence pact](#), *CBS News*, 3 July

Today our governments signed a Protocol amending the 2008 Ballistic Missile Defense Agreement. This agreement marks an important step in our countries' efforts to protect our NATO allies from the threat posed by the proliferation of ballistic missiles and weapons of mass destruction. This is the first agreement that implements the U.S. European-based Phased Adaptive Approach (EPAA) for ballistic missile defense and enables the stationing of a U.S. land-based SM-3 missile defense interceptor system in the Republic of Poland

[Joint Statement of Secretary Clinton and Polish Foreign Minister Sikorski](#), Office of the Spokesman, Krakow, Poland, 3 July

[Protocol Amending the Ballistic Missile Defense Agreement Between the United States of America and the Republic of Poland](#)

[US intercepts ballistic missile in test off Hawaii](#), *Associated Press*, 29 June

[Global Missile Defence System and its prospects](#), *Voice of Russia*, 25 June

[Bulgaria defence minister in US for talks on missile defence](#), *AFP*, 25 June

[Upgrades Planned for U.S. Missile Interceptor](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 24 June

[Obama urges Russian missile defence cooperation – Ifax](#), *Reuters*, 24 June

[Turkey Seeks Longer-Range Missile Defenses](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 22 June

[Iran denies U.S. assertion its missiles menace Europe](#), *Reuters*, 19 June

[NATO signs contract for enhanced 2010 theatre missile defence capability](#), NATO NC3A News, 18 June

[Romania, US start talks on missile shield: official](#), *AFP*, 17 June

[Hearing on what START treaty means for missile defense](#), Rebecca Heinrichs, *The Hill*, 17 June

[Iran could fire 'hundreds' of missiles at Europe: Gates](#), *AFP*, 17 June

[The Way Forward on Missile Defense](#), Michele Flournoy and Ashton B. Carter, *Wall Street Journal*, 17 June

[Defense bill boosts missile scrutiny](#), *Politico*, 10 June

NATO and missile defence, Ian Davis, [Letter](#) in *The Guardian*, 8 June

[New two-stage booster launches](#), *Santa Maria Times*, 7 June

♠♠ [Anti-Missile Testing Has Been Successful](#), Rick Lehner, US Missile Defense Agency, Letter to *Arms Control Today*, June 2010; and George N. Lewis and Theodore A. Postol Respond

Draft NATO Parliamentary Assembly Report, [Nuclear/WMD Proliferation and Missile Defense](#) prepared by Congressman David Scott (United States), May 2010

NATO Defence Ministers Meeting, 10-11 June, NATO HQ, Brussels

[Transition in Afghanistan, Defence Spending, NATO Reform and Missile Defence among key issues discussed by Defence Ministers](#), *NATO Watch News Brief*, 14 June

[NATO making 'measured progress' in Afghanistan](#), *AFP*, 11 June

[Declaration by NATO Defence Ministers](#) following their meetings in Brussels on 10 and 11 June 2010, NATO Press Release, 11 June

[Press Availability with Secretary Gates from the NATO Ministerial at NATO Headquarters](#), Brussels, US Department of Defense, News Transcript, 11 June

[ISAF ministers focus on transition to Afghan lead](#), NATO News, 11 June

[Opening remarks](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the formal meeting of NATO Defence Ministers with non-NATO ISAF contributing nations, 11 June

[Ministers reaffirm support for Georgia's Euro-Atlantic aspirations](#), NATO News, 11 June

[Opening remarks](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the formal meeting of the NATO-Georgia Commission in Defence Ministers' session, 11 June

[Defence Ministers agree: KFOR to remain as long as necessary](#), NATO News, 10 June

[Ukraine remains reliable NATO partner](#), NATO News, 10 June

[Opening remarks](#) by NATO Secretary General at the meeting of the NATO-Ukraine Commission in Defence Ministers session, 10 June

[NATO Ministers discuss reform](#), NATO News, 10 June

[Opening statement](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the meeting of NATO Defence Ministers, 10 June

[Afghanistan, NATO reform and missile defence on Defence Ministers' agenda](#), NATO News, 7 June - see the programme [here](#)

The bottom line – and now we are really talking about the bottom line – is this: there will be less money for defence for quite some time. That's the way it is. But we can use this crisis as motivation to make the right changes, to focus on the right things, and to do as much as possible together.

[Press conference](#) by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen following the formal meeting of NATO Defence Ministers, 10 June

we stand ready to assist Pakistan in capacity-building, if Pakistan so wishes. It has to be a process which is demand-driven, so to speak, developed on the basis of Pakistani wishes. We have already started military-to-military cooperation

NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen, [Joint press briefing](#) with the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Yousuf Raza Gilani at NATO HQ, 4 June

NATO Enlargement & Partnerships (also see NATO Defence Ministers Meeting):

[High level opinion leaders from Israel visit NATO](#), NATO News, 24 June

[Secretary General expresses strong support to Skopje's euro-atlantic aspirations](#), NATO News, 18 June; [Time to get serious about the name dispute](#): Macedonia, NATO enlargement and stability in the Western Balkans, Anna Sliwon and Ian Davis, *NATO Watch News Brief*, 21 June

[NATO and Montenegrin Ministers discuss membership aspirations](#), NATO News, 16 June

[Yerevan seminar seeks to improve public support in NATO and Partner countries](#), NATO News, 15 June

[Visit to NATO by High-Level Officials from Morocco](#), NATO News, 8 June

[An Indian perspective on NATO's Global Role](#). In conversation with K. Subrahmanyam, dean of Indian foreign policy analysts, *New Atlanticist Podcast*, 7 June

[NATO and Pakistan ready to deepen political dialogue](#), NATO News, 4 June; [NATO, Pakistan seek to boost non-military ties](#), *AFP*, 4 June

NATO Parliamentary Assembly:

[Ukraine Nato Interparliamentary Council Debates Future Of Ukrainian Foreign Policy](#) - Members of the Ukraine NATO Interparliamentary Council met in Kyiv, Ukraine on 30 June to discuss Ukraine's direction after the election of President Yanukovitch earlier this year, Press Release, 2 July

[Progress hostage to political blockages in Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, NATO parliamentarians hear in Balkans](#), Press Release, 28 June

[Helsinki Seminar Focuses on Baltic and Nordic Perspectives on Security, Economic and Environmental Challenges](#), Press Release, 24 June

NATO Reform (also see NATO Defence Ministers Meeting):

[NATO Secretary General welcomes next step towards new NATO Headquarters](#), NATO News, 28 June

[Opinion leaders tour NATO's Allied Command Transformation](#), NATO News, 21 June

NATO Sec. General Anders Fogh Rasmussen [video blog](#), 'NATO is bringing its own house in order', 17 June

NATO-Russia Relations:

[Where Do Russia and NATO Stand Now?](#) New Atlanticist Podcast, Atlantic Council, 28 June - Ambassador Dmitry Rogozin, Russia's representative to NATO, discusses how the Obama administration's "reset" of relations with Russia will impact NATO and what the future may hold for the Russia-NATO partnership

♣♣ [Medvedev's Proposals for a New European Security Order: A Starting Point or the End of the Story?](#) Ulrich Kühn, *The Quarterly Journal*, Spring 2010

Nuclear Weapons:

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

♣♣ [Reviving the Special Consultative Group: Past Experiences and Future Prospects](#), Martin Smith, *NATO Watch Briefing No. 11*, 5 July - This briefing explores the NATO Experts' Group recommendation to "re-establish the Special Consultative Group (SCG) on Arms Control for the purpose of facilitating its own internal dialogue about the whole range of issues related to nuclear doctrine, new arms control initiatives, and proliferation". It offers, firstly, an historical analysis of the SCG to remind readers of its origins, purpose and effectiveness during the Cold War, and then considers what a revival of this almost-forgotten Alliance consultative forum might achieve in the current intra-NATO and international contexts.



[Norway Demands Anti-Nuclear NATO Strategy](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 24 June

[Opening Speech](#) by German Federal Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle at the 26th Forum on Global Issues entitled "Global Zero – Challenges along the path to a world free of nuclear weapons", 15 June

[Reassessing the Role of U.S. Nuclear Weapons in Turkey](#), Mustafa Kibaroglu, *Arms Control Today*, June 2010. Removal of US nuclear weapons from Turkey would not weaken the credibility of NATO's nuclear deterrent and could accelerate Ankara's growing rapprochement with its Middle Eastern neighbours

[Lifting the nuclear threat isn't a pipe dream](#), Klaus Naumann, *Europe's World*, Summer 2010; [Commentary: This may be a key year, but alas not a decisive one](#), Olga Oliker, *Europe's World*, Summer 2010

NATO Parliamentary Assembly divided on US nukes in Europe – and on the desirability of nuclear disarmament, Parliamentarians for Nuclear non-proliferation and Disarmament, *PNND Update* 28 June 2010

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[Reassessing the Role of U.S. Nuclear Weapons in Turkey](#), Mustafa Kibaroglu, *Arms Control Today*, June 2010

Strategic Concept:

[Portugal and the new NATO Strategic Concept](#), Vasco Martins, Portuguese Institute of International Relations and Security (IPRIS), *IPRIS Policy Brief*, June 2010

[Old wine in a new bottle? NATO's new Strategic Concept](#), Jos Boonstra, FRIDE *Policy Brief* No.48 – June 2010

[NATO's Strategic Concept: To Defend Everywhere Is to Defend Nowhere](#), Col. Patrick T. Warren, The Brookings Institution, 28 May

[Implications of a Changing NATO](#), LTC Phillip R. Cuccia, Strategic Studies Institute US Army War College, May 2010. This monograph examines four possible future scenarios for NATO: US leadership continues on the same path; US leadership increases; EU leadership; and the NATO Alliance breaks apart. The scenarios present a range of short- and long-term challenges for the future. The prominent short-term challenge is consensus on the 2010 Strategic Concept. If well thought out, it will set the conditions for both short- and long-term success: *"The biggest threat to NATO now is the "internal threat" caused by the absence of consensus over what the perceived "external threat" to NATO is"*

Transparency and Accountability:

[Gates Tightens Rules for Military and the Media](#), *New York Times*, 2 July

[Towards an Open and Accountable NATO](#), Presentation by Dr Ian Davis, Senior Advisor ISIS Europe and Director NATO Watch, Crans Montana Forum 21, Brussels, 25 June

[When PR Becomes Propaganda](#), Matt Armstrong, *DefenceIQ*, 8 June

In recent years there has been a tendency for like-minded think tanks and military officers to jointly pursue policy objectives..... ..this trend raises questions about the appropriate role of both military officers, who are part of a chain of command, and think tanks, which present themselves as 'non-partisan' appraisers of public policy

[The Surge of Ideas](#), Michael Flynn, *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 24 June

Upcoming Events:

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

NATO Defence Ministers Meeting, 14 October

[Waterside Security Conference](#), The NATO Undersea Research Centre, Carrara, Italy, 3-5 November

[NATO Parliamentary Assembly's 56th Annual Session](#), Warsaw, 12-16 November

NATO Watch Shadow Summit, Brussels, 15-16 November

NATO Summit, Lisbon, Portugal, 19-21 November



Security News from NATO Member States:

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

Croatia

[U.S. and Croatia to Cooperate in Preventing the Illicit Trafficking of Radioactive Materials](#), The US National Nuclear Security Administration (NNSA) Press Release, 9 June

Czech Republic

[Czechs to help establish chemical warfare unit in Texas](#), *Prague Daily Monitor*, 23 June

France

[French Air Force Rafales Go Nuclear](#), *Aviation Week*, 6 July

[France seeks new military deal with Africa](#), *AFP*, 18 June

Greece

[Greece's Policy at NATO](#), Marios Efthymiopoulos, *Europe's World*, 23 June

Hungary

[Remarks with Hungarian Foreign Minister Janos Martonyi After Their Meeting](#), Hillary Rodham Clinton Secretary of State, Washington, DC, 24 June

[Hungarian Prime Minister, Secretary General discuss Afghanistan, Kosovo and NATO's future](#), NATO News, 3 June; [Joint press point](#) with NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen and the Prime Minister of Hungary, Viktor Orbán, 3 June

Italy

[Terrorists Could Tap Italy's Nuclear Waste, Report Warns](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 15 June

Netherlands

[Dutch May Pull Out Of Next F-35 Phase](#), *Aviation Week*, 1 July

[Threat level remains limited](#), National Coordinator for Counterterrorism, Press Release, 18 June; [12th anti-terrorism progress report](#)

Spain

[NATO to step up efforts against improvised explosive devices with new Centre of Excellence](#), NATO News, 24 June - a new NATO Centre of Excellence to combat improvised explosive devices (IEDs) has been established in Madrid



F-35 Lightning II – photo credit: I'll Never Grow Up/flickr

Turkey

[Turkey and its neighbourhood](#), Editorial by Michael Emerson, *CEPS European Neighbourhood Watch*, No.61 June 2010

[Turkey feels its potential](#), Robert Cox, *Europe's World*, 24 June

[Kurdish rebels admit Istanbul bus bombing](#) - Five dead and 12 injured in Turkey after TAK roadside bomb blast hits a bus carrying military personnel and their families, *The Guardian*, 22 June

[U.S., Ankara Deny Rift After Kurdish Attacks](#) - Sides Rebut Reports That Pin Killings On a Lapse in Intelligence-Sharing, *Wall Street Journal*, 22 June

[Preventing the Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction: What Role for Turkey?](#) Sinan Ülgen, Centre for Economics and Foreign Policy Studies (EDAM), *Discussion Paper Series -2010/2*, June 2010

[OSCE media freedom representative asks Turkey to withdraw recent Internet blocking provisions, calls for urgent reform of law](#), OSCE Press Release, 22 June

[Stealth Superpower - How Turkey Is Chasing China to Become the Next Big Thing](#), John Feffer, *TomDispatch.com*, 13 June

[Turkey Is Committed to Western Ties, Erdogan Says](#), *Wall Street Journal*, 11 June

[Establishment of the High Level Cooperation Council among Turkey, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon](#), Turkish MFA press release, 10 June

[Turkey Goes From Pliable Ally to Thorn for U.S.](#), *New York Times*, 8 June

United Kingdom

[Terrorism policy flaws 'increased risk of attacks', says former police chief](#) - Comments about 'neo-conservative' direction of fight against terror mark five years since 7 July bombings, *The Guardian*, 7 July

[Prognosis for defence spending after Budget 2010](#) - The first budget of the Coalition government could lead to the core defence budget being cut in real terms by up to 15%, with numbers of military personnel being reduced by around 30,000, Malcolm Chalmers, *RUSI Commentary*, June 2010

[My once-in-a-generation cut? The armed forces. All of them](#) - We are safer than at any time since the Norman conquest. Yet

The Strategic Defence and Security Review will make a clean break from the military and political mindset of Cold War politics...

NATO will remain our first instrument of choice for responding to the collective security challenges we face.

[Speech](#) delivered by Liam Fox Secretary of State for Defence at the Royal United Services Institute, London, 14 June

£45bn is spent defending Britain against fantasy enemies, Simon Jenkins, *The Guardian*, 8 June

[A Question of Balance? The Deficit and Defence Priorities](#), Malcolm Chalmers, *RUSI Future Defence Review Working Paper No.7*, June 2010

United States

[U.S. Counterterrorism Policy](#), Robert F. Godec, Principal Deputy Coordinator for Counterterrorism, Global Young Leaders Conference, Washington, DC, 30 June

(photo credit: katerkate/flickr)

♣♣ [Obama Supports Possible Limits on Space Weapons](#), *Global Security Newswire*, 29 June; read the White House [space policy](#)

♣♣ [America Detached from War - Bush's Pilotless Dream, Smoking Drones, and Other Strange Tales from the Crypt](#), Tom Engelhardt, *TomDispatch.com*, 24 June

[US mull North Korea nuclear strike in 1969: documents](#), *AFP*, 23 June

[An increasingly politicized military](#) - Army Gen. Stanley A. McChrystal's criticism of Obama administration officials symbolizes an accelerated partisanship of the officer corps, Bruce Ackerman, *Los Angeles Times*, 22 June

[U.S. Engagement With The International Criminal Court and The Outcome Of The Recently Concluded Review Conference](#), Harold Hongju Koh Legal Advisor U.S. Department of State & Stephen J. Rapp Ambassador-at-Large for War Crimes Issues, Washington, DC, 15 June



the most distinctive feature of the last years of the Soviet Union may have been the way it continued to pour money into its military -- and its military adventure in Afghanistan -- when it was already going bankrupt and the society it had built was beginning to collapse around it

[Call the Politburo, We're in Trouble - Entering the Soviet Era in America](#), Tom Engelhardt, *TomDispatch.com*, 15 June

♣♣ [Debt, Deficits, and Defense: A Way Forward](#), report of the Sustainable Defense Task Force, 11 June. Identifies options for \$100 billion annual savings in the US defence budget for consideration by the recently appointed deficit reduction commission; [C-SPAN video of the report](#) release briefing hosted by Rep. Barney Frank, US Capitol Visitors Center, 11 June; [Task force sees Pentagon cuts key to US budget fix](#), *Reuters*, 11 June.

[At Fort Bliss, Brain Injury Treatments Can Be as Elusive as Diagnosis](#), T. Christian Miller and Daniel Zwerdling, *ProPublica*, 8 June; [Nothing is Too Good For Our Boys. Yeah, Right!](#) David Isenberg, *Huffington Post*, 10 June

[Military expands intelligence role](#), *Washington Post*, 8 June

[U.S. military turns to TV for surveillance technology](#) - The Air Force is looking at the technology that powers NFL broadcasts and TV news to see if it can be used to catalog information from the cameras of its drone fleet, Julian E. Barnes, *Los Angeles*

Times, 7 June

[U.S. 'secret war' expands globally as Special Operations forces take larger role](#), *Washington Post*, 4 June

[U.S. vs. ICC?](#) Rob Grace, *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 4 June

IDEAS, FEEDBACK, SUGGESTIONS?

Ideas, feedback, suggestions? We want to hear from you. Please contact us at [NATO Watch](#) with any news and stories for the *Observatory*, as well as feedback or suggestions.

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